Social Exclusion and the Role of Transport Intervention in Accessing Economic Opportunity

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Abstract

Social Exclusion and the Role of Transport Intervention in Accessing Economic Opportunity

This dissertation is concerned with social exclusion, transport and access to economic opportunities. Its main focus is on transport 'intervention' and whether this provision is able to enhance social inclusion, particularly in terms of tackling worklessness. The leading principle of this research is to capture the "authentic voices" of those people who are the intended beneficiaries of transport intervention.

Social exclusion is a difficult concept to define but it is generally taken to refer to individuals who are geographically resident in the UK but, for reasons beyond the control of that individual, they cannot participate in the 'normal' activities of UK citizens. This dissertation found that transport can have an effect on this exclusion: for those without private transport, access to widely dispersed facilities such as supermarkets, hospitals and employment locations can be very difficult.

This dissertation found that transport-related exclusion relating to personal characteristics, such as ethnicity or lack of self-esteem, could often have the most impact upon transport use, overlapping as this does with many of the other exclusionary factors. A striking finding from the research explores the notions of 'localism' and 'parochialism' from the perspective of those experiencing social exclusion and practitioners working in the transport, social and economic fields. This includes the tension between natural tendencies to avoid travelling far afield to access employment and the need to expand travel horizons in order to secure social inclusion.

The research also explores the misconception surrounding the desire for car ownership and reveals how many people highly value their local bus services and some even enjoy the experience of travelling on them. Transport intervention is thus seen to have an important role in enhancing social inclusion but this needs to be based on genuine needs assessment, a sense of local ownership, a realistic appreciation of transport usage and behaviour and a true understanding of the characteristics of social exclusion. It also needs to fit within an integrated framework co-ordinating with different service providers. This research found that transport intervention developed in isolation will not be effective.

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Abbreviations

BMBC	Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council
BNDfC	Burngreave New Deal for Communities
CESI	Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion
CRESR	Centre for Regional, Economic and Social Research
CT	Community Transport
DETR	Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions
DfT	Department for Transport
DLTR	Department for Local Government, Transport and the Regions
DRT	Demand Responsive Transport
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IMD	Index of Multiple Deprivation
LTP	Local Transport Plan
MiDAS	Minibus Driver Awareness Scheme
NGH	Northern General Hospital
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
PAT	Policy Action Team
PJP	Personalised Journey Plan
PTEG	Passenger Transport Executive Group
SCC	Sheffield City Council
SCT	Sheffield Community Transport
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SITP	Social Inclusion and Transport Project
SOA	Super Output Area
SYPTA	South Yorkshire Passenger Transport Authority
SYPTE	South Yorkshire Passenger Transport Executive
TRaC	Transport Research and Consultancy Unit
TRIN	Transport Research and Information Network
UDP	Unitary Development Plan

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background to the research

This dissertation is concerned with the issues surrounding social exclusion, transport and access to economic opportunities[1]. Its main focus is on transport 'intervention' (see below for definition) and, in particular, whether this provision is able to improve the basic quality of life for residents currently living in areas which could be described as 'socially excluded' - particularly in terms of increasing employment opportunity. The leading principle of this research is to capture the reactions and perceptions of those people who were the intended beneficiaries of transport intervention being studied. Research which encapsulates these "authentic voices" is identified within this dissertation as an under–researched area in the literature of the transport intervention field.

In this context transport intervention is defined as physical transport provision (such as a dedicated bus service) which:

- has been put in place usually to respond to some form of social or economic need (for example, to provide access to jobs);
- is separate from mainstream provision (but may act in a complementary role);
- is subject to external funding (either public sector or private sector sponsorship) and is not operated on a commercial basis

The dissertation uses case study data from two areas of South Yorkshire which had transport intervention in place (Burngreave Links, Sheffield; and Athersley Links, Barnsley) and which were identified as potentially experiencing high levels of social exclusion. This region was chosen as the geographical boundary of the research because of the partnership with South Yorkshire Objective 1 who provided part funding and because the research focus was extremely pertinent to the issues found within this post-industrial region. The

[1] When discussing transport-related exclusion, there was an assumption that this was in relation to *public* transport. Whilst it was acknowledged that for those on low incomes and suffering from social exclusion, even the possession of private transport does not automatically resolve some of the transport-related issues outlined within existing literature the dissertation will still have a main focus on public transport use. This is both because it is one of the founding principles of the research (i.e. that it will be a study of transport intervention, meaning non-private transport) and it can be justified on the basis that the bulk of the literature regards the problems of transport-related exclusion as being mainly concerned with those without private transport; and that there is also a substantial body of literature which discusses the social inequity generated by the proliferation of car use over those without use of the car. Notwithstanding this, the research process did not preclude those who did regularly use private vehicles from the interviewing process as their perceptions and opinions were still considered valuable.

main research method was in-depth qualitative interviewing investigating the experience of existing mainstream public transport and more recent transport intervention. These interviews were undertaken with local residents and with relevant local practitioners in the fields of transport, employment and community development with the ultimate goal of developing lessons for future transport provision.

Social exclusion is a difficult concept to define but it is generally taken to refer to individuals who are geographically resident in the UK but, for reasons beyond the control of that individual, they cannot participate in the 'normal' activities of UK citizens - activities they would like to participate in (Burchardt et al, 1999). Transport can have an effect on this exclusion for example, for those without private transport, access to widely dispersed facilities such as supermarkets, hospitals and employment locations can be very difficult. The nature of public transport itself and the characteristics of the person using it can also be exclusionary. For example, a person with a physical or sensory disability would have difficulty in negotiating a busy road to reach a bus stop and again when required to board a vehicle or when trying to find out information. Exclusion can also come in spatial or temporal forms where public transport is simply not available in the places, or at the times, when it may be required.

1.2 Main Research Aim

"*To investigate the effects of dedicated transport intervention on improving access to economic opportunities amongst socially excluded communities*".

The main aim of the research is to examine how transport intervention may be used to alleviate the problems associated with social exclusion in applicable communities within South Yorkshire. Whilst the literature reveals that there are numerous dimensions associated with social exclusion and transport, the main rationale for the empirical section of the research concentrates on access to employment. This attempts to encompass not only 'employment' in terms of jobs but also economic opportunity more generally, for example training and education opportunities. The justification for this approach is firstly that it provides a useful evaluation of some of the priority measures of Objective 1, the collaborative partner in the PhD (in particular Measure 19 which aimed to

reduce transport-related barriers to job and training opportunities[2]). Secondly, given the broad and complex nature of the field, a focus on economic opportunity provides a realistic and achievable means of meeting the research aims of the study, especially given that 'employment' is currently favoured in policy circles to be one of the main routes to social inclusion.

The research is conscious, however, that much of the literature (Levitas, 1998, for example) argues that, despite Government rhetoric, social inclusion must encompass more than just paid employment. This has also been identified in existing empirical research where access to employment was not considered to be a main priority. Given this critique it is hoped that, whilst the research does not necessarily refute the claim that access to economic opportunity is an important part of the process of moving towards greater inclusion, it is intended that the research would also provide insights into other aspects of transport-related social exclusion. This is to be achieved through an emphasis on open-ended qualitative data gathering which may reveal other access priorities.

The research is intended to be a qualitative, and partially ethnographic study as opposed to a study of the more legislative and operational aspects of transport. Whilst the policy context and implementational aspects of transport provision were examined, the main focus of the dissertation is on the everyday, real-life perspectives of the communities involved. Thus, the research evolves firstly from an emphasis on the needs, perceptions and viewpoints of residents of the case study areas which are then used to inform and develop the later research with practitioners.

[2] See Section 4.3 in Chapter 4: Contextual Information

1.3 Research Objectives

The following objectives will be explored through this dissertation:

1. To review relevant existing literature relating to social exclusion, transport and economic opportunity (particularly employment);

2. To examine the meaning of 'transport intervention' within the context of this research; and to identify the extent of such schemes in South Yorkshire;

3. To identify areas of social exclusion within South Yorkshire which are subject to some form of transport intervention to use as case studies;

4. To review the regional and local policy context in relation to transport and social exclusion; and to develop a physical and socio-economic profile of the case study areas;

5. To investigate the experience and perceptions of public transport and access to essential services within these socially excluded communities;

6. To ascertain the level of awareness, uptake and use of transport intervention within these communities (how 'embedded' they are);

7. To investigate attitudes towards such intervention and the level of support from transport, economic and community development practitioners;

8. To determine the role of intervention in improving access to economic opportunity;

9. To evaluate the outcomes of such intervention and to provide recommendations for future intervention.

Thus, the eventual goal of the dissertation is to explore and explain the impact of transport interventions on social exclusion in South Yorkshire and to develop current theory relating to social exclusion and transport. The purpose is both to improve the general understanding of the relationship between social exclusion

and transport and to explore the relative effectiveness of transport interventions in increasing access to employment and other economic opportunities.

The summaries of the existing literature presented in this dissertation will help to highlight some of the research areas which have received reasonable attention within the sphere of transport and social exclusion research. In contrast, there are some areas which, whilst they may have been widely debated in relation to other aspects of transport research, have not always been discussed specifically in relation to social exclusion. There are also potential research areas which have been suggested within existing literature but which appear not to have been thoroughly investigated. It is hoped that the empirical part of this dissertation expands upon some of these neglected areas within the context of South Yorkshire. In essence, this dissertation argues that there is a lack of existing research which 'gives voice' to those potentially experiencing transport related exclusion and which provides a link between research into social exclusion and how this relates to practical research investigating real-life intervention.

1.4 Outline of the dissertation

The remaining dissertation will consist of the following chapters:

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This is split into eight main sections (two relating to a general discussion of social exclusion and of its relationship to social exclusion, and five specifically to transport and social exclusion). In more detail the chapter includes a broad contextual introduction to the concept of social exclusion (section 2.2); and a discussion of the relationship of social exclusion to economic activity (2.3). The next sections (2.4 – 2.7) relate the preceding discussions on the experience of social exclusion specifically to transport provision and use; outlining policy responses to social exclusion and transport, including potential transport interventions which can be used to ameliorate the effects.

The chapter concludes (section 2.8) with a summarisation of the findings of existing literature and an overview of some of the conclusions found in current research. This includes a discussion of some of the gaps in existing knowledge

and research within the social exclusion and transport field; both those which have already been acknowledged in existing literature and those identified through the process of undertaking the literature review. This chapter deals with Objective 1) of the research.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter is divided into several sections which firstly present an overview of the adopted methodology, stating the methodological tradition that the research belongs within and the theoretical framework underpinning the methodology, including a brief clarification of the use of specific methodological terminology. It then goes on to discuss the decision making process in selecting the chosen methodology – why and how this was implemented – and reports on the practical implications of these methods. The final section presents an overview of the analytical techniques used in the research.

This chapter explores Objectives 2) and 3) in demonstrating relevant transport intervention which would form an appropriate study unit; and in choosing appropriate case study areas through which to examine this transport intervention.

Chapter 4: Contextual information

This short chapter provides a general overview relating to the context within which the research took place. This includes a brief history of the socio-economic characteristics of South Yorkshire and of the chosen case study areas. It also provides background information on the South Yorkshire Objective 1 Programme and on the Measures relevant to the transport intervention investigated in this research. This chapter relates to Objective 4).

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents the views and opinions of the respondents from the case study areas – both those involved in the in-depth interviews and those surveyed on board the services being investigated – and of various practitioners working in the fields of transport, employment and community development. The findings are organised into core themes and the views expressed are followed

by an analytical commentary on the potential implications of the findings for transport intervention.

The findings from this research sought to provide a better understanding of the experience of transport related exclusion in the South Yorkshire context, particularly in relation to access to employment. It also aimed to provide lessons and recommendations for existing and future transport intervention - which are summarised as such in the conclusion chapter - both through the implications inferred by use of existing mainstream transport provision and through the actual experience of more recent transport intervention.

This chapter covers Objectives 5), 6) and 7) in examining the experience of public transport and perceptions surrounding transport intervention. It also begins to formulate ideas of how these experiences may inform the process of transport intervention.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The concluding chapter re-visits the objectives outlined in this introductory chapter and upon which the whole empirical body of work was based. Each objective will be examined in turn with an explanation of what has been discovered as a consequence of undertaking this piece of research. This exercise places this research within the context of existing literature, it highlights some of the most significant implications taken from the findings and develops a series of lessons learnt and recommendations for future and existing transport intervention provision. It will also discuss some of the methodological limitations of qualitative research unearthed through the empirical process. Lastly the dissertation ends with a section on the scope for future research in this field.

The conclusions chapter reports on the final three objectives, 7), 8) and 9). It makes explicit conclusions about the role of transport intervention in social exclusion policy responses by drawing from evidence explored in the literature and those found in this dissertation.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Literature Review Introduction

This literature review intends to discover the meaning of social exclusion, its emergence within social policy, its identified dimensions and effects and the potential relationship of social exclusion with transport provision. These initial ideas are then related more specifically to economic opportunity and then the concept is related to the field of transport. It aims to explore what social exclusion means to the individual and how this affects wider notions of economic activity and the relationship of this to the transport debate. It then seeks to ascertain how transport intervention may be used to ameliorate some of the effects of economically related social exclusion.

In basic terms this chapter aims to answer the following questions:

- What is social exclusion and how has it been articulated through existing research and policy responses?
- What does social exclusion consist of and how can it be tackled (that is what constitutes social inclusion?)
- How does social exclusion affect economic opportunity (or how do economic factors affect social exclusion?)
- What is the relationship between social exclusion and transport?
- How can transport respond to economic-related exclusion?
- What are the barriers to this response?

The first section in this chapter (2.1) is an introduction to the literature review. Section 2.2 then goes on to provide a general introduction to the concept of social exclusion, including the definitions, dimensions and causes of the phenomena and a discussion of social inclusion.

Section 2.3 identifies and reviews pieces of literature specifically concerned with the relationship of social exclusion to economic activity, in particular employment. This is to provide an overview of some of the identified economic influences over social exclusion.

This then leads into the next section (2.4) which begins to look at research concerned with the explicit connection between social exclusion and transport.

This section follows a similar format to the first, introducing how the relationship between the two began to emerge as a research and policy concern (which eventually led to the publishing of the Social Exclusion Unit's 2003 report on Transport).

This section discusses why transport is relevant to discussions of social exclusion, and its potential to enhance social inclusion. This includes a commentary on the traditional approaches to transport planning and policy and how this has led to a situation where lack of transport has the potential to worsen a person's sense of exclusion. This section goes on to relate these aspects of transport-related exclusion specifically to accessibility to economic opportunity (2.5) – outlining the significance of an individual's level of mobility and transport to their prospects of securing employment.

Section 2.6 reveals the divide in the literature with an overview of responses to transport related exclusion. This section deals with the practical response of transport intervention and the policy response which relates more generally to economic opportunity. The first part of this section identifies more pragmatic research - and empirical evidence relating to transport intervention with a focus on community transport. This also looks at demand responsive and flexible forms of transport provision and considerations for the implementation of successful intervention. This is useful in highlighting points of analysis for the field-based part of this research. This section is followed with a discussion of potential drawbacks to such intervention (Section 2.7) including a critique of social policy towards exclusion in general and practical barriers to transport intervention.

Section 2.8 is a summarisation of the findings of existing literature and an overview of some of the conclusions found in current research. It ends with a discussion of some of the gaps in the academic research into the phenomena of transport-related social exclusion – those which have already been identified in existing research, and those which can be surmised through their absence. This provides the justification for the direction of the empirical research conducted for this dissertation.

2.2 Introduction to social exclusion

2.2.1 Definitions of social exclusion

There have been multiple definitions of the term social exclusion, perhaps reflecting the contestability and complexity of the concept. The following will outline some of these definitions, as well as discussing the differences between social exclusion and more simplistic notions of poverty or disadvantage.

The term social exclusion was originally coined in 1974 and first used in European Commission policy documentation in 1989 (Cousins, 1998). It first gained currency in the social policy of the French socialist governments of the 1980s, from which the concept went on to achieve considerable prominence in European debate on social research and policy. Initially it was used to refer to a disparate group of people living on the margins of society and, in particular, without access to the system of social insurance (Room, 1995; Jordan, 1997; Burchardt et al, 1999). However, when the term began to be used in the wider European context it referred more to the European Union objective of achieving social and economic cohesion. In the UK, "social exclusion" directly entered the policy process with the establishment of the interdepartmental Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) in 1997.

Percy-Smith (2000) states that its definition continues to be expressed in a number of different ways which may include all or some of the following elements: disadvantage in relation to certain norms of social, economic or political activity pertaining to individuals, households, spatial areas or population groups; the social, economic and institutional processes through which disadvantage comes about; and the outcomes or consequences for individuals, groups or communities. The following, quite comprehensive, definition comes from the European Commission:

> *Social exclusion refers to the multiple and changing factors resulting in people being excluded from the normal exchanges, practices and rights of modern society. Poverty is one of the most obvious factors, but social exclusion also refers to inadequate rights in housing, education, health and access to services. It affects individuals and groups...who are in some way subject to discrimination or segregation; and it emphasises the weaknesses in the social infrastructure and the risk of allowing a two-tier society to become established by default. The Commission believes that a fatalistic acceptance of social exclusion must be rejected, and that all community citizens have a right to the respect of human dignity. (Commission of the European Communities 1993:1).*

Percy-Smith feels this explanation is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, it emphasises the multiple factors associated with social exclusion; secondly, it refers to the dynamic nature of exclusionary processes; thirdly, it mentions the failure of policy to adequately address social exclusion and its consequences; and finally it endorses the view that citizens are denied, or not fully allowed, these social rights and are therefore likely to experience disadvantage.

Burchardt et al (1999: 230) offer the following, more restricted definition:

> *An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society and (b) he or she does not participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society.*

This definition is particularly relevant to discussions of transport as Hodgson and Turner (2003) point out - it places the emphasis on 'normal activities' and, in the case of car users, normal can mean very different activities to those who do not have access to a car. Lucas et al (2001) also argue that, in a society where car ownership is 'normal', people who do not have access to a car experience both economic and social disadvantages.

These definitions all recognise that social exclusion is not simply a new term for traditional explanations of societal discrepancies. Indeed, the emergence of the concept of social exclusion has been attributed to the inadequacy of these traditional forms of explanation such as poverty, deprivation and inequality. These, it has been argued, fail to encompass a full understanding of the significant changes to the social world (Littlewood and Herkammer 1999). Kenyon et al (2002) also believe it necessary to draw a firm distinction between social exclusion and poverty when seeking to understand the concept and its many causes and consequences. Poverty should be seen as just one dimension of exclusion, whilst social exclusion, they feel, is a more complex concept than just being poor.

Spicker (1998) also sees that exclusion is not just related to a lack of resources but can also result from a dearth of social networks. He further argues that excluded people are not just unable to participate fully in society but also that their social ties are of an inherently fragile nature often characterised by stigmatisation (based on physical or economic differences) and social isolation.

Another important aspect of exclusion is seen to be political exclusion and the inability to influence decision making, which can be affected by a lack of resources including time, technology, articulacy and, importantly for this research, transport (Golding, 1986).

Significantly, the way in which the SEU has defined social exclusion does not tend to refer to concepts such as citizenship rights, rather it utilizes a definition that is much closer to the old concept of disadvantage:

> *Social exclusion is a shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown (SEU, 1997:1).*

The prominence of material disadvantage in this definition demonstrates the current government's emphasis on paid employment as an antidote to social exclusion – an issue which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The table below summarises the key distinctions found between the concept of social exclusion and the simple notion of poverty:

Table 2.1: Some important distinctions between poverty and social exclusion (adapted from Kenyon et al, 2002):

Poverty	Social Exclusion	Explanation
Material resources	Participation in society	Use of term 'social exclusion', rather than poverty, removes economic and material focus (Levitas, 1998). Thus, where poverty centres upon the outcomes of unequal access to material resources, social exclusion centres upon the processes of unequal access to participation in society (Duffy, 1998).
Distributional	Relational	Social exclusion is seen more as 'relational' – including issues such as 'inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power' (Room, 1995). It also has a focus upon resource and power relationships between individuals, groups and the state (Dibben, 2001; Room, 1995).
Economic rights	Citizenship rights	Social exclusion refocuses the debate towards the effects of income-related deprivation upon the individual's place in society and their citizenship rights (Percy-Smith, 2000).
Outcomes	Processes	Rather than focus on the *outcomes* of unequal access to material resources (concept of poverty), social exclusion centres upon the *processes* of unequal access to participation in society (Duffy, 1998). Social exclusion is the process by which individuals and groups become isolated from major societal mechanisms, which produce or distribute social resources (Oppenheim, 1998).
Uni-dimensional	Multiple dimensions	Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997) propose a multi-dimensional conceptual approach, encompassing the economic, social and political dimensions of social exclusion. They argue that the cause for exclusion from facilities such as employment, health care or education can often be found in more than one of these dimensions and that such exclusion can have a bearing on more than one such dimension for any group or individual.
Easily quantifiable	Difficult to quantify	Social exclusion is seen as multi-causal and includes less tangible aspects than poverty such as the loss of status, power, self-esteem and expectations. '*It is not only about shortage of money. It is about rights and relationships; and about how people are treated and how they regard themselves; about powerlessness, exclusion and loss of dignity*' (Church of England, 1985: 195).

This distinction between poverty and social exclusion allows for a recognition that poverty does not necessarily lead to exclusion; and that one can be excluded without being in poverty (Levitas, 1998 and Oppenheim, 1998). It raises awareness of non-material deprivations, recognising that exclusionary factors are not necessarily related to lack of income, or to each other (Foley, 1999), allowing separate analysis of and responses to exclusionary factors.

Oppenheim identifies various high risk groups such as lone parents, single pensioners, unemployed people, the economically inactive, and children. Those in Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Caribbean ethnic minority groups are also mentioned as at high risk.

This material shows that as definitions of social exclusion vary so widely, inevitably policy responses, including those relating to transport, will also vary widely. Also, although it is recognised that social exclusion does not solely relate to material deprivation, policy responses again are predominantly concerned with initiatives which aim to increase economic participation, as the later sections will explore.

2.2.2 Dimensions of social exclusion

The next section will outline some of the dimensions and outcomes / indicators of social exclusion in practice. The following table amalgamates work by Burchardt et al (1999),Percy-Smith (2000) and dimensions included in the Government's first annual report on poverty and social exclusion (DSS, 1999):

Table 2.2: Dimensions and indicators of social exclusion

Dimension	Indicators
Economic	Long term unemployment Casualization and job insecurity Workless households Income poverty Lack of opportunities to work Inability to consume, at least to a certain level, the goods and services considered normal for the society Inability to accumulate savings and pension entitlements and/or to own property
Social	Breakdown of traditional households Unwanted teenage pregnancies Childhood deprivation Homelessness Crime and fear of crime Disaffected youth Lack of power and influence within society, and upon institutions Discrimination and segregation Inability to engage in an economically or socially valued activity, such as paid work, education or training, retirement or looking after a family Inability to engage in significant social interaction with family, or friends, and identifying with a cultural group or community
Political	Disempowerment / Disenfranchisement Lack of political rights Low registration of voters Low voter turnout Low levels of community activity Alienation/ lack of confidence in political processes Social disturbance/ disorder
Neighbourhood	Environmental degradation Decaying housing stock Withdrawal of local services Collapse of support networks
Individual / Personal	Mental and physical ill health Educational underachievement/ low skills Lack of opportunities to acquire education and skills Loss of self-esteem/ confidence Loss of dignity and self-worth
Spatial	Concentration/ marginalization of vulnerable groups
Group	Concentration of above characteristics in particular groups: elderly, disabled, ethnic minorities

Burchardt et al note that an individual's ability to participate in these dimensions is affected by range of interconnected factors including: their own personal

characteristics and life history; characteristics of the area in which they live; and social, civil and political institutions with which they have to interact. Gaffron et al (2001) and Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997) both state that clearly these dimensions, as well as the factors influencing them, are inter-linked and a multi-dimensional conceptual approach has to be adopted. For example, participation in economic activity will influence participation in consumption activity or similarly, an individual's health might be determined by the characteristics of the area he or she lives in.

It is important to appreciate that, despite being able to clearly identify unique experiences of exclusion, exclusion cannot necessarily be measured in a composite way, despite political (and academic) attempts to define convenient measures of social exclusion (Kenyon et al, 2002). They suggest that no one person or group can be seen as more or less excluded than another person or group, for each individual or group will experience each characteristic of exclusion to differing extents - and to extents that vary according to the combination of characteristics experienced. Exclusion should not, therefore, be seen as a single, additive quality, in which characteristics are necessarily related, the sum of which is greater than each individual part (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997; Foley, 1999). In addition, many of the characteristics of exclusion are non-quantifiable (Oppenheim, 1998), for example, powerlessness, self-esteem, isolation and perceptions of choice.

These last few points will have an important bearing on the research methodology adopted and the decisions made within the research process relating to the choice of participants. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.2.3 Causes of social exclusion

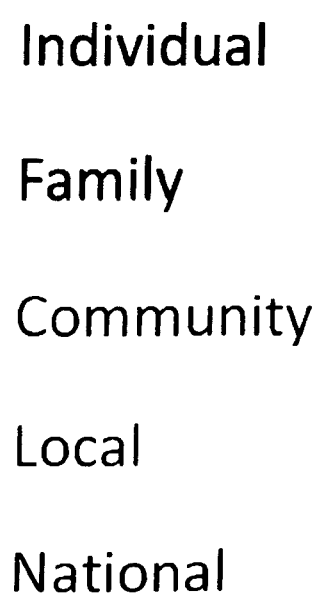
As discussed previously, social exclusion is generally defined in such a way as to include a number of characteristics which are not usually referred to in definitions of poverty or disadvantage. This can also extend to debates over some of the 'causes' of the phenomena, which see social exclusion in a wider context. Whilst some commentators argue that distinct causes can be identified, such as the effect of globalization (for example Parkinson,1998), or argue the different schools of thought concerning who is to 'blame' for the

phenomena; others suggest that social exclusion is too complex a concept to distinguish any clear causal factors. For example, De Haan (1999) indicates that many different processes cause and contribute to exclusion and that it can occur at all levels of society.

Despite this apparent discord over causal theory, the debate over 'blame' for social exclusion (the individual, or society and institutions as a whole?) is useful for this dissertation. Levitas (1996) identifies three different approaches to social exclusion: the 'integrationist' approach which focuses on reintegrating those without work into the labour market; the 'poverty' approach which links the causes of exclusion primarily to low income and lack of resources; and the 'underclass' approach which blames the excluded themselves for their situation, linking this to personal moral failings. Burchardt et al (2002a) also argue that this emphasis on the 'underclass' believes that their perceived anti-social behaviour (for example, drug-taking and crime), lack of willingness to find employment – and a benefit system that encourages dependency and penalizes work – means that individuals themselves are responsible for social exclusion. Levitas believes that aspects of all these approaches can be found in various strands of UK policy towards social exclusion (although the integrationist approach appears to be dominant amongst policy, and is the focus of this research).

Burchardt et al also state that it is partly as a result of the broad compass of social exclusion that views on its fundamental causes differ so markedly. Most academic analysis of social phenomena reflects the demarcation lines of the social sciences: sociologists have emphasized difference in behaviours between groups or social classes; economists have concentrated on the market sector in relation to poverty, particularly the labour market; social policy analysts have concentrated on government policies and their impact. All these emphases may be valid but they each present only a partial picture. Burchardt et al thus offer an 'onion' diagram as a means to provide a framework for the understanding of social exclusion (2002:7):

Figure 2.1: Burchardt's onion diagram of social exclusion



Individual: (for example, age, gender, race, disability; preferences, beliefs and values)
Family: (for example, relationships, children, caring responsibilities)
Community: (for example, social and physical environment, schools, health and social services)
Local: (for example, labour market, transport)
National: (for example, cultural influences, social security, legislative frameworks)
Global: (for example, international trade, migration, climate change)

Burchardt et al argue that the individual is influenced by immediate family, by community, by national forces, and ultimately by global context. Furthermore, the community is influenced not only by national and global influences but also by the families and individuals who constitute it. They state that although this may seem obvious, it contrasts with much existing analysis which treats

personal, family and community influences as essentially separate factors with their individual effects. Thus they acknowledge that given the complexity of influences on individuals, it is hard to make sense of the term 'cause' in the context of social exclusion at all.

This brief discussion on potential causes has an important bearing on policy responses to social exclusion. If specific causes of social exclusion are difficult to identify, potential solutions to this are equally difficult to develop – therefore, in transport terms, simplistic notions of linking areas suffering from social exclusion to employment zones may be problematic. This dissertation hopes to explore this issue more fully.

2.2.4 Social Inclusion

An analysis of social exclusion would not be complete without a discussion of what could constitute social *in*clusion. The two concepts are not, of course, diametrically opposed – rather, it could be argued that there is a spectrum of varying degrees of exclusion and inclusion upon which any individual could be placed. Nonetheless, it is possible to develop a broad definition of inclusion, which can be demonstrated by this quotation from CESI which states

> *Social inclusion is the process by which efforts are made to ensure that everyone, regardless of their experiences and circumstances, can achieve their potential in life. To achieve inclusion, income and employment are necessary but not sufficient. An inclusive society is also characterised by a striving for reduced inequality, a balance between individuals' rights and duties and increased social cohesion* (2002: 1).

Rajé (2004) insist that it is clear, from this definition that social inclusion is not merely the counter to social exclusion but represents a more dynamic approach altogether. As Luxton (2002) says, social inclusion has merit in its own right as both a means and an end. She argues that it involves ensuring that all people are able to contribute to society and be valued and respected (and thus it is a normative - value based – concept). Importantly, she also believes that inclusion requires more than just the removal of barriers in risk. In her opinion, the main components of a socially inclusive society consist of the following:

- Valuing individuals or groups with sensitivity to cultural, ethnic, gender or age differences;
- Allowing and enabling individuals to make life choices and, if desired, to make a contribution;

- The right and support to be involved in decisions affecting oneself, family and community;
- Reduction of social distances and provision of appropriate levels of accessibility and affording opportunities for interaction, if desired;
- Resources to participate fully in community/society.

Social exclusion can also be defined in terms of a lack of 'social capital' and increasingly, the idea of developing social capital is being incorporated into policies and programmes to enhance inclusion. Putnam (1993, 1995) defines social capital in terms of four features of communities: the existence of community networks; civic engagement or participation in community networks; a sense of community identity, solidarity and equality with other community members; and norms of trust and reciprocal help and support.

In relation to this, Room (1995) states levels of inclusion depend in part on the local community resources on which an individual or household can draw. He argues that deprivation is caused not only by lack of personal resources but also by insufficient or unsatisfactory community facilities, such as dilapidated schools, remote shops and – importantly for this research - poor public transport networks. Thus he believes that in combating social exclusion, policy makers must consider what action they will take to invest in these local community resources. The investments that are made in urban infrastructure are therefore critical for the patterns of life that can be lived in local neighbourhoods.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that transport can play a role in enhancing social inclusion. For example, referring to one of Luxton's inclusion criteria, transport could 'reduce social distances and provide accessibility'. It also has a role in building social capacity and relates to Putnam's ideas about trust and reciprocity. These are all important themes which are to be explored through the empirical part of the dissertation.

Despite this, however, social and urban policy (of which transport intervention is a part) is still seen to be failing to tackle core issues, because of its continued emphasis on economic and employment aspects above all else. A more general critical discussion of the concept of social exclusion as utilised by social and economic policy makers, will be discussed in the next section.

2.3 Social Exclusion and Economic Activity

2.3.1 Social exclusion and economic activity introduction

This next section aims to link social exclusion to economic opportunity, particularly employment activity. This is fundamental to this dissertation which evaluates transport intervention designed to enhance social inclusion through providing access to employment. The first part of this section will provide some background information (which is largely relevant to the South Yorkshire context), whilst it later focuses on how these broader processes can lead to unemployment and its wider spatial effects.

2.3.2 Economic causes of social exclusion

Many commentators, such as Parkinson see the causes of social exclusion to be predominantly related to economic factors, particularly that of globalization and the structural changes brought about by this, describing these processes in the following terms (1998:1):

> *Rapid changes in the economic environment caused by internationalisation and industrial and corporate restructuring have transformed the character of local economies.*

Others (such as Lupton and Power, 2002; Turok and Edge, 1999; Green and Owen, 1998; Elias and Bynner, 1997; Howarth et al, 1998) also recognise this, identifying that the change in Britain's economy since the 1970s has three key features (which affect low-income areas particularly severely):

- The decline in manufacturing leading to significant job losses and a more fragmented labour market. Low skilled jobs have declined in number and jobs in skilled craft trades have also decreased;
- The growth in service industries. This has created an increase in managerial, administrative, and professional occupations, placing a greater premium on higher-level skills but without the creation of replacement work for manual workers. This is because upward mobility from manual to managerial and professional positions is low.
- There has been an increase in intermediate non-manual jobs but these are often part-time jobs and have tended to be filled by women. Men who were

formerly employed in skilled manual work are more likely to have been downgraded into less skilled work or unemployment and casual work;

- The deformalization and deregulation of the labour market, with increasing use of flexible employment practices and the growing number of people in temporary work.

Parkinson states that all this has led to a growing gap between the highest and lowest household incomes leading to greater unemployment in certain areas. Lupton and Power believe that the problem is not just on an individual level. Labour market problems can be compounded by concentration effects, in neighbourhoods where unemployment is common. Wilson (1987) has shown how in neighbourhoods where the majority of families experience spells of long-term unemployment, people become isolated from the social networks which are important in learning about, or being recommended for, jobs. Attitudes to work can also be affected. Page (2000) described an 'estate culture' which accepted low personal and educational achievement, had low expectations, held norms that were different from those of mainstream society, and exerted strong peer pressure. And as the prospects for employment diminish, or are perceived to diminish, other alternatives outside the formal labour market become realistic alternatives (McKenna 2000) including undeclared cash-in-hand work, such as labouring, trading contraband goods, dealing in stolen cars, and drug dealing (Lupton and Power, 2002).

They feel that although it is unusual for people to be engaged in any one of these activities on a full-time basis, they can be perceived as providing a better financial option than formal low-paid or insecure jobs that might otherwise be available to people with low skills, especially if combined with the security of benefits. They also believe that if worthwhile jobs in the formal economy are difficult to obtain, and there is a viable alternative in the informal or illegal economy, the perceived value of education and skills training is diminished. Thus education and training programmes, the very things they argue to be so essential to competing in the modern economy, are more difficult to implement successfully in the poorest areas.

Many commentators have suggested that economic causes of social exclusion have become the dominant feature of policy and action relating to the issue. Percy-Smith (2000) feels that whilst the emergence of the concept of social

exclusion broadened the policy debate beyond more simplistic notions of poverty and lack of material resources, in practice social policy on social exclusion has reflected a more limited concern with labour market exclusion. Agulnik et al (2002) state that programmes to train and place the unemployed in work ('active' labour market programmes) have been a core part of the British policy response to unemployment since the 1970s. Criticism of this approach will be included in section 2.7 on policy responses to social exclusion, but first some of the economic theories of employment's relation to social exclusion will be briefly outlined.

Spatial and Skills mismatch

Geographical factors relating to employment and social exclusion have obvious pertinence for this dissertation and there is an existing research field which deals specifically with these aspects. Webster (2000) believes that labour markets have a clear spatial structure and that it is always easier for people to compete for jobs nearer their home than further away, because travel costs are lower. This is also because people living elsewhere will compete less strongly for them, on account of their own travel costs. Spatial mismatch focuses specifically on 'where they are' by considering demand-side factors and the geographical mismatch between residences of the unemployed and potential workplaces (Webster, 1997). He cites US research (for example, Ihlanfeldt, 1993 and Preston et al, 1998) which has vindicated the "spatial mismatch hypothesis" originally put forward by Kain in 1968, which indicates that high urban unemployment is due to the inability of central city workers to reach manual jobs which have decentralised to the suburbs and beyond.

Church et al (2000) point out that in the UK, high concentrations of unemployment and long-term unemployment are due to the loss of manual jobs from particular local areas with large manual workforces, for example coalfield areas. Webster believes that concentrations of high unemployment can only be addressed effectively by promoting more jobs of a relevant kind near to where the unemployed live.

Whilst it is undoubtedly the case spatial mismatch can occur, it could now be seen that much of this theory is redundant because it offers too simplistic a means of analysis. Because of the types of changes occurring within the

economy (for example, huge sectoral changes in employment types, flexibility and geographical restructuring) labour markets no longer have a clearly demarcated spatial structure. Martin and Morrison (2003) argue that delineating the boundaries of local labour markets is problematic, as they are blurry and overlapping. They contend that local labour markets are much more fluid and diffuse than might be inferred from travel to work areas, labour catchments or employment fields. Therefore, it can be seen that local labour markets are not exogenous, fixed 'spatial' containers, they are highly endogenous, being actively and continuously constructed and reconstructed through the very processes taking place within and between them.

Therefore, a more useful analysis may emerge from the concept of 'skills mismatch' put forward by Green and Owen (1998). Skills mismatch focuses specifically on 'who they are' by considering the changes in the balance between the characteristics of the jobs and the potential workers available to do those jobs. Further to this, Houston (2005) argues that that skills and spatial mismatches actually reinforce each other. Therefore individual causal agents are difficult to identify.

All these points again have has implications for this dissertation. Transport provision, in the context of a potential passenger market which is disaffected from employment and attainment, will struggle to fulfil social inclusion objectives unless the phenomenon of exclusion is fully understood. Furthermore, transport provision for employment still responds most closely to the notion of 'spatial' mismatch, operating on the basis that if transport is provided to bridge the gap between areas of unemployment and employment sites, this will encourage the uptake of jobs. This ignores the wider influences, such as personal characteristics and the recognition that 'skills' mismatch can be just as significant, and the recognition that employment zones and travel patterns cannot be easily identified.

The above arguments have been used as a means of setting the scene for the subsequent sections which relate directly to transport. The next four sections will follow a similar format to the preceding sections where transport's broad relationship to social exclusion is set out; this is then linked directly to economic opportunity; and then to possible responses to transport-related exclusion (in this case, transport intervention).

2.4 Social Exclusion and Transport

2.4.1 Background to social exclusion and transport

Now that a brief introduction to the issues surrounding social exclusion has been established, the dissertation will now explore how this debate has entered transport research. The body of literature explicitly related to transport and social exclusion is, relatively, still in its infancy. Whilst debates over the inequitable social aspects of transport policy has been on-going since the late 1960s, it was only relatively recently that research in this area came to the fore. However, this often had a focus on the effects of specific personal characteristics such as disability (for example, DfT, 1996; Heiser, 1995), or gender (for example, Hamilton and Jenkins, 1992; Hill, 1996; Rosenbloom, 1993), rather than acknowledged research into the effects of social exclusion and / or low income and class. The debate over social exclusion (which it could be argued encompasses all the various strands of potential transport discrimination) has only recently been integrated into mainstream transport literature. Until then research had been dominated by sustainability and environmental concerns with an emphasis on demand management, rather than improved and targeted accessibility for different groups.

2.4.2 Recognition of transport-related social exclusion in existing research

Specific research into transport related aspects of social exclusion began to emerge in the 1990s (for example, Church and Frost, 1999) with official central government recognition culminating in the publication of the SEU's report on '*Transport and Social Exclusion*' in 2003.

Much research relates to the mobility related aspects of exclusion, including the effects of land use planning and locational decisions. This research includes a body of literature on the impact of car ownership, the symbolic interpretation of automobility and the subsequent effects on non car owners (for example, Urry, 1999); research into non-mobile solutions to transport related exclusion, mainly related to information technology based innovation (for example, Grieco, 1995; Carter and Grieco, 2000; Kenyon et al, 2002; Hine and Grieco, 2003); and research relating to the reduction of the need to travel – such as home delivery

and home working (for example, Ahmadi, Helms and Ross, 2000). However, the following sections will concentrate on a review of some of the dominant pieces of research which relate explicitly to social exclusion and transport, and outline the main arguments contained within this.

Lucas (2004a) argues that evidence now exists that demonstrates that transport has an increasingly significant role in both the creation and alleviation of social exclusion. For example, Kenyon et al argue that access to services, facilities and social networks has, for many, become problematic and sometimes impossible without access to a car. Their definition of mobility-related exclusion is very similar to Burchardt et al's set out in the introduction to social exclusion in section 2.2:

> *The process by which people are prevented from participating in the economic, political and social life of the community because of reduced accessibility to opportunities, services and social networks, due in whole or in part to insufficient mobility in a society and environment built around the assumption of high mobility (2002: 211).*

Historically, transport has not been analysed within social science research and policy makers have an inadequate understanding of the impact of transport disadvantage. Equally its social effects have tended to be overlooked by the transport professionals (Lucas, 2004a; Hine and Mitchell, 2001). Grieco et al (2000) feel that in the same way that transport planners had not taken adequate account of factors such as gender differences, they are also social exclusion-biased. Thus, they concentrate on certain work journeys to certain locations (city centres) and they view some transport problems (congestion) more seriously than others (for example, lack of access to health services and fresh food). They also argue that transport as a profession and perspective has had an engineering focus which has failed to identify the user needs of deprived communities and to incorporate feedback mechanisms and the integration of the excluded into governance structures which would keep services on track. Social policy as a profession and perspective has been time/space naïve: there have been very few analyses of the scheduling difficulties experienced by low income individuals and communities within a social and national context of decreasing accessibility to primary services. Transport planners have traditionally approached transport problems from a mobility view, rather than from an accessibility perspective (Barton, 1999). Whitelegg also states:

> *The language of transport planning is more usually that of engineering, technology, economics, and, nowadays occasionally the environment. The language of social welfare is rarely heard* (1997: 128).

The debate surrounding the treatment of social impacts of transport planning, policy and investment decisions, can be further developed and informed by disability theory discourse. This suggests that the information that shapes the built environment is dominated by non-disabled bodies—with the world of transport planning being no exception (Barnes, 1991; Paterson and Hughes, 1999; Imrie, 2000). As Imrie postulates, these assumptions are premised on a:

> *universal, disembodied, subject which is conceived of as neutered, that is, without sex, gender, or any other attributed social or biological characteristic* (2000: 5).

Imrie (1996, 2000) suggests that disability is seen as a social burden, which is a private, not public, responsibility. It can be argued that assumptions about mobility and movement not only fail to include a disabled persons' perspective but also fails in a wider sense. If the assumptions are premised on a "universal, disembodied subject", then it is probable that the perspective excludes more groups than just those who are regarded as disabled (Hine and Mitchell, 2001).

2.4.3 Measuring transport–related social exclusion

Rajé et al (2004) argue that social exclusion has emerged in transport-related discourse largely stimulated by policy agencies rather than by transport professionals. She feels that, until recently, the recognition of the link between social exclusion and transport operated more strongly at the level of rhetoric rather than in the commissioning of serious research into the issue. Her belief is that researching transport and social exclusion has been rendered more difficult by lack of adequate auditing of the traffic and transport environment in the past. Large changes have taken place in the public transport sector of the UK with very little mapping of the precise character of these changes, for example, there is no ready national database enabling statistics to be obtained on the loss of local services even in respect of low income communities where subsidized service provision is meant to be in place.

Gaffron et al (2001) also feel that adequate consideration of the social impact of transport planning practice has been problematic partly due to the elusiveness

of definable concepts (or methods) to measure this. They argue that the notion of the universal, disembodied subject which has shaped transport policy fails to present individuals as participants in a range of activities across different locations. It also fails to incorporate understanding of the accessibility of transport systems in terms of constraints of, for example, mode, time and cost. Concern remains with how the variety of travel experience and the treatment of exclusionary mechanisms can be dealt with in any appraisal of transport policy. In the past, concerns have been expressed about the treatment of environmental issues and impacts that cannot be monetised in cost– benefit analysis.

For instance, they state that the notions of mobility, access and accessibility are central to debates on transport need, but there is no precise definition of these terms or how they can be operationalised to quantify transport needs. The methods used to measure demand and supply are often insufficient to incorporate the many subtleties and complexities that influence the travel undertaken. Grieco, et al (2000) develop this by stating that the weakness of policy activity in the transport and social exclusion area can be well demonstrated by viewing the methodology used for devising the government's own Indices of Local Deprivation. The accessibility data is not related to either public transport service levels nor to car or vehicle ownership statistics; it is a straight "as the crow flies" measure of geographical distance from some very basic services such as primary school and GP surgeries. Clifton and Lucas (2004) say that using such measurements to public transport is a very crude and flawed measure of accessibility, masking the reality of people's actual experiences.

The recognition of these issues and the lack of research into responses to transport-related social exclusion which measure real experience provides a good starting point for this particular research. Whilst it does not aim to develop measuring tools relating to social exclusion and transport, it will go some way to analyse how an intervention supposedly designed to enhance social inclusion, actually achieves these objectives on a personal level. These views also serve to highlight the semantic confusion surrounding such transport responses, where mobility, access and accessibility are often used interchangeably or inappropriately.

2.4.4 Causes of transport-related social exclusion

An outline of potential causes and effects of previous policy initiatives (provided in the table below) have a useful purpose in providing contextual data for the analysis of the research, although this study does not aim to provide findings relating to all of these factors. The table does, however, amply demonstrate the complex and multi-dimensional nature of the causes and effects of transport policy and travel behaviours upon social exclusion, and how historical patterns still impact on travel today.

It also reveals the pervasive nature of transport exclusion, in a society where travel and mobility are expected and necessary to achieve any sort of adequate standard of living - and where the ability to travel is sometimes no longer a question of simply 'getting from a to b' but the *means* of travel has become so significant. It shows how a number of different influences have worked together (from land use planning, economic restructuring and funding regime priorities to labour market changes) to create a situation where a lack of private transport can potentially exacerbate the experience of social exclusion, even amongst those who would not otherwise necessarily suffer the effects. The table also shows, however, that in the case of transport-related social exclusion, even when providing additional transport appears to offer a solution, there are many other factors at play to influence travel choices. This material has been presented in tabular form in order to summarise the broad range of factors rather than cover them in-depth in the text. This depth was not considered necessary as the research is more concerned with the *effects* of transport-related exclusion, although this table provides some strong contextual information. Other material will also be presented in tabular form when this type of summary is required.

Table 2.3: Causes of transport-related social exclusion

Potential Cause	Discussion	Source(s)
Car ownership	Mass car ownership, combined with other socio-economic changes, has encouraged more dispersed land-use patterns – shifting people, industrial and economic activities from the centre to edge-of- or out-of-town sites - resulting in more travel intensive lifestyles	Clifton and Lucas, 2004; Hay and Trinder, 1991
	The current assumption of car ownership has resulted in a culture and a landscape where mobility is expected and necessary to participate in society	Dibben (2001)
	Other social changes have occurred in parallel (such as demographic changes, different work patterns including increases in women's employment and changes to childcare, the rise of electronically transmitted information and mobile technologies) placing new demands on transport and individual schedules	Jain and Guiver (2001)
	A large minority do not own a vehicle or are unable to drive and are predominantly concentrated among low income and other disadvantaged sectors	Lucas (2004a);
	Car use progressively re-orders time and spatial relations, committing society to a spiral of ever more car use. The car creates differences in lifestyle practices around time and space.	Jain and Guiver (2001)
	Lack of access to a car is now considered to be a modern characteristic of poverty, featuring in deprivation indices. Unlike in the past, where car ownership was not a necessary instrument of social and economic participation.	Kenyon et al (2002)
	Transport disadvantage is not equally or randomly distributed throughout society, but follows well established lines of structural social inequality. Thus, lack of car ownership can contribute towards social exclusion.	Hamilton and Jenkins, 1992;Wixey, et al, 2005 Church et al, 2000; Hine and Mitchell, 2001; Levitas, 1998

Potential Cause	Discussion	Source(s)
	The car is the mechanical embodiment of the dominant political and cultural ideology inherent in capitalist values of individualism, equality, freedom and progress.	Gorz, 1979; Freund and Martin, 1993; Sachs, 1992
	Possession of a car is often regarded as a 'status symbol' of wealth and power.	DETR, 2000a; Hamilton and Jenkins, 1992
	Learning to drive is seen as a rite of passage into adulthood, and an essential skill for participation in the workforce.	Freund and Martin, 1993; Urry, 1999
	These discourses are ever-popular with the media, advertising, film and literature creating a powerful car culture	Urry (1999)
Land use planning	Despite policy rhetoric of integrated transport and land-use planning, many new developments continue to be located in out-of-town and dispersed locations.	Lucas (2006); Church & Frost, 1999
	The extensive road building programme, particularly in the 1980s, has resulted in dramatic change in the location of many facilities and services. Prime locations are seen as those well served by roads.	Wixey et al, 2005; Kenyon et al, 2002
	Many planning decisions are influenced by the private sector and other more powerful public sector agencies (such as the health and education sectors) which do not adequately consider transport and accessibility. Planners are regularly forced to comply with other pressures such as private profit, job creation and value for money.	Lucas, 2006
	Many basic services are now further away than previously which is particularly problematic for those living in the poorest areas. This dispersal of facilities has meant social inclusion can only be achieved through a travel-intensive lifestyle.	Lucas et al, 2001
	The dispersal of activities has been exacerbated by the extreme 'flight' of local	Hutton, 1996

Potential Cause	Discussion	Source(s)
	services from many areas of deprivation.	
Decline in public transport	Changes in land use planning has occurred alongside the decline of public transport, in terms of affordability, availability, accessibility and acceptability	DETR, 2000a
	This has been in response to decreased funding, decreased ridership and stigmatisation, combined with a deregulated bus network and increasing fares	Kenyon et al, 2002; Lucas (2006); Wixey, et al (2005)
	Deregulation in practice has meant most transport markets have not been contestable and has often resulted in near-monopoly control by a single transport company.	Hoyle and Smith (1998)
	Those reliant on public transport networks have less opportunity to access key facilities because networks have largely failed to adapt to new land use patterns and irregular working hours	Lucas (2006); Wixey et al (2005)
	There remains a disproportionate number of radial public transport routes which serve the urban centre and it is difficult to operate efficient and profitable public transport services around dispersed and out-of-town locations	Gaffron et al, 2001
	Conventional public transport is increasingly being developed in ways which are about the provision of choice, not the tackling of social exclusion. Public money has followed where commercial companies are willing to invest, not necessarily the areas most in need	Murray (2000); DfT, 2004
	Even in urban areas, regular bus services are not always available, for example adverse conditions in some deprived neighbourhoods, such as the fear of attacks upon drivers, have led to service withdrawal, becoming effective 'no-go' areas for public transport	Clifton and Lucas (2004)
	Network changes have made it difficult to keep timetable information up to date – if	SEU (2003)

Potential Cause	Discussion	Source(s)
	this has occurred in an uncoordinated fashion, public confidence in the reliability of buses has been undermined.	
Fragmented responsibility for transport and social issues/ Disparities between policy objectives	Historically, no single body has been responsible for ensuring key services and employment sites are accessible. Too often, access to services has been seen as merely a transport issue rather than one that should co-ordinate with land-use planning or other agencies concerned with tackling social exclusion Until recently, the social costs of poor transport were not given real weight in transport project appraisal - the distribution of transport funding has tended to benefit those on higher incomes. Outcomes such as improved journey times, accessible vehicles, punctuality or customer satisfaction have been overlooked.	SEU (2003) SEU (2003) SEU (2003)
Regulatory restrictions	Some potential solutions to transport-related exclusion have been held back – innovation like demand responsive services, and integrated ticketing have been limited by specific regulations; and they often only serve certain eligible categories and do not provide comprehensive coverage. Formulas to assess and apply funding for "socially necessary" services vary across areas, resulting in many communities lacking routes to key sites like hospitals, schools and employment.	SEU (2003); Lucas (2004b) Lucas (2004b)
Funding barriers	The transport budget has disproportionately benefited rail passengers, a mode not heavily used for the smaller local journeys that socially excluded people make. Funding priorities favour large capital projects which do not have local, small-scale benefits to those on low incomes (e.g. large road schemes or high speed rail lines).	Lucas (2004b)
Labour market changes	Technological developments have altered working geographies, new employment opportunities have shifted to more dispersed locations and often demand different skills than traditional industries.	Vigar , 1999; Lucas, 2004b

Potential Cause	Discussion	Source(s)
	There is a general lack of suitable local jobs within deprived neighbourhoods. However, jobs located within reasonable travelling distance of these areas were rarely taken up – because of lack of skills among the resident population but also poor transport links and / or reluctance to travel out of the area of residence.	SEU (1999)

2.4.5 Significance of transport to social exclusion

The table above has attempted to demonstrate how transport has become a factor in social exclusion. To put this into a wider conceptual context, Madanipour states that social exclusion is a process that, whilst it has numerous causal factors relating to a wide variety of dimensions, has a spatial dimension around neighbourhoods:

> *a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision-making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. When combined they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods* (1998: 22).

Hodgson and Turner (2003) believe that this definition acknowledges that exclusion can have a spatial manifestation and this locational influence has particular importance for understanding the relation between transport and social exclusion.

In practical terms, Lucas (2004c) believes that one of the problems has been that providers of key services, including employers, have failed to recognise the role of transport in the distribution of the 'merit good' of their services in the community. She argues that this has resulted in a situation where, increasingly, essential services such as jobs are in places that are virtually impossible to access without a car. The historic lack of transport and access considerations in locational decisions means that those most in need of these services are often the least able to reach them.

The following commentary will provide a discussion of some of the views expressed in the literature on *how* significant transport may be in relation to levels of social exclusion – arguments for and against this notion; it will also provide evidence of the effects of transport-related exclusion on individuals and communities.

2.4.6 Effects of transport-related social exclusion

Transport circumstances are not only a reflection of social exclusion but they operate to compound and contribute to further social exclusion (Grieco, 1995). Grieco et al (2000) believe that inside the complex area of causes and processes relating to social exclusion, and in its relationship to transport, there has been a degree of professional naivety about the lived circumstances of the socially excluded.

Clifton and Lucas (2004) point out that the risk of social exclusion is already prevalent amongst those who do not drive, or have limited access to a car, as they tend to be concentrated among households in the lowest-income groups - and in the most deprived neighbourhoods. They state that women, lone parents, older people, young people, disabled people and minority ethnic groups are all more likely to live in households without a car (all of whom will be a particular focus of the empirical research in this dissertation). Clifton and Lucas point out the irony of Bruton's (1993) argument that those people who are dependent on transport modes other than the car have not been given priority in mainstream transport policies even though they are the very people that are more likely to need to use key public services, such as healthcare, education and welfare services.

Clifton and Lucas (2004) feel that a highly mobile society, coupled with a lack of adequate transport, prevents access to employment, education, training and other opportunities. Consequently, they argue, this perpetuates low income and participation in society. Isolation from friends, family and other social networks can damage quality of life and possibly led to disengagement with society, undermining of social cohesion.

Clifton and Lucas also point out that this does not just affect the individual. They argue that in deprived communities, inadequate transport, alongside polluted and dangerous environments, precludes travel and social and economic activity. The lack of 'critical mass' of people has repercussions on crime and anti-social behaviour which in turn reduces the general desirability of these areas and affects the custom of local businesses. This serves to encourage the flight of services and a reduced local employment base, with unemployment leading to higher welfare payments and reduced tax contributions. They conclude that ultimately this also weakens wider social

policy agendas of reducing unemployment, improving educational attainment and reducing health inequalities.

Despite the evidence that suggests transport is highly significant to social exclusion, some argue that poor transport provision is not always a primary preoccupation of many low income groups, and poor transport is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for an individual or neighbourhood to be "socially excluded" (DETR, 2000a; Murray, 2000). As with the general social exclusion debate, these differing opinions relate to the 'blame' apportioned for the experience of transport related exclusion.

A DETR report (2000a) believes that one of the reasons transport is not a concern in urban areas is because many of those in socially excluded groups or areas have relatively narrow horizons and do not expect to have to travel for jobs or services. The problem is perceived as the lack of a local job opportunity or service, not the absence of transport. The report also feels that there is a culture in some depressed urban areas which depreciates personal ambition - including the concept of travelling outside an area to better oneself – and that many people's horizons are still extremely localised.

Sinclair and Sinclair (2001) disagree, however, stating that ideas of social exclusion must accommodate notions of effective agency and choice. They feel that the fact that transport does not emerge as a primary issue of concern among disadvantaged groups may be the result of constrained conditions and not arrived at freely. Transport excluded groups may develop low expectations of service and narrowed horizons in *response* to experiences of deprivation, and a lack of familiarity with the opportunities available to other groups or areas may also reduce perceptions of deprivation. Irrespective of overtly expressed concerns and wishes, transport is an indispensable 'gateway' service - a necessary means to access essential services and provisions. Inadequate transport, they feel, therefore acts as a barrier to social inclusion.

To continue the 'expectations' theme, it is thought that public services meet the needs of residents less well in deprived areas, and that this is due to both the demands placed on services being greater and the services themselves being of a lower quality (Duffy, 2000). His study found that bus services are much more important and there is a much greater need for improvement in deprived areas - however, residents in deprived areas are more satisfied with local bus

services and train companies. Duffy believes that this may be partly due to the expectations of public service among those in deprived areas being lower than those in other areas. Clearly, he feels, people with low expectations are likely to be less critical of the same service than those with high expectations. In relation to this:

> *The extent to which clients perceive themselves to be powerless will influence the way in which they frame their expectations. In situations where the client sees themselves as powerless, then expectations will be redefined to match the probable outcome* (Carr-Hill, 1995: 35).

Duffy states that one of the key factors that will impact on expectations is experience of private sector service, and this is related to the level of resources that people have access to. It is clear that those in deprived areas are much more likely to be from low resource groups, and have less experience of a range of private services. As private services such as banks have become more customer-focussed, so those that have more contact with these types of services are likely to expect more from public services. In contrast, those who remain reliant on public services will have more limited and less demanding benchmarks.

Despite this evidence, a number of commentators argue that transport does not play the most significant role in relation to access to employment. They state that other non-transport factors are of far greater significance. Additionally, even when transport can be identified as a factor in employment-related exclusion, traditionally this has failed to address issues such as psychological and institutional factors which impact upon use.

For example, Church et al (2000) also pointed out that although the transport related factors identified previously have been seen as having an impact on social exclusion, it may be that their effect is peripheral compared to non-transport related factors. These would need to be addressed first and foremost if exclusion was to be reduced in the situation under investigation. These other influences can be grouped under four broad categories: wider economic influences, personal characteristics, cognitive and psychological factors and spatial factors.

The nature and success of job searches is influenced by the availability of transport but evidence suggests that improving public transport will only play a minor role in enhancing employment opportunities compared to factors such as an adjustment in labour demand and supply; the acquisition of new skills; an

increase in unemployment benefits; or the provision of childcare facilities (Meadows et al., 1998; Smith, 1997). Smith also indicated that decisions to participate in the labour market were influenced by the *interaction* between household structure, supporting social networks, and the nature of jobs - this may include location but it can be argued that this is not the most important factor.

Some believe that job search and travel-to-work time thresholds are related to socioeconomic rather than spatial factors, and thus transport is not highly significant. The extent to which unemployed people in socially excluded areas localise their job search and display 'psychological insularity' is related to socio-economic factors, such as: being female, having dependent children, the level of demand in the local labour market, low education and skill levels (Lindsay et al, 2003; McQuaid et al, 2001; McQuaid and Lindsay, 2002; Wixey et al 2005). These were found to be more influential in determining shorter potential travel times of job seekers (and hence the chance of gaining employment) than provision of public transport, accessibility or access to private transport.

Observation of the low commuting tolerances of unemployed or low-skilled people have been used to argue for the need for 'local jobs' which are near deprived neighbourhoods if residents of these areas are to gain work. Green et al (2005) however argues that this raises the question: "how 'local' is 'local'?". They believe that in discussions of local employment opportunities, definitions of 'local' are not always clear and because of this spatial mismatch it is, to some extent, a chaotic concept. It is known, for example, that commuting tolerances vary between different sub-groups of the working population (Green, et al, 2005; Hamilton and Jenkins, 2000) with 'local' meaning different things in different contexts.

Furthermore, in relation to transport based solutions to unemployment, several pieces of research also highlight the significance of factors which do not necessarily relate simply to physical factors, but take account of social and psychological constructs.

Green et al (2005) point out that many indicators of local labour market conditions and the shortfall (or surplus) of local employment opportunities are constructed in terms of objective 'real world' measures of distance. They believe that these approaches have important limitations. Labour markets are

believed to be institutional and social constructs (Peck, 1996; Martin and Morrison, 2003), shaped by lived traditions within localities and because of this, labour market experiences are highly diverse. The spatiality of labour markets can vary by other background characteristics such as those outlined above. Following this reasoning, Green et al posit, objective real-world measures of labour markets and locality based on 'real', geometric space might not always be the most appropriate indicators since they do not take account of the fact that decisions are based on information that has come through a perceptual filter (Gould and White, 1974).

This move towards 'social space' – understandings of the geography of labour markets as shaped by perceptions and social contexts – is given greater force by Quinn's (1986) study which showed that young peoples' perceptions were highly important as influences on their uptake of employment. In addition, qualitative research has highlighted restrictions on job search areas some minority ethnic groups might apply in the face of racial discrimination (Wrench et al, 1996). Green et al's own study found that although the mental maps of people in different areas varied, the majority of maps were highly localised and there was an obvious tendency for people to focus on their home area.

Familiarity, and the tendency to follow family and friends in deciding upon employment location were found to be powerful influences in economic activity and job search. Moreover, Granovetter (1995) highlights the importance of networks, as well as geographical contiguity, in facilitating job entry. A very recent study undertaken within coalfield regions, including South Yorkshire (Gore et al, 2007) also found that knowledge and experience of the city are also important factors. Respondents were seen to often focus solely on areas they know, such as the city centre, effectively excluding large areas of the city from consideration. One question that Gore et al believes arises from this is the feasibility of asking job seekers in areas such as the former coalfields to look further afield to increase their chances of finding work.

Both Granovetter - and Quinn (1986) - identify that there is a role for policies and initiatives to enhance the mobility of disadvantaged people in the labour market, such that they become more experienced and confident in using available public transport and in venturing into new areas. This would require more innovation and a co-ordinated approach to transport policy which will not only improve accessibility but more especially increase levels of urban

familiarity. This could include improved bus information, enhanced marketing of public transport and its routes, and a programme of raising levels of urban knowledge.

In addition to the issues raised above, as discussed previously, authors such as Martin and Morrison (2003) point out the difficulties in delineating the boundaries of local labour markets. This makes their conceptualisation, theorisation and analysis far from straightforward – which obviously affects how transport policies can effectively be targeted towards improving access to employment opportunity.

Many commentators condemn altogether the notion that transport intervention should only serve to increase access to employment. Research suggests that there is a disproportionate emphasis on social exclusion and transport policies which concentrate on access to economic opportunity, to the detriment of other aspects of social exclusion. Hodgson and Turner (2003) believe that the existing policy discussion around social exclusion appears to be driven by only one view of social inclusion – equating it with integration into the job market, a view which Levitas (1996 and 2001) argues can itself be exclusionary. In this context, transport is primarily seen as one of the barriers to education and entry into the job market. In fact, the Department for Transport's Urban Bus Challenge Fund, which is seen as one of the key funding sources to tackle issues of social exclusion and transport, encourages bidders to:

> *consider the role new bus services can play in widening access to employment opportunities for people in urban areas, including linking disadvantaged communities to areas of employment growth* (DfT, 2002: 2).

Others, such as Williams make the case that transport provision based on specific journey purposes (such as employment) serve to prioritise those key destinations which the Government feel worthy of access (though not those which necessarily enhance overall quality of life). He states that travelling for:

> *aimless pleasure, spontaneous desire or just to be sociable will be deemed, by implication, for the socially excluded, to be inessential* (2003: 1).

Transport opportunities for the poorer and less able-bodied members of society will be rationed according to how purposeful the journey is – a term defined by the government rather than the user – which Williams feels is hardly the most socially inclusive strategy.

Church et al thinks that these issues are important to transport policy makers because of the need to understand the role and value of transport investment relative to other policy measures in solving the problems of areas with social exclusion. Put simply, they state that improving transport links between areas with high levels of social exclusion and key activities is useless if these activities are irrelevant to the people who live there. Furthermore, marginal improvements to already high levels of physical accessibility may make little difference to residents whose principal barriers to movement may be related to time, cost and constraints on their ability to utilise opportunities beyond their immediate localities.

Church et al demonstrate this, by citing their study on unemployed people living in Inner London. Although London has unique urban and transport characteristics, it could be envisaged that this situation could occur in other large urban areas. Here, they found that despite the fact that public transport links between Inner and Central London are generally good, the unemployed are unable to access the employment opportunities offered in Central London because they do not have the skills to participate in its highly specialised labour market. Conversely, these same people may not have the ability to access jobs in Inner or Outer London that are appropriate to their skills due to the fact that orbital public transport links between these areas are relatively poor. This could easily be the case for the two case study areas, where residents of Burngreave are not able to take up employment in the city centre, despite its proximity as such jobs are dominated by service and professional sectors, and not the low skilled jobs that may be more appropriate.

Furthermore, Murray (1998; 2000) argues that changes taking place within deprived areas (such as increasing transport poverty, loss of shopping facilities and decentralisation of work and leisure) have resulted from thousands of individual decisions, but which can still be seen as "things which people have done to them". They have not been easy to predict and rarely fall within people's personal capacity to influence.

These views, although conflicting, show that transport does indeed have a significant influence on social exclusion, especially in terms of what the first section defined as 'participation in normal activities', but that often this goes unrecognised. The literature here also neatly demonstrates the divide in opinion as to the causes of social exclusion. On the one hand, blaming the

individual – in this case stating that transport fails to be recognised as significant because the individual *chooses* not to travel. On the other, stating that external forces act to prevent the individual from travelling, even though it may benefit them. These views have important implications for the empirical part of the research, which also explores ideas of individual responsibility.

2.4.7 Identification of exclusionary factors

This section provides a useful discussion of the different types of exclusionary factors with can relate to transport. It can be argued that this list is not exhaustive and indeed, many of the exclusionary factors overlap and many of them can be mutually reinforcing. For example, a loss of local facilities, geographical exclusion, will generate a need for travel to alternative facilities which may in turn require a problematic reorganisation of household commitments leading to temporal exclusion. Additionally, overlaps occur where, for example, personal characteristics impact upon environmental exclusion – a disabled person in a wheelchair (personal) would have difficulty in negotiating steps to a station (environmental) or onto a vehicle (institutional). However, the presentation of this list provides a brief summary of the various factors involved in transport and social exclusion research and introduces a number of key pieces of literature.

Table 2.4: Features of transport-related exclusion

Exclusionary Factor	Features
Spatial / geographical exclusion: *Spatial isolation and the inability of public transport users from one area being able to get to another area due to lack of services, e.g. some areas poorly served or not served at all by public transport.*	Studies in Britain (Campbell, 1993; Church et al., 2000; Grieco, 1994; Kenyon et al, 2003) and in Europe (Bartley, 1998) have cited peripherality, poor transport provision and resulting inaccessibility as factors which contribute to urban social exclusion and deprivation. Wixey et al (2005) recognise that even if an activity is located relatively close to a person's home, it can still be inaccessible for those dependent on public transport (for example, perhaps because they involve more than one interchange, which may be viewed as unacceptable to certain groups of people or in certain circumstances). Hine and Mitchell (2001) make the distinction that distance is a relative concept and that a station or bus stop which is perfectly accessible on foot for a healthy adult may be impossible to reach for someone with small children, heavy loads or with a mobility impairment.
Temporal exclusion: *The inadequacy of public transport to provide access to desired locations both on time and at the right times, e.g. public transport is often unavailable outside core working hours, weekends, bank holidays etc.*	*This also relates to the additional time taken travelling on public transport to core facilities which reduces time for other activities, particularly in direct comparison with car journeys.* Gaffron et al (2001) found evidence of temporal exclusion which affected participation in certain activities. The difficulties of organising commitments to allow adequate time for travel affects many individuals, particularly women and those with caring responsibilities, who are more likely to combine journeys to work, school, childcare and shopping (Rosenbloom, 1989; SEU, 2003). Grieco's 1995 study of low income households found that even routine events contained very high levels of uncertainty as a consequence of poor temporal reliability in bus service provision – she also highlights the complexity of the social arrangements which influence travel decisions and travel behaviour in the low income context (yet there has been little formal recognition of the organisation complexity this generates). A history of poor reliability of public transport services has led many people to change their preferred travel behaviour to accommodate this unpredictable element of their journey, resulting in people budgeting their time

	differently (Gaffron et al, 2001) and they found that unreliable services have been found to be a barrier to unemployed people accessing employment opportunities. Hine and Mitchell (2001) also found the irregularity of services force people to begin their journey a lot earlier than should be necessary to ensure they arrive on time.
Personal / Societal exclusion: *The effects of personal characteristics (such as gender, race, physical and mental disabilities) upon the use of public transport. This also relates to the impact of societal values upon these personal characteristics, for example racist attitudes of staff or other passengers.*	Transport facilities can be theoretically available but inaccessible due to their nature and to the characteristics of the person travelling (Gaffron et al, 2001). Research identifies that certain groups are more likely to experience specific transport disadvantage and are a particular focus for this research. These groups include women (see for example, Grieco et al, 1989; DETR, 2000b); the disabled (for example, Hine and Mitchell, 2001); and ethnic minorities (for example, DfT, 2003; Rajé et al, 2004). In a wider sense other economic and demographic groups also experience particular forms of transport-related exclusion, such as the unemployed (for example, Quinn, 1986; Green et al, 2005); those travelling with young children (for example, Wixey et al, 2005) and young people (for example, Turner and Pilling, 1999; Green and White, 2007), people who do not speak English, and people with learning difficulties (Imrie, 1996). Personal or societal exclusion can include factors such as (taken from Lavery et al, 1992; DETR, 2000a; Wixey et al, 2005): • physical and / or mental health impairments • lack of confidence • limited travel horizons • lack of familiarity with the transport system and the wider area • deep-seated parochial attitudes • low literacy and language difficulties • insensitivity to the cultural practices of an individual or group • racist, sexist or other discriminatory attitudes The DETR report of 2000(a) found that among socially excluded groups, these issues can be reinforced when travelling because of their enforced use of public transport. For example, the lack of self-confidence and self-respect among many socially excluded people is unlikely to be enhanced by negative experiences of public transport staff. The SEU Transport report states that these physical and psychological barriers have an important effect on 'travel horizons': *People on low incomes can be reluctant to travel long distances or for a long time. This is a particular problem for jobseekers, who may be unwilling to look for or consider job vacancies outside a narrow*

	geographic area, even where the opportunities appear to be accessible' (2003: 31). The report states that individuals' travel horizons can be limited because of: • Trust – they lack confidence that the bus will get them to places on time. • Knowledge – poor knowledge of how to get to places using the transport network. This problem can be exacerbated by low levels of English language and literacy skills and lack of audio-visual information or other design features which could help people with physical and learning disabilities. • Familiarity – a tendency to look for work in, or travel to, places that are familiar. People's 'mental geographies' vary significantly and are influenced in part by traditional patterns of employment in their communities. • Frequent changes to bus routes and timetables, and out-of-date information, can exacerbate all of the above Church et al (2000); DETR, 2000b; Madanipour, 1998; Barry, 1998 also talk of 'fear-based exclusion' which can relate to personal characteristics. Research indicates how the nature of individual 'fear' in public spaces varies markedly according to social characteristics, especially gender.
Fiscal exclusion: *The affordability of public transport and factors such as the additional costs incurred (e.g. taxi fares) due to the unreliability or unavailability of public transport.*	Some research argues that the cost of travel is an overwhelming constraint for people on low incomes, dictating both the method and the extent of their travel (DETR, 2000a; Church et al, 2000). Income and transport network constraints on accessing labour market information can limit the geographical extent of job search and on work travel patterns (Bottomley et al,1997). Those on low incomes are also spending a large proportion of their income on travel-related costs and, because of the increasing necessity for car travel, they may be making considerable economic sacrifices in order to buy and run vehicles (Lucas, 2001).
Environmental exclusion: *For example, poor physical accessibility caused by barriers such*	Hodgson and Turner state that the built environment that makes up the transport infrastructure is a significant element in the public realm of socially excluded people and thus implicit messages are communicated from the dominant culture about the societal value of users of that environment: they argue that the built environment is an expression of power structure: *What kind of person is expected to stand in a decrepit graffiti-covered bus shelter while waiting for an old, dirty, smelly, crowded and late bus and not think that one is excluded from mainstream society?* (2003: 268).

as steps, heavy doors, turnstiles, poor design; topographical barriers such as hills; environmental inequity – deprived areas tend to disproportionately suffer from the negative consequences of transport.	Low income groups are also disproportionately affected by the negative environmental impacts arising from the transport system. They are much more likely to live in urban areas, in close proximity to busy roads and to undertake walking trips. Therefore, intrusive traffic noise, higher road traffic injuries and fatalities, poor health and community severance caused by the presence of large roads and heavy traffic have all been identified as causes of reduced quality of life for these groups (Whitelegg, 1997; Vigar, 1999; Jain and Guiver, 2001; SEU, 2003). There is anecdotal evidence that major roads are more likely to be constructed through deprived areas because residents there are powerless to object (Clifton and Lucas, 2004).
Political exclusion: *The power and influence to affect decision-making processes relating to transport and the provision of genuine consultation.*	Two of the transport-related exclusionary dimensions identified by Kenyon et al (2003) relate to political exclusion: '*low participation*' – linked to inability to travel to meetings, which are often in the evenings in centralised locations; and '*powerlessness*' - linked to low levels of knowledge and poor access to information. Hodgson and Turner (2003) feel that UK transport policy is failing to fully adapt to the theoretical understanding of the concept of social exclusion – particularly by not addressing the issue of participation in the decision-making process of transport operation and management. They believe that it is not only the provision and use of the transport system but also participation in the processes which determine the governance, operation and management of the system that is important. This is particularly the case for women and low income groups (Grieco et al, 1989; Hamilton and Jenkins, 2000; Hine and Mitchell, 2001). Even when participation does take place, those efforts that do exist are often seen as tokenistic or placatory (Bickerstaff et al, 2002). A fundamental barrier that Litman (2003) also emphasises is that most decision-makers tend to be relatively wealthy and mobile and so have little personal experience with the problems facing mobility disadvantaged people – that is, they drive and have no concept of the potential difficulties facing those reliant on public transport.
Informational exclusion: *The unavailability of, or inability to connect to, informational resources related to transport and*	Grieco (1995) argues that whilst the social segregation of areas as measured by income and other socio-economic characteristics is well-recognised, little attention has been paid to informational dynamics, even though information failures can as effectively generate such segregation. Quinn (1986) in a study of school leavers seeking employment in Birmingham, found that it was not the quality of services provided which generated physical barriers in job search but rather the quality of information on transport scheduling, routing and costs.

accessibility. This could mean standard resources such as timetable information but also existing and emerging technologies. *This has particular relevance in the contemporary climate due to the rapid restructuring of information networks occurring due to the rise in electronically available information.*	Grieco (1995) found that information needs were poorly served by the formal information structures and rested largely upon social networks and informal information structures for their satisfaction, discovering that transport deprivation was accompanied by information deprivation. She believes that the dependence on these networks also locks them into a particular and local information circuit, meaning they are limited in the type of information which they have access to. In relation to the role of ICT and web-based resources, despite its likely benefits, Kenyon et al (2002) point out that access to virtual mobility has the potential to be as problematic as access to physical mobility. They cite evidence which suggests there is a 'digital divide' in the UK: a gap in access to ICTs that is determined by an individual's characteristics. This suggests that people who experience social exclusion are highly likely to also be excluded from access to the Internet and that, without this, disadvantage and exclusion will be further reinforced (Graham and Marvin, 1999; SEU PAT 15, 2000), particularly if a shift towards the provision of activities and information, via virtual mobility, is promoted. Kenyon et al state that internet access is highly variable according to income and class (for instance, in-home connection involves high initial costs for purchase of hardware/software, and in paying for and sustaining telephone line connection). For some households, gaining credit approval for line rental, is impossible. Access to the Internet also requires skills, knowledge and, exposure, most often in the workplace or via family and friends, without which both the ability and the inclination to go online will be lacking. The influence of other dimensions of exclusion, including temporal and financial constraints, plus personal factors, such as lack of confidence, or childcare, may represent barriers to gaining the skills needed to participate in virtual mobility. Finally, the digital divide is also evidenced in a lack of relevant content for all groups and the ineffective marketing of the Internet as a tool for all people, for more than just shopping and banking (Graham, 1998). It is unlikely that people will seek to access the Internet without education in the potential benefits of these technologies.
Institutional / Organisational / Structural exclusion: *This relates to inherent discrimination found in the practices of institutions and*	Again this clearly relates to many of the other dimensions such as personal and political exclusion, but here it can be defined as the ways in which the processes and behaviours of institutions and organisations relating to transport serve to reinforce social exclusion. Barry (1998) argues that the structure of the institutions which make up social life have an important role in determining the experiences of social exclusion, with public transport being one such institution. Ortoleva and Brenman (2004) argue that practices such as racism and gender bias are often institutionalised within both the policy processes and the practices of agencies such as transport institutions.

organisations (such as transport operators); and, for example, institutional discrimination in favour of private transport and insufficient account taken of social issues in transport and land-use planning decisions. This could include policies adopted by organisations and, for example, the design of vehicles or staff training issues which affect users.	Lucas (2004e) and Green and White (2007) point to the lack of a holistic approach between different institutions which influence social exclusion – arguing that improving transport is only part of the solution although it is often placed in a silo on its own in policy terms. Lucas believes that transport, land use and service sector planning and delivery decisions need to be integrated if the accessibility needs of socially excluded people are to be properly addressed. She also believes that the culture, skills and capacities of transport planners are often poorly matched with this requirement and do not fully respond to the emerging community led transport agenda. In relation to *structural* exclusion, Murray (2000) demonstrates that this is visible through mechanisms which discriminate in favour of those who are already mobile, such as company car tax breaks and 'free' workplace car parking. Investment programmes tend to favour large infrastructure projects rather than local transport needs of people who do not travel far. Yet such things are paid for by car owners and non-car owners alike. Murray (1998) states that there has been a policy bias which assumes that moving fast over a long distance is inherently good and moving around locally is unimportant. In relation to the wider context of structural exclusion Murray also underlines the changes that have taken place in deprived areas (such as severance caused by road building, lack of transport provision and 'flight' of local services). He believes these are changes which have resulted from thousands of individual decisions, but which can still be seen as "things which people have done to them". They have not been easy to predict and really fall outside people's personal capacity to influence. Organisational exclusion relates to the operation and culture of bodies involved in transport, such as regional transport authorities and service providers. Many examples are given in the literature of the effect of issues such as insensitive staff practices, rude and demeaning drivers, lack of information and ineffective complaints procedures and so on (DETR, 2000a; Imrie, 2000; Hine and Mitchell, 2001; Lucas et al, 2001; Wixey et al, 2005).

The next sub section develops this argument - if transport (or lack of) can be seen as unduly affecting social exclusion, how can it be used to enhance social inclusion? As discussed, transport policy and planning has traditionally paid little attention to the needs of excluded and disadvantaged sections of society, with the possible exception of disabled people. However, the growing importance of transport in enabling access to essential goods and services is increasingly being recognised within the transport literature.

2.4.8 Transport's potential role in social inclusion

In contrast to the evidence of transport-related exclusion, it is argued that good transport links and mobility can be seen as a general stimulant to economic and social life. Troy argues that:

> *Enhanced mobility gives people greater access to a wider range of interests and activities and allows them a higher degree of engagement with other like-minded members of the various communities to which they belong, thus enriching their lives and contributing to social and economic vitality* (1996: 208).

On an individual basis, the TRIN (2000) report states that social inclusion requires a minimum mobility level, and if transport is inadequate this level cannot be met. They argue that the easier, more acceptable, and cheaper it is made (for example, to travel to a job), even if travelling for some distance, the more likely the vicious downward spiral of exclusion is to be checked. Additionally, more frequent use of public transport by those groups could increase ridership and therefore revenue – which in turn encourages more provision – a *virtuous* spiral.

Lucas (2004c) agrees, stating that in most contemporary societies, some form of transport is usually necessary in order to access to essential services and the other social activities that contribute to a good quality of life. Indeed, she goes on to argue that transport is becoming a basic human necessity. To this end, it can be classed as a 'merit good' (Goodwin, 1990) and thus deserving of policy intervention where the 'natural' distributional effects of the system have a disproportionately negative effect on certain groups.

A different interpretation of transport's role in the perpetuation or otherwise of social exclusion is taken by Barry (1998). He argues that social exclusion is mediated through '*the experience of common fate, through the sharing of*

common institutions' (1998: 21). Here he identifies that the structure of the institutions which make up social life have an important role in determining the experience of social exclusion. For Barry:

> *The relation of social exclusion to the distribution of income will depend on the way in which institutions are set up.*

In this context, he argues that public transport is one such institution and '*The importance of public transport...can scarcely be exaggerated*' (Barry, 1998: 21).

It is also important to remember the many different dimensions of social inclusion. The findings of the surveys in DETR (2000a: 79-80), suggest that to view public transport simply in terms of practical access overlooks a number of social and psychological functions it serves among the "socially excluded". The functions it identifies include:

- Social: public transport can be a way of meeting people, and possibly different kinds of people. To a certain extent, public transport is one place where the disadvantaged and the non-disadvantaged meet; it has been suggested that these encounters might help to narrow the remoteness between those who are "inside" and those who are "outside" the mainstream social game.
- Social/health. The social function also serves to benefit the health of users. There is evidence that those who find it easy to get out and about are more likely to maintain their health (both mental and physical) than those for whom it is difficult to escape from their isolation.
- Symbolic. In neighbourhoods with very low self-esteem, few services, and pessimistic views about the possibility that those in authority genuinely want matters to improve, public transport, amongst other things, may be one of the few signs of the presence and help of 'society'.

In specific terms, Rajé (2004: 3-4) believes transport contributes to Luxton's (2002) five critical dimensions for social inclusion:

Table 2.5: Transport's contribution to social inclusion

Luxton (2002)	Rajé (2004)
Valuing individuals or groups with sensitivity to cultural, ethnic, gender or age differences	The valuing of individuals and groups in a framework of sensitivity entails public exposure to the presence of such groups and public exposure requires travel and transport to accomplish visibility
Allowing and enabling individuals to make life choices and, if desired, to make a contribution	The ability to make life choices only makes sense in the context where life choices can be accessed and this too necessarily involves transport and travel
The right and support to be involved in decisions affecting oneself, family and community	The right to be involved in decision making requires presence at the decision table and this has clear physical and virtual access dimensions
Reduction of social distances and provision of appropriate levels of accessibility and affording opportunities for interaction, if desired	The reduction of social distance involves interaction and interaction is accomplished by meeting in a range of social situations, all of which involve transport and travel
Resources to participate fully in community/society	Having access to the resources to participate is predicated on previous interaction, negotiation and bargaining for resources, all of which are related to the extent to which mobility is either constrained or unconstrained (the immobile are in a very weak bargaining position)

Other research also posits that it is important to bear in mind that the inability to travel not only affects individuals but also society as a whole. On the individual level, as well as allowing for greater social inclusion, an ability to travel means that the individual is independent and can more fully participate in society. The opportunity for social interaction encourages social inclusion in its own right whereas private car travel curtails social interaction (DETR, 2001; Kenyon et al, 2002). The provision of accessible and adequate transport is also important for the concept of social equity and equal opportunity (Vigar, 1999; Hine and Mitchell, 2001). Barry (2002) goes further than this, to contend that it is specifically the widespread use of public transport that acts as a facilitator of social solidarity, because it is based on a shared experience.

Despite the fact that transport has been given an increasingly significant role in attempts to alleviate social exclusion, existing research does highlight concerns and tensions within the transport agenda between environmental goals, demand management and social policy - concerns which have implications for this dissertation.

A greater concern with the social and environmental disadvantages of increasing car use has led to a push for modal shift (that is, prioritising public transport and other modes). However, some commentators (Hine and Grieco, 2003; Lucas et al, 2001; Kenyon et al, 2002; Church et al, 2000) demonstrate the potential dangers in this approach. They argue, firstly, that the policy concern with modal shift has resulted in an over-dominance of the perspective which ignores the present failings to ensure transport provision for low income travel needs. Secondly, many conclusions drawn from both government and academic studies into the links between exclusion and transport tend to indicate a need for increased mobility to fulfil social needs and a role for transport in the creation of a fairer and more inclusive society. The DETR's position is that:

> *Some people need to travel more and to accept the need to travel more if they are to be socially 'included'* (2000a: 5).

This is a view reiterated in very recent research involving young people (Green and White, 2007) which posits that a greater willingness to seek employment beyond the immediate local area would open up more employment opportunities.

Reconciling social concerns about transport and the wider transport agenda - for example, sustainability and environmental protection - is a significant issue relating to this aim of encouraging people experiencing social exclusion to travel more. A key aim of recent transport policy has been to encourage people to travel and use their car less; and walk, cycle and use public transport more. Kenyon et al (2002) argue that improvement in the provision of public transport to actively consider and serve the needs of people who are socially excluded is to be welcomed and could help to alleviate some mobility-related exclusion for some people.

However, much of the emphasis for transport and social exclusion is on getting people to travel more and often assisting them to buy and use cars to secure their greater participation in economic and social activities. This suggests that there may be a conflict between transport policies which aim to promote sustainable development through modal shift and reducing the need to travel, and those to promote social inclusion.

A further complication arises from the argument that neither of these two approaches are necessarily the solution to social exclusion. Kenyon et al (2002) state that improvements in public transport are unlikely to meet all of the

mobility requirements of the socially excluded. They argue that whilst an improvement in the affordability, accessibility, acceptability and availability of public transport could increase its use, it is unlikely to represent a solution to mobility-related exclusion for all. Yet at the same time, they also point out that it is equally unlikely that an increase in *private* mobility could represent a viable large-scale solution to mobility-related exclusion. Others yet take a middle ground. Lucas (2004d), for example, argues that realistically although car-based strategies for improving social inclusion can have inequitable consequences, it must be recognised that public transport is not the only solution. She calls for a more balanced approach which recognises the desire for car ownership amongst low incomes sectors where this is appropriate for achieving greater social inclusion whilst reining in the excessive car use among higher income groups.

Despite these conflicting arguments, the recognition of transport's potential role in enhancing social inclusion has finally led to associated changes in policy. Rajé et al (2004) also believe that there has been some movement towards greater understanding of the social aspects of transport in the research sphere. Social exclusion has entered official discourse through high level policy inputs (such as the 2003 SEU report) where the present failings of transport in remedying social exclusion processes are highlighted. However, Rajé et al feel that despite the importance of this policy landmark, the SEU report remain largely a consolidation of information on transport and social exclusion which was available previously - albeit in a highly fragmented form and in a relatively weak professional field. Lucas (2004b) also feels that in spite of the practical initiatives and policy opportunities arising from reports such as the SEU's, there are still significant barriers and risks that could undermine the delivery of the transport and social exclusion agenda.

The following sections will provide an overview of the current direction in research and policy relating to social exclusion and transport, linking this directly with employment and economic policies. All the above issues have relevance for the empirical part of this study which seeks to examine how encouraging more travel and transport use can be an effective means of enhancing social inclusion.

The next part of this chapter will relate transport-related social exclusion specifically to economic activity. It consists of three main sections. The first

(Section 2.5) draws together some of the literature which deals specifically with transport provision in relation to access to economic opportunity, in particular employment (this being one of the widely accepted tenets posited by government policy as an antidote to social exclusion). This briefly covers the existing evidence which relates to transport's effect on employment and the arguments that believe transport provision can be used effectively to encourage employment take-up.

Section 2.6 will provide an introduction to the concept of transport intervention (particularly in relation to community transport-style provision which was the favoured method of the intervention under investigation). This will briefly cover the history of this type of transport operation, recommendations listed in current research and advice relating to successful intervention and community transport schemes.

Section 2.7 will outline some of the potential barriers to transport intervention. The first part develops a critique of social policy which could relate to social exclusion and employment. This will question whether intervention can provide a meaningful facilitator for employment, given the other factors influencing travel and employment decisions. The later part discusses some of the practical barriers to intervention

2.5 Transport and Economic Opportunity

2.5.1 The effect of transport provision on access to economic opportunity

Government research argues that transport problems are often a major barrier to accessing work (SEU, 2003). Problems with transport can prevent people from attending interviews, lead people to apply for jobs in a narrow geographical area, prevent people from taking up and keeping employment and restrict their choice of jobs (SEU, 2003; Kenyon et al, 2002). Employers themselves are also seen to feel the effects of this as, in some cases, problems with staff recruitment and retention can be a result of a lack of transport (SEU, 2003; Roberts, 2000). Roberts also points out the reluctance of many employers to employ people from certain areas because of unreliable transport, known as 'red-lining'. Tackling problems with accessing job opportunities has, therefore, become an increasingly important policy objective in moving people from welfare into work.

The SEU report also states that job vacancies are not always within reach of workless people, even when they are quite close. The main problems the report suggests are: a lack of access to public or private transport, prohibitive costs of fares or running a vehicle to get to work, and limited travel horizons, which includes lack of knowledge about and trust in the available travel options. This is seen to be particularly the case for jobs with off-peak working hours - part-time and shift work, which tend to be low skilled and low paid, with a predominantly female workforce (Kenyon et al, 2002). Roberts (2000) highlights this *temporal* mismatch between work hours and transport services. She points out that traditional transport modes were designed for nine to five and weekday workers, not the shift conditions of a contemporary 24/7 economy.

Work by Burkitt (2000), relating to job searching and the role of transport, found that, initially, people did not give transport as an influential factor in job search activity, or argued that it was not important. However, it became apparent that people were, in fact, implicitly considering transport in job searching patterns. Transport was reported as impacting on people's spatial and temporal boundaries. The locations that were considered feasible to work in were, actually, determined by their understanding of the transport network. As stated previously, this spatial mismatch may compound skills mismatch (Kasarda and Kwok-Fai, 1996; Houston, 2005), as a decline of local low skill jobs leads to greater competition for low-skilled jobs remaining. In addition to this, McQuaid et al (2004) also points out that inappropriate location of business and/ or poor transport provision to centres of employment and services can contribute to social exclusion. Business relocation to decentralised sites can create accessibility problems for certain employees, particularly those on low wages, those dependent on public transport and part time workers. Improvements to transport can help solve this but, generally, decentralised locations are more difficult to serve by public transport.

2.6 Responses to transport-related social exclusion

2.6.1 Transport intervention

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate what is meant by transport intervention and the types of intervention commonly utilised in contemporary responses to social exclusion and accessibility issues. It will focus in particular

on 'community transport' – this is because the transport intervention which forms the basis of this research is inextricably linked with the ethos of this type of provision (although it does not strictly adhere to the traditional remit of its operation). The section introduces some of the concepts associated with community transport-style provision, namely Demand Responsive Transport (DRT), which formed part of the Athersley Link initiative. It is envisaged that the issues discussed in this section will create a decisive case for the adoption of this style of operation, in particular the demand responsive or flexible approach, as a means of addressing social exclusion and accessibility issues.

There will be a focus on some of the characteristics of community transport and why this style of provision would be considered appropriate for a transport intervention project. It also outlines some of the considerations and recommendations found in the literature which a successful operation would need to take account of. This will provide a contextual framework to introduce the services which are under investigation in this study and will provide the basis of a 'checklist' against which the intervention can be investigated. This adds a further analytical tool to be utilised in the findings chapter of this thesis.

The literature on community transport and transport intervention projects in general (such as Wheels to Work schemes, taxi-buses and so on) has mainly taken the form of practical, best practice guides. Furthermore, many of these research and demonstration projects have concentrated on the role of such intervention in a rural context, where such provision was seen as most appropriate (for example, Countryside Agency, 2001). Rural areas have long been recognised as experiencing 'isolation', particularly for those with limited mobility and transport intervention has obvious benefits in this context. However, there is a growing body of research into how the model of community transport can be transferred to 'isolated' urban environments – where isolation does not necessarily refer to geographical distance to services but relates to social isolation (or exclusion). Despite this new direction and apart from recent studies such as the papers found in Lucas (2004), little in the way of formal, academic research into urban, social exclusion-based transport intervention exists and thus the subject area lacks a theoretical underpinning. Therefore, the following sections can be viewed mainly as an introduction to the empirical part of this study, and a demonstration of some of the practical considerations involved in this type of initiative.

It should be emphasised here that the existence of a good public transport network does not necessarily indicate its accessibility (Kenyon et al, 2002). They point out that where good public transport networks exist, for example, within a major city, car ownership is often lower than elsewhere and many people find that non-car ownership is no impediment to inclusion. The point they make, however, is that the public transport may be only the preserve of the young, the (relatively) wealthy, non-disabled, people unencumbered with children or luggage, the confident or those travelling with companions, without concerns about safety. Consequently, people in traditionally socially excluded groups can continue to experience mobility-related exclusion even where 'good' transport networks exist. This is the point of departure for the intervention being studied here.

The preceding sections have outlined the arguments for and against the significance of transport in social exclusion, and its role in improving access to economic opportunity (and indeed whether this in itself is an appropriate use of resources). Overall, however, the accounts presented in this review demonstrate that access to transport *is* a real concern for some people and that differential transport access does affect participation in what are considered to be the normal activities of citizens. As Kenyon et al have stated, for many, the existing transport system dictates the places that people can go. Clearly, in an urban area it is possible to reach most destinations but it is the degree of difficulty experienced that affects whether people choose to take those journeys and consequently influences what activities people choose to do. For example, even where time budgets are not necessarily pressured, there are still concerns about punctuality and reliability of services.

Thus it can be seen that there may be a need for an alternative to conventional forms of bus service. Particularly in relation to improving access to economic opportunity, this alternative service could be seen as transport 'intervention'. This is transport provision which has been put in place over and above that of mainstream provision – as a direct response to issues of social exclusion – and in this case, to provide access to economic opportunity as a means of combating exclusion. It is also assumed that it will have been put in place because mainstream provision is, in some way, failing to meet the needs of residents and will therefore require public subsidy.

The transport intervention investigated in this research were operated by a community transport provider. Whilst this was not necessarily a deliberate prerequisite (the tender process for the services was open to all operators – commercial and non-commercial alike), the services have been developed, promoted and operated in accordance with the principles of the community transport ethos, and thus the following will consist of a general introduction to this area of transport provision.

2.6.2 Origins of community transport

The origins of community transport go back to the period of decline in rural bus services in the late 1950s. A further boost came in the 1970s with the push for accessible transport for disabled people, an issue since taken on board by mainstream transport providers. Since the 1990s, the need for community transport has again been highlighted with increased pressure on local authority budgets to cut services.

Jones (2004) identifies that the provision of inclusive transport services has always been the objective of the community transport movement. He argues that for many years - well before the term 'social exclusion' had even been conceived - community transport groups were identifying those who - because of a lack of transport - were being excluded from the services and activities which most other people took for granted. Increasingly, he points out, mainstream transport professionals are also recognising the potential of such services for meeting the travel needs of 'transport poor' communities in urban areas (who do not necessarily fall under traditional eligibility criteria, such as disability).

Enoch et al (2004) states that whilst buses are most effective and efficient when operating along corridors (for these types of journeys conventional bus services will remain optimal) they are increasingly inappropriate for the increasing proportion of trips that are far more dispersed in space and time. They state that rising car ownership and the associated increasing dispersal in travel and land use patterns suggest a growing share of the population is becoming harder to provide for with conventional bus services. They believe this is because as trip patterns reflect this new distribution, buses become less effective and less efficient as movers of people. In turn, this leads to a reduction in use as services are rationalised, thereby persuading more people to buy cars in order

to maintain their mobility levels. This removes yet more public transport users, so public transport services become less viable and so on – the so-called vicious circle of public transport decline. On top of this, Enoch et al argue that public transport has been given the responsibility of contributing to a whole range of policy goals, including social inclusion, congestion reduction and environmental objectives -while still meeting 'best value' targets.

2.6.3 Demand Responsive Transport

Enoch et al recognise that one way of addressing the above issues is a system that can operate effectively at lower levels and serve more dispersed demand than the bus. Such systems include shared taxis and demand responsive minibuses, collectively known as Demand Responsive Transport (DRT). This approach has been examined closely in recent years to identify whether it could meet the wide range of transport and economic, environmental and social objectives. Nationally, there have been a number of Government reports which have referred to DRT as being a key instrument in tackling a particular policy objective (for example, SEU, 2003). Despite this, however, DRT is not particularly widespread and, as this research shows, awareness of such services is still very low.

2.6.4 Characteristics of community transport

A DLTR briefing note in 2002 stated that community transport is characterised as being non-statutory, non-commercial, voluntarily managed, and responsive to user needs. Within these characteristics individual schemes can vary widely but it is generally typified by being run within a community setting, for members of the community and is accessible and friendly. A major defining feature of community transport is that it is 'not-for-profit', providing transport to meet a need, but where there is little opportunity of commercial success – therefore they most often exist with some form of subsidy.

The other important characteristics the note identifies are that community transport typically:

- meets individual needs and provides transport to those limited in mobility;
- is alert to changing needs and is sufficiently flexible to respond rapidly;

- provides an effective service using smaller vehicles – thus again meeting the needs of individuals more closely than would be realistic with a larger bus or train;
- has an explicit ethos of community and customer care.

(taken from DTLR, 2002).

2.6.5 Guidelines for successful community transport intervention

In more specific terms, a number of pieces of empirical research were identified during this review which provide a 'checklist' of recommendations for a successful community transport scheme (DETR, 2000a; Enoch et al, 2004; PTEG, 2005); and a series of lessons learnt from analysis of actual intervention programmes in various parts of the UK (Grant, 2004; Westwood, 2004; Lucas and Tyler, 2006). In order to provide a further analytical tool for this dissertation, the various strands of empirical research have been amalgamated in the following table to provide a list of points to check against the experience of the case study interventions. These guidelines (and practical lessons taken from existing research) can apply to demand responsive and non-demand responsive intervention:

Table 2.6: Guidelines for successful community transport intervention:

*Enoch et al (2004):***Co-ordination and partnership** with the agencies relevant to the scheme is one of the most important elements (this would mean liaising closely with other service providers, including employment services, housing associations, local authorities, schools, shops and health services etc)
Effective partnership with employment agencies should be established (for example to insure that the fares or other promotions are taken up)
One of the most effective uses for community transport would be to act as a **feeder service**, possibly using some form of flexible transport, to move people to and from transport nodes on well-served routes (this should be undertaken with the proviso that the feeder service would be complementary to existing services)
New and unfamiliar services require **extensive and continuous promotion** (this is especially the case for DRT as it is considered a novel product with a subsequent lack of understanding from the public). Services should **capitalise on the 'Unique Selling Proposition'** (USP) of the product
Branding is considered a key element in the success of almost any business and **the tactical use of branding can yield valuable results**. One way of making services easier for the public to understand is to 'brand' particular routes. This has to be done carefully however as, in some cases, the application of branding meanwhile has not been fully understood, and any positive message has been lost
The consideration of 'place' is vital (this refers to the distribution of the product and the access to it – how people get hold and pay for it). Place exerts a considerable impact on the composition of the market, and therefore what type of services are needed. In public transport marketing terms, **every locality is unique (in terms of wealth, culture, density, car ownership levels, road structure, etc.), and thus requires a tailored approach to developing provision**. When considering how best to serve an area, **market research is needed to ascertain the needs of local people,** and to develop a service that will meet those needs as closely as possible
Schemes need to be designed with a **clear understanding of the needs of the community** or group the scheme is aiming to serve. There also need to be **good mechanisms for feedback** from users and potential users
In any service industry, **people are a crucial part of the product** (although the experience that many users have of public transport is that this is not the case). Therefore, **the operator needs to adapt a customer perspective**, rather than the operator-led culture that currently predominates. Training should also be a major priority, especially for those who must interact with the public – for example, drivers, station staff, ticket sellers and information providers
In purely practical terms, the following essential factors are also highlighted: Good reliability; An easy to understand network; An easy to understand ticketing structure; Easily accessible vehicles to those with heavy shopping, prams and pushchairs, and wheelchairs; A direct service with easy interchange; A frequent service; Good value for money;

Friendly and helpful staff; Comfortable, clean, well heated and ventilated vehicles.
Grant (2004)[3]:A service can be used to **demonstrate the commitment by the authorities** to ensuring that public transport plays a part in the social and economic regeneration of an area region (and a positive response to transport-related social exclusion) – this relates to the 'symbolic' significance identified by DETR, 2000a
Much intervention is still regarded as a short term measure - until long term changes can be made, **public transport providers must adopt a proactive, innovative and flexible approach**
Services need to be based on a **commitment to fully engage and consult with the local community** (despite the fact this can be difficult, time consuming and resource intensive)
Westwood (2004)[4]:The success of an intervention comes from the **understanding that each of the different elements of a project contributes to the others** and to the overarching aim of the project: to overcome the transport barriers preventing people accessing opportunities in terms of training, education and employment.
Intervention projects would benefit with beginning with an **understanding of models for working with socially excluded communities which are then brought to the transport arena**, rather than the other way around – this is because often those working in the social exclusion arena have a better understanding of consultation than transport providers
A multidisciplinary approach may be the best way to deal with transport-related exclusion issues; restricting the people involved to only those with a transport background could stunt the debate and the scope for real innovation
An effective monitoring system for socially necessary services should provide **a cost/benefit analysis that places a value on the movement of people from exclusion to inclusion**. That is, the measure of success should not just come from passenger numbers or by fare revenue but by wider criteria such as the fact that a passenger may move from unemployment (and possible benefit dependency) to employment (with the subsequent savings to the state). Social criteria should be used to monitor effectiveness not the standards of the commercial bus operators
Personalised Journey Plans (PJPs) can be utilised in order to discover where transport shortfalls are occurring and this real data can then be used to effectively match individuals with destinations (this ensures that **new provision could be matched to actual need rather than perceived or 'best guess' need)**
In order for Joblink-style intervention to fulfil its potential there may be a **need for complementary travel training initiatives**. Research has highlighted the need to consider the mindsets of the potential beneficiaries of any job access initiative. For some communities, providing services to link them with job or training opportunities will not be sufficient to persuade them of the feasibility of using them. This may be particularly the case for communities who have previously been employed by industries situated very close to their homes. In these cases, more tailored travel information and travel training may be needed to break down these psychological barriers (Lucas and Tyler, 2006)

[3] Grant discusses the implementation of a network of 'Job Link' bus services operating in Merseyside 'Pathway' areas (designated through Objective 1 funding as areas of greatest social need identified though measures such as income and unemployment) . These services were based on a number of fixed routes, timetabled to meet specific shift start and end times, and over the remainder of the day the buses were available on a demand-responsive basis (very similar to the Athersley services).

[4] Westwood investigated an innovative project located near Liverpool (the Halton Neighbourhood Travel Team) which incorporated a personalised journey planning (PJP) service, a subsidised work service and a journey share website.

By way of conclusion, Westwood's (2004) views neatly summarise the issues faced by transport intervention providers. The SEU (2003) report mentions the need to overcome restricted travel horizons among excluded communities. However, Westwood points out that the degree to which the complexities of making a journey, working out timetables, making connections or travelling somewhere new can act as the final barrier or "handy excuse" for people to not access opportunity, should not be underestimated:

> *To be the first in three generations of your family to have a job, or to be the only person you know going to college next year, requires reserves of courage and commitment that few of us in mainstream comfort can truly understand* (2004: 91).

For some, Westwood argues, transport truly is the barrier; these people would like to take up opportunity but have no means to access it in a sustainable way. He believes it remains a problem with funding streams such as the Urban Bus Challenge that they stifle innovation and creative dialogue. For example, they will all to readily assume that a bus service is the obvious solution to access problems, before investigating actual need or more effective alternatives.

The above discussion has demonstrated that transport intervention can play a role in tackling social exclusion, particularly in relation to accessing economic opportunity, and that a number of lessons from existing research can be used in order to successfully implement new schemes. The way this intervention is implemented (that is, with an economic impetus) has been called into question – this will be discussed in more detail in the following sections. Firstly, a general critique of social exclusion policy will be covered. This argues that the current approach (of which transport intervention is a part) is fundamentally flawed because of the over-emphasis on paid employment as the antidote to exclusion. Secondly, even if it can be recognised that transport intervention can play a part in tackling exclusion, a number of barriers exist which much be taken into account.

2.7 Barriers to Transport Intervention

2.7.1 Critique of current social exclusion policy

Current policy favours schemes such as transport intervention to employment opportunities because it fits in with the agenda of welfare to work. Thus the

transport intervention being investigated can be seen within the light of this policy direction and the following discussion can be directly related to this.

Firstly, the growth of the term social exclusion has not been universally welcomed. Wixey et al (2005) argues that despite considerable debate within the literature, there remains much confusion as to who is considered to be socially excluded and individual interpretations are often motivated by political expediency (Kenyon et al, 2002). In particular Levitas (1996; 2001) has argued that the social exclusion discourse has been dominated by the re-integrationist theory which she argues overemphasises the value of paid work, a theme she claims has been central ever since New Labour's first term in 1997. She states that the two ideas which have dominated social policy have been combating 'social exclusion' and 'making work pay' – policies which are, in fact, intimately linked with one another, since social exclusion is principally construed as non-participation in the labour market. This is a marked shift from its meaning (at least in Britain) in the 1980s, which was the inability to participate in common social activities, chiefly as a result of poverty (Townsend, 1979).

Levitas goes on to state the theme of inclusion through participation in paid work is evident most particularly in the thinking behind the New Deal – aimed at increasing labour market participation among specific groups, including the long-term unemployed, people with disabilities, and most controversially, lone parents. The policy is that everyone of working age should be in paid work rather than dependent on the state. The transport intervention investigated in this dissertation largely maintains this supposition, based as it is on the objective of increasing employment take-up, and the arguments outlined here are therefore highly relevant to its analysis (especially as one of the schemes was part funded by the local New Deal for Communities).

Levitas believes such policies create a financial penalty on groups such as lone mothers who opt to care for their children themselves. Thus, she points out there is a tension between making work pay and tackling poverty. Levitas feels that these issues highlight strains and contradictions in Labour's policies. One concerns the contradiction between the emphasis on paid work, and the equal emphasis on the importance of parenting and of community, both of which depend on unpaid labour. She points out that lone parents in particular, but all parents and other carers, undertake large amounts of socially necessary labour, which is neither paid nor acknowledged. To the extent that they are also forced

or cajoled into paid work, their overall burden of work rises. The time pressures on parents, and on many others as well, in an economy that has the longest working hours in the EU, are now a recurrent issue - and transport has a direct relation to this.

Levitas, along with others such as Lewis (2003) and Atkinson (1998), call into question the idea that social integration comes only through paid work – questioning what is to happen to those not currently (or ever) so engaged? Such people could include the disabled and those with caring responsibilities. Levitas argues that by not being in employment, they may be regarded as less than full members of society. She concludes by stating that the concept of social exclusion as it is currently deployed places people either inside or outside mainstream society, synonymous with outside the labour market. The concept works both to devalue unpaid work and to obscure the inequalities between paid workers. Atkinson observes:

> *Unemployment may cause social exclusion, but employment does not ensure social inclusion; whether or not it does so depends on the quality of the work offered. Marginal jobs may be no solution* (1998: preface).

Policies of labour market flexibility may simply shift people from unemployment to marginal jobs with no prospects - dominated as it is by part-time working, unstable jobs and low pay (Agulnik et al, 2002).

This emphasis has had a palpable influence on urban and regeneration policy (of which transport intervention is a part). Atkinson (2003) states that in reflecting the dominance of the economic/work agenda, urban policy has placed considerable emphasis on addressing the issues of local economic decline and unemployment in problem neighbourhoods or 'excluded spaces'. The reintegration of these areas and those living in them is to be achieved primarily through bringing them back into the mainstream economy. However he suggests there is little evidence to suggest that Area Based Initiatives such as the New Deal for Communities will succeed in creating decent and sustainable employment.

Atkinson also makes the point that not all excluded spaces are the same. Some spaces, which are often areas of unpopular social housing, experience high levels of population turnover and thus lack stability (Burngreave, for example). In such areas, the task of community capacity building is particularly difficult as few residents identify with the area. On the other hand, some

excluded spaces, the more traditional working-class areas with high rates of long-term unemployment (such as Athersley) contain relatively stable populations who have a distinct sense of community but also a very sharp awareness of their separation from society. He emphasises that while both types of area are excluded, very different capacity building strategies are required in each – an observation which has relevance for this dissertation. Transport intervention which is primarily aimed at increasing participation in economic opportunity falls into the trap of ignoring sections of the community who will not benefit from such an approach.

2.7.2 Practical barriers to transport intervention

Despite the potential arguments against transport intervention, both Granovetter (1995) - and Quinn (1986) - identify that there is a role for policies and initiatives to enhance the mobility of disadvantaged people in the labour market, such that they become more experienced and confident in using available public transport and in venturing into new areas. Even when transport can be conclusively linked to social exclusionary factors, Lucas (2004e) highlights significant barriers and risks that could undermine the delivery of this new agenda. Some of these barriers are highly relevant to this research as it has direct implications for the intervention under investigation - namely, short-termism and over-simplification of the problem, lack of integration with other policy objectives and funding barriers.

Lucas argues that provision of services such as those under investigation in this dissertation, are essentially short term interventions to tackle immediate transport inadequacies. However, to make sure that transport policy making and implementation is more fairly distributed across all members of society, long term and financially sustainable solutions are needed. Furthermore, she points out that, as indicated in previous sections, these have to be integrated with land use, regeneration and transport planning as well as other public services.

She goes on to argue that, as with all aspects of social inclusion, the level of complexity in persuading individuals, who could potentially benefit from increased accessibility, to change their current practices, attitudes and perceptions should not be underestimated. She identifies that:

> *Long-standing (sometimes intergenerational) and inculcated activity patterns, illiteracy and language barriers, limited travel horizons, low*

expectations and reduced aspirations are incredibly difficult to reverse (2004e: 146).

She argues that lack of transport can be a genuine obstacle in securing employment or other opportunities, but for others, it can be used as an excuse not to move beyond their 'comfort zone' of safe home territory. Providing new transport links in isolation without longer-term education and travel-training programmes will not solve these problems. Even with such schemes in places they will need to be carefully planned and delivered to over a long timeframe if they are to influence behaviour.

Grant (2004) and Root et al (2000) also emphasise that improvements to fixed route services alone will not solve the problems of 'travel-poor' individuals and communities. As they point out, even in urban areas conventional public transport is often poorly suited to the wide dispersal of activities necessary to support a reasonable quality of life.

Lucas (2004d) also argues that the present funding structure does not recognise the significant labour, time and skill requirements needed to working with 'travel-poor' groups and communities. This often requires personalised travel other support services as well as the basic provision of transport services. This is labour intensive and requires skilled, dedicated and experienced staff.

Additionally, she states that even where public funds are being made available for such transport projects, this is prejudiced towards new schemes rather than supporting those which are already in place. The logic of this is that is assumed that once projects have been become established, they should eventually become self-supporting. The difficulty with this, Lucas points out, is that the nature of the users of these schemes (those on low-income) means that the projects are unlikely to achieve this. Indeed the lack of income in the community would have been the main impetus for the scheme being set up in the first place.

All the above points are highly relevant for this study, demonstrating as they do the critical need to have a full understanding of the experiences of social exclusion and the psychological and cultural barriers faced when using public transport. Until transport practitioners view provision from a social exclusion perspective, rather than simply a technical perspective, services cannot hope to effectively develop solutions.

2.8 Literature Review Conclusion

2.8.1 Summary of existing evidence

To summarise the contents of this chapter, the fundamental questions asked at the beginning can be re-visited:

What is social exclusion and how has it been articulated through existing research and policy responses?:
This chapter shows that the concept of social exclusion - as distinct from traditional notions of poverty, deprivation and disadvantage- is relatively new, with its explicit recognition within the UK policy process only occurring in the last decade.

The literature reveals that it is a useful concept, recognising as it does that there are multiple dimensions to the phenomena, moving beyond that which equates disadvantage solely with lack of income and poverty. The notion of social exclusion therefore acknowledges that a person can experience exclusion without necessarily being in poverty. The concept appreciates that social exclusion is not simply about exclusion from material resources but exclusion from societal and political processes, from social interaction, from technology and from time. All of which demonstrates that it is a far from simple term to conceptualise, as it contains many non-tangible notions which are difficult to quantify and measure. These discussions provided a backdrop to the later sections which critiqued the policy emphasis on paid work as the 'antidote' to social exclusion.

What does social exclusion consist of (and what constitutes social inclusion)?:
The literature also highlights the dynamic nature of social exclusion, how it can be experienced differently within and between areas, populations and individuals. It is also a fluid and diffuse concept which can change within the lifecycle and its relative effect can be different according to the characteristics and circumstances of an individual. This is also true of the spatial aspects of social exclusion, where Grieco et al (2000) point out that it can be scattered or dispersed within a wider area. The converse is also true where non-socially excluded people can reside within an area generally categorised as social

excluded – especially in a 'city' context (more of this within the research methodology and findings chapters).

The section on 'causes' of social exclusion reiterates the difficulties in capturing the essence of the concept, pointing out that many different factors have an influence – from global economic conditions to individual characteristics (including personality traits and levels of mental health). Its multi-dimensional and complex nature means that it is extremely difficult to identify any specific casual factors at all. Social inclusion was also explored and, again, the literature reveals that this is also a multi-faceted concept

How does social exclusion affect economic opportunity (or how do economic factors affect social exclusion)?:
The specific section on economic influences does suggest that a spatial and thus accessibility dimension is significant. This section outlines the sectoral and spatial changes which have occurred within labour markets, particularly in the regions once dominated by heavy engineering and traditional industries such as mining (South Yorkshire being a prime example). However, it also demonstrates that labour markets have not just shifted physically (for example to decentralised sites on the outer edges of the urban area and beyond) but that there has been a huge shift in the type of labour now available. That is, a shift from manual manufacturing jobs to service industry employment, a growth in higher level managerial positions – both implying a whole new set of skills requirements, and, more generally an increase in part time, marginal and temporary employment (vacancies typically filled by women). This problematises the idea that transport provision can 'plug the gaps' between the unemployed and available employment, as the jobs on offer are not necessarily appropriate. It also calls into question simplistic notions of 'spatial mismatch', especially when perceptions and cultural and psychological effects influence the nature of spatial awareness.

What is the relationship between social exclusion and transport?:
Although the significance of transport is called into question, the evidence in the literature review provides the *potential* link between social exclusion and transport. The idea that social exclusion can be linked to area-based factors (and changing land-use and labour market dynamics) recognises that a lack of transport could be, if not the sole cause, but a factor in exacerbating the effects of different dimensions of social exclusion.

How can transport respond to economic-related exclusion?:

It is significant to note that whilst there is undoubtedly is a link, the literature suggests that the provision of transport to access economic opportunity is not necessarily the most significant factor in any initiative designed to enhance social inclusion. In relation to employment, it seems apparent that a whole host of other factors (such as improvements in skills levels and education as well as motivational and cultural forces) have to be dealt with before transport improvements or intervention can be effective. This is especially problematic if the alternatives to paid work are perceived as more attractive (involvement in the illegal economy and benefit dependency, for example). The literature also emphasises that the provision of physical transport services alone is not sufficient to encourage increased participation in economic activity. This, along with the research that suggest high levels of 'psychological insularity' in socially excluded areas, means that intervention may often have to be accompanied with programmes of awareness raising, confidence building and specific travel training. All of which are revenue rather than capital based – yet much funding is directed at large scale capital programmes.

Despite the sometimes conflicting arguments relating to the significance of transport in improving social exclusion, a case for transport intervention can be justified and has been developed within the dissertation. The literature reviewed here usefully provides a series of considerations and requirements for any initiative linked to transport provision. This reveals that personal characteristics are highly significant (such as the differing travel patterns between men and women) and offers a list of recommendations for a flexible, community-based transport scheme.

It also shows that community transport is now set to move beyond the normal activities it is usually associated with (rural accessibility and special needs transport) to a wider remit of provision for socially excluded communities. Despite this apparent change of direction, the literature states that essentially this is what community transport has always done – identified those who, because of their circumstances, are unable to access those areas and facilities which are taken for granted by the more mobile.

What are the barriers to this response?:

In relation to the over-emphasis on paid employment, importantly, the literature highlights the fact that not everyone is able (or willing) to engage in paid employment. This may be that they are physically or mentally incapable of doing so, or that they are engaged in other socially necessary activity (such as caring). The lack of recognition of this creates the scenario where those not engaged in paid employment are reduced to the status of 'second class citizens'. Transport provision with an emphasis on access to employment to the neglect of other facilities, is also in danger of exacerbating this.

This suggests that the value of transport intervention could lie just as significantly with its potential to enhance social, rather than solely economic, aspects of exclusion (although it must be acknowledged that these are linked). In this way, it can be used as a means of improving social interaction, reducing isolation, building a sense of equity and equal opportunity and facilitating social solidarity. The literature shows that the symbolic and psychological issues surrounding the provision of transport are just as critical as other aspects. This is especially the case as networks of social support have been identified as important not just for good mental and physical health, but for employment prospects.

The literature does, however, caution that the very characteristics which make community transport such an effective social facilitator (its responsive and reflexive nature, the ethos of caring and support and such benefits as reducing social isolation) could be lost, or watered down, if they begin to take on a wider role. Conversely, these very assets which make them successful on a small-scale community-based level are not compatible with the type of operation which would be required to create an extensive network of transport provision which may be expected in a project designed to develop substantial improvements to levels of social exclusion. Thus, a fine line needs to be trod between retaining the community ethos and creating a viable (and commercial) product.

In general, the role seen for community transport within the literature (and within empirical studies) is to act as part of a wider system of provision, working closely with other agencies to provide the most appropriate solutions, and possibly to act more as a complementary service, rather than the dominant mode. Research suggests this will only be successful if any provision takes

account of individual circumstances and a careful (and meaningful) assessment of the needs of the community. It must also be flexible enough to be able to adapt and modify in the light of changes to these circumstances.

Church et al (2000) sum up the general consensus of the existing literature: emphasising that the lack of 'connection' between communities and many of the activities and opportunities that are required to participate fully in society can indeed cause social exclusion. There are many reasons why this 'disconnection' occurs, one of which is the inability of people to physically access opportunities because of travel difficulties. However, tackling these difficulties requires not only changes to the transport system, but also policies to combat those factors that limit an individual's journeys at either end. Clearly, tackling these issues will require a multi-agency approach, and it is acknowledged that such an approach needs to be developed before detailed policy formulation begins.

Church et al additionally state that it is also evident that if area based strategies are developed, people with detailed knowledge of local conditions need to be involved, both as experts, for example in the interpretation of data, and as local people, for example, in defining strategies and indicators. Whilst it is recognised that improvement of the public transport system is a key element of any strategy to tackle transport based social exclusion, it is clear - from the work Church and the other researchers reviewed in this chapter have carried out - that it is not the whole solution.

2.8.2 The need for more research and analysis

This discussion leads on to what the dissertation takes as its departing point for the empirical research. Much of the current literature identifies itself some of the gaps in the research relating to social exclusion and transport provision. Lucas (2004d) and Rajé et al (2004) amongst others, all agree that the dynamic role of transport in developing and exacerbating social exclusion is inadequately recognised. Lucas argues that deeper micro-analysis is needed at the individual level if genuine insight is to be achieved – to which this dissertation may be able to contribute.

Commentators such as Grieco (1995) and Grieco et al (2000) believe that this situation has come about because of failures on the part of the differing perspectives which relate to social exclusion policy. She pointed out the lack of

understanding about the lived circumstances of the socially excluded. This is both on the part of transport professionals, whose engineering focus has failed to identify the needs of deprived communities, and social policy professionals who lack understanding of temporal and spatial issues. Rajé et al also feel that past research has had a limited perspective, stating that transport inconvenience and lack of transport are the common experience of much of low income Britain. They feel that typically the:

> *Voices* [stating these experiences] *are mediated through the looking glass of transport experts and policy gurus. The lived experience of public transport in modern Britain requires a more thorough recording* (2004: 2).

This point is pivotal for this particular piece of research. Qualitative research has been carried out relating to people's lived experience of transport disadvantage, including their own 'voices' within the text (for example, Lucas et al, 2001; Raje et al, 2004) but this has not extended to in-depth, user-centred research relating to transport intervention. Research on transport intervention has not tended to include these individual voices and has usually been used for the purposes of policy evaluation. Even landmark policy shifts such as the publication of the SEU transport report remain largely a consolidation of information on transport and social exclusion which was available previously (Rajé et al, 2004) rather than an attempt to fully understand the phenomena in a contemporary context.

In relation to the specific social groups, Roberts (2000) points out that divisions exist in the travel and transport patterns of particular groups in disadvantaged areas, which in turn affect life chances. She believes that data on different socially excluded groups is often unreliable or does not capture the picture at micro level.

Rajé et al (2004) also believe that, in particular, the evidence on ethnicity in relation to travel, transport, inequities in access and social exclusion is unnecessarily weak. They go on to argue that despite being the subjects of social policy and government intervention, these minority voices are unheard, largely misunderstood, misinterpreted or even ignored. They also point out that there is very little publicly available research on how ethnicity influences transport choice, and of travel patterns.

In terms of transport intervention research, although there are now many examples of demand responsive transport systems within the international

environment (Stahl, 1992), the literature on demand responsive transport systems is relatively weak indicating that the policy significance of demand responsive transport for the reduction of social exclusion/inclusion has largely gone unrealised.

As further justification for this research, Enoch et al (2004) state that there has been little or no work which has explored the contribution of needs based transport to decreasing exclusion mechanisms and assessing their impact on time-space organisation of individuals, households and facilities.

All this leads to the conclusion that there is a lack of research, and thus a lack of understanding of the link between the three themes relating experiences of social exclusion, general transport experiences and transport intervention. There is also a virtual absence of academic, and theoretical, research which develops the research conducted on social exclusion and transport, with the practical application of transport intervention projects. Assessments of any such projects have remained with the realm of consultant reports and central government policy guidance and best practice advice. In relation to this, the whole field of community transport research has a technical and operational emphasis, concentrating on aspects such as information and logistical systems. There is little in the way of social science research into aspects of community transport provision. Again, this research would hope to provide an academic perspective on a seemingly functional and practice-based field.

The literature identifies that individual and highly personal characteristics – such as confidence, mental capability, levels of self-worth and self-esteem – are key dimensions of social exclusion. Yet, there is little research that examines the issues of transport-related barriers to exclusion at this small-scale, individual level. This dissertation aims to redress this to some extent by conducting in-depth interviews, with a focus on individual experience and perceptual and cultural barriers.

Previous studies have also often focussed on single aspects or personal characteristics – such as disability or gender. This can often neglect the social exclusion aspect of transport related barriers. For example, much of the literature on women's travel has an emphasis on transport barriers which relate to the fact that the system does not respond to the increasing numbers of women working away from the domestic sphere. However, this does not

necessarily take into account socially excluded women, who may not necessarily be in work or not in the type of employment typically associated with the daily 'commute'. Thus the social exclusion angle is excluded from the analysis.

A number of the studies examined have highlighted potential difficulties in carrying out research both in relation to the social dimension of transport and with socially excluded people themselves. It is important that these issues are considered as part of the process of devising an appropriate methodology for the research. For example, Hine and Mitchell (2001) point out that current methods used to measure demand/ need often fail to incorporate the many subtleties and complexities that influence travel, despite the importance of personal accounts of travel. This is where this dissertation may be advantageous against other, more quantitative pieces of research.

It can be noted from the literature explored so far that much of the research has been conducted in relation to a narrow understanding of transport in the lives of socially excluded people, often creating findings that relate simply to material issues such as physical accessibility or cost. Whilst these studies are valuable in demonstrating evidence of transport barriers, they have tended not to incorporate a more qualitative exploration of the relationship between people's everyday lives and transport experiences and the reasons for perceived and actual barriers. This dissertation aims to explore this gap in the literature and include a greater acknowledgment of some of the less tangible aspects of transport barriers such as perceptions towards different forms of transport.

Ultimately, what this dissertation aims to achieve (and where it makes a unique contribution to the field) is to link research into social exclusion and transport with research into the effects of transport intervention within a context of in-depth analysis at the level of the individual public transport user.

The issues uncovered during the literature review and the identified gaps in current knowledge have provided a basis on which to develop the empirical part of the research which is explained in more detail in Chapter 3 and suggest a number of key topic areas to be explored in the interviews. These topics were moulded into a set of interview questions and will be outlined in the next chapter.

3 Research Methodology

3.1 Research Methodology Introduction

The issues brought up in the literature review, as well as the identified gaps in knowledge have helped to develop the approach taken towards the empirical part of this research. The research methodology covered here explains how this approach was developed in order to meet the objectives set out in Chapter 1. Particular topic areas suggested by the literature review are outlined in Section 3.9.2.

For the purpose of the empirical part of the research, the main aim stated in Chapter 1 can be expanded further to state that the research aimed to provide a qualitative and in-depth analysis of people's everyday lives in order to explore the effects of transport provision upon social exclusion; and in particular to investigate the role of transport intervention in improving access to economic opportunity.

The primary characteristic of this work which distinguishes it from much of the other literature in the field is that it involves an attempt to capture the authentic voices of the people who are potentially on the receiving end of transport intervention. This involved utilising elements of ethnographic research methodology, for example participant observation and involvement in local activities. This was able to give the researcher deeper insight into some of the conditions and issues facing local residents in the case study areas.

The objective of the research is to contribute findings relating to the lived experience and the individual perspective of those using and experiencing the public transport system in the two case study areas. Whilst issues such as land use planning, social policy and employment policy are hugely influential in these experiences, the research does not seek to provide a commentary on these, as the research methodology sought to interview people on the basis of their perceptions and experiences.

Whilst the policy context and implementational aspects of transport provision were examined, the main focus of the study was on the everyday, real-life perspectives of individuals within the communities involved. This involved a series of in-depth, unstructured interviews, supported by secondary data

collection using participant observation and basic survey techniques. The research evolved from the initial investigation into the needs, perceptions and viewpoints of residents of the case study areas which was then used to inform and develop the later research with relevant practitioners. The data gathered from interviews with residents was used as the main focus of the dissertation whilst the other forms of research provided supporting data, adding value to the residents' findings and providing a means of framing the context of the study.

The research was conducted in two case study areas within South Yorkshire with the main body of the research consisting of:

- in-depth interviews with residents of each of these case study areas (contacted through local community groups, through a request placed in local newsletters and through on-board surveys);
- interviews with relevant practitioners working within the two case study areas;
- surveys conducted on-board the bus services under study;
- participant observation in the field.

The empirical part of the study was initiated with notions of theoretical perspectives that, as the fieldwork progressed, helped formulate questions concerning the social organization of the research subjects. Some of the hypotheses related to social exclusion and transport include those associated with the sociology of everyday life.

Accordingly, as the research progressed, it was decided that the study would not be attached to any grand sociological theory, rather it would take a 'grounded theory' approach. This included the importance of grounding social theory within the realms of the everyday world. This meant it did not develop from any rigid pre-conceived theoretical background but the data collected added to and helped formulate the theoretical framework. It was felt that the orienting questions should emerge from local knowledge gained from the field setting, not just from intellectual presumptions - otherwise there could have been the danger of collected data being forced to fit the theory.

The research encompassed an in-depth, ethnographic approach in which observation, interviewing (of residents, transport and other relevant professionals), documentary analysis and case study work was utilised. The work was intended to be descriptive and reflexive in that the personal

characteristics and perceptions of the researcher was acknowledged and recognised as part of, and having an influence on, the research process. Knowledge of the necessary methodology was developed through the completion of a Post Graduate Certificate in Social Science Research Methods and through extensive study of relevant research methodology literature.

The literature reviewed demonstrated a number of transport barriers to social inclusion. The originality of this research however lies in its attention to understanding *why* some of these transport barriers exist, how personal characteristics interact with the transport system and how this can be related to transport intervention - a particular perspective which has not been fully explored. The adopted methodology of qualitative interviewing was thus justified as is it one of the best means of understanding the experiences of people and the meaning that is made of their experience. These interviews were intended to reveal how this individual experience interacts with the social and organizational forces within the context of people's lives.

The research was particularly interested in the perceptual and attitudinal viewpoints towards transport provision, something which existing literature only lightly touches upon. In particular, this dimension had yet to be explored fully in the South Yorkshire context and this dissertation hopes to add to existing knowledge and contribute to material gained from more conventional analyses. The collaborating body was also keen to see this angle pursued as the work carried out for Objective 1 thus far had not paid attention to perceptual or causal issues.

The overall aim was broken down into a series of practical objectives which the empirical research was to follow and which relate objectives 2 – 7 outlined in Chapter One:

2. To examine the meaning of 'transport intervention' within the context of this research; and to identify the extent of such schemes in South Yorkshire;

3. To identify areas of social exclusion within South Yorkshire which are subject to some form of transport intervention to use as case studies;

4. Review the regional and local policy context in relation to transport and social exclusion; and to develop a physical and socio-economic profile of the case study areas;

5. To investigate the experience and perceptions of public transport and access to essential services within these socially excluded communities;

6. To ascertain the level of awareness, uptake and use of transport intervention within these communities (i.e. how 'embedded' they are);

7. To investigate attitudes towards such intervention and the level of support from transport, economic and community development practitioners;

The rest of the chapter will be divided into the following sections. First, a brief overview of the adopted methodology is presented, stating the methodological tradition that this research belongs within (Section 3.2). This is followed by a section (3.3) which briefly clarifies some of the specific research methodology terms which are used throughout this chapter and which informed the analysis of the data. Thirdly, the theoretical framework underpinning the methodology is discussed outlining the general approach taken to the research and some of the conceptual arguments for the adoption of qualitative methods. The next section provides a discussion of the choice of methodology, including some of the important decisions taken early on in the study relating to potential avenues of research.

The fifth section presents the actual methodology adopted for this study, how and why case study areas were chosen, participant sampling strategies, interviewing methods and the use of survey research. The next two sections cover a discussion of the ethical implications of the research, and a specific discussion of considerations for research within a social exclusion context. The final section presents an overview of the analytical techniques used in the research.

3.2 Research foundations

This section provides a brief overview of some of the founding principles and assumptions about the empirical study. This includes some theoretical

background to the approach taken, and a discussion of real examples taken from the actual research experience.

This section outlines the ethos of this study with its emphasis on listening to the individual voices of those affected by the social policies and initiatives at play in the case study areas. The literature review has already identified that these experiences have not previously been examined properly. This is especially the case at the micro-level which may not necessarily be of interest to policy makers but is of critical importance to actual users.

Whilst this research is seen as a practical exercise in that ultimately it is intended to offer some suggestions for future transport provision of this nature, it does not approach the analysis from the perspective of the providers or policy makers. To this end, it is important to discuss the theory behind this sort of qualitative, in-depth study of actual real-life experiences captured within the field. It opens with a brief discussion of how social theory shapes social research.

The relationship of social theory to social research

This research is not concerned with the application or development of any 'grand theory' but rather it is seen to be 'grounded' in the everyday experiences of the respondents. This is because it is argued that grand theory can rise too far above the problems of everyday life and creates a level of generality which may be of little use in researching a particular area of social life exclusive to a particular context.

This is significant because to some extent the experiences of the respondents in the study are closely related to the context of which they are a part (for example, their personal circumstances, the unique characteristics of their residence, local labour market conditions, transport provision and so on) and so findings are not intended to form part of a wider, general social theory.

An alternative to such abstraction therefore is to ground social theories in observations of everyday life (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This seeks to make the attachment between theory and data as close as possible, in contrast to grand theory. May (1995) asserts that instead of descending upon the social world with a pre-existing body of theoretical propositions about how and why

social relations exist, those relations should first be observed, data should be collected on them and then theoretical propositions should be generated.

This approach was followed in this research where, although general topic areas were discussed (and which clearly had to broadly relate to transport, accessibility and employment) no preconceived assumptions were taken into the interviews. Respondents were free to consider other topic areas and questions were deliberately open-ended and designed to generate discussion, rather than limit them to rigid questions and answers.

This research is based upon qualitative methodology in that the main research tool is in-depth, semi-structured interviewing. This qualitative approach was felt to be the most appropriate method, rather than a more statistical, quantitative methodology. The reasons for this are outlined within the rest of the chapter. As a general introduction, the following section highlights some of the main differences between qualitative and quantitative research. The arguments in favour of qualitative research outlined here can be seen as justification and rationalization of the approach taken.

The difference between qualitative and quantitative research

Table 3.1: The difference between qualitative and quantitative research

Qualitative paradigms	**Quantitative paradigms**
Concerned with understanding behaviour from respondent's own frame of reference	Seek the facts/ causes of social phenomena
Naturalistic and uncontrolled observation	Obtrusive and controlled measurement
Subjective	Objective
Close to the data: the 'inside' perspective'	Removed from the data: the 'outsider' perspective
Grounded, discovery-orientated, exploratory, expansionist, descriptive, inductive	Ungrounded, verification- orientated, reductionist, hypothetico-deductive
Process-orientated	Outcome-orientated
Valid: real, rich, deep data	Reliable: hard and replicable data
Ungeneralizable: single case studies	Generalizable: multiple case studies
Holistic	Particularistic
Assume a dynamic reality	Assume a stable reality

Source: adapted from Oakley (1999: 156)

Coincidentally, some of the paradigms associated with qualitative research actually correspond to some of the dimensions of social exclusion. For example, the literature states that it is very difficult to define specific, concrete 'causes' of social exclusion (which quantitative research seeks to explore). Rather, research in this area would be more akin to the first example in this table – to be concerned with understanding behaviour from the individual's own perspective. Related to this, a more *subjective* analysis has to be taken given the relative importance of different aspects of exclusion and its often intangible nature. Furthermore, this research seeks to discover 'real, rich and deep data', rather than that which is seen to be generally representative or 'reliable'. Finally, social exclusion is a *dynamic* process and as such it needs to be investigated through an appropriate methodology, rather than that which assumes a 'stable reality'.

To expand upon this brief introduction, Rossman and Rallis (1998) and Denzin and Lincoln (1994) state that qualitative research is a broad approach to the study of social phenomena; the approach is naturalistic, interpretive and draws on multiple methods of inquiry. That is, it is conducted in natural settings rather than controlled ones, it assumes that humans use what they see and hear and feel to make meaning of social phenomena and it relies on a variety of data gathering techniques. Again, this was the approach taken within this research. Interviews were conducted within the respondent's own home or workplace, there was an emphasis on feelings and perceptions rather than hard 'facts' and a variety of data collection methods were used, including participant observation.

In terms of the type of data this approach exposed, and which this piece of research focussed on, it was recognised that qualitative lines of enquiry seek to uncover thoughts, perceptions and feelings experienced by informants (Minichiello et al, 1995). This type of research studies how people attach meaning to and organize their lives, and how this is turn influences their actions.

This form of qualitative approach is associated with phenomenology (questioning the structure and essence of lived experience) which is characterised by many of the above elements. Phenomenology assumes that the world is socially constructed and subjective, thus objectivity in research is unachievable (May, 1995).

Bogdan and Taylor (1975) expand on this stating that phenomenology examines the fact that 'reality' is what people imagine it to be. In this research, this could be demonstrated through the technique of talking to local people as well as practitioners – this showed that the same phenomena could be understood very differently depending on the perspective it was viewed from. The phenomenological approach allows the respondents' understandings to be valid in their own right, because it appreciates that the 'truth' is what people experience it to be, not some objective, neutral observation of the facts. Bogdan and Taylor assert that the researcher should seek not facts, or morality, but rather, understanding.

Phenomenology uses methods such as in-depth open-ended interviewing and participant observation (both of which were adopted in this case) which are able to yield descriptive data. These methods are said to allow the researcher access to the motives, meanings and actions and reactions of people in the context of their daily lives. It does not rely on the predetermined and fixed approach of predictive and prescriptive requirements of quantitative research methods.

To conclude this overview, this research takes elements from a number of different qualitative perspectives without necessarily adhering strictly to any single one of these. For example, whilst the study did take a 'grounded theory' approach, some presupposition and assumption had to be utilised in order for the study to have some meaning to the participants. The methodology adopted in this study is influenced by these theoretical discussions. How this theoretical underpinning was applied in practice will be presented in the following sections.

3.3 Clarification of research methodology terminology

The purpose of this section is to briefly clarify what is meant by various research methods and their terminology which are referred to throughout the research and text: these include 'ethnography', 'reflexivity' and 'grounded theory'. This research did not adhere strictly to any particular research doctrine but instead borrowed elements from a number of methodological traditions which were deemed most appropriate for the completion of the research objectives. The extent of the use of these traditions within the research will be explained below.

3.3.1 Ethnography

Ethnography can be described as direct, first-hand observation of daily behavior. This can include participant observation within the life of a "community", conversations with different levels of formality from small talk to long interviews. It can also include detailed work with key consultants about particular areas of community life – indeed it can in fact include "collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995:1).

The purpose of such methods is to discover and explore local beliefs and perceptions. As ethnography is geographically situated, it is most closely associated with the type of case study research used here. Such research also frames behaviour and action in socio-political and historical context which is particularly important in this research where context was seen as very important (for example, the labour market and spatial change occurring in South Yorkshire).

The ethnographic methodologies used in this research included participant observation (spending time walking around the area, familiarising oneself with local streets and landmarks, using local transport, shops and services, participating in local events and volunteer activities – for example, SureStart meetings), in-depth interviews of local residents, talking to local people at bus stops, in shops and so on and interviews with relevant practitioners – in line with the methodology described above. All these activities meant the research went beyond simply interviewing local residents and moved the research into the ethnographic model, albeit only to a limited degree.

Schensul and LeCompte (1999) state that there are a number of situations when ethnographic case study research should be called upon (all of which can apply to the issues associated with this research situation):

- When the problem is not clear or well understood (for example, there is no direct causal link between lack of transport and social exclusion)
- When random sampling does not capture range of variation (it was important to target socially excluded populations which had some potential experience of transport difficulties)

- When there is a disjuncture between what people know and what they do (for example, travel behaviour is complex; also practitioners can display 'professional naivety' in relation to transport)
- When respondents (or researchers) do not trust surveys (this is a particular concern with socially excluded communities and when using qualitative research principles which avoid positivist assumptions)
- When an intervention has unexpected processes or outcomes (the research was concerned with discovering the role / success of the transport intervention)
- When people want their story told or a perspective is not represented (traditional transport research has not taken account of individual qualitative data, especially of socially excluded groups)
- When traditional measures do not address causes and consequences of inequalities (again traditional transport measures are technically biased)

Some of the ethnographic research questions which Schensul and LeCompte suggest were also used in this research, namely:

- Differences among people (ethnicity, age, residential situation, etc.)
- Different behaviours, cultural beliefs, attitudes, norms,
- Relationships
- Processes (community, organizational, problem solving, decision making etc.)
- Structures (policies, norms, rules, etc.)
- Statuses (health, educational, economic, political, etc.)

The research does not claim to be a deeply ethnographic study which traditionally may involve the researcher spending extensive - possibly long-term - amounts of time in the field. However, the situations where ethnography can be used as an appropriate description closely match the conditions of this research, in that it was a case study approach which required an understanding of local context and perceptions. For example, Spradley (1979) suggests that it is a useful tool for "understanding how other people see their experience" (p. iv). He emphasizes, however, that "rather than *studying people,* ethnography means *learning from people*" (p. 3).

The use of ethnographic research techniques were felt to be imperative to this research as it meant that the context, motives and behaviours of the respondents and the research setting was able to be understood. Experience

and understanding of contexts to which respondents were referring to (such as locations, local facilities, experience of transport journeys and so on) gave important insight into the research situation. For example, the researcher's own experiences and observations created greater empathy with researchers which, among other advantages, helped to improve rapport during interviews. It also helped to clarify information and gave insight into perceptions and perspectives between different social groups (for example, by comparing experiences between the white middle class researcher – see reflexivity below - and local residents of a socially excluded area).

3.3.2 Reflexivity

For many years there has been an acknowledgement of the impact of the researcher's characteristics on the research process, beginning with literature on the effect of gender (e.g. Oakley, 1981) and it is recognised that a fieldworker's gender, age, prestige, expertise or ethnic identity may limit or determine what can be accomplished.

Minichiello et al (1995) state that the most commonly discussed methodological issue in research (for example, that which investigates ethnic minority groups) has focussed on the 'insider-outsider' debate. One side argued that insiders have a special knowledge of their own group, that they are '*endowed with special insight into matters necessarily obscure to others*' (Merton, 1973: 105). On the other side, it is argued that '*unprejudiced knowledge about groups is accessible only to non-members of those groups*' (Baca Zinn, 1979: 211). To conclude, Minichiello et al state that whilst such issues should be taken into consideration in the research and acknowledged as part of the methodology, it can be concluded that it is not a pre-requisite of research with different groups that the researcher be the 'same' as those being researched.

These issues strongly relate to the methodological concept of 'reflexivity'. This is most particularly associated with feminist research which argues that the personal experience (and characteristics) of the researcher is an integral part of the research process. Ezzy (2002) states that this approach sees that personal experience typically shapes the definition of the research problem, and the method used to collect and analyse data. Feminists would argue that although positivists strive for 'neutrality', in reality researchers must refute the claim of research to be 'objective' or apolitical and the researcher to be detached and distanced. Indeed, some (such as Yin, 1993) argue that it is impossible to be

truly objective, and that any such claims would be disingenuous and, in fact, not necessarily desirable. Oakley (1979) also believed that disengagement from the respondent is in fact exploitative, as they are expected to reveal honest personal information whilst the researcher does not contribute anything of themselves. To expand on this, Mishler (1986) claims that writing the self into research enhances the authenticity of the research. Fine also states:

> *To explicitly address the issue of the role of the researcher in the research process promises to provide better data* (1994: 72).

In this way the research does acknowledge that the characteristics of the researcher inevitably influences the direction of the research. For example, during the participant observation exercises, the white, able-bodied, relatively young, middle class lone researcher using the buses mostly as a research tool and not through genuine need cannot claim to have truly experienced the journeys in the same way as a person experiencing social exclusion. Despite these potential drawbacks, the characteristics of the researcher can have a positive influence on the success of the research through genuine empathy (for example, being female, non car driver, parent).

3.3.3 Grounded theory

Grounded Theory is a research method developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Haig (1995) states that grounded theory is typically presented as an approach to doing qualitative research, in that its procedures are neither statistical nor quantitative in some other way. Grounded theory research begins by focusing on an area of study and gathers data from a variety of sources, including interviews and field observations. Once gathered, the data are analyzed using coding and theoretical sampling procedures. When this is done, theories are generated, with the help of interpretive procedures. Theory develops and evolves during the research process due to the interplay between data collection, analysis phases and constant comparisons between existing and emerging theory (for example, in this case, comparing emerging findings from practitioner interviews with existing findings from resident interviews and evidence from the literature review). The general goal of grounded theory research is to construct theories in order to understand phenomena.

In other words, grounded theory can be described as a research method in which the theory is developed from the data, rather than the other way around.

This makes it an inductive approach, meaning that it moves from the specific to the more general. The method of study is essentially based on three elements: concepts, categories and propositions (what was originally called "hypotheses"). However, concepts are the key elements of analysis since the theory is developed from the conceptualization of data, rather than the actual data. Dick (2005) states that what most differentiates grounded theory from much other research is that it is explicitly emergent. It does not test a hypothesis but rather sets out to find what theory accounts for the research situation as it is.

The process of grounded theory used during the analysis stages in this research is discussed later in this chapter. In essence, the findings found in this research developed from a thorough investigation and interpretation of the transcripts and observations gathered in the field. Concepts and themes identified in the findings chapter emerged from the 'voices' and experiences emerging from the interviews. Labels given to themes were expressed through the language of sociological research. It is acknowledged that these labels are not necessarily within the frame of reference of the respondents themselves, however they were developed through interaction between the emerging data and existing literature in the field: an important element of grounded theory analysis.

3.4 Overview of methodology

The main method employed in this research was un- / semi-structured, in-depth interviewing. The 'unstructured' approach was greater for the resident interviews whilst interviews with practitioners followed a slightly more formal, yet still semi-structured, schedule.

Two inner urban areas of South Yorkshire were chosen as case studies: Burngreave in Sheffield and Athersley in Barnsley. The two primary reasons for choosing these two areas was their relatively high ranking on the local index of deprivation; and the existence of Objective 1 funded transport intervention, in the form of bus services. The research is based primarily on interviews with 36 local residents from the two areas; and interviews with 16 practitioners involved with the case study areas (working in the fields of transport, employment and training and community development). These interviews were undertaken between March and November 2005 and were complemented by a survey of bus passengers using the intervention investigated, undertaken over two study

days in July 2005 (involving 30 respondents). A number of participant observation exercises were also undertaken whilst using mainstream public transport in the area and on the study buses. This observation period covered the duration of the interview process.

Research assumptions

There were a number of assumptions which were identified before the field research began. These were developed in order to provide a focus for the research, and the justification for these assumptions is outlined below.

The overall aim was to investigate the extent to which transport difficulties (for example the lack of access to a car; or the lack of suitable public transport) create significant obstacles to local residents in finding and securing employment and training opportunities. The intention of the research was to be a qualitative and partially ethnographic study as opposed to a study of the more legislative and operational aspects of transport.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the research stipulated that when referring to transport-related social exclusion, this was in relation to *public* transport. In spite of this, one of the assumptions of the research was modified as the process developed. An early assumption was to limit the choice of householder participants to only those who had limited or no sole access to private transport, especially at critical times of need (for example, during working hours). However, on further reflection, whilst this would be emphasised during the recruitment stages, those who did have access (albeit limited) to a private vehicle would not be prevented from participating in the research. This recognised that for those on low incomes and suffering from social exclusion, even the possession of private transport does not automatically resolve some of the transport-related issues outlined within existing research. For example, there could be issues related to the cost of motoring and travel horizons could still be low. It also acknowledged that whilst a *household* may own a car, inevitably some members of that household would have restricted access to it.

The dissertation investigated transport 'intervention', referring to transport provision which has been put in place over and above that of mainstream provision – perhaps as a direct response to issues of social exclusion and with some form of external public or private sector funding. It was also assumed

that it was put in place because mainstream provision had been identified as failing, in some way, to meet the needs of residents or that it had failed to provide sufficient geographical or temporal coverage.

Again, upon further consideration of the collaborating partner's interest in the study and because of a logical deduction of the research aims (see case study section in this chapter) the wide remit of 'intervention' was narrowed. Investigation of existing projects, particularly those funded under the basis of Objective 1's transport measures revealed that several physical bus services had been implemented across South Yorkshire, mainly operated by community transport providers. It was thus decided that these would form the basis of the investigation, rather than less tangible interventions such as vehicle or technological improvements, infrastructure improvements, Quality Bus Corridors, ticketing improvements; cycling promotions or limited schemes such as employer-sponsored minibuses. These could all be seen to benefit users in the widest sense not just in terms of social exclusion.

Mainly because of this and the other reasons discussed, it was decided that the research would concentrate on bus provision. Additionally, many of the relevant initiatives relating to transport within the context of social exclusion policy already fell within this theme (this will be demonstrated in more depth within the section on case study selection). Crucially, also, it has been widely identified that bus use is predominantly associated with those from lower income groups - as opposed to train and light rail users who are more likely to be from higher income groups (see, for example, SEU, 2003). Thus an analysis of bus provision has immediate relevance for a study concerned with social exclusion.

For the purposes of the empirical part of the research, the characteristics of dedicated transport intervention which were to be studied were defined as:

- physical services associated with a particular geographical location;
- provided in response to an identified 'need', for example, an area suffers from high unemployment, or consultation with the local community has revealed a demand for services to specific sites;
- services put in place with a main remit to provide links between socially excluded areas and employment sites;

- are subject to external funding (either public sector or private sector sponsorship but not from commercial revenue), and are only viable, at least in the initial stages, with external funding;
- run (at least initially) on a non-commercial basis – i.e. motives for services are socially based rather than profit-driven;
- have been created in place of, or in addition to, commercial, mainstream services;
- they have no specific eligibility criteria relating to personal characteristics, aside from the fact that they are designed to enhance social inclusion (i.e. open to all residents in the areas they serve, as opposed to traditional community transport providers who serve only those with special mobility needs);
- usually run on different routes from existing mainstream services, possibly taking into account local demand or perceived gaps in access;
- only services which run on a daily, day time basis (for example, some services do receive funding but this might be for only part of the service such as in the evenings, or on Sundays).

Given the nature of transport –that it necessarily moves within and beyond set areas – careful consideration had to be given to which unit of analysis was to be investigated. Questions arose about whether the research should focus on specific areas which the identified buses served (even though the bus might not exclusively serve these areas) or whether it should look at the service as a whole (that is, the impact on residents along the entire route of the service).

This will be discussed more fully in the case study section of this chapter, but it was finally decided that the *main* focus of the research would be upon distinct geographical areas. For ease of identification and in order to present statistical socio-economic contextual information (mainly Census data) these areas were defined by ward boundaries. These also complemented the Priority 4a[5] areas identified by Objective 1. In order to develop meaningful findings however, these areas had to be extensively affected by the transport under investigation – the bus had to serve several parts of the identified area, rather than just travel straight through the area on a main route.

[5] Priority 4a areas are identified by Objective 1 as the most deprived communities within the area covered by South Yorkshire Objective 1, with the least developed community structures

Ultimately, the focus rested on the "Link" bus services operated by Sheffield Community Transport (SCT) and running in Burngreave and Athersley; and whether these were indeed improving access to employment or other economic opportunity.

However, in order to overcome the fact that many potential resident participants within the study areas may not have been aware of the services - as they did not live on its immediate route – and because of the intrinsic mobile nature of the initiative under investigation it was also felt to be important to investigate immediately identifiable users of the bus service. The process of recruiting respondents to participate in the study (mainly speculative contact through local community and interest groups), meant there was no way of ensuring that these people would have come into contact with the bus intervention being investigated. This would have had consequences for the findings of the study, and thus it was felt important that at least some of the respondents had to have experience of the transport intervention being studied. Otherwise, it would have been difficult to form any fair judgement on the success of the intervention. In reality, several of the resident respondents did have direct experience of the bus services being investigated but before this was apparent, the only way of ensuring this was to approach passengers of the services directly in the field.

In practice, this involved conducting an on-board study of passengers (this is discussed in more detail later in this chapter). Inevitably, however, this involved respondents who were not residents of the immediate case study areas as the survey was conducted whilst the bus was moving along its route. The findings from these survey questions were nonetheless still felt to be relevant as they gave important insights into how the bus was perceived and its relative significance to the case study areas, and to access to employment. The findings from the survey are, however, distinguished within the analysis and are seen as secondary to the findings from the resident interviews.

This investigation was complemented by observations recorded whilst in the field. Due to the 'ethnographic' nature of this research, it was felt important to become immersed in the everyday experience of residents of the case study areas, therefore participant observation was undertaken using public transport.

The next sections will outline the individual methods of data collection utilised in the study. It will begin with a discussion of the case study approach – why case

studies were felt to be most appropriate for this research, how and why the specific areas were chosen, the advantages and disadvantages of this approach, and the research methodology used for the investigation of the case studies.

3.5 Case Study Methodology

This section will discuss the theoretical tradition which the case study approach stems from. It will then discuss the reasons for using a case study and why it is the most appropriate method in these particular circumstances. This will include a commentary on the actual experience, with much of the discussion taken from the research methodology literature. The reference to this literature provides a justification for adopting this methodology.

The history of the case study approach

The case study is an empirical enquiry that investigates contemporary phenomena and is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context (Yin, 1993). Research of this nature - the effect of area-based intervention - naturally lends itself to the case study approach. The most obvious motivation for this approach is that the phenomenon under investigation is already inextricably bound up within distinct areas within South Yorkshire and thus these areas could be automatically viewed as conspicuous case studies. This is not the only reason they were chosen, however, as the literature demonstrates the context of the study is also highly important to the research.

The areas in question were chosen because of their association with social exclusion and their transport and labour market characteristics. All of these factors form a highly influential contextual framework in which the research is based, and it would be impossible to divorce these aspects from the intervention under investigation. Due to the nature of transport – a bus service has the potential to affect a very wide area – it was felt important that the study had to narrow down the research focus to an area-based approach. Otherwise it would be in danger of broadening the scope so widely that contextual factors would become impossible to relate to the findings. That is, the study did not want to use as a case study the actual bus service (which potentially could travel through and between several different areas, displaying very different

socio-economic characteristics). Instead, it was felt much more appropriate to use particular geographical areas as the units of analysis for the case study – in that way, the context of the case study could be 'controlled' to some extent and meaningful analysis could be made.

In general, case studies are seen as the preferred strategy when 'how' or 'why' questions are being asked and when the researcher has little control over events (in contrast to an experiment for example) and when the focus is on contemporary phenomena with some real life context. They tend not to deal with mere frequencies or incidence (such as surveys) and provide more exploratory, richer information.

The following list of uses of case studies (Yin, 1993) neatly lends itself to the objectives of this research:

- Their most important function is to explain presumed causal links in real life interventions that are too complex for surveys or experimental strategies;
- To describe an intervention and the real life context in which it occurs;
- Can illustrate certain topics with a descriptive evaluation;
- A case study strategy may be used to explore situations in which the intervention being evaluated has no clear, single set of outcomes.

Advantages and disadvantages of case studies

Yin goes on to outline some of the advantages and disadvantages of the case study approach. These broadly relate to the actual experiences of this research (as will be discussed later in the chapter).

Advantages

1. Case study data are drawn from people's experiences and practices and so are seen to be strong in reality;
2. Case studies allow for generalizations from a specific instance to a more general issue;
3. Case studies allow the researcher to show the complexity of social life and can build on this to explore alternative meanings and interpretations;
4. Because case studies build on actual practices and experiences, they can be linked to action and their insights contribute to changing practice;

5. Because the data contained in case studies are close to people's experiences, they can be more persuasive and more accessible (Cohen and Manion, 1995);
6. The case study has proven to be in complete harmony with the three key words that characterize any qualitative study: describing, understanding, and explaining (Hamel et al, 1993).

Disadvantages

1. The very complexity of a case can make analysis difficult. This is particularly so because the holistic nature of case study means that the researcher is often very aware of the connections between various events, variables and outcomes. Accordingly, everything appears relevant –even though it is not;
2. While the contextualisation of aspects of the case strengthen this form of research, it is difficult to know where 'context' begins and ends;
3. Perceived lack of rigour. When devising a case study, there is a danger that the researcher has not followed a set of systematic procedures or has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of findings and conclusions (which is less likely in other research strategies). Yin believes this may be due to the lack of methodological texts and guidance on case study design and implementation relative to other methods;
4. Case studies are criticized for being too time consuming to conduct and to analyze and are in danger of producing overlong documents;.
5. It is argued that the case study provides little basis for scientific generalization – that is, how can generalizations be made from a single case?.

How many cases to study?

It is important to elaborate on the last of these perceived disadvantages - the generalizability of the case study approach. Yin's (2003) answer to this is that case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to specific populations or universes. The case study is not necessarily a representation of a 'sample' but its goal is to expand and generalize upon theories not numerical frequencies. Yin goes on to argue that it is not possible or even desirable to seek 'representative' cases and probably such a thing does not even exist.

The issue in this case therefore was to determine exactly how many cases were needed in order to overcome issues relating to 'representativeness' (although as is demonstrated later, this is not necessarily hugely important). The emphasis placed on numbers of cases considered raised the question of the suitability of any one case for the purposes of an investigation. It emerged that the definition of such suitability resides in the study's actual aim: what is this case (or cases) intended to explain?

Hamel et al (1993) state that the methodological qualities of the case determine its representative value, in line with the aim of the research. Therefore, it was felt that multiple case studies were not necessary in order to make the research more 'valid' or 'representative'. The very nature of the research meant it would only ever investigate a relatively small number of areas, because there were only a few areas which were affected by transport intervention. In a purely practical sense, also, it would not have been possible to cover several case studies due to temporal and resource constraints.

Yin does argue, however, that it is beneficial not to rely on single cases as the evidence from more than one case is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust. Yin favours the use of at least two case studies over single case studies when one has the choice (and the resources). He argues that even if one can only do a two-case study, the chances of doing a good piece of research will be greater than using a single case design. These are vulnerable if only for the simple fact of putting 'all your eggs in one basket'. More importantly, the analytic benefits from having at least two cases may be substantial because conclusions arising independently from two cases will be more powerful than those coming from a single case. Secondly, the contexts of the two cases are likely to differ to some extent. Yin argues that, if under these varied circumstances one can still arrive at common conclusions from both cases, they will have immeasurably expanded the external generalizability of the findings, again compared to those from a single case alone. These are the reasons that the research investigated two case study areas (although as is discussed later in this chapter, this led to issues with the relative weight given to each of these areas).

The two case studies chosen were those displaying the greatest number of desired characteristics. One of the most important of these being the number and extent of transport interventions in place. In a study of the effects of

transport intervention, it is important that the research areas are sufficiently affected by such interventions in order to yield meaningful results.

The two areas are sufficiently similar (for example in socio-economic characteristics, extent of transport intervention) to be able to draw meaningful conclusions, yet the distinctions between the two areas mean that generalisations may be able to be made about such areas in other parts of the region and elsewhere. Also, whilst the areas have similar levels of deprivation, the ethnicity profiles of the two areas are quite different (Burngreave having a significantly higher proportion of non- white residents). The two areas are also in different districts of South Yorkshire, so this also meant findings could be formulated which were not necessarily influenced by a unique set of local political circumstances. Again, this increases the validity of the data in that one is not drawing conclusions from a homogenous set of respondents or from an area with unique characteristics which are not generalizable to a wider population.

The literature review also provides ample justification for the choice of these two case study areas. Firstly, although they could both be considered to be 'deprived' or socially excluded, they provide good examples of the types of contrasting areas mentioned by Atkinson (2003). He points out that not all excluded places are the same. For example, some spaces may experience high levels of population turnover and residential transience, whilst others may consist of more traditional areas of working class housing which contain relatively stable populations (Burngreave and Athersley respectively could be seen to represent both these types of area). Thus, studying them both gives a broader perspective on the intervention under investigation, as opposed to looking at two similar areas and also provides a contrasting study in the absence of an urban and non-urban comparison.

Furthermore, the two areas have been subject to what the literature (for example, Green and Owen, 1998) emphasises as highly significant to employment-related social exclusion: economic restructuring. South Yorkshire as a whole was hugely affected by the decline in traditional manufacturing; and whilst they are not the typical economically devastated 'pit villages' found in other parts of South Yorkshire, areas such as Burngreave and Athersley still suffered from job losses in steel, coal and glass manufacturing, the effects of which are still being felt.

The choice of an area such as Burngreave which is covered by an area-based initiative such as New Deal for Communities (Burngreave NDC was heavily involved in the development of the transport intervention project), also provides a valuable opportunity to begin to assess their impact. This is especially important when commentators such as Atkinson (2003) and West (1999) suggest that these initiatives do not necessarily have much success in creating decent and sustainable employment and their emphasis on economic regeneration could actually result in further disenfranchising those who will never be part of the labour market.

3.6 Criteria for Choice of Case Study Areas

The research aim of the study states that it intended to "*investigate the effects of dedicated transport intervention on improving access to economic opportunities amongst socially excluded communities*".

As already mentioned in Chapter 1, the starting point for the choice of case study areas was that they would be within South Yorkshire, in order to comply with the requirements of the collaborating partner, Objective 1, and because this region displayed many of the relevant characteristics the research was interested in investigating.

The research aim lends itself to a set of characteristics necessary for the identification of the potential case study areas: namely 'transport intervention', 'social exclusion' and 'economic' factors – particularly employment. The areas were identified through a process of elimination beginning with the requirement that the area must be affected by dedicated transport intervention.

The following section outlines the list of 'criteria' which the eventual case study areas had to conform to:

Transport Intervention:

- Has some form of transport intervention;
- Transport intervention has specific purpose of accessing employment; and provides access to major employment site(s);
- Has more than one transport intervention in place or the transport intervention covers a significant part of the case study area.

Socio-economic conditions:

- Has a high ranking on the overall Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2004 (combining the six domains of Income, Employment, Health Deprivation and Disability, Education Skills and Training, Housing and Geographical Access to Services);
- Has a high ranking on the 'Employment' subcategory of the IMD (this includes Unemployment claimant count; Incapacity Benefit claimants; Participants in New Deal programmes etc.);
- Has a high ranking on the 'Geographical Access to Services' subcategory of the IMD (which includes road distance to GP; supermarket or convenience store; primary school and Post Office);
- High unemployment (from Census 2001);
- High levels of households without a car (from Census 2001).

Geographical considerations:

- Location in relation to main urban centres;
- Represents more than one district of South Yorkshire;
- Priority 4a area.

Stage One: Areas with some form of transport intervention in place

The initial list of services was identified from:

- consultation with South Yorkshire Passenger Transport Executive (SYPTE), Objective 1 and community transport providers (for example, requesting a list of transport projects which were designed to link specific areas with employment and other economic opportunities);
- analysis of lists of subsidised and externally funded provision published by the transport authority for the relevant time period, (for example, SYPTA, 2003). Part-funded services were not considered as this meant they were mainly commercial services and not strictly relevant for this study;
- timetable and route analysis (investigating whether such routes served major employment sites);
- promotional material (for example, this may explicitly state that the service is designed to link areas of high unemployment with economic opportunity).

Appendix 1(a) shows the complete list of these services (only those which were entirely non-commercially funded were included on this list). This list

revealed all the services which were subject to public subsidy, or sponsorship from the private sector (usually local employers with a vested interest in providing services which allowed potential employers to access their sites). This list includes the service numbers, and a brief description of the broad areas served.

Stage 2: Areas with transport intervention in place which relates specifically to improving access to economic opportunity

The first point of departure was accompanied by the caveat that this transport intervention must be related - to a significant degree - with access to economic opportunity (and ultimately with improving levels of social exclusion). This was again to reduce the potential number of irrelevant cases which could be isolated at this stage. These areas were identified through investigation of the funding criteria, through consultation with SYPTE and analysis of the areas they served (timetable and route analysis). For example, the funding criteria might state that schemes would only be supported if they could provide a demonstrable economic role (i.e. access to identified employment areas), rather than a solely social function (such as access to shops, or health facilities). This produced a reduced second list of potential case study areas (**Appendix 1(b)**).

It could be argued that all the services could potentially enhance employment prospects as, even though they might not directly serve an employment site, they may access a transport interchange, or rural train station, and thus users could go on to access employment. However, in order to make an unambiguous research connection between transport and employment, it was felt necessary to eliminate the 'indirect' services at this stage.

The main identifying factor of these areas was based on ward definitions but their local area references were also included, when distinct from ward names. Often this was not problematic as the locally-accepted names of areas related to the names of the political wards. Wards were chosen as this could easily be related to socio-economic data contained within official neighbourhood statistics. Although there are difficulties in using such definitions and statistics (this will be discussed later), it was felt to be most appropriate in this study for ease of reference. Many of the areas referred to within the transport information studied were not necessarily 'official' names of areas – for example they could be colloquial references, or could relate to commercial premises or

educational establishments. Thus, especially given the lack of familiarity with many of these areas, ward definitions were felt to be the most suitable means of identifying areas.

A cursory investigation of the initial 'long list' of services (particularly those which could be seen as distinct from mainstream provision) revealed several similar services running in three of the South Yorkshire districts. These were operated by community transport providers and often had an element of demand responsive provision. Although some of these were relevant under the heading of transport 'intervention', some had to be discounted as they were not necessarily directly linked to employment access.

Stage 3: Identification of the main 'beneficiaries' of the services

The next stage in the process was to single out the areas (wards) which could be considered the main beneficiaries of the services. These were the main residential areas which were served extensively by services (often more than one) and were not simply areas which the bus briefly passed through, or areas which were mainly non-residential. For example, whilst some areas may appear to be served several times by different services, these were not included as they were often industrial areas. The same applied to the wards which mainly consisted of the main commercial districts of the four South Yorkshire boroughs. Again, it is acknowledged that there may be populations experiencing social exclusion within these areas but for the purposes of this study, which was to identify those areas most likely to yield the most significant results, they were discounted (especially given the proximity of potential employment and transport provision, such as main interchanges). This stage in the process produced the list shown in **Appendix 1(c)**.

Stage 4: Identification of the most 'socially excluded' wards served by the services

Although existing literature argues that social exclusion is not necessarily synonymous with deprivation, the absence of statistical data on social exclusion per se (and the difficulties in defining and measuring such a concept) meant that the identification of relevant wards had to rely on data relating to deprivation (2004 IMD and 2001 Census).

Also, whilst again the literature notes that social exclusion is multi-dimensional and that varying factors implicated in the phenomena can overlap and interact to create a deepened experience of social exclusion (for example, poor health can affect employment prospects as well as social interaction), it was felt necessary to simplify the process of identifying relevant wards to only those with a explicit relationship to the research aims. In practice, this meant that potential wards were selected on the basis of their overall deprivation (which to some extent does take account of multiple deprivation factors) employment characteristics, accessibility data (the limitations of this is discussed later) and levels of car ownership.

Thus, the next stage was to identify those wards which had a high ranking on the overall IMD. This equated to selecting only those which were ranked within the top 10% of the most deprived wards in England (this was based on a rank out of 8414, with 1 being the most deprived). This cut off point was chosen as much of the official local and central government policy documents refer to wards which are within this bracket, emphasising that it is generally considered to be the benchmark figure of significant deprivation.

This process produced the smaller list which is outlined in **Appendix 1(d)**. This list was then further analysed by identification of sub-domains of the overall IMD, that of employment and of geographical access to services, as well as figures from the 2001 census of unemployment levels and percentage of households without a car or van. **Appendix 1(e)** ranks each of the wards based on this data, and then compares them side by side, to reveal which wards consistently rank highly. The most deprived ward from each district of South Yorkshire was then selected on the basis of these rankings (that is, which overall had the highest rankings within the five criteria).

Before the final case study choice is discussed, it is important to interject with a dialogue on some of the methodological considerations which had to be taken during this process.

Geographical considerations

It is important to note at this stage that as the research broadly related to an investigation into social exclusion and accessibility, a natural assumption could be made that the most relevant case study areas would be those which are

physically or geographically 'isolated' from key facilities – the most obvious areas being those in rural or peripheral positions. Initially it was hoped that the case studies would represent a range of areas which were chosen because of their location in relation to main urban centres. That is, the case studies would represent an inner city area, a suburban location and a rural / peripheral location.

However, as the literature demonstrates, isolation is not necessarily related to geographical distance. For example, Forrest and Kearns (1999) state that neighbourhoods can be defined by a similarity of buildings types, or housing tenure and this physical homogeneity and boundary definition can contribute to a sense of isolation. To demonstrate that 'physical' distance is not the only criteria for isolation, he points out that physical barriers such as main roads can cut off an area, even though it may be close to a city centre, for example. Social isolation, where areas are not visited by outsiders can also exacerbate this sense of isolation, as well as negative reputations. Thus, selecting a case study based simply on its geography alone would be presumptuous in relation to whether poor transport and lack of proximity to facilities exacerbated social exclusion in that area.

Additionally, due to the methodology adopted for choosing the case studies, those areas which could be considered 'peripheral', with the assumption that residents may experience the most significant access-related difficulties, were not necessarily deprived, relative to other parts of the South Yorkshire, and often car ownership levels were high. This is not to suggest, of course, that pockets of deprivation do not exist in such areas, or that accessibility is not problematic but practical constraints and the necessity to be able to reach as many potential participants as possible, meant that rural areas were not automatically selected.

It was also felt to be important that only one case study area would be chosen from each of the four districts of South Yorkshire. It was felt that by choosing case study areas in different local authority areas, one could limit the effects of local government policies on the results of the study (if two case study areas were chosen in the same local authority, the success or otherwise of transport schemes may be due more to the attitudes of the local authority than to other factors).

Furthermore, as the research was also concerned with access to economic opportunity, the choice of case study areas had to include only those areas with transport intervention which was specifically related to access to employment and training facilities. This further precluded the more 'rural' initiatives, which had a greater emphasis on social provision. As stated in the introduction, the focus on the economic role of transport intervention was not intended to denigrate the social significance of public transport (as the literature demonstrates, this is extremely important), it was simply a matter of attempting to effectively meet the research aims.

The time and resource constraints of a single PhD researcher meant there was limited time to interview sufficient number of participants in each of the case study areas. Covering more than two case study areas would inevitably mean that resources and numbers of interviews would have to be spread more thinly across the areas, resulting in less robust results.

Consideration was also given to the collaborating partner in the research, Objective 1, and thus the case study area were more favourably considered if they were Priority 4a areas (a further indication of socio-economic deprivation).

Given this, and the other deprivation criteria, the shortlisted case study areas were as follows:

Table 3.2 Most Deprived Wards by District

District	**Ward name**
Barnsley	Athersley (Priority 4a area)
Doncaster	Conisbrough
Rotherham	Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh
Sheffield	Burngreave (Priority 4a area)

Due to their Priority 4a status, the final choice was narrowed to:

- **Athersley**, a large post war local authority housing estate two miles north of Barnsley town centre; and
- **Burngreave**, a diverse multi-ethnic area North West of Sheffield city centre

Additional justification for the choice of the two case study areas came from a more detailed investigation into the type of transport provision which constituted the intervention in each of the shortlisted areas. The transport intervention running in Athersley and Burngreave was operated by a community transport

provider. This had an emphasis on flexibility (including, in the case of Athersley, a demand responsive element); a strong community ethos, explicitly related to the area seen as the main beneficiary of the service (as inferred by the names of the services, the Burngreave Link and Athersley Link); and a clear agenda of providing links with employment opportunities. The services run in the other two areas were mainly run by commercial operators, virtually indistinct from standard, mainstream services. Mainly for these reasons, it was decided that these community transport operated services would be the main focus for the study although the interview schedule would be flexible enough to incorporate a discussion of all types of public transport provision in the case study areas.

3.7 Limitations of the case study approach

Even though the choice of case study areas relied heavily on statistical indicators, the potential drawbacks of this data must be acknowledged. Firstly, there are difficulties relating to the size (both in geographic and population terms) of the area typically covered by a ward boundary. Overall ward statistics can also mask pockets of deprivation within a generally more 'affluent' area, or indeed, vice versa. So an area may have been discounted due to its apparent lack of deprivation but in fact parts of the overall area could be considered deprived, or socially excluded. This is especially so with an intervention such as a bus route which only passes through certain sections of any particular ward.

Neighbourhood statistics do offer data on a smaller scale – 'Super Output Areas' (SOAs). These are small areas specifically introduced to improve the reporting and comparison of local statistics. Unlike electoral wards, these SOA layers are of consistent size across the country and are not subjected to regular boundary change.

Out of interest, **Appendix 1(f)** lists statistics from the SOAs of the chosen case study areas, which matched the specific parts of the wards which were served by the bus services under investigation. Each area the bus service passes through has been given an Index of Multiple Deprivation ranking, based on the 2004 Lower Layer Super Output Area data (one of the smallest datasets available, relating to an average of 1500 residents). The SOAs selected were those closest to the routes of the services and whilst not ideally representative

of the communities which may use the services, they provide a useful indication of levels of deprivation in the areas served by the transport intervention.

As the tables demonstrate, an analysis of the potential case study areas at this level of detail would produce a huge amount of data, which is difficult to interpret and to assign an overall deprivation 'ranking'. This fact, along with an acknowledgement that an exercise investigating each lower SOA for each potential service would have been excessively time consuming, means that analysis of overall ward data was the preferred method of choosing the case study areas. Notwithstanding this, SOA data does provide further evidence of the validity of the chosen case study areas, as they reveal some severe pockets of deprivation within the areas served by the transport intervention in both areas (but in particular in Burngreave).

The next section will discuss the research stages which occurred once the case study areas were finalised.

3.8 Sampling

3.8.1 Identifying participants

Once the two case study areas had been chosen, a number of stages occurred concurrently, which included:

- Identification of potential relevant resident interview participants through contact with 'gatekeepers' such as community groups, employment services and so on;
- Identification of potential relevant practitioner interview participants;
- Devising an interview schedule based on the aims of the research and considerations developed through the literature review.

The literature review, and policy documentation, suggested that several groups could be considered more 'at risk' of experiencing social exclusion (and thus transport-related exclusion). Although it is acknowledged that membership of any one of these groups does not automatically confer social exclusion, the groups identified by the literature (for example, Oppenheim, 1998; Hine and Mitchell, 2001) typically consist of the following:

- women
- lone parents

- disabled people
- those in low income groups
- single pensioners
- unemployed people
- the economically inactive
- people with health problems
- children
- those in Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Caribbean ethnic minority groups

Specifically in relation to transport, research identifies that amongst these groups, certain sectors are more likely to experience specific transport disadvantage and are a particular focus for this research. These groups include women (see for example, Grieco et al, 1989; DETR, 2000b); the disabled (for example, Hine and Mitchell, 2001); and ethnic minorities (for example, DfT, 2003; Rajé et al, 2004). In a wider sense other economic and demographic groups also experience particular forms of transport-related exclusion, such as the unemployed (for example, Quinn, 1986; Green et al, 2005); those travelling with young children (for example, Wixey et al, 2005) and young people (for example, Turner and Pilling, 1999; Green and White, 2007).

The methodological difficulties in identifying those sections of the community who may have a suppressed desire for employment but who are not part of any formal job seeking process was acknowledged. It was hoped that by not having a narrowly defined selection criteria for potential participants it would be more likely that some of those 'hidden' job seekers would be unearthed, increasing the chances of discovering more about the phenomena of social exclusion in general. Therefore, the research was concerned with including those who, whilst potentially the targets of regeneration initiatives as they were of working age, would also provide another perspective on what could constitute social inclusion. It was therefore felt important at this stage not to dismiss too many sections of the community, and therefore a number of different organisations were approached, not only those concerned with labour market initiatives.

Chapter 1 has already justified why this dissertation has a focus on access to employment. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the focus of recruitment was upon those people of working age. Despite this, it was important not to omit those participants who were not in a position to take up paid employment (such as those with limiting illnesses, disability or caring responsibilities), as the

research borrows heavily from the notion that many regeneration initiatives over-emphasise the role of employment in social inclusion.

By including a wide range of community members and through the nature of the interviews (semi- or un-structured where participants were encouraged to talk not only about their own experiences but of those of family, friends and neighbours) the research hoped to encompass a broad range of experiences and perspectives. This helped to expand the findings to include not only issues narrowly related to employment but also to other, perhaps equally important, dimensions of social exclusion.

This meant identifying all the community groups, and agencies, working in the two areas which may be able to provide contacts with residents who may belong in one (or more) of the identified groups. This included:

- community development groups (such as Community Forums or organisations such as SureStart[6]);
- interest groups (such as those working with particular ethnic minority groups, or young people);
- employment or labour market training services (such as Action Teams for Jobs);
- education and training projects;
- any transport providers or operators working within the social inclusion agenda (such as Community Transport organisations).

Appendix 2 provides a list of these identified groups in the two case study areas.

It was acknowledged that there are critical issues relating to the representativeness of the sample participants and to ethical considerations (for example, sensitivities relating to work status, the need to avoid value judgements over lifestyles etc.). The methodology adopted for the research, developed through research training, endeavoured to acknowledge these and create a valid and reliable sample frame.

[6] SureStart is a central Government programme mainly targeted on disadvantaged areas which aims to increase the availability of childcare, improve wellbeing of young children and provide support to parents particularly in their aspirations towards employment (http://www.surestart.gov.uk/).

3.8.2 Contacting potential participants

All the organisations listed in Appendix 2 were contacted, either by email, letter or telephone (with follow-up contact if initial enquiries were not successful). This was adapted depending on the type of organisation involved. Despite repeated attempts, the majority of the organisations did not respond to requests for participation. In other cases, practitioners did respond but suggested that transport and accessibility was not a relevant issue for them or their clients and they were therefore no longer pursued.

Some of the reasons for this lack of response may have come from the researcher's status as a student, although most contact did emphasise the connection with Objective 1. In many cases, however, organisations simply did not believe the issues the research was concerned with to be significant. This reveals the difficulties in contacting participants through 'gatekeepers' – if they do not believe the research to be of relevance, the line of contact is effectively closed, even though transport may indeed be a significant issue for their clients. This relates to the issue briefly touched upon within the literature, which shows that often practitioners and professionals working in the fields of community development and social inclusion lack understanding of potential transport difficulties. This could be because they themselves do not experience such difficulties as they often have access to private vehicles or they lack understanding of the effects of social exclusion upon travelling.

Another aspect which prevented access to potential resident participants was the issue of client confidentiality, particularly for those working in statutory agencies such as employment services. Whilst practitioners may have been happy to talk generally about transport issues amongst their clients, they were not able to pass on contact details.

One method of circumventing gatekeepers was to attempt to contact potential resident participants directly. This was undertaken in the Burngreave case study by placing a request for volunteers to participate in research in the local newsletter. Whilst only two local residents made direct contact with the researcher as a result of this advertisement, one of these was a community development practitioner who worked in the area and was able to refer a further seven local residents who were subsequently interviewed.

The success in the recruitment of participants varied significantly across the two case study areas. In reality, far more participants volunteered in Burngreave, than in the Athersley case study area. A number of factors could explain this. Firstly, despite the recognition of potential 'survey fatigue', community involvement and activism was far more common in Burngreave, with a correspondingly large number of active community and regeneration initiatives. It was possible that local residents here were more accustomed and willing to volunteer for research. Allied to this, was the existence of a diverse range of populations and communities (in particular various ethnic minority groups), who were often keen to get involved in order to provide representation of their community (although very few of the eventual participants were associated with any specific interest group). In contrast, although subject to regeneration, Athersley has far less community involvement and residents in general are charged with displaying 'apathy'. Although, this is contended within the findings chapter, it was certainly the case that far fewer respondents were able to be recruited (although this is more likely to be due to the lack of community organisations through which to contact volunteers).

In practice, although several organisations did show interest in the research and did agree to be interviewed as practitioners, the most productive line of enquiry was through the local *SureStart* initiatives operating in the two case study areas. Whilst inevitably this did skew the 'representativeness' of the interview participants - many of them were parents of young children - they were sufficiently diverse (for example, in gender, age and ethnicity) to provide a good cross-section of the local populations. Additionally, sufficient numbers of other participants, contacted through other channels, were involved and this again helped to increase representativeness.

The fact that the majority of the participants of the study were female (28 out of 35) was not necessarily felt to be problematic for a number of reasons. Feminist methodology was closely associated with the general ethos of the research in that it was reflexive (acknowledging the characteristics of the researcher in the research process); gender aware (appreciating that gender differences affect personal experiences of wider systems, including public transport); and had an emphasis on 'everyday' routines such as childcare, domestic tasks and so on, which are predominantly undertaken by women. Jenkins (2004) argues that for feminists, the everyday routines traced by women are very important, because the seemingly banal and trivial events of

the everyday are bound into the power structures which limit and confine women. In addition, women, particularly those with young children, are identified as having particular difficulties with existing transport systems and thus are a valid point of enquiry.

Despite this, it must be acknowledged that the eventual findings must be interpreted with the understanding that they relate, to a large degree, to the experiences of women, and in particular those with young children, who face particular constraints in potential employment opportunities relating to their status as parents.

The second strand of recruitment was to identify relevant practitioners to contribute to the study, which in practice occurred simultaneously with contacting 'gatekeepers'. Whilst many different organisations provided assistance, the final set of practitioners who were actually interviewed formally as part of the research consisted of those involved in the following fields and specific organisations (which related to the broad aims of the research):

- SYPTE
- Community Transport Providers
- Transport Consultants
- Local authority transport sections
- Local authority area forum officers
- Community development practitioners
- Employment services
- Local labour market training and advice providers
- Adult education providers
- SureStart practitioners and volunteers

As well as providing empirical evidence for the research through in-depth interviews, some of these practitioners (as well as others who were contacted but not interviewed) were able to provide contacts in the local communities. The research also consisted of giving brief presentations about the study to volunteer groups (for example, SureStart) which was very useful in attracting interest in the study and led to the technique described in the following section.

3.8.3 Sampling strategies

There are a number of sampling strategies which have to be considered when conducting research of this nature. However, many of these (such as random sampling or systematic sampling) are more appropriate to quantitative research techniques such as surveys, which require a degree of probability sampling. In this research, non-probability sampling techniques were considered more appropriate, where samples were not chosen at random but were targeted on specific populations.

The most appropriate of these techniques was the so-called 'snowball' sampling method. Snowball sampling may be defined simply as a technique for finding research subjects which involves one subject giving the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of another and so on (Vogt, 2005). Atkinson and Flint (2001) recognise the benefits of this technique, stating that whilst it contradicts many of the assumptions underpinning conventional notions of sampling it has a number of advantages when researching populations such as the deprived and the socially stigmatised.

Snowball sampling can be applied as an 'informal' method to reach a target population. As the aim of this research was primarily explorative, qualitative and descriptive (Hendricks et al, 1992), snowball sampling offered practical advantages. Snowball sampling may also be applied as a methodology for making inferences about a population of individuals who have been difficult to enumerate through methods such as household surveys (Snijders, 1992; Faugier and Sergeant, 1997) – this was the case in this research as it was interested in perceptual and descriptive elements.

Hendricks et al (1992) believe that the main value of snowball sampling is as a method for obtaining respondents where some degree of trust is required to initiate contact, which again was potentially the case in this research. Under these circumstances, 'chain referral' can instil the researcher with characteristics associated with being an insider or group member and this can aid entry to settings where conventional approaches are inappropriate.

Atkinson and Flint agree with this stating that snowball sampling has enabled access to previously hidden populations. They point out that often members of such populations may be involved in activities that are considered deviant, such

as drug taking, or they may be vulnerable, such as the stigmatised in society, making them reluctant to take part in more formalised studies using traditional research methods. Trust may be developed as referrals are made by acquaintances or peers rather than other more formal methods of identification. They state that snowball sampling has been found to be economical, efficient and effective.

In this research, the snowball technique was utilised both in interviews with professionals and practitioners (to refer to other relevant organisations and individuals and to refer to potential interested local residents) and with local residents themselves. It has to be acknowledged, however, that this technique does have some disadvantages. For example, there are questions over the quality of the data and in particular the selection bias which could limit the validity of the sample (Van Meter, 1990; Kaplan et al, 1987).

Also, because participants are not randomly drawn, but are dependent on the subjective choices of the respondents who are first accessed, most snowball samples are potentially biased and do not, it is argued, allow researchers to make claims to generality from a particular sample (Griffiths et al, 1993). Another important point is that snowball samples will be biased towards those individuals who have access to a network of friends and family and therefore will miss 'isolates' who are not connected to any network that has been tapped into (Van Meter, 1990). This is especially germane to this study, which is looking at the effects of social 'isolation' and lack of access to facilities and networks. Atkinson and Flint (2001) also make the point that the nature of similarity within social networks may mean that similar types of people keep being interviewed (for example, other mothers with young children).

Despite these drawbacks, however, the very nature of social exclusion means that potential participants may be very difficult to access by any other conventional means. A random sample of postal requests sent to households throughout the area, for example, would be unlikely to yield many willing interviewees.

Another sampling technique was 'voluntary' sampling (Blaxter et al, 2001) where participants 'self-refer' themselves for interviews. Hence during this research, as already mentioned, a request for participants was placed in the local free newsletter in Burngreave asking for people to volunteer for interviews.

It was hoped this would increase the numbers of potential participants and broaden the types of participants beyond those in inter-related circles. As stated, whilst this failed to attract a great deal of participants, it did help to corroborate the research when presentations were given to local community groups in an attempt to recruit participants. Some people commented that they had seen the advertisement and were therefore more interested in taking part as the research was perceived to have greater legitimacy.

To reflect on this approach, it can be acknowledged that there are limitations to this type of sampling strategy. These are mainly related to the ability of the researcher to access certain groups, especially those not represented through any formal or informal network, and in gaining trust and acceptance through other channels. Spending more time being involved in the field setting (a classic strategy of ethnologists) may have assisted here, but given time constraints this was not possible.

3.8.4 Representativeness of individuals

In small scale qualitative research, the question of representativeness is usually seen as paramount – that is, how representative are the people interviewed of the wider population? Whilst this is a valid question, the following arguments borrowed from research methodology literature will go some way to assuage these concerns in relation to this particular research. Rajé et al (2004) argue that it must be recognized that qualitative research methods such as interviews are not statistical tools, they are indicative. The overall findings are based on a very small sample of individuals mainly drawn from particular social groups rather than the population as a whole. The emphasis of using qualitative methods is on accurately portraying or 'giving voice' to people's experience (Cancian, 1992). Qualitative methods of data collection can be sensitive to the unique personal experiences, perceptions, beliefs and meanings related to individuals (Sim, 1998) and thus do not require large, statistically representative populations to be involved.

Furthermore, within qualitative research, it is almost impossible and not necessarily desirable to have a representative sample, as sample sizes are smaller than in quantitative studies, and generally focus on certain groups. What this means, that unless the research involved substantial numbers of respondents (which, in an in-depth study such as this would be impossible), the

sample could not hope to include equal representation from all the potentially relevant different groups. In this case, three groups of respondents were chosen: users of the transport intervention system (including residents and non-residents of the case study areas), key actors from relevant organisations in the two case study areas and local residents of the two areas (including users and non-users of the service). This broadly corresponds with Beresford's and Croft's approach to research:

> *We have been concerned with what we see as the three central and overlapping perspectives and role involved: of users, workers and local people*" (1986: 21).

Interviewing mainly women residents may have resulted in the misrepresentation of the area that may be further problematised because men and women value conversations differently (Kane and Macaulay, 1993). However, it was felt that concentrating on female residents, while not representative of everyone in the area, provides a useful and in-depth insight into how one gender engages with the transport system. It is also acknowledged that the findings discussed are predominantly from a female perspective and the research does not claim that their experiences will necessarily accord with those of male transport users. This will be discussed in more detail in the findings chapter.

Kvale (1996) states that a common critique of interview studies is that the findings are not generalizable because there are too few subjects. However, there are strong justifications for obtaining significant knowledge from a few subjects, which can be found to be generalizable to larger groups. Quantitatively, each case contains an immense number of observations of single individuals. Qualitatively, the focus on single cases made it possible to investigate in detail the relationship of a specific behaviour to its context, to work out the logic of the relationship between the individual and the situation. It was then possible to work out consistent and recurring patterns.

Another argument in favour of this research is that of 'quality versus quantity'. Kvale argues that often many interview studies would have profited from having fewer interviews, and from taking more time to prepare the interviews and to analyze them. He believes that, perhaps as a defensive overreaction, some qualitative interview studies appear to be designed on a quantitative presupposition - the more interviews, the more scientific. In contrast the

approach within this research emphasizes the quality rather than the quantity of the interviews.

These points demonstrate that although a research project on this small scale can never hope to achieve total 'representativeness', this does not invalidate the findings, given the opinions stated here. Quality and depth are the fundamental characteristics in this research, not necessarily broad representativeness.

3.9 Participant Observation

Although a minor, secondary part of the research process, the technique of participant observation was also utilised through: use of local commercial public transport, taking journeys on the buses which formed the transport intervention and generally spending time in the case study areas including participating in community meetings and visiting locally-based practitioners, shops and services. Whilst this was not to the same extent as major participant observation exercises, where researchers may actually live or work closely with their 'subjects', the research did involve participating in journeys, talking to other passengers and drivers and making research notes about these experiences. This included taking note of the attitude of the driver and the interaction between them and passengers, and between the passengers themselves; as well as other more general observations of punctuality, comfort and ambience of the vehicles.

This exercise was mainly concerned with helping to understand the context of the areas and to enhance the 'ethnographic' experience by immersion as far as possible into the local culture. It was also very important to use local transport in order to be able to empathise with participant's experiences and to understand local references. It also provided additional material as incidents and behaviours were witnessed firsthand.

It is useful to have an element of participant observation in a study such as this, because as May (1995) points out: knowledge can come only from undertaking detailed inquiries through which understanding is generated. In research based solely on interviews which are divorced from experience of the local context, researchers may not consider it necessary to have personally experienced the topic under discussion in order to analyse or understand the interview. The

observational approach believes that it is important to participate in social settings and seek to understand actions in that context. The reason May gives for this is that people act and make sense of their world by taking meanings from their environment. As such, researchers must become part of the environment for only then can they understand the actions of people. It is argued that this technique is least likely to lead to researchers imposing their own reality on the social world they seek to understand. It relates to symbolic interactionism in that the focus of social inquiry should be the interactions of people within social setting, not upon individuals as such. May sees this approach as very compatible with unstructured interviewing. Interviewing illuminates the researcher's understanding of observations and provides information which is simply not available through observation.

Although critics of this form of research point out a number of drawbacks such as its reliance on the researcher's powers of observation and selection and the possibility of omitting data in order to confirm pre-established beliefs and bias, the lack of significance attached to this method in this research means these concerns are not of great consequence.

3.10 Interviewing

3.10.1 Reasons for choosing interviewing as research method

It is often automatically assumed that interviewing will form the basis of any qualitative study of this nature, but there are a number of valid reasons *why* this was chosen as the most appropriate form of data collection. Foddy (1999) acknowledges that the use of verbal data has come to dominate social sciences but states this is justifiable as it is resource-effective and sometimes the *only* way of gathering data. He argues that types of data such as behaviour and experiences, private actions, motives, beliefs, values and attitudes, feelings and opinions (which this research is interested in) can often only be gauged by actually speaking with someone. Seidman (1998) concurs stating that interviewing provides access to the context of people's behaviour and thereby provides a way to understand the meaning of that behaviour. Interviewing can reveal how individual experience interacts with social and organizational forces within the context of people's lives.

Minichiello et al (1995) elaborate on this, stating that it is especially appropriate to choose in-depth interviewing in circumstances where the research depends on understanding a broad range of people or settings in a short time. That is, when there are research questions which lend themselves to in-depth interviewing rather than other qualitative methods because the researcher either has time constraints or has reasonably clear and well-defined research interests (both of which are relevant to this research). This approach is analogous to grounded theory, where it is more usual to see this method employed as part of an exploratory study where the researcher is attempting to again understanding of the field of study, to develop theories rather than test them.

The particular type of interviewing this study concentrated on - and to which this discussion refers - is defined as in-depth, unstructured interviewing (also known as the non-standardised or focused interview). The interviews were simply based on a list of topics which the researcher wished the respondent to discuss, but the researcher was free to phrase the questions as they wished and asked them in any order that seemed appropriate, and sometimes even joined in the conversation. It was mainly based on an interview 'guide' where the interview took its own path within certain guidelines. There had to be some structure to the interview as the research did have a focus on a specific area of interest.

The questions followed certain themes which were felt to be significant, based on the research aims and the issues identified through the literature review. However, the schedule was flexible enough to allow the researcher and respondent to divert onto other topics which may be of interest but which were not necessarily anticipated when the interview guide was devised. This not only made the interviewing process easier (having a basic, albeit loose structure, helped the interview to flow and provided a framework on which to base the conversation) but also led to more effective comparison in the analysis stage of the process.

However, as the research was designed as a qualitative and 'grounded' study, the interviews aimed to be flexible and open-ended, in order, as Fielding states:

> *To gain spontaneous information about attitudes and actions...the questioning techniques should encourage respondents to communicate their underlying attitudes, beliefs and values, rather than a glib or easy answer* (1993: 138).

The interviews followed the advice of methodologists such as Burgess (1982) who stated that semi- or un- structured interviews may be conducted as

'conversations' that are as natural as possible with occasional questions being posed to keep the information within the boundaries of the subject, or to keep the conversation flowing. This approach promoted a relaxed and informal atmosphere, necessary to make interviewees feel comfortable.

Specifically in relation to research involving social issues and transport, Nutley and Stringer (1994) suggest a number of limitations to previous studies looking at transport and disadvantage – which provide a reasoned justification for the approach taken. They state that a concern with the welfare role of transport requires a broader view than the largely empirical one adopted in previous studies. They believe that it is important to recognise the psychological aspects of transport use and that attention to this can make a valid contribution to understanding a range of, what they believe to be, generally neglected factors relating to people's experience of transport. In order to do this, they feel it necessary to employ techniques which will capture psychological experiences (in this case, in-depth interviewing). By using such techniques it is possible, they state, to explore the socio-psychological dimension, which goes beyond mere *description* of travel phenomena but actually attempts to understand them.

Advantages of unstructured interviews

Taylor and Bogdan (1984) believe there are several significant assumptions inherent in this method. Firstly, this type of interview is regarded as beneficial for rapport enhancement and for the greater understanding that may follow. Secondly, as the encounter is between researcher and respondent – this implies an egalitarian concept of roles within the interview compared to the imbalance of power between the roles of survey methods. Thirdly, rather than focussing on the researcher's perspective as the valid view, it is the respondent's account which is being sought and valued. Finally, this method tries to retrieve the informant's world by understanding their perspective in language that is natural to them, reducing the possible distorting effect of symbols and language which are not part of their everyday usage.

Lofland summarised the objective of the non-standardised format as being:

> *to elicit rich, detailed materials than can be used in qualitative analysis. Its object is to find out what kinds of things are happening rather than to determine the frequency of predetermined kinds of things that the researcher already believes can happen* (1971: 76).

Finally, May (2001) argues that the unstructured, yet focused, interview can provide the ability to challenge the preconceptions of the researcher. It allows the respondents to talk about the subject in terms of their own 'frames of reference'. It allows meanings and interpretations that individuals attribute to events and relationships to be understood and thus provides a better understanding of that person's point of view. Thus flexibility and discovery of meaning, rather than standardization, generalization or comparison, characterises this method.

Disadvantages of unstructured interviewing

Taylor and Bogdan do however highlight some of the disadvantages of this interviewing technique, mainly related to the difficulties of interpretation and representation. The researcher's definition of the situation is open to the vagaries of the respondent's interpretation and presentation of reality. In this case, the researcher was not able to directly observe the respondent in his or her everyday life. Thus they were deprived of the ethnographic context which would give a richer understanding of the respondent's perspective.

Some question the extent to which the researcher knows that the respondent is telling the truth, or that their definition of the situation is accurate - the researcher cannot know for sure simply from engaging in the interview. Other criticisms of the approach include the fact that the characteristics of the researcher - age, sex, race and accent, for example, can affect the type of information collected (May, 2001).

May also points out other considerations which include, for example, whether the respondent has access to the information which the researcher seeks - there may be a gap between understanding. Possible reasons for this include having simply forgotten past events and reasoning; or that the researcher expects a certain type of answer which the person is not familiar with, for example, it is not within their personal frame of reference; or they do not want to answer for personal, political, or ethical reasons. In practice, whilst comprehension did not appear to be a major issue, sometimes respondents did not understand certain questions, either because of the way they were worded or they did not understand the concept behind the question. This was particularly the case when asking about hypothetical situations, especially those relating to spatial awareness or perceptions of certain areas. For example, one

line of questioning aimed to discover whether respondents felt they were restricted from travelling to certain areas or activities because of lack of transport (a question may state '*Is there anywhere you would like to get to but can't because of transport problems*?) Another question tried to relate to travel horizons and was designed to reveal whether any particular areas were felt to be 'out of bounds' either because respondents did not relate to them, or they felt unwelcome there, perhaps because of race or colour. In both instances, respondents struggled to understand what was meant by these questions – in the first case this may have been because they made subconscious decisions about travel and simply did not consider areas or activities to which they did not feel they could travel to. Thus, feeling restricted was not an issue. In relation to the second point made by Mary, this consideration was relevant in the case of some of the practitioner interviews. For example, some expressed a desire not to be associated with certain comments or that views which may be interpreted as controversial were to be considered "off the record" and not to be used in the research. On the whole, however, most topics were discussed openly.

May also deals with the issue of cognition, stating that interviews are social encounters, not simply passive means of gaining information. They are rule-guided and bring with them expectation of their content and the roles which are adopted by each side. If the respondent does not know what is expected of them, they may become uncomfortable and this affects resultant data. This did occur in some situations, where respondents seemed (at least initially) to be guarded and unsure about the answers they were giving, or apologetic if they could not provide a 'good' answer. This was usually overcome by the relaxed nature of the interviews, by reassurances that no particular answers were required, or by dropping certain lines of enquiry.

Moreover, the pre-interview process was often able to identify the level of knowledge and understanding a respondent had before the interview was conducted. That is, they were usually chosen as participants on the basis that it was known they would have some knowledge, opinion or belief about the research topic. Here, the 'snowball' technique proved to be useful, as other respondents were often referred to because current respondents were aware they had an interest in the research topic.

3.10.2 Interview schedules

Householder interviews

True to the ethos of the methodology adopted, the interview schedules did not contain a list of standardised questions but rather a series of topic areas which corresponded with the overall research questions, and which explored some of the more pertinent issues discussed in the literature review.

The overall aim of the research was to explore current experience of the public transport system, to investigate the experience and perceptions of transport and employment access within these socially excluded communities, investigate the role of transport intervention in enhancing social inclusion in terms of improving the ability to access economic (mainly employment) opportunities and to ascertain the level of awareness, uptake and use of transport intervention schemes.

Overall themes

One strong influence on the interviews was the notion discussed in the literature that many aspects of social exclusion are not tangible and include concerns such as loss of self esteem and lack of respect. Thus it was also important to include 'perceptual' questions, such as those relating to feelings, and impressions – for example how staff treated passengers. The political and power dimensions of social exclusion were also emphasised and the interviews covered respondent's experiences of consultation, attitudes towards authority, area regeneration and so on.

The subject areas for the interviews were devised from the following: important themes raised in the literature, the desire to fill gaps in existing knowledge and fulfilment of the main research aim which was to investigate the role of transport intervention.

Thus the overarching themes explored in the interviews included:

- Current transport difficulties and needs;
- The experience and perceptions of transport and employment access within socially excluded communities ;
- A critical examination of the pervasiveness of car culture and in particular the effects upon socially excluded groups. For example, to what extent does the experience of not having a car (within the context of a dominant ideology which suggests that car use is equated with freedom and status) compound or exacerbate *perceptions* of isolation/ hopelessness;
- In relation to this, an exploration of perceptions of public transport – does its use reinforce feelings of exclusion i.e. public transport's (especially buses) association with poverty, lack of choice, 'second class' citizenship
- Ascertaining the level of awareness, uptake and use of transport intervention schemes within these areas (i.e. how 'embedded' they are within the communities)
- The extent of travel 'horizons' i.e. how far, and to where, people feel able to travel; spatial boundedness/ rootedness / travel horizons;
- Patronage and how the schemes are used, for example whether they were mainly used for employment or for other purposes; whether transport needs are met by the schemes – levels of satisfaction amongst users;
- Whether schemes can alleviate other transport difficulties (such as those associated with complex trip-chaining).

Topic areas followed the analytical framework developed through the literature review, which outlined the identified forms of transport-related exclusion, although the interview questions themselves did not adhere to these delineated exclusionary factors.

Due to the characteristics of the interviewing methodology, the inherent nature of 'conversations' (which inevitably flow organically between and within anticipated and un-anticipated topics) and because of the inter-related nature of the exclusionary factors, questions were not necessarily asked in any particular set order (although they usually began with general, contextual questions) or in an explicit way. In any case, King and Strohm (1994) state that none of the topic guides should lead the interviewee to respond in a particular way.

Specific questions

The broadness of the topic areas also helped in adapting the interviews to different circumstances and the different characteristics of the interviewee (for example, whether male or female, whether they had young children, whether they were actively seeking work and so on). There was an attempt to have a broadly similar schedule for all interviewees, to be modified as appropriate – in order to assist with the analysis. The more detailed topic areas consisted of the following:

Contextual information (for example:

- length of residence in the area
- employment status
- family structure
- ability to drive
- access to household vehicles
- general range of activities, destinations and transport used - which of these are the most important and/or time consuming?

Public transport experience

- any areas they currently had difficulty accessing
- employment and training opportunities in the area
- travel horizons – where would people consider/ not consider appropriate to travel to and why? (for example, too far, unfamiliar with the area, do not feel comfortable there, do not feel like they belong, advantages/ disadvantages of living in the area, perceptions of crime, service provision etc.)
- attitudes towards employment (including aspirations, ability to work, travel horizons in relation to employment etc.) and the implications of transport intervention
- awareness of geography of local and wider labour market
- reliability / frequency of local transport
- time constraints on travel
- experiences of public transport use – any difficulties / incidents
- security issues
- treatment by public transport staff / customer care
- cost / affordability
- physical barriers to access transport

- consultation
- ability to influence system
- involvement in community activity
- knowledge of regeneration activity in the area
- main sources of transport information
- awareness of advertising, promotion of transport schemes
- internet use
- attitudes towards car ownership

Questions were also specifically asked about their awareness of the transport intervention in place, whether it was used, opinions on the services, the consultation process, the perceived advantages and disadvantages of transport intervention and so on. These would then be used in the analysis stage to determine how the experiences of using existing public transport could inform the development of transport intervention.

Frequently, subjects and opinion would emerge spontaneously without the topic being broached - often when very general questions were asked, such as '*What do you think of public transport in the area?*'. The research design allowed unexpected themes to emerge during the research process, which had not previously been considered (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). Consequently, the more flexible the research design was, the more it was able to respond to being increasingly refined and developed and the 'interview guide' was modified during the interviewing process. This is also in line with the ethos of grounded theory which adapts according to emerging findings.

The interview schedule thus developed throughout the interviewing process as additional issues emerged as clearly being significant, whilst other lines of enquiry were felt to be less relevant or fruitful. For example, as already mentioned, initially questions were asked about where respondents would like to be able to get to, but were thwarted by transport difficulties. Consistently, the respondents had difficulty in answering this, as often they only went to routine, regular destinations or simply did not consider areas they could not get to. Often this behaviour may be sub-conscious and thus very difficult to recognise and articulate. Therefore, this explicit question was no longer asked, or re-worded so that the inferred response could be interpreted by the researcher, rather than expecting a direct answer.

Practitioner interviews

The main aim of this part of the research was to investigate funding, support and attitudes towards transport intervention schemes by local authorities, SYPTE, transport providers, employment services and community development practitioners. This meant further interviews were conducted to provide a perspective from statutory and voluntary service providers. This element of the research aimed to provide additional contextual information and compare the experiences of those who supposedly benefit from transport interventions with the perceptions and objectives of providers and funders of such schemes, and other related services. This was to identify any significant gaps between the two sets of understandings and, if so, try to understand the causes of the discrepancy. Whilst this part of the research was seen as an exploration of the 'practical' perspective in the debate, there was some scope to explore the various conceptions and discourses relating to social inclusion from the viewpoint of transport providers - for example, how their understanding of social inclusion related to the provision of transport.

The broad range of topic areas discussed in these interviews were as follows:

Transport authorities (including SYPTE and local authorities):

- Strategic perspective and overall objectives;
- Current priorities;
- Needs assessment;
- Regulatory and financial difficulties in achieving aims of social inclusion .

Transport operators:

- Practical difficulties faced by operators e.g. financial difficulties; realities of providing transport in socially excluded areas – lack of patronage, vandalism etc.;
- Successes and failures of previous schemes.

Employment services:

- Transport issues emerging when working with clients and the extent of the problem;
- The place of transport within the hierarchy of barriers to finding employment;
- The distance clients are prepared to travel to find work;
- Advice given regarding transport;

- Consultation with other agencies, including transport providers and operators;
- Awareness of transport intervention and potential benefit to clients.

Community development practitioners:

- Transport experiences / accessibility issues of local people;
- Local attitudes towards work;
- Specific difficulties faced by individuals and certain groups (for example, young parents, ethnic minorities).
- Awareness of transport intervention and potential benefit to the community.

3.10.3 Technicalities of Interview Technique/ Practical considerations

Location of interviews

To make the interview process as productive as possible, it was also important to choose a research setting likely to be regarded as comfortable by both the interviewer and the interviewee. It is often assumed research participants can exercise more control over the research in their own homes (Ford and Reutter, 1990: 188). As such, all the resident interviews, bar one, were conducted in the respondent's own home at a time convenient to them. Finch suggests:

> *In the setting of the interviewee's own home, an interview conducted in an informal way can easily take on the character of an intimate conversation. The interviewee feels quite comfortable with this because the interviewer is acting as friendly guest, not an official inquisitor* (1993: 168-169).

Interview recording

It was decided in this research to tape record interviews where possible. While tape recording is formal and very time consuming (transcription took several hours per interview), it offered the fullest recording of data. As Fielding notes:

> *You may not know what will be the most significant points of analysis when you are doing the transcription; doing it verbatim means you have not lost any data that later may become significant...the advice is to tape-record wherever possible* (1993: 146).

Blaxter et al (2001) also points out that using a tape recorder means that the process of the interview can be more fully concentrated on and therefore attention can be focussed on the respondent, with appropriate eye contact and non-verbal communication.

There are a number of ethical and confidentiality issues surrounding the recording and transcribing of interview data (see Fielding, 1993; Fontana and Frey, 1994). Each respondent was asked beforehand if they objected to the interview being recorded and all but one were not against this. They all signed a consent form prior to the interview which assured anonymity and stated that they had volunteered to take part in the interview and that it may be recorded.

In reality, although interviewing in the respondents' own homes or workplaces was time consuming and could be logistically difficult, this was a successful approach. Being in familiar surroundings gave a sense of control to the respondents and made them more comfortable.

Other practical considerations did include issues such as personal safety but these were generally overcome by following accepted guidelines. For example, the interviews were generally arranged through an organisation where details of respondents were known and the researcher always informed a third party of the venue and estimated duration of interviews.

Other concerns mainly related to communication problems, such as respondents misinterpreting or misunderstanding questions and discussion points. Again, these were mainly overcome through the style of the interviews, which were flexible enough to explain, rephrase or deviate from basic questions.

3.10.4 Interview Statistics

The research process resulted in a total of 36 local residents being interviewed (28 in Burngreave and 8 in Athersley). The higher number of participants in Burngreave is a result of the greater success in attracting interest in the research in this area, mainly due to greater community and regeneration activity, the higher profile and usage of the transport intervention being studied and possibly due to greater enthusiasm and willingness of participants. This again relates to the difficulties outlined above, that those who are already involved in community activities outside the home are also more likely to participate in a research exercise such as this (although certainly not all the respondents were active in the community). This imbalance is reflected in the findings, where the Athersley case study is not held in equal stature to the

Burngreave case study, but is still useful as a cross checking reference (and to provide comparisons in the styles of project implementation)
The practitioner-based part of the study consisted of 16 interviews with a range of professionals and key workers in the field of transport provision, employment and community development (9 worked specifically within Burngreave, 4 worked in Athersley, and a further 3 conducted work which affected both areas).

The interviews lasted on average around one hour and were fully transcribed for analysis purposes.

3.11 On-board surveys

As stated previously, a number of 'surveys' were conducted on board the transport intervention services in place. As with the participant observation, the use of survey techniques was secondary to the main interview body of research. This only occurred for the Burngreave case study area as the researcher was advised that very few, if any, passengers used the Athersley services during the day and thus it was not felt to be worthwhile to pursue this line of enquiry in that area.

The surveys were primarily utilised as a means of gaining access to potential respondents who would be actual users of the services under investigation. The surveys were designed as a 'means to an end' where ultimately it was hoped that the survey respondents may volunteer to take place in the in-depth interviews at a later date more convenient to them. Thus, the design of the survey was not given the rigorous amount of detailed consideration which would normally accompany a research enquiry which used this method as the main informative tool. It is acknowledged that the design of survey questions have the potential to radically affect the type of information gathered. However, the survey utilised in this study was designed to gather basic information relating to the services under study, and some initial information about behaviour of users. This exercise succeeded in attracting a further three participants for the in-depth interviews, who then referred another three acquaintances to take part.

Appendix 3 provides a sample of the questions asked during the survey. The nature of the public transport journey meant that not everyone had time to answer all the questions before they had to alight; just as the researcher did not always manage to survey every user of the service as occasionally a number of

passengers alighted at the same time, and only travelled on the bus for a short time. In practice, also, the survey proved to be over-long and potentially repetitious, especially as many of the answers required were given within the first few questions, and further questioning was often unnecessary. Additionally, some of the survey respondents were keen to talk more about some of the topics on the basic survey form, and this was encouraged by the researcher. Statistical breadth was thus sometimes sacrificed in favour of qualitative depth (that is, some respondents were given time to talk at length even though this meant not being able to speak to every passenger). On the whole, however, the majority of passengers were addressed.

Information gathered from the on-board bus surveys was not tape recorded. This is both because it was intended as a more informal, snap shot view and ultimately a means to an end and because it was felt inappropriate to tape record participants when they were not expecting to be approached and would not have time to consider consent issues.

Statistical evidence was not the intention of this exercise, as validity was compromised by, for example, the fact that the surveys were not repeated over a number of days, at different times in the day and evening. The further value generated by this part of the study, however, was that it gave the researcher real experience of the issues being addressed in the interviews, having actually used the bus services themselves and spoken to passengers and drivers. This again gave a better understanding of the views of the informants and helped in the ethnographical mission of the research. However, it is acknowledged that the individual encounters noted during these surveys was usually fairly brief and the analysis therefore concentrated on the findings from the longer interviews which was consistent with the in-depth, qualitative approach taken. This means that the survey results are not necessarily given much attention in chapter 5, Findings and Analysis but are only mentioned when they were able to significantly reinforce material from the in-depth interviews.

3.12 Research in social exclusion – some considerations

The research process undertaken did highlight some of the inherent difficulties in working within the parameters of social exclusion. Whilst a great deal of social science research projects are concerned with investigating issues of

deprivation, poverty and social exclusion, practical advice on engaging participants is fairly sparse.

The literature review states that much transport policy and research has, in the past, neglected the connection between social exclusion and accessibility. Even where such studies exist they have often failed to appreciate a true understanding of the experience by utilising inappropriate and inaccurate exclusion indicators. This research initially aimed to redress this to some degree, by hoping to create a more meaningful link between the real life experiences of those living in 'socially excluded' communities and their transport experiences. However, the recruitment process demonstrated that even though statistically an area may be categorised as 'socially excluded' in terms of income and employment deprivation (even though these are not the only indicators of exclusion), inevitably not every resident within that area could be considered socially excluded.

It therefore proved difficult to ensure that the participants of the study were necessarily experiencing what could be described as social exclusion. Indeed it highlighted the intrinsic moral difficulties in placing such labels upon people. This relates to the fact that ultimately the very concept is highly contestable and open to interpretation. Furthermore, existing theory suggests that exclusion is an extremely difficult phenomenon to define and therefore measure. Kenyon et al, 2002 believe that it is impossible to identify one person or group as being more or less excluded than another person or group, because social exclusion involves so many inter-related and relative elements - to degrees that vary according to the combination of characteristics experienced.

For example, some of the respondents may, on paper, have displayed several of the characteristics which would predispose them to 'exclusion' – such as lone parenthood, low income, disability and so on. However, they personally did not recognise themselves as excluded, and to assume otherwise could have been patronising and denigrating. The issue of relativity is important here, one person's notion of inclusion or undertaking 'normal activities' may be very different to another's. Some would consider not being able to access a convenient supermarket, or rarely leaving the immediate neighbourhood as being socially excluded, or isolated, whilst others may not consider this problematic. Conversely, some of the participants were in positions which

would be considered socially 'included' in that they were employed, were involved in close social networks and so on.

The research amply demonstrated the difficulties in researching the phenomena of social exclusion, as those who are truly suffering from this are necessarily extremely difficult to access. This is especially so because mistrust of authority and lack of participation is symptomatic of social exclusion. Lyons (2003) addresses this issue with his contention that people who are subject to (extremes of) social exclusion feel let down by society and are likely to have a low level of trust in the system. They may not have access to or be confident or competent in using the various channels of information exchange employed in mainstream surveys. Lyons believes that if information is to be collected from those suffering from social exclusion then personal contact and trust between the researcher and individual(s) is essential. Lyons points out that this is likely to mean that such people are not well represented or indeed represented at all in major research—not only are they marginalised but their behaviours become invisible to observation and understanding. Consequently, data collection is likely to be resource intensive and may not in turn yield the numbers of respondents typically expected in surveys providing data for analysis.

These are both very important points and it is hoped that the qualitative approach to the research (and the sampling technique) would address them. Whilst it is acknowledged that the research cannot claim to have reached those suffering from extremes of exclusion, the levels of trust and access generated by the approach taken to the interviews was effective. This approach was characterised, for example, by disseminating information about the project through word of mouth, being involved in local groups, and interviewing people in their own homes – all of which are recommended by Lister and Beresford (1991) as appropriate means of researching social exclusion. For example, interviewing was conducted in an in-depth and loosely structured manner, as opposed to an anonymous, structured survey approach which would gain little in the way of building a relationship with the participant or reveal potential causal factors. Therefore, there had to be some compromise between finding the 'ideal' candidates for the research, and encouraging those who were willing to volunteer to be interviewed. Given additional resources and deeper access into the communities involved this may have been different.

Despite these acknowledgments the researcher is confident that the findings do provide a meaningful commentary on the issue of social exclusion and transport. Many of those taking part had not previously been involved in such research, many did not actively take part in activities outside the home, let alone participate in public consultation. In this way, the research did go some way to 'give a voice' to those who were marginalised by mainstream research and consultation. Many, also, did experience many of the 'exclusionary' factors, especially when transport exclusion was taken into account. Their experiences demonstrate that even though they might not identify with the politically constructed concept of 'social exclusion', they did suffer from inequity, prejudice and barriers to participation. Even for those who were not necessarily characterised by exclusion, their experiences could still provide a telling demonstration of the role of transport in social exclusion. For example, if someone who was relatively 'included' within society still faced insurmountable problems in using the existing public transport system, this provided revealing insight into how transport could possibly be effective for those who were genuinely socially excluded.

3.13 Ethics

This piece of research did not present any particular difficulties in relation to the Sheffield Hallam University's Ethics Policy (for example, no deception or harm was caused to the participants and the purpose of the research was to contribute to knowledge). Participation in the research was entirely voluntary and the interviews took place with informed consent from the participants, with assurance of anonymity. Details discussed in the findings could not be identified with any individual.

3.14 Qualitative data analysis

3.14.1 Analysis goals

The driving principle behind the analysis was to evaluate the findings in relation to the following two broad aims:

- To develop a better understanding of transport intervention in the context of social exclusion;

- To begin to evaluate the success of the transport intervention schemes and to provide recommendations for future schemes.

Inevitably, given that a total of 51 in-depth interviews were recorded (in some instances over one and a half hours long) a huge amount of data was generated. This had to be edited for analysis to include only those findings which could be related to the overall objectives of the study (that is, findings specifically relating to transport use). All these findings ultimately were analysed in terms of what these issues could mean for transport intervention (for example, if most people had very limited travel horizons, how effective could a bus service be which only served an employment site some distance away?). Recommendations were drawn from these analyses and also from examples of good practice from other regions, found during the literature search.

3.14.2 Techniques of data analysis

Dey (1993) states that the first step in qualitative analysis is to develop a thorough and comprehensive description of the phenomenon under study. This is known as 'thick' description (Denzin, 1978), distinguishable from 'thin' description which merely states the facts. Denzin suggests it should include: information about the context of an act; the intentions and meanings that organize action; intentions of the actor and the processes in which action is embedded.

Silverman (1994) states that in non-positivist research, respondents are seen as experiencing subjects who actively construct their social worlds and the primary issue is to generate data which gives an authentic insight into people's experiences (mainly through unstructured, open-ended interviews usually based on prior participant observation). He believes social events are based on mutual participant observation and interview data must be interpreted against the background of the context in which they were produced. The social context of the interview is intrinsic to understanding any data obtained.

Coding – theoretical background

The data was analysed according to the framework Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest which is defining 'facts' and 'concepts', developing 'categories' and

generating theory. In this particular research, rather than 'categories', emerging data groups were described as 'themes'. This is because 'category' implies distinct groupings whereas in this research much of the findings overlap. Grounded theory involves the *coding* of the interview transcript, or other data collected, in terms of key concepts. Mies and Huberman (1994: 56) see codes as:

> *tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study.*

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) demonstrate that coding links different segments or instances in the data. In this research, different words, phrases and sentences were brought together to create themes of data which had some common element. The coding thus linked all these data fragments to particular ideas or concepts. The role of coding here was to undertake three kinds of operations (Seidel and Kelle, 1995): a) noticing different phenomena, b) collating examples of those phenomena, and c) analyzing those phenomena in order to find commonalities, differences, patterns and structures. It was also used to expand, transform, and reconceptualize the data.

Dick (2005) points out that constant comparison is the heart of the grounded theory process. This means firstly comparing first interviews (or other data) to second interviews (or other data) from which theory emerges. Subsequent interviews (or data from other sources) are then coded with the emerging theory in mind. He states that at this stage, one then compares data to theory. The results of this comparison were written in the margin of the note-taking as coding with the task being to identify themes and their properties (in effect their sub-themes). Coding helped to produce certain theoretical propositions which sometimes appeared as links between themes, or related to a core theme: a theme which appeared central to the study. Dick states that, in effect, a theme is a variable which makes sense of what the respondent has said. It is interpreted in the light of the situation being studied, other interviews, and the emerging theory.

After a time a number of core themes were found to emerge with high frequency of mention, and were often connected to many of the other themes which were emerging. As well as comparing between data and theory, the emerging theory was compared to literature in the field. This was all assisted by the use of constant 'memoing': writing notes as different concepts and connections occurred in the mind of the researcher.

There are three distinct yet overlapping processes of analysis involved in grounded theory from which sampling procedures are typically derived. These are: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. The first stage of the process was 'open coding' which was a way to '*generate an emergent set of categories and their properties*' (Glaser, 1978: 56). Following transcription, this open coding involved reading through each transcript and highlighting issues (or codes) in order to generate theory. As broader themes emerged, these were named and noted alongside the transcript. Another column alongside these codes contained initial analytical notes which developed through the on-going process of coding and comparing themes.

Open coding required much deliberation and reflection and was therefore difficult and time consuming. However, as Glaser points out, it often leads to new ways of understanding as new ideas are put together or respondent's interpretations are seen in a new light. The process of 'constant comparison' was also used as it is one of the central methods used by grounded theorists – '*as an incident is noted, it should be compared against other incidents for similarities and differences*' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 9). Comparisons allowed data to be grouped and differentiated as themes were identified.

The next involved what is known as 'axial coding'. This is when the initial list of categories is refined by deleting and amalgamating. Here, connections were made between the themes; and their properties were explored and defined in more depth: for example, the context of the situation, characteristics of the respondent and so on. The themes emerging were analysed alongside the characteristics of those constructing them (for example, if they had young children, their age, their level of education). This was able to generate a far greater depth of understanding. This was especially important as the research acknowledged that the respondents could be seen as experiencing different levels of social exclusion. Recognising the context of their actions was therefore very informative to the process of the analysis.

Following the identification of themes in several transcripts, some common threads and categories were created. Firstly, these mainly consisted of a series of specific issues and examples, such as complaints about buses being unreliable, or being spoken to disrespectfully by bus staff. Later, these were able to be put under wider, more abstract headings such as "power and

influence over decision making", "choice", "respect" and so on. The task then followed of logically ordering the data into those themes which appeared most often (see **Appendix 4** for an example of one of stages in the initial coding process). Whilst this was a fairly crude method of editing the data, it was necessary in order to achieve a manageable (and valid) set of data. Several interesting and important themes had emerged through the initial analysis (such as the dichotomy between private and public space) but which had to be discarded during this stage, as it would not be valid to introduce topics which relatively few respondents had referred to. This is known as 'selective coding' where core themes are identified from which theory derived. Thus, the final findings chapter has a limited number of core themes under which several related sub-themes are placed. For example, the core theme "loss of esteem, dignity" has a number of sub-themes, including driver attitude, stress, dignity and comfort and so on. This was aided by the process of constant comparison where emerging findings were compared to existing findings. For example, the findings from the initial resident interviews were compared to later practitioner interviews and this comparison of perspectives was able to generate theories. The method of constant comparison highlighted discrepancies and differences between perspectives, both between residents and practitioners and between different types of resident respondents displaying different characteristics.

The next stage was to reduce this initial long list into only those which could be relatively directly related to the overall aim of the analysis which was to provide lessons for transport intervention in the context of an understanding of social exclusion. This was difficult as seemingly unrelated topics can indeed have implicit influences, especially in a study of an intangible and multi-dimensional subject such as social exclusion. Despite these difficulties this was a sound method of reducing the huge volume of data into a manageable and relevant record.

A more refined approach to coding was taken which, whilst still adhering to the principles of grounded theory, mixed inductive and deductive methods. That is, codes did not necessarily emerge from the data uninfluenced by pre-existing theory. Here the process of theory building involved a constant dialogue between data and theory. This consisted of negotiating between themes that emerged through data analysis and the knowledge of issues and concepts uncovered in relevant literature and theory. This approach aimed to avoid the knowledge of existing theory from forcing the analysis of the data into pre-

existing categories. Eventually it was hoped that through a process of comparing emergent categories with pre-existing themes, new and more sophisticated understanding of the experience could be developed.

Due to the amount of cross-referencing of transcripts, and the lack of familiarity with such software, it was decided not to use a computer aided qualitative data analysis, such as nu*dist or SPSS. However this meant there was much manual handling of the data which made the task complicated as well as time consuming. This was also difficult as it relied on the researcher to be able to identify commonalities and tensions in the data. As such, this process also generated a large amount of extra paperwork and much time was spent physically matching and tallying codes and categories – tasks which would have been greatly reduced using computer software. However, the great advantage of this thorough and manual exploration was that the researcher became extremely familiar with the transcripts and their individual contexts and was therefore able to make analytical connections much easier.

3.15 Research Methodology Conclusion

This chapter has provided justification for the approach taken in this dissertation. The research belongs within the qualitative tradition, utilising archetypal techniques of in-depth interviewing and participant observation. The more pragmatic side to the research, however, did mean that this did not follow a deeply ethnographic tendency but was open to inductive and deductive reasoning and utilised a variety of techniques within the spectrum of qualitative methodology. Thus it was tailored to the specific circumstances of the research context, rather than following a rigid and inflexible doctrine.

This chapter demonstrates how the case study approach was seen as the most appropriate for research of this nature and despite the drawbacks discussed, the choice of case studies was seen as satisfactory. It also provides ample evidence of the robust nature of the choice of case study units of analysis, giving a comprehensive breakdown of how the transport intervention to be studied was chosen.

The advantages of the specific research techniques which were adopted were also reinforced through the discussions in this chapter, where it can be demonstrated that in-depth interviewing provided the best means of fulfilling the

research objectives. This choice can be justified both in relation to the type of data the research wished to yield (attitudes and perceptions) and to the nature of the research respondents (the degree of trust needed to be generated with those potentially experiencing social exclusion requires a reciprocal and personal approach which unstructured interviewing provided).

Despite the limitations outlined throughout this chapter, the research process did yield successful outcomes. One of the biggest issues (and something acknowledged in the research methodology literature) is the sheer volume of data amassed from case study research using in-depth interviews and multiple research techniques. Systematic coding of the empirical data helped to manage this situation and the next chapter will now go on to discuss some of the most important findings generated through the research process explained in this chapter. These findings will follow the analytical framework outlined in Chapter 2.

4 Contextual Information

4.1 Contextual Information Introduction

This section aims to provide some contextual information on the study. The first part provides a brief outline of the economic and social history and background to South Yorkshire in general, covering the impact of the decline of coal and steel manufacturing; the current economic situation, including levels of unemployment; and finally an introduction to the European Objective 1 programme, including a description of Priority 4, Measure 19 relating to the role of transport in increasing economic activity.

The next section will discuss the two case study areas in more detail, including a socio-economic profile of the two areas, using data from the 2001 census and current Index of Deprivation information; and descriptive material taken from other studies.

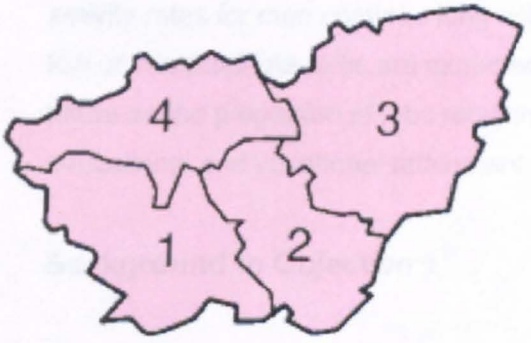
It will then go on to provide an outline of the projects the study is investigating – how these were developed; their relationship to the Objective 1 priorities; and a description of what the projects involve.

Much of the detail of this contextual section will be provided in the appendices (see Appendix 5 to 9).

4.2 South Yorkshire Background

Figure 4.1 Map of UK highlighting South Yorkshire

Figure 4.2 District map of South Yorkshire



1. Sheffield
2. Rotherham
3. Doncaster
4. Barnsley

In the 1960s, primary and manufacturing industries were much more significant in Yorkshire and Humberside than any other part of the country (Hart and Thomas, 1999). Yorkshire produced one quarter of the country's coal and over a quarter of the country's steel. It was characterised as a region of generally low unemployment, with a shortage of available labour acting as a constraint on development in some sectors and localities.

However, by the 1990s, after substantial job losses in these industries - representing the most dramatic contemporary example of social transformation in Britain since World War Two (Bennett et al, 2000) – the region was now seen

to have a service economy. The direct impact of job losses was sometimes quite localised and South Yorkshire continues to experience the impacts of coal and steel restructuring in the form of persistent and long term unemployment as well as physical dereliction.

Hart and Thomas believe that the environmental sustainability of employment site location, in terms of travel, has not been given especially high priority in planning documents. Whilst such documents tended to contain statements favouring developments at public transport nodes, there had been no substantial development of this type and the commercial pressure remains to develop at motorway junctions. For example, Hart and Thomas point out that developments such as call centres in the Dearne Valley, which were ostensibly aimed at the employment of ex-miners, are based around new road developments, suggesting that most workers will commute to the site from elsewhere.

Whilst female and part time employment is a significant area of growth, overall activity rates for men continue long established trends of decline. Those with low or inappropriate skills are expected to suffer greater disadvantage in the future as the proportion of jobs requiring low level, or no, skills declines. Overall educational and vocational attainment is below national average.

4.3 Background to Objective 1[7]

The European Union provides funds to many regions within its member countries to help regenerate their economies and create new jobs – this may be through the provision of basic infrastructure or investment in economic activity. There are different levels of support depending on the needs in particular areas. South Yorkshire has been designated as an Objective 1 area which means that it attracts the highest level of support available.

Objective 1 is targeted at those areas where the prosperity, measured in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per head of population, is 75% or less of the European average. South Yorkshire qualifies for Objective 1 aid because its economy under performs against every economic indicator. The severity of the decline in

[7] *Taken from GOYH (2005)*

the local economy has created a number of key issues that the programme has set out to tackle:

- Lack of both numbers and quality of jobs
- Low-profitability in manufacturing companies locally
- Continuing over dependence on industrial sectors in decline
- Low levels of both skills in, and usage of, information and Communication Technology
- Increasing deprivation within many South Yorkshire communities.

The Objective 1 Programme in South Yorkshire was designed to promote economic renewal, with the aim being to begin to eliminate the weaknesses and build on the strengths of the region so as to narrow the gap between South Yorkshire and other regions.

The Programme was split into 6 different *Priorities* each of which is further split into different *Measures* - 33 in all. Here, funding was available to ensure that local communities could get involved in and benefit from the opportunities created within South Yorkshire. These Priorities and Measures address particular issues within the programme but were designed to work together to meet the overall aims and objectives.

The relevant 'Priority' for this study was *Priority 4* (*Developing economic opportunities in targeted communities)* which was designed to use communities as key agents in economic regeneration and local development initiatives. The Priority was further split into 8 different *Measures*, all of which tackle particular issues. The first four measures (collectively known as Priority 4a) were to support the most deprived communities with the least developed community structures, to get involved in the economic development of their own communities (with the money being geographically targeted at the most deprived areas of South Yorkshire – those who were felt to need it most).

The relevant measure for this study was Measure 19 ('*Helping communities to access jobs and training*'). Measure 19 had a direct role in implementing the transport intervention project under investigation. The *South Yorkshire Objective 1 Programme 2000-2006 Single Programming Document* (SPD) explains this measure as follows:

Aim:

To get people to the job and training opportunities they need by bringing down transport-related barriers to mobility and access - "*Measure 19 recognises that there is an important role for locally determined community transport services to fill the gaps and develop new niche services. These initiatives will overcome exclusion from social and economic activity for those who cannot afford the cost of regular public transport or for whom the service may not be appropriate*". The relevant objectives for this study included:

- To promote initiatives to improve access to employment, training and services by all modes
- To establish community transport projects at local level to meet local needs
- To carry out thematic research in targeted areas to provide relevant information to inform project development

Rationale:

Objective 1 recognised that the traditional close geographic links between areas of traditional employment and communities had broken down as a consequence of the economic decline of South Yorkshire. It also identified the various exclusionary factors created by transport, such as spatial and fiscal issues, which form barriers to participation in social and economic activities. It also recognised that women and carers are particularly reliant on accessible, safe and flexible transport provision; and that perceptions and realities of public safety also restrict mobility. It goes on to argue that the changing requirements for easy access to new forms of employment and training opportunities in South Yorkshire had not been addressed within a coherent and strategic framework.

Measure 19 was designed to fit in with the overall strategy for transport in South Yorkshire which recognises the important role for locally determined community transport services to fill the gaps and develop new niche services. The Measure states that there are no 'off-the-shelf' solutions and the particular transport related needs of one community may be different to that of another. Hence this Measure was designed to address these problems in ways that involve people in identifying and solving their particular issues.

4.4 Burngreave Area Profile[8]

Figure 4.3: Map of Sheffield

Burngreave (6 on the above map) lies approximately one to two miles immediately north of the city centre. The Burngreave ward covers a relatively large area, with a population of 13,784. Within the area there are a number of distinct neighbourhoods including: Abbeyfield, Burngreave, Firshill, Fir Vale, Pitsmoor and Woodside.

See **Appendix 5** for a more detailed street map of the area.

Burngreave is predominantly residential with a broad mix of housing and a diverse multicultural population. Around its margins it also includes significant areas of employment and industry. Burngreave suffers a high level of social, economic and environmental disadvantage. This is recognised at a national level with Burngreave being ranked in the 1% most deprived wards in England and Wales.

[8] Taken from SCC (nd); TRIN, 2001; Census, 2001; ODPM IMD 2004; BNDfC *(2002)*

Burngreave has a young population and is considered one of the most culturally diverse parts of the city with nearly half the population coming from ethnic minority backgrounds. There is a particularly large Pakistani population as well as significant numbers of people from Caribbean, Somali, Yemeni, Irish, Indian, Bangladeshi, Kurdish, Turkish, Iranian, Iraqi, Afghan and Congolese backgrounds amongst others.

The area has the largest immigrant population in the city with one in four people having been born outside of Great Britain. This includes a significant number of people who have arrived as asylum seekers or refugees. The area also has a relatively transient population.

Economy:

The local economy is poor with visible deterioration of local shopping centres and enterprise, low employment levels and a high proportion of low-income households. At the time of 2001 Census, Burngreave had the lowest employment rate in the city. The unemployment rate (7.8%) is well above the Sheffield average (4.2%) and additionally a large number of people of working age are out of the labour market, through long term disability, family care needs and other reasons.

Employment by occupation:

The most significant occupation in the Burngreave area are for those in the 'elementary' occupations (examples of elementary occupations include farm workers, labourers, kitchen assistants and bar staff), followed by associate and technical occupations. Plant and machine operatives and skilled tradespeople are also significant occupations.

Employment opportunities:

Burngreave has a mixed local economy with a wide variety of employers and business ranging from Sheffield's largest employer, the Northern General Teaching Hospital, to engineering firms, social enterprise and shops. The area has a number of small shopping centres including a designated District Shopping Centre, Spital Hill, and several Local Shopping Centres. There are also large areas of business and industry to the north and east of the area in and around the Don Valley.

Education and Skills:

Educational attainment in Burngreave is one of the lowest in the city. Poor literacy and numeracy, low general levels of qualifications and lack of work-related skills are major factors considered responsible for unemployment and lower paid employment. In 2001, 43.4% of people of working age in the area had no formal qualification, 11% higher than the city average. There is particular concern regarding the low level of attainment by young people from black and ethnic minority communities.

Housing and Households:

Of the 5,785 households in Burngreave, 15.5% were pensioners living alone, 28.5% of household contained dependent children (8.8% were lone parent families, compared to the national average of 6.4%).

Transport :

Burngreave is felt to benefit from strong transport links with the city centre, the north and west of the city and Barnsley, Rotherham and the M1. Several primary transport routes cross the area, both north to south and east to west. However, the area also suffers from high levels of through traffic and the resulting congestion and air and noise pollution.

Public transport in the area is varied. Along the major routes, Burngreave has some of the most frequent bus services in the region, though some areas off the core network are less well-served, creating difficulties for mobility-impaired people. Several bus services serve the Northern General Hospital from Pitsmoor. There is a range of late evening services, departing from the city centre up to 23.30.

Car ownership:

Over half of households do not have access to a car or van, the highest proportion in Sheffield (the national average is 26%).

Travel to work:

Of the employed people surveyed in Burngreave[9], a high proportion travelled to work by bus (over three times that of the national average). Less than half

[9] Value derived using Neighbourhood Statistics Geography Heirarchy (Office of National Statistics)

drove themselves to work, whilst 5.6% were passengers in a car or van. A significant number also walked to work.

Distance travelled to work:

The majority of employed people worked between 2 and 5 kms of home (38%), whilst 30% worked less than 2 km from home. 9% worked between 5 and 10 kms; 5% worked more than 10kms; and 6% worked more than 20kms away.

Community Infrastructure:

Burngreave has a highly developed array of community organisations. Most notably these include two community forums, Burngreave Community Action Forum and Fir Vale Forum, and the community participation structures of Burngreave New Deal for Communities. There are also many other organisations focusing on specific issues, cultural groups or areas.

Regeneration Activity:

Burngreave has a wide range of regeneration programmes and is the focus of a number of Area Based Initiatives, such as Burngreave New Deal for Communities, Housing Market Renewal Fund Pathfinder Area, Burngreave and Fir Vale SureStart, Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and Objective 1 Priority 4a Area.

4.5 Athersley Profile[10]

Athersley is located approximately 2 miles to the north of Barnsley town centre. It is considered unique in consisting almost entirely of local authority housing. The main Athersley area is made up of two large post-1945 council estates, Athersley North and Athersley South. Both are made up of semi-detached houses, many of which have been sold to tenants under Right to Buy legislation. In the 1990s, some housing was demolished on the estate and replaced with private and housing association property. To the west of Athersley is the large local authority estate of New Lodge which is similar to neighbouring Athersley. New Lodge is made up of inter-war semis and has high levels of unemployment and poverty. Both of these areas now make up the ward of St. Helen's[11].

See **Appendix 6** for a more detailed street map of the area.

[10] Taken from Barnsley MBC (2002); Batty et al (2002); Census 2001

[11] It must be noted that ward boundaries were changed in 2004 and the wards previously known as Athersley (which covered Athersley North and Athersley South only) and North West (which included New Lodge) became the larger ward of St Helens (which encompassed both these areas). When the transport project was first developed, and when this PhD research began, the wards were still separate. The main area under investigation will therefore be described as Athersley, but for the purposes of this chapter, the new ward statistics will be discussed. It is not problematic to talk of the new ward statistics as they are still based on the 2001 Census (and, indeed, the most recent information is from around 2004) and thus the information has not changed since the project began – it simply incorporates the wider area of New Lodge.

The ward of St. Helen's has a population of 10,490 which is predominantly white, a much higher percentage than the national average, but fairly typical of Barnsley as a whole, which has a very small percentage of minority ethnic people.

Economy:
The area has one of the highest unemployment in the Borough at 5.2%, with a correspondingly high number of other economically inactive, permanently sick or disabled residents.

Employment by occupation:
'Elementary occupations' make up the largest proportion of employment types in the area (23.5%) compared to the Barnsley average of (15.6%), followed by process plant and machine operatives (20.4%).

Employment Opportunities:
Athersley is situated very close to one of Barnsley's major employment sites[12] - Carlton Industrial Estate, which is approximately one mile to the east and industrial and employment sites are located around the periphery of the area. The new Link services also provided access to two other major employment sites, Dodworth Business Park and Fall Bank Industrial Estate, Dodworth, as well as Redbrook Industrial Estate (area 9 in Figure 4.4). Barnsley town centre, another major centre of employment, is also close by (area 4).

Education and Skills:
Educational attainment is very low, the number of residents with no qualification is much higher than the national average (53%, compared to 28.9% for England as a whole).

Housing and Households:
The area contained 16.4% of pensioners living alone, higher than the Barnsley and national average. Lone parent families were also significantly higher (11.4%).

[12] Taken from BMBC (2001)

Transport :

Batty et al (2002) point out that, in Barnsley, the policy response to the collapse of the coal mining industry and the general decline of employment in manufacturing and traditional industries, has generally involved: the reclamation of derelict land, the building of new roads to provide links from development sites to trunk roads, and the promotion of serviced development sites to inward investors. Broadly speaking the main locations of these development sites are in the M1 corridor and the Dearne Valley. As a result, although much employment remains in long established industrial areas and in the town centre and its environs, many new jobs are to be found in locations which are more easily accessed by car from the new road system, rather than by public transport operating along corridors serving long established residential neighbourhoods. Therefore transport is perceived as a potentially significant barrier to access to employment in Barnsley. It also recognises that as employment locations change and develop, and travel to work patterns follow suit, it is important to ensure that the new employment locations are accessible to socially excluded groups.

Most public transport in Barnsley is by bus. Historic patterns of bus services in Barnsley, as elsewhere, are radial, linking the town centre with established suburban areas and satellite settlements. The latter are a notable local feature inherited from the development of the mining communities. The report states that initial consideration of the broad locational characteristics of many employment sites would therefore suggest that bus access to development sites within motorway and other new roads sites is likely to be problematic. This is because established residential areas tend not to cluster around motorway junctions or along new link roads.

There are no cross town bus services in Barnsley and the service pattern is a hub and spoke network focused on Barnsley Interchange. Services to Athersley/New Lodge are basically radial, running along Wakefield Road from the town centre on an out-and-back pattern, but there are also two circular services between Athersley/ New Lodge and the town centre. Travel time to the Interchange is around 18-25 minutes depending on origin and time of day.

The area is served by a number of different services (generally operated by Yorkshire Traction) which provide access to the town centre and other areas of the town.

Car ownership:

Car ownership in Athersley in the lowest in the whole of Barnsley, (44.8% have no car or van) and is significantly lower than the national average

Travel to work:

Driving was the most significant mode of travel to work, but was still less than the Barnsley and national average. The bus accounted for a significant amount of travel to work, almost twice as many people took the bus to work from Athersley than in Barnsley as a whole, and nationally. Walking was also a significant means of travelling to work.

Distance travelled to work:

Most people worked less than 10 kms away from home, higher than the national average, with the majority of those working between 2 and 5 kms away (36.1%) with 21.6% working less than 2kms from home.

Community Infrastructure:

The main community resource in the area is the Roundhouse Centre, which encompasses various functions such as a library, the Lifelong Learning Centre, meeting places for community groups and activity spaces.

Regeneration Activity:

The area has received Single Regeneration Budget funding in the past, as well as being a Priority 4a area under the Objective 1 programme. The area has been subject to substantial (and ongoing) housing renewal and street modifications. It also has a SureStart project in place.

4.6 Background to Link Buses

The bus services which are the object for investigation for this study were the B1;B2 and D1 services operating within Burngreave; and the J1 and J2 services operating in the Athersley area of Barnsley.

Burngreave Link

See **Appendix 7** for a basic route map

The B1/ B2 and D1 services (referred to originally as Burngreave Link, and JobLink respectively) were launched in July 2004. Burngreave Link was to provide local links for the community of Burngreave to the Northern General Hospital (NGH), Meadowhall and local shops, schools and facilities. Service D1 provided access to sites of potential employment and training in Attercliffe, Darnall, Sheffield Business Park and the Waverley development at Catcliffe (for a description of this development, see **Appendix 8**). The distance between Burngreave and Catcliffe (the final destination of the D1 service) is approximately 7 miles.

Fares on D1 were initially set at 50p to £1. Burngreave Link (B1/B2) operated hourly in each direction from 7am to 7pm Monday to Saturday with fares of 50p and 75p. The services tried to fit in with shift patterns and tried to link with train times and Supertram locations.

The services mainly utilised existing infrastructure such as bus stops and shelters although parts of the routes were 'hail and ride' where passengers could stop the bus at any point along the road. This element was mainly used along stretches of road which had not previously had a bus service.

The Burngreave Links bus service was a central part of the Burngreave / Fir Vale Transport Strategy 2004-2010. The service was seen to benefit the social regeneration of the area as it would provide low cost links to education, shopping, health, leisure and job sites. The strategy also recognised that the service in itself was an opportunity for job creation – as drivers, or to link in with training opportunities with the operator, Sheffield Community Transport.

Objective 1's Measure 19 helped devise a commissioning framework for potential organisations to bid for new transport intervention projects, against which projects were to be assessed (undertaken by TRIN, 2002).

This culminated in Sheffield Community Transport (SCT) establishing the 'Social Inclusion and Transport Project' (SITP), funded by Objective 1. The business plan for this then acted as a tender document for the services under investigation - SCT subsequently won the tenders for all of the services.

The objective of the Burngreave Link was to provide locally responsive transport for people within the project area who would be unable to access facilities within the area without such assistance. By offering these services Burngreave Link aimed to open up the area to the whole community, as well as providing improved links to existing bus services to the city-centre and to trams and trains at Meadowhall.

The area was recognised as relatively well served by conventional public transport but increasingly these services tended to concentrate on main radial routes into the city centre. Therefore whilst it may have been easy to travel in and out of the area it travelling within the area could be more difficult.

The project was part of a wider partnership developed between SYPTE, Objective 1, Yorkshire Forward, Sheffield City Council, New Deal and the local communities to deliver local access to economic opportunities within the lower Don Valley regeneration area, and to stimulate greater well-being within the local communities. It was argued that they were developed as part of Objective 1's commitment to ensure communities with low car ownership could participate in and benefit from the new economic opportunities in South Yorkshire.

As well as Objective 1 money, match funding for these services included Local Transport Plan allocations for the district and the PTE, Burngreave New Deal for Communities, Single Regeneration Budget and the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund.

Monitoring and feedback relating to these services was overseen by a dedicated steering group and through SYPTE standard surveys.

AthersleyLink

See **Appendix 9** for a basic route map

The J1 and J2 services were launched in April 2004 - aiming, also, to link residents of Athersley and New Lodge to existing employment sites. Again, initially called JobLink, the J1 and J2 bus services were promoted as boosting employment in the area by providing regular access to the Carlton, Claycliffe and Dodworth Industrial Estates although the bus also served the areas of Smithies, Mapplewell (J1 and J2), Barugh and Redbrook Industrial Estate (J2 only).

J1 operated as a standard service, serving Athersley and New Lodge and linking residents to employment opportunities at the industrial estates and Barnsley and District General Hospital. The service would essentially provide a day-time shuttle operating on weekdays. Between designated times, the J2 service operated on a demand responsive basis, the idea being to provide a taxi-bus style for local residents to access community facilities.

The services were also operated by SCT, with funding from Objective1, the government's Urban Bus Challenge, Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council and SYPTE.

SCT's SITP also covered this area, recognising it as being characterised by high unemployment and poor health. The SITP stated that local consultation revealed that poor public transport links contribute to social isolation and perceptions of crime and risks to personal safety. Thus the aim of the J1 service was to enable local residents to access employment and training opportunities in the Strategic Economic Zones.

It is widely acknowledged that both of these services in Athersley, but especially the demand responsive J2 service, have not been successful (interviews with SYPTE and SCT; driver reports; and passenger figures themselves). Passenger numbers were extremely low with buses mainly running empty during the day. The demand responsive element was barely taken up except by a handful of passengers.

Whilst the establishment of a users forum had been attempted this failed to attract any interest from local people. Thus, unlike the Burngreave Steering Group, the Athersley service had no local forum.

The latest easy-access buses were to be used on the services in both areas and the vehicles used were considered more environmentally friendly than conventional services because of their use of bio-diesel - containing recycled waste vegetable oil.

An additional benefit of the services was felt to be the training and employment opportunities they would provide. It was hoped to recruit drivers of the buses locally; and SCT generally offer training (such as MiDAS training) and volunteer opportunities.

Current status of the services

Whilst this dissertation was being written up, the Athersley services were discontinued due to lack of economic viability. Passenger numbers on the Burngreave services, whilst relatively low compared to mainstream provision, had been steadily rising since the services were first introduced and further funding had been approved.

5 Analysis and Findings

5.1 Analysis and Findings Introduction

The findings discussed in the chapter were generated through the methodology explained in the previous chapter. The findings relate to objectives 5, 6 and 7 set out in the Introduction in Chapter 1:

5) To investigate the experience and perceptions of public transport and access to essential services within these socially excluded communities;

6) To ascertain the level of awareness, uptake and use of transport intervention within these communities (i.e. how 'embedded' they are);

7) To investigate attitudes towards such intervention and the level of support from transport, economic and community development practitioners;

The overall aim of this chapter was to produce detailed, qualitative information. Whilst not claiming to be representative of all transport users in the case study areas, these stories are nonetheless considered important in an in-depth analysis of the role of transport in enhancing social inclusion. The findings were generated through the expanded aim outlined in Chapter 3: a qualitative and partially ethnographic analysis of people's everyday lives in order to explore the effects of transport provision upon social exclusion; and in particular to investigate the role of transport intervention in improving access to economic opportunity. This directly responds to the lack of in-depth analysis of transport intervention and social exclusion and the use of authentic 'voices' within existing research. The findings will thus be presented as the authentic voices of the respondents, with the only analytical characteristics applied being those which make sense of the material because they emerge clearly from the data.

The findings will relate to the codes, themes and core categories identified during the analysis stage of the empirical work undertaken for this dissertation, following the broad principles of grounded theory. As explained in the Research Methodology chapter, themes were developed through the process of different stages of coding, where themes arose organically from the data

contained in the interview transcripts. These initial themes were then grouped into core categories which were then compared against those found in existing data and theory found in the literature. This helped to develop themes which on the one hand concurred and reiterated existing findings and on the other hand themes which could be seen as re-conceptualisations of existing theory. An example of the latter is the theme of power and influence and the effect the lack of power has on everyday experiences and life chances. Although this has been identified as influencing individual experience of social exclusion, the concept has yet to be developed in the context of *transport* and social exclusion research, at least in this format. This research demonstrates that the concept of lack of power can apply to many different aspects of the transport experience. For example, although informational exclusion has been identified in relation to travel and mobility, this is not explicitly linked to the concept of lack of power. The relationship between lack of access to information and resources to social exclusion has not before been expressed explicitly in terms of power and influence. This research recognises however that access to information is indeed a form of power and influence and, without such information, social exclusion can potentially be exacerbated through a continued loss of power.

Once codes had been established throughout the interview transcripts, these were categorised according to the overall core themes identified as part of the theory building process. Decisions had to be made where some of the codes would be placed as often different codes were able to fall under more than one core theme. The dissertation therefore acknowledges that these themes are not to be viewed as disparate independent entities but rather as categories which can accommodate some overlap. It also recognises that certain themes can influence and be influenced by many or all of the other factors. Their main function therefore is to provide a logical structure to the analysis although, in fact, many of the findings are largely attributable to distinct themes.

For the general findings on public transport, the two case study areas will be dealt with concurrently within the text but they will be identified as such throughout the chapter. As discussed elsewhere, the Burngreave study can be seen to have formed the bulk of the data generated, and most of the implications will arise from these findings. Only those Athersley findings which were distinct from the Burngreave findings, or which relate to unique local circumstances will be included (and these will be identified separately in the text). However, in the section which deals specifically with the transport

intervention schemes under investigation, the two areas will be discussed separately. General findings from the transport experiences will be discussed in the first sections under each theme and then the role of transport intervention will be discussed in relation to the issues mentioned. After each sub-section, there will be an analytical discussion which is identified as such throughout the text, in order to distinguish between factual reporting and analysis.

The issues discussed in this section will focus mainly on the qualitative, detailed findings discovered during the course of the research, rather than dwelling on the statistical significance of some of the findings. Often, individual opinions or viewpoints will be quoted. They are used in order to capture the actual 'voice' of the respondents, presenting their experiences in their own words. These are mainly used when they provide an example of issues which were found in the wider sample or highlight an inherent characteristic of the phenomena under study.

In addition, those issues which have already been identified in the literature and other empirical studies (such as concerns over reliability) will not be discussed at length here, as these topics are already familiar to those in the transport research field. Furthermore, it could be argued that a discussion of such topics is not necessarily appropriate for a study of community based transport intervention as issues such as bus reliability are influenced by a wide range of factors (such as traffic levels, congestion; competition regulation which allows a high volume of operators to serve one route, and so on). Such factors are generally outside the scope of small scale services such as those under investigation. Thus, only those topics which can be usefully discussed within the remit of this study and which can provide material relating to intervention will be included.

The rest of this chapter will include, firstly, a brief qualitative description of the characteristics of the respondents involved in the research (section 5.2), including information such as age, race, social, economic and personal circumstances (such as health status, caring responsibilities). This has not been presented on an individual basis, which may compromise the anonymity of the respondents, but rather generates an overall picture of key characteristics.

The next part of the chapter (section 5.3) outlines the findings following the framework of the core themes identified during the analysis of the interview transcripts and other data. The themes have emerged from the data analysed from the interview transcripts. The first two relate mainly to the data from the resident interviews, dealing as they do, with issues pertinent to these respondents. The next two make greater use of the practitioner respondents and are able to highlight discrepancies between the two perspectives and add value to the analysis of the resident interviews and the '*users voice*' which is the main focus of the overall research. These core themes are:

- Loss of self-esteem, self-worth, dignity and status
- Power and influence
- Localism versus parochialism
- Professional naivety

Loss of self-esteem, self-worth, dignity and status

This core theme emerged both from an understanding of existing findings found in the literature review relating to the 'intangible' aspects of social exclusion and from the views and experiences expressed through the interviews. Many respondents talked of being made to feel unworthy and unvalued, particularly in relation to the way they were treated by public transport staff and the general undignified manner in which such transport has to be used. Respondents also revealed lack of confidence and mental health issues as being influential on their use of the transport system and their ability to travel; and the motivation to find and secure employment. This core theme includes a number of related issues such as hostile and racist attitudes experienced on public transport, the stress involved in using the system and issues relating to comfort, security and wellbeing.

Power and influence

This core theme was a re-conceptualisation of: existing findings within social exclusion literature, findings from the transport field and an interpretation of interview transcripts in this research. Often, experiences related through the interviews did not explicitly refer to issues of power and influence (indeed as demonstrated in this research, often those experiencing inequity are not

consciously aware that it is happening to them). However, in-depth analysis was able to identify that many of the experiences of the respondents could be interpreted as examples of lack of power and inability to influence. These 'power' issues took many forms, such as the lack of genuine and inclusive consultation, poor expectations of service (that is, the respondents did not expect to be treated well) and the inability to access, articulate or comprehend information (including internet resources).

Localism versus parochialism

Again, this theme emerged as a reworking and development of existing knowledge and original observations. The findings explored ideas purported in the literature regarding territoriality and limited horizons which are said to perpetuate social exclusion. This research examined this within a transport context, finding evidence which both supported and refuted these claims and finding that priorities and motivation are also influential factors. However, these findings were also able to suggest that parochialism - seen in a pejorative sense - could also be understood as 'localism', which is a natural (and in some circumstances, politically-supported[13]) phenomenon where people wish to carry out the majority of their activities, including work, within their local area.

Professional naivety

The overall theme of 'professional naivety' also developed existing knowledge and went further to suggest that practitioners working within the fields of transport, employment and community development lack understanding and consideration of either the effects of social exclusion or of transport needs. This research also provides a new analysis exploring the 'double standards' and contradiction adopted in the stance of professionals who insist on others using a system which they themselves deem unacceptable. This theme also explores views regarding car ownership, suggesting that the assumption expressed by professionals that '*everyone wants a car*' is not necessarily the case within a social exclusion context.

[13] Reducing the need to travel and modal shift away from private cars has been promoted as a major policy in central government transport policy

5.2 Respondent characteristics

As already acknowledged, the numbers of resident respondents in Athersley was much lower than those in Burngreave. However, it was felt useful to include findings from this area as they provide either corroborating evidence for the other case study results or they provided a different perspective. Value was gained from seeing a similar style of service operating in a different local authority borough in a different social context.

The characteristics discussed here have been chosen partly because they relate to Table 2.2, listing dimensions and indicators of social exclusion, census data and because they are associated with potential transport issues (for example, women travelling with young children often experience difficulties when using buses). The particular dimensions which may predispose an individual to social exclusion include: long term unemployment; workless households; casual employment; income poverty; lone parenthood; crime and fear of crime; inability to engage in significant social interaction with family, or friends; low levels of community activity; lack of confidence in political processes; mental and physical ill health and educational underachievement and poor skills. Whilst experience of any one of these characteristics does not automatically guarantee that a person will be 'socially excluded', they are strongly associated with inequality, especially if they display multiple characteristics. The next section provides a qualitative description of the respondents, whilst Table 5.1 shows the characteristics in tabular form for ease of reference.

The research involved in-depth interviews with a total of thirty-six local residents (28 in Burngreave and 8 in Athersley). 29 of the respondents were female ranging in age from 16 to early 50s[14]. The seven men all lived in Burngreave and were aged from 16 to mid 40s[15].

Twenty-five of the respondents (of which there were three couples) had dependent children, 21 of which were pre-school age. Most of the female respondents with young children stayed at home full time with their children. Two of the respondents had large families, one had seven children (only one of whom lived independently) and another had five children (again, only one of whom had moved out of the parental home). Most respondents with children lived with a partner, and in one case with other members of her extended family (her parents, aunt and uncle). Four of the respondents were lone mothers, with children ranging in age from under one to seventeen. Some of these respondents were also responsible for the care of elderly relatives.

In Burngreave, fourteen of the respondents were white whilst the other half were from ethnic minority backgrounds, twelve were Asian (mainly from the Pakistani community) and two were black. In Athersley, all the respondents were white. Most of the respondents had lived in the case study areas for a number of years and were either from the immediate area or from other parts of Sheffield or Barnsley. However, six of the respondents had come to the area from abroad (four from Pakistan, one from Portugal and one from South Africa: all living in Burngreave) and a further five respondents were originally from other parts of the UK. None of the latter set of respondents had close networks of support (for example, family members) nearby.

A total of eleven respondents were in employment, six of which in part-time employment. Most of the employed respondents were on fairly low incomes, especially those with larger families. Part-time, casual and unskilled jobs were mentioned by several of the respondents. Eight of the respondents lived in households with no-one in employment, all of whom relied on benefits for their main source of income. Four of the younger respondents in Burngreave were in education or training and one Athersley respondent was attending college, studying childcare. Sixteen of the respondents had no qualifications.

[14] Three of the female respondents were in their teens, 7 in their twenties, 11 in their thirties, 4 in their forties, and 4 female respondents were in the their early fifties

[15] Two of the male respondents were under twenty, one was in his twenties, one was in his thirties and three were in their forties

A total of 7 respondents had long-term health problems which limited their personal mobility and ability to drive or use public transport. Of these respondents, one was completely wheelchair-dependent and another required a mobility scooter when travelling outside the home. Three of the respondents also revealed they suffered from mental health problems - including depression and severe anxiety attacks - which also affected their day to day life, including travel.

Fifteen of the respondents had a driving licence but of these, only eight had regular access to their own vehicle (all but two of these respondents lived in households with only one car between them). None of the other respondents drove or received regular lifts – indeed eight of the respondents lived in households with no car. All of the respondents in Burngreave were regular bus users. In this area, those with no access to a car were almost completely reliant on buses for most of their travel needs. Five of the Athersley respondents were bus users.

Whilst the bus was the most frequently cited form of transport for most of the respondents - except for those who mainly used the car - they also relied on walking, trams, taxis and occasional lifts when they needed to travel. Only one respondent used the train and this was infrequent. Of those the eleven respondents in employment, seven solely relied on buses to get to work whilst a further two occasionally used the bus to access work when the household car was not available.

Seven respondents owned their own homes (a further three lived in their parents' houses which were owner occupied). In Athersley, two of these respondents had in fact moved to the area from elsewhere because of the affordability of the housing there. Ten respondents lived in rented accommodation, fourteen lived in local authority housing and two lived in housing association properties.

In relation to area characteristics and the potential affect on respondents, fourteen of them expressed a significant fear of crime in their area, and stated that this curtailed their movements to some degree (usually only at night). Nine stated they were not happy living in their area and expressed a desire to move if they were able to. Despite this, however, in contrast to some of the views expressed by practitioners and generally accepted perceptions and poor reputations, most respondents were, on the whole, satisfied living in the case study areas. Indeed, in Athersley, two of the respondents had actively sought to move to the area because of desirable

characteristics compared to where they lived previously (for example, less crime, open space, cheaper housing).

In relation to confidence in political activity, in the New Deal for Communities area (Burngreave), ten of the respondents who were aware of New Deal, felt that they did not trust their activities. This mistrust ranged from lack of faith in consultation processes, a belief that money was wasted on projects which had no benefit for the community and the view that certain sections of the community gained a disproportionate amount of benefit from funding. For example, some white respondents stated that funding often went to activities which only benefited ethnic minority residents. Only four of the respondents were involved in community activity in their area.

Table 5.1: Summary of Respondent Characteristics

Respondent characteristics	Burngreave	Athersley
Female respondents	21	8
Male respondents	7	0
Aged Under 20	5	0
20-29	5	3
30-39	9	3
40-49	6	1
Over 50	3	1
No. with dependent children	19	7
Ethnic minority respondents	14	0
No. in full time employment	5	0
No. in part time employment	6	0
No. not in employment	9	8
No. in receipt of benefits	7	1
No. with no qualifications	9	7
No. with long term health problems	6	1
No. with driving licence	11	4
No. with no driving licence	16	4
No. with regular access to own vehicle	5	3
No. with no household car	7	1
No. used bus for main travel	20	4
No. used bus for employment	7	0
Tenure: owner occupied	4	3
Tenure: private rented	10	0
Tenure: local authority or housing association	11	5

As can be seen, the majority of the respondents were female and of these, many had young children. The issue of representativeness is discussed in the Research Methods chapter but it is worth mentioning the effects of the sample characteristics on the findings here.

Although most of the respondents were female and the findings do provide an important discussion of how one gender engages with the system, it was not felt necessary to specifically define the research as a study of women and transport. The research never intended to concentrate on a female perspective as it was felt that the subject of gender and transport has already received much attention in existing literature (for example, Hamilton, and Jenkins,1992; Hill, 1996; Ortoleva and Brenman, 2004; Root, et al., 2000; Grieco, et al.,1989). Thus, the research aimed to capture as wide a perspective as possible therefore the initial research methodology did not set out to exclude any potential groups. In addition, although most of the respondents were female, their individual characteristics varied greatly and the research did not want to presume that the experiences of a white, middle-aged respondent, for example, would be similar to that of a young, black respondent simply on the basis that they were both female. Despite this, elements of the research did accord well with the fact that many of the respondents were female. Qualitative interview methodology, particularly feminist methodology, places value on empathy and acknowledging the role of researcher characteristics (reflexivity as discussed in Chapter 3). Therefore, a female researcher interviewing a number of female respondents was seen as beneficial to the quality of the research rather than a failure to be representative (especially as the researcher was able to personally relate to several of their experiences).

In reality, several of the respondents were male and indeed it could be said that the sample frame broadly reflected the nature of the transport system which is predominantly used by women, especially those with young children (Hamilton and Jenkins, 1989; Department for Transport, 1994). In such a small sample, it would be very difficult to provide equal representation of all groups, especially when characteristics of social exclusion are so difficult to delineate and define. Additionally, many respondents displayed multiple characteristics (for example, being a black, female, unemployed lone parent) which are difficult to separate as potential causal factors in social exclusion experience.

Notwithstanding this, the findings must be interpreted with the acknowledgement that the findings are predominantly from a female perspective and this will be reflected in the particular issues which emerged as major concerns (such as childcare issues). Therefore the findings chapter does not claim to 'speak' for all those experiencing transport related exclusion in the

case study areas, particularly male voices. It does, however, provide a broad reflection of several groups within the case study areas – and those which have been identified as potentially having a predisposition for social exclusion.

The remaining chapter will now provide a discussion of the issues emerging under the four core categories identified through the analysis of the data.

5.3 Core themes

5.3.1 Loss of self-esteem, self-worth, dignity and status

In accordance with that stated in the literature (for example, Church of England, 1985; Room, 1995; Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997; Oppenheim 1998; Foley, 1999; Duffy, 2000; Kenyon et al, 2002), the findings under this theme found examples to demonstrate that social exclusion does include a number of intangible and relational elements, such as loss of status, self-esteem and expectations. This was revealed particularly through the findings related to the treatment of passengers on public transport and how staff attitudes had far-reaching effects on feelings of worth. It is also evidenced through the suggestion that many users have little expectation of good service or respect. Bad experiences on public transport can exacerbate feelings of social exclusion. That is to say that public transport can create social exclusion through the way users are made to feel (for example, by the lack of respect shown by staff, the powerlessness in determining reliability, the indignity of having to struggle to get on board, ask for help, and so on). These findings will be discussed in more detail below.

Driver Attitude

Driver attitude stood out as one of the major issues that respondents had with their public transport experience. Virtually all of the respondents mentioned the impact of the driver on their journeys, variously describing some of them as "*rude*", "*unfriendly*", "*surly*", "*uncaring*", "*a nasty piece of work*" and "*obnoxious*". Although most of these also felt that some of the drivers were not like this and were in fact very friendly, it was the unpleasant ones who had a lasting impact. Some respondents recounted incidents from some years ago which were still affecting how they perceived bus travel today:

> *It was just really upsetting as well...'cos I felt really that low...Someone speaking to you so 'orrible. Because once you've had that experience, like I did that time, you're so scared of getting on a bus again...Worried*

that he's gonna have a real go at you...It does traumatise you, and if you do have that experience at first, you're thinking, you know...very inconvenient and very unhealthy for you, for you, you know, to try and use the transport. If it's necessary, I will use it... but I try to avoid it
Burngreave resident, female, Asian, three children, not in employment

I've had a few problems with really, really surly drivers...And I had to make a complaint at one guy actually 'cos he were really, really rude and horrible, yeah
Burngreave resident, female, chronic back injury prevents her from driving

Another very significant point made was that being treated badly could actually affect a person's frame of mind. At least four of the respondents stated that encountering an unpleasant driver in the morning could literally ruin their whole day, creating long-lasting negative feelings – shame, embarrassment, anger or loss of self-esteem:

And I think that's very difficult, because if you've just dropped your children at school for example, you have a driver who's not really treating you very nicely....Then it messes up your whole day...You feel really negative through that day.
Burngreave resident, female, Asian, seven children, works in community development

You get different sorts of drivers. You get really friendly drivers and you get real attitude problems. They're not that friendly because of the stress...You have to be, like, nice but I've seen drivers who are really nice and some, like, you know when you've given them a pound and stuff, instead of forty pee in change – they have a go at you...Like last two times, they've had a real go at me but what, like, are you meant to do? I thought – "We're paying you, you should get change in", and he's like "Where am I supposed to get change from?' And I'm like, what do you mean, "You're a bus driver you should know!"...And then it's just as you are, like, it makes you a bit upset and all day...If you've had a bad start in the morning, you have it all day
Burngreave resident, female, Asian, 19 years old, part-time student

If you get a bus driver who peed you off when you get on the bus, you generally find that when you're sat there, you're still mithering from what the bus driver said, to make your journey an unpleasant one.
Burngreave resident, single mother to 18 month year old, not in employment

These incidents can be exacerbated by the fact that often passengers cannot choose to get away from the situation, do not have time to wait for another bus or they have to use a particular service due to ticket restrictions and are therefore at the mercy of that driver's attitude. All of which relate to a lack of choice – an important element in the experience of social exclusion, which also relates to the power issues which will be discussed later.

Driver attitude was the single most significant issue that the respondents with young children had. Six of the respondents felt that many of the drivers were unsympathetic to those boarding buses with pushchairs and children. This ranged from the drivers not even stopping to pick them up; rudely telling them they could not get on because the bus was full; arbitrarily and unreasonably enforcing rules about pushchair space designation; and showing impatience at how long the passenger was taking to get on the vehicle with the pushchair.

Buses were generally viewed as family/ child unfriendly even though a large proportion of users are parents with young children. Many of the respondents felt that if rules about pushchairs did have to be upheld, then this could be carried out in a polite and reasonable manner – rather than the discourteous and officious manner most had experienced. This unnecessary rudeness was felt to be particularly galling amongst the respondents. They felt that they were made to feel completely unworthy - incidents such as drivers shutting doors and driving off whilst passengers were still waiting to board, with no word of explanation or apology – made them feel like their custom was of no value or consequence:

> *You did sort of feel like a second class citizen. There was this bus with all this space, but to get a pushchair on – it wasn't very friendly.*
> Burngreave resident, female, two children, in part time employment

> *There's definitely some that are nasty...Oh, I get angry, yeah, I feel really cross when they're nasty like that...You know, you get paranoid about getting on the bus, then...Oh no, that'll you'll get* <u>*him*</u> [a certain unpleasant driver] *again*
> Athersley resident, female, five children, not in employment

Lack of consideration for different types of passengers was also cited as an issue. Those with mobility impairments had suffered from thoughtless drivers who had failed to take into account how long it may take them to safely board and sit down. Most of the respondents who complained of poor customer care argued that the actual incident itself was less significant than the attitude of staff members. Most could accept that accidents and delays were sometimes unavoidable, but that if an apology or explanation was offered, this would make the situation more bearable. They believed that that a culture change needed to occur, placing a duty on the operator to put the customer first. Two of the Asian respondents also highlighted that drivers also had little sympathy or patience for those who did not speak English as a first language. One believes that the drivers need better training in cultural awareness, and general consideration to different sorts of passengers:

> *...how they* [the driver] *react to people's feelings...how they react to people's cultures*
> Burngreave resident, female, Asian

All of the respondents were reasonable about this issue and did acknowledge that the driver had a difficult and potentially unrewarding and thankless task, sometimes having to deal with challenging and aggressive passengers. However, they all believed that the drivers should not indiscriminately vent their frustrations on all passengers: *"And I know they're under pressure but there's no need to have no consideration for other people".* Three of the respondents believed there was a noticeable difference between the staff attitudes of the two main bus operators. This could suggest that attitudes may be more related to the culture of the operator and their standards of customer care rather than simply to individual personalities or conditions of the job.

> *They have to put up with kids throwing stones and everything, putting windows through late at night round here...So some of 'em* [the drivers], *you can understand a bit of attitude but - not to old people and stuff like that*
> Athersley resident, female, two children, not in employment

Younger respondents in particular felt singled out as targets for hostile drivers, with one describing how she was regularly berated for not having the right change, even though there is no requirement for customers to provide the correct money. This issue is strongly related to issues of trust– the driver is instinctively suspicious of young people, meaning they routinely demand that passes be shown even, as one respondent pointed out, when her child was wearing his primary school uniform. One respondent crystallised this concept, pointing out how the physical presence of a screen between driver and passenger made an explicit statement about the lack of trust from the operator.

A practitioner who worked with young people believed that drivers were very hostile towards them, particularly to black youths, and there was a tendency for the driver to assume that they were going to cause trouble even before they had boarded the bus. Perceived and real experience of antagonism led the young person to anticipate that the journey would be troublesome which caused them anxiety and feelings of harassment. Again, she also made the point that if a person started their morning in this way, it tended to cloud the rest of the day:

> *When you start your day with that kind of aggro, it doesn't get better as the day goes on, that's true*
> Employment and training facilitator working with young people in Burngreave

A community transport practitioner in Barnsley was appalled at the poor level of customer care provided by mainstream bus services. He believed that in many ways, customer care was the most important element and was more significant in improving the service than any radical changes or innovation. He believed that improvements were needed in customer care in order to get passengers on board the service in the first place, and only then would technological improvements have any benefit.

Racism, hostility, prejudice

There was clear evidence within the findings that ethnic minority respondents have experienced racism and hostility on public transport. These incidents can be associated with an overall loss of self-esteem and status amongst those experiencing them. Most of the ethnic minority respondents felt there was a racist undertone on the buses and felt uncomfortable using them, finding the generally negative atmosphere towards ethnic minority passengers unpleasant and upsetting (this was from both staff and other passengers):

> *My daughter was travelling on the bus, you know at the time of the twin towers and everything. So my daughter was wearing her hijaab and what happened was all the older women, they got up, moved away from her...After that, my daughter was really upset. Next day she wore a baseball cap. It was just like, unbelievable. When things like that happen, especially if you can't speak English. Within our area, there's so many black and ethnic minorities, because we have all the refugees and asylum seekers. We always have people who are not speaking English at all and I think, I think, probably some of the people who travel on the buses are getting more prejudiced*
> Burngreave resident, female, Asian, seven children

It was felt there was a particular problem for ethnic minority passengers who may have English as a second language:

> *Sometimes, you know, if you're not white faced or – I'm sorry but, you know, to say it - you know, if you're not English, and you can't speak English, it's scary*
> Burngreave resident, female, Asian, three children

This respondent also felt that ethnic minorities were looked upon with particular negativity when travelling with young children. She felt that other passengers were openly hostile and made it clear they were annoyed at their presence, often making negative comments, assuming she would not understand English:

> *Some people don't want you to sit with them...you can see they are annoyed, people are annoyed – if they don't make it quietly that they are annoyed, they make it obvious that they are annoyed. See, I can understand a lot of people, what they say, 'cos I speak, I'm English speaking but some people might think you can't understand a word they're*

saying - but, what you hear, and what they say and stuff is very upsetting. My sister-in-law, from Pakistan, who can't speak English, have given up on the buses

She also believes that the drivers (and other passengers) can be deliberately unhelpful and therefore feels that staff need to be trained more effectively in cultural awareness to be able to deal with those who cannot speak fluent English, and to have more patience or consideration. She has come to expect nastiness or unfriendliness to the extent that when she uses public transport, she tends to keep her head down when she gets on in order not to attract attention which again is an indication of lack of self-esteem. She feels that this hostility will always exist, and it is simply a case of having to accept it:

> *We've always had experiences on 'em,* [the buses] *there's always been some kind of, you know, nastiness or, you know, passengers not being friendly. There's always gonna be that incident I think. It does upset you but you have to get used to it. You know what I mean, you'd have to come to terms with it? It's one of them things you just have to get used to*

Positive experiences

Conversely, a small number of the respondents mentioned simple acts of kindness and friendliness shown by the drivers which had profound effects on their journey experience. Often these acts were remembered by the respondent and were greatly appreciated. Some respondents sincerely valued these little pieces of humanity shown by the driver, confirming their faith in the bus system:

> *Luckily today the driver was brilliant. He pulled up, asked if I wanted any help, he actually pulled out the ramp, he took my fare and even made sure the space* [wheelchair space] *was empty and clear, and actually asked other passengers to move out of the way.*
> Burngreave resident, male, disabled, wheelchair-dependent

Several respondents mentioned the value they placed on the buses and one respondent was exceptionally positive about the buses and the network:

> *I love the buses. I'd be lost without them...I think public transport is wonderful.*
> Burngreave resident, female, severe mobility impairments, not in employment

A number of the other respondents use highly appreciative terms such as "*lifeline*" and "*godsend*" when describing the local buses. This highlights that, for some, the bus is not just seen as a convenience but actually has a profound influence on their whole quality of life.

For some people the provision of buses actually enhances independence, particularly if that person is not able to use a car, or has no other choice of transport. The two disabled respondents both emphasised how the local bus service gave them independence and that they would be housebound without them. This was also the case for the young people in the sample, stating that the buses gave them the independence to travel without relying on their parents. Clifton and Lucas claim that lack of adequate public transport can mean people "*become housebound, isolated and cut off from friends, family and other social networks*" (2004: 29). Whilst this is undoubtedly the case in situations where good transport is lacking, the evidence found here shows that the opposite can be achieved when transport is available. For those unable or unwilling to drive, public transport was in fact a means of ensuring they were not housebound and could continue a social life.

Three of the respondents mentioned the importance of teaching their children how to use the bus system. This was both in terms of teaching them independence but they also saw it as a means of learning other valuable life skills, such as map reading, route finding, punctuality and time keeping, knowing how to ask questions and buy tickets. Just as importantly, they also saw it as a means of enhancing their sense of being 'streetwise' - knowing how to get home by themselves, how to deal with other people, avoiding unsafe situations and so on.

Researcher observations:

Akin with the respondents' experiences, observations revealed the difference between individual drivers in their demeanour, attitude and professionalism. Some of the drivers were very pleasant, greeting customers as they boarded and alighted, thanking them for payment, helpfully dealing with enquiries and being concerned that passengers alighted at their right destination. This contrasted strongly with other incidents noted by the researcher where many of the drivers were sullen and unhelpful with a significant minority being particularly unpleasant, to the point of being deliberately inflammatory and challenging towards passengers. At least two incidents were observed where the driver, unprovoked, was abusive and belligerent towards waiting passengers. Overzealous adherence to regulations was also an issue for many of the passengers who felt that drivers were deliberately unreasonable.

Notably, the more pleasant drivers tended to be on the provincial routes rather than the major city routes, although some of these drivers were also pleasant. This reveals inherent differences in behaviour between cities and less dense urban districts. Drivers in city areas tended to display greater distrust and remoteness towards passengers, and seemed more impervious to customer concerns.

Stress

Feelings ranging from frustration, irritation, anger and anxiety were a regular feature of the bus experience. A number of respondents also reported some fairly serious incidents which they had either been involved in or witnessed on the local buses. All of which could be seen to be having an insidious affect on overall levels of self-esteem, worth and inclusion in wider society.

Frustration and anxiety caused by unreliable services were one of the most reported incidents. Some faced daily worry, especially when travelling to work, over whether the bus would turn up in time (or indeed whether it would even stop at busy times). This was made worse by unexpected delays and diversions, the disturbance of which was exaggerated by the lack of explanation or apology from the driver. Many of the respondents talked of how these feelings were heightened by a sense of powerlessness over the course of the journey. It was entirely in the hands of external forces (such as traffic conditions, the bus company and the individual driver) whether the bus would be on time. Passengers have no power over choice of route, ability to avoid traffic and so on. At the same time there was no control over other passengers and whether they would create problems or stress for the rest of the people travelling on the bus.

The notion of, sometimes daily, dilemmas and ad hoc decision-making appeared frequently throughout the interviews. Public transport users had to make a series of choices about the most suitable and effective way of accessing a destination and decisions based on length of journey, experience of reliability and ticketing structures. This involves a mixture of prior knowledge, information gathering skills (for example, talking on the telephone or using the web) as well as the cognitive ability to read and understand maps and timetables. This all added to the complexity, and thus the stress, of a journey where time savings had to be sacrificed for cost saving or vice versa. Another

large part of this is simple faith in the system – the passenger had to have at least some confidence that the service will get them to the required destination for the required time.

Importantly, there seemed to be a distinct contrast between those who relied (or used to rely) on buses to get to work and those that did not. For those in employment, the length of journey time was much more of an issue than those who were using public transport to go shopping, for example. Here, it can be argued that whilst irritating, it is not crucial that a bus does not turn up, or that one has to wait longer than expected. Interestingly, for those who were not working, and who were generally positive about their experience of buses, their estimates of how long certain journeys took were shorter than those who had used buses to get to work. This could be explained by the fact that they may be able to choose not to travel at peak times so journeys genuinely are shorter or, because they are not under such time pressures, they do not perceive the journey, or the waiting, to be so problematic.

This also relates to the question of whether they have ever been late for important meetings. As stated previously, it could be because public transport users automatically allow for delays and thus set off in plenty of time. Or, is it because they choose not to partake in organised, structured activities that require them to be there at set times – either because of transport difficulties or for some other reason relating to their life circumstances or motivations. Thus, they may find public transport to be unproblematic at the moment but if they were to become employed, issues such as reliability and frequency would become much more significant.

Other respondents talk of angry exchanges between passengers and the driver, and how it can escalate into abuse and sometimes violence. One respondent feels the drivers are sometimes to blame for these initiating these exchanges because they can be so unpleasant and unreasonable, especially with parents with pushchairs. This is exacerbated by what one respondent described as a general unfriendliness and unpleasantness on the buses, especially towards families and ethnic minorities. She found the journey an ordeal and said that: "*you are just glad to get off in one piece*". Another respondent believed that being conscious of this negative attitude caused the journey to become more stressful.

Again, however, in contrast to this, some respondents recalled exceptionally positive experiences whilst travelling on buses, ranging from the opportunity to chat with other passengers, to impromptu entertainment:

> *I remember when this guy got on with a guitar, and played his guitar and serenaded the whole bus...and then just got off, like, two stops later. It was, like, really funny – a magic moment*
> Burngreave resident, female, two children

Loss of status etc. and the role transport intervention

On the whole the vast majority of the interview and all of the survey respondents were exceptionally positive about the drivers of the intervention services, and this stood out in stark contrast to the opinions expressed about the drivers of other operators. The friendliness and helpfulness of the drivers was one of the most significant features of the service to many of the passengers, and was their immediate response when asked what they considered to be the advantages of this particular service. Several of them also appreciated the fact that the same drivers tended to operate the services and that they would also talk to the passengers as they travelled:

> *It's nice, I think that's what makes it the community sort of service, really, isn't it?...You can chat, and have a laugh.*
> Burngreave resident, female, one child, in part time employment

Others still commented that the drivers were "*nice*", "*decent*", "*pleasant*", "*courteous*", "*obliging*", and "*have a laugh*". They felt respected and valued as customers and some passengers felt that the drivers went out of their way to offer assistance, for example, personally dropping passengers off nearer their homes or destinations.

This is particularly important in terms of the ability of the service to improve levels of social interaction, particularly for those who otherwise may be quite isolated. One respondent, for example, described the driver as her '*friend*'. Another said that this type of friendliness and familiarity would probably encourage greater use of the bus, especially as drivers got know those passengers with young children and were more understanding of the difficulties of boarding the bus with a pushchair. This personal interaction was important, and being seen as a regular customer was something she valued. Another respondent recognised that this familiar atmosphere extended to the interaction between the passengers as well, as friendships developed and they tended to "*look out for one another*".

Analysis:

These findings demonstrate that in relation to status and self-esteem, the intervention meets some of the good practice guidelines set out in the literature review in Table 2.5, in particular: *"Having an explicit ethos of community and customer care"* and having *"Friendly and helpful staff"*. The services in the two areas were operated by a Community Transport operator which had specific customer care standards and inclusionary principles. In Burngreave good quality customer care was very apparent to passengers and was highly valued.

Respect appears to be the important factor here. Respondents accepted that unforeseen incidents can happen, but the most important thing is to be treated with some deference. The positive experiences mentioned cast relief on the importance that even simple courtesy or an apology can have to a person's quality of experience or even their self-esteem. It also reveals that passengers value this attention and remember acts of consideration as much as negative experiences. It also draws attention to the fact that only very small shifts in attitude and tone of voice, for example, can radically alter a journey as much as, or even more so, than large physical changes.

The attitude of the driver has a very significant influence over the quality of the journey, as interaction with them cannot be avoided. Therefore, training in good customer care is imperative, as well as cultural awareness. The way a person is spoken to, and treated, has obvious implications for their feelings of social inclusion. The evidence presented here demonstrates both sides of this – that helpful and friendly attitudes can have just as powerful an influence as unpleasantness. These findings from the intervention services have demonstrated that pleasant and helpful drivers are noticed and valued by customers. Indeed two survey respondents stated that they deliberately waited for these buses (even though they were not as convenient as other services) because they were so much friendlier. This has great implications for the provision of socially inclusive transport especially as such passengers could be regarded as vulnerable with customer care being especially important to them. Staff attitudes must change in order not to alienate and cause upset to passengers, especially vulnerable passengers (and those suffering from social exclusion can all be said to be vulnerable as a characteristic of this is low feelings of self-worth and self-esteem). This is especially important if a

potential user is entering, or returning to the labour market, the stress involved in getting to the place of employment should be made as minimal as possible.

The contrast between the drivers of the intervention service and other operators is particularly noteworthy. Therefore, the policy of recruiting a small pool of regular drivers with the deliberate aim of developing passenger-driver rapport is to be commended. This positive feedback could also be attributed to the general community based ethos of the operator and their experience of working with traditionally socially excluded and special needs groups. The culture of the community transport sector means drivers are more considerate and courteous, and generally more relaxed towards customers. Conversely, it is particularly important that these services maintain this level of good relations, especially as it could be regarded as a complementary service which people could easily choose not to use. The relaxed attitude many of the drivers had could be detrimental in terms of efficiency and a balance needs to be struck between attending to individual needs and proving a reliable service.

From a personal and social perspective the findings also reiterate those of DETR (2000a) who identified the various non-physical significances of transport provision. The findings also found that public transport can be a social experience and means of meeting and interacting with people with whom passengers may not normally encounter. Some of the experiences recounted by ethnic minority participants (and those with young children) would suggest that this interaction is not always positive, with hostility and intolerance shown towards those who are 'different'. Despite this the findings also confirm that, for some, public transport is more than just a means of physical mobility, but it enhances mental health and sense of well-being (especially in relation to maintaining independence).

The importance and personal significance of public transport does not always seem to be appreciated; it can mean much more than physical accessibility – the social and psychological aspects need to be valued. These aspects rarely feature within any appraisal of a transport system. It also needs to be understood that many people actually *like* using buses, despite assumptions to the contrary. Professionals and practitioners do not always seem to understand this, and often have disparaging and patronising attitudes towards public transport and its users – especially bus users.

In addition, the availability of transport can give users a sense of independence, the ability to get out of the house and be mobile. It can teach people to use their own initiative (an important step in gaining employment skills). This is also important in building a sense of social inclusion and improving mental health.

A salient feature noted from observations and through respondent accounts, was the relatively high number of people who acknowledged and showed friendship towards the other passengers and toward the driver of the intervention services. This convivial atmosphere was particularly striking on the early morning service where many regular passengers recognised and talked to each other. The regularity of the service meant the same people tended to be board at set times, to the extent that the driver was able to predict which passenger would be boarding at which point. This is in stark contrast to the comments made about the standard bus services, where drivers were said to be nasty and other passengers threatening and abusive.

This is significant, not only in terms of the superficial 'pleasantness' of the journey, but it can also have positive benefits in reducing feelings of social isolation and improving self-worth – and also lowering stress levels. It also sends out a message that the passenger is welcomed and valued. These are all counteractive to social exclusion and contribute to the development of 'social capital' – as recognised by Putnam (1993, 1995). The wealth of positive feeling for the service amongst those who used it revealed the dependency the service had created and the potential effect which would occur if the service were to cease. This also showed how passenger numbers alone are not the only measure of a service's worth, or success – although this is generally how success is perceived by those who are not familiar with the social and psychological benefits such a service can confer.

This relates to one of the good practice guidelines from Table 2.5 which suggests that an "*effective monitoring system should place a value on the movement of people from exclusion to inclusion*". The findings demonstrate that although there is little evidence in this research to suggest that economic opportunity had been substantially increased, the social benefits of the service were clear. These often related to intangible aspects, however, such as increased levels of respect and a monitoring system would need to be able to recognise these aspects. The point made in the findings chapter about how the value of a service relates to its inclusivity rather than its commercial

performance is also relevant here. In these terms, the services in Burngreave can be shown to have a great deal of worth.

It also relates to the guideline which suggests that *"A service can be used to demonstrate the commitment by the authorities to ensuring that public transport plays a part in the social and economic regeneration".* There were mixed views on this issue. Some were highly appreciative of the introduction of the service and found it met their needs well. Others were more cynical about the services, believing that funding had not been effectively used to maximise benefits to those living in the areas subject to regeneration. Furthermore, in parts of Athersley, rather than being appreciated as a sign of support from the authorities, the new buses were targeted as a sign of outside interference. For example, the original route of the bus service had to be modified to avoid certain streets where bus windows had been stoned and vehicles interfered with as they drove along.

Indignity and comfort

Poor journey experiences were compounded by the humiliation and indignity often felt when using buses, particularly for those travelling with young children and mobility impaired or older passengers. The level of overcrowding had a significant impact on the quality of some of the respondent's journeys. A knock-on effect of this overcrowding was that buses were often deemed too full to take on any more passengers, and therefore did not stop at busy points to pick up more people. As a consequence the improvements respondents would like to see related to a better journey experience, not necessarily increased access to places that they previously could not get to.

> *But when it's packed and sometimes people are having to stand up not necessarily when it's safe, it annoys me...You know what I mean, cramming people on...It just makes me feel like a peasant, you know what I mean?*
> Burngreave resident, female, two children, not in employment

The main issues were the lack of consideration shown by the drivers, causing them to fall or stumble when the bus sets off before they were safely seated and the congested and undignified manner of boarding. All of the parents talked of how difficult it could be to negotiate safely onto vehicles, whilst simultaneously trying to get pushchairs on board, making sure children were safely sat down, pay the driver and carry any bags. Some of the respondents felt that other passengers could be openly hostile towards young families and

they were regarded as a nuisance by the bus operators. This was made especially difficult if the bus was moving, it was crowded, or the designated pushchair spaces were taken up by other passengers or were already occupied by other pushchairs or wheelchair users. This is despite the fact that parents with young children in deprived areas are typically characterised as being on low incomes with little access to private vehicles and thus make up a large part of the customer base.

> *I mean it's very stressful for you isn't it – you know when you're trying to cope, I mean it's bad enough when it's just you on your own, trying to ring the bell and getting out of the bus with bags. But with two kids, and then having to reassemble your pushchair, and to help them and to hold onto something and to move off and hope that the bus driver is going to stop...*
> Burngreave resident, female, two children, in part-time employment

> *I do find sometimes, you know when your child standing on a bus, you've got young children with you, they don't say, "oh do you want any help love?"...They just watch you take all shopping on't bus, then come back, collapse your pram and try and struggle with a baby under your arm, it's ridiculous...They'd just rather sit there and watch you. I'd rather walk than catch bus, 'cos I find it's too much hassle getting on't bus*
> Athersley resident, female, three children, part-time college student

> *Generally, they're just not bothered at all, they don't even seem interested. It's like, pay your money and get on, and then they pack you on like sardines and don't care, and just keep letting people on. You just feel like you're a cow getting on't cattle truck*
> Athersley resident, female, two children, not in employment

Cleanliness and maintenance was another issue mentioned by a number of the respondents who talked of the effect of vandalism, cigarette burns in seats and general lack of hygiene:

> *I can't stand it when you get on and there's, like, bubble gum all over the place... And people have been vandalising the seats.*
> Burngreave resident, male, 20, unemployed

Some of the respondents compared buses with trams, one stating that she prefers trams as the environment in which you travel is pleasanter and safer. She noted how buses can be unpleasant environments to endure and described them as sometimes:

> ...*depressing...a bit dowdy, and a bit grubby...*
> Burngreave resident, female, 30s.

This impression was exacerbated by the lack of supervision of unruly youths, vandalised upholstery and so on. To her, the physical comfort of the bus, and its condition, were one of the most important aspects of her public transport

experience. It seems to affect how passengers feel about themselves and potentially makes them feel less valued.

Dignity and comfort and the role of transport intervention

The most significant advantage of the services for mobility impaired passengers was in the design and use of modern low-floor vehicles which are accessible for passengers travelling in wheelchairs. They found them to be cleaner than other services, as well as more comfortable and spacious. They also appreciated the assistance from the drivers. This also benefited those who have general difficulty in accessing traditional vehicles, and those travelling with pushchairs, with the spacious aisles giving them more room to manoeuvre -with the added benefit of not being overcrowded.

A wheelchair user believed the fact he was able to use the bus as if it were a normal service bus rather than, for example, having to book specialist transport in advance or be forced to get a taxi, was his definition of a more inclusive transport system. Being able to use such a service as if it were a standard bus is important in increasing participation amongst mobility impaired users, and helps to create a more equitable system where all passengers are afforded equal accessibility. Again, the intervention meets the guidelines set out in Table 2.5 which states that "*Easily accessible vehicles to those with heavy shopping, prams and pushchairs, and wheelchairs*" are necessary.

Analysis:

The overcrowding issue, and conflict between different passenger types, is overcome to some extent on a small scale community based service, as they are invariably not used by large volumes of people. The design of the vehicle is deliberate to ensure spaciousness and accessibility for different users, and is especially geared up for disabled passengers. This system seems to have an appreciation of the customer base, recognising and valuing the core users of the system – for example, low income parents – and not create a perverse system which discourages use and appears to operate against them. Fundamentally, the provision should not prioritise one over the other but the buses should be accessible and inclusive to all.

The physical and psychological conditions one experiences whilst using public transport has an obvious bearing on one's state of mind. Comfort is not just related to physical sensations, it also relates to feelings of self-worth. Having to use a service which is perceived to be dirty and uncared for, being forced to stand in cramped conditions, on top of which the driver may have been unpleasant, would not naturally lead to feelings of self-worth. Travelling on a clean, well-maintained and spacious bus makes passenger feel more valued and less like "*a cow getting on't cattle truck*". Any service aiming to increase participation in the social world would need to be maintained to an acceptable level. A culture change should also be attempted to shift perceptions away from viewing the bus as only for the poor and disaffected – this would involve marketing strategies, vehicle standards and staff attitudes. In this case, the need for "*Comfortable, clean, well heated and ventilated vehicles*" as set out in Table 2.5 is again met. In Burngreave, many respondents commented on the superior condition of the vehicles (especially in comparison with other services) and found them to be comfortable, clean and spacious.

5.3.2 Power and influence

Many of the experiences and incidents recalled by the respondents could be broadly related to the issue of 'power' – particularly in relation to the power to control life outcomes, which is generally seen to be deficient in the experience of social exclusion. The identification of power and influence developed from findings in the literature, for example, Room (1995), Oppenheim (1998) and Dibben (2001). They identify that social exclusion relates to inadequate social participation and lack of power, in particular discrepancies within power relationships between individuals, groups and the state; and isolation from mechanisms of power. This core theme has several associated themes which include feelings of helplessness, lack of choice and the inability to influence or direct change – all of which have parallels with the findings revealed in the literature review. For example, Duffy (1998) who states that social exclusion centres upon the processes of unequal access to participation in society. However, the findings in this core theme also help to reconceptualise some of the theories held in existing literature where seemingly unrelated issues such as lack of information can in fact be explicitly linked to the whole notion of power and influence. This will be explored in greater depth throughout this section.

Ability to influence

Corresponding with some of these debates surrounding the concept of social exclusion, there was indeed a general sense that the experiences occurring to those using buses were those that "*were done to them*" (see Murray, 2000), rather than anything they could influence or control. This seemed particularly the case for respondents who could be considered to have less influence generally in their lives – for example those who lived alone, were long term unemployed and those who had no formal education. However, it seems that the public transport system has a distinctive trait in that even the less socially excluded users (with the means of being able to get in touch with the higher echelons of the transport planning and operating system) were still not able to lever much influence over improvements to the service.

There did seem to be a divide between those who had some degree of influence over aspects of their lives and those that did not. Many of the respondents had been badly treated by staff but had not even considered complaining about the issue. Others had been routinely verbally abused by drivers but still continued to use services without comment. Reasons for this seem to be either that they see no point in complaining as they do not think it will achieve anything, especially as they have no choice but to use the buses, or that they are simply used to being treated this way; these low expectations mean that any incidents fail to warrant a complaint.

Analysis:

The incidents and experiences mentioned by several of the respondents reveal a peculiar attitude among the commercial bus sector, which goes against the ethos of most private service industries and where the customer is in fact rarely 'always right'. Typically, in a service industry where paying customers are involved, employees are trained (and expected) to treat customers with respect and pleasantness – after all they are selling a product to the public. However, it seems - through analysis of practitioner comments - as though the attitude on the buses is that it is not necessary to treat customers well as it is assumed that buses are used not out of choice but through necessity: mainly because they are poor and unmotivated. A bad experience with staff will not lead to them taking their custom elsewhere (i.e. another form of transport) and they will have no choice but to continue using the service. This is despite the consequences of

potentially leading to further feelings of being unimportant and un-valued as a customer and as a person, an important precursor or cause of social exclusion.

It would seem that the transport decision making system is complex and impenetrable, even for someone prepared to understand the system and articulate enough to make a reasoned complaint or enquiry. This highlights the difficulties that someone without this confidence, energy or articulation would have in trying to influence any aspects of their public transport experience.

Expectations

On first being asked, many respondents tended not express any severe dissatisfaction with public transport but further into the interviews it emerged that they had in fact experienced some quite serious incidents. It appeared almost to be expected that some sort of inconvenience, whether it be a minor irritation or a significant incident, would occur. Therefore, problems begin to be taken for granted and become unworthy of comment. Also even when respondents have had quite bad experiences, or have been treated badly by staff, they would tend not to take any further action. This is perhaps because they did not believe it would make any difference if they complained, they would not be taken seriously, that the frequency of incidents meant that it no longer seemed out of the ordinary, or perhaps because they did not consider that they deserved to be treated any better. All of this, again, relates to the issue of powerlessness – respondents felt powerless to change the situation so no action was taken.

This was particularly striking amongst the younger respondents. It emerged that physical and verbal abuse between passengers and with staff was commonplace – yet these respondents did not indicate any particular safety concerns while using the buses. It appeared to be something that bus users become accustomed to (especially younger people, who are perhaps used to a general level of disruption as they often travel with lots of other young people) and eventually these incidents did not even register as significant.

One wheelchair user, having faced continual difficulties relating to vehicle access and driver inconsistency, was fairly stoical about this, not taking it particularly personally. This is despite the fact that he had sometimes been reduced to crawling on his hands and knees, dragging his wheelchair behind him in order to get on a vehicle.

Other respondents talked of how they have come to expect some sort of animosity whilst using the buses. They suggested that one way to cope with this was to have a network of family and friends readily available to help out – to give lifts, or to provide accompaniment whilst travelling. This is particularly the case for the ethnic minority respondents, who tended to have strong family contacts:

> *I've got a nice family that, you know, if I need transport, I could phone my brother up or something...I'd avoid going on the bus because of those incidents.*
> Burngreave resident, female, Asian, not in employment

Analysis:

The effects of social exclusion appear to mean that public transport users feel powerless to influence the way they are treated and their low expectations mean they continue to endure poor service. This has implications for the argument found in the literature with some suggesting that lack of travel and low travel horizons relate to the willingness of the individual to make the effort to travel (for example, DETR, 2000a) versus the idea that barriers to travel can be created by external barriers relating to the system, establishing a situation where disadvantaged groups feel unable to widen travel horizons because of poor experiences, lack of self-esteem and perceptions of lack of choice and opportunity (Sinclair and Sinclair, 2001, for example, found similar outcomes).

This was demonstrated in this research when one respondent felt that she could not go to college because they "*were all out of the way for me*", even though technically at least two colleges could be accessed by public transport from where she lived. This respondent has little confidence in her abilities and in the system itself and admitted that she was unfamiliar with areas outside her own immediate place of residence. She had suffered mental health problems in the past and had been out of work for a number of years.

The research also reiterates the findings expressed by Duffy (2000) who found that people with low expectations were likely to be less critical of the same service than those with high expectations - those reliant on public services having less demanding benchmarks of good service. For example, even though some of the respondents had suffered very poor experiences on public transport (suffering injuries and indignities) they continued to praise the services.

Power and influence and the role of transport intervention

Consultation

In Burngreave, over half of the respondents claimed that they were not consulted about the new services, either during the initial conception stage, or at later stages when routes were discussed. In Athersley, none of the respondents were aware of any consultation surrounding the service.

Of those that were aware of the consultation, only one attended a dedicated meeting regarding the implementation of the service. She was involved in community development issues in the first instance. Nonetheless, she still felt that consultation was inadequate and little effective or detailed information was given. It was her belief that the consultation exercises amounted to tokenism, where vague information was deliberately issued. She stated that the consultation process is flawed:

> *They say they've consulted with people, but they never ask you what you want, they just show you a picture of where they want it to be.*
> Burngreave resident, female, Asian, not in employment

She pointed out, also, that because she was on her own at the meeting (as well as being Asian and female), she did not feel confident speaking out or asking questions. It is important to note that this respondent was willing to make the effort to attend meetings and get involved, but the process itself was fundamentally flawed. Rather than consultation giving a voice to the voiceless and powerless, it is precisely these type of people who are not able to stand up and speak out at public meetings. Often only the confident, opinionated, articulate and those accustomed to public speaking influence such procedures. If this analysis is added to the knowledge that those suffering from social exclusion can be characterised by low self-esteem, it can be stated that the consultation is virtually worthless for these people. There is also the danger that only those with specific agendas influence the outcome of the consultation, whilst the true opinions of local residents simply does not get heard. In practice, the opinions stated in this research suggested there was some degree of resentment about the way in which the process was carried out; other people also stated that so-called 'consultation' was more akin to statements of intended action rather than seeking genuine opinion to be used for the development of the project.

A few of the respondents pointed out that although they would like to attend consultation meetings, they are often in the daytime whilst they are at work and evening meetings are inaccessible as many people do not feel safe going out at night to attend the evening meetings, especially if they have no access to a car. One respondent felt that much regeneration work, such as the New Deal for Communities programme was disproportionately geared towards people who do not work (hence the daytime meetings). She makes the point that just because someone is working, it does not mean they have a good income, or that they do not need any help which the New Deal programme could offer.

Whilst some stated that they would respond if invited, others admit that it would be unlikely they would comment. In their lives, other priorities such as child caring duties take precedence – it is difficult to attend consultation held in the evening, for example, and even daytime meetings can be problematic with young children.

Conversely, one respondent who had yielded considerable influence had been heavily involved in disability rights and transport accessibility. He had sat on the boards and steering groups of several campaign groups and transport initiatives and had personally influenced route changes for the Burngreave Link buses:

> *I've been involved in transport issues, err, for the last ten years, really. I've done a lot of work with the local Passenger Transport Executive on a lot of projects in South Yorkshire*
> Burngreave resident, male, disabled, not in employment

Although his concerns and perspective on transport were legitimate and disability is undoubtedly an important factor in social exclusion, this does highlight the fact that some groups (and importantly some individuals) are able to yield much more influence than others. This is particularly the case in these groups have the support of central government legislation (requiring disabled access improvements, for example). This particular respondent was not only very vocal, but he had the willingness and determination to pursue his agenda in order to realise change. This approach is reliant on the commitment and strength of an individual. However, he also has the advantage of the support of a long-established and powerful lobbying group for disabled rights, the benefit of time, articulation, legislation and a listening post. Few organisations could ignore concerns over disability access (and indeed they are legally obliged to address these) but they could easily fail to act upon or recognise issues relating to single women travelling with young children, for example. It could be said

that this is not usually the case for many other disadvantaged groups who do not benefit from having a coherent, representative lobby system petitioning for them.

In addition, the disabled respondent was frequently invited to comment on public transport issues: "*Quite a few times, I get asked to get involved in various projects*", so not only is he able to influence, his comments are actually welcomed and acted upon. Nevertheless, he acknowledges that some of this consultation is simply lip service, and tends to be conducted as an afterthought rather than as an integral part of the process from the outset.

Another issue is that some of the respondents would not, at this point in their lives, feel that the service would be relevant to them, especially as it was marketed as an employment-related service – as they are not currently seeking work. The other aspects of the service, which could potentially be of great benefit, may not have been apparent in the consultation period.

One community development practitioner who did attend one consultation meeting confirmed that, in fact, a number of residents did attend, but they were mainly men. This was viewed as indicative of a general trend in this area, where many ethnic minority women (particularly Somali and other Muslim populations) are said not get involved and not to appear much in public, especially at night.

She also pointed out that there were a lot of local interest groups in attendance – "*local activists*". As with much consultation, exercises can be dominated by interest groups, those vocally opposed or in favour and well as the same few individuals who tend to always get involved in local issues. Other practitioners also stated that it is extremely difficult to get "*your ordinary punter*" involved. The community practitioner, however, does stress that this is not necessarily an inherently negative trait, as she believed these local activist groups can "*pass information down the line*" – disseminating information through the local population.

A transport practitioner believed that transport is now beginning to be given more significance in policy talk but there is a dearth of real-life practical precedent. Much is said of improving accessibility, he stated, but ultimately many facilities continue to be centralised and located in areas accessible only

to those with cars. The practitioner argued that the SYPTE actually carry out little consultation with residents and users, believing instead that the main rationale of transport planning is still based on pre-1986 (deregulation) routes. Subsidised routes are based on those which existed before deregulation, and not on current needs and demands.

He also argued that many decisions were based on ad-hoc complaints from influential and powerful figures such as local councillors: "*whoever shouts the loudest saying they want a bus service on their estate*". He believed that no real needs assessment was carried out, which would appear to concur to some extent with the research, which suggests that a small number of key individuals appeared to have a disproportionate amount of influence.

The research in Burngreave did indeed reveal that certain figures exerted pressure for the buses to be based in this area – and that only one or two individuals were given the task of representing the whole of the population. These individuals were also heavily involved in other local projects, including board membership of community organisations. Again, there is the danger that reliance on key individuals fails to adequately represent all local views, and that personal or political agendas take precedence over genuine need. Another practitioner who worked closely with Burngreave residents also had a distrust of the influence of certain individuals, finding them to be self-interested and lacking in accountability.

Comparing the service to the good practice guidelines set out in Table 2.5 which requires services to "*Provide good mechanisms for feedback from users and potential users*", the Burngreave project did have a dedicated steering group which met regularly and aimed to include representatives from the local community. This met regularly to discuss developments and to consider passenger feedback. Feedback from users was presented at the meetings and attempts were made to respond to this where practical. In addition, regular surveys were undertaken on board the services as part of wider SYPTE monitoring procedures.

In Athersley, however, participation in the running of the project from community members was non-existent. Respondents had mixed views on who was responsible for this – the residents themselves or the failure of the service providers to generate appropriate interest. In Athersley, the practitioners

involved in the project stated that locals were invited to comment on the proposals but it was found that they were difficult to engage. They also attempted to establish a local steering group but again, "*no-one was interested*". SYPTE therefore admitted that no genuine consultation was carried out before the scheme was implemented and appeared to suggest that, again, 'apathy' amongst local people was the cause of this. Conversely, a local community development officer believed the type of consultation with local people was inappropriate. He argued that the consultation was poorly advertised and it was unfair to blame the lack of interest on the indifferent attitude of local residents. He believed that this can be explained by an understanding of the priorities of local people, most feel that improved accessibility is not necessarily important to them.

In the Burngreave case, although local residents and users were invited to attend Steering Group meetings, it was difficult to get local people involved. These meetings were held at the SYPTE offices in the city centre– which could potentially deter attendance (time and travel is required and attendees have to visit unfamiliar "official" premises, insensitive to social exclusion characteristics). Practitioners also believed that because Burngreave has had a great deal of regeneration attention– all undoubtedly involving much consultation– many people suffer from survey fatigue:

> A *lot of people have had too much of it. And a lot of people don't really think, I mean it is an issue but a lot of people don't realise it, about transport being as issue.*
> Community transport practitioner, working in South Yorkshire

In addition, he acknowledged that there is a great deal of scepticism surrounding public transport provision. He felt that people see transport operators as profit-driven, and that this is reinforced in people's minds by their actions (for example by the cuts in services during the time of the research). He felt that people are disenchanted and feel powerless to influence the process of commercial bus provision.

In relation to consultation with other relevant organisations and agencies, none of the employment training services contacted had been aware of the development of the bus services. Two employment training workers claimed they were not asked their opinion on how the service could best meet the needs of young unemployed people or given the opportunity to advise clients on how the buses could be of benefit. She did recognise, however, that any consultation that may have been carried out would be directed at the managers

(who have cars) not at the ground-level workers who have actual experience of the issues: "*Management will go to management*" Training provider, Burngreave. Thus any consultation will not generate an accurate picture of transport barriers.

Analysis:

Consultation is another issue related to the central theme of 'power'. The powerlessness arising from a loss of status is also demonstrated by the findings which suggest that the consultation process is severely lacking, in people's awareness of it, in appropriate means of accessing and of genuinely influencing decisions. Views expressed would also support the claim of Bickerstaff et al (2002) who state that even when participation does take place, this is often seen as tokenistic or placatory. As Golding (1986) states, the ability to influence decision making can be affected by a lack of resources including time, technology, articulacy and transport.

These findings demonstrate that two of the good practice guidelines related to co-ordination and partnership with other agencies in Table 2.5 have not been fulfilled. The services did not appear to have effectively co-ordinated with relevant agencies (such as training providers). Promotion of the services to relevant organisations was poor despite transport being identified as an issue amongst other service providers. It was especially significant that employment-related agencies were not involved which appears to be a major oversight in an intervention explicitly related to encouraging employment uptake. Co-ordination with such agencies could have provided valuable insight into the needs and actions of unemployed clients.

The intervention also failed on another related good practice guideline: "*A multidisciplinary approach may be the best way to deal with transport-related exclusion issues*". This relates to the points made above and also to the co-ordination with other agencies. Transport, working in isolation, clearly cannot be effective in resolving social exclusion. The findings (as well as existing literature) suggest that transport is undoubtedly a significant factor in work-related decisions, albeit one that is not always recognised. The point at which transport fits within the hierarchy of barriers to work is debatable. It could be argued that it certainly is not the most important element of the process of re-integration to the labour market. The first step could be seen as simply creating a situation where employment is actually a viable option (for example raising

skills and education levels) but transport does fit into this somewhere along the way. What is required, however, is an integrated approach with other fields to ensure that effective transport provision is part of the approach to increased social inclusion.

It would be important to distinguish between genuine apathy and inappropriate consultation, both of which in any case require a concerted and innovative approach to seeking genuine local views. Lack of interest in a scheme which does not appear to be relevant to a large number of people could easily be misconstrued as 'apathy'.

A notoriously difficult issue to manage, effective consultation again emerges as problem here. Innovative, varied and flexible consultation methods need to be adopted to ensure that different members of society are given the opportunity to be consulted. Consultation may have to take account of the fact that open meetings held in public are not always the most appropriate means of seeking opinions from the wider population. As many of the respondents point out, and practitioners confirm, some people do not like to go out at night (if they are held in the evening) or they are in the day this conflicts with work or childcare commitments. There are also significant sections of the population who are very hard to reach through any standard consultation procedure – the sort of people who may benefit from a culturally sensitive, community based transport service.

It also highlights the significance of individual influence over decision making and questions whether some have more power even though the views they represent may not necessarily be more important than those of other user groups. It also reveals the danger in relying on individuals to supply representation on wider issues – not only is there a danger that their personal issues are not representative of the group as a whole, but the problems that would ensue if that person ceased to be involved in the system.

Local ownership (which relates to a sense of control and power) is again an important issue here, and consultation should be able to reflect this - that a genuine attempt was made to seek people's views on a service, and respond to their needs and travel patterns. The project has to be commended however for the steering group activity. Whilst this did not generate a large amount of community participation at least a forum was available to discuss feedback and

respond to local issues. However, it may have been more inclusive if it was located within the community that the intervention was affecting, rather than expecting residents to travel outside this to attend.

The findings here reiterate those of commentators such as Burchardt et al (2002b), who argue that social inclusion is affected by range of interconnected factors including personal characteristics, life history and the characteristics of the area. For example, findings suggest that the ability to influence or be involved in political action was often related to personal characteristics such as education, articulacy and status. The characteristics of the area also seemed to influence this, with Burngreave residents (living in a much more dynamic and active community) being more aware and involved in community development and regeneration than those in Athersley.

Knowledge and power

Knowledge and informational exclusion were also found to be related to the broad theme of power, in that the ability to yield power and influence over life outcomes could often be seen to be related to the amount of knowledge and understanding the respondents had – and correspondingly how information was disseminated and accessed. This had implications for transport as the findings suggest that travel required depths of knowledge and experience which could be said to be lacking in those suffering from social exclusion.

In general, the regular public transport users displayed a sometimes extraordinary depth of knowledge of the complex system including route options, service numbers, ticketing arrangements and frequent changes to the system. This occurred across all respondents, even those who lacked formal education. Whilst this was often limited to only the parts of the system that were immediately relevant to them (such as routes to regular and familiar destinations) some displayed a knowledge and interest in the wider transport system, and took an active interest in means of accessing places without using a car. This also extended to a wealth of personal ideas and suggestions for improvements and additions to the system.

This knowledge did not just extend to the bus system itself but also meticulous knowledge of areas, street names, boundaries, local landmarks and so on. The regular public transport users often had detailed mental maps of routes and

street names, and good spatial awareness (particularly so of their local area), seemingly more so than those that drove. Much of this was born of necessity as public transport cannot always offer the most direct route to a destination, and thus users often have to become adept at negotiating and understanding alternative routes, necessitating an acquaintance with the wider area. It may also be the case that this knowledge was enhanced by the greater propensity for public transport users to walk, therefore affording the opportunity to build a detailed mental picture of their local area. However much of this information related to a fairly limited scale – often respondents, whilst they may have in-depth knowledge of their local area were less informed and aware of other parts of the city, particularly in relation to possible employment locations.

Analysis:

There was, however, a perceptible difference in how knowledge and information may be used by different types of public transport user. All of the people who regularly used buses displayed a notable depth of knowledge about the system. However, there were some who simply passively accepted the organisation of the structure and those who took an active interest in influencing or finding out more about the vagaries of the system and the decision-making processes of the bus operators. The more middle class respondents took a more active stance in seeking information and would be prepared to complain if the system had failed them in some way. A large part of this was not simply knowing where to get information (such as the bus information phone line) but *how* to get information. Being educated and articulate, knowing how to ask questions and having the confidence to demand further clarification if not satisfied could be seen as essential traits in order to successfully use the system – traits seen to be lacking in the socially excluded.

Cognitive ability and understanding

In contrast, some of the other respondents - whilst they had an excellent mental knowledge of the system - were not confident in their ability to read timetables or maps, or indeed seek information from unfamiliar sources. For example, some respondents were happy to ask drivers for information about selective routes and times but were unable to understand timetables. One respondent, who worked in healthcare and education, made the important point that the average reading age in the area was very low – providing timetables would therefore be futile if people cannot understand them.

Even amongst those who could read timetables and understand route maps, they admitted that this understanding sometimes only transpired through careful study and even then they often found the information unclear or confusing. For others, they simply could not understand the format of the timetable or were not able to interpret maps and diagrams. For this respondent, the timetable had to be explained to her by another person, or she simply committed a bus time to memory and tended to stick to the same bus every day:

> *Well I can't read a map and I can't read a timetable. I always have to say to me eldest: "What's this mean?" - I don't do hundred hours*
> Burngreave resident, female, mobility impairments, not in employment

Analysis:

The ability to read and understand timetables, especially in a climate of regular change, took time and effort. It seems that people would only be willing to do this if they had the determination and motivation to find out what they could access and what could benefit them. This would also only be achievable if they were able to get supporting information from another source, to confirm any information they were unclear about (for example, ringing the travel information line to ask specific times if they could not work out the timetable). Much of the existing information available assumes that people have prior knowledge of the system before they use it.

In relation to this cognitive ability is the theme of complexity. One of the more striking aspects of the stories told of public transport experiences, was the sheer complexity involved in travelling what should have been potentially straightforward journeys. This was particularly the case for those with mobility impairments who found travelling even short distances problematic; and those with young children. The theme that sprung to mind was one of dilemma: dilemma over which mode to take, which bus to catch, when to set off, compromises between times and frequencies and so on. All these required a whole series of decisions and choices about the most suitable and effective way of getting somewhere involving knowledge of locations of bus stops, routing of services, map reading, timetable analysis, experience of reliability and ticketing arrangements.

It seems that the sheer complexity of the system requires the need for knowledge, although some parts were still difficult or near impossible to

comprehend (especially mapping and timetabling information). Much of the knowledge, therefore, had to be built up over time and with experience. This would suggest that it would be more difficult, or more unlikely, that people will be willing to use new services to unknown areas. Timetables and maps are notoriously difficult for many people to understand – simplicity of information seems to be the key to creating a more inclusive system. The findings also show that awareness of wider parts of the city can also be limited (akin with findings in Quinn, 1986 and Green et al, 2005), again meaning that potential job seekers may disregard employment in unfamiliar areas.

Additionally, information and routing decisions require an appreciation of local circumstances and an understanding of how local people perceive and relate to their area. The complexity of the system, and the closed nature of enquiry procedures, precludes many of those who could be considered socially excluded, with its related characteristics of poor education levels, lack of confidence and so on.

These findings would demonstrate the need for travel training as identified, for example, by Granovetter (1995) and Quinn (1986) who both identify that there is a role for policies and initiatives to enhance the mobility of disadvantaged people to help them become experienced and confident in using public transport and in travelling into unfamiliar areas. Such measures would mean that transport users could gain a sense of control and power over their experiences, where knowledge could be used in order to use the system more effectively.

Power and knowledge and the role of transport intervention

Knowledge and Awareness of the services

In Burngreave, only around one fifth of the respondents had been made aware of the new bus services before they began running, either because they had seen advertisements in the local newsletter, *The Messenger*, or were aware of consultation and information events taking place in the area. Five respondents were not aware of the buses at all, despite living close to the route. The rest, although they had noticed the buses on the street, had little further information.

Outside the transport field, only one practitioner in Burngreave was aware of the intervention, and had a knowledge of the route – this was because an information meeting had been held in her workplace. This was significant as it implied that community workers and employment and training practitioners were not able to offer their professional opinion on how the scheme could best meet the needs of socially excluded and / or unemployed individuals. Consequently there were also not able to advise clients of the potential benefits of the intervention. One of the drivers of the service itself also claimed that the bus had not been well advertised, leading to a lack of passengers. A local authority transport practitioner admitted that information dissemination could be a big barrier. She stated that because much of the funding is capital - as opposed to revenue - based, there is little they could do to remedy this (for example by providing promotional material for new schemes).

In Athersley, half of the respondents had seen the buses running in the area, but had very little further information on them aside from the mistaken belief that it was a '*works bus*'. The others had not seen any vehicles and were not aware of the service. None of the respondents had seen any advertising for the new service, and did not believe they had received any invitation to comment on the bus service, or had an opportunity for consultation. None of the respondents were sure of the route of the bus and various misconceptions were stated, speculating where it might serve. Because of this lack of experience, most of the views expressed relating specifically to transport intervention are mainly derived from interviews with local practitioners.

None of the respondents themselves in this area, recognised a need for the service as described, although they did comment on some of the aspects of travel which the Link buses were supposed to counteract (such as unpleasant drivers and poor vehicle accessibility). The respondents did not feel they needed a bus which only served the immediate local area, as most public transport journeys centred on the town centre, which this bus did not serve; and most local facilities were within walking distance. Practitioners did point out however, that there was a potential demand in the area due to the high numbers of elderly residents and low car ownership levels.

Branding

A significant issue highlighted both by the respondents and admitted by the providers was that the services were initially branded as "JobLink" services. One respondent, in Burngreave, who had initially seen the buses with this signage on them, had assumed the bus was a mobile employment service:

> *I saw 'Job Link' and I assumed that they were places for you to go and enquire about work.* Burngreave resident, female, not in employment

This misconception also occurred in Athersley:

> *I didn't even know that's what it were for, I thought it were specifically for people that were getting on it to go to their jobs.*
> Athersley resident, female, not in employment

The operator of the service, and SYPTE, admit it was a mistake to brand the buses as Joblink, and experienced for themselves the confusion this had caused. Many potential passengers were deterred from using the service believing it was only for those travelling to workplaces. The operator believes, that this is testament to the fact that the area was once served by dedicated "works buses" to factories and mining areas which indeed were for workers only. This led to the vehicles between renamed as 'Local Link' to avoid the confusion. However the strong association of the buses with employment provision appeared to remain.

SYPTE claim that the name issue "*hadn't even crossed their minds*" but it seems significant that knowledge of social exclusion would reveal an initiative designed to enhance inclusion should be aware of 'including' everyone – not making a service seen exclusive / eligible for only a few people. This demonstrates that due consideration was not given to the target market.

Again, all these views suggest that information dissemination would benefit greatly from a real understanding of behaviour in socially excluded communities. This could include, for example, investigating the places where information is most likely to be seen or sought and an appreciation that technological innovation is not always relevant in a social exclusion context.

The confusion over the branding of the services was revealing in two ways. Firstly, that branding and advertising is crucial in encouraging or deterring people from using a service –first impressions are extremely important to the extent that they could be dismissed out of hand. It also shows it is important

not to alienate certain sectors through misleading targeting. This respondent had severe mobility impairments, as well as caring responsibilities, which meant she was not in a position to seek employment.

It also appears that advertising and promotion is equally as important for practitioners, as it is for residents. Practitioners, especially those working in employment services, need to be aware of transport in their area so they can fully advise clients on their best options for seeking employment.

SYPTE are mainly responsible for promoting new services, though this is generally felt to be ineffective. In Athersley, it involved delivering standardised leaflets to households within the area, with no additional promotional event or face to face marketing. Leaflets consist of standard colours and formats which lack impact, giving the impression that any new service is a mainstream operation. On the one hand, this was beneficial as the service did not necessarily wish to be associated with 'special provision'. However, this approach failed to attract much interest and attention for the service, or promoted the benefits of it above the standard buses. Visiting the area and handing out leaflets in person was felt to be much more effective, as it would create the opportunity to personalise the potential benefits to individuals and it would allow people to ask questions.

Another community transport operator stated that any new service needs extensive advertising – importantly, only once a customer base has been identified. He argued that is it not realistic to simply provide a bus and expect people to use it without a strong customer focus and appropriate marketing. It could be argued that, again, the intervention failed to deliver good practice as set out in Table 2.5 relating to developing "*extensive and continuous promotion for new and unfamiliar services*". The unfamiliarity of the services in both areas acted as a deterrent to potential users and the services may have benefited from a sustained and extensive promotional campaign. In Burngreave, whilst some residents were not aware of the scheme, most had some knowledge of it either through reading about it in the local newsletter or seeing the services on the street. However, in Athersley, awareness of the service appeared very low and misconceptions about the purpose of the services persisted.

The power of branding was demonstrated strongly within the two case study areas. Misleading or inappropriate branding has affected potential users'

perceptions of the service and to some extent had effectively deterred them from using or enquiring about the services. Distinctly coloured livery, however, was an effective branding mechanism increasing visibility and conspicuousness of the vehicles and thus generating vital awareness.

Routing information

The main issue identified by the interview respondents with regard to the routing of the service was that the route was confusing and appeared to be illogical. These findings would suggest that the issues of complexity are not being addressed through the intervention services. One respondent commented:

> *I think one disadvantage for me about that bus route...is that the route seems pretty stupid, I can't understand why anyone would want to go that way. It goes to Meadowhall, then out, then out again. But I can't see why anyone would want to use that bus route for that journey as there are lots of alternatives.*
> Burngreave resident, male, 40s, employed

Six of the respondents stated that it was not obvious where the bus went; that the destinations were not made clear on the bus; and that the circular nature of the bus, with the cross-over point, was difficult to comprehend. Some had also noticed that the bus itself sometimes stated the wrong destination at the front, or it was not clear where the final destination of the bus actually was. For those that had not travelled on the service, this confusion meant they were reluctant to use it. This could be exacerbated by the attitude of the driver and whether they were helpful in explaining which bus the passenger should catch.

They also believed that there was no rational explanation for the choice of route and it did not respond to local demand or travel patterns of residents, or other potential users. This was felt to be the reason the bus did not appear to be well patronised. One of the drivers also questioned the logic of the chosen route, stating that routes are often devised by SYPTE employees driving around an area in a car, a method which does not take account of the practical needs of a large vehicle. A consequence of this was that some of the respondents dismissed the service out of hand, whilst the lack of clarity meant others were reluctant to use it even though it may have benefited them.

In Athersley, it was recognised that in provincial settings, existing bus operators are very protective of their territory and object to new services which they

believe might create competition. The need to avoid potential conflict and competition with mainstream operators resulted in a departure from the original routing of the scheme – which had concluded that whilst Athersley may have good links with the town centre, there may be some difficulties in accessing certain employment sites. Consequently, in order to demonstrate that the new service would not create competition for other providers, a convoluted route had to be devised avoiding existing routes. This meant that the route was less than optimal, becoming longer and more complicated, creating a deterrent for potential passengers - especially those wishing to travel for employment purposes, who would require a fast, direct route.

Analysis:

Devising a confusing route and schedule is counter to many of the aims of the service which is to increase participation in social and economic opportunity. The initial findings relating to general public transport use states that a significant issue is lack of understanding of the transport system - and this service does not seem to ameliorate this, indeed it appears to be more confusing than many mainstream services. Again, two good practice guidelines from Table 2.5 are unfulfilled by the intervention which seeks "*An easy to understand network*" and a "*direct service with easy interchange*". The circuitous nature of the service appears to be a double-edged sword – lauded by some as providing a bus service to those areas which previously had none, but creating confusion amongst those seeking a direct and straightforward route. This suggests that the main beneficiaries of the service would be those who are only travelling a short distance, or those who have plenty of time to spend travelling. Again, this highlights the issue of acceptability of bus travel for longer distances. Those travelling short distances found the service acceptable, whilst this was not the case for those considering longer journeys.

Jones (2004) states that mainstream transport professionals are recognising the potential of such services for 'transport poor' communities. In reality, the findings suggest that although such transport intervention is responding to social exclusion more appropriately than traditional services, the lack of understanding and awareness of the service demonstrate that professionals are still not recognising inherent characteristics such as need for knowledge, experience and confidence. It is also not appreciated that lack of knowledge and awareness is akin to a general lack of power and influence. Such issues

will be explored in greater depth in Section 5.3.4 covering 'Professional Naivety'.

Internet use

Another important form of knowledge and power relations involves the use of the internet. Of all the households involved in the study, only around a third had access to the internet at home. The others showed no real interest in the internet and did not feel it was necessary in order to improve quality of life. One respondent felt that other sources of information were just as effective - *"there's always a phone number, in't there?"*. Although research suggests that this is increasingly not the case - with many businesses or services having information either partially or fully internet-based (the 'digital divide' as discussed in the literature review), few believed lack of access was a problem. Some argued they did not have time to look on the internet, believing it to be more of a luxury, or a bonus, than essential. Supposedly indispensable forms of communication such as email were not considered relevant as some respondents pointed out that none of their family and friends used this. This in itself is an indicator of the differing priorities between different socio-economic groups.

In relation to this, these findings also discovered that different social groups use and perceive the internet in different ways, aligning with the claims of Kenyon et al (2002). For example, many of the more 'socially excluded' respondents perceived it as an unnecessary indulgence. Furthermore, even for some of those who did have home access, slow download speeds and the perceived lack of genuine, impartial information, meant they did not actually use it very often and considered it to be fairly redundant. In contrast, the less socially excluded (particularly those able to afford faster connection speeds) used it regularly as a beneficial informational resource. This also corresponds with the findings of Grieco et al (2000) and again relates to issues of trust. The internet is viewed as another mechanism of authority or commerce and has little relevance to those experiencing social exclusion. They prefer instead to rely on more traditional and trusted sources such as word of mouth.

The internet and travel information

Of the sixteen respondents in total who used the internet regularly at home, only five of them ever looked up bus information, although some of the others

would look up other travel information such as train times, maps and traffic conditions. Most preferred using the telephone information line as they thought it was more effective to speak to someone directly, especially if they had a more complicated enquiry. This demonstrates that human interaction is still very important and that many people trust the information given by someone at the end of a phone line rather than that shown on the web. It also shows that tradition is very strongly ingrained; people may be so accustomed to using paper maps and timetables - or ringing up for information - that they often do not even consider using the internet. Word of mouth, also, is again seen as a good source of information, especially as first hand experience and suggestions can be offered, rather than relying on official sources which are not always felt to be accurate or reliable.

The internet as a means of reducing the need to travel

When asked whether any of the respondents would consider using the internet instead of undertaking a journey – for example, online shopping or banking - only two internet users stated they had used the web to buy groceries and this was very infrequent. Only one of the respondents said that they carried out activities online specifically to avoid having to travel. This respondent was wheelchair dependent and had genuine difficulties in being able to access a supermarket. Even so, his first choice would be to go the supermarket in person and he did this whenever he could.

All the respondents stated that they preferred to physically go shopping because they liked to see items before they committed themselves to purchasing them. Others also simply enjoyed the activity of shopping even if this meant travelling (sometimes just as an excuse to get out of the house). One respondent said he would not want all his activities to be available online as he "*would have no reason to go out anymore*" – this was very important to him as he had recently recovered from depression and found the need to go shopping a good motivation to leave the house and interact with other people. Another also believed there was a danger in undertaking all your activities online instead of making the effort to go out:

> *I don't think it's something I'd like to do on a weekly basis 'cos I think you get everything too easy as it is...I mean, that really would be vegging out wouldn't it?*
> Athersley resident, female, one child, not in employment

For those without internet access, only two of them stated they would like to be able to purchase goods on the internet – one believed that items could be found on the internet which were cheaper than those available in the shops and thus he felt he was missing out on bargains. The other said that she would shop online but, as she did not have a bank debit card, she was not able to set up an account. The fact that those on low incomes may have difficulty obtaining credit is extremely significant in relation to social exclusion and internet access. Another respondent also pointed out that she liked to pay for all her transaction by cash, as she did not trust plastic cards and, again, this would not be possible online.

The others all strongly stated they would not want to shop or pay bills online. This was the case even for those who had no household car and only occasional access to lifts and who could potentially benefit substantially – in time, physical effort and money - from services such as home delivery. This was because the internet was outside their frame of reference and thus they did not feel disadvantaged by not having access. It needs to be appreciated that not everyone values the fact that the internet could be more convenient.

In addition, the internet, especially amongst those unfamiliar with it, was generally perceived as untrustworthy. The majority of respondents believed that it was unsafe to enter bank details and personal information onto web-pages. One respondent was concerned that she could become addicted to online shopping and felt that it was too easy for users to get into debt.

One community development worker in Burngreave believed that, realistically, few people in the area would use the internet to get public transport information. She argued that most bus passengers were on low incomes and was fairly dismissive of the ability of the internet to provide improvements to information dissemination and improve quality of life:

> *We're talking about pensioners, or young women with kids, they haven't got the time, or they haven't got internet access. I think people within an area like this are more interested in doing an honest day's work and caring for their children than exploring the internet.*
> Burngreave resident, community development practitioner

Another practitioner working in employment training recognised that there was an issue with the amount of information being made solely available on the web, when many of her client group did not have access to the internet. She firmly believed that face to face contact was much more effective in providing

information in her field of work, especially with her client group who benefited from personal, clearly explained information. This also benefited the practitioner themselves as they could be satisfied that the client had understood information and instructions as it provided an immediate opportunity to ask and answer questions.

Analysis:

Access to the internet is disproportionately low amongst low income and socially excluded groups (and furthermore, they are not interested in having access) and thus there is a danger in placing too much emphasis on providing online services. The cost of internet provision and lack of credit facilities should not be overlooked. Traditional means of carrying out activities (such as going to a bank in person, and paying by cash, for example), and traditional information sources, are still very important and *preferable* for many people – and need to be maintained.

In relation to this, there should not be an assumption that people wish to reduce the need to travel at all costs. As Lucas (2004e) states there is a conflict of interest between reducing the need to travel to reduce environmental impact and encouraging some people to travel more in order to enhance their social inclusion. In this case, the respondents actively wanted to travel, and felt it was important to their quality of life. There is a danger that the provision and promotion of online activity - which negates the need to go out - could in fact make people more isolated and potentially *worsen* social exclusion.

In informational terms, these findings also support those of Grieco (1995) who found that needs were poorly served by the formal information structures with the suggestion in this case that word of mouth can often be the most powerful informational tool. The evidence also supports the notion of the 'digital divide' discussed by Grieco and Kenyon et al (2002), even though this may not be immediately recognised by those affected.

Internet use and the role of transport intervention

A provider in the community transport field stated that the internet is becoming increasingly important in transport provision, especially with improvements to booking software, hoping that eventually the whole system will be fully web

based. This is despite his admission that older clients are unlikely to use the web and in fact this could potentially exaggerate exclusion (as findings in this research and the literature on the 'digital divide' suggests).

None of the respondents recognised any potential in information technology in relation to transport intervention, revealing in addition another divide between the ideas of the providers and actual behaviour. This is again a demonstration of the professional naivety to be discussed later in this chapter.

5.3.3 Localism versus parochialism

These findings explore the themes found in existing research and those found amongst the practitioners working within the case study areas relating to pejorative notions of parochialism (which could be seen as a narrow-minded unwillingness to expand horizons, including travel horizons, beyond a limited local area) and tendencies for 'localism'. This can be defined as the, often natural, desire to work and travel mainly within the local area – often because of caring responsibilities or quality of life issues, such as avoiding long commutes in heavy traffic or spending excessive amounts of time away from home. The issues unearthed under this core theme develop the arguments apportioning blame for social exclusion for example, Levitas (1996) and Burchardt et al (2002a) and ideas around travel horizons as stated by DETR, 2000. The main findings, which will be discussed in more detail below, emerged as: the strong preference for 'local' employment and the associated unwillingness to travel long distances for work; non-transport reasons for avoiding travel, including childcare; the effect of motivation, aspiration and confidence on travel choices; and the prioritisation of employment. These findings explore the tensions between encouraging the expansion of activity and travel horizons in order to enhance social inclusion and unfairly expecting people to travel long distances in order to take up potentially unrewarding employment to the detriment of quality of life.

Travel patterns and destinations

Unsurprisingly, the two main destinations that most respondents talked of travelling to were the city centre and the out of town shopping centre Meadowhall. For some respondents these were in fact the only two places that they ever travelled to, apart from very occasional trips elsewhere. It must be

noted that the areas that many of the respondents visited within the city centre could be quite different to those used by people from more affluent backgrounds. The cheaper market area of the city centre was the focus of much activity for people from Burngreave, with areas in the more 'upscale' parts of the city centre tending not to be frequented.

The findings suggest that many of the respondents who were mainly reliant on buses (usually those who were not working) tended to have fairly limited travel patterns, travelling to a handful of easily accessible destinations. Thus they generally caught the same, familiar bus. Longer journeys, and journeys to different places, tended to be undertaken by car, so they would wait for lifts to be available. A couple of the respondents had very limited travel patterns – in one case because of mental health issues and due to feeling unsafe or unwelcome in the area where they lived.

For some respondents local facilities were very important to their daily lives. One resident with mobility impairments frequently used the local post office and much of her day to day activity was conducted within a very small area surrounding her house. The other respondents also revealed how localised their existence was – some were perfectly content with spending the majority of their time in the local area.

Territoriality / evidence of estate culture:

One of the criticisms meted out by practitioners working in both areas – but particularly in Athersley - were that residents were 'insular' and unwilling to travel beyond their immediate local area and as such were missing out on activities deemed necessary for full social inclusion (mainly taken to equate to paid employment). This insularity was considered to be associated with lack of aspirations and motivation. However, the findings here would suggest that concepts such as travel horizons are very complex and can be related to the need to prioritise – for example, because of caring responsibilities or because of mental health issues. The findings here to a large extent mirror the dichotomy found in existing theories on social exclusion: blaming individual moral failings, or recognising wider societal discrepancies. In relation to the success of the transport intervention in Athersley, there were mixed perceptions relating to the 'blame' theories postulated in the literature review. Some practitioners felt that the services simply did not respond to local needs and that in any case lack of

transport was not a fundamental issue or indeed much of a priority in tackling social exclusion. Others felt that residents themselves were to blame for the service's failings because they were not interested in efforts to improve the area and were unwilling to find employment even when the means to access jobs was made available.

To some extent, the findings did suggest that the 'estate culture' as described by Page (2000), Macaskill (2000) and McKenna (2000) could indeed have an effect on travel. This was especially the case in Athersley which is a physically distinct 'estate' with its own recognised identity and characteristics with practitioners here stating that low aspirations, poor educational achievement and the existence of alternatives to paid work meant that few felt the need for transport to employment:

> *The biggest problem in a place like Athersley, is that you've got a kind of second generation of, workless - in official terms anyway - people, who've found they can survive, not necessarily prosper, on benefits plus a bit of this, that and the other, you know? Or you've got people who are working in an alternative economy basically. That's one of the biggest problems when you come to do, like, job link services*
> Community development practitioner, Athersley

Some respondents did indeed reveal some severe limitations in their movements:

> *I've had various troubles since coming here so I just kind of closeted myself away in my room...I don't, umm, I don't tend to go out that much*
> Burngreave resident, male, 20, unemployed

Two stated they rarely went out unless their partners were available to take them out in the car:

> *I don't like getting on buses to go anywhere, I really would rather wait till weekend till me 'usband's not at work so I can go out the house...yeah, I put things off rather than catch a bus*
> Athersley resident, female, two children, not in employment

> *I don't tend to go anywhere that much when me 'usband's not 'ere anyway*
> Athersley resident, female, three children, not in employment

The community development practitioner working in Athersley believed that if anyone in the area wanted to work, they were probably already doing so – and that there was a hardcore of those which were not able, or willing, to take up employment. He also recognised that in many cases income came from illegal economic activity and thus transport intervention would have little effect upon unemployment levels. He felt that transport barriers could be used as an "*excuse*" and whilst some might cite accessibility problems as reason for not

looking for, or taking up, employment, other factors were far more important in employability. He considered lack of skills and education to be more significant barriers:

> *They haven't got the skills and the education background to be able to compete in jobs that pay much more than the minimum wage...So in many cases, the problem that they'd got was more to do with finance and, the work structure than being able to get to work and get back from work.*
> Community development practitioner, Athersley

He believes that the lack of recognition of this was the reason the Athersley Link service was not a success: "*I think that's why, in many cases, the transport's just failed*". Other factors related to low aspiration and the fact that some residents travelled very little – he believed that new transport provision would not change this as a fairly comprehensive bus service already existed. He also recognised that propensity to travel could be related to the rewards of the employment (as well as the personal characteristics of the individual). There was a theory amongst the practitioners that travel horizons were related to educational standards:

> *Because if you raise education standards, then young people have got a basis to better themselves, at least educationally, and they do go away to college or university or whatever. Then those aspirations and those horizons are being lifted.*
> Community development practitioner, Athersley

The Athersley practitioners believed there was a cultural phenomena in Athersley which still clings to the notion that suitable employment should be available within the immediate locality. They stated that this attitude harked back to the days of mining in the area, where work was to be found in very close proximity to people's homes. Practitioners believed that this attitude was prevalent in all the ex-mining communities of South Yorkshire, even amongst the younger generations who have no experience or recollection of the mining industry. They believed that the understanding that jobs 'on the doorstep' are no longer guaranteed will take some time to become established – and that raising educational and motivational standards have also to be raised to supplement this.

However, another local Athersley practitioner who worked for an adult education initiative had a slightly different perspective and avoided blaming individuals for their lack of interest in transport intervention, or in finding employment generally. Whilst she also believed that transport intervention could not be a solution to worklessness until other fundamental issues such as low skills and education were first addressed, she also recognised that external

factors such as childcare was another very important issue. She had found that the parents she worked with were far more likely to cite lack of childcare as a barrier to working (or attending training courses, for example) than lack of transport. Thus, transport intervention was not seen as effective:

> *I'm a bit worried about that* [childcare] *if I do get a job, 'cos you've got school holidays to think of and these training days that they have and it's having time off for those 'cos you can't get childcare for, you know? If you've got like a childminder or something, they don't want to be taking people on just for the holidays and odd days and things like that. And it's really awkward which is when, erm, a car would come in 'andy, more so then for the holiday period 'cos we're so far away from any family. We 'aven't got like family to look after them, and we couldn't rely on me mum...unless I could drive over there and take them, which is a heck of a way*
> Athersley resident, female, five children, looking for work

Another issue related to Objective 1 planning and decision-making and the establishment of Athersley as an Objective 1 Priority 4a area (see context). As this was identified as an area of high unemployment, funding was justified to create industrial development nearby. However, the skills base of the local population did not correspond with the skills required by new employment. This type of development accords with beliefs such as those of Webster (1997) that concentrations of high unemployment can only be addressed effectively by promoting more jobs of a relevant kind near to where the unemployed live. However this is not being achieved in Athersley - local people were not taking up local employment opportunities:

> *You will likely find that the vast majority of people travel from outside the area to the jobs that are available* [in Athersley].
> Community development practitioner, Athersley

In terms of the overall success of the intervention in Athersley, at the time the first interviews were conducted, the scheme had been running for nearly a full year but passenger numbers were extremely low. SYPTE identified that whilst there were some passengers using the service in the early morning and at the end of shift times, the service was not used at all during the day. At the time of the empirical research, SYPTE were in the process of investigating and revising the scheme in an attempt to address this.

Various theories about the relative lack of success of the project in Athersley were given by all the practitioners interviewed: from teething problems relating to the branding of the service to blaming residents themselves for being 'apathetic' and not interested in accessing new areas. Because of the range of

views demonstrated, the following discussion will be separated into distinct practitioner perspectives.

Community transport providers' perspective:
The transport provider (Sheffield Community Transport) themselves and SYPTE acknowledged that the Athersley Link service had not been successful, and without subsidy, it would not remain operational. As previously mentioned, there was a belief among the community practitioners working in the area that most people who want to work are already doing so; and that illegal economic activity and benefit dependency often made up the shortfall in income which could come from employment. Thus, even though the bus connected the area with three different employment sites – '*no-one is particularly bothered about using it*'. This suggested that the attitude of residents was to blame for the failure of the service.

Another community transport practitioner also recognised the flaws in the service but stated that poor management and evaluation were to blame for the service's failings, not the fact that demand did not exist. He felt there was a case for flexible transport in Athersley, and a community transport style operation would be appropriate. However, he believed that the service was not effectively developed, that genuine and effective consultation was not undertaken, and the service had failed to recognise inherent characteristics specific to the area.

He argued that if the consultation had been more honest and transparent – acknowledging that transport cannot realistically achieve the high expectations that people may demand of it - but that it was a genuine attempt to discern what local people really wanted and whether this could realistically be achieved, the bus could have been tailored more effectively. In this way, priority needs could have been identified and the service could have been adapted around these rather than around ill-conceived assumptions about travel patterns.

He thought that communication with the local community was the key. He recognised that although Athersley is a difficult area to work within (because of prevailing attitudes and apparent apathy) the 'self-help' approach being taken within many communities of trying to find their own solutions for local issues could have worked in a place like Athersley, as long as it was undertaken appropriately. He believed that going into the communities in person and

actually talking to people face to face. Providing information in relevant and highly visible places was seen as essential:

> *That isn't any kind of glitzy marketing... But what it is, is roll your sleeves up, get round the community information points and tell people around the area.*
> Community transport provider, Barnsley

He claimed that SYPTE often failed to personalise marketing of new schemes – talking to communities in situ - but preferred simply to deliver leaflets. Local ownership was believed to be vital for the service to be a success, and that providers need to establish a good understanding of local connectivity needs. He did not believe that people did not use the bus because they were '*apathetic*', it was because the information was not provided in an appropriate or inspiring way. If done properly, with the benefits of the service fully articulated through marketing, he felt that local people would have been far more receptive.

SYPTE admitted that they would be very surprised if the Athersley service would pass the viability test within the funding period. In reality the scheme was aborted before the three year funding period ran out. The impression was conveyed that the service had effectively been given up on within the first few months of it commencing, and little genuine attempt was being made to further promote the service or increase patronage. Whilst a practical decision had to be made regarding the continued viability of the service, this does demonstrate points made in the literature regarding long-term vision (Lucas, 2004e). The intervention scheme in Athersley in particular also fails to live up to Grant (2004) recommendations to "adopt a proactive, innovative and flexible approach". The future of both schemes were regarded as insecure until it could be demonstrated that they may become viable. In the meantime, rather than a proactive approach, development of the schemes (particularly in Athersley) appeared to be reactive. Neither scheme could genuinely be said to have been 'innovative' but the demonstrable difference between them and mainstream provision could be said to represent 'progress', especially in customer care.

SYPTE stated that one of the reasons for this lack of use was the relatively small size of the Athersley area – thus the number of people they could carry to employment opportunities would only ever low. There was also the fact that the area is: "*saturated with Yorkshire Traction services bringing people in from the south*". This does beg the question as to why the service was therefore developed in this area in the first place. SYPTE believed the only hope for the

service would be for the Demand Responsive element in the evening to improve which would then hopefully stimulate interest in the daytime service. An approach which seemed ad hoc and reactive – attempting to mitigate issues which could have been identified through the initial assessment procedure.

It was recognised that any bus service would falter if it relied on only one type of passenger. Therefore another tactic was to widen the remit of the service, away from concentrating on employment journeys, towards other core journeys out of peak hours, such as SureStart users, childcare users and school traffic. However SYPTE conceded that "*it's just been very, very disappointing so far*". The difficulty appeared to be that the initial marketing of the bus was strongly suggestive of an employment only service, and this perception persisted in the minds of local people.

Community development perspective:
It became apparent that questions were raised about the need for the service from community development workers during its initial conception stage and that Athersley was not the first choice location for this type of service.

A community development worker believed that the service was not successful for a number of reasons. He was told that the service had been an "*absolute disaster*" and stated that "*...I've gotta say, that, you know, I warned them that that would be the case*". Firstly, local people tended to be indifferent towards community activity and do not attend or get involved in consultation, consequently they are not aware, or interested, in new initiatives. Secondly, the area was perceived to have an adequate existing transport system which already served the areas that local people generally needed to access (mainly the town centre). Thirdly, lack of transport was not seen as a particular problem, either because people had their own cars, or they did not travel much. Lastly (and this is a belief shared by other practitioners interviewed) that those in the area who want to work are generally already doing so.

In contrast to Burngreave, none of the locals interviewed showed interest in the background of the service and had no concerns over the success of the scheme or the waste of money and resources. There seemed to be much less community awareness in Athersley, perhaps in part because there was far less regeneration activity:

> *There's no understanding of the context. Well, I mean, they do, you'll hear people saying that, you know, I've seen that bus going round without*

anybody on it, you know, but nobody's, there's been no letters to the local paper or complaints, we've heard no complaints.
Community development practitioner, Athersley

The community development worker believed that a standard bus service was not appropriate –something that should have been identified at the commissioning and development stage. The demand for a flexible, community based service was there, because the area has a large number of potential users, such as elderly people and parents with young children. He believed that a more appropriate service should involve smaller, more flexible vehicles, such as a taxi-style operation. This would acknowledge that it is likely there will only ever be a small demand for the service, and whilst it may be very important for those people, passenger numbers will only ever be low. It would therefore be more effective to provide a scaled down service to more appropriately meet the needs of these few people, rather than trying to offer an inappropriate service for the majority. This would require innovation and, again, a better understanding of local circumstances. He argued that this would be much cheaper and would actually be of benefit to those with genuine transport needs, even if only on a relatively small scale.

Another community development worker also challenged the accusation that 'apathy' had led to the failure of the service. She doubted very much that local people did not use the bus because they were apathetic but believed that the reason the bus was not used was because it did not serve their needs.

Similar issues occurred in the Burngreave study, where again there was a tension between accusing residents themselves of failing to engage in society and recognising that barriers to travel and transport are not always the fault of the individual. A community development worker specialising in families and young people in Burngreave held the idea that people did not necessarily feel restricted by transport problems, because: "*To feel restricted, you've got to know what you're missing*". She revealed that some members of the community (in particular children and young people) only tended to participate in activities that are organised and provided for them. This, she believed, was one of the negative side-effects of programmes like the New Deal which can encourage dependency and stifle individual initiative.

Another practitioner who worked with young people in Burngreave also felt that some of her clients created their own barriers to travel. Certain young people

did not seek or participate in *any* activity, especially not employment. Whilst the practitioner obviously had sympathy with their situations, she felt she could not always justify their behaviour, simply stating that sometimes they were "*too lazy*", or disinclined to participate in the most straightforward of tasks. She appreciated that some of these young people may have caring responsibilities of their own at home, or have: "*...been so badly disaffected at school that they can't engage at all*".

She said that travelling anywhere was a challenge for these young people and their "*excuses*" for not participating ranged from claims that they were unable to get up in time to catch the bus, or that the walk from the bus stop was too far. She acknowledged however that this could just be because they genuinely do not know *how* to carry out certain tasks - tasks which other people (perhaps those more engaged with society and the world of work) would take for granted – such as making an enquiry over the phone. She also conceded that many of the young people simply do not have the skills and knowledge to be able to work out routes, maps and timetables. She would often have to arrange their travel on their behalf, giving them precise instructions, before they were able to get to job interviews, for example:
A lot of them come here and they will not even phone for a job interview because they don't know where it is - and they don't want to look stupid on the phone

She also felt that certain residents were very territorial, and either did not venture from Burngreave at all, or only went to certain familiar and directly accessible parts of the city centre. She also believed that a basic issue for young people is whether the activity they were undertaking was worth the effort of getting there:
To get to college, or to school or to work, if it's not really from their doorstep to the [destination], *they ain't bothered.*

Other practitioners working in the area also recognised that many residents could be very territorial. They were often very unwilling to travel anywhere outside of their immediate locality and certainly would not consider travelling far for employment. It was also pointed out that Burngreave tends to have distinct areas of different ethnic minority populations. It was claimed that many of the Somali families, for example, did not tend to move around very much and that there were many people, particularly women, "*behind closed doors*". These

people were rarely out in public and would probably not be willing or interested in exploring potential transport options.

From the respondents' own perspective, however, virtually all of them expressed a preference to work "locally". This applied to those who were already in employment, those actively seeking work and those who were planning to work sometime in the future. Whilst the precise definition of local could be debated (see, for example, Green et al, 2005 who recognise varying community tolerances between differing sub-groups of the population), these respondents were usually referring to a job which was either within walking distance or only a short car or bus ride away. Of the twenty three respondents who stated a specific preference, most stated that they would only consider travelling up to half an hour to get to work (by any mode of transport). Only seven of them would consider travelling up to an hour, however they emphasised that this would be the absolute limit of their travelling tolerance and that the job itself would have to be financially and personally rewarding to justify this distance. One of the main reasons for these limits was because of childcare responsibilities – they all wanted to be close to home in case they needed to get back to the school in case of illness crisis or similar:

> *I should think I need a local job, I wouldn't want to be too far, 'cos even if you've got transport, you don't want to be too far from your kids at school in case there's anything, you know, any problem at school and you need to get back.*
> Athersley resident, female, five children, not in employment

None of the respondents had any preconceived ideas about where to find employment, although there was a general consensus that the major commercial centres would be the main source of jobs, and were open to any location as long as it was appropriate to their other temporal demands. Hours of employment and accessibility were usually more important than the area in which they found work - respondents would weigh up the benefits of a job against the ability to be able to get to it:

> *If I 'ad a job that I'd be able to get to quick, by about ten o'clock. Umm, then I'd 'ave to finish at two, to be able to go and pick 'im up from school. You know, it'd be the hours that would be important*
> Athersley resident, female, three children, not in employment

Location of employment for some of the respondents was also dependent on proximity to childcare or family members who were able to look after children (this accords findings from Meadows et al., 1998; Smith, 1997, for example). As no-one had set ideas about where they would find work, this makes

assumptions about transport and employment planning difficult. This renders much of the literature, such as spatial mismatch theory (such as that posited by Webster, 1997 and 2000, Ihlanfeldt, 1993 and Preston et al, 1998 from the literature review) extremely difficult to apply to contemporary real life situations. Indeed, it could be said that such theories are much more applicable to the US context (where much of this theory originates from) rather that the UK. This would accord with the views of Green et al (2005) who found that because of wide variations in perceptions of distance (and what is considered 'local') spatial mismatch could be considered a chaotic concept. The research also supports Martin and Morrison (2003) who argue that delineating the boundaries of local labour markets is problematic, as local labour markets are fluid and diffuse, demonstrated by the fact that none of the respondents were able to identify specific employment locations.

Analysis:

The fact that, for example, some respondents only visited certain areas of the city centre has implications for the provision of transport. It is important to understand local travel patterns and the needs of disadvantaged people.

It must be appreciated that travel horizons may be very small. However, it must be recognised that this is not necessarily a problem, as long as people's needs are being met within the local area. As is discussed later in this chapter, people's propensity to stay 'local' seems to be a universal and a natural reaction, extending not just to those who are considered 'socially excluded'. Requiring people to travel long distances because it is considered beneficial to them is not necessarily the ideal scenario.

However, if it is identified that local facilities are not adequate, and that people may be missing out on important social functions because of lack of travel, then this should be addressed. Small scale transport intervention could have a role to play in this situation.

As stated, it must be appreciated that some people may be happy to live what might be considered a very localised and limited existence. Particularly in traditional working class areas, proximity of family, friends, acquaintances and familiar surroundings all serve to create a situation where people do not necessarily feel a need to travel out of the area. Whilst, it could be argued that

some people should be expected to travel for reasons of employment, there are difficult issues to address regarding elements of coercion in transport provision.

Issues such as childcare provisions supports Meadows et al's (1998) and Smith's (1997) assertions that improving public transport will only play a minor role in enhancing employment opportunities compared to factors such as, for example, the provision of childcare facilities. It also supports related findings, such as Church et al's (2000) which states that marginal transport improvements may make little difference to residents whose principal barriers to movement are related to non-transport constraints such as time, cost and caring responsibilities.

Again, the findings relating to employment travel horizons dispute the accusation (made by DETR , 2000a, for example) that transport is not seen as a potential barrier because some people have such narrow travel horizons that they simply do not expect to travel for jobs. They claim that this is related to lack of personal ambition and unwillingness to 'travel outside an area to better oneself' – in short blaming the individual for creating their own barriers to inclusion. However, the evidence here suggests that many people, not only those classed as socially excluded, are uncomfortable with the notion of travelling far outside their local area for employment. This unwillingness is often related to other restraints such as childcare responsibilities, not simply to lack of effort on the part of the individual.

These findings develop those found in the literature review which suggest that people experiencing social exclusion tend to have limited travel horizons which is generally believed to be caused by an unwillingness to move beyond 'home' territory (DETR, 2000a, SEU, 2003, Lucas, 2004). These findings suggest that whilst this may be the case for some people, travel limitations are not necessarily restricted to only those experiencing social exclusion and may not simply be caused by individual unwillingness or related to a culture of detrimental parochialism.

Priorities and motivation

Another important consideration - and one that is very pertinent to the issue of social exclusion- was that many people, even if they had no other over-riding commitments, did not see employment as a priority. Some of the respondents

had personal problems related to mental health issues or family problems. For example, one respondent said that "*sorting myself out* [after suffering from depression]" and building up the emotional strength to actually leave the house had taken precedence over other objectives:

> *Lately I've been going out a lot more...Just going out for walks and stuff, and going into town and stuff*
> Burngreave resident, male, unemployed

Analysis:

He had only recently started going out of the house, so clearly there is a huge gulf between taking those first tentative steps from almost complete social isolation to entering the labour market. Transport for employment would therefore be a minor consideration for people at this stage. This resonates with Church et al (2000) who believes that improving transport links for socially excluded communities is useless if the destinations they access are irrelevant to the people who live there.

Travel horizons and the role of transport intervention

Most of the journeys undertaken on the Burngreave Link services were relatively short. Amongst the respondents, all of the journeys undertaken were less than twenty minutes, with four of these only travelling for around five minutes on the bus. This indicates that the service is mainly only considered for shorter journeys – which ties in with the general findings which indicate that bus use is normally only acceptable for shorter journeys.

From the interviews, the survey undertaken as part of this research (and the findings from the SYPTE survey[16]), it was apparent that work journeys were a significant part of the service's role. It was notable that among the employed passengers using the buses to get to work, all but one had previously worked at their current place of work before the intervention commenced. It seems that the bus service, rather than create new employment opportunities for those who previously had difficulties in accessing jobs, it had improved the journey for those already in the labour market and established in jobs. This is not to undermine the importance of this as some of the passengers stated that this service had made a *significant* difference to the quality of their journey.

[16] SYPTE (June 2005) *Market Research on B1, B2 and D1 Link Services*

One respondent had initially been pleased with the service as, although it was only hourly, it was virtually door to door. However because the service had failed to arrive, she felt she could no longer rely on it:

> *I just felt so annoyed with this bus, and after that, I just started getting the more frequent one. I'd rather wait to get one which had a more direct route and knowing that if you've missed it, there will be another one in ten minutes. With that one if you miss it, then you have to wait another hour. Burngreave resident, female, in part-time employment*

She comments later that because it is only once an hour, she wouldn't want to rely on it for work "*You're putting all your eggs in one basket*". This is significant on two counts – it reveals that one bad experience can have a serious effect on people's perception of reliability and deter them from using the service again. Secondly, the service is not deemed to be practical for employment journeys, as the route is too circuitous "*It just seemed to go a very tedious route*", time consuming and is not frequent enough.

Six of the respondents believed that the service was not frequent enough – despite recommendations in Table 2.5 that services should be frequent. This meant they either had to wait a long time if they had missed a bus, or they reverted back to using other, less physically convenient, services. Practicality for work again came up in relation to frequency, with another respondent stating that it was not frequent enough to be viable for work.

Analysis:

As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, the understanding of local circumstances is important in providing an adequate transport service. These services did seem to respond well to local circumstances, by improving access to sites which many local people do wish to travel to, and making their journey much easier.

It also provided a localised service, which was also identified as being important and was able to improve access on a very small scale. Although sometimes this transport was only necessary because local facilities had been lost. It is important that transport is not used simply as compensation for loss of local services, with an assumption that location is not important as long as public transport is provided.

Whilst this research has not proved that the service has made a large impact on improving access to employment, the service has clearly had significant benefits in terms of improving quality of life (including factors such as reduced journey times, increased independence and so on) – which could be argued as being just as important. Improving quality of life also has associated benefits of enhancing mental health, an important factor mentioned in the first section of the chapter. However, in employment terms, there is a danger that the service is simply improving conditions for those already engaged in the labour market whilst failing to provide for those who may benefit from becoming engaged. The service also seemed to be fulfilling its objective as a 'feeder' service complementary to other services, which meets one of the good practice guidelines in Table 2.5.

It could be argued that to be of use to those travelling for employment, the service would need to be fast, frequent and direct. However, this clashes with the other remit of the service which is to create a more flexible, localised service which serves smaller streets – thus it could be accused of trying to achieve too many objectives. It is trying to be a social service, making access easier for those who live off the main routes, and trying to pick up as many passengers as possible and make the journey easier for them. Yet, at the same time, one of the aims is to increase participation in economic opportunity, but a journey to work usually aims to be as short and direct as possible, and this service seems too long and convoluted.

Along with three of the survey respondents, one interviewee stated that one of the faults of the service is that is stops at 8 o'clock – even though Meadowhall closes after this time, and she would like to go shopping in the evenings after work without having to rush back. The survey respondents had not been able to catch the bus home after work because of the relatively early cessation of the service and had been forced to arrange lifts homes, or catch taxis.

Flexibility needs to be coupled with reliability, especially as the service is not as frequent as others. The service needs to be clear of its purpose. If one of the aims is to improve access to employment, it should respond to the characteristics of the sorts of jobs typically taken up by those in socially excluded areas (shift work, for example). However it must also take account of the other important uses of such a service, providing non-employment related travel. Trying to meet both these objectives through a single service had

proved to be problematic, especially as they both require different timing and routing considerations. A case for flexible, responsive transport is again suggested here which would go further is creating a service which was more akin to private car travel.

Improvement in accessibility:

Among the interview respondents, there were no examples of the service having opened up new opportunities for them; nor reaching destinations to which they had previously been denied access due to transport difficulties. Thus the service had not radically improved any of the respondent's access problems or employment prospects. Undoubtedly, however, the bus had made access to certain areas much *easier*, both in terms of convenience (for example, the bus served their own street) or in vehicle accessibility and thus had a tangible effect on quality of life.

One respondent claimed that the services "*have just been a god-send*". Others described the benefits of the service being able to penetrate the Northern General Hospital (NGH) grounds whereas other services only served the outskirts of the hospital; and the fact they could now avoid walking up steep hills in the area. One pointed out that the new Link buses had been essential to compensate for other bus changes and losses of service that had taken place. She believed that without the Link services, she would have been negatively affected by these changes in terms of ease of access to facilities.

Two respondents talked of the new-found independence this service has provided – in one case they were no longer reliant on their partner to give them a lift to Meadowhall; the other (a disabled respondent) was now able to access Meadowhall and the city centre (via the Link bus from Meadowhall) without needing to use the dial-a-ride service. This meant he could travel without prior arrangement and according to his own schedule.

As stated, the main accessibility benefit of the services was the improvement in journey times and ease of access, rather than the creation of whole new access opportunities. This added convenience was created not only by the fact that the service provided direct access to key destinations but by the fact that the vehicles were able to penetrate the smaller, residential streets which previously had been covered. The bus often acted as a 'feeder' service, linking residents

of minor streets with main routes and services. This was particularly important for the mobility impaired respondents who, whilst not necessarily needing to travel far, found the unconventionally routed services made a huge difference to their mobility. For these respondents, this micro-scale travel was crucial as travelling even very short distances (such as from the front door to a bus stop) could be problematic. Micro-scale travel can be just as important as the longer journeys which are so often the subject of interest and investment. Small-scale transport intervention measures can capitalise on these minor journeys by taking into account the needs of those who wish to travel small but significant distances.

Significantly, the D1 service had created new opportunities for users to travel to destinations they had previously not been to. However, this was mainly for Darnall residents[17] who were now able to access a major supermarket. However, their access difficulties had arisen because a supermarket which had previously been centrally located within Darnall had been relocated to a more 'out of town' location. Thus, it could be said that, rather than improving access to a previously inaccessible essential facility, the bus was simply compensation for the displacement of this from much more accessible position. This was also the case in Burngreave, where some passengers needed to use the service to access the main post office because their local branch had recently closed down. Had the neighbourhood post office remained open, these passengers would not have needed to use the bus.

Knowledge of Waverley

One of the difficulties with this research was that it was partially attempting to analyse access to a development site which had not been completed, and major employment opportunities had yet to emerge (see Chapter 4). The value in the exercise, however, still came from an analysis and investigation of the perceived and actual travel horizons of those interviewed. Part of this merited an examination into whether respondents were aware of new development taking place at the ultimate destination of one of the services (D1 from Burngreave), and importantly whether they would be prepared to travel this distance in order to gain employment.

[17] Darnall is approximately 4 miles to the east of the of Burngreave and can be seen as number 9 on the map of Sheffield in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.3 in Section 4.4)

Only around a third of the respondents in Burngreave were aware of the area known as Waverley, though most knew it better as Catcliffe. One of the drivers reiterated this, stating that few people had heard of 'Waverley' – and thus they could potentially be deterred from using the bus, lack of knowledge and lack of explicit information can be a great deterrent. Of those respondents who were aware of the area, they only had a vague idea that it was an area subject to extensive re-development but were not aware of potential job opportunities here. One stated that:

> *It looks like the most weird place, it's near the airport innit?...it's all like deserted places.*
> Burngreave resident, female, 19, part-time student

This demonstrates how such new development sites (which are often difficult to negotiate due to constant change, the existence of large tracts of new roads, acres of car parks and empty sites, as well as a general lack of navigable landmarks) appear alien to those coming from elsewhere.

Although the question was hypothetical, when asked if they would consider working in this area, only two respondents claimed that they may consider travelling such a distance to seek employment. Both of these respondents stated that they would only do this if the wages were good, or the job itself was worthwhile – and one said that, because of her childcare responsibilities, this would not be feasible on the bus.

Most of the others felt they would never see a need to travel to the area, and felt very little attachment or association to such an area. They stated that they would not consider working in the area as many of the respondents held a strong desire for local jobs. This was related to the distance involved in getting to the site, and also the lack of familiarity.

In fairness, because many of the jobs were not yet available were not being advertised, the lack of awareness was understandable. This situation might change in the future but in the meantime, it seemed reasonable that many of the respondents could not understand why the bus service had been put in place before any jobs were available. The timing seems to be very important here – the bus had been put in place before it was actually required and before interest and awareness about employment opportunities in the area had been built up. In any case there are questions whether, even if the site was operational, people in Burngreave actually want to work there – as it does not

appear to exist within their mental map or sphere of travel. Also, as can be inferred from its description, the "Advanced Manufacturing" Park at Waverley will mainly generate employment based around precision technology which will require highly skilled and experienced workers (who presumably will not be catching buses from Burngreave). Inevitably, there will be some low- and un-skilled job requirements created by the new development but, as the residents state, it is unlikely many would consider it worthwhile to travel all the way from Burngreave to access such employment. As has been pointed out, it can be assumed that most of these jobs will be taken up by those living in adjacent areas.

One of the community development workers believed that part of the problem was that people have very established patterns of where they travel to, for example to go shopping. They automatically focus on the city centre, especially as up to now they have not had easy access to Meadowhall:

> *A lot of people aren't even aware that there is a new Morrison's at Catcliffe...Catcliffe might as well be on the moon...*

Two other community practitioners believed that Burngreave residents would not see any point in a bus that went to Waverley. This was partly because the development had not even been completed, and the area was not seen as particularly relevant for the people of Burngreave. The new service would require establishing a new mindset which accepted that other destinations are actually accessible; and for residents to actually be aware of, and relate to, other areas of the city.

Analysis:

These findings demonstrate the complexity involved in increasing participation and travel. As discussed, restrictions on travel are not necessarily wholly due to the transport system, other personal characteristics, and wider external factors, can also have a significant influence. Motivation and aspiration also has a huge effect over decisions to travel; although the research shows that transport is not necessarily a restrictive barrier if the individual has motivation and aspiration. For example, three of the young people interviewed had aspirations for higher education and employment. Thus, although they had concerns over the public transport system, and did not necessarily enjoy many aspects of using the buses, they would not let this stand in the way of their ambitions. If this motivation is absent, however, transport can become another

barrier to participation. Again, there are also important questions relating to 'blame': personally blaming the individual for lack of effort, blaming the education system and society at large for not giving them the skills to organise travel, or blaming faults within the transport system itself.

Aside from these philosophical questions, the fact that some people will choose not to go out at all, rather than use an unfriendly and inadequate transport system has serious implications for social inclusion and transport. The findings demonstrate that transport is a potential tool in increasing social inclusion, but it is not always recognised as such. If a service could be provided which attempts to overcome some of the obstacles people place in their way of mobility, this could be used to enhance quality of life. This would have to involve travel training as well as basic skills teaching.

These findings are significant in an assessment of the value of a service which expects passengers (from an area identified as experiencing social exclusion) to travel relatively long distances (and, importantly, spend relatively long amounts of time) travelling on a bus in order to reach employment. The findings, as well as comments from employment practitioners, would suggest that it would be unlikely that a person displaying the characteristics of social exclusion (lack of self-esteem, confidence and motivation, as well as territoriality) would be willing to travel from Burngreave to potential job opportunities in Waverley. This assumption is supported by findings in the sections on general public transport use, which suggest that, overall, few people are willing to travel great distances for employment.

It also does not appear to be sufficient simply to provide a service and wait for passengers to use it, people may need to be taught how to use it, and where it went. A behaviour needs to be established as well as a provision of a service. However, as can be inferred by this research, the issue of unwillingness to try new services is actually related to a lack of trust and information, not simply unfamiliarity. People do like to stick with what they know, but this may be justified because of previous bad experiences and they are unwilling to take further risks.

Practitioners seem to be critical of the desire amongst many residents in both areas to stay in the local area – with both areas being described as 'insular' and residents as 'territorial'. Obviously, a distinction can be made between those

who genuinely do not get involved in any outside activities and rarely move beyond the few surrounding streets of where they live, and those people who simply wish to avoid long commutes. However, it does show a natural tendency for people to want to live and work within a fairly localised area, even for those with the income and qualifications to seek employment further afield. Transport provision which does not recognise this is not fully effective.

On the other hand, the expectation for people who lack basic skills and motivation to travel long distances for potentially poorly paid and unrewarding work appears to be misguided. Travelling long distances and / or for long amounts of time on a bus is not generally regarded as feasible, at least not for regular journeys (such as for employment). There is an inconsistency between the insistence that people must be prepared to travel, and travel for as long as it takes, with the admission that public transport can be very unreliable and that many other factors can affect this. Atkinson observes: *Unemployment may cause social exclusion, but employment does not ensure social inclusion; whether or not it does so depends on the quality of the work offered. Marginal jobs may be no solution* (1998: preface) – especially if have to travel long distances

It seems unlikely that the D1 bus service will generate many work-related journeys specifically for Burngreave residents to get to jobs at the Advanced Manufacturing Park at Waverley. As these findings demonstrate, and as discussed elsewhere, awareness and association with the area is low, jobs available may not be relevant or appropriate (as pointed out by Vigar, 1999 and Lucas, 2004b new employment opportunities often demand different skills than traditional industries). Even those jobs that may be suitable would be considered too distant for those living in Burngreave. As discussed previously, poor cognitive ability and low travel horizons would exacerbate this. This accords with Gore et al's 2007 findings which questions the feasibility of asking job seekers in areas such as the former coalfields to look further afield to increase their chances of finding work.

On the other hand, this dissertation's findings also emphasise that paid work is not always a priority (not necessarily due to the attitudes described above) but because of individual caring responsibilities, time pressures and other legitimate restrictions on the ability to take up employment. Again, this means that transport for employment (and other economically-driven regeneration

programmes) are not necessarily relevant or appropriate for many living in socially excluded communities.

The findings in this research also dispute the accusation (made by DETR , 2000a, for example) that transport is not seen as a potential barrier because some people have such narrow travel horizons that they simply do not expect to travel for jobs or services. They claim that this is related to lack of personal ambition and unwillingness to 'travel outside an area to better oneself' – in short blaming the individual for creating their own barriers to inclusion. However, the evidence here suggests that many people, not only those classed as socially excluded, are uncomfortable with the notion of travelling far outside their local area for employment. This unwillingness is often related to other restraints such as childcare responsibilities, not simply to lack of effort on the part of the individual.

The potential value in the service for Burngreave residents may rest with the social aspects, particularly for shopping journeys. Again, however, this is unlikely to confer a huge benefit, as the shops accessible on the route are still some distance away and practical considerations such as carrying bags mean that such journeys would necessarily be infrequent. A striking observation was the overwhelming amount of positivity expressed about the service. Aside from some minor issues relating to occasional unreliability and a desire for greater frequency, there were no negative comments from the survey respondents. These findings are in stark contrast with those taken from discussions of mainstream transport provision and are a great indicator of the 'social' success of the schemes.

The findings discussed here reveal that the intervention, whilst popular amongst those who do use it, are not addressing the failings of transport programmes identified in the literature.
For example, Westwood states that often it is all too readily assumed that a bus service is the obvious solution to access problems, before investigating actual need or more effective alternatives. Indeed the failure of the scheme in Athersley, despite clear unemployment problems, reveals that provision of transport – at least in this format - is not the most appropriate response.

Further to this, both schemes are also simply following the status quo. Transport intervention simply accords with accepted tenets of work equals

inclusion although it has been argued (in particular by Levitas, 1996; 2001) that the overemphasis on the value of paid work can undermine wider aims of social inclusion, especially for those not in a position to take up employment.

5.3.4 Professional naivety

The term 'professional naivety' borrows from the findings of Grieco et al (2000) who recognise that transport professional display professional naivety about the lived circumstances of the socially excluded, instead tending towards a technical bias. On the other hand, professionals dictating social policy have been 'time/space naïve': lacking understanding of transport and scheduling difficulties experienced by low income individuals, particularly in a climate where accessibility to primary services is decreasing. In this research, there was evidence that transport practitioners - whilst working within a rhetorical framework of enhancing social inclusion (one of the objectives of the South Yorkshire Local Transport Plan is to reduce social exclusion through transport provision) – did indeed appear to be lacking a true understanding of the characteristics of social exclusion. Social and economic practitioners also appeared to lack understanding of temporal and spatial pressures connected with transport use. As the literature points out, few policy makers or practitioners give due attention to the issue of narrow travel horizons and unwillingness to move beyond very localised boundaries; and travel training is generally not considered. The evidence in the dissertation provides further evidence of this, in that transport intervention has not been linked to wider programmes of skills training. The evidence here suggests that a poor understanding of social exclusion has led to inappropriate (or short-sighted) transport measures. This is in terms of the initial conception of projects, needs assessment, methods of consultation, route planning and marketing.

The variety of experiences and the influence of individual characteristics shown throughout the findings do create a case for the introduction of more personalised transport provision and complementary travel training initiatives (which are both suggested as good practice in Table 2.5). The justification for this is also demonstrated through the findings which reveal the value placed by passengers when shown a more personal and tailored approach. The findings relating to lack of familiarity of other areas and modes of travel, as well as the unwillingness and lack of confidence in travelling far makes evident the potential need for travel training. This aspect of transport is slowly being

recognised within wider research. A recent study for the Department for Transport (DfT, 2007) demonstrates that this is increasingly being appreciated as an important part of transport provision. This study recognises that the majority of current Travel Training schemes are directed at people with learning difficulties. However, it states that there are also an emerging range of initiatives aimed at other demographic groups, including job seekers, black and minority ethnic groups, asylum seekers, physically disabled people and people with mental health difficulties. In relation to this research, this training could extend to encompass those more broadly experiencing social exclusion and who do not necessarily fit into the delineated categories mentioned.

The intervention studied in this dissertation was yet to tap into this, although other agencies involved in the research (such as the labour market training initiative) did have elements of travel training. The results also suggest that training needs to encompass basic skills such as map reading, making enquiries and financial planning and budgeting.

This dissertation does develop this theme, however, in that it reveals that some professionals working in the transport sector do have a good understanding of social exclusion issues (most specifically in the community transport field). However, they – perhaps unsurprisingly - overstate the potential role of transport provision in creating 'solutions' to social exclusion. Conversely social and economic practitioners downplay the significance of transport within socially excluded communities and fail to recognise its potential role – this research has found that transport provision does have a significant role within such communities but not necessarily in terms of economic development.

Although the Burngreave scheme was designed explicitly within the parameters of social exclusion, the Athersley project appeared not to have clear social exclusion priorities. The project also was developed by transport professionals with a technical bias, although as this was a community transport operator, an appreciation of social exclusion was much stronger than other types of provider. The findings suggest that different professional fields still lack understanding of each other. Intervention would therefore benefit from application of one of the guidelines in Table 2.5: "*Intervention projects would benefit with beginning with an understanding of models for working with socially excluded communities which are then brought to the transport arena*". However, it could be argued though that the transport profession in South Yorkshire has a better

understanding of social issues than social and community professionals have of transport issues.

Needs assessment

From the respondents' perspective, questions were raised about the necessity of the services, most believing that they did not really serve any particular local demand. One respondent wryly observed that if the regular buses simply achieved the service they claimed to provide (that is, every ten minutes) there would be no need for additional buses. He did not see a need for new 'innovative' bus services, just improvements to the existing one.

Indeed, in the Burngreave case, the rationale for the implementation of the service, given by those involved in the project, appeared to be unclear, both in terms of need and in initial impetus for the service. Levels of deprivation were one of the main contributing factors to the decision to base the service in a certain location, with Burngreave obviously scoring highly on this factor. However, a community transport practitioner admitted that there is a compromise on locating services: it is mainly based on need but in reality the existence of area funding often has the deciding influence. Moreover, strong individual persuasion appeared to be one of the main influences in the direction of the project.

The Burngreave service was based on the Parson Cross model which operated in North Sheffield. This was designed to provide cross-links throughout the area which were additional but complementary to the standard radial routes already served by mainstream providers. The success of this model prompted the decision to roll this type of service out to other areas in Sheffield, including Burngreave.

Practitioners involved in the inception of the service claim that transport issues had been previously identified in the area through earlier consultation (carried out by New Deal for Communities). This was seen as justification enough for a transport intervention scheme so additional research on need, specifically for the Link buses, was not seen as necessary. However, it does appear that certain key individuals had an extremely strong influence over the establishment of the service and it was suggested that this may have been more significant than actual identified need. This is an example of how

individuals with an agenda can yield much power and influence, without necessarily being accountable or representative.

Identification of employment areas that residents would wish to access was also apparently part of the consultation process: again this appeared to be an academic experience rather than one based on the real-life lived experience of social exclusion or unemployment. So, for example, the buses provided access to *The Source*, a training provider near Meadowhall. Of the Objective 1 involvement, a community transport practitioner stated "*that was part and parcel of this project – to link people up to those sorts of opportunities* [i.e. jobs at Waverley]". However, from the research findings it seems unlikely that many residents would have called for access to Waverley jobs themselves. This is partly because the site was yet to be completed, but also because there is a widespread lack of awareness of the site development probably due to the lack of relevant employment and due to distance from the intended beneficiaries of the intervention. It seems more likely, therefore, that the transport link to this site was driven by the need to meet Objective 1 social inclusion criteria, rather than local demand or realistic expectations. Also, it was made explicit that the project had to be mainly driven by employment and economic objectives, otherwise it would not have received funding:

> *If we'd had people saying we're just going to go to the shops that really wouldn't have attracted the funding.*
> Community transport practitioner, working in South Yorkshire

A slightly different perspective came from the SYPTE. They stated that the initial stage in the development of the Link services was to identify the locations of new economic development and then try to link these with areas of social deprivation and worklessness – and thus the development of the Waverley site was a big incentive for the creation of the Burngreave bus service. The SYPTE deliberately made sure that the bus service was established before employment opportunities were actually available – rather than having a situation where jobs were being advertised and potential employees found they could not access them.

Two of the practitioners (one in transport, the other who had previously worked in community development) alleged a conflict of interest between the economic development and community and social remits of Objective 1. They believed their large flagship developments did not relate to, or conferred any benefits to, the wider communities they were located in. Ultimately, they argued, some of

the bigger developments contradict their social policies - on the one hand they are trying to increase opportunity for all and reduce transport barriers to work. On the other, they are using their funding to promote and develop sites in inaccessible places, for example along motorway corridors, developing large out of town sites which are difficult to access on a low income and without a car. In this context, some transport intervention could be seen as a token ameliorative measure attempting to bridge gaps between areas of deprivation and inappropriately located employment sites.

The transport consultant believed that conventional, yet flawed, reasoning was used that suggests new development must be along motorways in order to reduce travel costs (despite research demonstrating that transport costs are not a significant factor in business location, see for example, Whitelegg, 1994; Keeble and Walker, 1994). He also believed that Objective 1 developments have a predilection to use greenfield sites, despite the abundance of brownfield land available in South Yorkshire created by the loss of traditional industries. He also argued that, in general, despite moves to integrate land use and transport planning, little of value had been achieved and that decisions about transport services are often based on guess work, which at best could be "*hit and miss*". It was his belief that transport simply reacts to whatever development has already been put in place.

In Athersley, the raison d'être for the implementation of the service was even more opaque. None of the respondents themselves identified any particular need for the services as they were developed and indeed believed that bus access was already adequate, especially given that the town centre was the focal point of most journeys and Athersley was well-served in this respect. The issues with transport related more to the quality of provision (that is, driver attitude, reliability and so on) rather than to access shortfalls. No respondents had any recollection of advertising of the service, and were not aware of any consultation that had been carried out regarding the service.

The original impetus for the implementation of the service in Athersley reportedly came from a CRESR report (Batty et al, 2002) investigating transport barriers to employment and through local authority research into potential need. However, the rationale given by those involved in the project was fairly vague. None of the practitioners, even those who developed the project, were able to

give a clear indication of why the scheme was located in Athersley and whether need or demand was thoroughly investigated.

Practitioners admitted that given economic activity in the area often involves illegal 'cash in hand' employment, providing transport on its own would not be considered an effective measure in worklessness. SYPTE research found that movement and travel within the area tended to be limited – traffic levels varied little between day and evening – and few people were visible on the street. This suggested that finding a viable market for the service would be difficult without a good understanding of local conditions or a sustained and effective promotional campaign – neither of which appear to have been carried out.

The operator of the service admitted that they had little involvement in the assessment and consultation over the scheme, that this was initiated and carried out by the local authority. The local authority had identified a transport need in the area and thus they attempted to find a solution for this by duplicating models used in other areas. The drawback to this approach the operator acknowledged was that local circumstances dictate the appropriateness of potential transport solutions and models used elsewhere cannot always be neatly replicated: "*I think the difficulty with that service is that its geography is quite different*". As well as the lack of interest amongst residents, another fundamental flaw with the service was acknowledged:

> *Possibly why that one isn't doing so well is that it doesn't actually link up to necessarily where people want to go.*

This highlights a point made in the literature that responses to access and mobility problems are all too readily seen to be the provision of a bus service instead of 'creative dialogue' over other solutions (Westwood, 2004:92).

One of the community development practitioners stated bluntly that the intervention only came to Athersley, after the original plan for a scheme in another location fell through – it was "*put in there more by accident than design...*". Another transport practitioner also believed that the rationale behind the service was flawed - it was not developed through genuine need, but rather as an exercise in apportioning out funding over the South Yorkshire districts. Criticism was also cast against the method of assessing potential need. One practitioner pointed out that if a survey question simplistically asks, "Would you like better transport?" then respondents are bound to say they would, creating a misleading impression of demand.

Analysis:

In Burngreave, the findings appear to suggest some discrepancy between the reasons for the implementation of the intervention. Various perspectives suggest on the one hand that transport and accessibility were identified as an issue first and then a service was designed to match this to employment, whilst others suggest that employment sites were identified first and this was then matched to areas of social exclusion. These findings would suggest that practitioners lack understanding of social exclusion and transport issues, or fail to realistically address them.

These findings reveal that a delicate balance needs to be struck between different agendas and priorities. The funding requirements (that is provides an economic function) makes it difficult to assess the project from a quality of life, or social, perspective. Many of the benefits of the service relate to psychological factors which are not easy to quantify in any monitoring or assessment procedure. The findings also demonstrate that a successful project in one area cannot always be copied directly to another area, especially if the driving priorities behind the projects differ. Direct replication of schemes elsewhere goes against recommendation such as "*The consideration of 'place'*" from Table 2.5. This states that intervention requires a tailored approach to developing provision rather than simply replicating and forcing schemes to other circumstances. Adaptation to local circumstances may be required to successfully recreate services. There is also a balance to be struck in the timing of the service – making sure that transport infrastructure is in place before a development is completed whilst ensuring that a bus service has not commenced prematurely.

In Athersley, a large range of issues emerge from these findings which demonstrate multiple casual factors for the lack of success of the scheme. Ultimately, however, the findings would suggest that a genuine and meaningful needs assessment would need to be undertaken to give any new service a good chance of being viable. Additionally, putting services in place simply to expend funding is a waste of resources. It also misses an opportunity to provide a service where a genuine benefit could be accrued (socio-economic data suggests that Athersley has a high number of older people, and those with

young children who could certainly benefit from a community based, flexible service).

On this point, the intervention again fails to match up to good practice in Table 2.5 which recommends *"Market research to ascertain the needs of local people"* and the need to design schemes with *"a clear understanding of the needs of the community"*. Aside from attempts at statutory consultation, market research, which could have provided specific feedback on need and demand, and on the type of service required, did not appear to have been carried out. The information gained could have been used to tailor the services more effectively. Market research could have been conducted at a more grass roots level, in addition to the formal consultation. Furthermore, in both areas, but particularly in Athersley, the services did not appear to be designed with an understanding of local needs and circumstances and this could be directly attributable to any failures in service effectiveness.

A manager of a project involved in employment and training guidance for young people had not encountered transport difficulties as an issue. This contrasts with the views of another member of the organisation who worked closely with the young clients and had found that many young people have issues related to transport and accessibility. The manager believed that transport was unlikely to be much of a problem in Burngreave as most facilities were within walking distance, a misconception found amongst a number of the practitioners. This highlights the gulf between management and frontline staff perspectives. Two other practitioners also identified that there is a lack of understanding on the part of professionals and community development workers about transport difficulties, due in the most part, to the fact that they only ever drive. This was particularly the case for senior and management figures.

'Double standards'

A public sector transport practitioner, after discussing at length his involvement in providing public transport and developing the transport intervention studied, admitted:

> *I mean at the end of the day, I don't particularly like using the buses. I don't find them particularly pleasant. I walk to work but if my option was a forty minute journey in a horrible, manky bus or I could drive to a free car parking space, I mean I probably know what I'd be doing.*

When probed further about the poor image of public transport and whether this needed to be dealt with, he said that it was not much of a priority to bus users – that they are more concerned with reliability and cost. This is fairly indicative of the attitude that seems to exist purporting that public transport is deemed acceptable for certain members of society (for example those with no choice or on low incomes) but not for other people.

Another practitioner, who worked in an organisation seeking to introduce unemployed people to the labour market also revealed this contradiction. She vociferously argued that people should be expected to use public transport in order to gain employment, having no sympathy for those who experienced difficulties with it. She criticised those who were not willing to catch more than one bus to reach a destination, stating that in her youth: "*that was taken as normal, nowadays people find that an obstacle*". Yet later in the interview she is highly critical of the public transport system, reciting several recent bad incidents she had personally experienced, describing it as: "*just a nightmare, no wonder people don't want to travel like that*".

The same practitioner also highlighted the fact that many of her clients have other commitments such as caring responsibilities which can preclude access to certain areas, yet she simultaneously condemns clients for not making the effort to travel. Another practitioner working in a similar field discussed how young people can make excuses not to travel, and travel horizons are largely based on lack of effort rather than real tangible barriers. Again, this same practitioner reveals that she herself will not use public transport, citing incidents involving other passengers as her reason.

Analysis:

Although based on a small sample of practitioners, it could be argued that this apparent lack of understanding, both on the part of those working within employment and training services, and of those in the transport field, will not lead to effective transport provision. From this small scale evidence, there seems an uncomfortable divide between practitioners and users – a "one rule for some, one rule for others" mentality amongst some practitioners, expecting their clients to use a system that they themselves deem unacceptable. This is particularly significant when it can be shown that for those experiencing social exclusion, stigmatisation and lack of self-esteem is prevalent, meaning that

unacceptable aspects of the public transport system maybe even worse than for those who are not socially excluded. For example, a person experiencing the lack of self esteem which may result from social exclusion is likely to suffer more greatly from the effect of hostile staff and other passengers than for a person with greater self esteem.

Assumptions about car ownership

Despite all the problems which have so far been discussed, one extremely significant point was that not one of the respondents was completely negative about their experience or about the whole concept of public transport. Some of the respondents were positively brimming with praise for the local bus system and considered that without it their quality of life would be destroyed. Even amongst those who were mainly reliant on cars for their travel, many expressed a desire to be able to use public transport more if only it met their temporal and geographic needs – in some cases regretting that they were forced to be dependent on car travel. They also recognised that when running to schedule, public transport could actually be far superior than travelling by car. Some also found, in contrast to many of the comments so far discussed, that much of the time drivers and other passengers were friendly and helpful. A number of important points were highlighted by the respondents, many of which have little to do with physical aspects, or find a place in any appraisal system of bus travel.

The importance and personal significance of public transport does not always seem to be appreciated by practitioners; it can mean much more than physical accessibility – the social and psychological aspects need to be valued. These aspects rarely feature within any appraisal of a transport system. It also needs to be understood that many people actually *like* using buses, despite assumptions to the contrary. Professionals and practitioners do not always seem to understand this, and often have disparaging and patronising attitudes towards public transport and its users – especially bus users.

When discussing feelings towards driving and car ownership, this research discovered a distinct anomaly with generally accepted assumptions made in the majority of the literature on social exclusion and transport. Whilst some of the respondents did aspire to be car drivers, particularly the younger participants, it is not true to state (as the literature and many of the practitioners interviewed)

that '*everyone wants to have a car*' and that the only thing that may prevent this is lack of income. Many of the respondents actively did not want to drive, and even among those who had licences, some had made a conscious choice not to own a vehicle. Even among those who did drive regularly, some expressed a strong desire to be able to use public transport over the car if it was more appropriate to their needs.

However, with the exception of one of the young people interviewed, there did seem to be a distinction between the attitudes of the older and the younger respondents towards car ownership (bearing in mind that only five of the respondents could be described as young people). The impression given by the younger respondents was that learning to drive was a natural progression in life and that a car was virtually essential for work, as they felt it would be inevitable that better jobs may be located some distance away.

Only a couple of the non-driving respondents stated that not having a car had hampered their ability to work. Amongst the other non-driving respondents, whilst they did not feel their employment prospects were particularly affected, it could affect their social and leisure activities. One of these respondents pointed out that it was not the case that a car was *essential* for accessing such activities (as buses were available to most part of the city) but that the system in general did not meet her needs. This demonstrates that availability is not simply related to the physical provision of a service, but to whether that service can actually be used by passengers.

Although most of the employed car drivers felt that having a car was essential for them to carry on working, all but one did occasionally use buses to supplement their travelling requirements. In addition to this, in some circumstances, most of the drivers felt that catching a bus was actually *preferable* to driving – usually in order to access the city centre. However, on the whole, most activities aside from employment, such as shopping, days out and visits to leisure facilities (particularly if they had children) were undertaken by car.

Car ownership and gender

It was significant to note that none of the older female respondents (in their forties and fifties), had ever learned to drive and expressed no real desire to be

able to drive now or felt they would have benefited from driving in terms of securing employment. Most of these women worked relatively nearby and were happy with the jobs they had – they viewed the fact that they were local simply as a bonus. They expressed no regrets at not having learnt and felt that the public transport system, despite some inherent flaws, was adequate for their travel needs.

Even some of the younger female respondents were quite adamant that they did not want to drive and felt that they were not particularly restricted in finding employment because of their lack of ability to drive (even in the households with no car available). This lack of desire to drive was not necessarily related to narrow travel horizons, as one respondent was more than willing to travel some distance to access employment. One respondent could drive but she consciously chose not have a car - both because she did not think it necessary in an urban area and because of concerns about the environmental effects. Other reasons given for not wanting to drive were the cost of driving lessons, heavy traffic, worries about car crime, and difficulties in finding parking spaces. When it was pointed out that some jobs state an ability to drive as essential, these respondents stated that, whilst they found this caveat annoying, they did not feel this unduly restricted their job prospects, they simply did not apply for these types of jobs.

There was clear evidence that practitioners working amongst socially excluded communities failed to appreciate any of these ambivalent feelings towards car ownership. The general consensus suggested they felt that everyone aspired to car ownership. One practitioner, who worked with people attempting to gain skills to enter the job market, stated categorically that: "*Well everyone wants a car...everyone would rather drive*". Most of the practitioners implied that public transport use was only for those who had no choice, and in a sense it was to be endured until one could afford a car.

This research shows this statement is not necessarily always true. This perception means that often employment trainers and employers encourage car use and learning to drive; and have little sympathy or understanding of public transport use. The employment related practitioners seemed to suggest that learning to drive is seen as one of the important steps to becoming employable, being a natural progression once a work routine is established.

This seems to reveal a bias amongst employment services and training organisations that in transport terms, the best way to improve job prospects is to be able to drive. One of the organisations investigated offered driving lessons as part of their clients training budget but there was no equivalent subsidy for public transport use. Public transport use was not considered in the same light even though travel training for public transport might have the same effect of enhancing the ability to get employment. The practitioner believed that subsidising public transport would be counter-productive:
I wouldn't want to get into a situation where they became reliant on those [subsidised bus passes]. *They have to realise that that isn't the real world.* However, it could be argued that subsidised driving lessons also do not reflect the 'real world'.

There are diverging opinions on the car ownership and the ability to access employment. Some felt that a car would be necessary in order to secure decent employment, and thus a dedicated bus service would not be appropriate. However, the fact that the lack of private vehicle access is not always felt to be a barrier in acquiring employment reveals that transport is not necessarily an important factor in increasing economic opportunity.

Conversely, however, this fact could also demonstrate the usefulness of public transport provision, in that it creates a realistic means of providing access to employment (that is, people do not feel that opportunities are out of reach because they do not have a car).

Analysis:

Employment services need to appreciate that learning to drive and acquiring a car is not necessarily a pre-requisite for a successful job outcome, and possibly less emphasis should be placed on this aspect of employment training. Whilst most do aspire to car ownership, there are many who do not wish to drive. Indeed, actively encouraging car use instead of other modes could be considered irresponsible, both in environmental terms and in that it reinforces a car dependency culture. Thus making it necessary for low income clients to pay for additional motoring costs. As the evidence suggests, the desire for car use does not necessarily come about automatically, sometimes it is only prompted by failings in the public transport system.

This research highlights the inequity in encouraging job seekers to become mobile, stating that this makes the situation worse for those who, for whatever, do not, or cannot drive. Simply responding to dispersed employment patterns through additional car use simply maintains the status quo of inequitable land use patterns.

The research also shows there may be a large market of people who, whilst they typically drive, would be willing to use buses on occasion it if it offered a realistic alternative to the car (although this would have to involve a realistic price comparison and be reasonably fast and straightforward). This reveals there is potentially a large segment of the population which could be catered for by a flexible transport service. A flexible transport system should aim to replicate as far as possible the perceived advantages of car travel (such as freedom, convenience and self-reliance).

Whilst the findings here often corresponded with those of the literature, there were a number of points of disparity with existing research. For example, much of the literature strongly emphasise that lack of car ownership is strongly related to the inability to access essential services, causing poor quality of life and lack of social interaction. Lucas (2004d) suggests that this is the understandable reason why the vast majority of people own and use vehicles (even among low income groups). Whilst this can be the case, the findings here also suggest that a significant minority do not own or even aspire to car ownership and in fact manage adequately on – and even enjoy using – public transport. Although it is acknowledged that this research did take place in a large urban conurbation where public transport is generally more available, this does contradict much accepted evidence. In addition, employment opportunities are not always severely curtailed by lack of transport – any restrictions are often related to non-transport factors.

Employers and training providers can be biased towards car drivers, viewing the ability to drive as essential in order to secure employment, often fuelled by the fact that they themselves do not use public transport. They also fail to recognise the needs of non car drivers and have potentially unrealistic expectations on their ability to access certain employment sites. The findings show that they were therefore fairly dismissive of the potential benefits of transport intervention.

Public transport (particularly buses) continues to be seen as a poor choice of travel. This perception is reinforced by practitioners who assume that the ultimate goal is to be able to travel independently (that is, by private car) and that those who choose to do otherwise must live with the consequences (accept poor treatment and unreliability). In order to meet environmental and social equity objectives, these perceptions need to be modified. This is especially important given the evidence here which suggests that many people do not aspire to car ownership and actively seek to use public transport.

This study also highlights the contradictions involved in economic development which on the one hand seeks to develop in large, out of town sites, whilst also attempting to increase economic participation amongst socially excluded communities who typically do not live near these developments. Simply providing bus services to link these areas appears to be a simplistic and ineffective solution. It could also be argued that new transport initiatives can represent tokenism. Furthermore, the criteria for implementing services is often politically motivated, with individuals yielding significant power over decisions or funding availability determining the implementation of schemes rather than genuine need.

5.4 Findings and Analysis Conclusion

This chapter amply fulfils the overall aim which was to produce detailed, qualitative, and partially ethnographic analysis. Individual stories have been included which add to the intention of developing research giving 'voice' to those affected by social exclusion and transport intervention.

Both of these initiatives clearly had very different outcomes. An obvious point relates to the relative size of each of the two areas (both in terms of populations and labour market size) but this cannot account for the fact that the Athersley service was virtually unused. The two areas also had very different population characteristics with Burngreave having a substantially larger ethnic minority population, a large influx of people coming from outside the area, as well as high levels of transience and movement. Athersley was a relatively stable area, with lower levels of movement and little immigration. This had implications for the types of activity in the area with Burngreave being much more responsive to the changing needs of the population, with much recent regeneration and community development activity. Athersley on the other hand displayed more

of the territorial, estate culture as discussed in the literature and this was reflected in the attitudes of practitioners working there.

Other differences between the two areas relate to the different levels of community and regeneration activity, with Burngreave benefiting from an established, active and mutually supportive programme of initiatives. This was reflected in the attitudes towards such initiatives in each area both from the residents themselves and, importantly, from practitioners working in the two areas. Burngreave was also characterised by the existence of a number of well-known key local figures who vociferously and passionately argued for causes in the area, including transport. The Burngreave scheme had a dedicated steering group and was established with a genuine attempt to ascertain and respond to local opinions on transport issues. Athersley on the other hand had no such group in place and blame for the lack of interest in the service was largely placed on the personal failings of the residents. This is despite the fact that these findings suggest that the intervention was poorly developed with little relation to local characteristics.

Virtually all of the respondents from Burngreave had an active interest in their area and were mostly well-informed about regeneration initiatives and other changes occurring as a result of programmes such as the New Deal for Communities. They also had opinions on the relative effectiveness of such programmes and appeared to care how money was being spent in relation to the benefit it could bring to the wider community.

It could also be argued that the success of bus services running in one urban context can not necessarily be repeated in another context. The Burngreave scheme was similar to another service running in a nearby area of Sheffield, and revealed similar levels of uptake. The same style of service is not readily transferable to a smaller, provincial setting, such as Athersley, where a low key, flexible service may be appropriate given the smaller population being served. This also relates to the differences in labour market structures in the two areas. Burngreave was shown to be a dynamic and rapidly developing area, with many new initiatives and potential employment opportunities emerging, particularly in the community development fields. Also, despite questions over the practical viability of such a service, the intervention did provide connections with emerging and expanding employment opportunities in other parts of Sheffield. In Athersley, although changes had taken place in recent years, these were on

a relatively small-scale and major new employment opportunities were not served by the intervention in place. Rather, it served established sites which either already had adequate transport connections or were not relevant or large enough to create significant new employment opportunities for the residents of Athersley.

Ultimately it could be argued that Burngreave was further ahead of Athersley in addressing the initial barriers to employment (such as improving education levels) and was thus in a stronger position to introduce a more viable transport intervention scheme. In other words, Burngreave was at a point where transport provision was able to become useful, a point which Athersley had not reached.

Despite these differences, the findings do reveal a number of common issues across the two case study areas. All the respondents had experienced varying degrees of difficulties using the existing system, with poor staff attitudes and physical barriers to using the buses being major issues. Both sets of respondents felt that they had not been effectively consulted about the interventions and that they did not usefully respond to their transport needs or to the destinations they actually wished to access. Branding, promotion and dissemination of information was problematic in both areas, leading to confusion and lack of awareness.

Practitioners working in both areas displayed a lack of understanding of transport issues in the two areas and whilst the transport practitioners recognised the role of transport, they failed to relate the reality of social exclusion to how a bus service may actually be used. A better balance between recognising the potential value of transport intervention and a realistic understanding of how such a service could be developed was demonstrated through these findings.

The issues discovered within this findings chapter will now be analysed more succinctly in the final chapter. Chapter 6 will attempt not to repeat some of the implications found in this chapter but will draw together some of the key findings in order to achieve the final analysis, in terms of fulfilment of the overall research objectives.

6 Conclusions

6.1 Foreword

This chapter will be based around a framework which returns to the original objectives set out in Chapter 1 and upon which the whole empirical body of work was based. Each objective will be examined in turn, setting out in relation to each of them what has been discovered as a result of undertaking this piece of research. This chapter will also summarise and conclude findings and discussions from each of the chapters included in the rest of the dissertation. The grounded theory approach adopted means that the categories emerging during the analysis stage do not correspond exactly with the original objectives – thus the following discussions will consist of a combination of a discussion of the fulfilment of the objectives, generally following the order of the core categories from the findings.

This exercise will help demonstrate a number of key outcomes including: a discussion of how this research sits with existing literature (highlighting where this research concurs or diverges with the evidence found in previous studies); a demonstration of some of the most significant implications taken from the findings (from the general experience of public transport amongst the respondents and their opinions and experiences of the transport intervention operating in their areas); and a series of lessons learnt and recommendations for future and existing transport intervention provision. This chapter will also discuss some of the methodological limitations of qualitative study unearthed through the research process. Finally, the dissertation ends with a section on the scope for future research in this field. Taken overall, these discussions will provide comments on the implications of this research for literature in the field and for policy and practice in transport and social exclusion.

6.2 Fulfilment of Objectives

1) To review relevant existing literature relating to social exclusion, transport and economic opportunity (particularly employment)

This was achieved through the literature review which found that, although the social aspects of transport have been largely neglected within practice in the

past, a wealth of current literature exists which purports specifically to the impact of transport provision upon social exclusion. This particular strand of transport research has developed from earlier studies into the socially inequitable aspects of transport and linked it to studies exploring the relatively recent concept of social exclusion (which began to emerge in the 1990s). The literature relating specifically to transport intervention has developed from the earlier studies concentrating largely upon transport issues within specific disadvantaged groups (such as elderly and disabled people) to encompass more broadly those experiencing the wider effects of social exclusion.

Evidence found in the literature helped to develop the focus of the empirical section of this study (for example, the disproportionate effect of current transport provision upon low income women). Identifiable gaps in the literature also guided the study towards creating a more in depth, qualitative study particularly relating to the more 'everyday' concerns – and lived experiences - of transport users.

The findings and analysis chapter demonstrates where this research sits with the findings found in the literature, and highlights areas of convergence or divergence from currently accepted theory. Points of overlap with existing literature occur a number of times within this research but the key points will be briefly summarised here.

The findings which emerged from this research showed that in the context of transport and social exclusion, personal characteristics and circumstances were prevalent factors affecting travel and attitude to employment. The research findings were therefore able to discuss a number of issues relating to those found in the literature demonstrating that social exclusion involves a number of intangible and relational elements, such as loss of status, self-esteem and expectations (Room, 1995; Oppenheim 1998; Kenyon et al, 2002; Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997; Foley, 1999; Church of England, 1985). This loss of status developed through the treatment of passengers by drivers and other staff; indignities suffered as a user of the system caused by, for example, poor design and unhelpful staff; and poor expectations. The findings demonstrated that a number of the issues identified in the literature relating to loss of status etc. could be resolved through transport intervention – for example, good quality driver training standards and appropriate vehicle design.

Although some in the literature argue that transport is not a deciding factor in employment-related behaviour, this dissertation demonstrates that it is indeed an important part of labour market engagement. Existing literature has found that lack of transport can have a disadvantageous effect on access to employment with the theory of spatial mismatch emerging from such studies. A strong case can thus be made from this research – which includes evidence from the literature - for the introduction of transport intervention in order to overcome transport related barriers to employment.

However, there is also evidence that transport is not the only or most important barrier to employment access. Transport provision, in the context of a potential passenger market which is disaffected from employment and attainment, will struggle to fulfil social inclusion objectives unless the phenomenon of exclusion is fully understood. Furthermore, transport provision for employment still responds most closely to the notion of 'spatial' mismatch, operating on the basis that if transport is provided to bridge the gap between areas of unemployment and employment sites, this will encourage the uptake of jobs. This ignores the wider influences, such as personal characteristics and the recognition that 'skills' mismatch can be just as significant, and the recognition that employment zones and travel patterns cannot be easily identified.

2) To examine the meaning of 'transport intervention' within the context of this research; and to identify the extent of such schemes in South Yorkshire;

During the pre-selection stage, various intervention schemes within South Yorkshire were identified where a distinction was made between mainstream services and those developed specifically to address issues of social exclusion. This helped to create a better understanding of transport intervention and how it could be used within the social exclusion context. It was also able to help identify which schemes would be the most appropriate to study within a research project such as this – that is, those which would provide the greatest potential research resources in terms of accessing participants and the extent of transport intervention.

3) To identify areas of social exclusion within South Yorkshire which are subject to some form of transport intervention to use as case studies;

The completion of Objective 2 helped frame the next stage of the enquiry which utilised local knowledge and socio-economic statistics to identify potential case study areas. The research methodology chapter outlines in detail how the final areas were selected.

4) Review the regional and local policy context in relation to transport and social exclusion; and to develop a physical and socio-economic profile of the case study areas;

National (*in particular the Social Exclusion Unit's seminal 2003 report on social exclusion and transport*), regional (*for example South Yorkshire Objective 1 and Regional Government documents*) and local policies (*such as those contained in the Local Transport Plan*) were explored in order to create a background for the study and position the study within a wider context. The contextual section (Chapter 4) used census and other data to describe the characteristics of the two case study areas.

5) To investigate the experience and perceptions of public transport and access to essential services within these socially excluded communities

Objectives 5, 6 and 7 made up the bulk of the empirical investigation of this study and were contained in Chapter 5, the Findings and Analysis chapter. Key findings under each will now be discussed in turn but rather than repeat the detailed findings set out in the last chapter, this discussion will take the form of an overview of the principal implications.

Reliability and good customer care are, unsurprisingly, major themes and can have a significant impact on the ability to travel successfully to essential destinations. What is more surprising is the level of commitment and enthusiasm for public transport, even amongst those who have had bad experiences and / or generally choose to drive their own car. The vast majority in this study valued their public transport system and although they recognised many flaws, would appreciate a more customer centred approach. The findings also show that in personal terms, public transport can provide a vital link to the wider social world.

The most significant demonstration of this phenomenon was the evidence relating to the treatment of passengers, lack of expectations, loss of dignity, discomfort, the stress involved in carrying out potentially straightforward journeys - and the combined effects of these on personal feelings of worth and self-esteem. This was particularly the case for ethnic minority respondents who felt that hostility directed towards them whilst using public transport significantly affected their mobility and their perceptions of status within society.

The findings demonstrated that respect is a highly significant factor in improving levels of social inclusion which includes the subtle – and not so subtle -ways in which public transport users are treated. Simple measures such as courtesy, helpful staff attitudes towards all passengers – but particularly those perceived as more vulnerable - and improved environmental standards (such as cleanliness) can make a positive contribution towards raising self-esteem. This would be particularly important in any initiatives aiming to increase participation in the labour market. This would need to involve good customer care training and raising awareness of different passenger needs. The importance of this may need to be built into appraisal systems where success is measured not only in numbers of passengers but through perceived levels of customer care.

The political dimensions of social exclusion identified within the literature are also relevant to transport provision with the ability to yield power and influence over its use having a bearing on experience. This relates not only to participation in decision making but in customer care and in accessing information.

There are also serious issues with trust, with the evidence here suggesting how this affects perceptions of 'authority'. Views expressed on regeneration activity are indicative of a wider mistrust in service provision, where changes are not necessarily seen to be in the best interests of residents of socially excluded areas. Public transport appears to be incorporated into this, and must make efforts to overcome this lack of trust. This would need to be achieved through creating genuine participation and through an emphasis on customer care.

Corresponding with some of these debates surrounding the concept of social exclusion in the literature, the findings demonstrated that experiences occurring to those using buses were those that "*were done to them*" (see Murray, 2000),

rather than them having any sense of control or influence over the situation. Users of the bus system were seen to be powerless in terms of how they were treated, changes to the system and the ability to comprehend or manage information. It could be concluded that this meant that rather than social exclusion and low travel horizons emerging from lack of effort and unwillingness to change, low mobility was a reaction to poor experiences.

Knowledge, including the ability to understand and access information (such as that found on the internet), was another important factor in power relations and influence. The transport system was found to be complex and information sources were inconsistent, inaccurate and inaccessible. The use of such a system therefore precludes those experiencing social exclusion with associated traits such as poor educational standards and lack of confidence. The findings would demonstrate the need for travel training to increase experience and confidence and teach important skills such as map reading.

Findings also demonstrate the disproportionately low use of the internet amongst low income and socially excluded groups and cautions against placing too much emphasis on this form of information dissemination. Traditional methods of obtaining information (such as word of mouth) were found to be prevalent amongst the respondents.

The findings also highlight that different social groups can have very different travel patterns, favoured destinations and needs and this needs to be understood by transport and other practitioners. However, they also demonstrate that universal preferences can exist across the social spectrum, such as the propensity to seek local employment and the collective desire to be treated with respect and dignity. The findings would suggest that small scale transport intervention could have a role to play in situations where local facilities are inadequate or where people have mobility difficulties.

The findings relating to employment travel horizons develop the more simplistic arguments that narrow travel horizons are the result of 'parochialism' and lack of effort on the part of individuals. These findings demonstrate that such limits are influenced by a range of factors which may include personal ambition but are also related to lack of childcare, low self-esteem, lack of confidence, mental health issues, unfamiliarity and lack of experience.

6) To ascertain the level of awareness, uptake and use of transport intervention within these communities (how 'embedded' they are)

The findings reveal that awareness and uptake of the intervention was fairly low in the Burngreave scheme and non-existent in the Athersley case. Although the Athersley findings are based on a very small sample of respondents, evidence from the operator itself corroborates this lack of use. The precise reasons for this lack of awareness was not clear from these findings but they would suggest that this was created through a combination of inadequate, inappropriate or misleading promotion and simply because the intervention was not relevant to many residents.

In Burngreave, amongst those who were aware of the services, however, a number of them had used the services and on the whole had found them to be of benefit. The level of 'embedded-ness' appeared to be increasing all the time. This was revealed both through examination of passenger figures and through the findings which revealed the level of dependency on the services and the wealth of positive feeling towards them. This positive perception meant in some cases that these services were chosen above mainstream provision.

A problem lay, however, in the lack of awareness amongst other related and relevant practitioners working in employment and training provision and community development. In Burngreave, only two non-transport practitioners were aware of the services, simply because they had seen the services on the street, not because they had been formally consulted. Other practitioners were not aware of the services and although they acknowledged transport barriers amongst local clients, failed to recognise the potential role the intervention may provide.

Amongst those who did use the Burngreave service, the response was overwhelmingly positive in relation to good customer care, vehicle standards, reliability and improvements in access to existing destinations. However, many did comment that routing information was confusing and often inaccurate and that continuous experience was required to understand how the service worked. Most used the services for short, local journeys with no evidence that the service was being used for longer trips.

The findings suggest that this form of transport provision is much better suited to the context of social exclusion than traditional commercial services but still lack of genuine response to inherent exclusionary characteristics which preclude transport use, such as need for knowledge, experience and confidence.

7) To investigate attitudes towards such intervention and the level of support from transport, economic and community development practitioners

The theme 'professional naivety' was developed from existing theory (for example, Grieco et al, 2000) and through the interviews with relevant practitioners. From the transport side, analysis revealed that whilst the rhetoric of social inclusion principles were alluded to within policy, a true understanding of the phenomena failed to materialise. This was in terms of genuine and effective practical initiatives which respond to transport barriers, lack of innovation, failure to respond to the needs of socially excluded communities and a continued emphasis on technical solutions rather than attention towards a more people-centred approach such as improving cultural sensitivity. Conversely, whilst community and employment professionals displayed a better understanding of the lived experiences of socially excluded individuals (such as chronic lack of confidence and motivation), they failed to recognise the potential significance of physical and temporal transport barriers. Whilst all practitioners were quick to blame residents themselves for failings in services – due to apathy and laziness - naivety about real behaviour was also in evidence, with transport practitioners erroneously assuming that when a bus service is put in place in an area with perceived access and mobility, it will automatically be appreciated and used. The evidence would suggest that this situation has led to disjointed, inappropriate, short-sighted, poorly developed and implemented transport initiatives which fail to achieve ultimate goals (that is, creating new access opportunities to employment). Despite this, the research does show that transport has a definite role to play in social inclusion but the appropriateness of such initiatives needs to be better understood.

Employers and training providers can be biased towards car drivers, viewing the ability to drive as essential in order to secure employment, often fuelled by the fact that they themselves do not use public transport. They also fail to recognise the needs of non car drivers and have potentially unrealistic expectations on their ability to access certain employment sites. The findings

show that they were therefore fairly dismissive of the potential benefits of transport intervention.

Public transport (particularly buses) continues to be seen as a poor choice of travel. This perception is reinforced by practitioners who assume that the ultimate goal is to be able to travel independently (that is, by private car) and that those who choose to do otherwise must live with the consequences (accept poor treatment and unreliability). In order to meet environmental and social equity objectives, these perceptions need to be modified. This is especially important given the evidence here which suggests that many people do not aspire to car ownership and actively seek to use public transport. Ultimately, schemes appeared to be politically motivated and influenced by the existence of funding.

This study also highlights the contradictions involved in economic development which on the one hand seeks to develop in large, out of town sites, whilst also attempting to increase economic participation amongst socially excluded communities who typically do not live near these developments. Simply providing bus services to link these areas appears to be a simplistic and ineffective solution. It could also be argued that new transport initiatives can represent tokenism. Furthermore, the criteria for implementing services is often politically motivated, with individuals yielding significant power over decisions or funding availability determining the implementation of schemes rather than genuine need.

There still seems to be a lack of innovation in route planning, although these buses to some extent break away from traditional radial routes. Lack of innovation (amongst bodies such as Objective 1) in developing new industrial sites can exacerbate transport issues, creating extra demand for car travel and potentially damaging local communities. However, there is an issue with creating innovative services, however, with evidence from this study suggesting that established methods of using public transport are very entrenched and any new style of operation would take time and commitment to become established.

Ultimately, the non-transport practitioners believed that whilst transport could be an issue in accessing employment, other more important factors created the biggest barriers to social inclusion through work. These factors included: entrenched inter-generational benefit dependency, prevalence of illegal

economic activity, low skills, lack of education, childcare responsibilities and fundamental lack of ambition and motivation. In Athersley, they also believed that the intervention did not take account of the context in which it had been developed and failed to understand unique characteristics. Ultimately, the need for a better balance between recognising the potential value of transport intervention and a realistic understanding of how such a service could be developed was demonstrated through these findings.

8) To determine the role of intervention in improving access to economic opportunity

The results from both case study areas reveal that, overall, mainstream transport provision does not adequately respond to the lived circumstances of social exclusion, or indeed to standard travel behaviours. The evidence in the literature review builds a solid case for transport intervention and many of the findings in this dissertation show how this form of transport provision could respond to current transport difficulties.

However, a true understanding of the characteristics of social exclusion would indicate that the provision of interventional bus services (at least in isolation) will not provide a genuine incentive to take up employment opportunities, especially if these opportunities are located some distance from socially excluded areas. Ingrained travel patterns and limited travel horizons must be recognised and a response may have to include programmes of travel training or an acceptance that long distance bus travel (where the rewards are relatively un-worthwhile) is simply not feasible. Other schemes have to work in partnership with transport measures in order to overcome real and perceived barriers. In practice this may include, for example, employment services working with clients to develop 'Personal Journey Plans' (as recognised by Westwood, 2004) and providing information about alternative means of transport. The two bus services were predicated along the lines of the agenda set by the current administration which has elevated economic participation to be the single most important element in enhancing social inclusion. The findings here would suggest that this is not necessarily the most appropriate catalyst of a bus service of this kind.

It can be concluded that the service did not provide significant new opportunities for those currently not in employment. Rather, the services simply made minor improvements to journeys for those already engaged in the labour market or for

those who would not be in a position to engage – such as the elderly, those with long-term health limitations or those with young children. To be a feasible service for employment journeys, the service would have to be frequent, direct and reliable –at the moment, it is not able to fulfil these criteria. Ultimately, also, the findings demonstrate that the interventions in place simply follow the doctrines of current policy – that is, that paid employment is the best antidote to social exclusion – despite this being questioned by some commentators (for example, Levitas, 1996).

Although the provision of transport is clearly an important factor in accessing employment, implementing services without co-ordination with other service providers will not, on its own, prove to be effective in providing opportunities for those who are not currently in employment. Notwithstanding this, these services had clear benefits for social exclusion, especially in terms of creating easier access for day to day activities such as shopping and increasing opportunities for social interaction. The evidence here, however, cannot conclude that these services had an impact on reducing levels of unemployment.

The evidence found here would suggest that small scale flexible transport covering individual areas seems to be more beneficial that large, longer distance services – most of those travelling on the buses only used them for relatively short distances within their own local area. The nature of travel behaviour, such as the need to trip-chain again supports this argument – where long-distance bus services are not necessarily responding to travel needs.

These findings show that transport provision can aim to improve social inclusion without disproportionately concentrating on employment journeys, which are not always appropriate, effective or relevant, especially without responding to other barriers first.

9) To evaluate the outcomes of such intervention and to provide recommendations for future intervention.

This objective relates to the implications of the findings for policy and practice. This will be discussed in the form of a list of specific lessons learnt from this experience, which will be summarised below.

Burngreave case study

Despite the lack of evidence of increasing economic participation amongst previously unemployed residents, the Burngreave services had many advantageous features. Passenger numbers rose steadily throughout the period of investigation, genuine efforts were made to generate participation in the running of the service and user feedback on the services was overwhelmingly positive. Overall, although the services have made improvements to the journeys of those in employment, it can be concluded that these services appear to have greater social benefits than purely economic ones (in terms of increasing labour market participation). Lessons for policy and practice include:

- Good customer care should be made a priority as it is often more significant to a journey than other factors such as improved journey times, or technological advancements; this should take account of the core customer base and respond effectively to their needs;

- Appropriate publicity (and branding) needs to be targeted much more effectively and campaigns may need to be repeated or sustained over a number of months to ensure widespread awareness; promotion should extend to inform other relevant service providers who in turn can disseminate information to clients or other residents. This is especially important for those seeking employment. Informal channels of information dissemination could be exploited;

- Travel training may be required: in the first instance to increase awareness of potentially beneficial services and in order to improve knowledge of how to use the system and improve basic skills such as map-reading and seeking travel information;

- Service provision (including routing, information dissemination and ticketing structures) should be made as 'user-friendly' as possible; information and routing decisions need to respond to local circumstances with an appreciation of how local people perceive and relate to the locality;

- Participation and feedback mechanisms should be accessible and transparent;

- Effort should be made to avoid predominance of individual agendas or representation of single issues;

- Appraisal of services should take account of 'softer' inclusionary factors, such as increasing access to supermarkets, improved opportunities to participate in social networks, maintaining independence and so on;

- Caution should be exercised in increasing use of web-based transport services (such as online booking) to ensure that those without internet access are not discriminated against;

- Transport provision should not necessarily be used as a substitute for local facilities, or to compensate for loss of existing services;

- A service needs to be clear in its intentions and not try to achieve too many conflicting objectives at once. It also needs to be developed in a framework of consultation and co-operation with other agencies relevant to the ethos of the scheme (in this case, particularly employment and training providers).

Athersley case study

Results from the Athersley scheme reveal a very different outcome than that of Burngreave. Although the service itself was similar, the development and running of the scheme was different in that no local participation occurred in implementing the scheme and little interest or awareness of the scheme was showed by other agencies. The main lessons to be learned from this experience include the following:

- Genuine needs assessment needs to be undertaken in order to develop a viable service with a real understanding of social exclusion characteristics;

- Communication with the local community is key. Local ownership is vital for a service to be a success, providers need to establish a good understanding of local connectivity needs and carry out genuine and accessible consultation;

- Marketing of new schemes must be personalised (talking to communities in person, rather than simply delivering leaflets) and geared to the specific location, with an understanding of local characteristics;

- Appropriate branding and advertising is crucial in encouraging or deterring people from using a service;

- Services should not target (or rely on) only one type of passenger (marketing a service as a 'Jobs' bus can act as a deterrent to other potential users) but instead widen travel remits to include other core journeys out of peak hours;

- Standard bus services are not always appropriate - small scale, localised and flexible services, although not necessarily highly commercial, could be more effective in benefiting those most in need (rather than allowing a standard vehicle to run empty);

- Sustained awareness-raising promotion of new and innovative schemes (such as demand responsive transport) would need to be developed in order to convey any benefit to potential users (this could be targeted at particular relevant groups – such as parents with young children).

By concentrating on the results from the only viable scheme in this study, the Burngreave example, it can be concluded that this was successful in terms of providing a popular, viable bus service for local people which enhanced their ability to access key services and provided a pleasant, reliable service. There was no evidence in this study to suggest, however, that the services would have a significant impact on increasing employment participation in the sites accessed by the services. This situation may, of course, differ once the main destination, the Advanced Manufacturing Park at Waverley is fully operational. It is unlikely, however, that transport provision to this site will result in large numbers of Burngreave residents taking up employment here given the findings from this research and because of the nature of the employment which will be available (specialised and highly skilled). The findings would suggest that this type of scheme targeting employment based travel is not necessarily the best use of resources in terms of enhancing social inclusion.

However, it is difficult to hold the bus service itself responsible for this as, when looking at the good practice guidelines, the service as implemented fulfilled

many of these objectives. The issue remains that travel horizons may continue to remain low without sustained effort on the part of transport providers and without full co-operation and co-ordination with other service providers. No single initiative in isolation can achieve results without support from interconnected organisations. There is also enormous difficulty, given the dispersed nature of contemporary employment sites, in predicting and responding to employment travel patterns. Many job seekers themselves have no set ideas about where they will look for employment and it is difficult to provide transport services accordingly.

The results here also show that transport does indeed have a role to play in enhancing social inclusion. Many people are totally dependent on public transport to continue to participate in social life and, furthermore, many highly value their local bus services. However, for transport provision to genuinely improve access to economic opportunity, there needs to be a more realistic assessment of transport usage and behaviour. Smaller scale, targeted services may be more effective than generalised schemes attempting to fulfil a number of different objectives. There needs to be a far greater understanding of the characteristics of social exclusion (and of general psychological factors influencing travel behaviour). There also needs to be a better understanding of the needs of potential users (for example, the need to break journeys for childcare).

Throughout the whole of the study, there appeared to emerge the theme of choice and power. Countless accounts of poor treatment by staff and unreliability portrayed the message that public transport users are seen as those with little choice – they have no choice but to use buses and accordingly, the way in which they are treated is considered inconsequential.

In relation to co-ordination with other service providers, it appears that various sets of practitioners can learn from each other. Transport providers, in the move away from a technical and engineering bias, may need to improve their community engagement skills in order to be able to genuinely respond to travel needs. Conversely, other practitioners in the fields of employment training and community development must take transport issues more seriously and generate a better understanding of how travel difficulties may affect social inclusion. Often, transport concerns are dismissed as 'excuses', with agencies

and employers either not understanding or being unsympathetic about travel difficulties. To illustrate, one employment training provider stated:

> *Why should employers worry about how their workers get there? It's not their problem, I'm sorry but people used to be prepared to travel on two or three buses to get to work – why can't they now?*

There also has to be some responsibility on the part of the transport providers, however, to actually inform other agencies about their services and raise awareness of new schemes.

6.3 Limitations of qualitative research and methodological approach

This research was not only able to provide further evidence for transport related exclusion, it was also able to highlight some issues with the traditional assumptions made during research decisions. As already discussed in Chapter 3, there were some limitations to the research methodology. These often related to the circumstances of the researcher and the context in which the research was undertaken but the research process was also able to highlight difficulties with the methodology itself which can be briefly discussed here.

Problems with grounded theory

While Glaser and Strauss provide a useful insight into the generation of theory from empirical data, what they ask of researchers is not always possible. Most proponents of grounded theory share a common recognition of the constant interplay between data and theory: data should be gathered in a systematic way, and theory should be revisable. However, Bryman argues:

> *Grounded theory has provided qualitative researchers with possible frameworks for attending to the theoretical issues, but these approaches to theory are often honoured more in the breach than in the observance* (1988: 91).

In addition, Burgess argues:

> *Their [Glaser and Strauss'] suggestion that researchers should ignore the theoretical literature on an area of study and avoid presuppositions or prior conceptualisation in areas that have been well researched is exceedingly difficult for researchers to achieve* (1984: 181).

Grounded theory might be judged as valid on the generality of the theory and its specificity. Some commentators (Fielding, 1993) prioritise the data analysis stage after the data collection and before theory is generated. Others (Geertz, 1983) examine how studies may be biased towards theory development. In

these cases, problems are seen to arise concerning the priority given to theory production over data collection. It is necessary to strike an even balance between the development of theory and the empirical material, although the precise point of balance might not always be obvious. A characteristic of qualitative research is that it allows theory to be developed simultaneously with the data collection, hence allowing each to inform the other (see Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Bradshaw and Sainsbury (2000), in relation to research into poverty, also raise questions as to whether grounded theory can escape the imbalance in power relationship between researchers and participants. They also ponder whether the research relationship can involve genuine equality – they feel it is neither possible or desirable for the researcher to disclaim privilege in relation to the participants.

In actuality, this study did not ignore the theoretical material on the research area, but rather integrated it into the grounded theory approach, to produce a refined theory which is grounded in the data.

6.4 Scope for further research

Clearly, there is great scope for expanding upon this research. It could be carried out on a much larger scale, incorporating a wider range of respondents, with a greater emphasis on those who are actively seeking employment, rather than a general sample of the population. It could also include a wider range of practitioners and other organisations such as employers themselves – particularly those in the new development sites.

As in all research, findings are spatially and temporally specific. As a consequence the local culture of the area in which the research was conducted has to be recognised as having a potential influence over the results. The research was specific to South Yorkshire, and the research conformed to this. However, the influence of specific localities was off-set to some extent by studying two different areas of South Yorkshire, one a city context, the other a smaller borough.

Ideally, research within a number of contexts, including more rural or peripheral locations would have added greatly to the interpretation of the findings, but time

and practical constraints prevented this. Such a study would more easily be able to distinguish between transport and other barriers as travel options would be far more limited. This could have also concentrated more on the 'unique' aspects of the South Yorkshire region – investigating specifically the impact of new development sites in former coalmining areas such as the Dearne Valley and the relationship of transport provision and access.

Ideally, also, the interviews would have included those from a wider gender perspective and with a wider range of personal circumstances – possibly a greater balance between those with and without young children. The research would also have benefited from including more of those who were part of a job search programme and were actively engaged in seeking employment. However, as previously stated, issues with client confidentiality meant that access to such people was limited.

Further research could also provide a more longitudinal study, looking at how patterns of employment may change through the provision of new transport, with follow-up surveys on people who may have taken up jobs as a result of transport provision. This would be particularly valuable once the key development sites funded by Objective 1 are completed.

The most obvious area of research which this dissertation demonstrates has a potential for exploration relates to the personal/social theme of transport-related exclusion. One of the issues that was most striking in this research is the tension between a culture of what might be termed 'localism' from the perspective of excluded groups and what might be referred to as 'parochialism', as seen by practitioners.

In relation to the former, this research has highlighted identifiable and rational reasons as to why people dislike travelling far to work, including cost and poor reliability of bus services, but also issues such as caring responsibilities, other issues around public transport such as driver attitudes and behaviour, self-confidence, perceptions of space/time and limited personal aspirations which are rooted in lived experience. There is a whole field of post-modern geography which refers to this conceptualisation of space which this dissertation has not fully explored. This is certainly something that this dissertation could develop upon in order to investigate the concept more deeply.

On the other, hand the 'parochialism' concept includes pejorative judgements about lack of motivation, criticises conservative and insular horizons and argues that because certain individuals are gaining income by illegal means, they have no interest in the benefits of dedicated transport. This all relates to the 'blame' arguments set out in Chapter 1 and picked up on within the findings chapter (particularly in relation to the failings of the Athersley scheme). This is again an area which could be explored in greater depth in subsequent research.

The implications of this research upon existing literature is that it develops theories relating more strongly to actual experience, including 'users' voices' in a field that has traditionally been dominated by a technical perspective. It provides a bridge between qualitative research into the lived experience of socially excluded communities and practical research into public transport use. It has also discovered some new theories which, to some extent, dispute those found in existing literature. Clearly this study demonstrates that transport provision, access to employment and social exclusion are all interrelated and there are some real issues which must be addressed in order to ameliorate the negative effects of transport-based exclusion. However, this needs to be understood better, both from the transport perspective and from the social exclusion perspective in order to generate appropriate and effective responses.

The original contribution this research makes it that it reconceptualises and brings together disparate elements within both transport and social exclusion research and places them within the context of the lived experiences of those affected by transport intervention. The 'grounded theory' approach taken has meant that current theory on transport and social exclusion has been tested and developed. The overall conclusion is that intangible aspects of transport provision relating to personal characteristics and effects, such as loss of dignity and self-esteem are particularly important. Yet these 'lived experiences' have not formed part of any major study to date, despite the over-arching effects these issues may have on other aspects of transport-related exclusion. This final section shows how this research field has much scope for development, especially given the other pressures upon transport provision from other policy agendas such as the need to act upon climate change. It can be argued also that the social aspects of transport provision and planning are just one part of a wider picture and that intervention which enhances inclusion automatically has benefits not just for those who are 'socially excluded' but for all members of a community and the environment as a whole.

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Appendices

Appendix 1(a): Areas with some form of transport intervention in place

(please note that the area descriptions were based on ward boundaries defined as of early 2004 – some of these have subsequently changed).

Service No. and description	Funding Source	Employment?
25 Barnsley – Crane Moor – Stocksbridge	RBSG	No
132 Sheffield - Treeton – Rotherham	O1; YF	Yes
190 Doncaster – Blaxton – Wroot	NLC; RBSG	No
199 Southey Green – Chapeltown – High Green – Manvers	O1	Yes
200 Barnsley – Wombwell – Wath ('Manvers Shuttle' service)	BMBC; O1; PS; SYPTE; UBC	Yes
201 (North Sheffield Link) Sheffield – Stocksbridge – Meadowhall	O1; PS; SCC; SYPTE	Yes
202 Harthill – Dinnington – Swinton	RBC	Yes
203 Doncaster – Clayton – Mexborough – Old Denaby	RBC; SYPTE	Yes
205 Doncaster – Hesley – Tickhill	CA; PS (Exel / Hesley Group); RBC	Yes
206 (Askern – Adwick-le-Street – Goldthorpe – Manvers)	PS (Ventura)	Yes
221 Rotherham – Manvers	PS (inc. Ventura); UBC	Yes
230 Moorends – Thorne – Lindholme – Robin Hood Airport	RBSG; SRB	Yes
251 Crystal Peaks – Gildingwells/Firbeck	RBSG	No
262 Rotherham – Hellaby – Worksop	RBSG	Yes
264 Rotherham – Worksop	NCC; RBSG	Yes
266/267 Hillsborough – Storrs/Worrall	RBC; RBSG	No
300 Penistone – Thurlstone/Upper Denby	RBC; RBSG	No
322 (DRT) Fishlake/Sykehouse – Stainforth/Thorne	RBC	No
323 (DRT) Clayton –Adwick Station	CA; RBSG	No
325 (DRT) Hampole – Adwick Station/Doncaster	CA; RBSG	Yes
326 (DRT) Askern/Norton/Campsall – Adwick Station	CA; RBSG	No
348/349 Conisbrough - Mexborough	Coalfields NRF	No
350 Mexborough – Finningley	Coalfields NRF O1	Yes
A1 Sheffield – Waverley – Airport – Meadowhall – Rotherham	PS (local employers); SYPTE; YF	Yes
B1, B2 (BurngreaveLink) Burngreave – NGH – Meadowhall	Burngreave NDC O1	Yes
D1 (JobLink) Burngreave – Waverley, Catcliffe	Burngreave NDC O1	Yes
H1/H2 ('ValleyLink') Rotherham Hospital – Herringthorpe – ASDA	UBC	No
J1-J4 Carlton – Athersley – Dodworth ('Athersley JobLink', part DRT)	BMBC; O1; SYPTE; UBC	Yes
P1/ P2 ('CrossLink') Southey Green – NGH – Parson Cross	O1	Yes
S1/ S2 (BrightsideLink) Meadowhall – NGH - Shiregreen - Wincobank	Burngreave NDC; NRF; O1	Yes
X19 Doncaster – Robin Hood Airport section only	O1	Yes
Penistone RuralRide – Penistone and surrounding area	RBC	No
RotherRide – rural areas of East Rotherham	RBC	No
Stocksbridge Flyer – Deepcar, Stocksbridge and surrounding villages	CA; RBC	No

Appendix 1(b): Areas with transport intervention in place which relates specifically to improving access to economic opportunity

KEY:
BMBC: Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council
CA: Countryside Agency
DCT: Doncaster Community Transport
NCC: Nottinghamshire County Council
NDC: New Deal for Communities
NGH: Northern General Hospital
NLC: North Lincolnshire Council
NRF: Neighbourhood Renewal Fund
O1: Objective 1
PS: Private Sector
RBC: Rural Bus Challenge
RBSG: Rural Bus Subsidy Grant
S: Stagecoach
SCC: Sheffield City Council
SCT: Sheffield Community Transport
SRB: Single Regeneration Budget
SYPTE: South Yorkshire Passenger Transport Executive
TMT: TM Travel
UBC: Urban Bus Challenge
WB: Wilfreda Beehive
YF: Yorkshire Forward
YT: Yorkshire Traction

Service No. and description	**Ward** (and local area reference, if different)	**Funding Source**	**Employment areas accessed**	**Operator**
132 Sheffield - Treeton – Rotherham	Sheffield: **Castle** (Sheffield city centre, Manor Park) **Sharrow** (Highfield) **Park** (Arbourthorne,) **Darnall** (Handsworth) Rotherham: **Brinsworth, Catcliffe and Treeton** (Catcliffe, Treeton) **Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh** (Canklow) **Central** (Rotherham, Interchange)	O1 YF	Catcliffe Rotherham town centre Sheffield city centre	First

Service No. and description	Ward (and local area reference, if different)	Funding Source	Employment areas accessed	Operator
199 Southey Green – Chapeltown – High Green – Manvers	Sheffield: **Southey Green** (Southey Green, Parson Cross) **South Wortley** (Ecclesfield) **Chapel Green** (Chapeltown, Burncross, High Green) Barnsley: **Penistone East** (Tankersley) **Hoyland Milton** (Platts Common Industrial Estate) **Rockingham** (Shortwood Business Park) Rotherham: **Brampton, Melton and Wentworth** (Brampton) **Wath** (Wath upon Dearne)	O1	Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Platts Common Industrial Estate Shortwood Business Park Wentworth Industrial Park	SCT
200 ('Manvers Shuttle') Barnsley– Wombwell – Wath	Doncaster: **Mexborough** **Swinton** Rotherham: **Wath** (Manvers, Wath upon Dearne) **Brampton, Melton and Wentworth** (Brampton) Barnsley: **Wombwell N.** **Darfield** **Athersley** **Royston**	BMBC O1 PS (inc. Ventura) SYPTE UBC	Dearne Valley College, Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers	S

Service No. and description	Ward (and local area reference, if different)	Funding Source	Employment areas accessed	Operator
201 ('North Sheffield Link') Sheffield – Stocksbridge – Meadowhall	Sheffield: **Castle** (Sheffield city centre) **Broomhill** (Crookes, Crookesmore) **Owlerton** **Hillsborough** **South Wortley** (Worrall, Oughtibridge, Wharncliffe Side, Ecclesfield) **Stocksbridge** (Deepcar, Bolsterstone, Stocksbridge) **Chapel Green** (Chapeltown) **Nether Shire** (Sheffield Lane Top) **Firth Park** **Burngreave** (Grimesthorpe) **Brightside** (Meadowhall) Barnsley **Penistone East** (Tanskersley) **Rotherham** **Thorpe Hesley** (Smithy Wood Industrial Estate)	O1 PS RBC SCC SYPTE O1	Hillsborough Lower Don Valley employment sites NGH Rotunda Business Park Royal Hallamshire Hospital Sheffield City Centre Smithy Wood Industrial Estate Meadowhall Tankersley Industrial Estate Thorncliffe Industrial Estate Wentworth Business Park	S
202 Harthill – Dinnington – Swinton	Rotherham **St John's** (Throapham, Dinnington, Laughton Common, Woodsetts, Firbeck) **Kiveton Park** (Harthill, Todwick, Wales, Kiveton Park) **Anston and Woodsetts** (North Anston, South Anston)	RBC	Hellaby Industrial Estate Meadowhall Sheffield City Centre	TMT

Service No. and description	Ward (and local area reference, if different)	Funding Source	Employment areas accessed	Operator
	Aston, Orgreave and Ulley (Aston) **Thurcroft and Whiston** (Gildingwells, Thurcroft) **Bramley, Ravenfield and Wickersley** (Hellaby, Ravenfield) **Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh** (Hooten Roberts) **Rawmarsh East** (Kilnhurst) Doncaster **Swinton** Sheffield **Brightside** (Meadowhall) **Castle** (Sheffield)			
203 Doncaster – Clayton – Mexborough – Old Denaby	Doncaster **Town Field** **Bentley North Road** (Scawthorpe) **Richmond** (Pickburn, Brodsworth, Hooton Pagnell, Clayton) **Mexborough** **Conisbrough** (Old Denaby) Barnsley **Dearne North** (Thurnscoe) **Dearne South** (Goldthorpe, Bolton-on-Dearne)	RBC SYPTE	Denaby Lane Industrial Estate Doncaster Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley	WB

Service No. and description	Ward (and local area reference, if different)	Funding Source	Employment areas accessed	Operator
205 Doncaster – Hesley – Tickhill	<u>Doncaster</u> **Town Field** (Hyde Park) **Bessacarr** **Rossington** **Southern Parks** (Hesley, Tickhill) **Central**	CA PS (Exel / Hesley Group) RBC	Exel Distribution Centre Hesley Village and College	First
206 Askern – Adwick-le-Street – Goldthorpe – Manvers	<u>Doncaster</u> **Askern** **Adwick** (Carcroft, Adwick le Street, Woodlands) **Richmond** (Pickburn, Brodsworth, Hickleton) <u>Barnsley</u> **Dearne South** (Goldthorpe, Bolton-on-Dearne) <u>Rotherham</u> **Wath**	PS (Ventura)	Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley / Manvers	WB
221 Rotherham – Manvers	<u>Rotherham</u> **Thorpe Hesley** **Central** **Brampton, Melton and Wentworth** (Manvers, Brampton)	UBC PS (inc. Ventura)	Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley / Manvers	YT
230 Moorends – Thorne – Lindholme – Robin Hood Airport	<u>Doncaster</u> **Thorne** (Moorends, Thorne) **Wheatley** (Stainforth) **Hatfield** (Dunscroft, Dunsville) **Armthorpe**	RBSG SRB	Capitol Park Business Park Robin Hood Airport West Moor Park Industrial Estate	WB

Service No. and description	Ward (and local area reference, if different)	Funding Source	Employment areas accessed	Operator
	South East (Cantley, Branton, Auckley, Finningley)			
262 Rotherham – Hellaby – Worksop	**Rotherham** **Central** (Rotherham town centre) **Herringthorpe** (East Dene) **Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh** (Thrybergh) **Bramley, Ravenfield and Wickersley** (Hellaby, Ravenfield,) **Maltby** (Maltby, Stone) **St. John's** (Firbeck, Letwell)	RBSG	Hellaby Industrial Estate Rotherham town centre Worksop	WB
325 (Hampole & Skelbrooke Taxibus) (DRT) Hampole – Adwick Station/Doncaster	**Doncaster** **Richmond** (Hampole, Skelbrooke) **Adwick** (Carcroft) **Town Field** **Central** **South East**	RBSG CA	Lakeside	WB
350 Mexborough – Finningley	**Doncaster** **Mexborough** **Conisbrough** (Conisbrough, Denaby, Conanby) **Edlington & Warmsworth** (Warmsworth) **Balby** **Central** **Bessacarr** (Bessacarr, Cantley) **South East** (Auckley, Finningley)	O1 Coalfields NRF	Balby Carr Industrial estates Catesby Business Park Denaby Lane Industrial Estate Finningley Estate Lakeside	DCT

Service No. and description	Ward (and local area reference, if different)	Funding Source	Employment areas accessed	Operator
A1 Sheffield – Waverley – Airport – Meadowhall – Rotherham	**Sheffield** **Castle** **Manor** **Darnall** (Tinsley) **Brightside** (Meadowhall) **Rotherham** **Boston** **Brinsworth, Catcliffe and Treeton** (Catcliffe, Waverley) **Central**	YF SYPTE PS (local employers)	Development sites at Waverley, Catcliffe and Templeborough Meadowhall Sheffield Business Park / Sheffield Airport Sheffield city centre	First
B1- B2 ('BurngreaveLink') Burngreave – NGH – Meadowhall	**Sheffield** **Burngreave** (Burngreave, Grimesthorpe, Pitsmoor, Shirecliffe) **Firth Park** (Fir Vale, Firth Park) **Brightside** (Meadowhall , Wincobank) **Darnall** (Carbrook)	O1 Burngreave NDC SRB	Lower Don Valley employment sites NGH Sheffield Industrial Estate Meadowhall Retail Park Meadowhall Interchange The Source	SCT
D1 ('JobLink') Burngreave – Waverley, Catcliffe	**Sheffield** **Burngreave** **Castle** (Wybourn, Attercliffe) **Darnall** (Tinsley) **Rotherham** **Brinsworth, Catcliffe and Treeton** (Catcliffe, Waverley)	O1 Burngreave NDC SRB	Cricket Inn Road Industrial Estate Enterprise Park Industrial Estate Lower Don Valley employment sites Shepcote Business Park Sheffield Business Park Sheffield City Airport Catcliffe / Waverley development sites via employment sites in Attercliffe, Darnall and Tinsley	SCT

Service No. and description	**Ward** (and local area reference, if different)	**Funding Source**	**Employment areas accessed**	**Operator**
J1('Athersley JobLink') Carlton – Athersley – Dodworth (part)	Barnsley Athersley (Athersley) Darton (Mapplewell, Barugh) North West (New Lodge) Royston (Carlton, Royston) Monk Bretton (Monk Bretton, Smithies) Dodworth (Redbrook, Higham, Dodworth) Old Town (Gawber, Pogmoor) South West (Hospital)	BMBC O1 SYPTE UBC	Carlton Industrial Estate Redbrook Industrial Estate Fall Bank Industrial Estate Barnsley and District General Hospital Dodworth Business Park	SCT
J2 ('AthersleyLink') DRT	Barnsley Athersley North West Royston Monk Bretton	BMBC O1 SYPTE UBC	Carlton Industrial Estate	SCT
P1, P2 ('CrossLink') Southey Green – NGH – Parson Cross	**Southey Green** (Southey Green, Norwood, Parson Cross) **Firth Park** **Owlerton** (Shirecliffe, Wadsley Bridge)	O1	NGH	SCT
S1- S2 ('BrightsideLink') Meadowhall – NGH - Shiregreen - Wincobank	**Brightside** (Shirecliffe, Wincobank) **Darnall** (Tinsley) **Burngreave** **Firth Park** **Nether Shire**	Burngreave NDC NRF O1 SCC	Meadowhall Meadowhall Retail Park NGH Sheffield Industrial Estate The Source	SCT

Service No. and description	**Ward** (and local area reference, if different)	**Funding Source**	**Employment areas accessed**	**Operator**
X19 Doncaster – Robin Hood Airport section only	**Doncaster** **Central** **Town Field** **Bessacarr** **South East** (Finningley) Barnsley **Darfield** **Dearne South** (Goldthorpe)	O1	Robin Hood Airport	S

Appendix 1(c): Identification of the main 'beneficiaries' of the services

Ward	Relevant service numbers	Employment areas served	IMD 2004 Score (Rank – out of 8414)
Adwick (Carcroft, Adwick le Street, Woodlands)	206 325	Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley / Manvers Lakeside	49.64 (581)
Athersley	200 J1 J2	Barnsley and District General Hospital Carlton Industrial Estate Dearne Valley College Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Dodworth Business Park Fall Bank Industrial Estate Redbrook Industrial Estate	67.03 (127)
Bessacarr (Bessacarr, Cantley)	205 350 X19	Balby Carr Industrial estates Catesby Business Park Denaby Lane Industrial Estate Exel Distribution Centre Finningley Estate Hesley Village and College Lakeside Robin Hood Airport	18.72 (3809)
Bramley, Ravenfield and Wickersley (Ravenfield, Hellaby)	202 262	Hellaby Industrial Estate Meadowhall Rotherham town centre Sheffield City Centre Worksop	20.92 (3386)
Brampton, Melton and Wentworth (Brampton)	199 200 221	Dearne Valley College Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Platts Common Industrial Estate Shortwood Business Park Wentworth Industrial Park	46.56 (728)
Brightside (Brightside, Shirecliffe, Wincobank)	B1 B2 S1	Lower Don Valley employment sites Meadowhall Meadowhall Retail Park NGH Sheffield Industrial Estate The Source	48.31 (635)
Burngreave (Burngreave, Grimesthorpe, Pitsmoor, Shirecliffe)	B1 B2 D1 S1 S2	Catcliffe / Waverley development sites Cricket Inn Road Industrial Estate Employment sites in Attercliffe, Darnall and Tinsley Meadowhall Enterprise Park Industrial Estate Lower Don Valley employment sites Lower Don Valley employment sites Meadowhall Interchange Meadowhall Retail Park NGH	71.51 (60)

Ward	Relevant service numbers	Employment areas served	IMD 2004 Score (Rank – out of 8414)
		Sheffield Business Park Sheffield City Airport Sheffield Industrial Estate Shepcote Business Park The Source	
Chapel Green (Chapeltown, Burncross, High Green)	199 201	Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Hillsborough Lower Don Valley employment sites NGH Platts Common Industrial Estate Rotunda Business Park Royal Hallamshire Hospital Sheffield City Centre Shortwood Business Park Smithy Wood Industrial Estate Meadowhall Tankersley Industrial Estate Thorncliffe Industrial Estate Wentworth Business Park Wentworth Industrial Park	18.43 (3872)
Conisbrough (Conisbrough, Denaby, Conanby)	203 350	Balby Carr Industrial estates Catesby Business Park Denaby Lane Industrial Estate Doncaster Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley Finningley Estate Lakeside	59.74 (274)
Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh (Canklow, Hooten Roberts, Thrybergh)	202 262	Hellaby Industrial Estate Meadowhall Rotherham town centre Sheffield City Centre Worksop	47.16 (688)
Darfield	200 X19	Dearne Valley College Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Robin Hood Airport	41.16 (1046)
Darnall (Carbrook, Darnall, Tinsley)	132 A1 D1 S1, S2	Catcliffe / Waverley development sites Cricket Inn Road Industrial Estate Enterprise Park Industrial Estate Lower Don Valley employment sites Development sites at Templeborough Meadowhall Meadowhall Retail Park NGH Rotherham town centre Sheffield Business Park Sheffield City Airport Sheffield city centre Sheffield Industrial Estate	50.05 (561)

Ward	Relevant service numbers	Employment areas served	IMD 2004 Score (Rank – out of 8414)
		Shepcote Business Park The Source Employment sites in Attercliffe, Darnall and Tinsley	
Firth Park	B1 B2 P1 P2 S1, S2	Catcliffe / Waverley development sites Cricket Inn Road Industrial Estate Enterprise Park Industrial Estate Lower Don Valley employment sites Meadowhall Meadowhall Retail Park NGH Sheffield Business Park Sheffield City Airport Sheffield Industrial Estate Shepcote Business Park The Source Employment sites in Attercliffe, Darnall and Tinsley	66.95 (129)
Mexborough	200 203 350	Balby Carr Industrial estates Catesby Business Park Dearne Valley College, Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Denaby Lane Industrial Estate Doncaster Finningley Estate Lakeside	49.70 (574)
Monk Bretton	J1 J2	Barnsley and District General Hospital Carlton Industrial Estate Dodworth Business Park Fall Bank Industrial Estate Redbrook Industrial Estate	55.49 (374)
Nether Shire	201 S1 S2	Hillsborough Lower Don Valley employment sites Meadowhall Meadowhall Retail Park NGH Rotunda Business Park Royal Hallamshire Hospital Sheffield City Centre Sheffield Industrial Estate Smithy Wood Industrial Estate Tankersley Industrial Estate The Source Thorncliffe Industrial Estate Wentworth Business Park	55.58 (369)
North West (New Lodge)	J1 J2	Barnsley and District General Hospital Carlton Industrial Estate	42.57 (959)

Ward	Relevant service numbers	Employment areas served	IMD 2004 Score (Rank – out of 8414)
		Dodworth Business Park Fall Bank Industrial Estate Redbrook Industrial Estate	
Owlerton	201 P1 P2	Hillsborough Lower Don Valley employment sites Meadowhall NGH Rotunda Business Park Royal Hallamshire Hospital Sheffield City Centre Smithy Wood Industrial Estate Tankersley Industrial Estate Thorncliffe Industrial Estate Wentworth Business Park	49.05 (605)
Richmond (Brodsworth, Clayton, Hampole, Hooton Pagnell, Pickburn, Skelbrooke)	203 206 325	Denaby Lane Industrial Estate Doncaster Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley / Manvers Lakeside	19.28 (3700)
Royston	200 J1 J2	Barnsley and District General Hospital Carlton Industrial Estate Dearne Valley College Dodworth Business Park Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Fall Bank Industrial Estate Redbrook Industrial Estate	40.28 (1099)
South Wortley (Ecclesfield, Oughtibridge, Wharncliffe Side, Worrall)	199 201	Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Hillsborough Lower Don Valley employment sites NGH Platts Common Industrial Estate Rotunda Business Park Royal Hallamshire Hospital Sheffield City Centre Shortwood Business Park Smithy Wood Industrial Estate Meadowhall Tankersley Industrial Estate Thorncliffe Industrial Estate Wentworth Business Park	18.14 (3942)
Southern Parks (Hesley, Tickhill)	205	Exel Distribution Centre Hesley Village and College	14.39 (4893)
Southey Green (Norwood, Parson Cross, Southey Green)	199 P1 P2	Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Exel Distribution Centre Hesley Village and College NGH Platts Common Industrial Estate Shortwood Business Park	73.36 (43)

Ward	Relevant service numbers	Employment areas served	IMD 2004 Score (Rank – out of 8414)
		Wentworth Industrial Park	
St. John's (Dinnington, Firbeck, Laughton Common ,Throapham, Woodsetts)	202 262	Hellaby Industrial Estate Meadowhall Rotherham town centre Sheffield City Centre Worksop	31.53 (1820)
Stocksbridge (Deepcar, Bolsterstone, Stocksbridge)	201	Hillsborough Lower Don Valley employment sites NGH Rotunda Business Park Royal Hallamshire Hospital Sheffield City Centre Smithy Wood Industrial Estate Meadowhall Tankersley Industrial Estate Thorncliffe Industrial Estate Wentworth Business Park	22.21 (3140)
Swinton	200 202	Dearne Valley College Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Hellaby Industrial Estate Meadowhall Sheffield City Centre	38.82 (1212)
Town Field	203 205 325 X19	Denaby Lane Industrial Estate Doncaster Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley Exel Distribution Centre Hesley Village and College Lakeside Robin Hood Airport	47.06 (700)
Wath	199 200 206	Dearne Valley College Employment opportunities in Dearne Valley/ Manvers Platts Common Industrial Estate Shortwood Business Park Wentworth Industrial Park	38.21 (1251)

Appendix 1(d): Identification of the most 'socially excluded' wards served by the services

Definition of IMD domains:

Overall ward level IMD
The six Domain Indices, (Income, Employment, Health Deprivation and Disability, Education Skills and Training, Housing and Geographical Access to Services) were combined to make the overall ward level Index of Multiple Deprivation.

Employment Deprivation Domain
This domain measures employment deprivation conceptualised as involuntary exclusion of the working age population from the world of work.

- Unemployment claimant count (JUVOS) of women aged 18-59 and men aged 18-64 averaged over 4 quarters
- Incapacity Benefit claimants women aged 18-59 and men aged 18-64
- Severe Disablement Allowance claimants women aged 18-59 and men aged 18-64
- Participants in New Deal for the 18-24s who are not included in the claimant count
- Participants in New Deal for 25+ who are not included in the claimant count
- Participants in New Deal for Lone Parents aged 18 and over

Access Deprivation Domain (Geographical access to services)

- Access to a post office
- Access to food shops
- Access to a GP
- Access to a primary school

Top 10% most deprived wards:

Ward (area reference)	Relevant services	Overall IMD Score (Rank)	IMD for Wards (Employment Domain) Score (Rank)	IMD for Wards (Access Domain) Score (Rank)	Census 2001 % Unemployment	Census 2001 % No car or van
Barnsley						
Athersley	200 J1 J2	67.03 (127)	28.40 (163)	-0.23 (4788)	4.8	43.5
Monk Bretton	J1 J2	55.49 (374)	23.22 (457)	-0.14 (4392)	4.4	36.2
Doncaster						
Adwick (Carcroft, Adwick le Street, Woodlands)	206 325	49.64 (581)	22.20 (548)	-0.02 (3879)	5	33.3
Conisbrough (Conisbrough, Denaby, Conanby)	203 350	59.74 (274)	28 (179)	-0.43 (5643)	4.9	40.4
Mexborough	200 203 350	49.70 (574)	23.63 (426)	-0.24 (4836)	5.1	39.2
Town Field	203 205 325 X19	47.06 (700)	23.24 (455)	-0.81 (7053)	6	38.7
Rotherham						
Brampton, Melton and Wentworth (Brampton)	199 200 221	46.56 (728)	21.06 (653)	-0.01 (3840)	4.4	29.2
Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh (Canklow, Hooten Roberts, Thrybergh)	202 262	47.16 (688)	21.52 (615)	0.02 (3732)	4.3	34.8
Sheffield						
Brightside (Brightside, Shirecliffe, Wincobank)	B1 B2 S1	48.31 (635)	17.08 (1205)	-0.67 (6572)	4.8	36.1
Burngreave (Burngreave, Grimesthorpe, Pitsmoor, Shirecliffe)	B1 B2 D1 S1 S2	71.51 (60)	33.93 (44)	-0.52 (6032)	7.8	52.5
Darnall (Carbrook, Darnall, Tinsley)	132 A1 D1 S1, S2	50.05 (561)	18.63 (939)	-0.39 (5505)	5.4	39.7
Firth Park	B1 B2	66.95 (129)	26.46 (258)	-0.76 (6867)	6.6	49.6

Ward (area reference)	Relevant services	Overall IMD Score (Rank)	IMD for Wards (Employment Domain) Score (Rank)	IMD for Wards (Access Domain) Score (Rank)	Census 2001 % Unemployment	Census 2001 % No car or van
	P1 P2 S1, S2					
Nether Shire	201 S1 S2	55.58 (369)	22.06 (565)	-0.79 (6957)	5.6	43.4
Owlerton	201 P1 P2	49.05 (605)	18.40 (974)	-0.44 (5706)	5.1	41.5
Southey Green (Norwood, Parson Cross, Southey Green)	199 P1 P2	73.36 (43)	29.79 (115)	-0.61 (6357)	7	49.1

Appendix 1(e): Analysis of deprivation based on individual domains and census data

Most deprived based on overall IMD (Rank out of 8414, 1 being the most deprived):

Ward	Overall IMD (Rank)
Southey Green	43
Burngreave	60
Athersley	127
Firth Park	129
Conisbrough	274
Nether Shire	369
Monk Bretton	374
Darnall	561
Mexborough	574
Adwick	581
Owlerton	605
Brightside	635
Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh	688
Town Field	700
Brampton, Melton and Wentworth	728

Most deprived based on IMD (Employment domain):

Ward	IMD for Wards (Employment Domain) (Rank)
Burngreave	44
Southey Green	115
Athersley	163
Conisbrough	179
Firth Park	258
Mexborough	426
Town Field	455
Monk Bretton	457
Adwick	548
Nether Shire	565
Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh	615
Brampton, Melton and Wentworth	653
Darnall	939
Owlerton	974
Brightside	1205

Most deprived based on IMD (Access domain):

Ward	IMD for Wards (Access Domain) (Rank)
Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh	3732
Brampton, Melton and Wentworth	3840
Adwick	3879
Monk Bretton	4392
Athersley	4788
Mexborough	4836
Darnall	5505
Conisbrough	5643
Owlerton	5706
Burngreave	6032
Southey Green	6357
Brightside	6572
Firth Park	6867
Nether Shire	6957
Town Field	7053

Most deprived based on Census 2001 % Unemployed:

Ward	**Census 2001 % Unemployment**
Burngreave	7.8
Southey Green	7
Firth Park	6.6
Town Field	6
Nether Shire	5.6
Darnall	5.4
Mexborough	5.1
Owlerton	5.1
Adwick	5
Conisbrough	4.9
Athersley	4.8
Brightside	4.8
Monk Bretton	4.4
Brampton, Melton and Wentworth	4.4
Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh	4.3

Most deprived based on Census 2001 % No car or van:

Ward	**Census 2001 % No car or van**
Burngreave	52.5
Firth Park	49.6
Southey Green	49.1
Athersley	43.5
Nether Shire	43.4
Owlerton	41.5
Conisbrough	40.4
Darnall	39.7
Mexborough	39.2
Town Field	38.7
Monk Bretton	36.2
Brightside	36.1
Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh	34.8
Adwick	33.3
Brampton, Melton and Wentworth	29.2

Ward comparison:

Overall IMD Rank	IMD Employment domain	IMD Access domain	% Unemployed	% No car or van
Southey Green	Burngreave	Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh	Burngreave	Burngreave
Burngreave	Southey Green	Brampton, Melton and Wentworth	Southey Green	Firth Park
Athersley	Athersley	Adwick	Firth Park	**Southey Green**
Firth Park	Conisbrough	Monk Bretton	Town Field	Athersley
Conisbrough	Firth Park	Athersley	Nether Shire	Nether Shire
Nether Shire	Mexborough	Mexborough	Darnall	Owlerton
Monk Bretton	Town Field	Darnall	Mexborough	Conisbrough
Darnall	Monk Bretton	Conisbrough	Owlerton	Darnall
Mexborough	Adwick	Owlerton	Adwick	Mexborough
Adwick	Nether Shire	Burngreave	Conisbrough	**Town Field**
Owlerton	Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh	Southey Green	Athersley	Monk Bretton
Brightside	Brampton, Melton and Wentworth	Brightside	Brightside	Brightside
Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh	Darnall	Firth Park	Monk Bretton	Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh
Town Field	Owlerton	Nether Shire	Brampton, Melton and Wentworth	Adwick
Brampton, Melton and Wentworth	Brightside	Town Field	Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh	Brampton, Melton and Wentworth

Most Deprived by District:
Barnsley: Athersley
Doncaster: Conisbrough
Rotherham: Dalton, Hooton Roberts and Thrybergh
Sheffield: Burngreave

Appendix 1(f): Super Output Area (SOA) IMD Ranking

SOAs are small areas specifically introduced to improve the reporting and comparison of local statistics. Within England and Wales there is a Lower Layer (minimum population 1000) and a Middle Layer (minimum population 5000). Unlike electoral wards, these SOA layers are of consistent size across the country and are not subjected to regular boundary change. Each SOA is given an overall IMD rank, 1 is the highest ranking/ most deprived; 32482 is the least deprived, nationally. 82 is the highest ranking in South Yorkshire; 32223 is the lowest ranking. Particularly severe pockets of deprivation are highlighted in bold.

IMD rank of SOAs served by B1 / B2 and D1 buses in Burngreave:
B1/ B2

WARD	Area	Route	SOA Ref.	IMD Rank
Darnall	Meadowhall	Meadowhall Road	7913	2556
		Vulcan Road	"	"
	Tinsley	Sheffield Road	"	"
	Carbrook	Attercliffe Common	"	"
Brightside/ Burngreave		Janson Street, Hawke Street	7876	324
Brightside/ Burngreave		Upwell Street	7855 7877	6521 3094
Burngreave	Grimesthorpe	Carlisle Street East	"	"
		Petre Street	"	"
		Botham Street, Cyclops St	"	"
		Margate Street	7873	1328
		Grimesthorpe Road	"	"
		Carwood Road	7876	324
		Petre Street, Lyons St	7874	586
	Burngreave	Ellesmere Road North	7873 7869	1328 2554
		Malton Street, Lyons Rd	7874	**586**
		Lucas Street, Earldom Rd	"	"
		Earldom Street	"	"
		Sutherland Road, Gower St	7876	**324**
		Burngreave Road	7875	**218**
		Spital Hill, Spital St.	7876	**324**

WARD	Area	Route	SOA Ref.	IMD Rank
		Verdon St., Rock St	"	"
	Pitsmoor	Nottingham St	7875	**218**
		Pitsmoor Rd, Woodside La	7870	2206
		Wood Fold, Rutland Road	7876	**324**
		Cooks Wood Rd	7870	2206
	Shirecliffe	Firshill Crescent, Firshill Ave.	7871 7872	4529 7609
		Barnsley Rd.	7869	2554
	Pitsmoor	Crabtree Cl, Crabtree La.	7872	7609
		Crabtree Rd, Crabtree Cl.	7942	9187
Firth Park		Goodard Hall Rd.	"	"
		Fir Vale Rd, Herries Rd.	"	"
		Herries Rd. Dr.	"	"
		North La, Fox Way	"	"
		Barnsley Rd. Dr, Barnsley Rd	"	"
	Fir Vale	Page Hall Rd, Owler Rd.	7949 7940	1676 1266

D1

WARD	Area	Route	SOA Ref.	IMD Rank
Burngreave	Burngreave	Ellesmere Rd	7876	**324**
		Burngreave Rd	"	"
		Gower St	"	"
		Sutherland St	"	"
		Savile St	"	"
		Attercliffe Rd	"	"
Castle		Norfolk Bridge	"	"
		Leveson St	7885	**894**
		Foley St	"	"
		Bernard St	"	"
	Hyde Park	Cricket Inn Rd	"	"
	Wybourn	Woodbourn Rd	"	"
	Attercliffe	Staniforth Rd	7883	1228
Burngreave		Attercliffe Rd	"	"
		Worksop Rd	7876	**324**
		Darnall Rd	7904/ 7905	**662** **717**
Darnall	Darnall	Main Rd	7906/ 7902	2051/ 1226
		Catley Rd	"	"
		Greenland Rd	7904	**662**
		Britannia Rd	"	"
		Main Rd	"	"
		Catley Rd	"	"
		Shepcote La	"	"
		Europa Link	7902/ 7903	1226 7276
		Sheffield City Airport	7903	"
Brinsworth, Catcliffe and Treeton	Catcliffe (Rotherham)	Poplar Way	7699	6702

IMD rank of SOAs served by J1/ J2 buses in Athersley:

WARD	Area	Route	SOA Ref.	IMD Rank
Royston	**Carlton**	Woodroyd Ave	7436	10673
		Royston La	"	"
		Wood La	7436 7437	10673 7399
		Gray's Rd	7437	7399
		Crookes La	"	"
		Chapel La	"	"
		Carlton Rd	"	"
		Industry Rd	7437/ 7327	7399/ 2435
		Shawfield Rd	7406	2822
		Barkston Rd, Shawfield Rd	7327/ 7406	2435/ 2822
Royston/ Athersley		Industry Rd	7327/ 7437	2435/ 7399
		Carlton Rd	7327	2435
Monk Bretton		St. Helen's Ave	7401	4451
		Ridings Ave, Belmont Ave	7401	4451
		Carlton Rd	"	"
Monk Bretton/ Central	**Smithies**	Rotherham Rd	7401/ 7400/ 7334	4451/ 10608/ 14844
Monk Bretton		Burton Bank Rd	7334	14844
		Newhill Rd, Carlton Rd	7400/ 7401	10608/ 4451
		Rotherham Rd	7407 7326	8662 3592
Athersley		Chatsworth Rd	7326	3592
		Wingfield Rd	"	"
		Laithes La,	"	"
		Lindhurst Rd	7325	**953**
		Ollerton Rd, Radcliffe Rd	"	"
		Oxton Rd, Ollerton Rd	"	"

WARD	Area	Route	SOA Ref.	IMD Rank
		Newstead Rd	7324 7323	5112 3715
		Wakefield Rd	7324 7411	5112 **571**
North West	**New Lodge**	New Lodge Cres	7411	**571**
		Burn Pl, Standhill Cres	"	"
		Kirkstall Rd	"	"
		New Lodge Cres	"	"
NW/ Athersley		Wakefield Rd	7411 7324	571 5112
Darton		Bar La	7362	17849
		Blacker Rd	7362 7361	17849 12785
	Mapplewell	Spark La	7361	12875
Dodworth		Dearne Hall Rd	7361 7381 7386	12875 15876 18759
	Barugh	Barnsley Rd	7386	18759
		Claycliffe Rd, Whaley Rd	7387 7380	15354 19755
		Barugh Green Rd	7387	15354
	Barugh Green	Higham Common Rd	7387 7379	15354 16055
	Higham	Higham La, Barnsley Rd	7382	9313
		Mitchelson Ave, Station Rd	7382 7384	9313 13398
		Barnsley Rd, Fall Bank Cres	7384	13398
	Dodworth	Fall Bank Indus Est.	7382 7384	9313 13398

Appendix 2: Contact list

Agencies affecting both areas:

- CRESR; First Group (Bus Operator); Objective 1; Sheffield Community Transport; SYPTE; Transport consultants

BURNGREAVE	ATHERSLEY/ NEW LODGE
ADEPT[18]	Action Team for Jobs
Black Women's Resource Centre	Area Forum Officers
Burngreave & Fir Vale Sure Start	Athersley Cares[19]
Burngreave Community Action Forum	Athersley Roundhouse Resource Centre
Burngreave Community Learning Campaign	Athersley St Edwins Community Centre
Burngreave Messenger (local newsletter)	Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council
Burngreave New Deal for Communities	Barnsley Community Centre
Connexions[20]	Barnsley Development Agency
Fir Vale Forum	Barnsley Dial A Ride
Jobcentre Plus	Barnsley Jobcentre
Local councillors	Barnsley Wheels 2 Work
Sheffield Action Team	Barnsley Connexions
Burngreave Area Action Team	Cudworth Employment Resource Centre
Sheffield City Council Transport Section	Action Team for Jobs
Sheffield Futures[21]	Local councillors
Sheffield Social Forum	North Barnsley Community Partnership
Yemeni Refuge Organisation	Roundhouse Community Partnership
	Roundhouse Lifelong Learning Centre
	Roundhouse Sure Start

[18] The ADEPT project in Sheffield, working in partnership with the City Council and local voluntary agency Employment & Labour Market Solutions, addresses both urban deprivation and long-term unemployment issues, and involves elements of community development as well as practical training. It aims to help local people to develop the skills and experience to move into employment within in their local communities, either in regeneration and community development or in other sectors of the local economy.

[19] Voluntary sector organisation in Barnsley that works with young people and families age 13–19.

[20] Connexions offers advice on education, careers, housing, money, health and relationships for 13-19 year olds in the UK

[21] Sheffield Futures is an independent charity formed by combining Sheffield Careers Guidance Services with Sheffield City Council's Youth Service. Its aims are, broadly, to make Sheffield a better place to live and work by providing individuals and organisations with high quality information, advice, guidance and support across a wide spectrum of activities relating to their work, education, training and personal and social development. Through its activities in support of individuals, Sheffield Futures plays a major part in economic regeneration and community development within Sheffield. Many of its activities also play a substantial part in addressing both the causes and the symptoms of social exclusion in the city.

Appendix 3: On-Bus Survey Questions(Burngreave)

Age ----------
Gender ----------

1 Point at which passenger boarded:
2 Final destination:
3 What is the purpose of your journey today?
4 If this bus service didn't exist, would you have made this journey today?
Prompt - would you have taken another bus(es) or just not made the journey at all?
5 Did you used to travel to this destination before this bus service started?
YES?
If yes, has it improved access to this destination?
NO?
Did you ever want to get to this destination?
Would you have been able to get to this destination before this bus service was available?

PURPOSE OF JOURNEY?

If used the bus to get to employment:
6 Where do you work?
7 Do you work full time or part time?
8 Do you always use this bus to get to work?
YES?
Before this service, how did you get to work?
Has it improved your journey to work (e.g. more convenient, quicker etc.)
NO?
How do you usually get to work?
Why?

If not using the bus to get to employment:
9 Do you work?
YES?
Full time/ part time?
Where do you work?
Do you use the bus to get to work?
NO?
Would you consider using the bus to get to work?
How far would you consider travelling in order to gain access to employment? (distance/ time)

USE OF BUS SERVICE

10 Do you make this journey regularly?
11 Do you use this bus for any other purpose?

BOARDING/ DESTINATION

12 What street do you live on?
13 How did you get to the bus stop?
14 How long did it take to travel to the bus stop?
15 Where were you coming from? (home, work etc.)

CHOICE OF TRAVEL MODE

17 Is the bus your first choice of travel today?
18 Do you drive?
19 Do you have access to a car?
20 How often do you use the car?
21 How often do you use other buses?
22 What places do you travel to on other buses?

23 For what purposes do you use other buses (shopping, visiting, leisure etc.)

QUALITY OF SERVICE

24 Why did you use this bus today? (more convenient, cheaper etc.)
25 How did you find out about the service?
27 Do you think this bus is any different to existing bus services? (e.g. serves different destinations; follows different route; is cheaper; is more accessible etc.)
28 Is there anything you particularly like about the service?
29 Is there anything you particularly <u>don't</u> like about the service?

Appendix 4: Coding example

Sample of Overall themes

Experience of bus use
36 Cost
21 Safety
18 Consistency / predictability
15 Independence
15 Familiarity/ stick with what you know
14 Other passengers:
14 Comfort
14 Direct buses/ two buses
14 Knowledge
13 Distance
13 Reliability
12 Time
11 Customer care
11 Security
10 Convenience
10 Night-time / Evening
9 Valued / Esteem
9 Routes / Routing
9 Fear
8 Respect
8 Flexibility
8 Timing
7 Stress
7 Cleanliness / Condition of buses
7 Peak time
7 Positive aspects of bus use: Faith in system, Buses preferred, Appreciates system
7 Improvements in system
6 Carrying
6 Complexity
6 Discrimination
6 Expectation
6 Frequency
6 Friendliness
6 Lateness
6 Organisation / planning
6 Practicality
6 Waiting
5 Flexible transport
5 Details
5 Getting there too early / Giving plenty of time
5 Spontaneity
5 User clash - User conflict
5 Visibility
4 Crowding
4 Decisions / dilemmas
4 Effort / Hassle
4 Ethnic minorities
4 Language
4 Private space / Public space
3 Decline in services
3 Diversity
3 Established
3 Inclusivity
3 Juggling
3 Past
3 Priorities
3 Tradition
3 Viability
2 Consideration
2 Eligibility
2 Exclusion
2 Excuses
2 External factors / kerbs / design
2 Freedom
2 Humiliating
2 Just getting out
1 Negative aspects of bus use:
1 Confusion
1 Determination
1 Enforcement of rules
1 Exercise
1 Ignorance
1 Loyalty
1 Legibility
1 Lone travel
1 Lifeline
11 Anxiety / Frustrating /
Bus system
9 Pushchair
7 Physical barriers/ Physical difficulties
6 Ticketing
6 Change
6 Cultural awareness
6 Accessible vehicles
5 Design
4 Bus policy
3 Bus stops:
3 Integration of services/ system
2 Helpfulness
2 Hail and ride
2 Having right change
2 Bus passes
2 Community transport
2 Cross routes
1 Co-ordination
1 Easy access buses
1 Innovation
1 Old system – difficult to modernise
1 Stations
Staff
16 Driver
4 Staff
3 Conductors
1 Impatience
Personal characteristics
8 Disability
5 Age
4 Individual localised mobility / Personal mobility – scooter / Micro scale / Very localised travel important
3 Health problems
2 Women's travel
2 Elderly passengers
2 Racism
1 routine
External factors
10 Traffic
5 Weather
4 Hills
4 Media / Media scare stories
1 Structural exclusion
Destinations
14 Meadowhall
12 City centre - main destination / focal point for work

Bus use
7 Buses for occasional use
5 Limited destinations
1 Last resort
Journey Purposes – accessibility required
8 Adventure
7 Social journeys
7 Entertainment/ recreation
5 Shopping
5 Hospital
3 Access to health facilities (doctor) / Hospital
2 Access to countryside
1 Activities
1 Access to family networks

Car ownership
21 Car ownership – want
7 Parking
5 Car ownership – don't want
4 Ability to drive
1 Forced to drive

Other modes of transport
22 Walking
14 Trams
7 Taxis
5 Cycling
4 Trains
3 Travel options

Restrictions
15 Restrictions
5 Avoid Travelling

Employment
34 Employment

5 Volunteering
2 Incentives / Incentives to work
2 Job seeking

15 Education

Skills
5 Cognition/ understanding/ Ability to read maps/ understand/ read/ remember
3 Skills
3 Street names/ landmarks
2 Parents influence / Setting example
2 Qualifications
2 Travel training
1 Computer literacy
1Travel training
1 Teaching independence / Teaching life skills

Aspirations
11 Travel horizons
9 Aspirations/ Willing to move
2 Lived elsewhere /

Information and communication
49 Internet
38 Information
10 Awareness
6 Messenger
4 Word of mouth
3 Branding
3 Local information
3 personal interaction
1 Library
Advertising

Need / Assessment of need
8 Need
2 Basic needs
2 Cater for specific groups
1 Need / Assessment of need

Power and influence
21 Consultation
14 Influence / Power
9 Articulation / confidence
6 Choice
6 Attitudes to authority:
5 Involvement / Engagement
5 Political / social awareness
3 Control
3 Self interests
2 Proactive
2 Tokenism
1 Imposition
Political
4 Accountability / Transparency
4 Funding Awareness / Knowledge of
1 Lobbying – disability
1 PTE Influence

Burngreave
15 Positive characteristics about area
9 Community
6 New Deal
5 Concern for local area / Concern for others
5 Immigrants / refugees
4 Area association / Pitsmoor
4 Reputation / Stereotypes
2 Masterplan
2 Resentment
2 Resident clashes
2 Transience
1 Area comparison
1 Area conflicts
1 Negative characteristics about area
Local facilities
13 Local facilities:
7 Local travel
5 Local jobs
3 Local activity
2 Fresh produce
2 Outdoor recreation
1Sure Start

Attitudes
4 Assumptions / Attitudes

Children
6Children
5 Childcare
2 Family friendly

Perceptions
15 Perceptions / misconceptions
4 Snobbery
3 Others/ outsiders
2 Stigma

Networks
9 Assistance from networks
6 Family

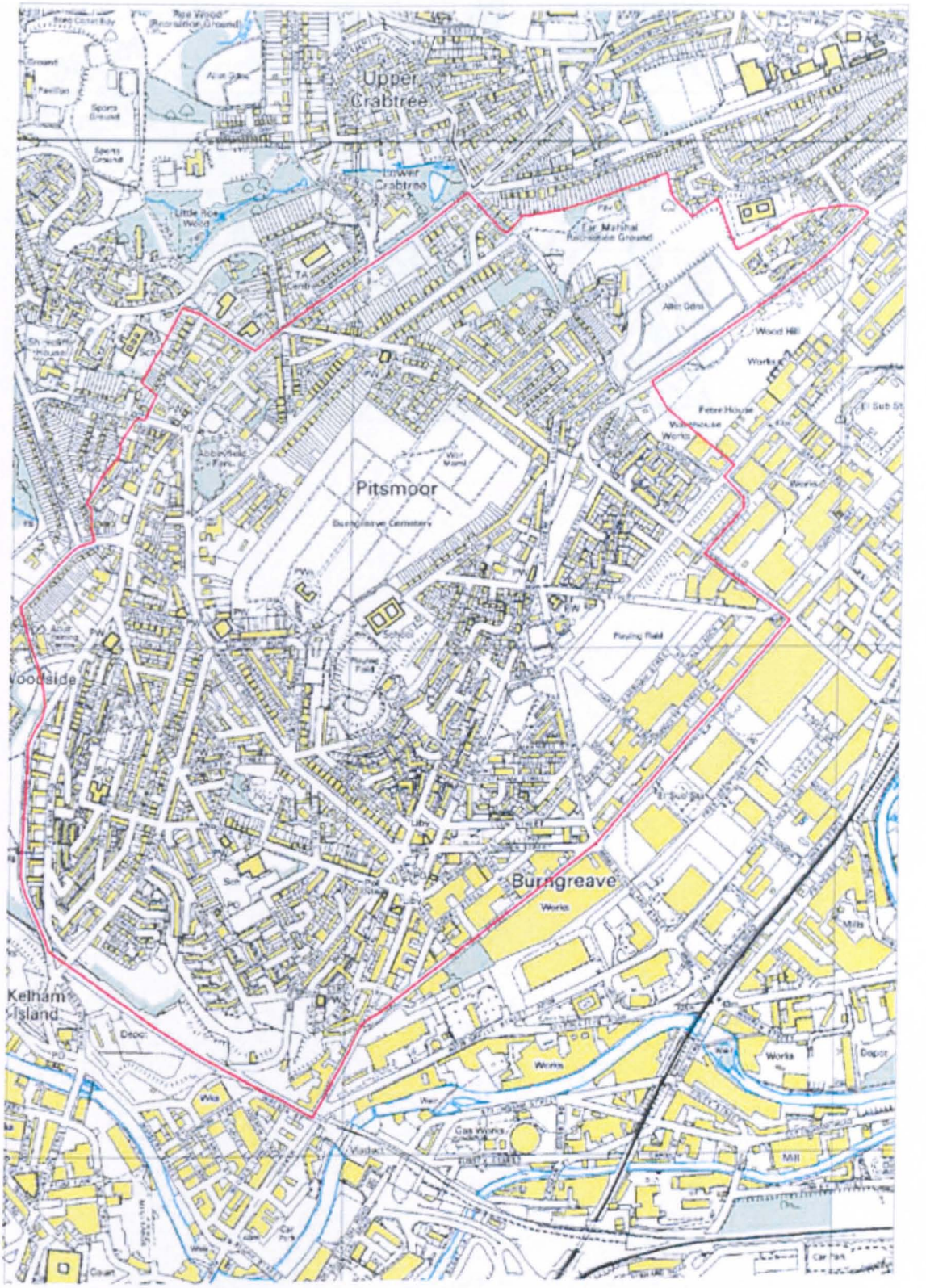
Social / quality of life
3 Quality of life
3 Social interaction

5 Trust

6 Waverley

B Buses
Awareness
Advertising / Promotion
comfort
convenient
cost cheap
driver helpful
frequency
friendly / friendly drivers
more personal customer care
no problems / positive
Passenger no.s increasing
positive
quiet
route information
shopping Meadowhall
social interaction / visiting relatives
B1 benefit
B1 Frequency / B1 no Sunday service
B buses – improved access to social networks

Appendix 5: Street map of Burngreave



The outline in red shows the extent of Burngreave NDC

Appendix 6: Street map of Athersley / New Lodge

Appendix 8: Waverley Site

Waverley is the final destination served by the D1 bus which runs from Burngreave and through Darnall. Work on the site infrastructure began in April 2002 and whilst much of the site is still under construction, a number of companies have now began operating there with the first building being operational since 2004. On completion, it is expected to create 4500 jobs[22].

It is situated in the Catcliffe area of Rotherham on the site of a former coalfield, approximately 7 miles from Burngreave. Waverley is the site of the Advanced Manufacturing Park (AMP) development which is described as "*is a world-class manufacturing technology park providing advanced manufacturing technology solutions. Technologies on the AMP centre on materials and structures typically used in precision industries including; aerospace, automotive, medical devices, sport, environmental and energy, oil and gas, defence and construction*"[23]. As well as high technology manufacturing, the park is also designed for international technology research organisations.
The AMP is being developed through a Joint Venture between UK Coal and Yorkshire Forward. The infrastructure works are being funded by Yorkshire Forward with certain elements of this work being eligible for Objective 1 funding.
The Waverley site was chosen to be the site for the AMP because it was a large well located brownfield site, situated in Rotherham but also near to Sheffield. It is described as offering excellent access to the M1 motorway and is strategically located near to companies and research organisations with expertise in materials research and high quality precision manufacturing. Other benefits of the location are said to include its centrality within the UK, its position within Yorkshire as a whole, proximity to the East Midlands, with easy road and rail access to key centres.

The AMP website goes on to state that the "*The AMP is part of a larger plan to regenerate the Waverley development site. This site will be a mix of housing and employment development set within a high quality landscape environment, with a key aim being to reduce the need for people to travel by providing job opportunities and community facilities for both people living on the site and in adjacent areas*".

Much of the employment anticipated would be for skilled workers with precision engineering skills, or those with professional qualifications working in research and development.

On describing transport links, inevitably good motorway links by car are emphasised but also rail, air and links to ports. Bus services are not mentioned.

[22] Source: Yorkshire Forward website www. yorkshire-forward.com; last accessed 29 Feb 2007

[23] Source: AMP website www.ampwaverley.com, last accessed 29 Feb 2007