**Clark, J** and Minton, J. Driving Segregation: Age, gender and emerging inequalities. Chapter for *Geographies of Transport and Ageing.*Palgrave.

**6-8000 words including references. End of April**

***Q: is the issue word count or space (ie a word equivalent per table or image)***

***Q: is there any online appendix we could link to? Would it be ok to include in image a link to colour versions***

**Mobility [inequality by age, class - implications]**

**Gender**

**Generation**

**Cohort (increasing equality followed by increasing inequality (moving equal high to equal low by gender….implications; convergence on lower mobility cohort, for the future?)**

**- sub-issue of conversion of license holding to driving**

1. **Schematic table?  (cohort,  gender, broad characterisation)**
2. **Numeric table proportion of driving licence by age…also conversion**

**Add urban space issue transport poverty/ forced car ownership/ pushed to the periphery**

**[rethink the ‘public’ aspect of public transport?] – implications of the sharing economy? Resource managed more efficiently used by more people**

**INTRO:**

**Establish mobility and inclusion, multiple conceptualization of ‘age’ and car as ultimate mobility**

**LIT:**

1. **Proxy for intergenerational disadvantage**

**RQs: key importance of mobility and accessibility in social exclusion; amplified in later years. Young people as old people in waiting and recursive relationship between urban space and transport implications. Infrastructure changes have long term implications**

**CORE DATA:**

1. **Schematic table?  (cohort,  gender, broad characterisation)**
2. **Numeric table proportion of driving licence by age…also conversion**

**DISCUSSION:**

* **Urban space and transport**
* **Q of Age and physical isolation**
* **£££ Funding of transport and spatial dispersion of amenities**

**THE FUTURE:**

* **Platform economics (blur of private and public) and sharing economy as potential cures (Under-utilisation of assets relative to full capacity; more self-driving cars?). Active travel and greater longevity**

**[281 WORDS]**

THE PURPOSE OF THIS NEXT CHUNK OF TIME IS TO START DEVELOPING UP TO AROUND 2000 WORDS WORTH OF MATERIAL FOR JULIE’S PAPER. THIS PAPER WILL INTRODUCE THE DATA FROM THE LEXIS SURFACES AND SHOW HOW THEY CAN BE USED TO ILLUSTRATE A NUMBER OF PATTERNS AND TRENDS THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN RECENT YEARS IN THE UK. THESE PATTERNS AND TRENDS RELATE FIRSTLY TO THE PROPORTION OF PEOPLE THAT HAVE DRIVING LICENCES, AND SECONDLY TO THE PROPORTION OF THOSE WITH DRIVING LICENCES THAT HAVE ACCESS TO A CAR OR OTHER VEHICLE. THE DATA USED ARE ALL BUT THE FIRST TWO WAVES OF THE BRITISH HOUSEHOLD PANEL SURVEY, COVERING THE YEARS 1993 TO 2008 INCLUSIVE.

AS I AM WRITING, I WILL FIRSTLY IMPORT AND DISCUSS SOME EXISTING FIGURES, AND WITHIN THESE PROVIDE ADDITIONAL COMMENTS TO MYSELF ABOUT THE KINDS OF ADDITIONAL MODIFICATIONS REQUIRED. I WILL ALSO LEAVE SOME COMMENTS FOR MYSELF ABOUT WHICH TYPES OF TABLE SHOULD BE PRODUCED TO GO ALONGSIDE THE FIGURES. I SHOULD CONSULT WITH THE MATERIAL WRITTEN ABOVE IN ORDER TO MAKE SURE I AM KEEPING ON TRACK. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF INTERESTING ISSUES TO COVER IN THE DISCUSSION SECTION BUT I SHOULD ADDRESS THIS LAST TO MAKE SURE THE MORE IMPORTANT AND NECESSARY MATERIAL, SUCH AS DISCUSSING THE DATA USED AND METHODS, IS COVERED AND IN PLACE. I WILL ALLOW MYSELF TO LOOK AT THE CODE TO ANSWER A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE TYPES OF CATEGORISATION USED, BUT WILL TRY TO AVOID PRODUCING ADDITIONAL FRESH ANALYSES. AS IN THE WRITING RETREAT, I WILL PAY ATTENTION TO THE NUMBER OF WORDS I BEGIN AND START EACH SESSION WITH, AND WILL SAVE EACH SESSION AS A SEPARATE DOCUMENT. THESE WILL BE CONTAINED ON THE DRIVING SEGREGATION REPOSITORY RATHER THAN IN THE WRITING REPOSITORY FOR NOW, THOUGH I MAY CHANGE MY MIND LATER.

THE ABOVE SECTIONS ARE WORTH WRITING DOWN AGAIN TO STRUCTURE THE UPCOMING TASKS. WRITING SOME TOPIC SENTENCES MAY BE A GOOD WAY TO DEVELOP THIS MATERIAL WHILE STILL WRITING IN SENTENCES AND PARAGRAPHS RATHER THAN A SERIES OF BULLET POINTS AND LISTS.

[348 WORDS]

# Acronyms

BHPS British Household Panel Survey

UKHLS United Kingdom Household Longitudinal Survey

ISCED International Standard Classification of Education

# Introduction [300-600 words]

Many preferences, attitudes, skills, competencies, propensities, proclivities, vulnerabilities and behaviours become established at a particular age or stage in the life course, then are largely maintained without substantial modification throughout later life. Stages in the life course in which these sustained patterns of being are particularly likely to be established, and then subsequently maintained, have been called ‘critical periods’ in life course epidemiology, in which the first few days, weeks, months and years of life are often considered of particular importance. The transition from childhood to adulthood should also be considered a critical period for adoption of a great many social skills and habits, including both the acquisition of a vehicle driving licence, and the propensity, amongst those licenced to drive, to own a car and drive on a daily basis.

The concept of critical periods in a life course perspective highlights the importance of understanding the conditions which people are exposed to at key life course stages. Exposure to favourable conditions during a critical period can help ensure a positive transition leading to better outcomes at all subsequent stages in the lifecourse; conversely poor conditions during a critical period can lead to individuals setting off on a much less favourable lifecourse trajectory. The concept of critical period within the life course can therefore provide important insights into two related substantive issues: firstly, the many differences in behaviour and outcomes that are often observed to operate across generational lines; and secondly, the persistence and apparent transmission of relative advantage or disadvantage from one generation to the next. Thinking about critical periods is therefore vital for helping to understand both large scale patterns of persistent differences, and persistent continuity, which exist when comparing generations.

In the UK, as in much of the rest of the affluent world, the acts of learning to drive, acquiring a driving licence, and subsequently owning a car and adopting a car-dependent lifestyle, all tend to begin around the critical period of the transition from childhood to adulthood, with the 17 the age at which people can first apply for, take, and potentially pass, a driving licence test. At this age both one’s peers and one’s parents comprise much of the ‘environment’ within which the critical period occurs, with both peers and parents likely exerting strong influence on the habits and preferences of young adults, and parents – through additional intermingling paths of genetic and economic transmission – likely a key influence on whether these preferences can be acted upon. In the case of learning to drive, a key factor is therefore affordability, and whether, regardless of the level of mobility preference in those making the transition from childhood to adulthood, the level of opportunity to act on such mobility preferences, to afford the increasing and increasingly expensive number of lessons required to pass a UK driving test, is equally available to all wishing to acquire this skill, and if not whether these inequalities of opportunity at a critical period have changed over time.

We also argue that placing an emphasis on childhood-to-adulthood as a key critical period for the acquisition of a driving licence, and subsequently to drive, is important for thinking about the kinds of mobility challenges and opportunity that may emerge over subsequent decades. From a critical-period focused life course perspective, the young adult is the parent of the middle aged adult and the grandparent of the pensioner. If vehicle-related mobility is not acquired by someone as a young adult, therefore, what might the implications be for mobility at older ages?

[585 WORDS]

NEXT STEPS: TO WRITE THE METHODS SECTION. TO MAKE SURE TO COVER EACH SECTION IN AS MUCH DEPTH AS NEEDED AND NOT ANY MORE. TO START TO FLESH OUT SOME OF THE SUBSECTIONS IN THE RESULTS SECTION.

# Methods [1000 words]

[CHUNK TWO START HERE]

## Data [500-750 words]

### Origins of survey

The British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) was a large longitudinal panel survey first carried out in 1991, and then in every subsequent year up until 2009. In the first year, known as a ‘wave’, a representative series of over 5 000 households were selected for interview from the postcode address file, producing a total sample size for individuals of over 10 000. In each subsequent wave attempts were made to interview all adult (16+) members of the initially selected household; if original sample members moved to form new households then attempts were made to interview them and all members of their new households. Additionally, from wave 9 (1999) a ‘booster’ sample was conducted of additional households living in Scotland and Wales; and in wave 11 (2001) a booster sample was collected for households living in Northern Ireland.1

Because a different set of questions was used to elicit information from individuals about driving licence ownership and car access in the first two waves compared with all subsequent waves, all results and analyses presented begin with the third wave (1993). The questions used are discussed below.

### Questions used

### Questions on driving/mobility status

The BHPS variables DRIVER and CARUSE were used to establish firstly whether an individual possessed a driving licence, and subsequently whether they had access to a car. From the third wave of the survey onwards adults are first asked “Do you have a full driving licence” (the DRIVER variable), and subsequently asked “Do you normally have access to a car or van whenever you want to use it” (the CARUSE variable) only if they respond to the DRIVER question in the affirmative. Within the first two waves respondents were first asked “Do you have a full driving licence?”, and then “Have you got a car or van, or is there one you have use of?”. This slightly different phrasing, along perhaps with a paper-based rather than computer-based interview system, meaning more individuals may have been asked the second question even if they answered ‘no’ to the question on licence ownership, led to very notable differences in the proportions of people who reported both owning a licence and having car or van access.[[1]](#footnote-1) Because of this inconsistency only data from the third wave onwards were used.

### Educational Groupings

The International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) classifications were used to produce a three-fold grouping of populations by highest educational qualifications. Being an international classification system, this allowed people who had not received their education within the UK to be included in the analyses. Throughout the period in which the BHPS was run, ISCED used a seven-tier grouping of educational classifications, with the following designations: 0: pre-primary education; 1: primary education or first stage of basic education; 2: lower secondary education or second stage of basic education; 3: upper secondary education; 4: post-secondary non-tertiary education; 5: first stage of tertiary education; 6: second stage of tertiary education.[[2]](#footnote-2) The seven-fold ISCED groups were categorized into the following three groups for the purposes of this analysis: groups 0, 1 and 2 were collapsed into the category ‘no further’ education; groups 3, 4, and 5 were grouped into the ‘further vocational’ education group; and 6 and 7 were grouped into the category ‘further non-vocational’.

## Lexis Surfaces [250-500 words]

A Lexis surface is a visual arrangement of a variable (‘Z’) by age on one axis and year along another axis. Conceptually, a Lexis surface can be thought of as visual representation of a temporal surface much as a topographic map is a visual representation of a spatial surface, with age substituted for latitude, year (or period) for longitude, and the variable Z substituted for the surface’s ‘height’.

NEXT STEPS: COMPLETE THE LEXIS SURFACES SECTION; START WORK ON THE RESULTS SECTION; CORRECT AND COMPLETE ANALYSES AS AND WHEN NEEDED; REFER TO STRUCTURE DISCUSSED ABOVE

[WORDS COMPLETED: 1080]

# Results [3000 words]

CHUNK THREE: IN THIS CHUNK I WILL WRITE SOMETHING MORE ABOUT LEXIS SURFACES, AND DISCUSS SOME OF THE FIGURES PRODUCED AND WHAT THEY MEAN [I.E. THE RESULTS SECTION]. A SPECIFIC TARGET WILL BE TO WRITE 1500 WORDS. THE FOCUS SHOULD BE ON DISCUSSING GENDER DIFFERENCES, AND THEN THE MEDIATING OR MODERATING ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS IN NARROWING OR RAISING THE GAP. WITHIN THIS, THE ROLE OF COHORT CHANGE SHOULD BE USED, ALONGSIDE THE IDEAL TYPE (ANNOTATED) FIGURE, WHEN DISCUSSING THE PROPORTION OF PEOPLE WHO DRIVE; AND A SIMILAR DISCUSSION ABOUT CHANGES OVER PERIOD AND WITH AGE WHEN DISCUSSING CHANGES IN THE PROPORTION OF PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT AGES AND IN DIFFERENT YEARS WHO BOTH HAVE A DRIVING LICENCE AND HAVE ACCESS TO A CAR.

A MORE SPECIFIC GOAL WILL BE TO WRITE THE CAPTIONS FOR THE FIGURES, AND TO PRODUCE THE ANNOTATED/IDEAL TYPE IMAGE FOR DRIVERS WHO DRIVE.

Figure 1 shows Lexis surface level plots for both the proportion of BHPS sample members who have a driving licence (subfigures A, B and C); and the proportion of those BHPS sample members with a driving licence who also have access to a car or van (Subfigures D, E and F). Subfigures A and E show levelplots separately for each gender (females on the left and males on the right), whereas subfigures B and E show the levelplots further subdivided by highest educational qualification. Subfigures C and F contain a number of simple labels and divisions, indicating different regions within the Lexis surfaces, which will be referred to in this discussion of the results. Within each levelplot the shade of a cell indicates the proportion, with black indicating 100% and white cells indicating less than 50%.

## Driving Licence Ownership by gender and generation

Figure 1A shows the proportion of the adult BHPS sample who report having a driving licence, from 1993 to 2008, and for all ages from 17 to 80 years of age. It is clear from the difference in the shade of the right sub-panel (males) compared with the left sub-panel (females) that, historically, a larger proportion of adult males tend to have driving licences than females. A more subtle pattern in this figure is suggested by noting that in both panels, and in particular for the female panel, the cell shades tend to be darker near the bottom of the panels than at the top, when looking at both panels from the top to around one third of the way from the bottom. This indicates that, above around the age of thirty years, younger adults tend to be more likely to have a driving licence than older adults. As largely the same panel of individuals are being followed each year, and only a very small proportion of people possessing driving licences then have these licences revoked and have to take the test again, this difference in shades is suggestive of changes in driving licence ownership rate by cohort, with successive cohorts being more likely by a given age to possess a driving licence than earlier cohorts at the same age. By comparing similar regions (combinations of age and year) in the male and female panels it is also apparent that levels of driving licence ownership between males and females have tended to converge over successive generations. To look at this further, consider the region indicated by the letter A in figure 1C, and above the first diagonal dashed line in the figure; this broadly demarks cohorts born before around 1940. Within this broadly defined region of the Lexis surfaces, the cells are much darker for males than for females, with the proportions of males with driving licences around 90%, and the proportions of females with driving licences from similar cohorts ranging from around 55% to 70%. Next consider the region indicated by B in figure 1C, demarcated by the first dashed line above and another parallel diagonal dashed line below. This broadly indicates cohorts born between around the early 1940s and the late 1950s. The figures. The difference in the cell shade in this region between the male and female panels has reduced, with the proportions of males with driving licences increasing slightly from around 90% to 95% and above, and the corresponding female driving licence ownership rates increasing from around 70% to over 80%. The region indicated by the letter C in the Figure 1C indicates cohorts born from around the early 1960s to around 1975. For these cohorts the proportion of males with driving licences has remained high, at around 95% or above, whereas the proportion of females with driving licences has increased further, from around 80% to around 90%. Finally, we can consider the bottom right corners of the panels, indicated by letter D on figure 1C. This shows driving licence rates for people born after around 1975. What is striking about these younger cohorts is that driving licence rates have fallen for both genders compared with earlier generations, reversing a trend towards higher driving licence ownership which had been continuing for many generations. It is also noteworthy that these falls in licence rates have been in both genders, reaching around 75-80 for some of the newer cohorts within this Lexis surface region.

[START CHUNK 4 – 3377 WORDS]

The complex patterns can to an extent be simplified into a series of broad generational ‘pen portraits’, each differing in terms of auto-mobility and gender equality. From the BHPS sample it appears that generations born before the Second World War (the region A in Figure 1C) tended to have mixed mobility and high gender inequality, with around 90% of males from this generation possessing a driving licence but only around 70% or so of females likely to have a driving licence; put another way, by the time this generation had reached old age, women were around three or more times more likely not to be able to drive than men of the same age, with important implications for how reliant both older women and older men are on either public transport or friends and relatives with access to a car to travel substantive distances from their homes. The implications of this historically high disparity in auto-mobility by gender are likely to have been felt both during working life, with women less able to travel without (in many cases) the support of their husbands, and in old age, where the shorter life expectancy of men means many elderly women from this generation would have outlived their husbands, and because of this experienced not just profound personal bereavement, but also a sharp fall in their capacity to travel far from home. Differential auto-mobility and differential longevity therefore created the conditions for the loss of a husband to be both a primary and a secondary cause of isolation for elderly women from this generation.

For generations born after the Second World War, and up until the start of the 1960s (region B in Figure 1C), there was a catch-up in auto-mobility between the genders, with both genders more likely to own a licence by the time they reached middle age, but with greater increases in women’s auto-mobility than men’s. The decades after the Second World War can, from the perspective of UK households, be considered an extended period of inclusive economic growth, with successive governments committed to broadly Keynesian economic programmes of investment in people and places, with relatively high levels of economic growth per capita, increasing median wages, and falling income inequality. Though the 1950s are considered by contemporary standards to have high levels of structural and cultural inflexibility regarding gender norms and female participation in the workplace, increasing affordability of car ownership at household level, due both to rising household incomes and falling vehicle costs through greater industrialization, led to both ‘two licence’ households and then ‘two car’ households becoming increasingly common. With increasing rates of female auto-mobility, as well as higher social mobility more generally, the costs of moving to the car dependent suburbs from denser and less car dependent urban core fell, and opportunities for increasing female participation in the labour force increased, leading to both less female dependence on males for auto-mobility and economic security. Within the household there was a movement away from conditions of gendered dependence in the fields of mobility and earnings, and towards equality and interdependence.

D

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| E:\repos\driving_segregation\figures\final_deck\07g - proportion of dlos  - by age, year, sex.png | E:\repos\driving_segregation\figures\final_deck\09g - proportion of dlos  - by age, year, sex, highqual.png | E:\repos\driving_segregation\figures\final_deck\07g - proportion of dlos  - by age, year, sex.png  C  B  D  A | E:\repos\driving_segregation\figures\final_deck\10g - proportion of drivers driving - by age, year, sex.png | E:\repos\driving_segregation\figures\final_deck\12g - proportion of drivers driving - by age, year, sex, highqual.png | E:\repos\driving_segregation\figures\final_deck\10g - proportion of drivers driving - by age, year, sex.png  E  C  B  A |
| A) The proportion of BHPS sample respondents with a driving licence, by gender | B ) Driving licence ownership, by gender and highest qualilfication. | C) Driving licence ownership. Annotated. | D) The proportion of driving licence owners with access to a car or van, by gender | E) The proportion of driving licence owners with access to a car or van, by sex and highest educational qualification. | F) Drivers who drive. Annotated. |

Figure 1 Lexis surfaces showing the proportion of BHPS sample members who have driving licences (A-C); and, of those sample members with driving licences, who also have access to a car or van (D-F). In all figures year runs horizontally from left to right, and age runs vertically from bottom to top. Within each levelplot the shade of a cell indicates the proportion, with black indicating 100% and white cells indicating less than 50%.

If the generation born from after the Second World War to the start of the 1960s can be characterized by both increasing mobility and increasing equalization of auto-mobility between genders, the generation born from around 1960 to the mid 1970s (area C in figure 1C) may be thought of representing an end point in this journey towards a high mobility and high auto-equality society. Within this high mobility, high auto-equality generation both males and females were highly likely to possess driving licences, though the proportion of females with licences still remained somewhat lower than for males. This high mobility, high auto-equality generation experienced both the tail end of a decades’ long social democratic commitment to high quality while being educated in primary and secondary school as children, then the transition and embedding of neoliberalism under Thatcher and Major while of working age; put another way, this generation (or at least the start of this generation) both gained from the relatively high tax and high social investment policies of the post-War post-Keynesians while economically dependent children, and to some extent from the low tax and low regulation policies of Thatcherism while income-generating and tax-paying adults. Increasing job insecurity, or ‘flexibilisation’, after Thatcher therefore made traditional single-earner households less economically stable, and so less common, so creating both the opportunity and the necessity for dual-earner households to proliferate. This was both enabled by and helped consolidate the previous generation’s progress towards high female auto-mobility rates, as both the ability to work, as well as to balance work with other commitments, can depend on auto-mobility, and so on possessing a driving licence.

[END CHUNK 4 – 4162 WORDS]

For the generation born after 1975 (Region D in figure 1C), the trend towards increased auto-mobility seems to have gone into reverse, more quickly than it rose for either gender over previous generations. Although we cannot know the proportions with driving licences in old age, the proportion of both genders with driving licences around the age of 20-25 years is falling, and does not appear to be increasing as this generation enters their thirties. Interestingly, though the fall in driving licence rates occurred in both genders, and from levels that were around 5% points higher for males than females, it appears they may be falling to similar levels for both genders, of around 80%. This nascent generation therefore appear from the BHPS data to be characterized by both low auto-mobility and high gender equality in this domain.

## Driving licence ownership by gender, generation, and highest educational qualification

Figure 1B shows how rates of driving licence ownership vary by year and age, and further by both gender and highest educational qualification class. The top row shows rates for those with the highest educational grouping (‘Further non-vocational’, labelled ‘High’); the middle for intermediate qualifications (‘Further vocational’, labelled ‘Med’) and the bottom row for those with ‘no further’ education (labelled ‘Low’). As before, the left panels show the rates for females and the right panel shows the rates for males. Though each panel is smaller than before, and so it is harder to make out the details of each panel, a number of broad trends and differences between panels are clear, revealing important information about the complex relationship between gender, generation and income.

To learn more about the moderating influence that higher qualifications appear to have on gender differences in auto-mobility, we can compare the overall shade of the left and right hand panels in each row. For the top row, for those whose highest educational qualification is a degree, there is very little difference in shades between these two panels, indicating very little difference in auto-mobility by gender within this high educational subpopulation. The overall shade also tends to be uniformly darker than in any of the other panels, indicating higher driving licence rates overall, which are close to 100% for either gender, at almost all ages, and in almost all years. There are, however, notably more missing values (blank, white cells) for older females than older males, because historically fewer females than males attended university, and so for particular combinations of age, year, gender and educational qualification there were simply no observations in the sample.

By contrast, within the lowest educational qualification group (bottom row panels), there is both a lower proportion of people with driving licences overall than in the other panels, as well as the greatest difference between male and female rates of driving licence ownership. Historically, male levels of driving licence ownership tended to be at around 90%, increasing steadily up to around 95% or above for those cohorts born up to around 1970-75; by contrast female rates in the earliest cohorts were only slightly above 50%, rising to around 80% by the end of the ‘Catch up’ generation (bottom of region B in figure 1C).

Within the intermediate qualifications group (middle row panels), there is both an intermediate level of overall disparity in gender mobility (difference in shade between left and right panels) as well as perhaps clearer diagonal ‘striation’ then in the other panels, suggesting that cohort effects are particularly important in explaining mobility in people with intermediate level qualifications, and that the generational patterns and changes described above for the whole BHPS sample are particularly the case for the intermediate qualification sub-population.

[END CHUNK 5: 4739 WORDS]

It is worth noting that the fall in auto-mobility seen for post-1975 cohorts (triangle D in figure 1C) is very clear for both the Low and Med qualification panels, but not very pronounced for the High qualification panels. This could partly be because this trend covers younger ages, and the time taken to complete university degrees mean almost no one in the High group is under 20 years of age, so there are fewer observations with which to try to discern this pattern in High educational groups than in the other groups. A more substantively important implication, however, is that whatever changes have occurred that have led to less auto-mobility overall have had less of an impact on those with degrees or above. By comparing the shades of the bottom right triangles for males and females in the Med panels, with males and females in the Low panels, it also appears that gender differences in auto-mobility have further equalized for those in the former, whereas they have remained or become exacerbated for the latter, with a fall to lower levels for females with the lowest qualifications compared with males.

# Discussion

Highest educational qualification is both an indicator of both the earnings potential of households that form as people form as they enter adulthood and the workplace, and also of the types of households they were part of as children. Though there have been large-scale structural changes in both the levels of qualification, and proportion of the UK population possessing degrees, over the many generations included in the BHPS sample, children from households where one or both parents had a degree are often likely to go to university themselves, and those from backgrounds where parents left school at an early age less likely to get a degree. Also, like gender, a highest educational qualification tends to remain fixed throughout most of adulthood. In earlier explorations of the data, we also looked at occupation and household earnings as a means of stratifying the overall population, and found highest educational qualification to be a more informative way of subdividing the population with regards to auto-mobility outcomes. This makes sense when we consider how average household earnings are likely to vary over the life course, with those going to university likely to earn less in early adulthood than those who leave full time education at an earlier age; occupation, similarly, is highly fluid over the life course, has become more so, and is arguably less hierarchical than highest qualification.

Interestingly, we found highest educational qualification to better explain, and more strongly moderate, both gender differences and differences in auto-mobility between the generations, than urban rural classification. Whereas urban-rural classification to some extent characterizes the differential *need* of individuals to have their own form of transport, highest educational qualification, as a stable proxy for both future household and parental household earning potential and economic stratification, characterizes the differential *means* with which people can afford both to learn to drive, and then to own a car. The importance of age on differential *need* is clearly seen by looking at how the proportion of ‘drivers driving’ (Figure 1D) changes from the twenties to the thirties (as indicated in the arrow from label D to E in figure 1F), and this differential need does not appear to vary substantively between educational strata (Figure 1E). Thinking about differential *means*, however, may go far to explaining both persistent and emerging differences between educational strata, and within each strata differences by gender. For example, we can expect that both the costs of learning to drive and owning a car will be more unaffordable for lower income households, with the former cost more likely to be borne (at least initially) by parents, and the latter costs by newly formed young adult households. Highest qualification, as we have suggested, can be a proxy for both parental and new household income, and the relatively constrained budgets of such households may explain both why the relatively low level of auto-mobility, its further decline, and also the large gender differences in automobility within this educational strata. Like eyes per person, cars per household have diminishing marginal returns: the difference in geographic accessibility and opportunity for a household going from no cars to one car likely to be much greater than the additional opportunity made available from one car to two cars. In households that are only just able to afford one car, it is often the (male) main earner of the household who tends to be the car owner and driver.

Another possible explanation for the gender disparity is of differential preferences for either driving or car ownership. This factor may be best addressed by looking at figures 1D-1F, showing the proportion of driving licence owners with access to a car. As we saw, the…

[END CHUNK 6 – 5585 WORDS]

## Limitations

The BHPS was superceded in 2008 by the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS), also known as Understanding Society. From the second wave onwards, original sample members from the BHPS were incorporated into the UKHLS, meaning the same households and individuals who first joined the BHPS in 1991 can be followed for a number of additional years. Unfortunately, many of the questions and classifications of responses are inconsistent between BHPS and UKHLS, meaning it has proved problematic to ‘extend’ the observations shown above beyond 2009 using the UKHLS. This is particularly the case when seeking consistent categorization of highest educational qualification, which we found to be a powerful means of distinguishing between sub-populations in terms of APC trends; the ISCED categorisations used in the BHPS were asked only in wave F of the UKHLS, and only as part of an immigrant and ethnic minority booster sample, with regards to qualifications obtained abroad.[[3]](#footnote-3) In principle, however, the period of observation can be extended to more recent years using UKHLS. This could be particularly informative as the UKHLS covers the period after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis and subsequent UK-wide recession; this recession is notable for its sluggish recovery, including a continued stagnation in wages and living conditions for much of UK society. We expect the trends towards decreasing mobility amongst those with lower educational qualifications to have worsened as a result of these changes, and so it should be a priority to explore this further.

The complex sampling and questionnaire design of the BHPS has both advantages and disadvantages, with the main advantage being that individuals can be tracked through time and so the effect of changes in individual circumstances on other outcomes estimated. A disadvantage is that, though the BHPS was initially drawn from a representative sample of the UK population, both selective attrition and the booster samples mean it can become somewhat less representative of the UK population over time.2 Within the analyses presented here, the BHPS is presented ‘as is’, without attempts to explicitly follow the same individuals over time or to analyse the influence of specific changes in household or individual circumstance on mobility outcomes; however the BHPS has been used to allow these analyses to be explored in subsequent research.

# References

1 Taylor MF, Brice J, Buck N, Prentice-Lane E. British Household Panel Survey: User Manual, Volume A: Introduction, Technical Report and Appendices. 2011.

2 Uhrig SCN. The Nature and Causes of Attrition in the British Household Panel Survey. Essex, 2008 https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/files/iser\_working\_papers/2008-05.pdf.

1. Authors’ analysis [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. <http://uis.unesco.org/en/isced-mappings> Accessed 18 April 2017 [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. <https://www.understandingsociety.ac.uk/documentation/mainstage/dataset-documentation/wave/6/datafile/f_indresp/variable/f_isced11_dv> Accessed 18 April 2017 [↑](#footnote-ref-3)