

Youth Mobilities in the Southern Initiative, Auckland: Transport Practices and Experiences of 15-24 Year Olds

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Youth Mobilities in the Southern Initiative, Auckland: Transport Practices and Experiences of 15-24 Year Olds

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Executive summary

This research investigates the way in which access to transport impacts upon the lives of people aged 15-24 in The Southern Initiative (TSI) area of Auckland (the Māngere-Ōtāhuhu, Ōtara-Papatoetoe, Manurewa, and Papakura local board areas). A total of 79 interviewees contributed to this qualitative study over a 10-month period in 2014: eight key informants with specialised knowledge pertinent to this issue, and 71 TSI youth.

Key issues explored included:

- The travel practices of participants, including the places they go and the modes used;
- Their perceptions of different modes of transport, in particular of public transport;
- Their experiences of different modes of transport;
- Occasions when their transport plans had fallen through, and the impact of this;
- How access to transport influenced their decisions and expectations about activities and opportunities;
- What would make getting around easier for them;
- How they thought the transport system would look in 20 years' time.

Our findings suggest that for youth in the TSI area, locational disadvantage and socio-economic disadvantage combine to produce transport poverty and transport related social exclusion. Lack of mobility reduces their opportunity to participate in life-enhancing activities and compromises their ability to access training and employment reliably. Minimising the cost of public transport for all youth and facilitating and subsidising driver licensing are two possible options for mitigating this issue, but clearly both of these incur significant costs.

In order to understand this complex matter more fully, it is recommended that equivalent research be undertaken with youth in other areas of Auckland. By exploring the experiences of youth in different areas of the city, at different distances from centres of employment, education and recreation, and with different socio-economic characteristics, we can go some way towards disentangling the relative impacts of geography, age, and socio-economic status (SES). This may allow for the targeting of policy to address the specific needs of youth in different parts of the city.

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This project is concerned with young people's mobilities in the Southern Initiative area of Auckland (TSI), which comprises the Māngere-Ōtāhuhu, Ōtara-Papatoetoe, Manurewa, and Papakura local board areas (Fig. 1). The TSI is a priority area in the Auckland Plan, described as a location “with significant economic opportunity yet high social need” (Auckland Council 2012, p.91). The research was initiated to explore and document how transport options affect access to opportunities for people aged 15-24 in the TSI. We wanted to establish whether youth encountered transport-related barriers to accessing things like education, employment, sports and leisure, or social, family and community activities. By understanding how transport access affects the lives of young people local government will be better placed to develop policy for improving transport options.

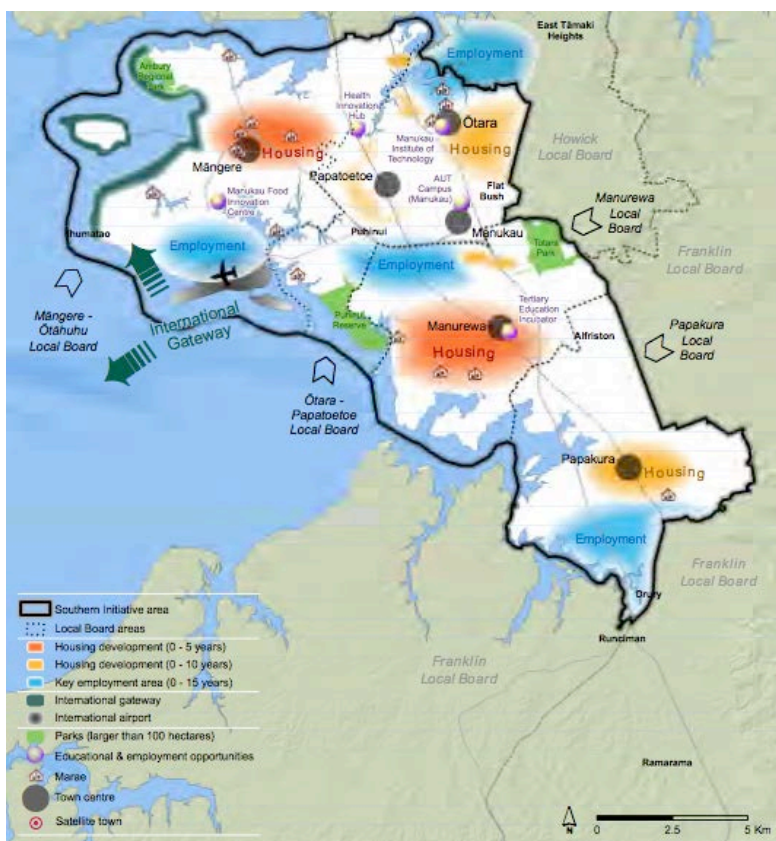


Figure 1 Map of the Southern Initiative (Auckland Council 2012, p.99)

Mobility is a crucial aspect of people's capacity to participate fully in their society (Urry 2008). Mobility is a resource that is unequally distributed, and "[m]obility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power" (Skeggs 2004, p.49). The way in which access to transport shapes the opportunity structures of populations has been extensively explored internationally (see for example Church et al. 2000; Currie 2007, 2009; Currie et al. 2009, 2010; Delbosc and Currie 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2012; Denmark 1998; Dodson et al. 2006, 2007; Hine 2004; Hine and Mitchell 2001; Lucas 2012; Lucas et al. 2001; Preston and Rajé 2007). Spatial mismatch in urban development (Holzer 1991), poor public transport provision, the cost of fuel or public transport fares, congestion, lack of safe and pleasant routes for active modes, and sprawling urban form can all contribute to what is often termed transport disadvantage and transport-related social exclusion (Lucas 2012). Transport disadvantage contributes to people's inability to access life-enhancing opportunities to participate in work and education, to access health services, and to develop and maintain social networks.

Transport disadvantage can affect particular areas and particular groups; certain parts of a city might be poorly connected or have restricted access to services, or individuals or households might be disadvantaged through a lack of "capacity to overcome barriers to economic and social choice" (Maher 1994, p.185). Typically, locations on the urban fringe are less well-served by public transport, and residents living in these areas are often required to travel longer distances to work or to access facilities or services than residents in inner and middle suburbs (Rosier and McDonald 2011). Some groups within the community are more likely to experience transport disadvantage than others, for example young people, old people, women, unemployed people and those on low incomes (Currie 2007; Hurni 2007; Skelton 2013). These forms of disadvantage do not necessarily coincide (Maher 1994), although they may be mutually reinforcing (Lucas 2012).

Some research has investigated transport disadvantage in the New Zealand/Aotearoa context, taking social exclusion (Rose et al. 2009), Māori wellbeing (Raerino et al. 2013) and identity formation (Skelton 2013) perspectives; the local data is relatively scarce at present, however.

This research looks at a particular locality and a specific population where both these forms of disadvantage are present, and, we argue, interact to create what Lucas (2012) terms "transport poverty." The Southern Initiative area is located within Auckland's urban area but is remote from the CBD and is relatively poorly connected;¹ this is in line with international evidence regarding the

¹ It should be noted that the roll-out of the new public transport network in the south of Auckland is in progress; this will hopefully provide improvements to service coverage, frequency and reliability.

relative disadvantage of the periphery and the effects of urban sprawl on the accessibility and cost of transport. The socio-economic characteristics of the area make both transport disadvantage and transport-related social exclusion more likely. Youth are widely recognised in the literature as a group vulnerable to transport disadvantage (e.g. Hurni 2007; Skelton 2013).

This research contributes to an understanding of the extent to which transport disadvantage is currently an issue for youth in The Southern Initiative area, and what some of the impacts of this disadvantage are in relation to their ability to access opportunities and their general wellbeing. The research confirms that access to transport is constrained for this population, and that this constraint is having flow-on effects in terms of life-chances.

1.2 Significance of the research

The research directly contributes to the evidence base for a number of Auckland Plan priorities and strategic directions. Two of the TSI's five-year priorities are: the promotion of clear pathways into education, training or employment for young people leaving school, and increasing public transport services and use (Auckland Council, 2012). Transport is also one of the key Strategic Directions in the Auckland Plan. Chapter 13 of the Auckland Plan focuses on Auckland's transport, noting that if a transport system is going to support Auckland's vision and future growth and development, the:

- transport investment and services, especially public transport and regional arterial roads must align with areas of future growth and development
- transport system must be easily accessible
- public transport services, especially bus services must be provided for communities most in need
- transport system must be designed for safe and universal access for all, including children, older persons and those with disabilities
- development of safe and convenient walking and cycling routes is required to encourage those modes of travel for commuters and others
- appropriate levels of service must be provided for those communities with limited public transport options, especially rural communities
- transport, particularly roads, walkways and cycleways must create connections between and within communities

The findings of this research reinforce the need to address these issues, particularly in the TSI. Moreover, the research demonstrates the extent to which youth are disproportionately affected by deficiencies and inequalities in transport network accessibility.

The Transport for Future Urban Growth project, which began in late 2015, seeks to address access to employment hubs, town centres and recreation opportunities in the south in the context of population growth (Auckland Transport 2016). We hope that this research will be a valuable input into this process.

2.0 Literature review

In this section, we review the key themes in the literature on mobilities which frame this research project on young people's mobilities in The Southern Initiative area of Auckland. We discuss the interconnection between three key components of mobility: movement, access to movement, and capital. This is followed by a discussion of research on transport disadvantage, with a specific focus on the links between transport disadvantage, social disadvantage and locational disadvantage and the notion of transport related social exclusion (TRSE).

2.1 Mobilities

'Mobilities' are concerned with the movement of people over a range of spatial scales. This research is concerned with the movement of young people through the city of Auckland, New Zealand, who live in The Southern Initiative area. The relatively poor transport connections in the area is recognised by government agencies (see e.g. ATAP 2016).

People experience different abilities to be mobile. These abilities are defined by access to transport infrastructure and a related range of social structures and factors. Daily practices and patterns are sculpted by mobility and the paths and social processes surrounding access to mobility. Daily mobility practices performed during daily life play a significant role in forming lived experiences (Guiver 2007). Some groups of people can experience transport disadvantage in which they face challenges to mobility. Inability to be mobile can result in social exclusion where people are unable to participate in "normal" daily activities such as education, employment, or shopping. Social exclusion can be both the cause and consequence of transport disadvantage. The relationship between social exclusion and transport disadvantage has overlapping spatial and social elements. Disentangling these relationships demonstrates how social inequalities are (re)produced through differential mobilities.

2.1.1 Movement and transport

The concept of mobilities has been variously used to broadly describe the movement of people, ranging from the movement of individual body parts to international tourism and transnational migration (Cresswell 2010; Hannam et al. 2006). For the purpose of this study, we focus on people's physical movement within urban areas.

Generally, people move in order to transition between different locations or 'moorings'. Moorings are places such as home, work places, services, such as health care or education providers, as well as leisure locations (Urry 2007). Traditionally, the movement between moorings has been conceptualised as 'dead time' where nothing productive or meaningful happens. However, work situated within the new mobilities paradigm has called for greater attention to travelling as an activity per se or as a space and time for activities to occur. As such, travelling is recognised as a productive practice and as a site of meaning-making (Cresswell 2010:18; Hannam et al. 2006; Lucas 2012). As people move between moorings they observe and make sense of the places through which they travel (Jensen 2009). This new perspective on mobilities thus encourages consideration of "how different forms of mobility help to shape wider societal values and norms and to reinforce existing social stratification" (Lucas 2012:108, *italics in original*).

In order to move through a geographical space such as a city different modes of transport can be used. Transport that requires a vehicle can be broadly categorised into public and private. Public transport is defined as transport where the passenger does not own the vehicle and can include buses, trains, subways, trams, and ferries. These transport options are managed by governing bodies. In contrast, private transport includes vehicles that are privately owned such as cars, motorbikes, bicycles, scooters, and vans.

Which modes of transport individuals and communities select is influenced by a combination of factors, including transport infrastructure, social structures, and social locations, such as gender, socio-economic status, race/ethnicity, age and ability (Skelton 2013).

Public transport is used more frequently in high density urban areas where it is often more readily available than in suburban and rural regions (Curry 2005, Curry and Stanley 2008). However, this intersects with other factors. In Auckland, a city in which transport development and most large scale transport initiatives have been focused on cars and road networks, privately owned cars are the main form of transport (Faherty and Morrissey 2014; Raerino et al. 2013; Rose et al. 2009). In 2014, 85 per cent of trips in Auckland were made by private vehicle (Faherty and Morrissey 2014). In addition, choice of transport modes varies by social location. As Battelino et al. (2005) show, even though a range of public transport options are available in inner city Sydney, low income, elderly, and Aboriginal residents were less likely to use public transport because financial or physical constraints prevented them from accessing available services. By contrast, in American cities such as California, ethnic minority groups have been found to be more likely to use public transport and less likely to use private vehicles than majority groups (Handy et al. 2009; Syam

2012). In Auckland, research has shown that ethnic minorities – particularly Māori and Pasifika – have a high rate of using cars as passengers (Syam 2012). The authors suggest that this is the case because these ethnic groups tend to have large families with young children which can make using public transport difficult.

In TSI, the proportion of youth who drove or were a passenger in a private vehicle is greater than for Auckland youth as a whole. Less people travelled to work via a public bus compared to the Auckland total but more young people travelled by train. This higher use of trains is likely to be the result of the Southern train line travelling through the TSI (one of three train lines in Auckland).

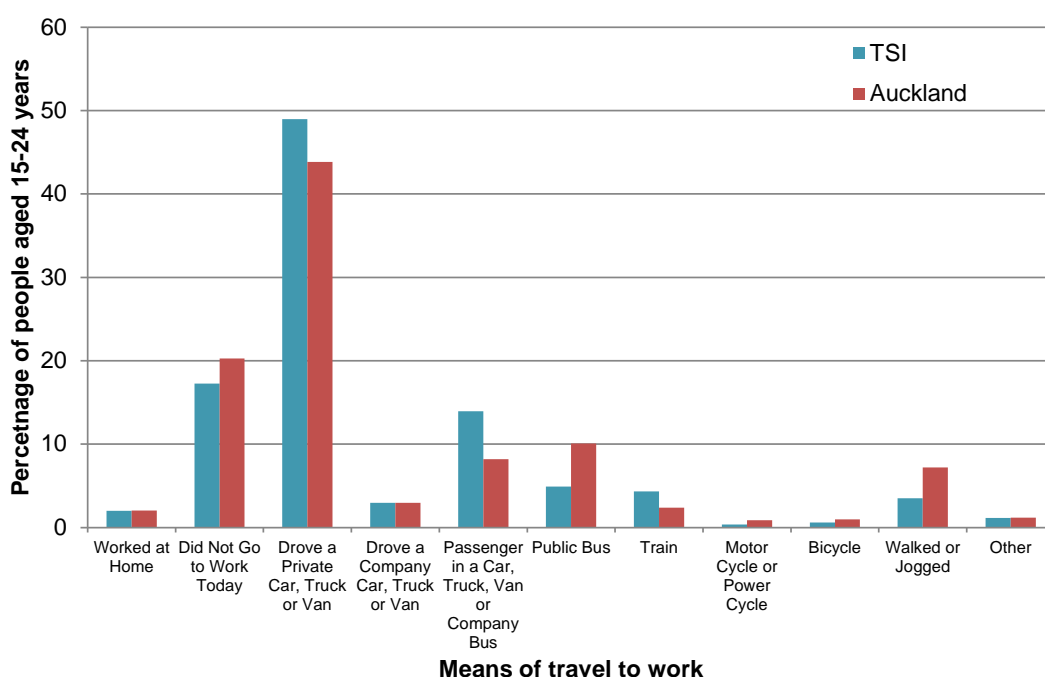


Figure 2 Means of travel to work as a proportion for people aged 15-24 years in TSI compared to Auckland (2013 Census)

Slight sex differences in the means of travel are seen (Figure 2). More males travelled by private vehicle as a driver or passenger compared with females. Almost double the percentage of females travelled by public bus (6.6% compared with 3.5% of males) and train (5.6% compared with 3.3% of males).

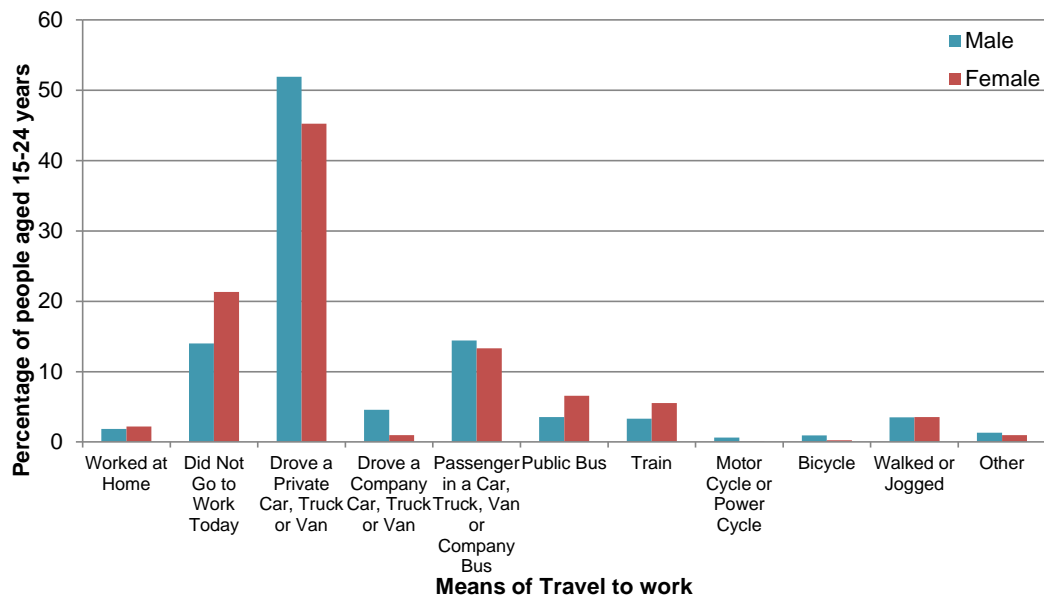


Figure 3 Means of travel to work as a percentage of males and females aged 15-24 years in TSI (2013 Census)

The following maps illustrate the spatial distribution of different modes of travel to work for 15-24 year olds. They demonstrate the high levels of car dependence among residents of the TSI.

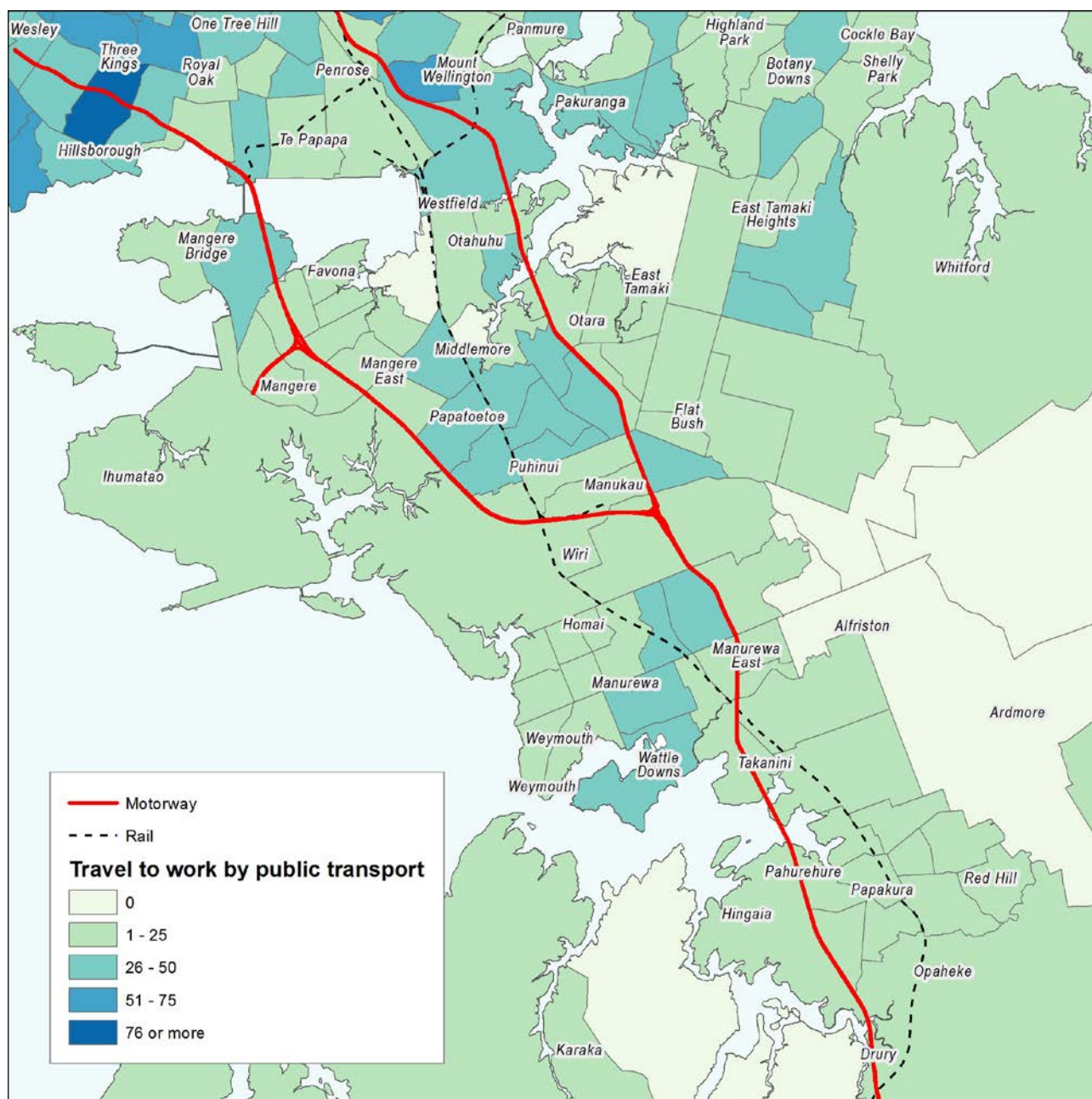


Figure 4 Travel to work by public transport, 15-24 year olds in employment (2013 census)

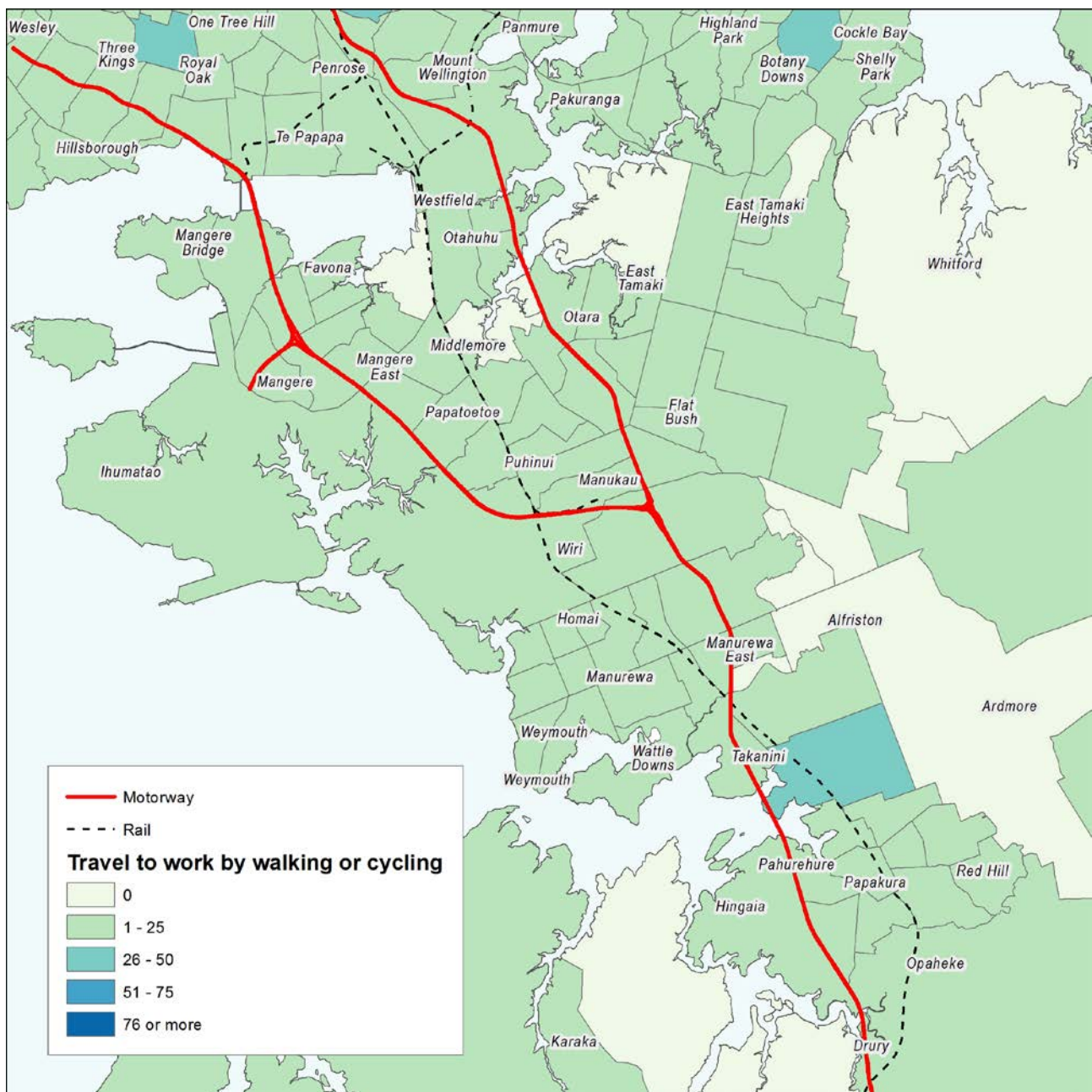


Figure 5 Travel to work by active modes, 15-24 year olds in employment (2013 Census)

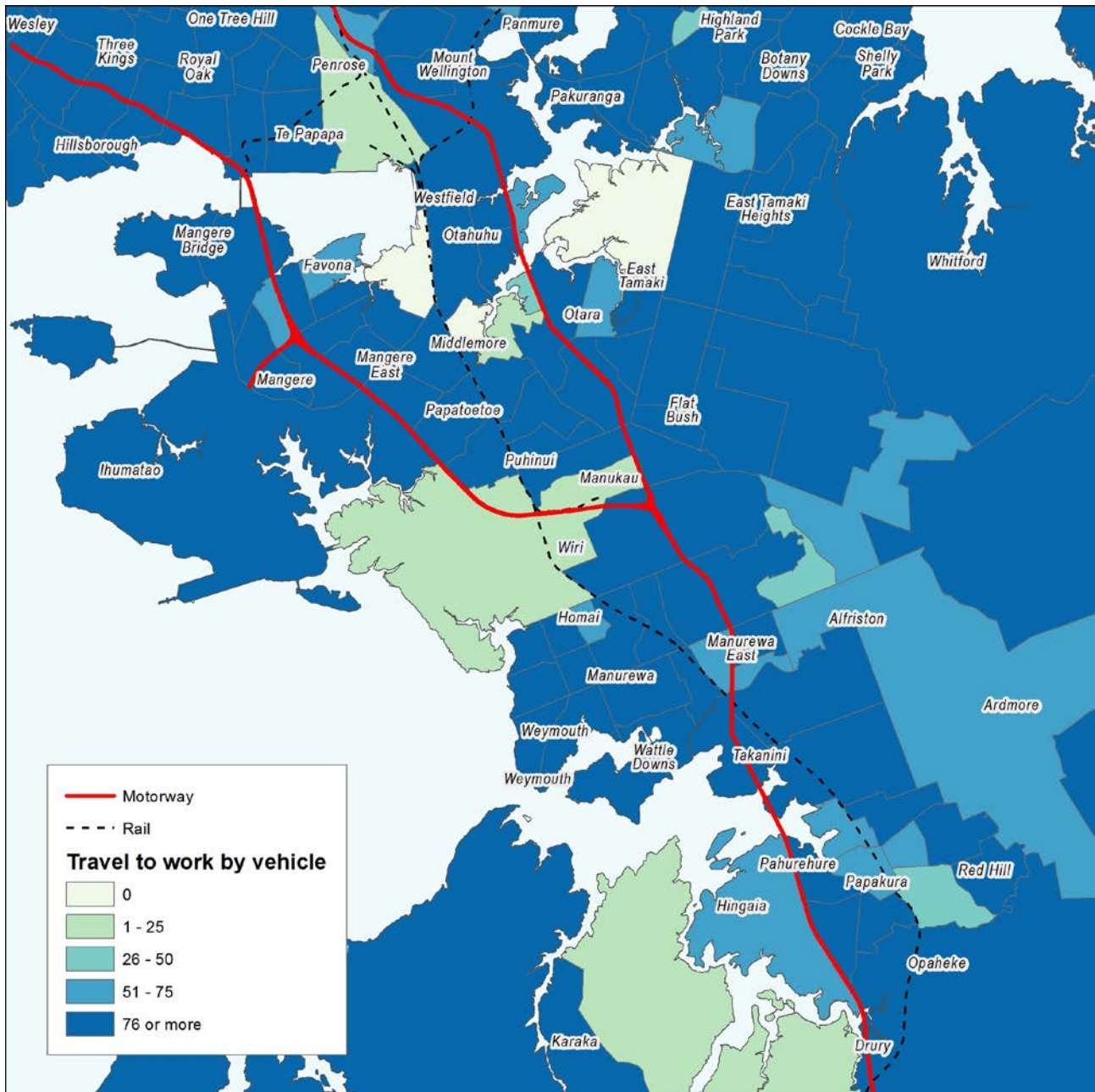


Figure 6 Travel to work by private vehicle, 15-24 year olds in employment (2013 Census)

2.1.2 Access

Accessibility is concerned with the opportunity and ability to move (Miller 2014). Different modes and paths of movement through spaces are possible. Transport is the mode by which people move between moorings; where a mooring is a defined place such

as home, work, shops, or the beach (Urry 2007). Mobilities can similarly be discussed in terms of movement between ‘meetings’; where a meeting is a location where people meet. Meetings compared with moorings tend to be more fluid and instant in their organisation and can be held in generic *placeless*² places (Hannam et al. 2006). Consequently, the politics of mobility are *placed* at, and unfold in association with, these different locations (Skelton 2013).

At various moorings people can access resources ranging from health services and education to friends and family. Accessibility to these different moorings via mobility is a reason why understanding different mobilities matters. If the resources exist at moorings or meetings but they are inaccessible they essentially do not exist for those people who cannot access them (Preston and Rajé 2007). The outcomes of inaccessibility can include limited opportunities for employment, education, and social support (Lucas and Currie 2012). Focussing on this end result gives weight to immobility and demonstrates inequalities of opportunity and outcome.

Differential access to moorings is why consideration of mobilities originally mattered and the experience of travelling was given little consideration. The movement between moorings was previously considered “dead time” where nothing productive or meaningful happens (Cresswell 2010:18). The mobilities turn (also known as the new mobilities paradigm) argues against this notion of dead time and considers the time spent and movement through space and place to be meaningful and requiring of attention (Hannam et al. 2006; Lucas 2012). As people move between moorings they observe and make meaning of the places through which they travel (Jensen 2009). This new perspective on mobilities encourages consideration as to “how different forms of mobility help to shape *wider societal values and norms and to reinforce existing social stratification*” (Lucas 2012:108 italics in original).

² Placelessness is the idea that places can appear the same in many different locations. These places can often prescribe to an easily recognised brand for example Starbucks is similar in countries throughout the world.

2.1.3 Social capital

Mobilities can also be conceptualised as, or in relation to, social capital. In other words, mobility itself is explicitly described as a form of capital, or mobility is seen to impact social capital (Kaufmann et al. 2004; Urry 2007).

The benefit of a capital approach to mobilities is that it encompasses the social, economic, and political aspects which mediate the links between transport and social exclusion/inclusion (Schwanen et al. 2015). These aspects of social exclusion often appear to fall out of transport policy and planning research which predominantly focuses on transport infrastructure and socio-cultural factors as independent entities that are not embedded within social structures and hierarchies of power that control them (see Stanley and Stanley 2014). Lacking the context in which social exclusion and differential mobilities occur inhibits understanding why patterns of practices occur for different groups of people.

While the concept of capital has been theorised in a variety of contexts, here we adopt the Bourdieuan (2011) notion that 'capital' is anything that can "serve as a resource for action, can be accumulated, and has an exchange value" (Schwanen et al. 2015:127). Bourdieu (2011) differentiates between three main forms of capital: economic capital – such as money and property; social capital – social connections and networks; and cultural capital – such as education, material cultural goods, and thoughts and ideas. Capital can be accumulated and owned and exchanged for other forms of capital.

Curry and Stanley (2008) who analyse the relation between public transport and social capital define trust, reciprocity and social networks as three key elements of social capital. Schwanen et al. conceptualise social capital as a concept that mediates the linkages between transport disadvantage and social exclusion

2.1.4 Youth and mobility

Young people can be understood as a group that exhibits specific transport needs and practices and that is affected by specific constraints. Youth want to travel between moorings that are different from other groups. These moorings include schools and locations specifically for youth social gatherings. Additionally, youth could be argued to hold particular values in regard to their mobility not shared with older groups such as choosing one mode of transport over another as it enables them to spend time with their friends.

Factors that impact youth mobilities specifically include age restricting laws, personal safety, and affording the cost of transport when unwaged. Youth can disproportionately experience transport disadvantage due to the financial costs of car access and obstacles to legally driving a car. For many young people, socio-economic conditions are beyond their control and are instead the responsibility of their older family members (Skelton 2013). Fundamentally this means that transport disadvantage experienced by older family members are also experienced by youth as a trickledown effect. Furthermore, family also play an important role in installing expectations and cultural norms into youth. As a result of this generational effect, transport disadvantage can be reinforced in a cyclical fashion.

At the same time, it is important to take into account that youth constitute a diverse group with respect to gender, ethnicity, and class amongst other social factors. In addition, this group comprises different life stages. For instance, the transport needs and practices of 15 year olds can differ considerably from those of 24 year olds.

2.2 Transport disadvantage and social exclusion

2.2.1 Transport disadvantage

Transport disadvantage has recently been defined by Schwanen et al. (2015: 126) as:

‘a relational and dynamic outcome of a lack of access to basic resources, activities and opportunities for interaction, of a lack of cognitive knowledge, know-how, aspirations and/or autonomy regarding travel and its externalities, and a lack of influence on decision-making in the context of transport policy and governance.’

As Church et al. (2000) stress, transport disadvantage is often the result of multidimensional reasons and it is thus important to consider the intersections between a variety of factors both “categorical” (such as gender, age, or ability) and “spatial”.

The literature on mobilities and public transport defines the transport disadvantaged most commonly as those with limited availability of transport and those who are unable to access available modes of transport. In the Australian context, Currie et al. (2005) have investigated young people’s transport disadvantage in rural and regional areas that are not well serviced by public transport. Concurrently, Battellino et al. (2005) have shown that some populations in inner city Sydney, a well-serviced location, also experience transport disadvantage. Especially, Aboriginal, elderly, and low income residents. In addition, people experiencing TRSE can be scattered over

wide geographical spaces and affect people across all income bands due to other factors such as disability and age (Kenyon et al. 2002).

However, public transport is only one mobility option (Curry and Stanley 2008). Auckland's emphasis on private transport has enforced a lifestyle that is dependent on the automobile (Lucas 2006; Rose et al. 2009). In a study on transport related social exclusion in Auckland, Rose et al. (2009) found that more often than not, families reduced expenses on food to afford running a car. This demonstrates how significant both mobility and car access can be for families in Auckland.

As car travel provides the greatest accessibility, it is often the type of transport preferred over public (active) transport. This need to be automobile and quickly transition between different moorings and meetings is a reflection of a busy, modern lifestyle (Cresswell 2010). To be busy is often associated with being successful and living a 'good' modern life whereas a more relaxed, slower pace is viewed as being inefficient and old-fashioned (an understanding that is compatible with viewing travelling as "dead time") (Hill 2015). While automobility is but one 'modern' lifestyle and one which could be in conflict with daily life experienced by different cultural groups, it is in some ways hegemonic.

Privileging automobiles in this fashion can disadvantage people for whom automobiles are inaccessible. People without access to cars can experience transport disadvantage as their ability to be mobile is impeded. Alternative modes of travel such as public transport in car-dominated cities are often unable to meet people's mobility needs (Currie 2004; Rose et al. 2009). The car-focus of Auckland can be said to create a distinction between 'have cars' and 'have not cars' and to reinforce transport inequality between social classes (Skelton 2013). However, for those with access to cars, this mobility can enable interactions with people who live outside the community with which they are able to interact as part of daily life (Skelton 2013).

Automobile lifestyles, which enable a speed and flexibility not otherwise possible have become normative (Rose et al. 2009; Urry 2004). The necessity to be automobile is evidenced by illegal behaviour such as driving without a correct licence, or driving cars that lack a current registration or warrant of fitness (Rose et al. 2009). For young people, the costs of legally running and driving a car can be beyond their means but the need for automobility outweighs the risk of being fined for illegal driving (Rose et al. 2009).

2.2.2 Locational disadvantage

Access to transport is spatially organised. Different geographical areas in a city can be situated near a transport hub or within a transport void. The networks of transport geographies that facilitate mobility sculpt a city's landscape. Roads and motorways can both enable and constrain certain mobilities for different groups of people. In addition to their ability to move people around a larger landscape, the existence of these structures can create boundaries around housing areas. Areas nearby motorways can experience increased noise, visual, and air pollution and as a result reduce economic cost which makes these houses accessible to people of lower socio-economic status but the polluted landscape can further disadvantage these groups. Motorways and train lines enable quick movement between defined on/off ramps and train stations that act as access points to high speed movement. The placement of these access points facilitate speed for some while simultaneously determining slowness for others who are bypassed in between access points (Cresswell 2010).

There has been an argument in the literature that houses on the periphery of cities lack access to resources and in doing so reinforce the disadvantage of already disadvantaged people (as people living in these places are assumed to already be socio-economically disadvantaged as housing is cheaper further from central city areas) (Currie 2004; Maher 1994). The spatial nature of transport disadvantage has arisen from the notion of locational disadvantage which describes "the difficulty facing households in accessing a range of facilities and resources which not only improve wellbeing but better position households to take advantage of resources available to improve their longer term life chances" (Maher 1994: 186). The association between housing and transport requires careful consideration when planning. The need to be (auto)mobile to be included in society increases in places that are spatially disconnected (Lucas and Currie 2012). This spatial disconnect is heightened in large sprawling cities such as Auckland. Greenfield developments may provide housing affordability but at the cost of expensive transport options (Faherty and Morrissey 2014). In contrast, high density housing closer to city centres can be more expensive but provide cheaper transportation opportunities (Faherty and Morrissey 2014).

Communities who experience transport disadvantage due to their geographical positioning, often do not only also experience social exclusion but are likely to live in more unhealthy locations with greater pollution and less transport safety (Schwanen et al. 2015). While this spatial organisation of housing can result in clustering people by income and an association between economic poverty and social exclusion is sometimes made, living in an area with high amounts of poverty does not

necessarily equate to TRSE (Kenyon et al. 2002). The spatial dimensions of social exclusion can result in exclusion being perceived as a localised phenomenon within a “larger sea of normality” (Schwanen et al. 2015:124). This perspective can result in the causes and consequences of social exclusion being seen as bound to this localised area and therefore obscures the larger elements at play such as neoliberal policies, globalisation, and economic focuses of state policies (Schwanen et al. 2015).

2.3 Transport related social exclusion (TRSE)

In order to discuss transport related social exclusion, sometimes alternatively referred to as ‘mobility-related exclusion’ (Kenyon et al. 2002), it is necessary to define social exclusion. Church et al. (2000: 197) stress that we need to distinguish between poverty and social exclusion and thus propose the following definition: “some people or households are not just poor, but [...] have additionally lost the ability to both literally and metaphorically connect with many of the jobs, services, and facilities that they need to participate fully in society.”

Transport disadvantage can but does not have to lead to social exclusion. It is possible to be socially excluded and have good access to transport and vice versa, to be socially included and have limited access to transport (Kenyon et al. 2002; Lucas 2012).

Church et al. (2000: 198-200) provide a valuable typology of seven factors of transport related exclusion, including (1) physical and (2) geographical exclusion; (3) exclusion from facilities, (4) economic, (5) time-based, and (6) fear-based exclusion; and (7) space exclusion. All seven factors are interrelated and, as Church et al. (2000) are careful to point out, only some can be addressed with improvements in transport provision.

The inability to participate in opportunities and to access resources can result in social exclusion (Preston and Rajé 2007). Transport related social exclusion is also associated with a range of risk factors such as “health disparities, low income, skills deficits, unemployment, poor housing, high crime, and family breakdown” (Lucas and Currie 2012; Rose et al. 2009:192; Stanley and Stanley 2014). People affected by TRSE are often in poverty, lack access to a car, are too old or too young to drive, and/or are otherwise socially disadvantaged (Lucas 2012; Lucas and Currie 2012). People experiencing TRSE depend on walking, public transport or lifts to be included in everyday life which can restrict their ability to be automobile (Lucas and Currie 2012). The causal links between TRSE and poverty, health issues, low income, etc. are unclear and generally it could be assumed

that TRSE is reinforcing of these issues and cannot be equated to these issues (Kenyon et al. 2002).

TRSE can be the result of a range of compounding structural and individual factors. These can include the financial and/or time cost of transport, access to transport, and the efficiency and reliability of individual transport factors, such as differential body mobilities (e.g., wheelchair access).

TRSE can result in restricted access to resources such as doctors, educational institutions, or supermarkets, and can negatively influence wellbeing. These access issues can lead to or reinforce social inequalities, which in turn can be embodied, internalised, and accepted as norm, which results in inequalities being unnoticed and reinforced. Social inequalities that are caused by transport disadvantage and result in limited resources can work to reinforce transport disadvantage because of the requirements of transport (e.g., money, safety, punctuality, and support). These inequalities present themselves in diverse ways such as “standard of living, employment, housing, education, justice etc. which are manifest in outcomes such as poverty, poor health, inadequate housing and unemployment” (Maher 1994: 186).

3.0 Methods

Two methods of data collection were initially planned for this project: interviews with key informants working with youth in the TSI, and intercept interviews with young TSI-resident participants.

3.1 Key informants

Eight key informants were chosen with a range of relevant experience, as follows:

- the then Auckland Council General Manager of the Southern Initiative Unit;
- a project lead for Youth Connections in the TSI and heavily involved in a driver licensing programme;
- a Community Development Arts and Culture staff member with responsibility for youth liaison in the TSI;
- a senior manager from the Building and Construction Industry Training Organisation;
- two members of Auckland Council's Youth Advisory Panel;
- the Manager of CadetMax;³ and
- an artist and activist working with youth in the TSI area.

The interviews with key informants were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis using Nvivo. The interview schedule used for these semi-structured conversations is included as Appendix A. This aspect of the project was relatively straightforward.

3.2 TSI youth

The intercept interviews with youth proved more problematic. We planned that these would be semi-structured investigations of the transport experiences and practices of youth in the TSI, audio recorded and later transcribed for qualitative analysis. The intercept interviews were to be carried out by the project team, and were to take place in public places around the TSI. Our piloting of this approach was scheduled to coincide with a youth event in the Māngere town centre. The event

³ CadetMax is a partnership between the Auckland Chamber of Commerce and the Ministry of Social Development. It provides youth with pre-employment training and networks with potential employers to place young people in work experience or entry level positions.

was a mural painting day organised by Painting for the People, a South Auckland artists' collective that leads and supports community involvement in the beautification of public spaces through art. The organisers of the event assisted us with the recruitment of participants, and the day was to an extent successful in garnering data.

As we reflected on the pilot interviews conducted, however, we determined that our approach was not going to be the most effective way to understand young people's experiences of mobility in the TSI. The project lead's research journal noted that "[i]t was an interesting day, but I probably learned more about myself and about carrying out research with our target community than I did about transport." The sense that our data collection strategy needed some attention was shared by the two other interviewers in the field that day. This was for a number of reasons.

From a practical point of view, the background noise generated by the festival atmosphere in the town centre compromised the quality of our audio-recordings, making transcription more difficult. This was not the most significant issue, however. We found that the level of depth we were hoping to elicit regarding people's experiences and perceptions was difficult to achieve in the intercept context; the bustling public space with many distractions made it difficult to converse quietly and privately at any length. Interviewees often seemed self-conscious and embarrassed, which may have partly been due to the public nature of the interview venue. All three interviewers felt they were countering the participants' reticence with a level of 'leading' the interview that compromised the quality of the data collected.

We also felt that the social, ethnic and cultural differences between the research team (who were middle-class Pākehā adults) and the research participants (the majority of whom were from lower-income households, Māori and Pasifika and still at school) created an additional barrier. As has been noted by other scholars, the insider/outsider dynamic can "inhibit and constrain every aspect of ... meaning making" when interviews are "marked by difference in every respect" (Saville-Young, 2011, p.46; Gibson and Abrams, 2003). In this instance, the interview encounters were shaped by differences of age, race and class. We decided that we needed to find a way to put our young participants at ease in order to enable them to talk freely about their experiences.

Our solution was to seek out and train "insiders" to do our fieldwork. We saw this approach as having four potential benefits:

- increasing the depth and candour of the interviews;
- facilitating participant recruitment;

- piloting a new (for us, and for Auckland Council) way of researching collaboratively with youth; and
- offering some skills-development and work experience to youth in the TSI.

Using the connections of our key informants, we assembled a group of 12 young people from the TSI for a meeting over pizza one evening at the council's Manukau offices in early 2014. At this preliminary meeting we discussed the project and talked about the practicalities of engaging them as contractors for the interviewing. They were enthusiastic and excited, articulate, and full of observations about the way the transport system was letting youth in the south down. We were optimistic at the end of this meeting, and arranged for a day-long training session held on a Saturday, also in Manukau.

In preparation for the training session we developed a programme of activities and a range of resources, including a quick-reference sheet about the project and a page of 'top tips for interviewing'. During the training session, which eight of the original 12 young people attended, we workshopped the interview schedule in order to get their feedback on any issues they perceived with the questions. Some aspects of the schedule, particularly relating to income and travel costs and driving without a licence were re-worded in accordance with the recommendations of our trainee interviewers. We outlined the number of participants we hoped each of them would recruit (10), explained the parameters of participant eligibility (aged 15-24 and resident in the TSI), and described the geographical and demographic variation that was desirable. We discussed the concept of semi-structured interviews and how to practice active listening; we did role-plays to demonstrate good and bad interview techniques; and we paired the young people up to do practice interviews, which were audio-recorded. Reflections on these initial interviews were discussed and some of the challenges of interviewing, such as eliciting information without leading the interviewee, were identified.

At the end of the training session the research team distributed packs to the interviewers containing participant information sheets and consent forms, interview schedules, instructions, 'top tips' sheets, audio recorders and \$20 gift vouchers for participants. The research team took copies of the recorded interviews and had them transcribed. We reviewed the transcripts and then contacted each interviewer with feedback on what they had done well and what aspects of their interviewing technique could be improved. There was considerable variability in the quality of the interviews; some demonstrated a thorough understanding of what the project was seeking to achieve, good listening skills and appropriate follow-up questions. Others lacked focus and left

clear lines of enquiry unexplored. It was evident – and perhaps predictable – that a single day of training was insufficient to ensure a high standard of interviewing across the board. Fortunately, our most able interviewers were also some of the most active recruiters of participants, and as a result they performed the majority of interviews.

3.2.1 Participant recruitment and characteristics

Participant recruitment was certainly facilitated by using their peers as interviewers, but it still proved difficult to meet our target of 80 interviewees and the fieldwork proceeded slowly over 10 months from January-October 2014. Recruitment was slow and ultimately it was necessary to abandon the fieldwork stage before 80 interviews were completed. In total 71 eligible participants were interviewed, 46 females and 25 males. Based on the census data, we devised an ideal sample that would enable the collection robust and representative data; we had targets for total participants by local board, for ethnicity by local board, and by NEET (Not in Employment, Education or Training) status. As a result of the aforementioned difficulties with recruitment, it did not prove possible to meet our ideal sample targets. The table below (Table 1) shows a breakdown of our total ideal and actual samples by local board area. This highlights that in Ōtara-Papatoetoe and Papakura recruitment was particularly difficult.

Local board area	Ideal sample	Actual sample
Māngere-Ōtāhuhu	22	25
Manurewa	23	28
Ōtara-Papatoetoe	23	11
Papakura	12	7
Total	80	71

Table 1 Ideal and actual sample (total) by local board area

Further detail about the places of residence of our participants is represented in the map below (Figure 6).

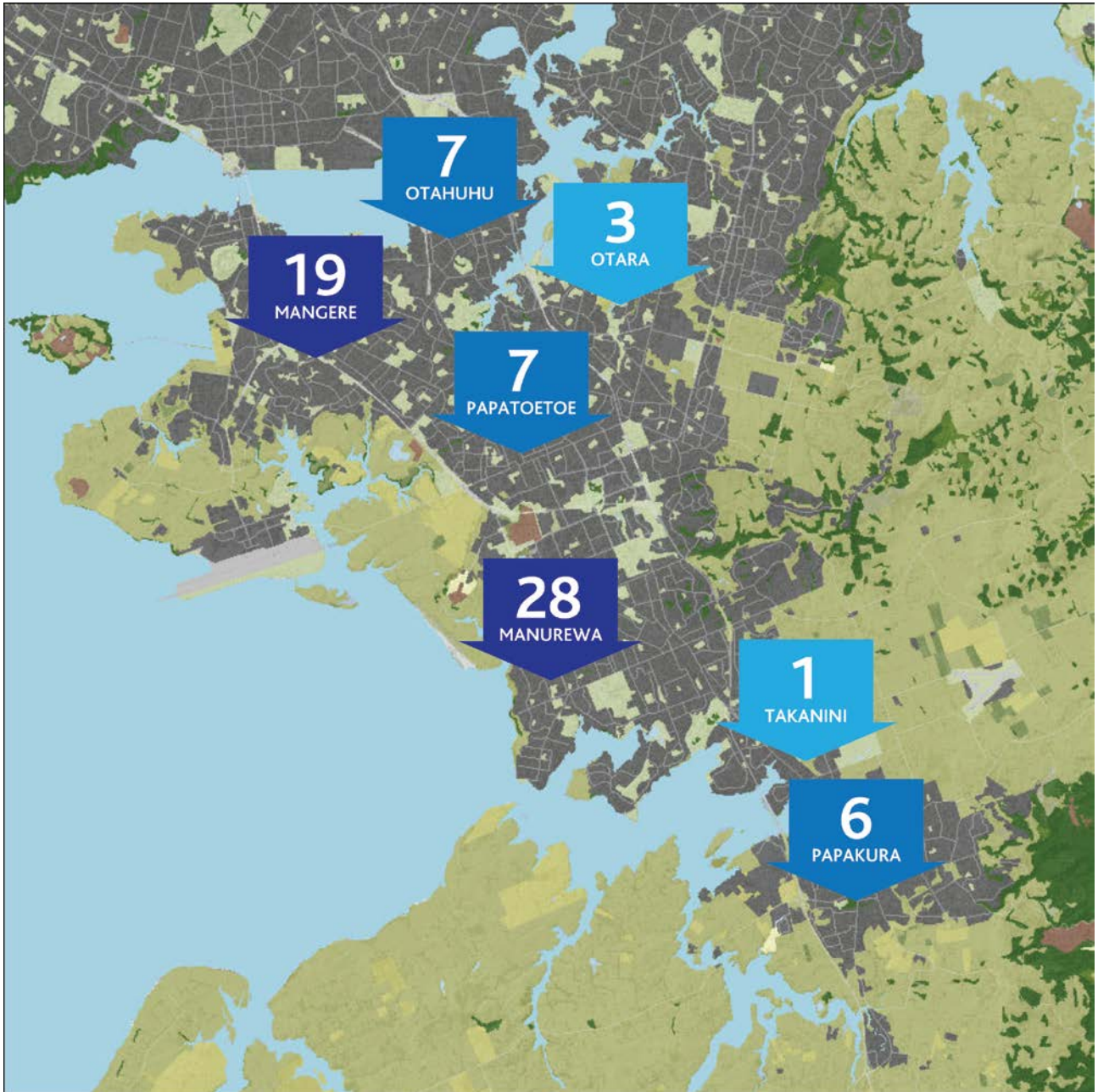


Figure 7 Place of residence of participants

In 2013, youth (defined as being aged 15-24 years) made up 16.6 per cent of people in TSI (compared to 14.9% of the total Auckland population). This area also has a high proportion of younger people, with 26.6 per cent of people aged between 0-14 years. This demographic profile makes the ability of youth to access life-enhancing experiences and opportunities of particular moment in the TSI. The four local board areas that constitute TSI also have significantly higher proportions of Māori (20.7%) and Pacific Peoples (40.3%) than Auckland as a whole (Māori 10.7%,

Pacific Peoples 14.6%) (RIMU 2014) and young people in the TSI made up significant proportions of Auckland's total Māori (36.3% of Auckland total) and Pacific Peoples (52.5% of Auckland total) youth (Figure 3).

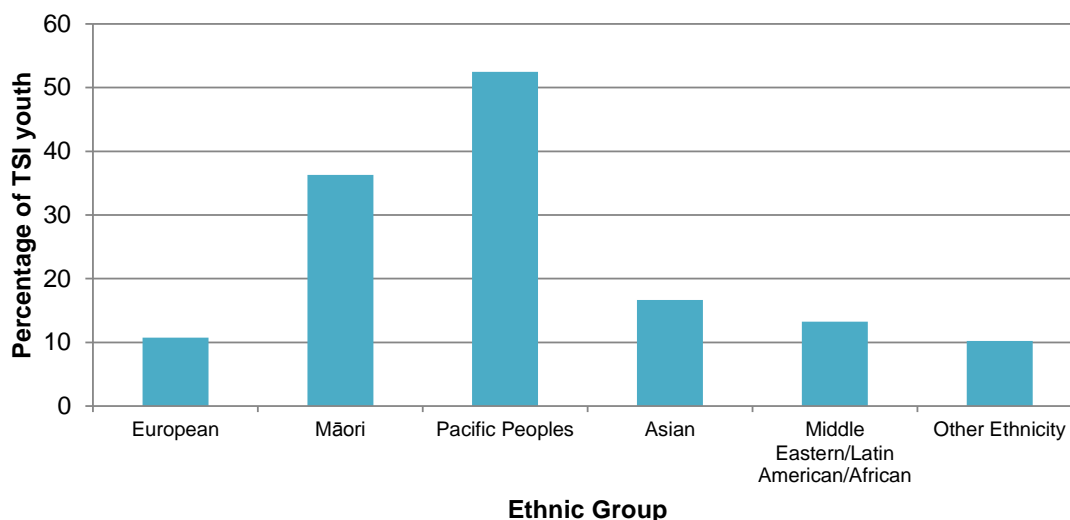


Figure 3: Youth in TSI as proportion of total Auckland youth population (2013 Census)

The ethnic characteristics of our ideal sample, again by local board area, are described in the table below (Table 2).

Local board area	European	Māori	Pacific	Asian	Total
Māngere-Ōtāhuhu	3	4	12	3	22
Manurewa	7	7	6	3	23
Ōtara-Papatoetoe	4	4	10	5	23
Papakura	6	4	1	1	12
Total	20	19	29	12	80

Table 2 Ideal Sample (ethnicity) by local board

Our actual sample (Table 3) is complicated by the fact that many participants identified with multiple ethnicities, and we did not ask them to select a primary ethnicity. Despite this confounding factor, it is clear that the sample was weighted towards Pacific groups, and the recruitment of European participants proved particularly difficult. This may be due to the fact that our most active interviewer-recruiters were members of Pacific communities and this facilitated the engagement of participants who were also members of these communities.

Local board area	European	Māori	Pacific	Asian	Total
Māngere-Ōtāhuhu	4	5	22	5	25
Manurewa	5	10	17	2	28
Ōtara-Papatoetoe	0	1	9	2	11
Papakura	1	5	4	0	7
Total	10	21	52	9	71

Table 3 Actual sample (ethnicity) by local board

Finally, we had extreme difficulty recruiting participants with NEET status, despite the relatively high proportion of these youth in the TSI area. Again, the characteristics of our interviewers may have skewed our sample, as all of them were either working, in further education or training, or a combination. In light of the slow rate of NEET participant recruitment we sought assistance from CadetMax; this strategy enabled us to almost meet our target, but it should be noted that technically those participants who were in the CadetMax training were no longer NEET, although they had recently been so.

Local board area	Ideal sample	Actual sample
Māngere-Ōtāhuhu	5	3
Manurewa	3	8
Ōtara-Papatoetoe	3	3
Papakura	6	1
Total	17	15

Table 4 Ideal and Actual sample (NEET status) by local board

The interview schedule for these interviews is provided as Appendix B. All interviews were transcribed and evaluated by the research team to identify key themes. Analysis was conducted using Nvivo for coding purposes.

4.0 Analysis of results

4.1 Key informant interviews

A consistent message among the key informant interviewees was the need to enable more youth in the TSI to obtain their driver's licence. All of the key informants discussed the financial and procedural barriers youth face in relation to obtaining a license, and reflected on the impact this can have on their opportunities. The importance of being able to legally drive was explained both in terms of the inadequacy of public transport and the community's aversion to it, and the requirement of some employers that employees are fully licensed.

Several of the key informants identified a widespread dislike of public transport in the south; some described it as 'cultural', while also acknowledging issues such as cost and convenience. One specific mismatch of public transport provision to need was highlighted by four key informants: the difficulty of travelling between Manurewa and the airport area, where there is a significant employment hub:

... we have an enormous community of talent sitting in Manurewa and Clendon. We have an enormous labour market pool suitable for entry level jobs sitting at the airport Oaks and in the absence of a car you simply cannot get somebody from there to there.

The radial public transport system was repeatedly criticised for failing to link industrial and commercial hubs other than the CBD with residential areas. Multiple transfers were identified as a major obstacle to public transport use; the likelihood of missed connections and consequent lateness was frequently cited as a reason why public transport was not a preferred option for many youth. Moreover, key informants noted that from an employer's perspective a job seeker reliant on multiple bus journeys would be viewed as a liability, as their punctuality would be more contingent than someone with a car.

Interviewees also noted that the cost of public transport over longer distances severely constrained the range of positions and educational opportunities youth in the TSI could realistically access; while roles and courses in the south and the CBD were perceived as feasible, accessing opportunities in the west, north and east of the city incurred significant cost even when public transport options were available. Safety was cited as a further concern, particularly for young women; interviewees cited examples of young people returning home after late work shifts and encountering menacing behaviour at train stations or bus interchanges in the south.

The necessity of having a driver's licence was frequently underlined by many key informants. One interviewee estimated that 60-70 per cent of young job seekers engaged with Work and Income did not have a full driver's licence; this made them ineligible for a significant proportion of the jobs available. Among those youth engaged in the CadetMax scheme, 83 per cent were, according to our informants, unlicensed: 51 per cent had no licence at all, while a further 32 per cent had only a learner's licence. Seventy-five per cent of the jobs available through the CadetMax programme specifically required applicants to have as a minimum a clean restricted driver's licence, meaning that 83 per cent of CadetMax attendees were unable to apply for 75 per cent of the roles.

The reasons for employers requiring a licence are several. A proportion of the roles involved driving as part of their daily tasks, such as couriers and other delivery roles. However, the main reason for this requirement, mentioned by several informants, was the perception that an unlicensed young person was less likely to be a reliable employee. One interviewee explained the expectations of employers in this way:

young people might need to have a driver's licence because the job requires the ability to be able to drive work vehicles and they might also require a driver's licence because the employer wants to know how they're going to get to work ...if they say 'oh, mum's going to drop me off' the employers, generally speaking, will not want a bar of that.

In order to consider taking on a young employee, particularly one going into their first job or an apprenticeship, employers needed confidence that that person was able to get to work consistently and punctually, and that they were not dependent on others for their transport. In some instances this was influenced by the location of the role beyond the reach of the public transport system, but it also reflected a more general distrust of public transport as a reliable mode.

The cost of getting a restricted driver's licence, and the high failure rates in driving tests in the TSI contributed to a large number of young people driving on learner's licences in breach of the conditions, or without any license. A number of our informants suggested that this practice has become a "cultural norm" in the south, and this was reinforced by the comments of our young TSI-resident participants. In addition, the cost of maintaining a vehicle and keeping the WOF and registration up to date often led to youth driving illegal vehicles. The flow-on effect from this was significant, as this respondent notes:

[W]hat we know is that young people are getting fines. So initially when they get pulled over they get what's called a fee. So you know driving without a license you get a fee. The fee if it's not paid

within whatever turns into a fine, the fine accelerates over time as it goes through the court system and remains unpaid.

In the first year [CadetMax] had an intake which had 18 participants on it. Collectively they had \$21,000 worth of traffic fines. Before they had even stepped into employment they were looking down a barrel of a debt ratio that would eat up their discretionary income for the first 3 years.

In addition to the injurious impact of this debt, there is also the potential for repeat offences and unpaid fines to culminate in prosecution, which becomes yet another impediment to employment. This vicious cycle contributes to the further marginalisation of an already disadvantaged population.

All interviewees represented transport accessibility as a major issue for youth in the TSI. The extent to which the transport disadvantage of this sector influenced their life chances was repeatedly underlined. What was striking for the researchers, however, was the consistency of the message that driver licensing was the only immediate and practicable solution available.

4.2 Interviews with TSI youth

In this section, we present the findings from our interviews with 71 young people who reside in the Southern Initiative area. We begin by describing their habitual travel practices, including their routinely used modes of transport, and the residences and moorings they travelled between on a regular basis, as well as noteworthy findings on variations in participants' preferred modes of transport according to purpose of travel, destinations, and time of travel. We further present insights into how the young people experience travelling in Auckland, followed by an analysis of the consequences of perceived problems.

4.2.1 How do participants travel?

The majority of participants (41) relied on a combination of public and private modes of transport for their day-to-day travel. When asked to describe how they usually get around, these participants stated that they used buses and/or trains as well as private cars, either as drivers or passengers. Only one participant mentioned catching a ferry to the North Shore of Auckland. This is not surprising given the geography of the Southern Initiative

area and because participants' moorings are typically other areas in the Southern Initiative area or the central city (see Figure 8).

Fourteen participants reported that they relied exclusively on private motor vehicles for their weekly travel routine, while seven used exclusively public transport. Given the high rate of car ownership in Auckland, it is unsurprising that the majority of participants were 'choice users' rather than 'captive users' of public transport (Gray 1993). Whilst only a small number of the young participants owned a car, the majority (45) had obtained a driver's licence (see Figure 7) and a number of these had access to a family car. Further, many participants used private motor vehicles as passengers, specifying that family members, most commonly parents, transported them to and from their moorings, including work and school or extra-curricular activities, or to and from bus stops and train stations. Lifts with friends and partners, on the other hand, had a predominantly social purpose.

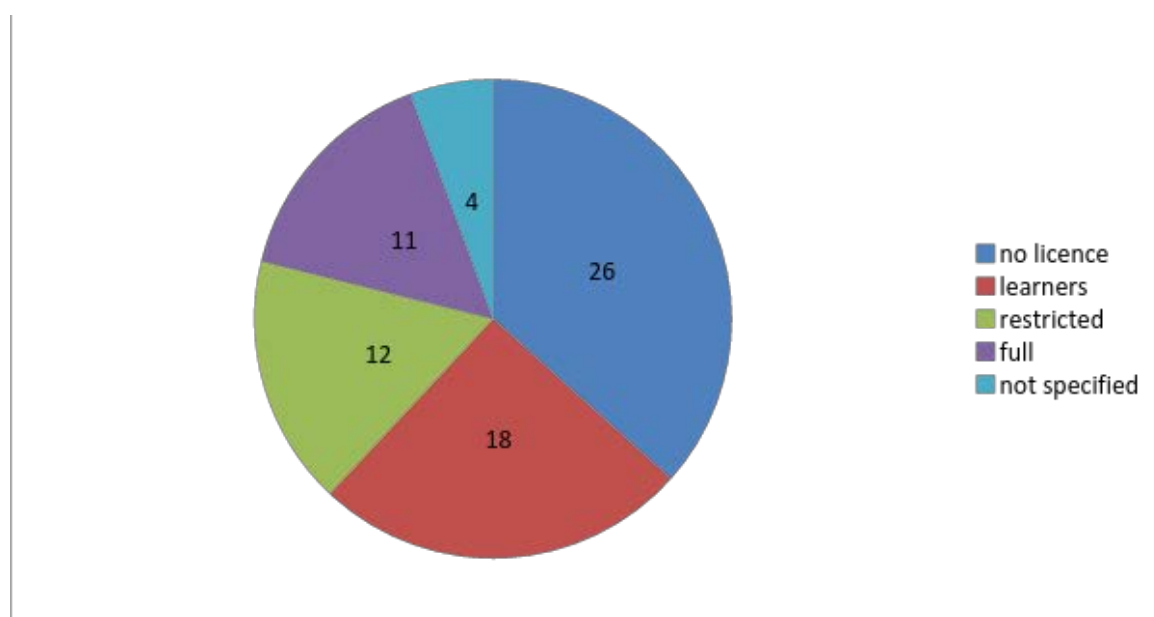


Figure 8 Number of licence holders by type of licence (n=71)

In addition, smaller numbers of participants mentioned the following transport methods as part of their typical routines:

Cycling

A very small number of participants spoke of cycling as a preferred transport method. Whilst ecologically friendly, healthy and more affordable than owning a car, the option of cycling was constrained by distance and inclement weather.

Participant: Usually I'll get around by bike but if I can't do that, for instance if it's raining or just generally don't feel like it, then I will usually grab a bus.

Interviewer: So you bike wherever you want to go?

Participant: Pretty much wherever I want to go. If it's too far if I can't get a ride with someone else I'll just use either the bus or the train.

Interviewer: What's too far, like? Give us an idea of what that is.

Participant: An hour's biking.

Interviewer: So from your house to the city like?

Participant: Pretty much.

Interviewer: So you really enjoy biking and that's your preferred primary.

Participant: It's my preferred primary because it gives me fitness, it gives me some enjoyment and it costs me nothing.

(17, male, Pakeha, Papakura)

Some participants stated that they would like to cycle more, but regarded it as an unsafe mode of transport. This is illustrated by the following quote:

I think it would be good to have more cycle ways because I'd actually love to ride my bike again but there's no way in hell I'd want to do it around here. There's too many like dangerous drivers. I'd be scared I was going to die if I try and ride my bike.

(21, male, NZ European, Manurewa)

Walking

Walking was predominantly an activity that supplemented other modes of transport. Many participants routinely walked to their bus or train stop. While some participants complained about the distance between their residence and public transport stops, others enjoyed this part of their journey.

In addition, walking became an important mode of transport when other methods failed. For instance, a number of participants stated that they often resorted to walking when buses were significantly delayed, especially if they were unable to arrange a ride from family or friends.

For some participants, walking also became a necessity when they were unable to afford other forms of transport as shown in the following example:

Participant 1: Monday to Friday we catch the bus to Southmall.

Interviewer: So is that where both your courses [are] based?

Participant 2: Yes, we're doing the same course. We'll catch the bus to Southmall and if we've got enough [money] we'll either catch the bus home or to my mum's.

Interviewer: Sorry?

Participant 2: Sometimes we've only got enough [money] to get to Southmall so we'll have to walk home.

Interviewer: Ok, which is right here from Southmall.

Participant 2: Yeah.

Interviewer: I've done that before. It's a nice walk. Well, for me personally.

Participant 2: Even if it's raining we still have to do it.

(Participant 1: 19, male, Cook Island, Samoan, Tongan, Manurewa; Participant 2: 18, female, Maori, Manurewa)

Taxi

Taxis did not form part of routine travel but were a means to an end when other transport methods failed participants. For example, if their intended lift with friends or family was no longer available, if the bus ran late or did not show up, and/or if participants needed to arrive at a destination at a specific time, taxis became a valuable alternative. Other reasons for taking a taxi included inclement weather which made walking or waiting for a bus an unreasonable option or being intoxicated and therefore unable to drive or access public transport. Although convenient, taxis were perceived as very expensive, and only ever caught occasionally.

4.2.2 Where do participants travel to?

During a typical week, participants travelled primarily between their residence and the following moorings: work places and education institutions (high school, university and other courses), sport and exercise facilities, places of worship and shopping destinations, as well as the residences of family members, partners, and friends.

As Figure 8 shows, participants travelled most frequently to Mangere, the Auckland City Centre and Manukau. Both Mangere and Manukau are large population and employment centres in South Auckland. Manukau is also the seat of the Manukau Institute of Technology (MIT). Those participants who regularly travelled to the Auckland City Centre did so primarily to attend university and to a much lesser extent for leisure activities or to visit friends and family. While participants travelled to a large number of moorings across the Auckland region, the map below also clearly shows that most trips occur within or close to South Auckland whereas trips outside of this area are much more sporadic. Specific recreational places which were popular destinations amongst participants were Sylvia Park (Auckland's largest shopping complex), Manukau Mall, Southmall in Manurewa, as well as Bucklands beach and Mission Bay beach further afield.

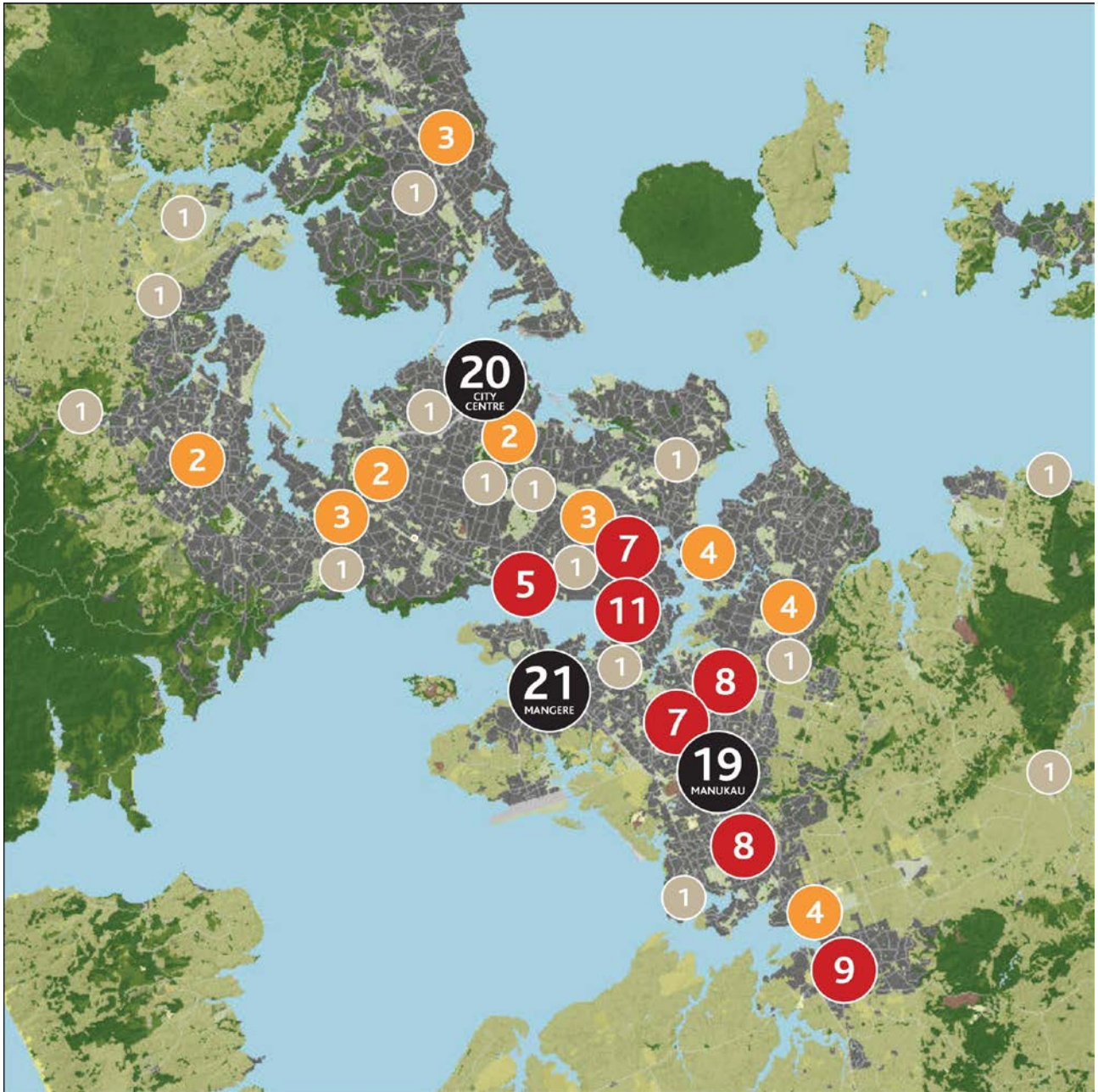


Figure 9 Moorings of research participants

4.2.3 Variation in preferred modes of transport

Our analysis showed significant variance in the choice of transport modes with respect to purpose, time, and destination. Participants were more likely to use public transport on weekdays as a means to get to work or school. Conversely, participants were more likely

to use private vehicles, both as drivers and passengers, for extracurricular and leisure activities and on weekends. With respect to destinations, especially those participants who travelled to the Auckland City Centre stated that they relied on public transport – especially trains and the shuttle bus run by Auckland University of Technology (AUT) between its South, City and North Shore campuses. The city centre's distance from South Auckland and difficulties finding affordable parking were the main reasons why these participants regarded public transport to be more convenient and cheaper than travelling by car.

Yeah, if it was cheap to drive to town and pay for parking then yes I'd definitely do it but it's not, so I don't.

(21, female, Maori, Manurewa)

During the week (Monday to Friday), participants' routines generally involved transport to and from school or work, with other stops a few times a week on the journey home for extracurricular activities (such as sports or bible class), shopping or family commitments.

Monday to Friday I catch the 7.30 bus from Takanini to Manukau and the same routine after class 3.30.

(20, male, Cook-Island Māori, Papakura)

Ok, so I get to university everyday by the train but I drive to the train. So I primarily use my car whenever possible I will use my car but it's pretty impractical to drive to uni so I generally use a train.

(21, male, NZ European, Manurewa)

The starkest contrasts emerged in participants' transport practices during the week compared to the weekend. Weekends were generally less structured and a large proportion of participants stated that they stayed home or close to home, generally in South Auckland. The analysis shows a clear dominance of private car use on weekends, with participants either driving or getting lifts from family and friends. On weekends, even

those participants who used public transport on weekdays were more likely to rely on lifts with family and friends. In part, this difference results from family members being more readily available to provide lifts on weekends when they do not work. In addition, weekend activities were likely to involve several family members who shared the ride.

Outside of [my] course I usually get my father to drive me around yeah so use him as transport on the weekends and that.

(20, male, Cook-Island Māori, Papakura)

However, it must be noted that many participants explicitly stated that they avoided public transport on weekends because trains and buses operate too infrequently. Those who did use public transport on weekends were typically those who worked weekend shifts or had no other alternative.

I don't use public transport on the weekend just because they take longer. An hour, they usually take an hour so we usually have the transport at home to get us to church and to the mall.

(23, female, Samoan, Takanini)

While some specifically avoided travelling altogether on weekends, for others it constituted a leisure activity per se. This ranged from having a cruise on their bike, to just driving around Auckland.

Interviewer: So what about during the weekend? So whereabouts do you go and how do you get there?

Participant: It depends. Sometimes we feel like a drive. A good day maybe drive further out south or up north like north shore area otherwise in an off weekend actually nowhere.

Interviewer: When you said drive do you just drive leisurely?

Participant: Yeah.

(24, female, European, Mangere)

Interviewer: What about the weekend?

Participant: Weekend I just drive or get driven around.

Interviewer: Whose car do you drive?

Participant: My brother's car or my father's car or my own car because I'm (inaudible)

Interviewer: What places do you go to when you do drive around?

Participant: I go everywhere in Auckland, I go [to the] North Shore a lot, west Auckland, south Auckland, east Auckland, everywhere.

Interviewer: What do you do in those places?

Participant: I just visit friends or go eat or just go for drives around Auckland. There's not much to do in Auckland because Auckland's really boring so ...

Interviewer: It's more leisure?

Participant: Yes, it's all leisure.

(19, male, Korean, Mangere East)

4.2.4 How much do participants spend on transport?

We were interested in finding out how much participants spend on transport during a typical week and what proportion of their income this spend constitutes. Thirty-eight participants indicated their average weekly spending on transport. Amongst these, spending ranged from less than ten dollars a week to over 200 dollars (see Figure 9).

- Of those who indicated their average weekly expenditure on transport, 18.4 per cent are spending \$29 or less, nearly half (44.7%) are spending between \$30 and \$50 a week on transport and 36.8 per cent are spending over \$51.
- Over two thirds of participants (65.8%) who indicated their average weekly expenditure on transport are spending between \$30 and \$80 per week.

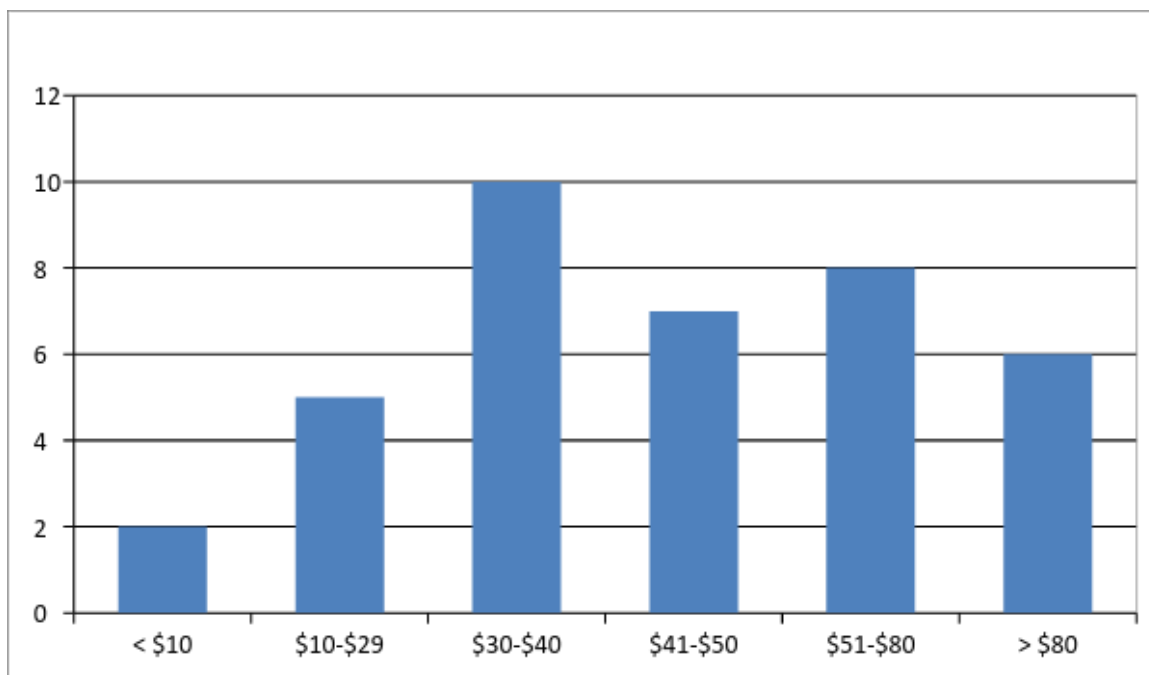


Figure 10 Average weekly spend on transport (n=38)

As a general trend, participants who had a car spent more money on a weekly basis. The cost of car ownership does not only involve petrol and parking but also the regular costs of a Warrant of Fitness, registration, and insurance as well as more irregular repair and maintenance work. While a number of participants mentioned that their parents covered all or some of these costs, it constituted a large expense.

Probably like because I've got to pay for petrol too so probably be about \$50/60. Probably about \$60 a week with petrol a week travelling. So probably a good half or just under half of my income a week goes on transport.

(21, Male, NZ European, Manurewa)

Petrol's my biggest thing because, for example, I'm just a student and most I can assure you most of my money like I'm actually in debt because of like I have to like getting the warrant done, getting it registered and then servicing it and just the whole petrol and everything and even parking like that adds cost.

(24, Male, Maori, Manurewa)

4.2.5 How much of their weekly income do participants spend on transport?

Thirty-one participants indicated how their average weekly expenditure on transport compared to their weekly income. As Figure 10 shows, these participants typically spent between a third and half of their weekly income on transport.

- Over two thirds of participants (64.5%) who indicated the proportion of income they spend on transport a week said it was a third or more of their income.

A small number of participants said that most of their student allowance is spent on transport.

I was getting student allowance and that was my only source of income but like the majority of it like say I only got paid like \$200 - \$210 and \$100 of it would go to my board and I've got like \$110 left but then half of that would go to my bus public transfer to top up my card and everything and then I just had a little bit of money left but that money left would be spent on my lunch. Then I'd have no money left at all.

(20, Male, Samoan-Chinese, Mangere)

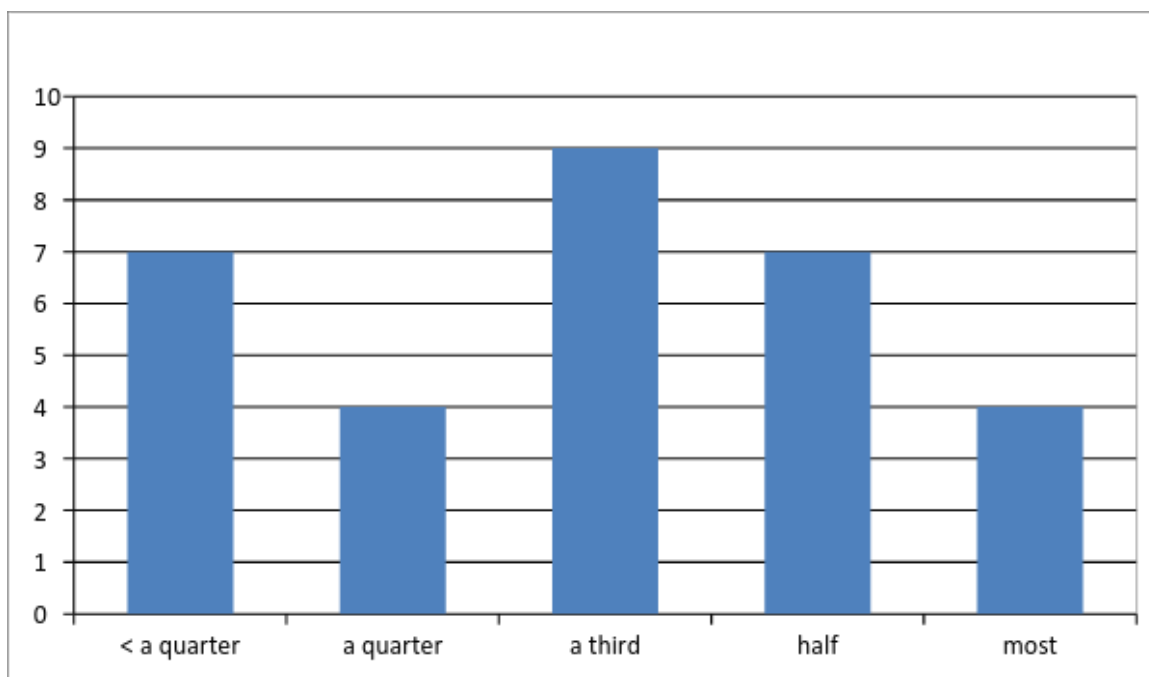


Figure 11 Proportion of weekly income spent on transport (n=31)

4.2.6 Perceptions of modes of transport

In addition to ascertaining how young people in the Southern Initiative area get around, we were interested in finding out how they experience travelling in Auckland. In this section, we present findings that detail participant perceptions of both private and public transport.

Overall, participants spoke most favourably about the use of private vehicles. Perceptions of public transport on the other hand were overwhelmingly negative. Most commonly, participants complained about unreliable and infrequent services as well as insufficient accessibility. They also voiced concerns about safety and customer service. These perceptions related to both bus and train services, although there was a general consensus that trains are somewhat better than buses. This slight advantage was the result of less traffic, fewer stops, lower price, higher comfort, and that both routes and timetables were easier to understand.

I think trains are better than busses, there's more people that can fit on there, there's X amount of stops. I personally feel that trains are one of the best means of travel, but in New Zealand it is unreliable.

(19, Female, Tongan, Papatoetoe)

Below, we detail participant perceptions of transport modes in relation to the most common themes of cost, reliability, frequency, access, and customer service.

4.2.7 Cost

Transport in general, both private and public, was perceived as expensive. Even though participants spend a significant proportion of their income on transport, costs were generally perceived as normal and unavoidable. For instance, while many participants stated that lower petrol prices would make getting around easier for them, they also conveyed a sense that petrol prices could not be influenced.

Well for gas you can't really do anything about that like you can't make the gas cheaper.

(19, male, Korean, Mangere)

The cost of transport was a reason for concern and significantly constrained the mobility of many of the young people interviewed. Participants frequently reported that they needed to save money to be able to use public transport or pay car-related expenses; that they made more trips after pay day and that they had to walk when money was scarce. A number of participants mentioned having to economise on trips.

Like I have to hard out budget this whole year last year every when I came to Auckland and started getting my student allowance I had to like budget really bad.

(20, male, Samoan-Chinese, Mangere)

Participant: So the hop card situation but I've got one now but that's around \$50 to top every 2 weeks.

Interviewer: That's heaps eh.

Participant: And that's only 3 days oh 6 days in 2 weeks. I feel sorry for uni students who catch it every day.

(24, male, Maori, Manurewa)

A number of participants who regularly travelled to the city centre felt that living in South Auckland placed an additional financial burden on them because they had to pay for more stages. A particular concern was that the student allowance for transport does not differentiate between students who live closer or further from their place of study.

Participant: That's one thing I find interesting as well like the student subsidiary is the same for each stage, isn't it?

Interviewer: Yes.

Participant: ... regardless of where you live. So the students that live around Newmarket they have the same subsidiary as people in Manurewa have. I mean I think that's a bit unfair because they're only spending like \$8 a day kind of thing especially places like this you know in poorer areas you know.

Interviewer: Yeah, be brutally honest man.

Participant: There should be better subsidiary in place for them at least a better system that addresses the distance that each student has to travel because it's not fair if a person with a student allowance and lives in the city that gets you know the same travelling allowance as, you know, someone that lives out at Waiuku or Pukekohe you know. Because that would probably cost them \$130 just to get down there.

(22, male, Indian, Manurewa)

The shuttle bus provided by Auckland University of Technology (AUT) to run between its three Auckland campuses (City, South, and North Shore) was regarded as a convenient and cheap alternative to public transport.

Interviewer: To get from where you are to uni how much would that cost there and back?

Participant: There and back probably about \$13.

Interviewer: \$13 for one day and shuttle bus how much is that?

Participant: Shuttle bus it's only about \$5.

[...]

Participant: Yeah, not shuttle buses because they're always on time.

Interviewer: So shuttles are more reliable [than trains]?

Participant: Yes, because when they say they're going to be here by this time or they are going to leave this time they're there.

(18, female, Samoan-Niuean, Manurewa)

Participants frequently commented on increases in public transport fares as problematic. In their opinion, fares were increased too often while incomes remained stagnant. Many participants reported that even small fare increases significantly impacted their budget.

Yeah, like my financial status, I'm not going to lie, it's quite low. So there's a bit of a struggle with money and like because of like the prices of it [public transport] is raised it's like it has affected just like the little raise in it and that has affected my transport massively.

(17, male, Samoan, Manurewa)

In addition, a number of participants related stories of how unannounced fare increases had left them short of the fare because they only carried a certain amount of cash or credit on their hop card.

Given that costs for private and public transport were often regarded as similarly expensive, travelling by car was overwhelmingly the preferred option because it does not entail any of the other disadvantages that participants associate with public transport. These will be discussed below.

4.2.8 Reliability

Overwhelmingly, participants experience public transport in Auckland as unreliable. Train users frequently reported experiencing delays, largely as a result of service disruptions related to technical difficulties with old trains. In this context, some participants made a point of comparing New Zealand trains with those in other western countries, indicating that New Zealand systems are outdated. A number of participants signalled their excitement and appreciation for railway improvements, in particular the introduction of electric trains:

One of the things I like I can see that they're trying to improve you know especially with the new trains and everything with like electrification and stuff. So yeah that's the thing I like seeing improvements and growth and stuff so that's pretty good.

(Male, 20, Cambodian, Manurewa)

I've seen one of the positive changes which is that new electrical train that's a good change like I'm proud of Auckland for doing that. Honestly, I'm like yeah I hope they live up to the expectations because they've told so many people that it's faster and that.

(17, Male, Samoan, Manurewa)

Bus users complained predominantly about excessive delays due to traffic congestion coupled with a lack of bus lanes. There was a recurring narrative of buses being either late or not showing up at all. Reliability was further undermined by a lack of information about timetables at bus stops and by frequent wrong announcements when information was available: Many Auckland bus stops have an electronic board which displays a live estimated time of arrival for each bus. However, many participants reported that announced buses simply 'disappeared' off the electronic board without showing up. Such instances of the bus services not aligning with the communicated timetable often resulted in extremely long waiting times and were a huge source of frustration for participants. As one participant said:

I'm not the only person. A lot of people that wait for the bus get so frustrated most of them start walking because there's no point waiting for the bus.

(23, male, Papua New Guinea and part Tongan, Papakura)

By comparison, private motor vehicles were perceived as significantly more reliable because a car provides freedom and flexibility in terms of when and where they can be mobile.

With a car you know like as long as there's petrol, I've got parking, I can get in the car any time I want, I can leave any time I want.

(22, male, Indian, Manurewa)

Personally, I find that there is a lot more I can do having a car. The only thing that really restricts me is making sure that I have my current registration, warrant of fitness, and petrol.

(19, female, Tongan, Papatoetoe)

Yeah I just prefer having my own independence I don't really like having to rely on other people generally. So I guess it's mainly a personal thing as well. I've always hated relying on other people I'm a pretty independent sort of person.

(21, male, NZ European, Manurewa)

While participants clearly highlighted the inconvenience and nuisance of traffic congestion, particularly when travelling to, through and from the city centre, driving is still perceived as quicker and as more convenient than public transport. Participants like the agency they can assert over their mobility using a private car. This includes taking responsibility for reaching destinations on time.

Interviewer: Is it [driving] more convenient?

Participant: Yeah. 'Cause I get dropped off where I need to be dropped off, or closer. On my time schedule.

(18, female, Samoan, Māori, Chinese, Otahuhu)

Yes I'd rather drive myself because if I'm late then it could be more of my need but there are other road works, traffic all of that type of stuff but yeah I'd rather drive myself and make myself late.

(21, female, Māori, Manurewa)

4.2.9 Frequency

Many public transport users referred to the time it takes to reach a destination as problematic. Participants' negative perceptions of the frequency of public transport services were often mentioned in relation to reliability and were dominated by three key aspects: long service intervals, excessive waiting times at bus and train stops, and long in-vehicle travel time. Below, we look in more detail at these three factors.

Overall, the experiential accounts demonstrate that participants felt they needed to make sure to have plenty of time when using public transport. Overall, travelling by car was regarded as preferable because even in heavy traffic car travel is faster than public transport because it does not involve any waiting time.

If I had my own transport I could get somewhere in like 20 minutes whereas if it was public transport then you have to take out more time for it.

(21, female, Fijian Indian, Papatoetoe)

4.2.10 Service intervals

A number of participants felt that buses and trains were generally not running often enough. As the below quote indicates, in the context of mentioning infrequent services, participants often referred to the fact that missing a bus or train had serious consequences.

Like I think that's the main difference between public transport here and overseas like, for instance, I went to Japan for three weeks when I was about 12 or 13 and like public transport there like you miss your train and wait for like two minutes and there's another one. It's really not a big deal, you know what I mean? But over here if you miss a bus, train or whatever you wait 15 minutes, half an hour.

(21, male, NZ European, Manurewa)

As missing a service often meant "having to wait another half an hour for another bus" (19, male, Samoan, Mangere), participants had to plan their journeys carefully. Many reported 'adjusting' their own schedules to transport schedules.

Participant: I'm always prepared with buses because I know how buses are in Auckland and like I know that something would go wrong and like it would something can go wrong so I just have it in mind every time I catch the bus hence that's why I catch it like an hour early. So if something does happen I'm ok because I don't pay extra if something did happen but I'm ok because like I have a lot of time...

Interviewer: You're prepared. So, I guess that is something that you've done, a solution you've come up with.

Participants: Yes, because the buses couldn't come up with a solution.

Interviewer: So, if there was [any]thing that could be done to make it easier for you to get around what would it be?

Participant: I guess it would be just sticking to a timetable. The buses would be sticking to the timetable because I'm all good bussing my whole life for the rest of my life as long as it's kind of like the buses are on time and everything. Like with that being said it's kind of with the buses not being on time and sometimes late it's kind of pushing me to getting a car of my own so I don't have to worry about bussing.

(20, male, Samoan-Chinese, Mangere)

Four participants explicitly stated that they would like services to run later into the evening and one participant mentioned that her daily routine was impacted because she had to catch the last train even though she would prefer to stay in the city for longer in order to

study. The relatively low figures may be a result of the age group of participants. Many of the teenaged participants were expected not to be out at night.

4.2.11 Excessive waiting time at stops

Much of the dissatisfaction with waiting times was the result of frequent delays in bus services as discussed above. However, long service intervals also contributed to excessive waiting times at bus and train stops. Participants complained that services do not connect well. As a result, participants particularly disliked - and, if possible, avoided - having to catch more than one bus to their destination because transfers incurred multiple waiting times. These findings match research elsewhere which has shown that passengers dislike interchange because of the 'penalty' it incurs (Paulley et al. 2006: 302). The following quote illustrates that interchanges often result in penalties that constitutes dead time as a result of infrequent services:

Participant: When it comes to bussing what I don't like, well, the buses around here are too irregular.

Interviewer: What do you mean by that?

Participant: Well, I mean they don't come often enough usually to some places and for instance when I get to go on a bus to MIT I would be in a bus for about half an hour and spend the other half an hour wandering around Westfield Manukau [waiting for the connecting bus service].

(17, male, Pakeha, Papakura)

I would bus from Clendon to Manukau and then get off that bus and wait for another one which would go to Mangere town centre and from there and the worst part was going back because on a normal week there would be buses every half an hour but because it was that one specific bus that went from Mangere town centre to Manukau it would come every hour. So I would have to wait there a while.

(17, Male, Samoan, Manurewa)

The analysis shows that the combination of infrequent services coupled with excessive time and cost penalties incurred through transfers that do not connect well was an important factor that prevented participants from making the trips they wished to make. This was especially the case for destinations that are further away from South Auckland.

4.2.12 In-vehicle travel time

In addition, participants felt that in-vehicle travel time often exceeded the travel duration indicated on timetables. This was particularly the case for buses because unlike trains, buses were subject to traffic congestion.

With public transport I find they're always late and then like the ride that's meant to be 20 minutes we get in there 40 minutes.

(19, female, Maori, European, Tongan, Manurewa)

Overall, those participants who had a choice, clearly preferred travelling by car because the time saved could be spent doing other things.

In that time of two hours that I'm travelling, it takes about 15 minutes to 20 minutes to come from Devonport to the city and then I have to wait at least 15 minutes for my train and then it takes about 45 minutes to get from town just to Manurewa. In that time I could already be somewhere else doing something if I had my car.

(23, female, Tongan New Zealander, Manurewa)

4.2.13 Safety

While less pervasive than the themes of reliability and frequency, safety concerns featured in the narratives of a number of participants. The majority of these examples relate to public transport with only a few comments about private transport. In this section we present the key concerns about safety both on board of buses and trains and at transport stops followed by private transport.

4.2.14 On-board safety concerns

On-board trains and buses, other passengers were the most common source of safety concerns amongst participants. Mostly, fellow passengers were perceived simply as a nuisance because they take up too much space or listen to loud music, making travelling by bus or train uncomfortable.

In a smaller number of cases, though, other passengers presented a threat through drunken and aggressive behaviour. Some participants had experienced aggressive behaviour that was directed at them. However, no participants mentioned having been personally harmed. Others had witnessed 'unruly' behaviour towards other passengers or conveyed a general sense of uneasiness about the potential of being harmed by fellow passengers.

Participant: But buses I don't know I don't really like buses.

Interviewer: Why don't you like buses?

Participant: I don't know, I think it's just because I've had experiences when like some people in the bus are real like, I feel scared with other people.

Interviewer: Why do you feel scared?

Participant: Because when people have alcohol on the bus I've seen that and they're like really rowdy and everything yeah.

(20, female, Samoan-Tokelauan, Manurewa)

In this context, some participants commented that the installation of the new ticketing system has been accompanied by a reduction of staff at train stations and on trains, leaving "more room for people to misbehave" (19, female, Tongan, Papatoetoe).

It is noteworthy that a number of participants also felt that bus drivers presented a threat to their safety as passengers. Participants reported a number of instances in which bus drivers were not driving safely or put passengers at risk through reckless behaviour.

You've got like bus drivers just wait and you see all these little kids just walking through the door and the bus driver will just take off, the bus driver will just take off and you see the kids losing their balance or falling on the ground.

(19, male, Cook Islander, Samoan, Tongan, Manurewa)

Participant: ... their drivers are just not safe you don't want to climb onto their buses.

Interviewer: When you say the drivers aren't safe like what do you mean by that?

Participant: They speed, they drive up on the curbs. So it's like you push the button to get off.

Interviewer: Has that happened to you quite a bit?

Participant: Yeah, I always push the button to get off and just walk.

(19, female, Maori, European, Tongan, Manurewa)

Onboard safety was also a concern because participants felt that at peak times buses were allowing too many people to embark, thus exceeding capacity.

Participant 1: ... the drivers have to realise when it's full it's full.

Participant 2: Yeah, I suppose they have to stop and that's enough people and carry on because most of the bus drivers there go until you can't fit anymore in.

(1: 23, female, Samoan, Takanini, 2: 20, male, Cook Island Maori, Clendon)

4.2.15 Safety at and around public transport stops

With respect to safety concerns at bus stops and train stations, participants frequently talked about the particular situation in South Auckland where stops are less well developed than in more central areas of Auckland and also less frequented by other passengers, particularly at night. Off board safety concerns must be considered in close relation to participant experiences of unreliable public transport services. A number of participants indicated that they felt unsafe waiting for extended periods of time in South Auckland bus and train stops. While many participants recalled walking home or calling someone to pick them up because of late or no show buses, this was not always an option.

In addition, a lack of leniency on the part of train ticket controllers occasionally left people stranded at train stations at night. Two participants recalled witnessing young female passengers being asked to disembark after producing only a receipt instead of the correct

ticket. Both participants commented that this lack of leniency could put especially young female passengers at risk:

He kicked her off at the next train stop which I think was just you know that's where instead of kicking her off he should have sort of realised hey it's getting dark outside she's only a young girl I don't really think the best place for her would be out in the train station obviously not at her train station in the dark by herself especially out south, you know, it's quite dangerous.

(20, male, Maori, Samoan, Chinese, English, Otahuhu)

A number of passengers explicitly voiced a sense of locational disadvantage as in their estimation transport stops in South Auckland are in poorer conditions than more central stations, making them unsafe for people to use.

Participant: I feel like South [Auckland] is quite disconnected to Auckland Central, and I think there are ways that can connect the two different suburbs. I don't know if this is even relevant.

Interviewer: So do you see it as a kinda disadvantage being out South?

Participant: Yeah. Because I remember when all the trains were getting re-developed and stuff, it was ages when ... they only started re-developing the train station ... the Otahuhu train station this year, 'cause like ... I'd catch the train and there wouldn't even be lights, there were no lights, which was a really huge safety issue.

(18, female, Samoan Maori and Chinese, Otahuhu)

Participant: The ones [train stations] in the city are a lot nicer. Fair enough. I guess there is more foot traffic and more people that use certain areas the more money gets spent on it. The ones out south like the Westfield and Otahuhu train stations are the most depressing train stations that I've ever seen. Mt Albert was depressing but they just got like a complete massive overhaul. Grafton that old train station was quite yuck. You were all alone but that got overhauled.

Interviewer: Yeah that's like a pretty sweet one now.

Participant: Yeah, I mean basically central's been overhauled with all their train stations. I think give out south a turn at being overhauled because they suck. They're

old as, empty as, you're isolated as like you know which can be dangerous. I don't like it when my little sisters or my girlfriend have to catch the train home. So I'm always there waiting for them.

(20, male, Maori, Samoan, Chinese, English, Otahuhu)

4.2.16 Bad drivers

Private transport elicited only sporadic references to safety concerns. However, some participants commented that bad drivers represented a threat to other road users.

Hell yeah, its dangerous having people who can't drive very well on the road. I think the thing is you've got to realise that driving a car is like having a gun. You have the real potential to kill someone if you don't know what you're doing with it.

(21, male, NZ European, Manurewa)

4.2.17 Access

Discussions of a lack of accessibility of public transport were frequent amongst participants. Two key issues dominated participant accounts: Firstly, participants commented on a lack of information and knowledge of time tables and routes, especially in relation to the bus network. Secondly, participants complained about the small number of train routes in Auckland which gave access only to those people living close to a train line. Access issues were less frequently mentioned in relation to private transport. The key issue for the young participants of this study was that limited availability of ride shares constrained their mobility.

4.2.18 Information

Many participants found using public transport difficult. Unfamiliarity with routes was a problem that applied specifically to bus services. Train services were mentioned favourably in this context but taking into account that there are only three train lines servicing the Auckland region this finding is unsurprising. A number of people were put off using buses because they found timetables and bus routes were not well communicated and difficult to understand.

I don't know, buses, the timetables confuse me for a start, you know what I mean. I find the trains set up a whole lot easier to understand.

(21, male, NZ European, Manurewa)

The train was easy from Papakura to Britomart and, you know, just to get on the west train if you go west that one's fine. But because I don't know the west, so what bus do I have to take to get to a certain place? You know, sometimes the timetable says this time and it's not there's not any buses there, you don't know what's up.

(24, male, Maori, Manurewa)

While some participants noted that they were aware that this information was available, many perceived the effort of seeking out information about timetables and routes in order to plan a journey as too great. A lack of information at bus stops compounded this difficulty and clearly impacted participants' mobilities.

Further to unfamiliarity and confusion regarding bus routes and timetables, participants also criticised that information about stages and fares lacked transparency. Especially Hop Card users in this study reported that they were unsure of the fare until they tagged off. At times, participants who had only loaded a limited amount of money onto their card ended up with insufficient credit for the return trip.

Participant: With the hop cards you get like probably spend \$9 on it for a child for \$9 on it and that's like 10 trips and that's counting there and back but once you go over 1 stage like if you don't know where the place is going, if you don't know where the bus is going you catch the bus you never know if that bus is going to take 2 stage or 1 stage.

Interviewer: And it does that a lot.

Participant: It does that a lot. But instead of taking 2 stage it takes the whole stage off your card and by the time you jump on the next one it will be declined because you took 2 stage, but you never know when you going to take 2 stage.

(18, female, Maori, Manurewa)

Perceived poor customer service added to these difficulties. Some participants criticised a lack of leniency from bus drivers and reported experiences of being prevented from embarking or being

asked to disembark when they were slightly short on cash or in possession of a wrong ticket. Because staff were perceived as unhelpful or even rude, participants did not dare to ask for information. This exacerbated feelings that public transport is difficult to understand.

A small number of participants who drive a motor vehicle on a regular basis also criticised a lack of information. These participants wished for more information about when and where road works were being set up to enable them to re-calculate their travel time in advance. One further participant wished for better signage in the suburbs to aid navigation.

4.2.19 Proximity

Apart from a small number of participants who considered themselves lucky to live in close proximity to bus or train stations, most participants thought that they had to walk too far to get to the nearest transport stop. Participants also noted the asymmetry between trains and buses, remarking that even though trains had many advantages over buses, the small size of the train network meant that many suburbs were not served by rail services.

The trains don't even go to every suburb. It's useless. They only go to certain suburbs, like, you don't even have a train line on the North Shore. You have a bus lane. What the f— is that going to do? And the train lines in Auckland are basically a straight line that go through like three areas of Auckland east, west and like south that's about it yeah it just needs a lot of work.

(19, male, Korean, Mangere)

4.2.20 Ride share availability

While getting rides with family and friends is said to be cheaper and more convenient than public transport, participants noted a number of difficulties with this method. Most notably, participants stated that their mobility was contingent on or restricted by the transport needs of others.

Yeah especially during the weekends like when I want to go out and meet up with friends and stuff there's times when I've not been able to go because my sisters may have the car for their sports and stuff.

(24, female, Samoan, Mangere)

Often, families only own one private car, therefore must co-ordinate lifts so that everyone can get where they need to be. One participant spoke about their siblings being put in school close to the work place of their parents so that they could more easily coordinate transport. Other participants had children, partners or siblings who they needed to drop off and pick up from day care, work or school. For a number of participants, parents' work places were regular moorings which served as an 'interchange' where participants switched between private and public transport.

Interviewer: Would you like to go to any other parts of Auckland more often?

Participant: Yes. I'd like to go into the city and just hang out there sometimes with my friends, but the problem is ... since my parents have restricted time to get us to what we need to go to, at times I can't actually go to what I want to go to because it doesn't fit in their schedules. So yeah. I'd like to go into the city, like Britomart or Newmarket area, just to hang out with friends and hang out with my siblings. Having to try fit that all in in mum and dad's schedule is a bit unfortunate, but yeah.

(15, female, Maori-Samoan, Manurewa)

A few participants discussed the tension they felt being reliant on others for lifts, feeling like a hassle or burden. They felt better if they were getting a lift to somewhere the person giving them a lift was going anyway. As a result, many indicated their desire to have their own car.

I'd say having to rely on other people is kind of annoying for me and I always think it is annoying for the other person to ask for a ride.

(19, female, Māori, European, Tongan, Manurewa)

4.2.21 Customer service

Anecdotes of interactions with bus drivers were mostly negative and further entrenched mistrust in the bus system. Examples include bus drivers being rude and not letting participants on the bus because they were not standing directly in the bus stop, or had a 10 or 20 dollar note.

A lack of leniency was most often commented on in relation to unannounced fare increases that left some participants short of cash:

You'll go to the bus stop with that same amount of change you're used to paying and then you've got only enough to get you home and all you hear is oh you're missing at least 20 cents on that so we can't let you on please get off the bus.

(18, female, Maori, Manurewa)

Further criticism was directed at ticket controllers on trains. Most comments here also concerned a perceived lack of leniency. Participants particularly recalled instances of confusion about how to obtain a 'correct' ticket after the introduction of a new ticketing system.

Participant: Train staff, the train operator like the driver they're always friendly I've noticed but the people working in the carriages suck. Their people skills are just crap.

Interviewer: Why do you think that?

Participant: Just like they're too strict like to the point where actually they're just being rude yeah.

(20, male, Māori, Ōtāhuhu)

4.2.22 Barriers

The experiences and perceptions discussed above impacted on the young people in a number of ways. In this section, we discuss three key issues: 1) the way a combination of cost, unreliability and lack of information restricted young people's mobilities; 2) how unreliability of public transport incurs a loss of resources, in particular time and money; 3) that negative experiences and perceptions have led to a lack of trust in public transport in Auckland.

4.2.23 Restricted mobilities

The analysis revealed that participants tended to be fixed and selective in their transport practices. Participant mobilities were most notably restricted by the cost of both private and public transport.

I often miss out on stuff like a friends dinner, hanging out with my friends at the movies since I've gone to all these things that involve sports, I'm not able to go out with my friends because the cost of gas gets ... is expensive, my parents just have to say yes or no if I can go to things, and if it's not important, then they just say no. If it is important, they make the time and effort for me to get me to where I need to.

(15, female, Maori-Samoan, Manurewa)

This became especially apparent when we asked participants whether there were any places in Auckland that they would like to but did not currently visit. Many participants answered in the affirmative. Most of these pinpointed regions, such as the North Shore or West Auckland as places they would like to but did not visit. When asked what prevented them from travelling to these destinations, participants predominantly reported that they avoided visiting places that were deemed too far away because it took too much time and effort and/or cost too much to reach these destinations. While cost related to both private and public transport, distance was especially an issue for participants who relied on public transport because greater distance inevitably involved transfers which were perceived as complicated and time consuming as illustrated by the following statement:

Interviewer: Would you go to other places if you could or would want to?

Participant: I think because up until I got my licence I used to catch the train everywhere or the bus. So those were the most accessible places. So you didn't have to jump off a bus to get onto another bus to take you somewhere else.

Interviewer: So you'd always go to places where the bus stopped?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: Not to get on another bus to get on another bus?

Participant: Yeah, it's too hoo-ha.

Interviewer: Too hoo-ha, what does that mean?

Participant: Nuisance.

Interviewer: Nuisance.

Participant: Yeah so those are the places I've always been so those are the places I still go to now even though I can drive.

Interviewer: I see and why is that?

Participant: I know where everything is.

(18, female, Maori, Papakura)

The notion of familiarity indicated at the end of the previous quote was also a common theme. A number of participants avoided destinations which sat outside the realm of the familiar because they felt they lacked the information or knowledge necessary to safely find their way:

Interviewer: Would you like to go to other [places]?

Participant: Yeah, out west.

Interviewer: Out west. Why?

Participant: Family, I've got friends out there but I'm just too scared. It's too far.

[...]

Participant: Like [I am] scared to bus by myself, I just feel safe around south it's where I've been brought up.

Interviewer: Is that because you know the buses?

Participant: Yes, the routine. But out west, you know, I'm afraid I might get lost. Don't know the bus schedule.

(21, female, Samoan, Mangere)

Connected to these factors was a sense of locational disadvantage because living in South Auckland meant that one has to invest considerable amounts of both time and money into getting to destinations further afield:

Participant: If it [price for public transport] keeps going up to the point where it's like \$9.00 just to get to town. People aren't even going to go like they'll probably go once and then that's it and wait for next month probably for them to decide they want to go to town.

Interviewer: So what would you like to see?

Participant: A change in cost. Like, just lower it like back to where it was before. So like for Papatoetoe people go back to like \$3. Like \$3 isn't that much. Below 5 that's good for Papatoetoe but just keep it below 10, 9 and don't make it go up anymore.

(18, female, Samoan-Niuean, Manurewa)

I live so far from everything. I live in Manurewa, all my friends don't live in Manurewa. I've grown up and made friends at uni that live out west or live in central or live in North Shore. The furthest one out and it's harder for me to get to places and if you don't get to places you have no friends.

(23, female, Tongan New Zealander, Manurewa)

As international research has shown, if resources are not accessible it is as if they didn't exist (Preston and Rajé 2007). For many of the South Auckland based participants, locational and socio-economic disadvantage combined with transport disadvantage. In this study, many participants reported that their mobility was restricted at least to some extent. Our analysis shows that four key factors contribute to restricting participants travel practices.

4.2.24 Loss of resources

But the problems associated with public transport had two further effects that are important for policy makers to consider. Unreliable and infrequent public transport services led to a tangible loss of resources for participants, specifically a loss of time and money.

Time

Due to long service intervals for buses and trains in Auckland, participants commonly reported being stuck between 'arriving early' and 'arriving late' at their destinations. This often resulted in considerable amounts of wasted time. As one participant said about his work commute:

So when I caught the early bus I'd be at work an hour early, but if I caught a later bus I'd be at work just a few minutes late. So the timing was always off on buses.

(23, male, Samoan, Otahuhu)

Participant: Yeah, if I had to get somewhere I'd go to the bus stop like 2 hours earlier.

Interviewer: Just in case.

Participant: I used to do that for work.

Interviewer: Cool, so when you went to work did you have to...

Participant: I always went to the bus stop 2 hours early.

Interviewer: What's the earliest you ever got to work? Like an hour early?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: So if you had a car like it would have meant getting to work would take you half the time.

Participant: Yeah.

(20, female, Samoan-Chinese, Mangere)

Frequent delays exacerbated the problem of losing time. While most participants who use public transport reported that they aimed to plan ahead and 'left in good time', frequent delays or service disruptions meant that even these plans could not ensure arriving at a destination on time. A number of participants relayed stories of waiting at bus stops for more than one hour. A smaller number experienced waits of more than three hours. Especially those people who were unable to arrange alternative transport were left stranded, often with no information as to when they could expect a bus to arrive.

Money and opportunities

Delays and service disruptions regularly caused participants to be late or to miss important appointments. Examples mentioned by participants included funerals, exams, auditions, job interviews, work shifts, meetings, and classes at school or university. For many, this entailed either a loss of income (especially when being late for work) or incurred extra costs, for instance, for catching taxis or calling on relatives or friends to pick them up.

Interviewer: So there's been times where the bus hasn't come so you've had to pay more because you've had to pay a taxi instead to go to work.

Participant: Yes, in this last term that's gone by I've spent more on taxi than buses.

Interviewer: Last term how many weeks is that?

Participant: Like we catch the cab maybe 3 or 4 times.

(23, male, Papua New Guinea and part Tongan, Papakura)

Sometimes it means that I'd have to miss an event entirely or I didn't get paid for that day because I only showed up for the last 5 hours [of a shift].

(18, female, Maori, Pahurehure)

4.2.25 Lack of trust in public transport

Participants' negative experiences with using public transport in Auckland resulted in a pronounced lack of trust in Auckland Transport as a provider of these services. While many participants used and relied on public transport on a regular basis, the data reveals that for the majority travelling by car is the preferred mode of transit because of its greater accessibility and reliability.

Car travel became particularly important on occasions where participants could not risk to be late, such as in the following case:

I never train into uni when I've got an exam because I just don't trust them to not be broken down or you know what I mean. I think once we get the electric trains in they'll be much more reliable because right now our trains are too old. They're just not reliable they break down often and stuff. So I never trust it when I've got an exam I always drive in.

(21, male, NZ European, Manurewa)

One participant (18, female, Maori, Pahurehure) described public transport in Auckland as 'unpredictable'. Getting increasingly frustrated with services that ran late, left ahead of schedule or took longer than scheduled meant that some of those participants who had a choice avoided public transport, opting for private travel instead. As one participant put it: "I'm fortunate to have other options available" (21, male, NZ European, Manurewa). This difference between 'choice users', who have several modes of transport available and 'captive users' who rely on the availability of public transport was hence acknowledged by the participants themselves in a way that stressed the importance of having different options available.

I'm glad it's never happened to me but I think it's pretty unfair like because there's a lot of people who are too poor to ever own a car or to have access to that. So public transport's really the only option for them and that's kind of pretty stink if they can't get to their exam because of that.

(21, Male, NZ European, Manurewa)

Participants conveyed that in some situations being late had become acceptable. For instance, school teachers were said to be aware that students would often arrive late due to public transport delays. However, participants also stressed that in other situations this was not acceptable. As one participant stated, employers prefer candidates with private transport.

Many participants explicitly referred to Auckland Transport's 'bad reputation'.

Auckland has the crappiest transport system ever. Like the trains are always either late or delayed and I'm constantly like always late for class or you know and they don't come as frequently as they're supposed too. They always tend to be really behind and they always get somebody over the microphone saying we apologise for this inconvenience but nothing's

been done about it. Yeah, apologise for the inconvenience but I'm late to school, I'm late for class.

(19, male, Korean, Mangere)

As such, unreliability demotes public transport to a last resort rather than first choice:

If it wasn't so expensive to catch public transport then I'd probably catch more of it and if it was more reliable and more frequent then I would catch public transport. Because it's not so frequent and it's not reliable at all I just don't trust it will get me to where I want to go.

(23, female, Tongan New Zealand, Manurewa)

With trains I don't like anything about the trains. It's sort of like a last resort as I find with most students that go to uni and with a lot of people I know public transport it's sort of like we have no choice but to catch the train. I mean parking's too expensive, traffic's really bad to uni and the only option is to train, I mean that's the only option. I hate training it's too slow, it's unreliable.

(19, male, Korean, Mangere)

4.2.26 What would make it easier to get around?

As part of the interviews, participants were asked: *"If there was one thing that could be done to make it easier for you to get around what would it be?"* While this question elicited a variety of responses, these noticeably centred on public transport. In general, participants called for a more attractive, that is, an accessible, reliable and frequent public transport service.

Yeah I think depending on what sort of leadership we have. I'm meaning Council in general. If we get some idiot in who decides we need to build more roads instead of actually creating a decent public transport system which to be honest like I mean what happens when you create more roads is you just get more traffic on the roads. I mean that's been proven. So what you really need to do is work on something that will get people off the roads which will decongest the roads and I mean come on what's more obvious than getting a decent public transport system to do that.

(21, male, NZ European, Manurewa)

Participants also made specific suggestions for improvements in bus and train services in Auckland. Congruent with the problems discussed above, participants want more buses that run more frequently, and more bus lanes to enable buses to get to places quicker to improve reliability and decrease how time consuming catching a bus is.

So pretty much what I'd like to see is like more priorities like drivers respecting buses more. So rather than seeing them like another commuter like they'll have more importance being put on buses so giving them lanes and stuff so that will actually allow them to actually arrive on time.

(20, male, Cambodian, Manurewa)

Further, less frequently mentioned, ideas included free buses, buses that stop anywhere on their routes and liquor bans on buses.

Specifically relating to trains, participants want more trains which run faster and more frequently across more rail routes which have more train stations. There was also interest in electric trains, more express trains, reducing the cost of taking the train and improving safety.

Other improvements participants would like to see to make it easier for them to get around included reducing the amount of cars on the road. Tolling the harbour bridge was suggested as was encouraging carpooling. Participants also suggested that public transport needs to be more comfortable and cater for everyone young and old – for example accommodate people in wheelchairs and young people with scooters. Further, participants called for an integrated fare system, such as one card to pay for all public transport. Lastly, some participants stated that they would like to see a greater number of safe cycle lanes in order to create a better connection for cyclists between the south and the central city.

Just maybe everyone just encourage people to car pool when they can. Maybe make a car pool lane just for the car poolers.

(23, male, Samoan, Otahuhu)

A number of participants stated that owning a car would make it easier for them to get around.

Definitely to get my own car that way I don't have to rely on other people to get around.
(24, female, Samoan, Mangere)

For those participants who owned or had access to private vehicles, lower petrol prices topped the list of things that would make it easier to get around. Many commented that petrol prices have been increasing significantly over recent years.

They [petrol prices] are too high because I remember back when we first must have started driving it must have been \$1.60 or something and those days \$1.50. Now the figure what is it now \$2.10.
(22, male, Indian, Manurewa)

4.2.27 Expectations for the future

As part of the interview, we asked participants how they thought people will be getting around in 20 years' time, whether transport options will be better or worse and what they would like to see.

Participants expressed a wide range of views on how people will be getting around in 20 years' time. A large portion of participants believed that traffic congestion in Auckland will intensify because automobile ownership will increase further. More people will want and secure their own private means of transport.

Interviewer: Do you think traffic and transport, transport mostly, will be better or worse in 20 years' time?

Participant 1: Worse.

Participant 2: Oh yeah totally.

Interviewer: How come?

Participant 1: So many young friends wanting to get cars, just the whole economy it's moving really, really fast and so people just eager to get out on the road and stuff.

Participant 2: So pretty much just the new generation trying to gain their own independence so they're not relying on others and public transport. So get their own cars.

(1 = 23, female, Samoan, Takanini; 2 = 20, male, Cook Island Māori, Clendon)

This narrative was accompanied by the consequence of less public transport. While one participant thought buses would become outdated, another one thought public transport will get so expensive that people will use it less or not at all, and more people will walk as well as get their licence.

I think buses in 20 years' time buses would have been outdated and everyone would be like you know everyone would have cars and everything.

(20, Male, Samoan-Chinese, Mangere)

The prediction of more cars was also connected to the notion that the future will hold innovative ideas which will see the expenses associated with running a car reducing in price. It was also suggested that biking will become more popular alongside other means which do not require petrol. Much of the discussion of cycling was forward thinking. Participants want and anticipate biking being more popular in 20 years' time. A number would be interested in cycling more frequently if safe cycling routes were more prevalent and connected the south to the city.

Well you look at all those bio things that's coming out, petrol's becoming vegetable oil and all those kinds. I think that will probably be a big market in 20 years. So things will be a lot cheaper then.

(24, male, Māori, Manurewa)

I think a lot of things will be different, vehicles will change yeah with fuel coming in there'll be less cars on the road due to the fuel prices going up. Yeah less traffic on the road but I think there will be more biking and walking in the next 20 years', we might invent flying cars.

(17, male, Cook-Island Māori, Papatoetoe)

However, a number of participants thought the contrary, that in 20 years' time there will be more public transport, servicing more destinations, more frequently. An increase in petrol prices was often linked to a bigger proportion of the population using public transport. There was a hopeful discourse that public transport will improve and will become the norm.

In 20 years like I think so especially with like the roads getting more congested and so it's not like you can keep expanding it. I expect public transport like to keep increasing and expanding and stuff. So I expect more and more people using it I guess.

(20, male, Cambodian, Manurewa)

Interviewer: Do you think people will be getting around in the same way in 20 years' time?

Participant: I doubt it. The reason I doubt it is because a) our public transport system will probably be a whole lot better by then b) Auckland will probably be quite a big city by then I assume will be probably 5 million plus people with the rate that we're growing at the moment and I guess thirdly it will be much more expensive to travel by car because I guess by that stage petrol will be getting a little more scarce and stuff.

(21, male, NZ European, Manurewa)

Lastly, some participants think nothing will change and that especially the current level of public transport services will remain unchanged. As the quotes below show, this prediction is based on the perception that there are currently no attempts to improve public transport in Auckland.

I think so nothing will change. I mean we got electric trains, whoop di do. We're the last country in the world that's got electric trains. I don't think it's going to change, I just think it's going to get there's probably going to be one more track, one more train in 20 years' time but I don't think there's going to be a dramatic change in the transport system because there hasn't been a dramatic change for the past 20 years.

They'll probably just get flasher train stations and flasher trains but it won't improve anything like that seems to be the pattern in Auckland transport. Flash trains, flash train stations but shit service.

(19, male, Korean, Mangere East)

Participant: It's just the way they're going like not just cost but everything else like times and that, how their times, like how they're doing their times and that. It doesn't look like it's going to go forward you know, it feels like it's going to either stay still or go back.

Interviewer: So why do you think that, why do you think it won't improve to your expectation in the next 20 years?

Interviewer: Because I don't see them making a change, I honestly don't.'

(17, male, Samoan, Manurewa)

5.0 Implications and recommendations

This project's findings have both methodological and policy implications. In terms of methods, the challenges we encountered getting in-depth interview data from young people and the measures we employed to counter this (as described in section 3.2) provides useful information for those conducting research with youth in the future. In addition, the project enables various conclusions to be drawn about the impact of transport access on youth in the TSI area.

This research suggests that for youth in the TSI area, locational disadvantage and socio-economic disadvantage combine to produce transport poverty and transport related social exclusion. Lack of mobility reduces their opportunity to participate in life-enhancing activities and compromises their ability to access training and employment reliably.

Cost is a major factor contributing to a low level of accessibility for both private and public modes. Perceptions and experiences of the public transport system being unreliable, in addition to concerns about safety and the limitations of the radial system predisposed most participants to choose private transport when possible. While the new public transport network (due to be rolled-out in the south in late 2016) should improve service frequency, the research team notes that the new network is heavily dependent on transfers; while financial transfer penalties should be reduced under the new regime, some of our participants expressed a strong aversion to transfers on efficiency and convenience grounds. It is difficult to predict what impact on people's experience and perceptions of public transport the new network is likely to have, particularly because of the way in which negative perceptions can prevent people from using public transport, so can limit the recognition of service improvements. Follow-up research in the TSI to ascertain what the effects of the new network in relation to these matters would be valuable in the future, once the new services are thoroughly bedded-in.

A range of barriers to obtaining a full driver's licence were observed in the interviews; in many instances cost was specified as the critical factor, but some participants also indicated that among their friends and acquaintances driving un-licensed was to a degree normalised. Two key informants commented on the extremely high failure rates for restricted licence tests in the TSI, and suggested that in addition to this imposing extra costs (for re-sitting the test) this was also demoralising for young people.

Many of our participants were dependent on friends or family members for their transportation; stories of complex commuting regimes were common, with one person delivering a number of dependents to work and school. While this approach clearly enabled most day-to-day activities to be carried out, the level of reliance on other people proved problematic for some participants;

illness or other unforeseen circumstances sometimes derailed these carefully devised schemes, leaving a participant in a difficult situation. As noted by some key informants, employers are often reluctant to take on staff who do not have access to independent transport. Here the reinforcing, cumulative nature of transport related social exclusion is evident: lack of access to the resource of mobility can reduce the opportunity to access other resources, such as paid employment; without a sufficient income, it is difficult for a person to improve their mobility.

Because of the interaction between socio-economic deprivation and transport disadvantage and the detrimental effects of this on youth in the TSI these issues warrant further investigation and the development of policy to mitigate these effects.

It is difficult for local government to effectively address transport disadvantage in a context where private automobility is the dominant mode. Promoting public transport accessibility and active modes to youth in the TSI is clearly preferable to enabling car travel in terms of environmental impacts and managing congestion. However, improving public transport accessibility is a major and long-term project, and this research suggests that intervention to address the transport disadvantage of TSI youth is required urgently.

Dramatically reducing the cost of public transport – or indeed making it free – for all youth may lead to higher patronage and reduced TRSE as a result, but the feasibility of this is questionable. It should be noted, however, that the present practice of discounting public transport for students but not for other youth arguably further disadvantages some of the city's most vulnerable citizens: the NEET youth, and those on very low wages or with insecure and irregular work. Discounting travel on public transport for all youth would clearly be the most practicable way to address this issue (as a means-tested system would be administratively onerous), but we recognise this entails a significant cost.

As such, it is with reluctance that the research team concludes that the most immediate opportunity to address the issue of TRSE in the TSI is to enable youth to become legally licensed to drive. Schemes such as the Youth Connections driver licensing programme, through which Year 12 students could access driver education and testing, seem a practical way forward. Partnership between local and central government to fund and deliver such schemes would contribute to policy goals at both scales, and may have a significant impact on the life chances of currently disadvantaged youth. Even with subsidised or fully funded driver education and licensing programmes the issue of getting youth into safe and legal vehicles remains; the cost of maintaining and registering a car is not insignificant, as some of our participants noted. The barrier that this creates for youth who are facing socio-economic deprivation seems intractable at present; it is an

issue of deprivation as much as it is one of transport, and this demonstrates further the interaction and the frequent correlation between locational disadvantage and other forms of social exclusion.

In order to understand this complex matter more fully, it is recommended that equivalent research be undertaken with youth in other areas of Auckland. By exploring the experiences of youth in different areas of the city, at different distances from centres of employment, education and recreation, and with different socio-economic characteristics, we can go some way towards disentangling the relative impacts of geography, age, and SES. This may allow for the targeting of policy to address the specific needs of youth in different parts of the city. While subsidising driver education and licensing may be the best policy approach at present for youth in the TSI, the promotion of other modes through alternative policy levers may be more suitable for youth facing different challenges in relation to accessing transport.

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7.0 Appendix A: Key informant interview schedule

Content

1. What are the transport issues facing youth in the TSI?
2. What are the implications of these issues?
3. What are the solutions?

Methodology

1. How should we recruit participants for our interviews and hui?
2. Who should facilitate the hui?
3. Where should we carry out the intercept interviews?
4. Who should conduct them?

8.0 Appendix B: TSI youth interview schedule

Participant profile:

Age

Sex

Ethnicity

Occupation

Place of residence (address would be ideal, but otherwise a landmark they live near)

Family status (do they have children? A partner? Household composition?)

Education

Migrant status

Length of residence in the South

Driver's license? What type (learner's, restricted, full)?

Questions:

1. Current travel behaviours
 - a. How do you usually get around?
 - b. What are the main places you travel between?
 - i. During the week?
 - ii. During the weekend?
 - c. What journeys would you make in a typical week?
 - d. Are there other places in the Auckland region that you go to regularly? Whereabouts? What do you go there for? How often do you go, and how do you get there?
 - e. Would you like to go to other parts of Auckland more often?
2. Problems with current travel options
 - a. What do you like or dislike about the way you get around?
(prompts: time, cost, safety, reliability, accessibility, getting home after a night out)
 - b. Do you think your transport options limit your ability to do the things you want to do?
 - c. Has anything changed in the past year that makes it harder or easier for you to get around?
3. Cost of transport
 - a. What do you think you spend on transport in an average week?

- i. If they're a car user push them to think about petrol, cost of the car & any loans, insurance, drivers' license, rego/WOF, parking, maintenance.
- b. What proportion of your income do you spend on transport?
(note: student loan/allowance and/or any form of government assistance should be considered 'income')
- c. Has there ever been a situation where your transport plans have fallen through and you've either:
 - i. had to pay extra to get to your destination; or
 - ii. missed out on something important (e.g. work, an appointment, a valuable experience or a job interview)?
- 4. Solutions
 - a. If there was one thing that could be done to make it easier for you to get around what would it be?
 - b. Do you think people will be getting around in the same ways in 20 years' time?
 - i. Will transport options be better or worse then?
 - ii. What would you like to see?

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