Gender and Mobility - Sustainable Development in the Transport Sector

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Abstract: Several statistical studies show that women in developed countries, taken to be facing equal opportunities, are more environmentally benevolent in transport choice than men, as well as shape more environmentally benign (i.e. smaller) mobilities. Some researchers contend that a greater inclusion of women is needed in matters furthering sustainable development within the transport sector, because they believe women to be intrinsically more environmentally conscious. However, few qualitative studies explore the actual reasons behind women's more environmentally sustainable behavior in the transport sector. This qualitative study, conducted in Uppsala, aims to uncover the situation in present-day Sweden, a country renowned for its high level of sustainability and gender equality initiatives. Fourteen in-depth interviews were carried out (allowing for greater insight into the factors informing individuals' transport choices and mobility patterns) with a sample of individuals pertaining to two demographically different neighborhoods (providing an observation of the influence that other demographic and socio-economic factors might have). While the results show certain gendered undertones in the organization of the interviewed individuals' lifestyles, the reasons behind making certain transport choices and shaping one's mobility are reported by the study's subjects to be the same for both men and women. The primary factors guiding the interviewees' choices are predominantly linked to convenience, saving money, and saving time. Although the interviewees speak of facing equal opportunities, however, these appear to be to an extent still influenced by gender, mainly in the meaning ascribed to automobility and an unequal division of labor.

Keywords: case study, gender, mobility, sustainable development, transport, Uppsala.

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Popular Summary: Several statistical studies show that women in developed countries, taken to be facing equal opportunities, are more environmentally benevolent in transport choice than men, as well as shape more environmentally benign (i.e. smaller) mobilities. Some researchers contend that a greater inclusion of women is needed in matters furthering sustainable development within the transport sector, because they believe women to be intrinsically more environmentally conscious. However, such contentions are questionable on empirical grounds as they are based largely on assumptions about pro-environmental attitudes, as well as a presumed achieved level of gender equality in the developed world that eliminates any gendered constraints. Few qualitative studies explore the actual reasons behind women's more environmentally sustainable behavior in the transport sector, while many express the need for in-depth, contextualized, and qualitative studies, in order to shed some light on the situation. This qualitative study, conducted within two neighborhoods in Uppsala, aims to uncover the situation in present-day Sweden, a country renowned for its high level of sustainability and gender equality initiatives. Fourteen in-depth interviews were carried out, allowing for a greater insight into the factors informing individuals' transport choices and mobility patterns, with a sample of individuals pertaining to two demographically different neighborhoods, thus providing an observation of the influence that other demographic and socio-economic factors might have on transport and mobility. The results show certain gendered undertones in the organization of the interviewed individuals' lifestyles, specifically in that men assign greater meaning to car ownership than do women, and that there persists an unequal division of labor. Nevertheless, the reasons behind making certain transport choices and shaping one's mobility are reported by the study's subjects to be the same for both men and women. The primary factors guiding the interviewees' choices are predominantly linked to convenience, saving money, and saving time. Although the interviewees speak of facing equal opportunities, however, these appear to be to an extent still influenced by gender, most prominently so in the meaning ascribed automobility and an unequal division of labor.

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1. Introduction

Moving to Sweden just shy of two years ago, I was quick to recognize the presence of a heightened level of environmental awareness as well as gender equality. Uppsala is an overwhelmingly bike and/or bus kind of town, where second-hand shops abound, and with a cultural propensity to grow and even gather much of one's own food. Home to two universities, this small town teems with courses and initiatives drawing attention to issues of gender as well as advancing the pursuit of gender equality.

At the same time, however, I could soon begin to note some room for improvement. Although the country earned its ranking as "most sustainable country in the world" in sustainability investment firm Robecosam's report of last year (Robecosam, 2013), as a developed nation Sweden remains among the top polluting countries in the world. The transport sector contributes to 23% of total man-made CO2 emissions across the globe, creeping up to a whopping 30% in the case of developed countries (UNECE, 2014; Urry, 2004). In Sweden, transport accounts for about one third of the country’s energy use (Swedish Energy Agency, 2012) and, according to the International Energy Agency (2013; data from 2011), contributes an incredible 45.3% of emissions.

Furthermore, although gender equality is upheld as a distinctive and integral component of Swedish society (Arora-Jonsson, 2013), it is only within the context of the transport sector that the Swedish Bill on climate and energy policy still considers gender to be relevant (Regeringens Proposition, 2008 in Arora-Jonsson, 2011). Several predominantly quantitative studies convey that women in the developed world, including Sweden, make more environmentally benign choices with regard to transportation than do their male counterparts, and their findings are taken up with interest by researchers on gender (Hanson, 2010; Law, 1999; Polk, 1996, 2003, 2004b).

Since gender has featured so prominently in Swedish governance over the years, any persisting differences between men and women's relations to transportation are worthy of note as well as further research (Polk, 2001). As it stands, the arguments as to why these differences are still in place can be split into two main strands of thinking, namely 1) the belief that women in the developed world, assumed to be facing equal opportunities, are intrinsically more holistic and environmentally-conscious (Dobscha and Ozanne, 2001; MacGregor, 2004) or 2) that there must persist a number of external, societal factors that act to influence and reinforce this disparity between men and women (Hanson, 2010).

Hanson (2010) argues, that the many heretofore conducted quantitative studies on how gender interlinks with mobility lack the necessary insights into the contexts shaping the situation - power relations, identity formations, and the meanings behind various aspects of transport and mobility.

Gender is, as within the scope of this study, understood to be a deeply rooted social construct, serving as a way for us to understand ourselves and those around us. As a category of analysis, gender can be applied so as to study the manifestation and reproduction of power relationships within society (Arora-Jonsson, 2013). Thoroughly embedded in our understanding of the world, it can quite subtly influence the choices that we make and, in this case, shape our decision-making regarding transport and mobility even where an equality of genders is near taken for granted (Arora-Jonsson, 2011).

As it stands, in addition to opting for more environmentally benevolent modes of transport, women in the developed world, including Sweden, also appear to shape more restricted mobilities (Hanson, 2010; Law, 1999; Polk, 1996, 2003, 2004b). Considering that mobility implies not only movement but also the potential thereof, it would appear that an achievement of equal opportunities for men and women might not as yet be a reality.

The aim of this study is, echoing Hanson's (2010) expressed need for in-depth, qualitative, and contextualized, studies into the circumstances guiding individuals' choices in transport mode and the shaping of their mobilities, to provide insight into the situation as found in present-day Sweden.

The main research questions to be answered are -

*What factors prompt the choices people make with regard to transport and mobility?*

*Are these factors gendered?*

These questions encompass the following queries: Might there be some truth to women being more environmentally conscious than men? To what extent do factors of social difference, such as the level of education, income, age, ethnicity, presence of children, etc., play a role in shaping individuals'
choices in transport and their mobilities? And to what extent might these factors be influenced by gender?

This study focuses on two residential neighborhoods in Uppsala. The two are socio-economically and demographically substantially different, namely in that one is of a richer, older, mainly Swedish population, consisting of predominantly owner-occupied and overall larger households. The other comprises a poorer population of a wider age range, home to many immigrants, and constituting a large number of rented flats and/or single households.

The study is small, consisting of fourteen in-depth, qualitative interviews conducted with individuals residing in the two areas. Therefore, although the results may not be able to provide for much generalization, the study should nevertheless be able to offer some valuable insight that the quantitative studies on the matter cannot.

As the cause to which the study aims to make its contribution, sustainable development is defined within the Brundtland Report of 1987 as, both an objective and a method, "development that meets the needs of the present without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their needs" (WCED, 1987:43). Consisting of three pillars, sustainable development seeks to achieve economic and social development, as well as environmental protection. Recognizing the importance of integrating all three, scholars of sustainability have urged that none of the three major pillars be neglected (Hanson, 2010).

Furthering gender equality is considered crucial for the social development component of sustainability. In taking steps towards environmental preservation, however, trying to bring the levels of individuals' mobilities up to the large and environmentally harmful patterns currently associated with masculinity would not make much sense (Hanson, 2010). However, as Hanson (2010) relays, the current disparities between men and women's mobilities present a problem of equality of access to opportunity. Not only can women's lesser mobilities be seen as disempowering and thus detrimental for societal advancement, but having less freedom in actual and potential movement can, within the context of the labor market, be damaging to economic development as well (Hanson, 2010).

Addressing all three components of sustainability - environmental, economic, and social - is, clearly, a challenge. Yet gaining a better understanding of the ways in which men and women continue to relate to transport and mobility is a necessary step on the trajectory towards achieving further sustainable development within the transport sector.

In the following section, I begin by examining some theories and literature into the topics of gender and mobility. I discuss the assumptions about pro-environmental attitudes and gender equality, as well as review a few studies into gendered differences relating to transport and mobility - most of which outline the need for in-depth, qualitative studies.

The methods section following that describes the research process undertaken to examine the transport choices within the two neighborhoods, as well as provides some background information detailing their socio-economic and demographic profiles. The results section summarizes the fourteen interviews and brings up any arising patterns, while the analysis section explores the main themes shaping the reasoning behind individuals' choices, and touches back on the main literature. Finally, the conclusion follows up on and fulfills the aim - the main factors guiding individuals' transport choices and mobilities within this contextualized study are reviewed, and the role that gender might play therein is reflected upon.
2. Theoretical perspective and literature review

The following literature has proven useful for the analysis of this study's results. I begin this section by contextualizing, and later examining the theories behind, the key terms of gender and mobility.

2.1. Gender

In her book on gender, development and environmental governance, Arora-Jonsson (2013:4) conceptualizes gender in three different ways, namely (1) as a description of society based on sexual attributes, (2) as a category of analysis, and (3) how it becomes a problem that needs to be dealt with vis-à-vis developmental policies, projects, and programs.

Gender as a description of society is evident in the way we attribute different roles, behaviors, characteristics, and activities to the sexes (Arora-Jonsson, 2013). By imposing social categories on sexed bodies (Scott, 1986), we are thus engaging in the process of "doing gender" (Arora-Jonsson, 2013; West and Zimmerman, 1987). These attributes become taken for granted and, being used as both a justification and grounds for action, serve as a way of understanding the world. Gender, in this sense, undoubtedly permeates my interviewees' accounts.

In order to understand the role of gender as relating to my interviewees' transport choices and culminating in the shaping of their mobilities, this study goes on to use gender in the second sense - as a category of analysis. Ultimately, in analyzing how gender relates to transport and mobility within the study, it is observed whether or not (and to what extent) it, as in its third conceptualization, becomes problematic.

Whether or not gender is regarded as problematic may be understood as strongly related to the perceived level of gender equality within a society.

2.1.1. Assumptions about gender equality and pro-environmental attitudes

Gender equality, according to the United Nations Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) (2001:1), implies that the interests, needs, and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of men and of women. Gender equality is considered to be a human rights issue as well as a precondition for sustainable development; it is contained within sustainability's aforementioned pillar of social development.

However, a greater involvement of women in matters concerning combating climate change is by some regarded as crucial for a further reason - the assumption that women are more environmentally conscious than men (Arora-Jonsson, 2011).

According to Arora-Jonsson (2011), women in developed and developing countries alike are believed to behave more environmentally benevolently than men. It is assumed that, in developing countries, this is the case due to a still pervasive gender inequality that presents women with numerous constraints. Typically facing dissimilar opportunities in the labor market, women in developing countries also assume a more traditionally gendered role in taking primary responsibility for the household and for childcare - the two realities being mutually reinforcing. Within the transport sector specifically, although relevant across others as well, many women thus exert a lesser negative impact on the environment than their male counterparts since fewer own and/or drive cars, many stay closer to home, and travel overall shorter distances than men.

In developed countries, however, gender equality is considered to be at an advanced level, with women and men assumed to be facing equal opportunities. Women in the developed world nevertheless similarly appear to make more environmentally conscious choices, although this is here relevant mainly within the transport sector (Arora-Jonsson, 2011). Taking this behavior at face value and assuming an absence of constraints, much literature on countries in the North centers on the assumption that women are more "virtuous" than their further-traveling male counterparts (Arora-Jonsson, 2011). Presuming that women harbor pro-environmental attitudes, their greater inclusion in initiatives for environmental preservation is considered to be key.

An approach laboring under such presumptions can be found within the realm of ecofeminism - an activist and academic movement that sees critical connections between the social structures that dominate women and those that dominate nature (Ruether, 1975). Although oppressive social structures and their emergent constraints are accounted for, when arguing for a greater gender equality for the sake of successfully advancing sustainability concerns certain strands of
ecofeminism nevertheless maintain a focus on biological, intrinsic qualities, specific to the sexes.

Such views, boxing all women together as "caring" (MacGregor, 2004) and celebrating "feminine" qualities as grounded in receptivity, relatedness, and responsiveness (Merchant, 1996 in MacGregor, 2004), are considered to be problematic on two counts. Firstly, suggesting that women's caring roles be promoted as a means towards achieving environmental preservation, reclaiming focus from intrinsic "masculine" qualities leaning towards egoism and exploitation that are argued to have led to the problems of ecological destruction and gender inequality in the first place (MacGregor, 2004), may serve to further reinforce the unequal status quo between men and women (Dobscha and Ozanne, 2001). Asserting that women should simply remain the "moral guardians both of humanity and of nature" (Code, 1991:274 in MacGregor, 2004:62), could well lead to "an increase in women's responsibility without corresponding rewards" (Arora-Jonsson, 2011:745).

Secondly, MacGregor (2004) reflects that the weight care-centered ecofeminists assign intrinsic qualities in guiding women's (and men's, for that matter) behavior stands to be questioned on empirical grounds. Although, according to Hanson (2010) and Law (1999), numerous studies point to notable differences between men and women of developed countries with respect to transport choices and mobility patterns, upholding the notion that women are indeed more environmentally benevolent in behavior than are men, the vast majority are not inclined to base their reasoning as to why this is so on any assumptions about innate values and attitudes.

Many of the studies taken up within the works of Hanson (2010), Law (1999), and Polk (1996, 2003, 2004b) that attest to such disparities between men and women in the developed world are, however, lacking, in that they are largely quantitative. The findings of these statistical studies are expanded on under 2.2.1. Gender and mobility in Sweden, yet few can pinpoint the reasons behind these differences without straying into speculation. Many thus highlight the need for further, in-depth, research.

Reed (2000), for example, interviewed a group of women supporting conventional forestry in northern Vancouver, a group that in their not being very pro-environmental would not ordinarily feature in discussions about women and the environment. She emphasizes the importance of examining how women's "roles and tasks are embedded within their local socio-political, environmental, and economic contexts" (Reed, 2000:364) - rather than choose to play out their subjectivities, they may be dealt their choices of action "within the confines of households, workplaces, and communities" (Reed, 2000:382).

By likewise examining the situation in the developed North, I wish to explore these circumstances and shed some light on the assumptions regarding women's pro-environmental attitudes as well as on the presupposed relative absence of gendered constraints.

2.1.2. Gender equality in Sweden

There is a strongly pronounced discourse within Swedish society that centers heavily on intense action towards equality between women and men (Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson, 2001) and, indeed, Sweden has long been regarded a leader within the area of gender equality (Arora-Jonsson, 2013).

Within the Swedish context, an actively promoted gender equality has effected a public understanding that men and women have the same qualifications for childcare and household responsibilities as they do for occupying higher positions in society, in the sense of career-building (Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson, 2001). In fact, the dominant notion of gender equality within Sweden goes so far as to "consider male dominance and the different treatment of women and men as having become illegitimate" (Arora-Jonsson, 2013:192) - despite a glass ceiling on women's wages argued by others to be more pronounced now than in the 1990s (Albrecht et al, 2001). There exists a sense of pride for the Swedish model, a society perceived to be more egalitarian than others, yet in actual practice disparities persist (Arora-Jonsson, 2013).

According to Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson (2001), statistical and especially qualitative research shows that gender equality in Sweden is not yet a reality. Women continue to assume primary responsibility for family life and parenthood in a more extensive way than do men. As shown in their qualitative study on the meaning of motherhood in everyday life for women in Sweden (2001), this may in part be due to feelings of guilt experienced by women who sacrifice their family life for the sake of their careers (to the level than men do). Reacting internally to what society expects of a mother, gender thus remains a determining factor for choices and values within a society - despite a growing equality ideology.

This enduring influence of gender is confirmed in Magnusson's (2005) qualitative study on the gendering or equality in the lives of Nordic
heterosexual couples with children. In contrast to the strong national consensus of equality between men and women with regard to politics, there is evidently still a disagreement as to what this means in daily practice (Bergqvist, 1999 in Magnusson, 2005). Two thirds of the couples in Magnusson's study agreed that women held the main responsibility for the household, with the notion among the couples where household chores were most unequally divided (i.e. fell mainly on the women) that women were "by nature" more home-oriented.

Ironically, much like equality-striving yet often inequality-reproducing ecofeminism, these unequal couples rationalized their actions based on "genes and instincts" inherent specifically within men or women. They portrayed the man's participation in housework as contingent on the demands of his paid work and/or leisure activities. Although the more equal couples did not take such stereotypically "male" or "female" roles for granted, most couples within the study nevertheless assigned women a sense of "expertise" when it came to household chores and child-rearing, and men an air of "incompetence" (Magnusson, 2005). It should thus not be surprising that, according to Statistics Sweden's most recent report on the differences between women and men (2014:40), women still put in almost twice the amount of housework in hours than do men.

All the couples in Magnusson's (2005) study turned to the use of "masculine" and "feminine" for rhetorical use in justifying their assumed status quo. Carin Holmberg's (2003) qualitative study on women's subordination and men's superordination among young, "equal", couples in Sweden, shows that even those who very much identify with a sense of gender equality have internalized certain gendered notions growing up. Deeply embedded perceptions upholding that the masculine is somehow of more value than the feminine may, quite subconsciously, act on individuals to assume and reproduce their respective roles in an asymmetry of power.

In her study, Magnusson (2005) goes further to show that the unequal couples, in leaning towards the most traditionally gendered roles, also depicted the most traditionally gendered allocations of personal space. They illustrated an autonomous masculinity as needing to be complemented by an adaptable femininity, towards achieving a harmonious family life. Gendered spatial boundaries were made apparent in the wide, easy to enlarge, territory of movement for men, and the narrower, more fixed, personal spaces for women. If not equal, then these situations were perceived by the couples as normal and natural. According to these findings, gender, especially with regard to an unequal division of labor, still plays a considerable role in the shaping of individuals' mobilities. Since the transport sector is considered within the Swedish context as the sphere within which disparities between men and women are most relevant (Arora-Jonsson, 2011), further implications of gender on mobility and transport in specific will be expanded on in the following sections.

2.2. Mobility

Contained within the wider scope of mobility, transport, as adopted from Zelinsky (1971 in Law, 1999:568), refers to "the movement of people, indicating the short-term, repetitive, movement flows". For the scope of my study, transport is contextualized with reference to repetitive travel habits, as well as choices made in transport mode. Inquiring about my subjects' travel patterns and selected modes of transport, as well as reasons behind them, I in turn gain insight about their mobilities.

Mobility, as adopted from Susan Hanson (2010:7), also concerns movement, yet is "not just about the individual, but about the individual as embedded in, and interacting with, the household, family, community and larger society". As such, the interviewees' mobilities are considered with respect to their respective households and communities.

According to Cresswell and Uteng (2008:2), mobility also involves the "potential for undertaking movement as it is lived and experienced". It thus becomes heavily interlinked with gender equality when considering (un)equal opportunities within the labor market and an (un)equal division of labor at home. Not only does gender equality in this respect address the social advancement pillar of sustainable development, but empowering all of society to have better access to opportunity within the labor market would act to boost economic development as well.

Regarding the potential for and difficulties in establishing sustainability measures within the transport sector in line with the third pillar of preserving the environment, mobility must further be considered within the wider social context.

John Urry writes extensively on the subject of mobility, focusing particularly on the ways in which increased levels of mobility brought along with the focus on industrialization and automobility of the past century have impacted, and continue to
influence, society. Not only have our exponential use of resources in manufacturing growing numbers of vehicles and the ever-increasing greenhouse gas emissions thereof acted to push our planet to its very limits (2012a), but our ubiquitous adoption of the car has altered our mobility patterns considerably (2004). Providing both status and greater mobility, the car has become the major item of individual consumption following only housing, and thus the most important cause of environmental resource use (2004).

The difficulty in moving away from the dominance of the car as a mode of transport is, as described by Urry, due to economies, societies and institutional processes having become "locked in" to the associated infrastructure, as well as the resulting mode of mobility that automobility had set in motion (2004:27). Providing freedom and flexibility to travel at any time across a complex network of roads, designed to accommodate and reinforce this phenomenon, automobility makes much of today's social lives possible. The very "structure of auto space" (Kunstler, 1994 in Urry, 2004) forces individuals to organize their mobilities in complex and individualistic ways, as well as spanning across vast distances, splitting up work and home spheres, fragmenting societies and lengthening commutes - the very opposite to what the arguably more sustainable rail system of the past provided society with, as to a similar kind of trajectory toward which current and future public transportation aims.

Examining further phenomena of modern mobility, Urry speaks of how, in the age of globalization, our networked lives at a distance necessitate extensive traveling and are thus promoting a great, energy-consuming problem (2012b). New modes of virtual travel cannot seem to aptly be able to replace corporeal travel (Urry, 2002). Our need for physical co-presence and, in turn, our expanding global travel habits, will be incredibly difficult to break.

2.2.1. Gender and mobility in Sweden

According to Hanson (2010), quantitative case studies within developed countries show that women, on average, travel shorter distances to work, are less likely to commute or travel for work, and when starting businesses locate them closer to home than men. Furthermore, women make more use of public transportation, engage in more non-work travel, and make more multi-stop trips (Hanson, 2010).

Studies documenting men and women's travel patterns in 1990s Sweden, as summarized in Merritt Polk's article on the need for debate in transportation policy in Sweden (2001), show that men travel on average 53% longer per day than women, make more trips per day, and more often as the sole passenger. Where men and women both use the car for the majority of their distances traveled, men still travel significantly longer distances. Women both walk and use public transportation to a greater extent than men, and while men make more business and work-related trips than women, the latter make more trips for household purposes, such as childcare and shopping, than men. This echoes Hanson's (2010) finding that women engage in more non-work, multi-stop trips.

According to Polk (2001), much of women's spending goes toward commodity goods for the household, whereas a man will typically spend money on capital goods. This may likely be evidencing the findings in Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson's (2001) and Magnusson's (2005) qualitative studies, of household chores and childcare responsibilities persisting as unequally divided between men and women. Although the presence of household incomes should not be disregarded, women's choices in cheaper, more sustainable, transport modes, as evidenced in Polk's (1996, 2003, 2004b) quantitative studies, may nevertheless in part reflect their lower personal incomes. As mentioned previously, their greater assumption of household responsibilities serves to restrict their mobilities, and can in turn act to inhibit their opportunities in the labor market (and vice versa), while a gender wage gap is still a reality in Sweden (Albrecht et al, 2001).

Further restricting women's mobilities, research has shown that disciplinary norms concerning safety, adopted by women at a young age, act to steer them toward limiting their spatial range and traveling after dark and/or within dangerous places (Katz, 1993 in Law, 1999). This notion persists despite the fact that, when factoring in domestic violence, the reality is that women are safer in the public sphere than in their own homes, and the opposite is true for men (Mooney, 1995 in Morrell in Booth et al, 1996).

A study conducted by Polk (2004b) on the influence of gender on daily car use and on the willingness to reduce car use in Sweden, based on a 1996 questionnaire answered by 1180 Swedish residents between the ages of 18 and 80, reveals that being female still significantly decreases car use within a household sharing a car. Women, regardless of their status as mothers, partners, or employees, do not appear to use the car more on a daily basis (Law, 1999; Polk, 2004b) - a finding requiring, according to Polk (2001), qualitative research to better capture how symbolic meanings behind automobility form.
The answer as to why automobility still appears to appeal more to the male half of most any population is argued to lie in the abundance of cultural representations of masculinity permeating transport references, including but not limited to various television advertisements and Hollywood "road trip" movies (Law, 1999). Choosing certain transport modes is also contingent on having certain transport-related skills, from mechanical (e.g. changing a tire) to physical competencies (i.e. riding a bike). While these clearly affect one's ability to use a form of transportation, they also reflect differences in learning opportunities (Law, 1999) that can be traced back to gendered distinctions. As Law (1999) contends, transport technology probably has the most deeply-seated connection to gender, as anyone who has ever been exposed to stereotypes of women drivers or noted the prevalence of trucks and cars among little boys' toys will be quick to recognize.

### 2.2.2. Towards sustainable transport

Hanson (2010) questions the usefulness of our current knowledge of gender and mobility towards informing sustainable development in the transport sector. On a practical level, as Polk (1996) relays, women's travel patterns are already more in line with sustainability goals and as such deserve more attention from policy makers. However, as Hanson (2010) is quick to point out, although women's smaller mobilities might be in line with the goal of environmental preservation, having them remain as such, in combination with all the implied inequality of access, would be detrimental to the social and economic pillars of sustainable development.

A further challenge lies in determining whether women's different mobilities reflect choice or constraint. We should recognize that choice may well be conditioned by context, therefore qualitative, contextualized studies must be a focal point in determining the conditions shaping the situation.

Polk (2004a), in discussing the integration of gender equality within transport policy and practice in Sweden, contends that the most common view on the matter held by practitioners within the SRA - the national authority with overall sector responsibility for road transport in Sweden - is that gendered differences are either non-existent or, if they do exist, unimportant in the context of the transport sector. It is held as more crucial for users to be ensured equal accessibility, regardless of their gender, and it is believed that this is an aspect already in practice. Beyond accessibility, effectiveness, safety, regional development, and the environment are deemed more essential than gender equality - here trivial although supported within a wider social context.

Polk's (1996) paper on Swedish men and women's mobility patterns identified factors behind men and women's different choices to include household composition, employment, age, and income, thus warranting the question of whether gender is a central determining factor, or whether other factors of social difference might play an equal or even greater role.

Yet another position concerning the integration of gender equality within transport policy and practice in Sweden (Polk, 2004a) sees value in taking into account that women are less involved in serious accidents, are more safety-conscious, use the car less, and appear to be overall more environmentally aware. Women have throughout history had less influence in matters of transport planning and policy than men (Hill in Booth et al., 1996), and it may be worthwhile to find out whether women would support the same measures that men advocate today, or in terms of improving the situation would support proposals that are more environmentally aligned.

While attitudinal surveys may convey that in general women appear to be more aware of the needs of others, exhibiting values that are more inclusive, altruistic, and pro-environmental, it remains a matter of drawing the line between individuals' opinions and their actual, observed, behavior (Polk, 2004a). Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that the attitudinal surveys carried out for Polk's (2004b) research into the willingness to reduce car use in Sweden were quantitative assessments of individuals' opinions, overlooking the reasons shaping them.

Perhaps women do identify with care-centered values and display attitudes supportive of sustainability initiatives, yet it is a different matter altogether what the actual reasons behind their more environmentally benign transport choices and mobility patterns are. It should be questioned whether women, in a setting of true gender equality consisting of equal pay and an equal division of labor, would end up advancing to adopting the same, less sustainable, lifestyles of men.

Understanding how gender, in all its complexity, ties in with transport and mobility will, in order to gain insight that might aid change within the realm of sustainable development, require in-depth, contextualized studies. Statistical studies relaying a correlation between women and more environmentally benevolent behavior do not, after all, necessarily affirm there is a causation.
3. Methods and background for the empirical study

The fieldwork for this in-depth, contextualized, qualitative, and empirical study was conducted within two neighborhoods in Uppsala.

3.1. The neighborhoods

The two neighborhoods selected within Sweden's fourth largest town are of notably disparate socio-economic and demographic profiles. They are situated roughly equidistant from the city center.

3.1.1. Sunnersta

According to Uppsala kommun's statistical survey of last year (Uppsala kommun, 2013a), Sunnersta comprises a population of approximately (rounded to the nearest fifty) 6100, where the largest age group falls within 45-64 years of age, and of which about 900 are non-Swedish. There are approximately 1400 cohabiting couples, some 900 of which have children, and about 950 single occupant households - altogether making up a total of 2350 households.

The majority of the working age population (16-64) is in or has completed at least three years of university education after graduating from high school, with the average earnings for a woman amounting to approximately 300 thousand Swedish crowns, and about 450 thousand for a man.

There are about 2150 residential units in the area, 1700 of which are inhabited by owners and 450 by tenants. Lastly, there are around 2250 cars within Sunnersta, 1600 households with and 850 without1 - thus about 650 households owning multiple cars.

3.1.2. Gottsunda

Conversely, Gottsunda (Uppsala kommun, 2013b) makes up a population of roughly (rounded to the nearest fifty) 10,000, where the largest age group falls within 25-44 years of age, and of which as many

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1 This amounts to 2450 rather than 2350 households, on account of the latter information being collected a year before the former.
as 5250 of the population are non-Swedish. There are approximately 1550 cohabiting couples, 1050 of which have children, and about 3500 single occupant households - thus 5050 households altogether.

The majority of the working age population has completed elementary and/or high school, with some (1500) following that with, or currently undergoing, three years at university. The average income for a woman consists of approximately 200 thousand Swedish crowns, and for a man 224 thousand.

There are about 4150 residential units in Gottsunda, of which 400 are inhabited by owners and 3850 by tenants. Finally, there are about 2300 cars within the area, 1900 households with a car and 3200 without - thus about 400 households own more than one car.

3.1.3. Sunnersta vs. Gottsunda

An overview of the differences between the two neighborhoods, as according to the statistical information provided by Uppsala kommun (2013a and b), is expanded on in Table 1 below.

In short, Sunnersta comprises a population that is, on average, 1) older and with more cohabiting couples households, 2) predominantly Swedish, 3) of higher educational attainment as well as income, 4) with houses overwhelmingly owner-occupied as opposed to rented, and 5) with many more cars with respect to population size than there are in Gottsunda.

Gottsunda, on the other hand, makes up a considerably larger population, with 1) a larger age range and with more single occupant households, 2) a greater proportion of immigrants, 3) of, on average, a lower level of education and income, 4) many more temporary (rented) residences, and 5) fewer cars.

Considering the statistical differences already evidencing disparities between men and women, it may be observed that on average women earn less than men in both neighborhoods, and outnumber them within public sector jobs. Conversely, Gottsundan and Sunnerstan men comprise the majority of the private sector, and on average earn higher wages than do women. Interesting to note is the fact that the gender wage gap is larger in Sunnersta, where both men and women, on average,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunnersta</th>
<th>Gottsunda</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6100</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3650</td>
<td>6600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>5250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>52.5% of 10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2350</td>
<td>5050</td>
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<tr>
<td>1400</td>
<td>1550</td>
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<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>30.7% of 5050</td>
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<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>1050</td>
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<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>67.7% of 1550</td>
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<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>31.7% of 5050</td>
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<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>37.6% of 5050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000/450,000</td>
<td>200,000/224,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200</td>
<td>2050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>780/420</td>
<td>20.5% of 10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2150</td>
<td>2900</td>
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<tr>
<td>2150</td>
<td>29.0% of 10,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1300/850</td>
<td>1750/1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2150</td>
<td>60.3%/39.7% of 2900</td>
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<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>9.6% of 4150</td>
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<tr>
<td>2250</td>
<td>3850</td>
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<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>92.8% of 4150</td>
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<tr>
<td>650</td>
<td>1900</td>
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<tr>
<td>850</td>
<td>37.3% of ~5100</td>
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<td>1600</td>
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<tr>
<td>850</td>
<td>21.1% of 1900</td>
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<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>3200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>850</td>
<td>62.8% of ~5100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
earn higher salaries than those in Gottsunda. This may be evidencing a glass ceiling for women's wages (Albrecht et al, 2001), as mentioned previously.

The two neighborhoods were selected with their equidistance from the city center in mind, allowing for a similar commute distance and, imaginably, pattern of the inhabitants to places of work, commerce-, and leisure-related activities presumably located in and/or near the town center. Both neighborhoods are residential, and for the majority of the inhabitants places of work are located elsewhere.

However, the two areas are not entirely equally interwoven with an ample number of regular bus lines. Gottsunda has a few more than does Sunnersta, and this may very well be a reflection of demand, considering the fact that Sunnerstans own more cars, and that the population of Gottsunda is comparatively larger. The provision of bicycle paths, on the other hand, is similarly well afforded within both.

These demographic snapshots rather adequately reflect the neighborhoods' reputations, ones I have come to know having lived in Uppsala for some time. Sunnersta is known for its wealthier inhabitants, predominantly Swedish and of an aging population, residing in larger, privately-owned, houses.

Gottsunda, on the other hand, is an up-and-coming neighborhood where many immigrants find their first homes once arriving in Sweden, a place where the inhabitants are overall younger and less wealthy, and gang-related crime is reportedly at a heightened level.

3.2. The plan

In order to delve into a few individuals' from each of these neighborhoods reasonings behind their transport choices and mobility patterns, the fieldwork for this study was designed to consist of a series of in-depth, qualitative interviews, with discussion points allowing for interesting, personal explorations.

The targeted number of interviews, substantial enough to provide both sizable and meaningful data for subsequent analysis, was set at fourteen, i.e. targeting seven households in Gottsunda and seven in Sunnersta. Every interview was to be held with all members of each of the fourteen households - thus ensuring a balance between men and women since insight from both was sought -, where the unit for subsequent analysis would be the household.

The interviewees were thus selected semi-randomly - randomly because anyone living within the neighborhood was eligible, however a certain balance of people of different walks of life was desired. This included individuals from different social and economic backgrounds, Swedish as well as non-Swedish, young and old, students and pensioners, single households and families, families with young children and those with children off at college, etc. - as of course a balance between men and women.

3.3. The outcome

In getting together a well-proportioned mix of individuals, notices were posted in public spaces within Gottsunda and Sunnersta, seeking volunteers to be interviewed. With no responses after quite some time had passed, this proved to be too slow and unreliable a process to garner enough, as well as the desired balance, of subjects in time. Thus, the method that prevailed was to tap into my already existing network of friends and acquaintances living in Uppsala. I advertised looking for Sunnerstans and Gottsundans among my classmates and their acquaintances, especially those who have been living in Uppsala for a long time, and spoke with some family friends who are Uppsala locals.

Two interviews were thus conducted with friends of mine, six with friends and acquaintances of friends, three with my supervisor's (also residing in Sunnersta) colleagues and contacts, one with a former professor of mine, one through the Sunnersta housing community (Sunnersta Egnahemsforening), and the final with an employee at a local facility in Gottsunda who agreed to an impromptu interview while I was in the area scouting out the neighborhood and trying to approach potential interviewees.

It turned out that, in twelve cases out of fourteen, I was unable to interview all members of a household, due to either difficulties in coordinating their tight and clashing schedules and/or unwillingness on part of certain members to participate. I thus ended up interviewing twelve individuals (who spoke also on behalf of their cohabitants as well as they could), one man and his two student tenants, and one retired couple. Altogether this amounts to 17 interviewed individuals, whereas the total number of household members whose transport habits are discussed within the study is 36. Of these 36, seven are children, six are adults under 30 years of age, sixteen fall between 30 and 60, and seven are aged 60 and over.
In Sunnersta, I thus interviewed 1) Viktor (50s) and his tenants Iva and Sean (both 20s), the latter two originally from elsewhere in Europe and without a car\(^2\), 2) Sara (40s), living with her partner (Swedish: sambo) and their young children, 3) Malin (40s), living with her husband, originally from another developed nation overseas, and their young children, 4) Kathryn (40s), originally from Northern Europe, living together with her sambo, originally from Southern Europe, and their baby, not owning a car, 5) Matilda (70s), living together with her husband and their two grown-up sons, 6) Gustav (50s), living together with his wife, and 7) Anders and Emilia (both 70s), a retired couple now living on their own.

In Gottsunda, I interviewed 1) Priya (60s), originally from South Asia, living with her teenage daughter and not owning a car, 2) Carlos (30s), originally from South America, living with his Swedish sambo and their young children, 3) Filippa (30s), living on her own and without a car, 4) Freja (20s), living together with her partner Emil, 5) David (20s), originally from Central Europe, cohabiting with a flatmate and living without a car, 6) Aida (40s), originally from East Africa, living together with her husband, and 7) Maeen (60s), originally from the Middle East, living with her elderly mother and not owning a car.

All but one of the interviews were conducted in English, with the one conducted half in Swedish needing a little help from a friend with translating.

3.4. The bias

The outcome turned out to be a sample not quite as diverse as was aimed for, and is in fact socio-economically rather homogenized.

The interviewees are by and large both well-educated and well off. In addition, quite a few pertain to the field of academia professionally, these individuals making up seven out of the fourteen households, while two other households contain students. This is not such an unusual outcome considering Uppsala is quite the university town - described as a "tight-knit academic community, academics breeding academics, it's like a cycle" by one of the interviewees who, himself, is an academic. Several subjects thus either studied, study, were employed, or are employed at Uppsala University and/or the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU).

Furthermore, of the twelve individuals interviewed, mainly women (nine out of twelve) agreed to meet with me, taking the time out of their day even if that meant having to arrive with their baby in tow. This may well have been due to the fact that I, too, am a woman, my principal contacts happened to primarily be women, who then in turn asked their female friends to participate in my fieldwork. I ended up speaking with eleven women and six men altogether, although ultimately the transport habits of fifteen adult women and fourteen adult men were discussed (excluding the seven dependent children). It should nevertheless be taken into account, that most of the observed behavior within the study, as well as the reasoning behind it, is reported by women.

3.5. The questions

In order to allow for in-depth examinations of these individuals' lifestyles, convictions, and more, the interview questions were semi-structured. This means that while there were certain questions that needed to be answered (especially those serving to map out the individual's socio-economic profile), others allowed freer rein to expand on deeper, personal accounts.

The interview questions were formulated carefully in a way so as not to immediately introduce sustainability and thus sway the interviewee into answering with environmental factors in mind - unless they would, indeed, come to mind naturally. Although the interviewee was aware that my program, the master thesis for which I was conducting this research, was to do with sustainable development, the purpose for the fieldwork was introduced as "examining if and how various socio-economic factors as well as individual values, preferences, and constraints influence a person's mobility patterns and transport choices". Thus although at first sustainability was not mentioned, environmental attitudes were inquired about later on.

Similarly, gender was not explicitly introduced as a theme, but was encouraged in discussion if gender-related differences were pointed out by the interviewee of their own accord. Whether or not they were explicitly mentioned, however, gendered factors would remain self-evident and could be deduced.

The guiding interview questions (see Appendix) were divided into three main parts, in which they 1) referred to general background information, including age, ethnicity, education, profession, residential location, household characteristics, as well

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\(^2\) Unless stated otherwise, the subject is Swedish and owns a car.
as the location of daily and leisure activities of all household members, and the means used for getting from A to B, 2) asked the subject to identify any reasons they feel they might have for forming their present mobility patterns and making their particular transport choices, and 3) opened the discussion up to reflect on the subject's past situation(s), any differences they have overcome or introduced from then up until now, and why this might be the case.

Environmental attitudes were typically expanded on in this last part, yet often arose of the interviewee's own accord already within the second part of the interview when leeway was given for the subject to go into greater detail as to how they might link their own lifestyle choices to matters of sustainability - or, as in some cases, not very much at all.

3.6. The analysis

Using gender as an analytical category, I observed its manifestation as a description of society within the interviewees' answers. Observing how individuals "do gender", I could then infer how individuals' transport choices and mobilities might be influenced by their conceptions of what "being a man" and what "being a woman" entails. Ultimately, I could deduce whether or not gender is a determining factor for those choices. Since many of the interviewees were women, however, it should be taken into account that the men's perspectives may not have been expanded on quite as much or as aptly as the women's.

Because multiple viewpoints are required to analyze the relationships and organization within a household, the fact that many interviewees spoke on behalf of their respective household members should further be taken into account. Despite this, however, the household dynamics could aptly be inferred.

I crosscut my analysis with factors of age, education, ethnicity, presence of children, and so on, paying attention to whether such factors of social difference proved prominent in informing the individuals' choices in transport and their mobility patterns.

The summarized interviews in the following results section are first, however, laid out impartially and objectively, as relayed by the interviewees.
4. Results of the empirical study

The following accounts are presented with considerable detail, keeping in line with the purpose of this study to provide in-depth insight into individuals' views, lifestyles, and circumstances. Furthermore, as it stands to reason that the interplay of several factors can be decisive in informing the choices people make with regard to transport and mobility, disparate details have been left in as none may be considered wholly inconsequential.

Summarized below are the fourteen interviews, and any arising patterns are commented on thereafter.

4.1. Summarized interviews

4.1.1. The Sunnersta seven

Viktor, Iva and Sean

Viktor, in his 50s, entered the job market straight after high school. He worked for a railway service for a number of years, after which he switched to a bus operating company. Environmental measures are brought up frequently with the company's employees, most recently with the introduction of monetary incentives for bus drivers operating within the lowest, green, levels of fuel consumption by limiting their braking and acceleration frequencies. Using less fuel, Viktor reasons, is profitable for the company.

An avid recycler today, however, he reports to have held a strong pro-environmental attitude ever since he was a teenager. Although his parents have never been overly eco-conscious, the post-war 1920s being "a different time", Viktor traces the origins of his felt connection with and responsibility for nature to perceiving the earth as "a creation of God, the taking care of which was entrusted to humanity".

Viktor owns a car, as well as a bike that has been out of order for quite a while ("I know I ought to bike, but I haven't gotten around to fixing it yet"). He uses the car to do his weekly shopping in Gottsunda as "the shopping center there provides more choice for less money", to attend evening meetings in the community as they finish rather late, and to go the church on Sundays when the buses are less frequent.

Nevertheless, he ascribes much of his opting to drive simply to convenience factors, i.e. "laziness". He prefers traveling by bus on account of it being "so easy", with the bus stop just around the corner from his house. If, however, he has too much to carry, if he is running late, or if it is just not particularly convenient for whatever other reason, the car wins out. Longer distances often see him taking the train, since he enjoys the "long, comfortable, restful journeys". He used to commute by train every day when employed in a nearby town, and made several fellow commuter friends that way. "You'd get to talking about very interesting things", he recalls.

With his grown-up children and various family members now scattered across other towns in Sweden, they often visit each other, and sometimes take summer trips to faraway, exotic places. Viktor lives by himself in a house he owns and has resided in for the past several years, renting out a separate unit to students from time to time. Two of Viktor's tenants included classmates of mine.

Despite studying a very environmentally-focused program, international students Iva and Sean, both in their 20s, gave their reasons for predominantly biking to town and to the university (half of our classes were held just a couple kilometers away from their Sunnersta home) to the very good infrastructure for biking provided by the Uppsala municipality, and to an interest in furthering their own health and fitness. Iva would frequently carpool back at home in the east of Europe, while Sean would walk to most places in his hometown in Europe's north west since "there are no cycle paths, the roads are bad and traffic chaotic, the rain doesn't help, and going by bus involves more waiting than it takes time to walk". The two took to biking and taking the bus in Sweden.

In the case of bad weather, and in the winter when bike locks would literally freeze over, both would switch to taking the bus since neither had access to a car while temporarily living in Uppsala. "The bus will go whether I'm on it or not, so cycling won't make a difference for the environment unless policy makes it so", relays Iva, adding that, "improving public transport won't make people stop using cars, only driving up the price of fuel will". Sean found biking to be the most flexible and convenient form of getting from A to B, however admits to laziness playing a role in him having used the bus at times. Being perfectly honest, Sean discloses that "if I'd had a car, I would have used that rather than biked".

Sara

Sara, in her 40s, resides in a house she owns with her sambo Isak, and their young children. Since Isak keeps very busy running his business in town, Sara
explains that she works whenever she finds the time. Her office for her own, recently established, business used to be located at home, but that did not prove to be a very productive situation since her work time would regularly be interrupted by various bits of housework and children's activities. As of earlier this year, she has relocated to a small space in the town center since, she affirms, "I need to work, too".

The household has two cars, one belonging to Isak's work, and all family members have bikes. The children normally either walk or take the bus to school, while Isak takes the company car to work or, if it is left there overnight, bikes. Sara, on the other hand, takes the bus to work and back every day, relishing in the twenty minutes she has, just to herself, to plan her day and catch up on social media.

Two to three times a week, the children have after-school activities and get dropped off and picked up with the family car (although occasionally they carpool with friends' parents). Weekends see a similar increase in driving, although at times the family tries to offset their car use by instead engaging in activities that involve going off into the forest or for long bike rides. As the winter wears off, the whole family tries to cycle to work and to school.

Grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins live just a few kilometers away. The family members regularly visit each other, typically driving there and back, for dinners and events. Summer vacations are usually spent close to home, in a small cottage they frequent during most holidays. Beyond that, they try to visit Noah's family in his faraway home country at least once every two years, but that depends on and varies with available vacation days and finances.

When asked about whether she, or the family, harbors any strong environmental attitudes, Sara replies "oh, it's the same with everyone...we often think we should be more sustainable, but then we just end up taking the car". It comes down to "whatever works in the moment". Before starting a family and settling into this particular arrangement, Sara worked in another city and Isak, en route, in a nearby town. They would drive to his place of work, and Sara would continue to hers by train. This, she says, was for practical reasons, as biking was not an option.

She visits an exercise class one evening a week, at a friend's house just a few minutes' walk from her own. In the wintertime, however, she will drive herself there. "You're taking the car!?!", Isak is always incredulous. Yes, admits Sara, because she fears for her safety in the pitch black darkness of Swedish winter, even within a reputedly safe neighborhood as Sunnersta. She picks her kids up much more often in the wintertime, too, "just to be on the safe side".

Malin

Malin, in her 40s, is a researcher at one of the universities while teaching part-time. She lives together with her husband Noah, and their young children, in a house they bought some years ago. Noah divides his work halfway between two countries, and is thus away a few months out of the year. He travels more for work than Malin does, which she considers "has more to do with where we are in our careers. He's older and has come further along, requiring him to take more trips for work than me". "We try to divide our household responsibilities pretty equally when we're both at home, however", she continues, "although I think I might be a bit more involved in the kids' social activities than he is".

The family takes to the mountains quite a bit, and vacations in their summer house (Swedish: stuga) during most holidays. Beyond that, they try to visit Noah's family in his faraway home country at least once every two years, but that depends on and varies with available vacation days and finances.

The household shares one car, and all have bikes. Malin opts to bike to work, because "well...I don't want to pay the parking fee!". Biking also provides one with some free exercise, she adds. The children either walk, bike, or take the bus to school. Noah, like Malin, bikes to work and back. The pair use the car primarily in order to take the children to and from their after-school activities, for trips and family visits during the weekends, to do their weekly shopping in Gottsunda, and to reach their summer cottage (to get to which one "absolutely needs a car").

The couple bikes to their local gym, unless it is raining, in which case they drive ("if it's pouring down and you're going to train, you don't want to be soaking wet when you get there"). They bike even in the middle of winter - the bike paths are kept very clear, making this possible and enjoyable - as they try to reduce their car use as much as possible. Malin feels safe biking even in the dead of winter as she believes Sunnersta to be a safe place, yet were she living in Gottsunda she says she might consider taking the car instead. In the end, however, it comes down to "balancing things according to our energy levels", citing tiredness and/or being in a rush as instances when a car comes very much in handy.

All in all, they are happier with their situation now than when, years earlier, they lived in the nearby countryside, had two cars, a motorbike, and would each drive their own car to get to work in the mornings. There was no bike path to get to work.
Selling one of the cars once moving to Uppsala was "a relief", both economically as well presenting the added luxury of simply "being able to pop down to the store for some milk, on your bike". Malin grew up in a similar situation in the countryside, with her parents driving everywhere. They would come home from their shared work place close-by just to have lunch, and then drive back again. "It made me so irritated", Malin remembers, as she and her siblings would always walk and/or bike to and from school.

She did not own a car until later in life. Nevertheless, today she would feel "very...imprisoned without a car...I like the sense of being able to pack the car up and go! There is a sense of freedom in that, in a bit of a road trip sense. That you don't need to take public transport, that you can stop whenever you like. Of not being so...claustrophobic. Of independence." She goes on to describe always having had this desire, and goal, of "one day just being able to go into a car shop and choose a car all for myself...of being able to afford it, on my own, not having to compromise on what I want, or what I want to do, of where I want to go in it. Of having opportunities. A car isn't just about transport...there are emotions attached".

Kathryn

Kathryn, in her 40s, has lived in Uppsala for the past couple of years with her sambo Mateo and, as of a few months, their newborn baby. Mateo is a researcher at one of the universities, and they moved here when he got his job. At the moment both new parents are on parental leave, having decided to split it evenly between them, and are dividing their days equally between the two as well ("He takes her in the mornings, I take her in the afternoons").

The couple does not own a car. Living just a two-minute walk from their apartment to the bus stop connecting three lines, Kathryn describes their public transport availability as "absolutely brilliant". Like many families in Sweden, they, too, like to go to the countryside every once in a while, but when they do they simply rent a car or carpool. Like many expecting couples, they, too, thought that bringing a baby into their home would present a need to finally get their own car, but soon found that this need not be the case. "We haven't come into a single situation where we've needed to have a car", she says. "As soon as you have one", she continues, "you get used to it. I've been in a position where I could buy a car for a long time now, but I never chose to do it".

She ranks her reasons for not having a car as, firstly, environmental, secondly, to keep fit and, finally, to save money. For Mateo, Kathryn fills in, saving money would probably come first, keeping fit second, and the environment would place third.

Before having the baby Kathryn biked in the summer, and used the bus in the winter. She now either takes the bus or walks, pushing the pram along with her - proving useful for loading up with the weekly shopping as well - but once she can get around to sorting out a bike trailer for the baby, she plans to get around her activities on bike. Mateo, meanwhile, takes to cycling anytime, anywhere. An avid biker, he keeps his prized personal vehicle in mint condition.

The couple tries to visit their home countries once a year, typically for the holidays. Kathryn grew up in a small market town in Europe's north west, where they would normally take a train to get to the bigger city on either side of it. For vacationing they would drive to the countryside, only Kathryn's mother did not drive and so, when with her, the children would bike or take a horse and cart. "I grew up cycling everywhere with my mom, and taking the car everywhere with my dad", she recalls.

Unlike Kathryn, her brothers and sisters bought cars immediately once out of university. Ever since having the baby she reports she feels very conscious of bringing it up with the right values, to think that "it's normal not to have a car". Mateo grew up in the center of a big city in Southern Europe and was used to either walking, or taking the bus or metro. "Nobody there has a car" Kathryn explains, "but trying to bike is impossible! The car and bus drivers are so ignorant of bicyclists, they'll run them over, there are people walking in cycle lanes...there is no public consciousness when it comes to biking".

Kathryn describes her reasoning as to why biking is such a pleasant activity in Sweden with "90% of the people own a bike and a car, so everybody knows what it's like to cycle in traffic as well as what it's like to be a driver with cyclists around you...you can better appreciate and be mindful of one another".

When asked if she expects her family's situation to change at any point, she says that she would love to live in a house in the countryside with a garden, and generate her own energy via solar panels or wind turbines in order to be able to have an electric car. Living in the countryside would necessitate having a car. "But my sambo doesn't have or want a driving license, so that might be a bit of a tricky situation", she continues. "I'm always hassling him to get a license - just because you have one doesn't mean you have to drive, but it's better to have one just in case."
Matilda

Matilda, in her 70s, lives in a house she owns with her husband Otto, as well as their two grown-up sons. She had held a professorship at one of the universities, and continues to review and write papers as a senior advisor today. Since her place of work is very close-by, she has always biked or walked there. Otto, now likewise retired, switched work places a few times over the years and would normally drive to work since it was always located rather far away. In retrospect, Matilda wishes she had had some commute time of her own, as she says she always seemed to "bring work home in my head".

Today, she takes care of most of the housework, specifically the cooking and the gardening, while her husband tends to their, now one, car. The family members each have their own bicycle, and consider biking to be part of their lifestyle. The sons normally attend their activities in town by bus, while the couple sometimes takes the car. They do their grocery shopping in Gottsunda once a week, also by car. Matilda is involved with a number of organizations in Sunnersta, usually driving to her meetings on account of bringing coffee and pastries along, carpooling if and when the opportunity arises.

Whenever the family ventures outside of Uppsala, they take the family car. They increase the use of it in order to vacation in the countryside. Now that the cold and dark of winter, and in the summertime in order to run their house on geothermal energy, making things more economically efficient. "Now that I am retired", she says, "I have more time to think about these things...when I was working I traveled a lot, flew to meetings and conferences all over the world. I was more of a heavy polluter when I was working. I took whatever was the fastest, most convenient, most suitable means of transport." She bikes primarily because of the exercise it provides her, and not so much for environmental reasons, explaining, "I don't think it's just our way of living that is bringing about climate change...I think it's more about the external forces, such as what caused the ice age long ago".

Matilda grew up in the countryside, where she biked everywhere. But having a family, she says, requires you to be more mobile and, for that, the car is essential. "It's about your freedom, your choices", she continues, "and moving about a family of four using public transport is expensive and takes time".

Gustav

Gustav, in his 50s, has lived in the house in Sunnersta he owns with his wife Birgitta for over a decade. She works at one of the universities and bikes there every day, while Gustav, who works in a company a little bit farther into town, tries to bike most days of the week and, alternately, takes the car. The couple shares a car, which, during a typical working week, they mainly use for their weekly grocery shopping.

In their spare time they like to keep fit, and will regularly bike to their nearby gym. While Birgitta's hobbies include gardening at home, Gustav enjoys going out to do some hunting or golfing. In order to get to either of those remote locations, he drives. On the weekends the two like to drive out into the nature somewhere and take a walk, and in the winter they go skiing. For longer breaks they drive up north to their summer stuga in the country, and quite frequently also manage to fly off to some foreign place.

While Gustav does think about the environment quite a fair bit, his line of work dealing with natural resources, he does not consider the environment among his top reasons for choosing, whenever he does, to bike rather than take the car out. He bikes primarily for health and fitness reasons, and prioritizes convenience above all else. Birgitta's work also deals with sustainability issues, however her reasons for biking to and from work are mainly because she finds it to be most comfortable, her office being located very close-by to their home. To limit their own negative impact on the environment, Gustav says that they try to limit what and how much they buy, and that they try to recycle everything.

Neither seems to make much use of the buses. In the winter, when it gets too cold to bike or to walk, both prefer using the car. "You have to wait in the cold for the buses in the wintertime, and they're always full!", Gustav explains. If both need to make use of their one car at the same time, one drops the other off, or one ends up biking or walking instead. "Overall", he says, "I tend to use the car more than my wife does".

As for the future, once the couple retires, Gustav expects them to have more time to travel and to fly off to exotic places. He predicts that they will probably end up being much less sustainable overall.
Anders and Emilia

Anders and Emilia, both in their 70s, have lived in a house they own in Sunnersta for the past twenty years. Their children all moved out many years ago, and since then it has been just the two of them in a house they now deem quite a bit large.

Emilia moved to Sweden from her neighboring home country soon after finishing university, around which time Anders landed his position at one of the universities in Uppsala. Some years after starting their family, with their children still very young, the family moved abroad to a faraway developing country for Anders' job. At the time, Emilia stayed at home to take care of the children, born within just a few years of each other, and was engaged in volunteer work. When a civil war broke out in their host country they quickly moved back home, and Emilia got the job that she kept until her retirement.

The couple have two cars, while Emilia additionally has a bicycle and Anders a motorbike. She would use her bike regularly over the years, especially to go to town and back for work. "I love biking. I biked even in the middle of winter when Anders would offer to drop me off", she recalls. Anders, with his office just a couple of kilometers from the house, much more close-by than his wife's, would always take the car. "I would bike in the beginning, but then had two bicycles stolen...and found it a good opportunity to blame the situation", he laughs, continuing "It is not some kind of anti-feminist thing...I would drive her, she likes to drive, we both like the freedom of having a car. But she chooses to bike for exercise".

Nowadays, the two will walk the shorter distances, for example to the convenience store around the corner which Emilia frequents, and take the car out for the rest. In the summers they will typically drive up north to their summer stuga. They used to travel all across Europe on Anders' motorbike, however now "my wife complains that she has difficulties climbing onto the motorcycle, and I complain that I have difficulties climbing off of it", jokes Anders.

Occasionally, in Uppsala, Emilia still takes her bicycle out, but neither makes much use of the buses - options the two did not have, and missed having, when managing the car-intensive infrastructure of the big and still developing city they lived in abroad years ago. "We are so used to the car now", Anders says. "I took the bus once, 6 or 7 years ago...I was not impressed", he jokes. They explain that, financially, they are as well off today as before they retired, so they simply do not feel the need to reduce their car-related expenses. "We put no limits to our driving", Emilia admits, "If we need to, or if we feel like it, we will drive into town even three times a day. For transport...we both choose the car. Biking, for me, is something else entirely. It's how I keep fit, and Anders takes walks for that reason".

Anders grew up in the countryside, where, back in his day, nobody in the village had a car. They would bike everywhere, take the train farther distances, or a horse and cart. He started driving at 13, as well as tinkering with tractors and motorcycles, and as soon as he could afford to he bought himself his first, "run down, bought for 400 Swedish crowns", car. He recalls his main reason being necessity, having gotten a summer job that required him to have a car, as well as a technical interest in the machinery of it. With the advances in technology today, however, it is no longer possible to fix a car without a mechanic, and Anders feels his skills are fast becoming redundant.

Emilia, on the other hand, grew up in a town with a family car that her father bought after the war. "It was a big deal, we took tours in it. It also meant that, as soon as I turned 18, I would get my own driving license...no doubt about it. My father helped me practice, and I instantly loved to drive", she says.

While they do think about the environment within other parts of their daily lives, i.e. they recycle, this does not affect their daily travel habits as long as they can still afford to take the most convenient route. They would, at most, consider switching to a less fuel-intensive car. They find it silly, however, that many people strive to limit their transport-related emissions in their daily lives, but will then regularly fly across the globe for vacation "without hesitation ("their decisions do not make sense, as a total"). They, too, have often flown out to other ends of the world, but that was mainly for Anders' work purposes during the couple's employment years. "We probably shouldn't go anywhere for the next ten years just to make up for it, really", concludes Emilia.

4.1.2. The Gottsunda group

Priya

Priya, in her 60s, moved to Sweden from her hometown in South Asia to take a research position at one of the universities in Uppsala. Currently still employed there, she has lived in her Gottsunda home for the past few decades. She resides together with her daughter, who is just finishing high school.
The two do not own a car. Although they own bikes, neither is a very keen bicyclist and so they either walk or take the bus. To Priya, the availability of buses and the proximity of the bus stop from her house are "just perfect". In the wintertime, and if she is in a rush, she opts for the bus, otherwise walking is her go-to, enjoyable and calming, activity. This is the time she can brainstorm and unwind. She has also made many friends taking the bus, striking up conversations while at the bus stop or on the bus.

She tries to visit her home country every winter, and is planning to spend some months there later in the year to oversee and help out with the making of a community project, an initiative she has recently started up. Beyond that she does not feel the urge to venture around quite as much, as "you are more tempted to take long trips if you have a car". When growing up her family did not own a car. Although her siblings all have cars today, Priya has never chosen to buy one for herself.

Her driving license is not valid in Sweden, and she has never felt the need to fix that. She claims that she would probably not make a very good driver anyway. Her son took his license at 18, at which point the family got a car. But when he moved away it just stood in the garage. Eventually, they got rid of it. "The thing with having a car is that you have to use it, otherwise it's no use", she explains, "If you let it stand, it just goes rusty...you're better off without it". Except for on rare occasions, she adds, like the time her daughter ended up stuck in a nearby town in the middle of the night and she could not pick her up. And sometimes when she, too, would like to go to places that her friends go, driving to the countryside.

Priya no longer buys her shopping in bulk once a week, but has instead learnt to optimize and manage her time a lot more efficiently. "People, shopping by car, will mindlessly load it up with a whole bunch of stuff and, if later it turns out not to be exactly what they wanted, just return it...I plan for what I need to buy, and whether I really need it in the first place...if I plan to buy very many things, then I just hire a taxi. It's much cheaper in the long run than having your own car". "Even if car owners try to reduce the use of their car, the temptation to use it is always there", she continues. "Besides, without a car, one is forced to learn how to plan their time more efficiently, and that is not a bad skill to have", she concludes.

While working on her projects back at home, Priya hires a taxi to take her around. "It's a question of achieving as much as possible in two weeks", she says. She is also not above taking a taxi from the airport when she returns, reasoning that "if I can spend thousands on a flight, I can spend money on a taxi, too. I'm not 100% against having a car, or anything, I just use it whenever it's advisable to me".

Carlos

Carlos, in his 30s, is a researcher at one of the universities, and moved to Sweden from his hometown in South America some years ago. He lives in a house he owns with his Swedish sambo Lovisa, and their young children.

Until a few weeks ago, Lovisa worked in an office a one hour drive away and had to commute every day. They are still celebrating her landing her new job in Uppsala, since her long days away from home had been pretty hard on the family - especially on the children. She would leave very early in the morning, taking their one car, and return late at night with the children trying to stay up long enough to have her tuck them in. While this was the arrangement, Carlos would take them to the day care center on his way to work and pick them up on his way back. Now, however, the housework and childcare are split evenly, although Carlos might still sacrifice more of his own time due to the inflexible nature of her work.

Carlos and Lovisa are both enthusiastic bicyclists. They have a trailer for the bike which they use to drop the children off at day care. They also use it to do their weekly grocery shopping. They like to walk and take the bus as alternatives, only now that they have a car they give in to using it quite a bit. They use the car, for example, to take the children to their after-school activities, way on the other side of town, as the time to get there from when day care finishes is not sufficient to allow them to take the bus instead.

One of the consequences of Lovisa's commutes was that she got into a car accident. While more or less unscathed herself, the car was bust enough to warrant them buying a new one. For a month, then, they were without a car. Recounting their daily routines, Carlos reflects that they were more or less unaffected, except that for that month they were unable to reach their summer stuga, a place they frequent on the weekends to relax in the nature and tend to their little vegetable garden. "I suffered because of that", he jokes. Another problem was getting the large bike trailer onto the bus, as their considerably smaller and more manageable stroller was stolen some time ago. "That happens in Gottsunda, sometimes", Carlos explains, referring to the bad reputation of the neighborhood.
Although generally happy with the bus system, Carlos complains about the buses leaving the university campus "too early" at times, forcing him to wait - something especially annoying in the wintertime - for a half hour for the next bus, at times causing him to be late to pick his children up.

The family tries to visit the grandparents, Carlos' parents, in South America at least once a year. Wondering whether or not this is an issue of gender, Carlos describes the most recent time, when he was supposed to visit home with just their youngest child, who had been there the least number of times. At the last minute Lovisa panicked, and said that she could not be apart from her child for that long a time - something that Carlos could not quite understand. In the end, the whole family decided to make the trip.

Back in his home country, Carlos used to live very centrally in the big city and either walked or took the subway. He grew up in a small town on the outskirts, but I feel safe walking around because I don't fit the targeted demographic for assault. Those explain, "I think it is a way to compensate for that fact that we fly to South America quite often", he concludes.

Filippa

Filippa, in her 30s, is from a town in the far north of Sweden, beyond which there is not much civilization at all. She works in a library in the city, living on her own in an apartment near the center of Gottsunda.

She owns neither a car nor a bike, ascribing the latter to her poor eyesight, and describing the former as the only logical thing to do. The bus system in Uppsala, according to Filippa, is all you really need. To get to places farther away, and to get to them fast, she uses the bus, while most of her friends and afternoon activities are within walking - a favorite pastime activity of hers - distance. If ever she finds herself in need of a car, which is "hardly ever", she simply calls a taxi or a friend to help her out. "I have a driving license, but I don't like driving", she says, "this is perfect for me, because I don't need a car".

In the small village "in the middle of nowhere", where Filippa grew up, her family used the car for every little thing. "Even just to buy some milk, something I could carry, when I'm up there I ride in the car with them instead of walking...because they have a car, they use it all the time", she says. Back at her new home in Uppsala, Filippa takes to planning her shopping trips carefully, bringing a large backpack if she plans to buy a lot to carry. "It's odd", she continues, "because my dad would always think a lot about money. You don't need the lamp, the sun is up, he'd say, and shut the reading light off. But then he'd drive down the road just to fetch the paper!"

Filippa thinks a lot about the environment, but her main reason for not having a car is because she does not need one. "It goes very well with my environmental attitude, it turns out", she points out. Her sister has a car nowadays, she continues, because she lives up in the rural north. "She needs it up there, also because she has two kids and has to drive them to their various after-school activities", she explains. "I'm single, I have no kids. I don't need to buy ten liters of milk to carry home...it's simpler for me. Plus, I need just ten minutes to walk home from the big shopping center", she continues, "If I lived in Sunnersta I couldn't do the shopping on foot. Sunnersta is "the posh part", but actually we, who live here, we have everything!", she says.

She is aware of the bad reputation Gottsunda gets with regard to the crime rates, the gangs, and so on. "There are many poor people, many foreigners here...you get a lot of social problems that way", she explains, "but I feel safe walking around because I don't fit the targeted demographic for assault. Those
who get hurt or mugged are usually men in their 20s, crimes are gang-related. As a middle-aged woman, no young, potential rape victim, nor frail old lady who might get her purse snatched, I'm not interesting". "Most people are nice, however", she continues, "Those of us who live here know that. If you're in trouble someone will rush to your aid, only a few disturb the peace. I feel safe in Gottsunda".

Freja

Freja rents a flat near Gottsunda's center together with her boyfriend, Emil. They are both from the outskirts of Uppsala, having gone to high school in the town center. Afterwards, Emil began working for a company in the center, while Freja, after working in a shop in a nearby town, currently works in one located in Gottsunda. They are both in their 20s.

"Before I got this job, I always got home so late", Freja says of her previous situation, "I biked, took trains and buses, in the middle of the night just to get there...it was exhausting". Ever since landing a sales position in her neighborhood, Freja takes to walking to work. Emil, on the other hand, drives his car, an upgrade from the one bought with his first paycheck, to and from work every day. "He drives everywhere, all the time...he's too lazy", she laughs.

The pair have bicycles that have been out of use for a while. To get into town Freja takes the bus, as she feels it is very convenient. The bus stop is right next to their place. Conversely, "you could count on your fingers the number of times Emil will take the bus in a year...it's really rare. If he can, he takes the car". On the weekends, Emil will often drive out to the farther shopping center to buy groceries. "He does this just to get to drive a little", Freja says of her boyfriend's relaxing, pastime activity.

Whenever the pair go somewhere together, for instance to visit family once or twice a month, and to do their monthly grocery shopping in the bigger shopping center farther away, they will take Emil's car. For vacations, the two might stay with family, take the train to Stockholm occasionally, or bike to a nearby lake in the summer. "We don't normally bike. That happens once a year, for recreation", she says.

Freja is still in the process of getting her own driving license. When asked if she thinks she will drive a lot more when she does get one, she explains that she does not think so, because it will still be Emil's car. "I don't need one of my own", she says. "I hope to still take the bus once I get my driving license, and not be too tempted to take the car", she explains, "I really like taking the bus, I think it's such a smart way to get so many people from one place to another in just one vehicle. We also need to make the choice to go by bus, because if everyone takes their car then the prices for public transport will go up again". It is a vicious circle and, indeed, the price for the monthly bus ticket increased just that month.

As a passenger on the bus, Freja says that she gets to relax. Emil, on the other hand, often experiences road rage while driving. "He gets anxious even on the bus, in a taxi, he can't turn it off!", she explains, "He feels like everyone on the road is a bad driver".

Freja grew up walking places in her small suburb, and taking the bus into town, while Emil's parents still have a car each and drive most everywhere. "Maybe if my parents had more money, they would use their car a bit more", reflects Freja. She does think a lot about the environment, she adds, in the sense of making sure the food and cosmetics she buys are environmentally benign. "Everything goes into our water", she explains, "As for transport choices...I think that's a lot more difficult for people to change".

David

David, in his 20s, is a master student at one of the universities, and comes from Central Europe. He co-rents an apartment along with another student in the center of Gottsunda. Neither has a car, and they thus rely on public transport and, mainly, biking. David overwhelmingly travels using his trusty bike, and was thus not able to tell me much about the availability of buses in his neighborhood (living on the convergence of quite a few major lines, it is not too shabby).

When visiting his hometown, however, he opts to fly. "$I took the train once, but that was because I had so much luggage. It worked out alright. When my parents visited me they drove, and then I went back with them. Otherwise, I fly as it's the cheapest option$", he explains. David did not fly very much before making his lengthier move to Sweden, however once he had gotten used to it, he preferred this mode of transportation also for being the fastest.

His hometown is very much a biking city, so David grew up biking everywhere. "$My bike always waits for me, the buses don't. Bicycling is convenient, it's flexible. And then there's the exercise. It's something for me to do, since I don't practice any other sports any more$, he says. "$But it's also about availability. When I have a car, I get lazy$. Back at home, he has the option of borrowing his parents' or friends' cars. He explains that he is conscious of the environmental
impacts of car use, so "if I don't have to take the car, then why would I?" "Although it's obvious that biking won't rescue the world, isn't it?", he adds.

His mother would drive a lot for work, growing quite tired of it. Therefore, whenever the family would take a trip together, David's father would normally take the wheel. They would mainly drive, and never fly anywhere together since his father has always been against flying, "for environmental reasons, I believe". Within their town, however, the entire family bikes to get to places, even during the winter as the low levels of snow allow for the paths to remain clear.

David does not yet know how he will end up raising his own family, but he imagines that "for as long as it's possible, I'll take the bike...get a trailer for the kids". "I'd also like to get in on a car-sharing service, if something like that exists, rather than have my own car", he continues, "I believe the car would either stand unused for most of the time, or I would end up using it more just because it would be more convenient, but not because I'd have to".

Aida

Aida, in her 40s, moved to Uppsala from her hometown in East Africa a couple of years ago in order to join her husband, Malik, who for the past twenty years has been working in Sweden. Leaving her now grown children behind, as well as the job she had held for over twenty years since high school, she now volunteers within her Gottsundan community.

The couple are subletting an apartment, sharing the living space but no other expenses with another. At home Malik does the washing and the ironing, and she the cooking. His work, and Aida's language school where she takes Swedish classes, are in the town center, whereas her place of work is just a few minutes' walk from their flat. Thus, Aida walks to her work and takes the bus into town. Her husband recently purchased a car - "He loves to drive...in the three months since he bought it, we drove all around the area, sight-seeing" - but still takes the bus to work, citing parking as a nuisance. "He says that even the gas is not as expensive!", she explains.

"I told him, in the first place", she recalls, "that if you don't park the car, and if you won't use it to get to work, then why do you need it? We only travel once a month or so, we could just stick with the bus. But men are men", she laughs, "and they love their toys".

She does not approve of the unnecessary cost of having this car, nor support it. "He pays his own bills", she laughs, "I told him I wanted nothing to do with it". When asked if she ever feels the need for, or advantage of, having a car, she describes an incident when their daughter sent them a package to the airport, and they spent the whole day trying to collect it. The authorities kept sending them from one remote place to another and the bus system did not accept their credit cards ("it's so complicated to figure out when you're new here!"). "But that was just the one time", she adds. Aida's driving license is not valid in Sweden, and she does not think that she will take the test here ("I'm scared of the rules and regulations").

Malik has a bike that he uses sometimes, whereas before coming to Sweden Aida could not cycle. She is getting better at it now. Whenever time allows she opts to walk, as she enjoys the Swedish nature ("there are trees everywhere!") and getting some fresh air. Last summer, for vacation, the two traveled across Northern Europe. "It was the longest trip I had ever taken", she remembers, "we took a train, a bus, a boat, three more trains...". This summer, since they now have a car, they plan on driving up north to the countryside. In the fall, they hope to visit home.

When thinking about home, Aida praises the bus system she has come to know in Uppsala. "There is an exact schedule, and you know exactly when the bus is coming. Back home you can wait for hours and not know if one will ever turn up", she complains. There are many cars in her hometown, and the public transport consists mainly of small bus shuttles carrying fifteen people at a time, that drive at "breakneck speed". Aida hates them, and fears for her children's safety whenever they go into the big city. Some people bike, but it is very risky as there is no supporting infrastructure to accommodate bicyclists. Generally speaking, those who cycle do not drive, and those who walk, do not even cycle. "Only lower classes bike. In Sweden, however, all classes do".

The traffic there is typically intensely congested, meaning that Aida would at times spend up to eight hours, one time while heavily pregnant and carrying home bags of groceries, stuck on a bus traveling the few miles home. Another time, the bus she was on broke down, and the passengers had to make their own way tens of miles forward, or back. Anyone on motorbike then tried to make some ridiculously large profit taking people to their destination. She had a car of her own only while running a small poultry farm in the suburbs of her hometown for a few years. "Depending on public transport was already crazy, but waiting in the hot sun to transport raw meat would have been just insane", she reasons.
"It is 100% possible not to have a car here in Uppsala", she concludes. "Perhaps if I had a lot of money to spend I would buy one, but otherwise I don't see the point". When she was growing up, her father had several cars, yet always made sure to tell his children they were not automatically entitled to them. They would walk to school and back, and only if they had to go far would he drive them. "Well, with small children today", Aida continues, "they have so many activities after school...I can understand that their parents need a car to take them there". "Still", she adds, "people in Sweden have it so easy, and they don't realize it. The public transport here is heaven".

Maeen

Maeen, in her 60s, moved to Sweden a few years ago. She is a newly retired teacher, originally from the Middle East. Having just completed her Swedish language course, she now volunteers in her local community. She lives in a flat in the center of Gottsunda with her elderly mother. The two neither own a car nor bike, and so rely on taking the bus. Maeen's siblings have families of their own, and also live in Gottsunda. "All of them have a car, even the children", she explains, "only I don't. Back at home, I had a car. Now, however, I don't see the point. It is so easy to take the bus! In my hometown you would wait and wait...but here I know exactly when the bus is scheduled to arrive. Having a car is just a bunch of unnecessary costs. The parking, the gas...". If Maeen finds herself in a situation where she needs a car, she can call on her siblings to help her out. "But I don't like to rely on them, I rather just plan my activities in a way that I can manage them myself. Little by little. No fuss", she says of her easy-going way about life.

When asked about her considerations regarding the environment, she says she thinks about it more as she grows older, as well as ever since having moved to Sweden. "At home everybody drives, gas is cheap, public transport is bad, there are no second thoughts about it", she explains, continuing that, "if I moved back now, I would buy a car". Maeen grew up in a seven-person household with seven cars. "I would still rather drive a car than wait forever on a bus or taxi, despite caring about the environment", she says, "but in Sweden I don't see why anyone needs to".

4.2. Observed patterns

Although such a small sample cannot allow for much generalization, when breaking down the above personal accounts according to a few factors of social and geographical distinction, a presence of certain patterns may nonetheless be observed.

4.2.1. Gottsunda vs. Sunnersta

Whereas on average both Gottsundans and Sunnerstans report to be more than satisfied with the availability and accessibility of public transport within their respective neighborhoods, upon closer inspection of the locational characteristics it must be acknowledged that the provision thereof is greater in Gottsunda. As discussed previously within the neighborhoods' background data, this is likely on account of Gottsunda comprising a larger population, yet owning proportionally fewer cars than that of Sunnersta (Uppsala kommun, 2013a and b).

In actuality, even within this biased, homogenously middle-class, sample, more Sunnerstans own cars than do Gottsundans. Only one out of the seven households in Sunnersta does not have a car, compared to four out of seven in Gottsunda. Of the eleven in total cars split among the fourteen households within the study, eight belong to the Sunnerstans. This may be due to the Sunnerstan individuals' more settled living arrangements, i.e. owning rather than renting their homes, living in larger (family) households, having larger (shared) incomes, and so on, as well as in turn a reflection of the comparatively less amply provided for public transportation in their area.

Presumably due to the fact that Gottsunda has a larger population, it has its own shopping mall, equipped with cafes and restaurants, a library and a swimming pool - an active area that Sunnersta lacks. A common occurrence is thus the fact that nearly every Sunnerstan in my study reports to drive to Gottsunda to carry out their weekly grocery shopping, and even Gottsundan Filippa wonders how her transport arrangements regarding running errands might duly be affected if she lived in Sunnersta.

4.2.2. Men vs. women

Altogether six men and eleven women were interviewed, however taking into account all of the individuals whose transport habits were discussed we may speak of a total of fourteen men and fifteen women within the study. This excludes the seven underage and dependent children, whose skills, means and, thereby, choices are otherwise limited, but more importantly because there do not appear to
be obvious differences between the young boys and young girls within the study's sample.

The fact that most of the voices within the study are women's, and that thus much of the men's accounts are relayed indirectly, must be kept in mind. However, this is a bias of greater significance for the analysis of the results (following this section), where the reasons behind making certain choices are discussed. The here straightforward and quite incontrovertible description of the household members' observed transportation patterns and habits should not be affected by being conveyed second-hand.

The most striking difference between men and women is the fact that, although both sexes bike in fairly equal measure, more women in my sample regularly take the bus than do men, while more men drive than do women, as well as more often. Ten out of the fifteen women report their primary means of transportation (if not biking) to be taking the bus, while half the men are reported to fairly often opt to, and even prefer to, drive. This state of affairs is supported, reinforced, and influenced, by the fact that, additionally, five of the women do not hold a driving license - or at least not one valid within Sweden. The women that do drive mainly do so after working hours, often so as to take their children to and from various after-school activities. Thus, the men often drive to work and back, while the women take the bus or bike - in the case of Anders and Emilia, this was the case even though her place of work was always located farther away.

4.2.3. Older vs. younger

There appear to be four categories of significance concerning age. Of the 36 in total household members comprising the study, seven are dependent children, six are adults under 30 years of age, sixteen fall between 30 and 60, and seven are 60 and over.

The youngest category is entirely dependent on their parents to drive them around, and takes to walking, biking, or taking the bus otherwise. As for the second category, none of the adults under 30 - with the exception of Emil, who is already part of the workforce - own a car. In four cases out of the remaining five, these individuals are students who are likely simply not able to afford, and/or are not as yet settled enough in one place, to do so.

The factor of age appears to be very connected to that of career stage, in that once you are older, and thereby more likely to be employed, more geographically settled, and likely to have started a family, you are also more likely to (be of the means and necessity to) own a car. Having a car is therefore predominantly the case within the third age category, ranging from 30 to 60 - although it must also be acknowledged that this is the largest age group within the study. Nine out of the fourteen in total households comprise members within that age bracket, and seven of those nine have a car. Of the eleven cars in total split among the fourteen households in the study, eight belong to households containing individuals aged between 30 and 60.

The final age category likewise sees a presence of car ownership, yet here only in two out of the four households. This may be a reflection of the decrease in means once retiring, yet also in the shrinking of household size. The two households within that age bracket that do not have a car are, indeed, smaller, yet - interestingly - also entirely female (Priya's and Maeen's). Becoming less physically able and active is another consequence of entering this age category, and so perhaps on account of this also fairly few of its respective members opt to bike.

4.2.4. Level of education / career stage

This sample is considerably biased in being almost homogenously middle-class and well off, therefore this particular factor can probably near match the previously discussed significance of age. Appearing to be heavily linked to income level, those younger, i.e. not yet employed or as yet lower on the career ladder, are not able to afford a car and thus do not have one. Conversely, those that can, do and will.

One might assume that a higher level of education, especially if and when entailing environmental studies, would make one more aware of the effects of climate change and thus conscious of their own effecting thereof. Yet although this might perhaps be the case, it does not appear to be very influential in informing transport choices within this particular sample. Many interviewees are involved with environmental issues within their studies and/or careers, yet whether and how much they will opt to drive and even fly overseas appears to be more or less dependent on their level of disposable income.

4.2.5. Household size / housing tenure

As touched upon within the preceding categories of factors, household size and tenure appear to be among the primary factors determining car ownership within this small sample. With the exception of Viktor, no single occupant household has a car - this
includes Filippa, but also students Iva, Sean, and David, who, despite cohabiting with others, do not share any expenses and live fairly independently.

Car ownership appears to increase among multiperson households, however, and is a phenomenon evident most prominently among families with young children. This is the case for three out of four such families - namely Sara's, Malin's, and Carlos' - while Kathryn wonders whether adding another child to her budding family might lead to a similar development. Interestingly, on observing the six two-person households, all four where the couple comprises a man and a woman have a car (Gustav and Birgitta, Anders and Emilia, Freja and Emil, and Aida and Malik), whereas the remaining two that are all-female (namely those of Priya and Maeen) do not.

Housing tenure also appears to play a role in determining whether or not a household has a car, as each of the six households in Sunnersta that have one (or in two cases more than one) are owner-occupied. Of the Gottsundans in the study, on the other hand, more often than not their households are rented, and fewer of the area's interviewees have such a personal vehicle. It may be inferred that a change in housing tenure may well be linked to an increase in household size, i.e. starting a family, and is likely to occur at a stage in a person's life when one is able to afford to do so - and can thereby also afford to purchase a car.

As may already be becoming clear, the above factors often overlap and very much influence one another. Thus in determining an answer to the main research questions of what factors prompt the choices individuals make vis-a-vis transport and mobility, and whether they are gendered, the interviewees' disclosed rationalizations guiding said choices must be further broken down and critically analyzed.

The detailed transcripts of the above summarized interviews have been read and re-read multiple times in order to narrow the discussion down to a few core themes comprising the reasoning behind individuals' transport choices and the shaping of their mobilities. These are expanded on in the following section.
5. Analysis and discussion

In light of the small size of this study, the following themes are discussed without much emphasis on the quantity of their recurrence within the interviewees' answers. The themes are also heavily interlinked, as in most cases an individual's transport choices and the shaping of their mobility are influenced by a combination thereof.

5.1. Arising themes

5.1.1. The meaning of car ownership

The meaning ascribed to owning a car is prominent within multiple interviews. Several interviewees cite the experience of getting their very first car as a rite of passage of sorts, describing as pivotal the fact that they were able to afford to do so. Matilda deems the car to be essential, providing freedom. Malin, although used to biking in her daily life, nevertheless describes a unique, and to her quite vital, sense of freedom and independence in having a car.

She goes on to depict this freedom in a "road trip" sense, echoing the myriad visions of cars flooding our media, subliminally influencing society and, ultimately, individuals into deeming it a crucial aspect of the modern lifestyle to have a car (Law, 1999; Polk, 2001, 2003; Urry, 2004). Anders and Emilia would, at most, switch to a less fuel-intensive car but, like Matilda (also of the older generations), have comfortably, and over time, firmly incorporated having a car into their lifestyles. The necessity, freedom, and independence behind owning a car appear to be true of both genders.

On the other hand, Kathryn, who does not own a car, does not actively buy into this portrayal of necessity. She does, however, dream of the access a personal vehicle, his bike. There appears to be no similar interest, especially of the mechanical, on the women's side. There does, however, appear to be an overall strong view of the mechanical as "masculine".

Anders enjoys the technical side of automobility, and takes great joy in tinkering away with the machinery - or at least he did as long as the technology allowed him to. Taking care of the household car, and certain pride in doing so, is considered by his wife as by himself to be "his domain". Likewise, it is Emil who spends a lot of time and effort on his car, Aida's husband who made the independent decision to get a car and now bears full responsibility for taking care of it, and Matilda's husband whose household tasks involve taking care of the car. In a similar vein, Kathryn's sambo, not having a car, invests a lot in his personal vehicle, his bike. There appears to be no similar interest, especially of the mechanical, on the women's side. There does, however, appear to be an overall strong view of the mechanical as "masculine".

It may be that on account of this additional mechanical aspect noticeable among the men within this study, or even due to a somewhat stronger association of owning a car with a certain desired lifestyle and/or status symbol than can be found among the women (several women, including Aida, not quite understanding the appeal of owning a car), many of the shared household cars end up being driven predominantly by the men of the household. This is something pointed out specifically by Gustav, and evident in Sara's, Matilda's, Anders and Emilia's cases (as well as in Aida's and Freja's, but their lack of a driving license presents another reason).

Aida and Maeen speak of a necessity to have a car in their home countries, and in the event of moving back would once again, "without hesitation", take to driving around in a car. In Aida's hometown in East Africa, having a car is very much still a clear status symbol, as it is primarily those who cannot afford one that take to using other means of transportation. In Sweden, however, she observes that "all classes bike". In the Middle East, on the other hand, and unlike in Sweden, gas is cheap, therefore driving is the norm. Yet neither woman sees the need for
owning a car in a place with public transportation like the kind they have come to know in Uppsala.

5.1.2. A license to drive

A number of women do not hold a driving license (at the time of the study), whether the reason being they are still in the process of obtaining one (Freja) or, although holding a valid driving license in their home country, have not yet gotten around to obtaining one valid within Sweden (Priya, Aida, and Maeen).

Many interviewees speak of their mothers not being able to drive. Even within such a small sample, not having a license to drive is overwhelmingly the case for women, with the exception of Mateo who, likewise, does not appear to be in any particular hurry to get one. Overall, having a driving license does not seem very crucial to the aforementioned individuals, be it on account of not owning a car and/or being able to depend on someone else to do the driving.

Furthermore, and as a likely additional reason, it appears that many of the women doubt, whether jokingly or not, their (potential) ability to drive. Priya claims "she probably would not make a good driver anyway", Aida says she is "scared of the rules and regulations" in Sweden, while Freja is somewhat disheartened having not passed the test a number of times. It is unclear as to whether this uncertainty is due to women being conditioned, growing up with certain stereotypes of women drivers and the gendered construct of vehicles and other machinery pertaining to a masculine domain (Law, 1999), that they begin to doubt their skills. Nevertheless, a gender gap regarding men and women's driving skills is demonstrably a factor within this study's sample.

5.1.3. Active vs. passive changes

Stern (2000 in Polk, 2004b) made the distinction between active and passive changes when it comes to an individual's sustainability initiatives. The fact that even the more environmentally-conscious individuals are far more likely to focus on passive changes, such as recycling and substituting for organic products, than active changes, such as changing their primary mode of transport or reducing their overall mobility, is apparent even within this small sample.

Viktor and Gustav, for example, are both avid recyclers, as is Matilda, who showed me her neatly categorized garbage selection taking up a significant portion of her nice kitchen. Many interviewees attest to trying not to buy very many commodity items too often, sticking to just what they need. This is especially significant of the older generations, who are somewhat less embedded in and more wary of our present-day consumerist culture. Furthermore, Carlos grows his own vegetables, Freja opts to buy environmentally friendly cosmetics and groceries, and Matilda runs her household partly on geothermal energy. Filippa grew up with her father making sure his children would not needlessly keep the lights on while it was still light enough outside - after which he would, however, pop out and drive the few meters down the road just to fetch the newspaper.

Indeed, many interviewees do not do much to actively switch to more environmentally friendly travel habits, be it because they might feel that they are compensating elsewhere with more passive sustainability initiatives, or because, as many admit, they succumb to that well-known state of human condition - laziness. It is of course this very factor that brings most every interviewed car owner to drive their car much more than they might need to, simply by having given themselves the option to do so - a common occurrence reaffirming the need for active changes towards a more sustainable lifestyle.

More than just laziness, however, it is the fact that our automobility-centered road infrastructure reinforces car use, in that it makes much of our social lives possible (Urry, 2004). With work and home spheres split up, many interviewees have to come up with the most effective ways to commute, and by and large these still involve driving. Children need to be picked up from school and dropped off for their after-school activities, often located far across town (as in Carlos' case). Certain locations, such as vacation spots in the nature, remain accessible exclusively by car. In the end, convenience appears to play a very important role in an individual's choosing of an available transport mode.

5.1.4. The environment does not come first

A considerable proportion of this small sample of interviewees hold ties with the environmental sector in one way or another, be it working at the university or elsewhere within a variety of relevant fields, while two interviewees are fellow students of mine in the sustainable development program. However, the overwhelming majority of the interviewees give reasons for choosing modes of transport alternative to the car as almost anything other than to be more environmentally benign. These reasons can be summed up within the following three rationales:
The most popular reason given for opting to bike is to keep healthy and fit. This is true of car owners as well as those without a car, with most cyclists today having grown up cultivating this good habit. Many interviewees take their personal fitness quite seriously, a number being regular gym-goers, and cite an extra perk of biking to be free exercise.

This, in turn, leads us to the top reason not to own and/or use a car (i.e. go with any other form of free or public transportation instead) - financial. For the most part, those who do not own a car, or limit their driving, have decided to do so due to the high accompanying costs of fuel, maintenance, and parking. Car owners without economic incentives for reducing car use, such as for example Anders and Emilia, simply do not put limits to their driving.

The times this retired couple uses alternatives to driving, as goes for most of the interviewed car owners, is due to - the third factor - convenience. Convenience may be understood as anything that saves time, conserves energy, and avoids frustration.

Parking is by and large experienced as a major inconvenience, therefore public transport and biking are preferred alternatives to driving in that respect. On the other hand, biking and driving win out to public transport when it comes to time management. Sean, a sustainability student, chooses whatever is his most convenient option at the time, thus were a car an option he would use that rather than his bicycle as an alternative to taking the bus. It also stands to reason that, for car owners, convenience more often than not means taking the car out, despite the negatives of associated parking and fuel costs, since time is, likewise, a most valued commodity.

Indeed, many of the previously discussed passive changes furthering sustainability initiatives, such as recycling, buying ecological products, and growing one's own vegetables, may well first and foremost be done for reasons other than pro-environmental, e.g. financial incentives, health benefits, or simply on account of personal preference and enjoyment.

5.1.5. Sustaining further unsustainability

According to Priya, running every-day errands becomes a much more mindless activity when one relies on a car and does not have to do much about planning. The resultant gratuitous consumption of unnecessary items, when one shops at a whim and can load up the entire trunk of their car, acts to fuel consumerism, a further problem for sustainability. This can perhaps in part be ascribed to the fact that owning a car persists within our society, to an extent, as encompassing an image of wealth and plenty. Furthermore, the embedded nature of automobility within our economy and infrastructure (Urry, 2004) may act to both enable and force us to shop for our commodities outside of our immediate neighborhoods - this is exemplified by the finding that Sunnerstans typically drive to Gottsunda to buy from a cheaper and bigger selection of groceries.

Even those who deviate somewhat from this culture of consumerism, and in fact feel more "in touch with nature", will if owning a car paradoxically damage it by driving out to secluded spots in order to walk around and enjoy the environment. This is true of a number of interviewees, including Gustav, Malin, Matilda, Anders and Emilia, and Carlos - and more or less anyone owning a summer stuga.

Indeed, eventually moving out of the city and into the countryside, as appears to be the reality or at least an aspiration of several interviewees, introduces the necessity to own a car in order to get by. As Urry (2004) points out, modern urban landscapes were built so as to facilitate automobility, with large areas of the globe comprising car-only environments.

5.1.6. Once you start a family

For many interviewees, whether they have children or not, the moment when one starts a family is equated with the moment that having a car becomes inevitable. Sara and Malin's families, for example, spend most afternoons and weekends driving their children to and from various activities, deeming their family car indispensable. Similarly, families with now grown up children (Matilda's, Anders and Emilia's, Aida's) are convinced that having children necessitates having a car. This is a belief held even by singles, such as Filippa and Maeen, who have observed their siblings' growing families, and by David, who expects the need to have a car might arise once he starts a family of his own.

Taking family trips becomes a nuisance if you cannot simply "pack the car up and go", maintains Malin. Relying on public transport, with all the involved logistics and waiting around in between, becomes difficult to bear with young children, and is expensive for large families, adds Matilda. Furthermore, bigger families require buying groceries and other commodities in larger quantities, presenting a reason for carrying out the weekly shopping by car.

Proving that this need not be the case, however, are the exceptions, Kathryn and Mateo. They had put off
buying a car for long enough to realize that their alternative options - including strapping a trailer onto a bike - are plentiful. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that Kathryn wonders if the situation might change once another child is brought into the family, and it might be worth wondering whether a further, or primary, reason the couple has not bought a car is due to Mateo lacking a driving license.

Besides not yet having started their own families and gaining familial responsibilities, the car-less students Iva, Sean, and David all share the fact that their residency in Uppsala is for the short term. Were they to move somewhere else for the longer haul, and expectedly especially were they to settle down and start a family, they may well opt to buy a car. As David says, he cannot yet imagine what a future set of circumstances might bring, he only hopes that he will be able to get by on bike for as long as possible.

However, for those identifying as environmentally conscious, as Kathryn definitely appears to, once you start a family may very well have you going the other way and recommit to not owning a car. For Kathryn, starting a family meant that she became painfully aware of her own actions, gaining new-found consciousness for teaching her baby the right kind of values early on. In leading by example and raising her child without a family car, Kathryn hopes that it will grow up knowing it is perfectly possible, and even preferable, to get by without one.

5.1.7. It's how you were raised

The values one is brought up on, and the lifestyle one is exposed to from an early age, are reported to play a pretty considerable role in shaping one's habits later on in life. Viktor, for example, was raised with pro-environmental notions within his church, and believes to be eco-conscious for that reason. Yet because he was also raised with a family car, he owns a car today. This trend is true of many interviewees.

Malin grew up in the countryside with a family car and now finds having a car essential. Kathryn grew up cycling everywhere with her mother, taking trains as well as horse-drawn carts, thus learning one does not need a car. Priya's family did not own a car, and she gets by without one herself today. Freja's family drove, albeit infrequently, and she grew up mainly walking everywhere and taking the bus - habits she has kept to this day. Emil, on the other hand, grew up with his parents always having a car each and driving everywhere, and he finds owning a car to be a crucial part of his lifestyle today - although perhaps, being in his 20s, he still sees a certain novelty in and thus assigns priority to driving. Emilia grew up with a family car, remembering how big of a deal it was when her father purchased it. Anders, conversely, grew up in the countryside in a time when hardly anyone could yet afford a car, but the mentality was spreading (Urry, 2004), that it was the modern, covetable, and crucial commodity to work towards.

David grew up biking, but did not choose planes over trains for a very long time as he was influenced by his father's stern disapproval of flying. However, once he had been living in Sweden for long enough to warrant having to choose the most cost-effective means of visiting home on a regular basis, he quickly grew accustomed to this mode of transportation and has frequently chosen flying over taking the train ever since. That is not to say that he thus developed any more pro-environmental habits, quite the opposite in fact, but it does bring us to the next point.

5.1.8. Old habits need not die hard

The interviewed individuals, who have traveled a fair bit in their time, moved around enough to live in and experience other situations and different transport systems, have consequently learnt to adapt. Thus exemplified, old habits can in fact be broken, and active, on top of passive, changes be implemented towards adopting a more sustainable lifestyle.

This is especially true of Aida and Maeen who, in comparison with their hometowns of less than ideal infrastructure for efficient public transport, do not see the need to drive in a place with alternative options so readily available and smoothly operating as in Uppsala. As they say, the Swedes who complain about the inconvenience of waiting a couple of minutes for a bus, or even the "traffic", should give the public transport systems found in largely populated, developing cities a try first.

Aida did not know how to bike upon her arrival in Sweden. She quickly found Uppsala to be a great environment to learn, on account of the excellent infrastructure for bicycling as well as, as pointed out by Kathryn, a public consciousness surrounding it. She is now fast learning to improve her new skill. Kathryn, Mateo, Carlos, and Noah, all find biking in Sweden a much more pleasurable activity than in their home countries, and bike far more in Uppsala.

Of course, it stands to reason that these habits may not have been broken or made quite so much due to sheer force of will. Instead, gaining some perspective on less convenient situations may have helped the individual make more sustainable choices in an area
where it is not absolutely vital to have a car. Ultimately, however, the individual still appears to be deciding based on financial and convenience factors. Not owning a car in Uppsala is, after all, favorable on both of those counts for Aida and Maeen.

5.1.9. With a little help from my friends

Reviewing the situations of the interviewees who do not own a car, quite a few manage to get by in the long term on account of being able to rely on friends and family members that do have a car, or on various car rental solutions. This is true of Filippa, Freja, Aida, and Maeen, as they are able to count on their friends, partners, and family members, respectively. Priya and Kathryn, on the other hand, opt to rent a car or hire a taxi, should the need arise.

For some, being able to rely on others is a form of convenience. Yet even those, who have made the conscious decision - for environmental reasons or other - not to have a car, remain to an extent reliant on automobility. This occurrence further evidences the deep-seated nature of car use as embedded in our society (Urry, 2004).

5.1.10. A gendered division of labor

It is difficult to generalize within such a small sample, however certain gendered differences in the division of household work and childcare may nonetheless be observed. Sara and Malin, for example, both report to being somewhat more involved in the aforementioned activities. In Sara's case, this is reported as due to the fact that her husband works long shifts and is much more needed and depended on at his workplace. Sara, thus, works "whenever she finds the time" and has, until recently - possibly once the children got a bit older - worked from home. Both these factors have her engage in the bulk of the housework and childcare on her own.

Malin claims to be somewhat more involved with the children's social activities, but that other than that the couple try to divide the household responsibilities up equally. Noah is absent from home for work-related trips for several weeks a year, thus it may well become the normal arrangement for Malin to take on more responsibility in running the household, as this is quite often the case out of necessity.

Of the older generations, it is Matilda who takes care of the household (and her husband of their car), and Emilia who does the majority of the grocery shopping and was a stay-at-home mother while living abroad, having moved the family overseas for Anders' work. Freja says that she does most of the daily and weekly food shopping (the monthly done together with Emil, by car), but this is likely due to the fact that she works in Gottsunda's center, near where she can also easily shop for groceries.

It may be questioned, whether some of these gender unequal arrangements were to an extent embellished as it was the women, in these cases, who had given the answers. It also stands to wonder, whether the older generations see greater gender gaps in household and familial responsibilities than the younger, more modern, couples. We may not, after all, speak of a great division of labor at home within Kathryn's family, nor Carlos's (where the situation was for a while, if anything, quite the opposite).

Probably on account of the prevailing discourse of gender equality in Sweden today, it appears that most of the couples (and especially the younger couples) do not consider the division of labor in their household as having much to do with an adherence to traditional gendered roles. It does not seem as if housework and familial responsibilities are in any way less respected or, simply, regarded as fewer. It does appear, however, that in most cases whoever can more easily sacrifice their work for household and childcare responsibilities bears the brunt of them - i.e. whoever's job is paid less in comparison to their partner's. In Sara's case it has been she, and in Carlos' case it is he, who takes on a more domestic role and assigns precedence to their partner's job.

If, indeed, it should appear that on average more women in the study take time off from work than do the men, then the reason behind that may well be the fact that women are on average still paid less than their male counterparts (Albrecht et al, 2001). It then becomes quite the rational decision, on part of the couple, for the lower-earning job to be sacrificed rather than the higher-earning one, and we may not necessarily speak of traditionally perceived gendered roles within the household and family unit itself.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to say whether this is wholly due to such external factors necessitating the situation or, as evidenced in Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson's (2001) and Magnusson's (2005) studies, whether there are certain preconceived and internally held notions of what a woman's role and what a man's role in society should look like that subliminally still act to determine an unequal division of labor. Many behaviors certainly appear to be rationalized, by men and women alike, according to what is deemed masculine or feminine. Such is Aida's view of "men
are men, and they love their toys" with respect to her husband's "unnecessary" purchase of a car.

Furthermore, Carlos points out that Lovisa felt very guilty leaving the children behind every day, rushing home just to be able to tuck them in at night, and deciding last minute to make a family trip out of her toddler's visit to South America because she did not want to be separated from her youngest for that long a time. Similar feelings of guilt, resultant from a certain expectation of motherhood that still permeates society, are what Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson's (2001) and Magnusson's (2005) studies both uncover. Carlos, on the other hand, wonders whether this had something to do with natural "feminine" instincts - conclusions reminiscent of those drawn by certain ecofeminists (MacGregor, 2004).

Such views and reasonings, as exemplified by the aforementioned individuals, evidence the subtle and difficult to shake ways in which our even most "gender equal" societies continue to "do gender" (Arora-Jonsson, 2013; Holmberg, 2003). Such contentions serve to further a certain status quo and maintain differences between men and women. Personal mobilities appear to be affected, e.g. in the case of Gustav and Birgitta, even by traditionally deemed masculine and feminine hobbies. Namely, Gustav often drives off to engage in some hunting or golfing, while his wife stays at home and gardens.

A gendered division of labor appears to be a crucial factor in shaping transport and mobility. Viktor, Gustav, and Anders drive to work while the wives of the latter two, Birgitta and Emilia either bike or walk. Sara, Matilda, Freja, and Aida either bike, walk, or take the bus to work, while their respective partners Isak, Otto, Emil, and Malik predominantly drive. In most cases this is due to convenience factors, as the women's workplaces are located closer to home.

According to Hanson (2010), however, women typically look for work closer to home due to bearing, and often choosing to bear on account of feelings of guilt or otherwise, a greater proportion of household responsibilities. With an often self-induced more restricted spatial range, women may in turn have to forego certain out-of-reach opportunities in the labor market. Women's potential mobility (Cresswell and Uteng, 2008), of great significance within the labor market, is thus limited. In choosing jobs located closer to home and, as according to Sara, working when they find the time, women may in turn end up taking lower-paid jobs, thus completing the division of labor inequality cycle.

Yet smaller spatial mobilities, on account of keeping more involved with household and childcare responsibilities, do not always imply making more environmentally benevolent transport choices. In Malin's and Sara's cases, for example, it would be them that would drive more in the afternoons on account of running household errands and dropping the children off for various after-school activities. In the dark of Swedish wintertime, however, Sara reports to drive a fair bit more for a further reason...

5.1.11. On safety

This issue appears to be more or less exclusive to women, and is expanded on by Sara. Despite living in Sunnersta, a reputedly safe neighborhood, she reports to feeling unsafe roaming about at night on her own, and uncomfortable letting her children make their way home unaccompanied once it gets dark. This is reflected in her opting to use the car in the dead of Swedish winter more frequently and, according to her partner, for laughably short distances.

The sentiment does not appear to be shared by fellow Sunnersta-dwelling Malin, however she speculates that she might feel threatened if she lived in Gottsunda, an area vividly described by Filippa as one of a considerable degree of crime and misdemeanor. Yet Filippa, herself, does not feel unsafe. She says that she does not belong to the targeted demographic, since most crimes are gang-related and occur among young men. This would confirm the notion that women are in fact safer than men in the public sphere, while domestic violence flips the situation around in the home (Mooney, 1995 in Morrell in Booth et al, 1996). The misconception is, nevertheless, a widely held belief that appears to continue to influence women's choice in transport mode as well as restricts their overall mobility.

To illustrate the point further, Urry (2004) contends that the many gaps between the various mechanized means of public transport create not only sources of inconvenience, but of danger and uncertainty. Women, children, and the elderly are perceived as especially vulnerable to potential attacks.

A few other women within the study show similar safety concerns, although unlike Sara do not consider them to make much of a difference to their travel behavior. Nonetheless, they do admit to fearing for the safety of their children, and drive more often in the wintertime so as to pick them up from their activities. This is not, however, a notion exclusive to women since, as exemplified in Carlos' case, fathers may behave in much the same way.
In addition, however, all interviewees appear wary of whether or not certain modes of transportation are safe to use, and may accordingly fear for the safety of their loved ones. Such is the case for Carlos, worrying about Lovisa's lengthy commuting, and Aida, concerned about her children managing the dangerous traffic of the big city in her home country.

5.1.12. The value of commute

Contrary to the common assumption, and long-held contention, that the time spent commuting is considered a waste and a hassle, a number of interviewees report to having a certain appreciation for it. Viktor spent long hours commuting by train to work, holding that arrangement for several years and making fellow commuter friends along the way. He recalls commuting to be a comfortable and enjoyable experience, and loves traveling by train to this day. Priya, likewise, reports to having made many friends on public transport, waiting at bus stops and the like.

Sara recently moved her small business to an office space in the center of town, and likewise enjoys this much needed transitioning break she takes daily on the bus to and from work. Whereas earlier her work and home environments clashed and intertwined, she now enjoys a clear, mental as well as physical, separation between the two. Matilda, having worked very close to home for most of her career, at times envied her husband's valued commute time.

Yet this certain value of commute only ever appears to be relayed on the part of passengers, i.e. passive travelers. Freja, for example, says that she can always relax and unwind on the bus, while at the same time argues that Emil experiences stress and road rage driving his car. Similarly, Lovisa did not value her own drive to work, possibly on account of it being rather lengthy, of keeping her away from her children, and/or due to having to actively participate in rush hour traffic for hours every weekday.

There might be something about today's societal malaise of anxiety and individualization that is reflected in as well as reinforced by our mobility patterns and transport choices, as Urry (2004, 2012b) maintains. Driving cars around may act to promote both road rage-induced stress as well as societal isolation, arising from moving around in one's own little bubble while cursing at the incompetence of others. With roads full of "moving, dangerous iron cages", there is no much needed reciprocity of the eye that could be attained from what has become the "ghost in the machine" (Urry, 2004:30). Communities of people thus become anonymized, acting to further alienate and desensitize individuals (Urry, 2004).

Public transport, on the other hand, could well be the cure to this modern malady in providing individuals with some quality time spent commuting as a passenger, as well as presenting opportunities for social inclusivity. This benefit is, in any case, something that a number of the interviewees point to, including Priya, Sara, Filippa, Aida, and Freja.

The value of commute, however, is a relatively novel concept that may, unfortunately, have much to do with today's smartphone culture. Nearly everyone carries around with them such an interactive gadget, presenting them with entertainment as well as quality alone time to catch up on social media (as in Sara's case, for example). These gadgets are equipped with a set of earphones, that in effect shield the user from potential social interaction. Thus, sadly, the creation of individual bubbles is an occurrence even on public transport, and may well present an unsurpassable hindrance to the opportunities for social inclusivity that such situations have the potential to offer.

5.1.13. A generational gap

Touching back on "it's how you were raised", there appears even within this small sample some evidence for a generational gap when it comes to matters of sustainability reflected in transport choice. Matilda, for example, harbors a degree of climate change skepticism, having entered the era of ubiquitous coverage of climate change matters a bit later in life.

Anders and Emilia, likewise, do not set limits to their car use, reporting to be skeptical of the effectiveness of various every-day changes proposed by today's sustainability advocates. They believe that these do not make much sense when considering the bigger picture. Far too many people, even those implementing the aforementioned every-day changes, fly across the globe without hesitation outside of their every-day lives. Why then, they wonder, should others limit their less environmentally-damaging car use at home? Having grown up in the age of mass automobility (Urry, 2004), driving a car remains a central and quite fixed part of their lifestyle.

The generational gap is evident also with respect to being raised in the countryside versus in a town, in that growing up in the countryside today one will absolutely need and thus have a car, but several years ago one would get by biking, taking the train, riding a horse, or traveling in a horse-drawn carriage. The opposite is true of towns several years ago, where
cars were quite common, and of towns today, where there is an increased level of bicycling and public transport. People that are more permanent residents in Uppsala today (such as a majority in Sunnersta), however, are likely to have a car on account of owning a summer house in the countryside that automobility-focused infrastructure (Urry, 2004) has made inaccessible, or inconveniently so, otherwise.

Conversely, it appears in some cases that growing old could well work with being more sustainable in habits overall. While this may mainly have to do with having less disposable income once a pensioner, Maeen and Matilda both speak of having more time for contemplation and practicing mindfulness. Maeen claims that "aging changes perspectives", making one more connected to the wider community and to nature. Perhaps this is in part a reflection of entering the era of climate change. Matilda simply contends, however, that retirement grants one more time to make better, and not necessarily the most convenient at the time, choices. While employed, she used to drive a lot more so as to be more time-efficient, and travel across the globe for work, yet nowadays she at last has the luxury of being able to take her time.

A phenomenon worth mentioning with respect to gendered differences, however, is the fact that there appear to be no reported differences in transport and mobility among the youngest age group within the study - namely, that comprising dependent children.

One reason may be the fact that any notions of the typically "feminine" and "masculine" embodiments of movement may not yet be quite as ingrained in these young minds. The way in which society molds, as well as parents raise, these children will doubtlessly prove influential in informing the choices that they will make later on in life. A practical reason for the lack in notable differences between the boys and girls may also be the fact that they remain largely reliant on their parents. Their choices are thus further limited in their not yet being able to drive, as well as in not yet being financially independent.

5.1.14. Free time aka no holds barred

Reflecting on Emilia's exclamation of how ridiculous it is for people to go to great lengths to limit their car use in their daily lives, only to then globe trot in their free time more or less no holds barred, this is a paradoxical issue noticeable even among the otherwise most environmentally-conscious.

David, for example, bikes and takes the train, but will regularly opt to fly home and back. Iva and Sean, likewise, typically take a budget flight home for the holidays. Carlos's family tries to keep driving to a minimum, but flies back and forth to visit his family in South America at least once a year. Priya flies to South Asia about once a year, and uses a car once there. Aida and Malik plan to visit home in East Africa when they can, Malin's family makes frequent trips visiting family overseas, and even Kathryn and Mateo fly off to their home countries periodically. Although they do not necessitate making frequent family visits to far-off places, Gustav and his wife plan to travel quite a bit more once they retire.

This invariably goes to confirm that, even for the most sustainability-oriented, the environment does not come first when considering transport choices and travel behavior. While some may try to compensate for such global traveling habits and act more environmentally benevolently whenever that is easy - although even then typically for a host of different reasons, such as because it might be more convenient - when necessity and/or opportunity arise most individuals will not opt to give very much up for the sake of the environment. There appear to be no significant differences between the men and women in the study with respect to long distance travel, i.e. travel outside of their daily routines.

Globalization is indeed presenting a great energy-consuming problem (Urry, 2012b), the growing of which can be ascribed to the fact that flying is fast becoming an increasingly financially viable mode of transportation. Since it has been confirmed that the individuals within this study tend to rationalize their choices in transport according to income and convenience factors, it is of no wonder that flying is becoming a more popular mode. This study's sample, albeit small, constitutes several international and multicultural households, thus further evidencing this development's enabling of a worldwide integration.

5.2. Reviewed literature

The themes confirm many of the findings within the literature discussed previously, with the two areas relating most to explaining the differences between men and women regarding transport and mobility being, respectively, 5.1.1. The meaning of car ownership and 5.1.10. A gendered division of labor.

Most interviewees confirm the sense of independence and freedom associated with driving and/or owning a car that Law (1999), Polk (2001, 2003), and Urry (2004) describe. Yet, as discussed further within
Law's (1999) work, technical aspects of automobility as tied to "masculinity" and negative stereotyping of women drivers can act to subconsciously discourage women from participating in and/or identifying with automobility to the extent that men do. The influence of this gendered phenomenon on this study's sample is expanded on under 5.1.2. *A license to drive.*

Many individuals within the sample justify their or their partner's actions (e.g. "men are men and their love their toys") in a way that clearly demonstrates "doing gender" (Arora-Jonsson, 2013). This confirms the manifestation of deeply internalized notions of masculinity and femininity as taken up within the works of Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson (2001), Holmberg (2003), and Magnusson (2005). A gendered division of labor, as discussed by the aforementioned researchers, is likewise confirmed as still persisting among a considerable number of households within the study. Evidence of inhibited actual and potential mobilities as touched upon by Cresswell and Uteng (2008) is thereby unearthed.

Theme 5.1.4. The environment does not come first effectively disproves any ecofeminist notions of women being intrinsically pro-environmental when considering the subjects within this study, and thus at the same time confirms the criticism and rejection of such generalizations as found within the works of Hanson (2010), MacGregor (2004), and Reed (2000).

Last but not least, Urry's (2004) discussions of automobility prove to be an oft recurring notion underlying much of the way in which the interviewees relate to modern, available means of transport and today's trends vis-a-vis mobility. The "locked-in" effect of automobility appears to very much affect and shape individuals' choices in transport and their mobilities, as it persists as an integral component of the modern lifestyle and of the organization of our societies.

All fourteen themes, as well as the observed patterns discussed within the results section, are considered with respect to answering the study's main research questions within the following, concluding, section.
6. Conclusions and recommendations

Although fourteen interviews may not allow for very much generalization, it appears that even this small sample confirms certain differences between men and women's observed mobility patterns and preferred modes of transport, echoing the findings within the previously discussed works of researchers Hanson, Law, and Polk. The primary factors guiding their choices are, however, more or less the same for both.

6.1. What factors prompt the choices people make?

The process that informs an individual's decision-making with regard to transport and mobility is a dynamic one, as it is contingent on the interplay of several factors. For clarity, these may be grouped into the following three interactive categories:

1) **Personal factors** are largely individualistic. Among these are needs and responsibilities, such as having to go to work, run errands, and pick the children up from school. A user's ability limits their options to what they are able to afford, whether they have the skills needed to ride a bicycle or drive a car, whether they have a driving license, and whether they are physically healthy and able to engage in certain modes of transport. Their desires come into play if and when experiencing a longing or aspiration to, as is often the case, have their own car. An individual's values and attitudes can shape their decisions, as evident in decisions to bike for health purposes, to exert a lesser negative impact on climate change and try to reduce transport-related emissions as much as possible, to drive, relax on a train, or take a cycling trip due to the enjoyment it brings them, and so on. Many of these values and attitudes have stuck with users from being raised a certain way, yet others have been shaped by moving and adapting.

2) The factors relating to **means of transport** include availability, concerning the infrastructure for public transportation, cycle lanes and pedestrian zones, as well as ownership (or access to) a particular mode of transportation. Accessibility is examined with regard to whether the mode of transport is affordably priced, and whether it is suitable or appropriate (i.e. whether it can accommodate strollers, trailers, wheelchairs, etc.). Whether or not a particular destination is accessible by a particular mode of transport is significant, as many places remain reachable solely by car. Finally, the form of transport is considered with respect to its being safe to use or - in the case of the dark wintertime - to potentially avoid danger.

3) The final category of factors, further linking the first two, concerns convenience. Taking into account all of the aforementioned factors, the final step in the decision-making process prioritizes saving time, effort, and energy, and decreasing frustration.

These three categories may be imagined as together comprising one dynamic wheel, with each category influencing the other two. The choices people make regarding transport and the shaping of their mobilities appear to be prompted by the interaction of all three.

The aforementioned decisive factors are common to both men and women, showing that most individuals' choices are rationalized based on their circumstances. Even for those self-identifying as environmentally aware, as expanded on under the theme "The environment does not come first", choices in transport are by and large dependent on affordability, availability, accessibility, and convenience factors. If a user harbors pro-environmental values or attitudes, then these will still be taken into consideration in combination with the other two categories of factors, and will thus more than likely not prevail.

Testament to the importance of socio-economic factors in the shaping of transport-related decision-making is the fact that, even for this small sample, having a car appears to be dependent on income and household size. An increase in either (or both, as the two typically coincide) increases the likelihood of owning a car. That said, it appears as though every individual in the study would, under the right circumstances, welcome owning a car, as having one remains the best way of increasing one's mobility.

6.2. Are these factors gendered?

One might say that, rationalizing their choices in much the same way as men, this effectively stifles any ecofeminist conviction of women being intrinsically more holistic and/or environmentally conscious than men. However, it is important to note that these external, societal factors that do prompt men and women's choices remain, albeit indirectly, nevertheless influenced by gender - especially those pertaining to the category of personal factors.
According to Arora-Jonsson (2013), gender can never be wholly separate from other forms of social difference. Although none of the interviewees consider gender to be an issue, this is likely due to the discourse of gender equality present in Swedish society for quite some time. In reality, a relative absence of obvious constraints does not imply that choices are not still very much shaped by context. As according to Reed (2000), individuals' actions remain influenced by the circumstances constituting their households, workplaces, and communities.

The interviewees attest to disparities between men and women when it comes to the meaning ascribed car ownership, enthusiasm for and skill regarding the mechanics of transportation, holding a driving license, assuming certain household and childcare responsibilities (that in turn influence transport and mobility), and experiencing safety concerns.

It certainly appears that men assign greater importance to automobility than do women, while perhaps largely on account of their greater involvement in the technical, mechanical side of things - something not explicitly shared by any of the interviewed women. Although, according to Anders, modern machinery can no longer be repaired quite so easily by any individual, but rather necessitates the expertise of a specialized mechanic, an interest in technology still appears to be linked to gender.

The notion of freedom and independence attached to having a car appears to be common among both men and women, its prevalence arising from decades of promoting automobility within and across media, and the resultant impact on our culture (Law, 1999; Polk, 2001, 2003; Urry, 2004). This attitude is especially notable among the older generations, having experienced the full swing of mass automobility post-WW2 (Urry, 2004). The men's perceived necessity and/or aspiration to own a car, however, outweighs that held by women the women in this study.

This may well tie in with another theme, that of fewer women holding a driving license than men (the only exception being Mateo). Not considering driving to be a crucial skill to have amounts to both a cause and effect of neither having nor wanting a car. The self-doubt women experience on part of their (potential) driving skills is likely another effect of the media's masculine portrayal and promotion of cars, targeting and appealing predominantly to men (Law, 1999).

As expanded on under the theme "A gendered division of labor", it is typically the partner whose work responsibilities are more easily cast aside (i.e. whoever's job is paid less) that takes on more responsibility at home. Although there may still be certain internally held perceptions of the typically feminine domestic and masculine career-oriented roles by both the men and women in the study, the decisions behind this division of labor as taken within a household appear to be rationalized economically.

Whichever parent commonly shuttles the children to and from their after-school activities will end up making more use of the family car, as will the family car be used for the weekly grocery shopping. Where the household and childcare responsibilities are divided equally among the men and the women, car use after work is thus about the same for both men and women. However, notably, several cases show that men will take the family car to and from work, while women will opt instead to bike or take the bus - even where the woman's place of work is farther away from the house than the man's. This is likely a reflection of men identifying with driving and automobility to a higher degree than women.

Safety as an issue lies mainly among some of the female interviewees, however even within this small sample the number of women choosing to in any way alter their mobility patterns and choices in transport to adhere to this fear is negligible. Many women do not feel at all afraid to walk around alone in the dark of Swedish winter, while others might possibly use their safety concerns as a rationale to take the car out.

6.3. How might these findings inform sustainable development?

As indicated within the quantitative studies in the literature section, and confirmed on a smaller scale within this qualitative study, women's mobilities are more restricted than are men's, and their transport choices are more environmentally benevolent in that they less often opt to drive and/or comprise an overall smaller proportion of car owners. As debated within the analysis section of this qualitative study, the former phenomenon may be due to women still taking on a greater responsibility for the household and for child-rearing, while the latter may be ascribed to the related gendered division of labor in the workforce that in turn leads to women's lower income levels, as well as to their not being as influenced by the status attributed to automobility as are men.

Considering that this study, conducted in Uppsala, confirms that gender is indeed a factor prompting the choices individuals make with regard to transport and
mobility, how might this finding inform sustainable development within the transport sector?

A greater gender equality, and therein an equality in mobility, is something that is needed in order to advance the social and economic pillars of sustainable development. An increase in mobility is especially important regarding potential mobility, implying an equality of access and opportunity. Yet simply instilling gender-equal policies within the labor market, as in the case of Sweden, has evidently not proven to be enough to alleviate inequality in actual practice. Gender as a way for us to understand ourselves and the world around us (Arora-Jonsson, 2013), and as exemplified by the fact that the individuals within this study do not actually perceive it to be an issue, is something firmly rooted and deeply internalized. Attempting to influence the way in which gender continues to affect society in general and individuals in particular is, therefore, difficult.

It could thus be reasoned, that directing transport policy and planning towards making sustainable modes of transportation more accessible, available, and convenient for all existing and potential users would be a simpler and more effective way to go - as well as a course of action with the potential to yield more immediate results. After all, an increase in mobility should not be achieved at the expense of the environment (the third pillar) by resulting in the making of less sustainable transport choices.

Yet much like society's deeply rooted perception of gender may be difficult to manipulate, moving on from the "locked-in" effect of automobility (Urry, 2004) will be incredibly challenging. In order to drive car use down, alternative means of transportation should further be improved - and this should be done by taking into account the dynamic wheel of factors shaping individuals' decision-making. Driving up the costs of gas and parking, introducing more pedestrian zones and fast bike lanes, providing more lighting in residential neighborhoods during the dark winters, advocating the health benefits of biking, introducing cost effective car-sharing and rental services, providing better accommodation for baby strollers on public transport, and promoting trailers for bikes as alternatives to young families getting a car, are just some possibilities suggested by the interviewees.

The price for the monthly bus ticket in Uppsala having increased, despite protests, by as much as 50% as of April 2014 (Wolters, 2013) (after conducting the fourteen interviews) does not seem to be a step in the right direction, and it should be interesting to follow up on the consequences. It stands to wonder what the reasoning behind such decisions is, and who makes up the decision-makers.

Users of alternative means of transport should, based on their experiences, be able to provide the best solutions towards improving them. It may thus be inferred that, where they can be considered to be among the primary users of public transport, women should have more say in matters concerning sustainable development within the transport sector. As users, they are directly affected by changes in said policies, but they also have the experiential knowledge to be able to determine what could be improved so as to become more available, accessible, and convenient. With improved alternative means of transport, the overall number of users, as well as their mobility, would be able to increase, while at the same time car use could decrease. A more gender balanced involvement in planning and policy would in turn fulfill an integral precondition for gender equality.

In conclusion, improved alternative means of transportation, achieved through a greater inclusion of women in transport planning and policy, could act as a potential solution towards strengthening all three pillars of sustainable development. While this might be a solution potentially more widely applicable, it must be acknowledged that this is a recommendation based on the findings arising from this small, biased, geographically and temporally contextualized study.

As Hanson (2010) maintains, advancing a sustainability agenda must hold context as central - the kinds of implementations that will be required for sustainable development will be dependent on the specifics of place, time, knowledge, and practice.
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8. References


Appendix

Guiding interview questions:

1. Background information and current situation
   - name, sex, age, ethnicity/nationality, religion
   - educational attainment (level of studies achieved, area of study)
   - profession (current job/position)
   - housing tenure (own or rent, how long have you lived there)
   - social situation and family characteristics (married/single/other, no. of children, single or multiple earners)
   - household members (who lives in the household, any dependents outside the household, any family living nearby or far that you frequently visit)
   - no. of personal vehicles per household (cars, bikes, or other)
   - availability of public transport (proximity of stops, no. of options, frequency of departures) and pedestrian zones/bike lanes, in terms of residence location and neighborhood characteristics
   - location of daily activities (describe a typical daily/weekly schedule, from work to after-work activities, differences between weekdays and weekends, any commute patterns and/or frequent/extensive (work-related) travel)

2. Identified reasons for current situation
   - what are your reasons for making these transport choices / having these mobility patterns today
   - are there any individual/specific constraints or needs to using more sustainable forms of transport (e.g. disabilities, work requirements)
   - are there any other individual motives for choosing said means and patterns (values, wishes, preferences)
   - do you hold any particular value for making sustainable choices (any identified environmental concerns and attitudes)
   - would you say that there might be a difference between your values and attitudes to your actual, observed, behavior (any constraints to your otherwise preferred choices, or do you go the less convenient route in order to adhere to said environmentally conscious values and attitudes)

3. Identified reasons for changes from past situations
   - how much would you say have your mobility patterns and transport choices changed from situations in the past up until this point, and why (change in values, in circumstance/constraint, location, income, social status, or other)