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Promoting the employment of women in the transport sector - Obstacles and policy options

Professor Peter Turnbull

Sectoral
Activities
Department

SECTORAL ACTIVITIES PROGRAMME

Working Paper

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obstacles and policy options**

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Preface

Transport is one of several sectors that have traditionally been regarded as ‘no place for women’. In many respects and in many countries this may still be the case today. Since its founding in 1919, the ILO has been committed to promoting the rights of all women and men at work and achieving equality between them. The vision of gender equality recognizes this goal not only as a basic human rights but intrinsic to the global aim of Decent Work for all Women and Men.

This study focuses on the working conditions and the HR policies of transport companies designed to mainstream gender, the opportunities for success and advancement, and the barriers faced by women in terms of education and training, and the level of social support available to women who work in the transport sector. To facilitate further analysis of the policy options to enhance the opportunities and mitigate the barriers facing women in the transport sector, the ILO has developed a career cycle approach based on the common features of work in the transport sector and the issues that most concern transport workers.

We would like to express our thanks to Prof. Peter Turnbull (ILO Consultant with Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University) for his work on this paper, as well as to Huw Thomas also from Cardiff Business School, and Julia Lear from the Sectoral Activities Department and Susan Maybud from the Gender Bureau for their inputs. We would also like to thank the many women transport workers who completed questionnaires, engaged in email exchanges, participated in focus groups, and agreed to one-to-one interviews. Numerous union officials and transport companies also shared their experiences and expertise on the subject of employment conditions and the problems facing women in the transport sector.

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1. Preamble

“Human development, if not engendered, is endangered.”¹

Since its founding in 1919, the ILO has been committed to promoting the rights of all women and men at work and achieving equality between them. The ILO vision of gender equality recognizes this goal not only as a basic human right, but intrinsic to the global aim of Decent Work for All Women and Men. This vision is based on the ILO mandate on gender equality as stated in numerous Resolutions of the International Labour Conference, the highest policy-making organ of the ILO, as well as relevant International Labour Conventions. Gender equality is a critical element in efforts to achieve the four strategic objectives of decent work² and offers practical ways of accelerating the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and achieving all of the Millennium Development Goals (especially MDG3 on gender equality).³

The ILO Policy on Gender Equality and Mainstreaming, which is made operational through the ILO Gender Equality Action Plan 2010-15, supports a two-pronged approach of gender mainstreaming: (i) systematically analysing and addressing in all initiatives the specific needs of both women and men, and (ii) targeted interventions to enable women and men to participate in – and benefit equally from – development efforts.

According to the 98th Session of the International Labour Conference, the pursuit of gender equality is justified on two grounds:

- First, there is the rights-based equity rationale, which addresses the discrimination⁴ women face in the world of work as a matter of fundamental human rights and justice. Despite the noble goal of outlawing discrimination based on sex, women continue to face disadvantages compared with men, who enjoy greater opportunities and better treatment in all areas of economic life. Even though the participation of women in the labour force has increased in recent years in most nations around the world,⁵ all too often job quantity has not been matched by job

¹ Mahbub ul Haq, 1995, Human Development Report, UNDP.

² Promote and realize standards and fundamental principles and rights at work, create greater opportunities for women and men to secure decent employment and income, enhance the coverage and effectiveness of social protection for all, and strengthen tripartism and social dialogue.

³ ILO (2009) *Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work*, ILC 98th Session, Geneva: International Labour Office, p.20.

⁴ Article 1(1)(a) of Convention No. 111 defines discrimination as any distinction, exclusion or preference based on the grounds of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin which has a negative effect on equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation.

⁵ All regions register shrinking gender gaps in both male-to-female labour force participation rates and employment-to-population ratios. Employment growth for young women outpaced that of males in six of the nine regions. However, during times of financial and economic crises, such as the current crisis, years of progress on gender equality can be swiftly demolished as the costs of economic and financial liberalization are often borne disproportionately by women and particularly by vulnerable women. See, for example, International Labour Conference 98th Session, Report VI Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work, p.168; and Fontana, M. and Paciello, C. (2010) *Gender Dimensions of Rural and Agricultural Employment: Differentiated pathways out of Poverty - A global Perspective*, Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, the

quality.

- Second, there is the economic efficiency rationale, which argues that women can play a critical role as economic agents capable of transforming societies and economies. Equality is not just an intrinsic value and a right in itself, but is instrumental in achieving economic growth and poverty reduction. Through the economic empowerment of women, all societies can benefit from the direct effects of higher growth as well as the indirect effects of women's increased bargaining power and decision-making ability in the household (e.g. enhanced child nutrition, health and education, better child-caring practices, lower infant mortality rates and less child labour).⁶

The Agenda of the Gender Equality Action Plan (2010-15) is cross-sectoral in nature and therefore implemented effectively through integrated and coordinated policy and institutional interventions. In addition, however, the Governing Body has identified the application of the Gender Equity and Mainstreaming Policy, and the respective plan of action, as a way to ensure that gender equality is at the heart of decent work *at sectoral level*.⁷ The Sectoral Activities Programme includes, specifically, a study to assess the working conditions of women in the transport sector with a view to identifying how to improve their working environment.⁸

2. Introduction

Transport is one of several sectors that have traditionally been regarded as 'no place for women'.⁹ In many respects and in many countries, this is still the case today. Detailed and accurate statistics on the employment of women in the transport sector are hard to come by, especially for specific transport modes such as maritime, ports, inland waterways, civil aviation, road and railways. For example, the LABORSTAT database maintained by the ILO includes data for the generic category of 'transport, storage and communications', but information by sex is often not available for particular countries, and the information is not

International Fund for Agricultural Development and the International Labour Office. While women constitute only 1-in-7 transport workers they experienced three-quarters of the job losses in the transport sector between 2008 and 2011. See Turnbull, P. (2012) Study on the Working Conditions of Women in the Transport Sector, Sectoral Activities, ILO.

⁶ See, for example, Jones, N., Mukherjee, M. and Galab, S. (2007) Ripple Effects or Deliberate Intentions? Assessing Linkages between Women's Empowerment and Childhood Poverty, UNICEF, p. 31.

⁷ GB.310/STM/1. Gender mainstreaming is the organization and reorganization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, such that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policymaking. Gender mainstreaming associates itself with equal visibility, empowerment and participation of men and women in public and private life. Women's priorities and needs should be accorded equal respect with those of men. Men are a 'gender' too, and an integral part of a gender approach. They are thus required, alongside women, to adapt their behaviour in order to reach gender equality. See UN (1997) Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997, A/52/3, United Nations, p.28.

⁸ GB.310/STM/1, 40.

⁹ Other notable examples are mining and construction, although this is by no means uniform or universal (e.g. in some parts of India some construction jobs are considered to be 'women's work').

especially up to date in many cases.¹⁰ Nonetheless, as Table 1 clearly illustrates, the available data indicates that women are massively under-represented in the transport sector, both in an absolute sense and in comparison to their participation in the national labour market of the country in question.

Table 1. The Proportion of Women in Transport Compared to the Labour Market in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (selected years)

Country	Year	% Women in the labour market	% Women in transport, storage and communications
Botswana	2007	43.2	30.2
Egypt	2007	17.4	5.0
Ethiopia	2004	39.9	11.9
Madagascar	2005	39.7	6.9
Mauritius	2008	35.8	18.7
Morocco	2001	26.2	9.5
Sierra Leone	2004	23.7	7.8
South Africa	2008	43.8	19.6
Tanzania	2006	28.9	6.6
Zimbabwe	2002	23.9	9.6
Armenia	2007	41.1	17.7
Azerbaijan	2008	43.5	20.2
Brunei Darussalam	2003	29.7	24.5
China	1999	39.2	28.9
Georgia	2005	47.7	23.9
Hong Kong (China)	2008	48.6	37.4
India	2005	19.0	6.8
Indonesia	2008	32.4	9.0
Iran	2008	14.5	5.2
Iraq	2008	15.2	5.1
Israel	2008	48.9	34.2
Japan	2008	41.9	20.9
Kazakhstan	2008	47.9	32.0
Korea	2007	42.3	17.3
Kyrgyzstan	2007	49.8	37.0
Malaysia	2008	37.8	18.9
Nepal	1999	24.2	3.6
Pakistan	2006	13.4	1.4
Philippines	2008	37.8	9.5

¹⁰ LABORSTAT data indicate that while women constitute only 1-in-7 transport workers they experienced three-quarters of the job losses in transport between 2008 and 2011.

Qatar	2007	12.2	8.6
Singapore	2008	45.7	31.5
Sri Lanka	2007	33.1	6.5
Syria	2007	16.3	5.3
Taiwan	2002	44.2	28.7
UAE	2008	19.3	10.9

Source: International Labour Organization, LABORSTAT

LABORSTAT data for three specific occupational groups is reported in Table 2, again for those countries where recent data is available. These data reinforce the conclusion drawn from Table 1: women are massively under-represented in the transport sector.

Table 2. Employment of Women in Transport Occupations, 2000 (%)

Country	Ship and aircraft controllers and technicians (314)	Ship's deck crews and related workers (834)	Transport labourers and freight handlers (933)
Austria	0.0	0.0	17.5
Belgium	2.6	0.0	17.1
Bulgaria	14.5	0.0	13.3
Czech Republic	7.1	15.6	44.4
Denmark	0.0	8.6	23.2
Estonia	0.0	0.0	4.6
Finland	9.3	8.7	21.3
France	8.1	0.0	24.5
Germany	9.2	4.6	18.2
Greece	4.4	1.3	6.9
Hong Kong	12.9	3.5	6.9
Hungary	13.1	0.0	2.8
Iceland	0.0	0.0	6.9
Ireland	10.5	0.0	3.7
Italy	8.8	2.5	29.5
Korea	0.0	0.0	13.1
Latvia	0.0	0.0	4.0
Lithuania	0.0	0.0	18.5
Mauritius	0.0	1.0	1.4
Netherlands	0.8	4.5	28.9
Philippines	10.0	0.0	1.6
Poland	9.8	0.0	17.8
Portugal	22.4	0.0	2.4
Slovakia	8.4	0.0	32.2
Slovenia	0.0	0.0	35.7
Spain	7.6	5.6	9.7
Sweden	7.0	0.0	4.5

Thailand	10.8	7.5	19.9
UK	8.0	0.0	1.9

Source: ILO LABORSTAT, SEGREGAT

The primary causes of women's low participation in the transport sector are not difficult to identify and can be (over) simplified to just two factors: (i) working conditions (including the time, timing and place of work), and (ii) gender stereotyping. To illustrate the first point, consider the employment of women in the transport sector in the European Union (EU).¹¹ In the EU-27, 21 per cent of the labour force in transport services were women in 2006, compared to just over 44 per cent in all services.¹² As documented in Table 3, in Air Transport the share of women is almost double the average for All Transport Services, largely as a result of flight attendants and various ground services (e.g. check-in and customer services) being dominated by women.¹³ It is notable that part-time work is more extensive in Air Transport than the other transport modes reported in Table 3, although in all cases the proportion of part-time working is much lower than All Transport Services. It is impossible to determine from the statistical data whether part-time working is lower because there are fewer women in transport or whether the predominance of full-time work is a deterrent to women seeking work in the transport sector.¹⁴

Table 3. Share of Women and Part-Time Employment in Transport Services, EU-27, 2006 (%)

	Women	Part-time
All Transport Services (NACE 60-63)	21.0	9.2
Land Transport (NACE 60)	13.8	7.3

¹¹ Note that gender equality is a fundamental right guaranteed by Article 23 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union while Article 8 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU states that: 'In all its activities, the Union shall aim to eliminate inequalities, and to promote equality, between men and women'.

¹² This difference was close to 30 percentage points in Slovakia, Latvia and Poland, while it was close to just 10 percentage points in Cyprus and Malta. However, while Cyprus had the highest percentage of women in transport services of any EU Member State (35.9 per cent) and an above average percentage of women employed in all services (45.1 per cent), Malta had a comparatively low percentage of women in transport services (19.6 per cent) and the lowest percentage of women in all services of any EU Member State (29.7 per cent). See Eurostat (2009) *Panorama of Transport*, Luxembourg: Office for Publications of the European Communities, p.130.

¹³ There was hardly any change in number of women employed in Land Transport over the previous five years, and no change in Water Transport. While there was an increase in both Air Transport and Supporting and Auxiliary Transport Services, this increase reflected general economic growth rather than any significant change in the proportion of women employed.

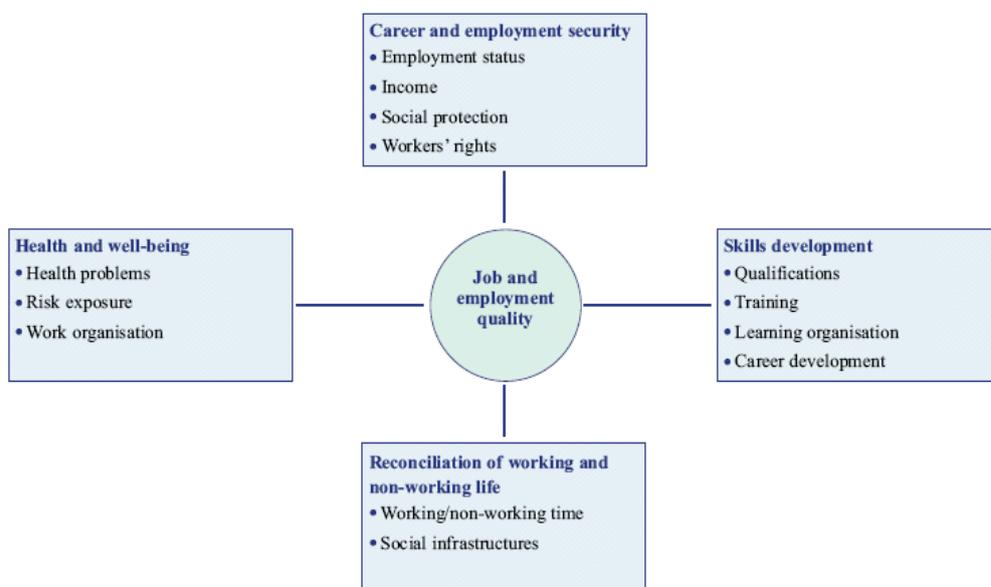
¹⁴ In 2009, the EU average for part-time working (<30 hours per week) was 31.4 per cent amongst women compared to only 8.1 per cent for men. Although part-time and other flexible working arrangements may reflect personal preferences, the unequal share of domestic and family responsibilities leads more women than men to opt for such arrangements. The employment rate of women falls by 12.4 points when they have children, but it rises by 7.3 points for men with children, reflecting the unequal sharing of care responsibilities and the lack of childcare facilities and work-life balance policies. In the EU more than 6 million women in the 25 to 49 age group say they are obliged not to work or to work only part-time because of their family responsibilities. See European Commission (2009) *Report on Equality between Women and Men 2009*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, p.8.

Water Transport (NACE 61)	17.2	6.0
Air Transport (NACE 62)	40.1	16.9
Supporting and Auxiliary Transport Activities (NACE 63)	32.9	12.0

Source: Eurostat (Labour Force Survey)

The lowest share of female employment reported in Table 3 is in Land Transport (less than 14 per cent), in which the largest shares of employment are in road and other land transport (e.g. lorry, bus and taxi drivers). Employment in the road transport sector falls below what many observers would regard as decent standards of work and the sector is especially unattractive to women in terms of working hours, working away from home, poor health and safety and the like. To demonstrate this, we can draw on data from the European Survey of Working Conditions (ESWC), undertaken every 5 years by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, based in Dublin. The survey is based on a representative sample of workers from all EU Member States.¹⁵ The basic framework used in these surveys is to consider four key areas that together create high quality jobs, as depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Quality of Work and Employment



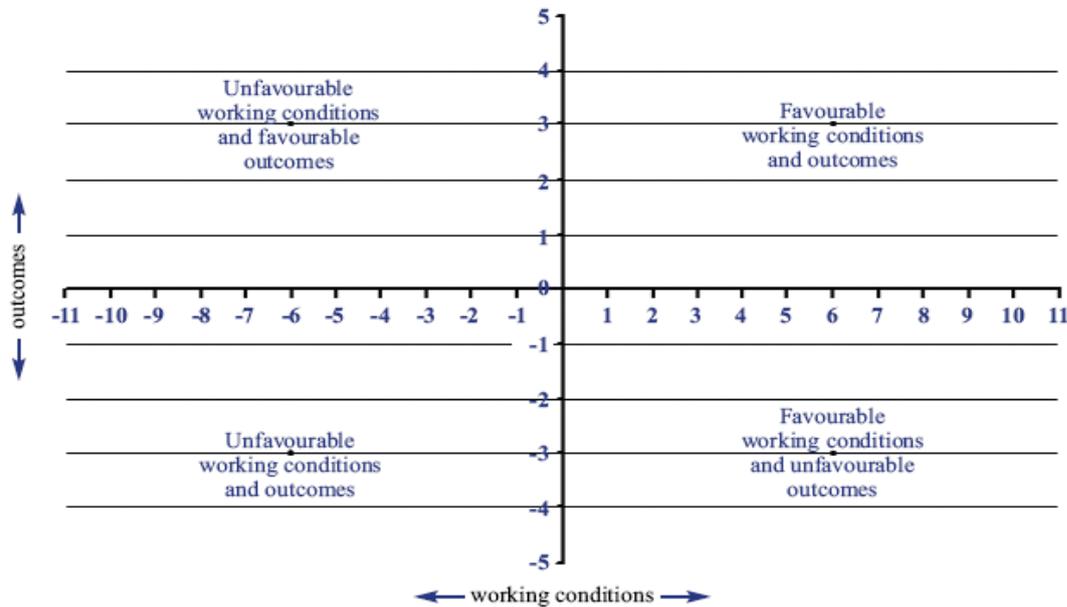
Source: Eurofound

Data are collected on all four areas via a representative survey of European workers and are grouped into ‘working conditions’ and ‘outcomes’ (outcomes include those related to health, job satisfaction and the like). To compare working conditions and outcomes across different sectors, each sector is profiled against the overall results from the sample as a whole. In other words, to what extent are working conditions and outcomes better or worse in a particular sector compared to the working population as a whole? Statistically, this exercise is performed by transforming the average score for *all* workers to a mean of zero (using what are called Z-scores), which is represented by the horizontal and vertical axes in Figure 2. When compared to the average, those sectors with the most favourable scores

¹⁵ The first survey was undertaken in 1990, the latest in 2010. As sector-based analysis has yet to be published using the 2010 dataset, all the data reported here are based on the 2005 ESWC. See Eurofound (2009) *A Sector Perspective on Working Conditions*, Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

will be plotted in the top right hand quadrant and those with the worst scores will be plotted in the bottom left hand quadrant.

Figure 2. Plotting Un/Favourable Working Conditions/Outcomes

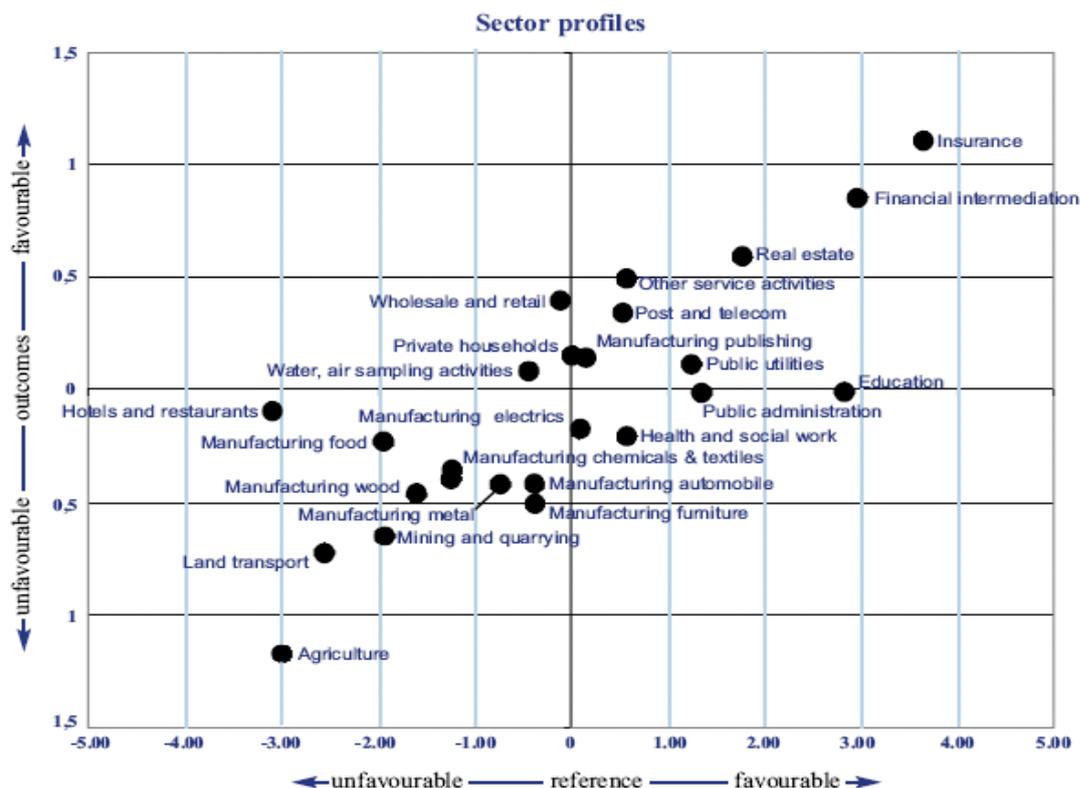


Source: Eurofound

When the data are plotted for twenty-six economic sectors, as depicted in Figure 3, only Agriculture is worse than Land Transport (NACE 60).¹⁶

¹⁶ NACE for stands for *Nomenclature Générale des Activités Économiques dans les Communautés Européennes* (this is French for Statistical Classification of Economic Activities in the European Community). NACE 60 combines rail transport, road transport and transport through pipes. Road transport is by far the largest employer in total Land Transport. There are examples of very poor working conditions in land transport in many other countries. In India, for example, women who drive private taxis, such as tuk-tuks, face a prolonged working day (typically 7am-10pm) and discrimination from male drives (e.g. being ‘pushed to the back of the queue’ at popular pick-up points in the major cities). In the face of poverty and few, if any, alternative employment opportunities, some women tuk-tuk drivers return to work just 7 days after childbirth. In the words of a female union official: “If there was a word worse than ‘pathetic’ then even this wouldn’t describe the situation.”

Figure 3. Working Conditions and Outcomes in Twenty-Six Economic Sectors



Source: Eurofound

Poor working conditions render the transport sector especially unappealing to women, most notably in relation to working time, shift-working (24/7), and the location of employment (e.g. on-board a vessel at sea, driving a truck long distances from home, or assignment to foreign airport under the multi-base crewing strategy of an international airline). The lack of attraction is reinforced by gender stereotypes – prejudices about what women can do and what men can do – that are perhaps most deeply embedded in male-dominated sectors such as transport. As the ILO has noted, the fact that sex discrimination has not disappeared from the world of work may be due, in part, to ‘a lack of political commitment and – in some contexts – legal laxity, *but the underlying cause remains embedded in social attitudes*’.¹⁷ This reflects the fact that while the workplace may be an important *site* of inequality between women and men, and rightly therefore a critical arena in which to promote gender equality, it is by no means the primary *source* of the systemic barriers that women face in almost every aspect of work and the life cycle.¹⁸ To be sure, there may be aspects of a particular job that favour one sex over the other (e.g. physical

¹⁷ ILO (2009) *Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work*, ILC 98th Session, Geneva: International Labour Office, p.169, emphasis added.

¹⁸ This is not to suggest that gender is simply ‘imported’ into the workplace, rather to emphasise the interaction between work and the wider society. Gender is, of course, constructed in part through work. See Leidner, R. (1991) ‘Serving Hamburgers and Selling Insurance: Gender, Work, and Identity in Interactive Service Jobs’, *Gender & Society*, 5(2), pp.154-77. The importance of promoting equality at work stems, in part, from the fact that it is often easier to develop and implement effective policies for gender equality in the workplace compared to more deep-seated sources of discrimination that reside in the culture and institutions of a particular society.

strength),¹⁹ but socially constructed gender roles interact with the biological differences between women and men to produce a particular workplace milieu that in many sectors is ‘unwelcoming’ if not openly ‘hostile’ towards women. Since people bring their beliefs about gender unthinkingly into the workplace, promoting gender equality entails shifting and redefining the boundaries between male and female in both social practices and systems of thought.²⁰

To this end, the widely endorsed ‘attraction-selection-attrition’ (ASA) model²¹ has been adapted to establish a ‘career cycle’ model in order to identify the issues facing women transport workers at every stage of the ‘life cycle’ focusing on:

Attraction → Selection → (initial) Retention → (probable) Interruption
→ Re-entry (resumption) → Realisation

Attraction may come from exposure to the transport sector at school (e.g. careers advice), within the family or local community (e.g. growing up in a city-port or adjacent to an airport or railway yard) and will be heavily influenced by the HR policies of transport organizations (e.g. corporate image, commitment to equal opportunities) and societal values (e.g. prevailing views on what constitutes ‘men’s work’ and ‘women’s work’). Selection refers to both the formal and informal procedures used by the organization in the recruitment and hiring of people with the attributes the organization desires. Once again, this will be subject to wider (social) influences and the policies of other agencies (e.g. trade unions).²² As most separations (voluntary quits and dismissals) occur within the first 6 months of employment, the initial experience of work in the transport sector, in particular whether the organization is ‘welcoming to women’, is critical. In the longer term, retention will depend on opportunities for human resource development and the support of both the organization and (male) co-workers. It is assumed that women will face interruption(s) in their employment history as a result of childbearing and other caring responsibilities (e.g. elderly relatives). This might temporarily interrupt their career in transport, result in a change of career path within the sector (e.g. switching from sea to a land-based job in the maritime industry), or even curtail their career in transport. The final stage of the career cycle is the progression from a job to a career and the subsequent realisation (‘self-actualisation’) of the individual (i.e. a state where they are filled with a sense of fulfilment and achievement). As the individual has passed all the potential barriers to reach this stage, there are only three options remaining: to exit the labour market entirely (e.g. retirement), to move to a different sector, or promotion within the transport sector, at which stage the cycle will begin again with attraction to a new (higher level) position.

¹⁹ ILO (2007) *ABC of Women Workers’ Rights and Gender Equality*, Geneva: International Labour Office, p.89ff.

²⁰ Gherardi, S. (1994) ‘The Gender We Think, The Gender We Do in Our Everyday Organizational Lives’, *Human Relations*, 47(6), pp.591-610.

²¹ Schneider, B. (1987) ‘The People Make the Place’, *Personnel Psychology*, 40, pp.437-54; and Schneider, B., Goldstein, H.W. and Smith, D.B. (1995) ‘The ASA Framework: An Update’, *Personnel Psychology*, 48, pp.747-73.

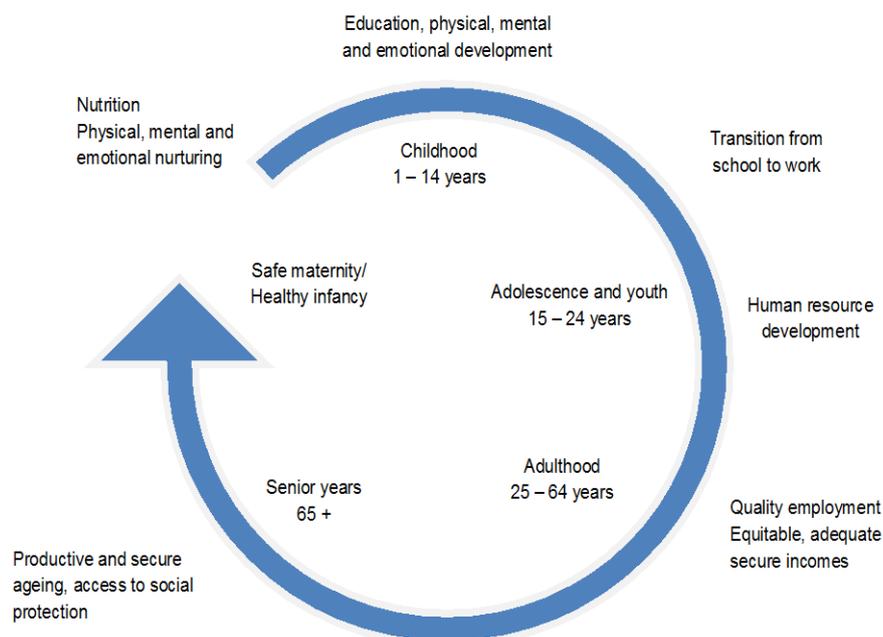
²² For example, role requirements (‘desired attributes’) might be jointly agreed with a trade union as part of a gender mainstreaming strategy.

Based on this career cycle approach, the ILO determined to:

- Examine working conditions for women in transport with particular attention to issues such as:
 - working hours, length of time working away from home, and policies or practices relating to family friendly measures,
 - barriers to and promotion in transport sector positions,
 - career progression for women in transport.
- Highlight commonalities among the different transport sectors as well as the specific issues found in particular sub-sectors of transport.
- Identify, describe, prioritize barriers to career entry and progression for women in the transport sector.
- Identify, describe, prioritize good practice responses to minimise or alleviate these barriers for employers, workers' representatives, and governments.
- Identify research gaps and areas of future research likely to provide examples of practical approaches to improve working conditions for women.

When focusing on the *career cycle* of women in the transport sector, it is important to recognize that this cycle straddles three key stages in the individual's *life cycle*, namely the 'transition from school to work', 'human resource development', and 'quality employment' as depicted in Figure 4. To reiterate, the workplace may be an important *site* of inequality between women and men, but it is by no means the primary *source* of the systemic barriers that women face in almost every aspect of work and the life cycle. Put differently, many of the barriers that women face in the world of work have already been erected before they enter the workplace (e.g. gender stereotypes that reside deep in the culture, family structures and institutions of a particular society or a lack of educational opportunities and/or lack of encouragement to study the 'right' subjects at school that might facilitate a future career in transport). If women fail to secure quality employment in the transport sector, which is all too often the case, then they are less likely to enjoy 'productive and secure ageing' (the final stage of the life cycle depicted in Figure 4).

Figure 4. The Life Cycle



Source: Based on ILO: Gender Promotion Programme, 2003.

Section 3 of this report describes the career cycle based on the *common* features of work in the transport sector and the issues that most concern women transport workers. Based on the overview presented in Section II it is possible to identify and describe the barriers to career progression for women in the transport sector at each stage in the career cycle. However, to prioritize these barriers requires disaggregation to specific transport sectors or sub-sectors (e.g. cruise ships *vs.* deep-sea cargo vessels) and specific countries. Even in regions of the world where one might expect a degree of uniformity, such as the European Union (EU), there are marked differences in the employment rate of women in different transport sectors and even within the same transport sector. To a significant extent, these differences, in turn, reflect different societal norms and values.²³

In Section 4, therefore, the barriers to career entry and career progression for women are analysed at the sector and sub-sector level (e.g. cruise ships *vs.* merchant shipping), with examples of good practice responses to minimise or alleviate these barriers for employers, workers' representatives and governments.

²³ In urban transport within the EU, for example, the proportion of women employed by different transport companies ranges from less than 10 per cent to more than 30 per cent, and likewise in rail from less than 10 per cent to approaching 40 per cent. The employment of women in urban transport is generally higher in Eastern Europe compared to Western Europe, while the highest proportion of women in European railway companies is found in Sweden, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic and Estonia (the lowest proportions are found in Italy, Spain and Austria). See Project WISE, *Women Employment in Urban Public Transport Sector*, VDV-Akademie e.V., Cologne Germany; and Austrian Institute for SME Research (2012) *Final Report*, Study on the Situation of Women in the Rail Sector and on the Implementation of the European Social Partners' Joint Recommendations.

3. The Career Cycle of Women in the Transport Sector

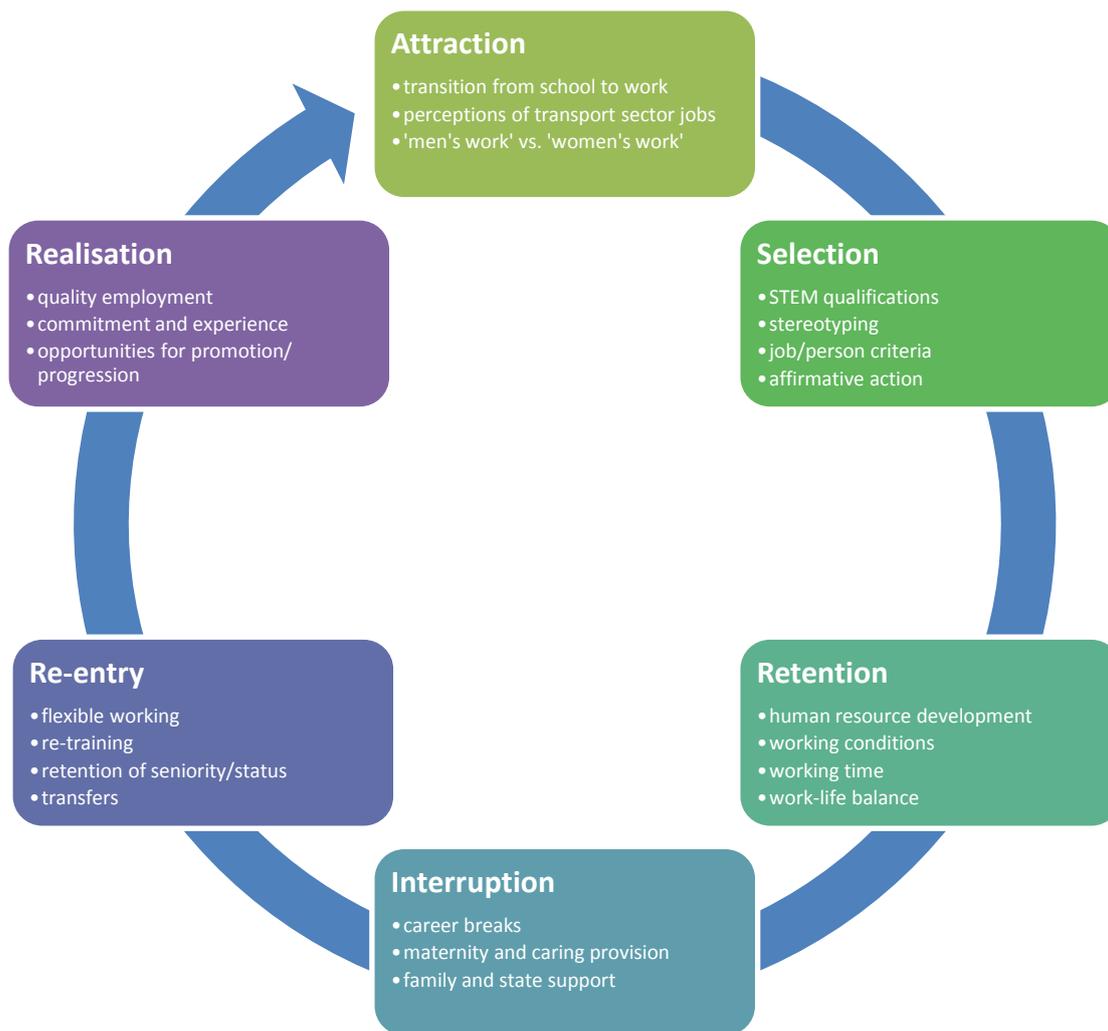
The purpose of this Section is to present a generic framework for policy-makers and the social partners to enhance the opportunities and mitigate the barriers facing women in the transport sector. Some of the barriers faced by women are ‘imposed’ (e.g. legal restrictions that inhibit the working time of women in some countries, most notably night-work, which effectively excludes them from many transport jobs that demand 24/7 operations); others are ‘gender-specific’ (e.g. ‘cultural stereotypes’ that define ‘men’s work’ and ‘women’s work’, including unpaid work in the home, which display many common characteristics across countries/transport sectors but also some marked differences by country/transport sector); and finally ‘gender-intensified’ barriers that affect both sexes but bear down most on women (e.g. inadequate childcare provision or the absence of ‘family-friendly’ working arrangements create problems for both men and women, but as women invariably bear the primary responsibility for childcare and other household activities they are more severely affected).

It goes without saying that any policy measures designed to address these barriers should be holistic and build complementarity. For example, supporting ‘parental leave’ rather than simply ‘maternity leave’ not only provides women with more support at home from their partner but might also help to change perceptions and attitudes towards caring responsibilities and draw attention to the burdens of a ‘dual role’ (motherhood and employment) and the ‘second shift’ (unpaid work in the home).

The barriers that women face in the career cycle, depicted in Figure 5, are neither discrete nor ‘stage specific’. For example, working around the cycle from initial attraction, transport jobs are unlikely to be ‘advertised’ to young girls at school as a potential career choice because of (*inter alia*) gender stereotypes (i.e. the assumption that transport jobs are ‘not for women’ and preconceptions about the careers that young girls might, or might not, be interested in). As a result, women are less likely to study science, technology, engineering and mathematics (the so-called ‘STEM subjects’²⁴) which not only limits the possibilities of initial attraction and selection but also career progression, especially as there is then a dearth of female role models or women in higher level/managerial roles who might train and/or mentor potential new recruits and support them as they develop their careers. If there are few, if any, women in a particular transport organization, or at least in particular roles (e.g. driving or engineering), then the organization is less likely to offer flexible working arrangements or (re)design equipment, tools, personal protective equipment (PPE) and the like. This, in turn, reinforces the lack of attraction of transport sector jobs to women. Thus, working back from the barriers that retard the retention of women it is clear that the absence of ‘family friendly’ HR policies, flexible working time arrangement and the like means that transport jobs are less likely to attract women during the early phase of the life cycle (the transition from school to work depicted in Figure 4).

²⁴ In some countries the collection of subjects is referred to as ‘MINT-activities’ – Mathematics, Informatics, Natural sciences and Technologies.

Figure 5. Women’s Career Cycle in the Transport Sector



To reinforce the point that barriers to women’s employment in the transport sector are neither discrete nor stage-specific, consider why so few women realise their career ambitions (i.e. start at the final stage in the cycle depicted in Figure 5 and work back). Women must often perform better than men in a male-dominated working environment, usually just to ‘fit in’ and be accepted and certainly if they want to progress and realise their career aspirations. However, realisation can be retarded by human resource development policies such as performance appraisal, which is often biased against women because of their ‘token’ status (i.e. men assume that women have been hired simply to comply with equal opportunities policies – statutory and/or company-based – rather than on merit). It is well established that as the proportion of women in the organization’s workforce increases, their performance appraisal tends to improve relative to men (i.e. it more accurately reflects their true performance).²⁵ This presents a conundrum for government policy-makers and the social partners because if considered in isolation, measures to address this barrier might prove counter-productive. For example, given that

²⁵ See, for example, Sackett, P.R., DuBois, C.L.Z. and Noe, A.W. (1991) ‘Tokenism in Performance Evaluation: The Effects of Work Group Representation on Male-Female and Black-White Differences in Performance Ratings’, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88, pp.647-59; and Pazy, A. and Oron, I. (2001) ‘Sex Proportion and Performance Evaluation Among High-Ranking Military Officers’, *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 22, pp.689-702.

the ‘token effect’ dissipates once women constitute more than 20 per cent of the workforce, an obvious ‘solution’ might be a programme of affirmative action with recruitment targets (or quotas) for women. However, in the absence of gender mainstreaming, participatory gender audits and the like, this might reinforce (male) attitudes regarding the ‘merits’ of female co-workers and their ‘token’ status.

3.1. Attraction

The fact that sex discrimination still prevails in the transport sector can be attributed, in part and certainly in some countries, to legal laxity (e.g. non-enforcement of equal opportunities law) and/or out-dated restrictions on the employment of women (e.g. night work).²⁶ However, the continuing under-representation of women in the transport sector of even developed economies with a highly supportive legal framework (e.g. the Member States of the EU) is indicative of a lack of political commitment and, more importantly, societal attitudes.

As a result, in almost all countries around the world, very few girls make the transition from school to employment in the transport sector because they are not actively encouraged to consider the available options, despite the fact that such options include a wide range of (often well-paid) manual jobs and professional occupations. At times it must seem that certain gender stereotypes are more immutable than the physiological differences between the sexes (musculoskeletal builds and physical strength) as the latter can often be mitigated through new technology or more appropriate design of work tools whereas women are still considered ‘bad luck’ at sea in some societies²⁷ or simply ‘not suited’ to driving a truck/bus/train or flying an aeroplane.

Using the career cycle depicted in Figure 5, the ‘cause and effect’ of barriers to women’s employment in transport can be considered at each stage of the cycle, both in general (i.e. at the societal level for ‘transport in general’) and in more detail (i.e. for particular transport sectors, possibly at a sub-national level).²⁸ Consider, for example, a developing country where educational opportunities for young girls are limited,²⁹ social norms result in early marriage, and men are expected to be the primary ‘breadwinner’. The cause-effect relationship (‘problem-tree’) depicting the low ‘attraction rate’ of women in the nation’s transport sector might look like Figure 6. In reality, of course, the problem-tree will have many more branches, depicting a much wider array of barriers to career entry for women. The purpose of Figure 6 is to provide an analytical tool that might guide government policy-makers, the social partners, voluntary organizations and other interested parties in their quest to attract more young women into the transport sector.

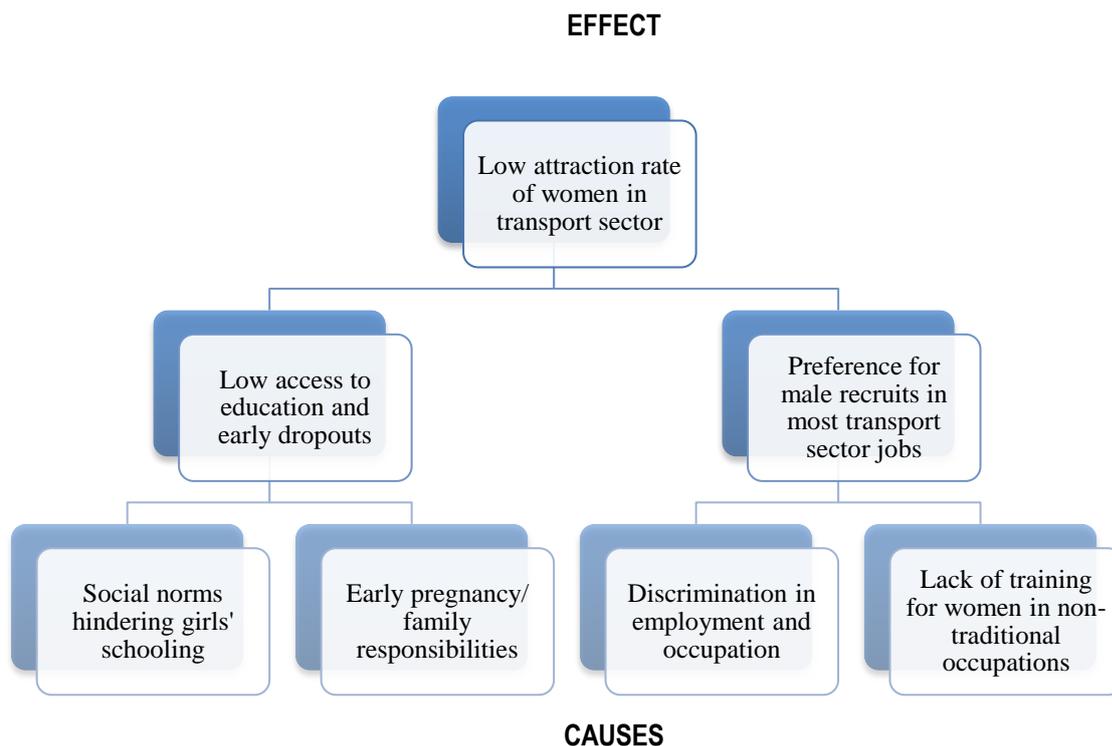
²⁶ A frequent response to questions about equality of opportunity from women transport workers was that while appropriate legislation was in place, all too often it was not fully or effectively implemented or enforced.

²⁷ One respondent to our survey, whose family were fishermen (not ‘fishers’) was told that it was bad luck for women to touch fishing nets. Despite such superstitions, she was not deterred from pursuing a career in marine engineering.

²⁸ In urban transport, for example, services are often provided by the local state or the municipal council of major cities, giving rise to significant differences in the employment rate of women within the same country. Cities with tram networks, for example, often employ more women drivers than cities that rely exclusively on buses.

²⁹ The greatest gender inequalities in education are found in North Africa and Western Asia. Countries in East Asia and the Pacific have come close to gender parity in access to education.

Figure 6. Cause-Effect Relationship of Limited Attraction of Young Women in Transport



Source: adapted from Rosas, G. and Rossignotti, G. (2008) *Guide for the Preparation of National Action Plans on Youth Employment*, YEP, Geneva: ILO.

The divisions of labour formed by gender – alongside age, race and ethnicity, religion and culture – are difficult to break down but they can and do change over time, both at the societal and sector levels. Societal change must be championed, or at least supported, by the state, most notably through legal reform and changes to the educational system that not only increase access for women but also directs them in more positive and proactive ways towards the STEM subjects. In doing this, it is also important to take ‘masculinities’ (men’s attitudes, aspirations and anxieties) into consideration, as men must become more accepting of women in traditional ‘male domains’.³⁰

Ideally, the state should involve the social partners through tripartism and other forms of social dialogue, and could also enlist the support of voluntary organizations established to promote the employment of women in the transport sector. There are in fact numerous NGOs dedicated to attracting more women to the transport sector and supporting them throughout their careers. WTS, for example, is a North American organization (now with membership in the UK) established in 1977 with a mission to ‘transform transportation through the advancement of women’. The organization’s ‘Transportation YOU’ programme offers young girls aged 13-18 years an introduction to a wide variety of transport careers and encourages them to study STEM subjects at school.³¹

At the sectoral level there are several examples of traditional gender roles being eroded or even reversed over time. This has been observed in numerous ports around the world, for example, especially where driving skills, rather than physical strength, are now the primary

³⁰ There are many practical ways to do this in the educational system, ranging from sex education to encouraging boys to study ‘feminine’ subjects such as home economics.

³¹ Go to: www.transportationyou.org

determinants of productivity.³² This, in turn, shapes co-workers' (male) perceptions of whether women are 'suited' to such jobs (e.g. straddle carrier and gantry crane driving on container terminals). In other words, if women can 'maintain the rhythm of the hook' (sustain an appropriate work-rate) then men are more likely to accept them into the 'gang' (workforce). The importance of workers' attitudes can be paramount in particular ports because recruitment is predominantly via family recommendations (fathers proposing daughters instead of only sons, uncles proposing nieces as well as nephews).

In the case of civil aviation, in contrast, it was changing attitudes on the part of management towards 'customer service' that led to the 'feminization' of cabin crew jobs.³³ This process is explained in Box I and highlights the importance of employer policies designed to attract women to the industry. However, even in transport sectors where there are long-standing (international) programmes to attract more women, such as the IMO's programme for the Integration of Women in the Maritime Sector (IWMS),³⁴ many of the world's leading transport companies have taken a long time to develop their own strategic programmes targeting women (e.g. Maersk only started reporting on diversity in 2009, with its first official diversity initiative focused on the representation of women in management at the Danish HQ).³⁵

The preference for male recruits in most transport jobs is very much a 'chicken and egg' problem – women often lack the necessary educational qualifications for many jobs in the transport sector, but these jobs have usually not been designed with women in mind and are therefore not particularly attractive. Thus, when it comes to selection, (male) managers are less likely to regard women as suitable candidates.

³² See, for example, Turnbull, P., Fairbrother, P., Heery, E., Martínez Lucio, M. and Stroud, D. (2009) *Women in Ports*, Centre for Global Labour Research (CGLR), Cardiff University.

³³ It should be noted that the hiring of stewards originally developed out of a need to advertise the safety of commercial flights. Airlines initially mimicked the service offered by other forms of first-class transportation (e.g. rail and passenger-carrying ships) and hired young boys wearing white coats to provide in-flight service. By the late 1940s, however, airline stewarding had become a feminized occupation throughout the industry. Initially, uniforms for male and female cabin crew were similar and very conservative, but as the focus shifted to the sexuality of the female flight attendant as a selling point the uniforms changed alongside corporate advertising.

³⁴ The first strategic document for IWMS was published in 1988. The focus of IWMS is on trying to 'demystify' the maritime sector for girls and women and encourage them to pursue maritime education and training courses.

³⁵ The company does have a longer history of employing women at sea.

Box 1. Male and Female Jobs in Civil Aviation

Initially, the association of flying with a masculine identity was attributable to the militarization of flight and the carry-over of wartime symbolism into commercial aviation (e.g. the dangers of flying and the bravery of pilots).^{*} In BA, this was formalised through a rule that *all* airline pilots and 75 per cent of the ground personnel, whether admin staff or mechanics, must be members of the Royal Air Force, the Reserve, or the new Auxiliary Air Force.^{**} Although the Women's Royal Air Force was established in 1918, women were excluded from piloting. In 1924 and 1925, respective meetings of the International Commission for Air Navigation (ICAN) and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) explicitly banned the employment of women as flight crew.^{***} This was all part of an attempt to reassure the flying public – it was not simply a case of employing male pilots but a certain type of man, 'brave, unflappable and calm in the face of danger; concerned about his company and his passengers; highly skilled and technically knowledgeable, and, ultimately, reliable. It is little wonder that commercial pilots came to be looked up to as ... heroes'.[§]

Over time, and with the increasing scale, bureaucratisation and commercialisation of the airline industry, the dominant characteristics of the pilot shifted – at least in the corporate image – from that of 'hero' to one of 'expert and experienced flyer'. As a result, 'it is not difficult to see how experience and expertise became viewed as masculine qualities'.^{§§} But just as the corporate image of pilots as certain types of men contributed to the exclusion of women, and still serves to close the cockpit door to women in many airlines even today, the reverse is true of cabin crew.

Not only is the job of the flight attendant defined as 'women's work', some airlines actively market their 'girls' to entice passengers and sell tickets. The 'Singapore Girl', for example, has been used to market Singapore Airlines (SIA) for more than 40 years.^{§§§} During their training, the 'girls' are taught make-up techniques, deportment and social etiquette. Applicants for the job must be under 26 years old, 'slim and attractive with a good complexion and warm personality'; according to the Airline's personnel ads.[¶] Other airlines have restricted business class flight attendants jobs to women only: 'The objective is to exploit the female body, to attract business class passengers. It undermines women's dignity, both as women and as professionals'.^{¶¶} Thus, at Singapore Airlines and many other airlines, 'the two halves of the binary of the social fiction maintained by airline marketing are definitely not male and female flight attendants; the gender icons are eroticized women flight attendants and male pilots'.^{¶¶¶}

Notes:

* Mills, A.J. (1998) 'Cockpits, Hangers, Boys and Galleys: Corporate Masculinities and the Development of British Airways', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 5(3), pp.172-88.

** Penrose, H. (1980) *Wings Across the World: An Illustrated History of British Airways*, London: Cassell, p.37.

*** Ibid; see also Cadagon, M. (1992) *Women with Wings*, London: Macmillan.

§ Mills (1998) *op. cit.*, p.175.

§§ Ibid., p.176. By 2007, just over 5 per cent of BA's pilots were women.

§§§ Chan, D. (2000) 'Beyond Singapore Girl: Grand and Product/Service Differentiation Strategies in the New Millennium', *Journal of Management Development*, 19(6), pp. 515-42; and Chan, D. (2000) 'The Story of Singapore Airlines and the Singapore Girl', *Journal of Management Development*, 19(6), pp. 456-72.

¶ Hiebert, M. (1995) 'A Nice Girl Like You', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 158(49), 7 December, p. 79.

¶¶ Cabin crew member, quoted in ITF (2002) *Women Transporting the World*, London: International Transport Workers' Federation, p.26.

¶¶¶ Williams, C. (2003) 'Sky Service: The Demands of Emotional Labour in the Airline Industry', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 10(5), p.523. It should be noted that over 40 per cent of Singapore Airlines' cabin crew workforce are men, although they feature far less prominently, if at all, in company advertising.

3.2. Selection

Investments in education and training that might attract more women into the transport sector will be wasted if they continue to face discrimination at the stage of selection.³⁶ This is a cost (wasted opportunity) for both society and the transport organization(s) in question, but most significantly for the women who invest time, money and emotional resources in placing themselves amongst the pool of qualified candidates for particular jobs. For example, there are now many women who study technical-nautical qualifications at college or university but are unable to secure a job at sea. In Taiwan, for example, beginning with new education policies introduced at marine navigation institutions in 1993, approximately 800 women have now graduated with degrees in marine navigation.³⁷ In 1998, for the first time, a Taiwanese woman served as a trainee ship's officer on a container vessel, but to date only around sixty female ship officers have actually worked on merchant ships.³⁸ Despite many female Taiwanese navigation students expressing an interest in working on ships, very few shipping companies are willing to employ women seafarers. As a result, female students have problems securing internships on board.³⁹

There are similar problems in civil aviation. In the USA, for example, around 65 per cent of all students (male and female) who obtained a medically certified student pilots licence became 'unrestricted pilots' in the early 1990s. Today, the conversion rate is less than 35 per cent. Women constituted only 2 per cent of all US pilots for hire in 2010, which is a dismal record compared to the progress of women in other professions.⁴⁰ Some students are fortunate enough to be recruited onto the cadet training schemes of major (legacy) airlines, and many full-service airlines have a positive approach to recruiting more women onto these programmes. But these are a dwindling proportion of all pilot trainees, the vast majority of who must nowadays pay for their own training. Even cabin crew jobs require substantial 'up front' financial investment, as documented in Box II, which can limit the opportunities of many women.

³⁶ In several countries/sectors the research uncovered no shortage of women wanting to work in transport (e.g. urban transport in Barbados), often because these jobs are well paid and comparatively secure, but the representation of women was still woefully low.

³⁷ Wang, G-R. and Guo, J-L. (2011) 'Sailing into the Sea: A Female Deck-Cadet's Self Narrative Inquiry', *Journal of Maritime Science*, 20(1), p.81.

³⁸ *Ibid*, pp.81-2. See also Wang, Y.Q. (2005) *Gender Politics on Container Vessels: Working Conditions of Women Ship Officers*, Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung Medical University.

³⁹ Guo, J-L. and Liang, G-S. (2012) 'Sailing into Rough Seas: Taiwan's Women Seafarers' Career Development Struggle', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 35, pp.197-8.

⁴⁰ Women now make up 26 per cent of all air traffic controllers in the USA, 18 per cent of all flight dispatchers, and over 9 per cent of all aerospace engineers. Further afield, women now constitute almost a third of all doctors and surgeons in the United States.

Box 2. The Costs of Selection at a Low Fares Airline

Cabin crew recruitment at Ryanair is outsourced to four different agencies – Crewlink, Workforce International, St James Management and Cavok – although only two agencies (Crewlink and Workforce International) hold contracts to actually supply cabin crew to Ryanair. These agencies hold recruitment days all over Europe, attracting candidates from all over Europe, predominantly young women aged 18-25 years old. Candidates who pass the initial recruitment day are issued a Cabin Crew Training Course Agreement by Crewlink or Workforce International, which sets out the criteria for acceptance onto the training course, the medical exam, ID and police clearance, training course schedule, and the costs/conditions attached to the training. The latter includes low cost (shared) accommodation for the duration of the training (€700 paid in full 21 days before training commences), a non-refundable registration fee of €500 to confirm a place on the course, and a course fee of €1,649 paid in full 7 days prior to starting the course. An alternative payment option is available, with an identical registration fee (€500 in advance, non-refundable) but staggered payments (monthly instalments deducted from the wage packet) to cover the €1,649 course fee *plus* a €600 administration charge. At the recruitment event, candidates are told they can expect to earn around €1,100 per month, plus a sales bonus from in-flight food and drinks, and a 'New Joiners Allowance' of €1,200 paid over the first 6 months (if the new recruit leaves or is fired during the first 12 month then they are obligated to refund this Allowance in full). With the deduction of training costs (€300 in months 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8, and €449 in month 6) plus uniform lease and dry cleaning costs (€30 per month), cabin crew can expect to earn a maximum of €1,000 per month before tax.

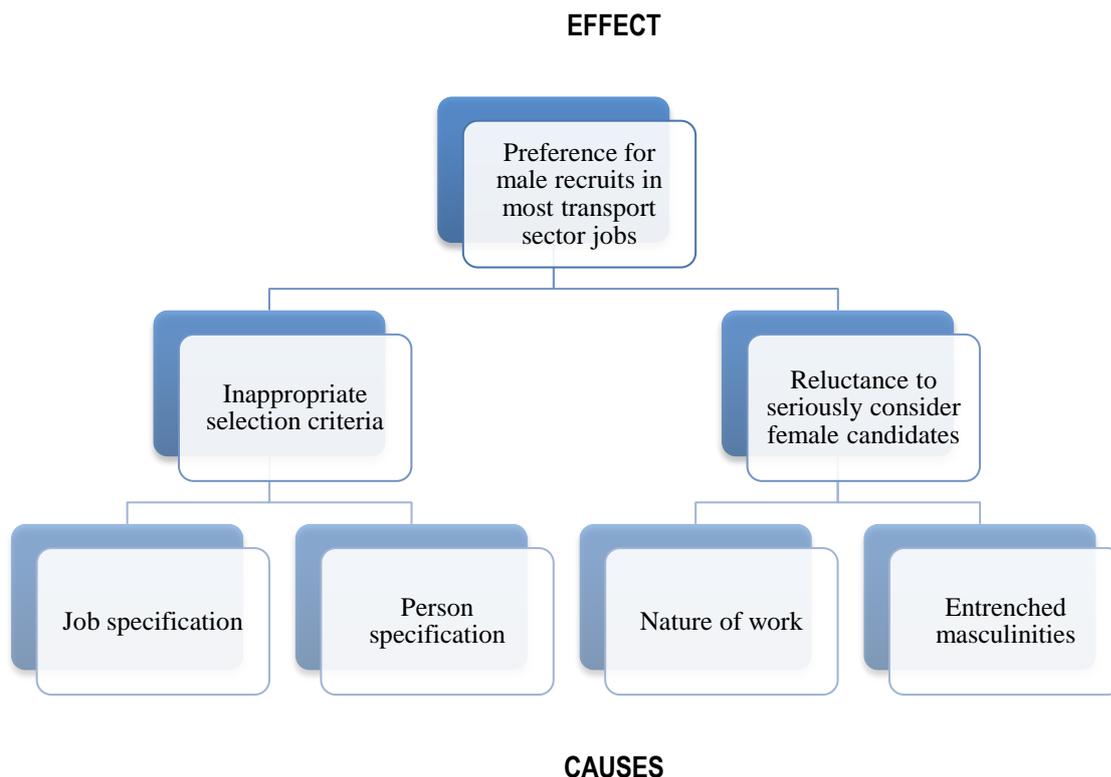
Candidates who pass the training course are offered a 3-year contract with Crewlink, not direct employment with Ryanair. The first 12 months is classified as a period of probation and new recruits are subject to regular performance review. Cabin crew on contract with Crewlink must take 3 months unpaid leave in every 12-month period, between the winter months of November through to March when flight schedules are reduced, and they are forbidden to work for any other airline during their unpaid leave.* Candidates are advised that their base will be determined by Crewlink – they are told that 'flexibility is mandatory' during the recruitment event – but they are informed of their base only *after* they have paid the €500 non-refundable registration fee. Working away from home is just one of the many features of transport work that often deters women more than men from pursuing a career in this sector.

Notes: * New recruits are advised that they can expect to work 800-850 hours during the 9 months of paid employment. Consequently, they have very few hours left to 'sell' to another airline under European flight and duty regulations.

In any organization there is a sense of what 'fits' the attributes of male and female – as individuals, as work roles, as organizational roles, as competencies – which is perhaps best expressed through the French term '*bon ton*' (i.e. the ideal of what is 'in tune', tasteful and in compliance with the dictates of etiquette).⁴¹ The processes leading to a preference for male recruits in the transport sector is depicted in a simple (pruned) problem-tree, Figure 7.

⁴¹ Gherardi, S. (1994) 'The Gender We Think, The Gender We Do in Our Everyday Organizational Lives', *Human Relations*, 47(6), p.594. One of the most consistent findings from vocational psychology is that people are differentially attracted to careers as a function of their own interests, personality and upbringing. Organizations then select people who seem most likely to 'fit' – not simply in terms of educational qualifications, skills, experience, etc., but also how they 'do' gender – and those who subsequently realize that that they 'do not fit' will tend to leave. This process of attraction- selection-attrition (ASA) can effectively 'close' many jobs, even an entire industry or occupation, to women.

Figure 7. Cause-Effect Relationship of Infrequent Selection of Women



There are countless examples in the transport sector of out-dated job/person specifications for posts that have been transformed by new technology or have not caught up with changing societal attitudes and values. For example, physical strength is no longer a requirement of many transport jobs⁴² and passengers on a bus, tram, train or aeroplane are perfectly comfortable with a female driver or pilot. The bottom line is that sex is not an indicator of competence and the decision to recruit young men and women should always be based on criteria such as recognized qualifications, skills and the requirements of the job. One way to determine these requirements and ensure that selection criteria are both appropriate and fair is through a participatory gender audit (PGA). Because PGAs go beyond a purely technical assessment and include personal and institutional biases in the culture of the organization, they address both main branches of the problem-tree (selection criteria and the reluctance to consider female candidates) depicted in Figure 7.

PGAs are used to promote individual and organizational learning on ways to mainstream gender in order to help achieve equality between women and men. This applies to the organization’s policies, programmes and structures, enabling the organization to determine the extent to which gender has been institutionalised at the level of the organization, work unit and individual. In this way, the participatory focus of the audit goes beyond the ‘technical’ aspects of recruitment and selection, which can often be ‘made equal’ through an insistence on formal/recognized qualifications, technical competencies, redesign of equipment⁴³ and the like. Through a process of reflection, PGAs shine a light on the

⁴² There are, of course, countless counter-examples, such as old locomotives still in service on the Indian railway system that women complain are difficult even for physically strong men to operate, or the heavy equipment used in container un/lashing that could easily be manufactured with lighter metals.

⁴³ In the design of equipment and tools, the anthropometric data used do not always reflect the characteristics of the working population, and certainly not working women (e.g. personal

‘unwritten’ or ‘unsaid’ biases of selection that lead to an underrepresentation of women. For example, there is still a perception amongst men that women are ‘troublesome’ and ‘difficult to integrate’ into the workforce, or that certain transport jobs are just not suitable for women – as the ‘conventional’ (sexist) views of several shipping company managers serves to illustrate:

- boys are braver than girls, and this is important, because this has an impact on decision making, you have to make critical decisions when you sail at sea.
- seafarers’ work and life at sea is very hard ... Seafaring is a male profession, men should do this work.
- the work on the ship is just too hard. It’s ok if the woman works at bridge – as the navigator – but there is no way for her to work in the engine room, it’s just too hard ... Women can work only as assistant cook, as assistant [mess] boys. For officers I don’t think so.⁴⁴

It is not very ideal for women to work on ships. Ships occasionally encounter big waves and strong winds. Moreover, the nature of work in offices on land and that of work at sea are very different. Sometimes heavy labour is required. So, I think it is not suitable for women to work on ships.⁴⁵

PGAs force everyone to reflect upon, and correct, any such biases. One of the most common complaints from women who participated in the research for this ILO study is that selection is all too often based on nepotism, favouritism, cronyism or blatant sexism. Where this is the case, action by the state as well as the social partners is called for.

3.3. Retention

Whilst an individual’s attraction to a particular organization – an airline, railway company, shipping line, bus company, etc. – is based upon an implicit or perceived estimate of the congruence between their own personal characteristics/preferences and the attributes of the organization, whether they stay with the organization once recruited and then seek to build a career will very much depend on actual working conditions, support from the organization (e.g. training and development opportunities) and co-workers (e.g. respect, mentoring, and involvement in decision-making), and how (or whether) the career cycle can be synchronised with the life cycle (e.g. domestic responsibilities).

Transport is a sector replete with unattractive features and practices that pose significant barriers to the retention of women, as already demonstrated in the case of land transport in Europe. The requirement to work (and often live) away from home in many transport jobs, most notably shipping,⁴⁶ road haulage⁴⁷ and increasingly civil aviation,⁴⁸ serves to intensify the gender barriers that characterise these industries.

protective equipment and tools designed in Germany and the USA may not be appropriate for Asian women). See SafeWork, *Women Workers and Gender Issues on Occupational Safety and Health*, Geneva: International Labour Office.

⁴⁴ These quotes are taken from: Thomas, M. (2004) “‘Get Yourself a Proper Job Girlie’”: Recruitment, Retention and Women Seafarers’, *Maritime Policy & Management*, 31(4), pp.310-11.

⁴⁵ Quote taken from: Guo and Liang (2012) *op. cit.*, p.198.

⁴⁶ Typical contracts ‘at sea’ last 6-9 months.

The common concerns of women in the transport sector include sexual discrimination; sexual harassment,⁴⁹ bullying and harassment⁵⁰ and violence;⁵¹ the absence of basic amenities (e.g. separate toilets, changing rooms and sanitary facilities); safety and security (especially at night and/or when working in geographically isolated locations); wage disparities, unequal pay, and wage structures with unpredictable and variable components (e.g. commission on in-flight sales or tips from cruise ship passengers); unequal access to premium wage rates (e.g. overtime or weekend work that is difficult to reconcile with family commitments); hazardous working conditions⁵² and insufficient attention to health and well-being (e.g. personal protective equipment designed specifically for women); limited training opportunities or other policies for human development at work (e.g. appraisal and mentoring programmes); and isolation derived from both the nature of work (e.g. long periods at sea or working alone in a straddle carrier or container crane with only a computer screen or radio for communication with fellow workers) and the minority status of women in the workforce.

To draw all the branches of a problem-tree for retention would no doubt produce something resembling a mighty oak, and possibly run the risk of ‘not being able to see the wood from the trees’. Consequently, like Figures 6 and 7, Figure 8 depicts just two main barriers (branches) and two of the underlying (root) causes of each.

⁴⁷ In the EU, for example, many drivers from Eastern Europe will work ‘on the road’ for 3-12 weeks in Western Europe before returning home for 1-3 weeks. See ETF (2012) *Modern Slavery in Modern Europe? An ETF Account on the Working and Living Conditions of Professional Drivers in Europe*, Brussels: European Transport Workers’ Federation.

⁴⁸ Ryanair, for example, operates well over fifty bases in Europe with flight and cabin crew assigned to any base at the company’s disposition.

⁴⁹ Sexual harassment can be suffered by both men and women but is much more likely to affect women. It is typically defined as unwelcome or uninvited behaviour of a sexual nature that is offensive, embarrassing, intimidating or humiliating.

⁵⁰ Bullying and harassment is unwelcome or uninvited behaviour that is persistent, offensive, abusive, intimidating or humiliating, typically based on the abuse of power or unfair penal sanctions, which makes recipients feel upset, threatened, humiliated or vulnerable. It must be recognized that these problems are particularly acute in the transport sector when women spend long periods away from home, are geographically isolated, and work in a predominantly male environment.

⁵¹ Violence can be defined as a form of negative behaviour or action in the relations between two or more people. It is characterised by aggressiveness which is sometimes repeated and sometimes unexpected. It includes incidents where employees are abused, threatened, assaulted or subject to other offensive acts or behaviours in circumstances related to their work. Violence manifests itself both in the form of physical and psychological violence. It ranges from physical attacks to verbal insults, bullying, mobbing, and harassment, including sexual and racial harassment.

⁵² Instead of removing risks from the workplace for the protection of *all* workers’ health, some jobs are defined as ‘men’s work’ precisely because they are (traditionally and unnecessarily) dirty, dangerous and/or ‘unhealthy’. As a result, women have often been excluded from hazardous occupations or specific jobs *as a group* (gender).

Figure 8. Cause-Effect Relationship of Poor Retention of Women in the Transport Sector

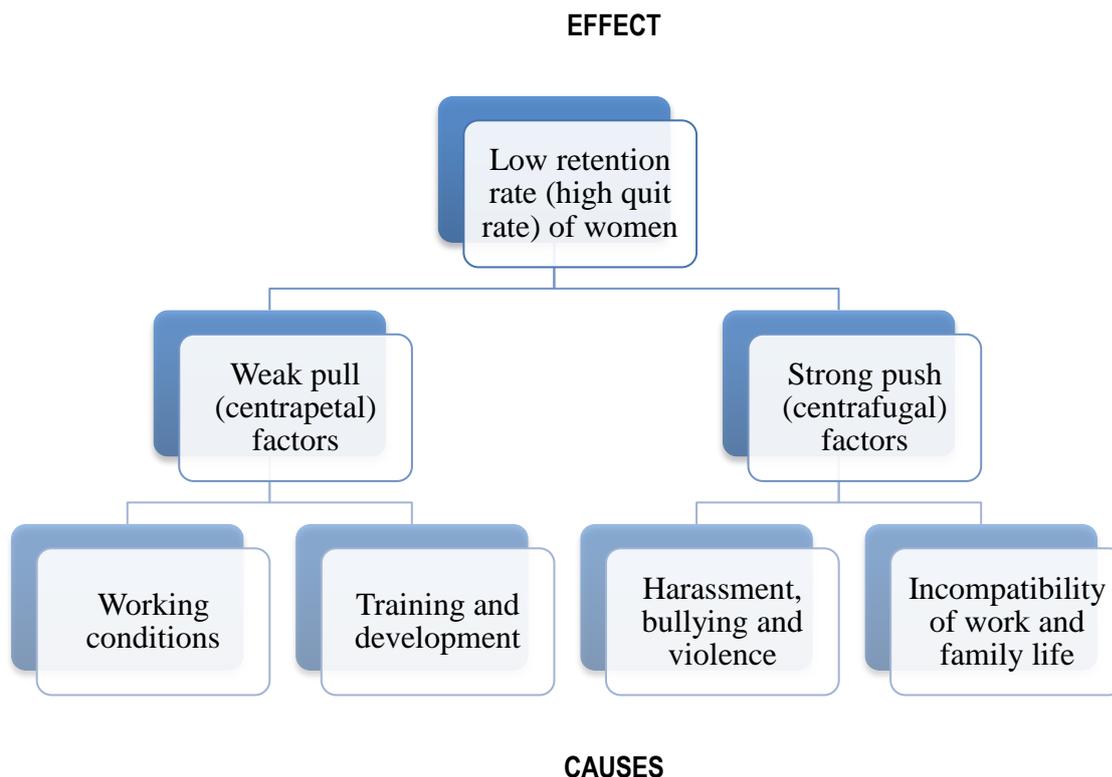


Figure 8 highlights the need – at a minimum – for a dual approach to retention, focusing on both ‘pull’ and ‘push’ factors. Ideally, working conditions in the transport sector should be a pull factor but are all too often unattractive to both men and women. However, because men want to preserve certain jobs or occupations as ‘men’s work’ there is usually very little attention paid to the improvement of working and living conditions. Some women may be ‘allowed’ in such jobs or occupations, but women are under-represented in decision-making bodies (e.g. safety and health committees) and their voice is rarely heard, such that even gender-intensified barriers are overlooked. In contrast, when women are represented on employee representative bodies of various descriptions, whether safety and health or union negotiating committees, then women’s issues are more likely to feature on the agenda and subsequent action invariably benefits men as well as women.⁵³

As a consequence of jobs being defined as ‘men’s work’ and women being under-represented in the very institutions that might initiate some change, poor working conditions prevail and women are continually disadvantaged by out of date structures, workplace arrangements and attitudes. Examples of ‘traditionally male’ transport jobs are listed in Table 4, alongside various roles that have been ‘feminised’ and/or ‘opened’ to women.

⁵³ Women’s participation in national institutions for social dialogue (e.g. labour councils and advisory boards) is especially low in Africa, Asia and Latin America. See Breneman-Pennas, T. and Rueda Catry, M. (2008) ‘Women’s Participation in Social Dialogue Institutions at the National Level’, Discussion Paper 16, Social Dialogue, Labour Law and Labour Administration, Geneva: ILO.

Table 4. Male and female jobs in the transport sector

	Traditionally male	'Feminised' or 'opened' to women
Maritime	Engineering	Technical-nautical
	Galley	Hotel*
Civil Aviation	Flight crew	Cabin crew
	Ground-handling	Customer service
Urban Transport	Bus drivers	Tram (and bus) drivers
Road haulage	Long distance drivers	Local deliveries
Railways	Drivers	Conductors
	Engineering and maintenance	Station staff
Ports	Lashing	Tallying

Notes: * cruise ships

If working conditions are attractive, and there are opportunities for training and development, then women are more likely to build a career in the transport sector. To do this requires on-going training and development, which companies are often reluctant to offer to women because of anticipated interruptions to their career. While the more blatant examples of discrimination are perhaps less common today they are still reported (e.g. pregnancy tests before signing a 6-month contract of employment on-board a cruise ship) and it is much more difficult to monitor, mollify or prevent more subtle but no less significant forms of discrimination whereby men are given preference for further training that will boost their future career prospects. For too many women in the transport sector, jobs do not develop into careers – they remain stuck in lower paid, lower level positions, denied the opportunities for progression available to men and therefore more likely to quit or have little or no desire to return to the sector after a period of interruption.

Working conditions in transport, most notably working time and working away from home, can push women out of the industry. Flexible working patterns, extended hours, variable start/ finish times, shift-work, and 24/7 operations (sometimes for 365 days a year) make it difficult and at times impossible to reconcile work and family commitments. As with many aspects of work and employment in the transport sector, this is a 'gender intensified' barrier that would benefit men but especially women if more adequately addressed by the social partners and the state. The burden on women of combining productive and reproductive responsibilities inevitably affects their ability to retain employment and has an impact on relationships within the household (e.g. calculations to determine whether men or women will realise a greater financial return on investments in human capital). Any society or sector that desires to improve the employment prospects of women must address all dimensions of work life and not disadvantage women because of their multiple productive and reproductive roles.

Technically speaking, harassment, bullying and violence are also 'gender-intensified' barriers to working in the transport sector – men are bullied, harassed and subject to violence at work as well as women – but in practical terms it needs to be addressed as a

‘gender-specific’ problem. Transport records one of the highest levels of violence towards employees and this issue proved to be *the* main concern raised by women during the research for this ILO study. While the devastating effects of violence towards women are evidenced across all transport sectors and countries throughout the world, the root causes and perpetrators (e.g. co-workers, customers, supervisors, and managers) will differ and therefore demand sector-specific and country-specific policies to address this problem.⁵⁴

3.4. Interruption

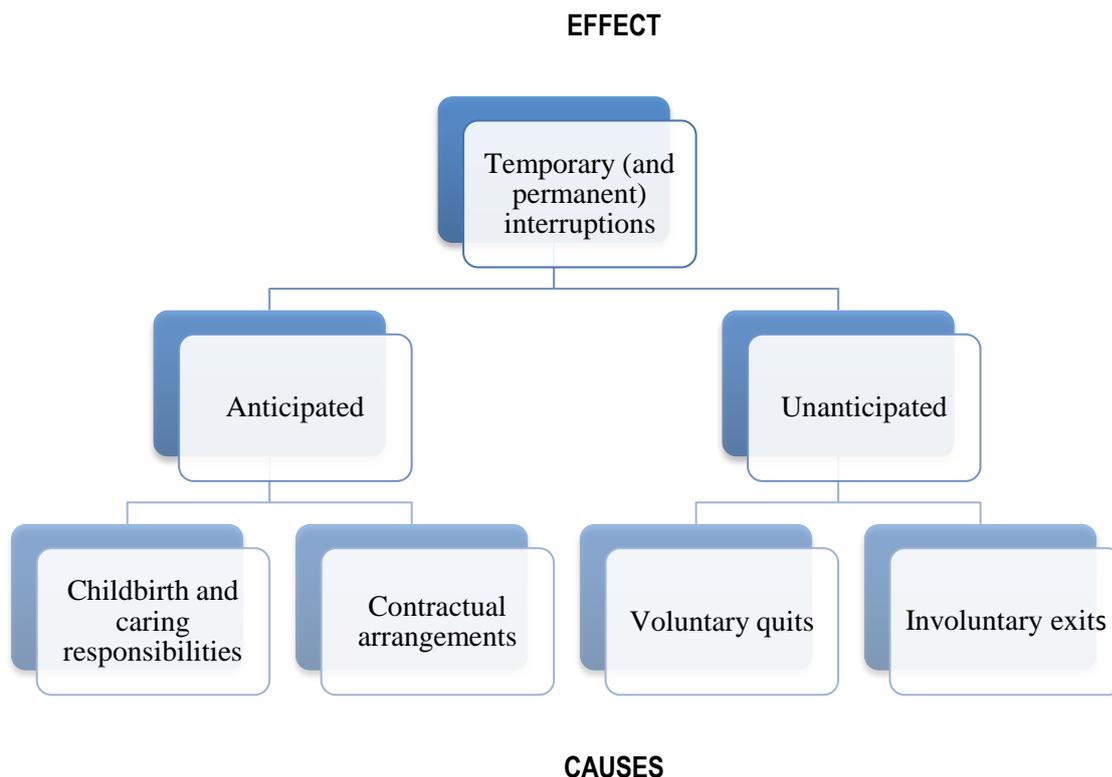
The interruptions to women’s careers in the transport sector are both anticipated and unanticipated, as noted in Figure 9. The former arise primarily from women’s reproductive roles and the (typically disproportionate) responsibilities they assume for childcare and the care of other family relatives. In addition, anticipated interruptions can arise from the nature of employment arrangements, such as fixed-term contracts in road transport, maritime or civil aviation sectors.⁵⁵ At the extreme, contracts can be as short as a matter of hours, such as casual labour in many ports in developing countries, which is a major barrier to women even participating in the (dockland) labour market.⁵⁶ Unanticipated interruptions might be voluntary or involuntary, such as women quitting their current job for a better position at a rival transport company or women who are ‘forced out’ of their job because of the ‘push factors’ identified in Figure 8.

⁵⁴ The ILO currently has two projects designed to combat gender-based violence in the workplace in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

⁵⁵ Fixed term contracts in road transport often last for just 3-12 weeks, in maritime from 6-9 months, and in civil aviation for the duration of the busy summer schedule. Even ‘permanent’ cabin crew are often recruited on an initial contract of 2-3 years, especially if they are ‘hired by’ and are ‘on contract with’ an employment agency rather than the airline. At Singapore Airlines it takes 6 years to become an in-flight supervisor but new female cabin crew are only offered a 5-year contract (men are given an open-ended contract). The average Singapore Girl lasts only 4½ years with the airline. See Hiebert, M. (1995) ‘A Nice Girl Like You’, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 158(49), 7 December, p. 79.

⁵⁶ In several countries, women complained that as the ‘daily call’ (i.e. hiring by the foremen of stevedoring companies) was very early in the morning, in some countries (e.g. Barbados) at 5.30am, any women with young children found it almost impossible to compete for work.

Figure 9. Cause-effect relationship of interruptions to women’s careers in the transport sector



The costs of anticipated interruptions arising from childbirth, and subsequent childcare or other caring responsibilities, are rightly shared by the state and the organization in order to minimise the disruption and costs for the worker (e.g. legal rights to maternity leave, affordable childcare, workload adjustments during pregnancy, paid maternity leave, and compassionate leave to care for sick or elderly relatives). If gender equality is to be at the heart of decent work, then pregnancy and maternity protection must fulfill two aims: first, it must preserve the special relationship and the health of the mother and her newborn; second, it must provide a measure of job security (e.g. access to jobs for women of childbearing age, maintenance of wages and benefits during maternity and prevention of dismissal), which is crucial to protect pregnant workers and mothers.⁵⁷

It goes without saying that pregnancy or motherhood should not constitute a source of discrimination in access to training, skills development and employment, yet discrimination in the hiring and firing of women workers in their childbearing years is all too commonplace in the transport sector.⁵⁸ ILO Convention No. 183 requires ratifying States to provide a minimum of 14 weeks maternity leave, with 6 of the 14 weeks taken immediately after giving birth.⁵⁹ In practice, however, the length of maternity leave varies

⁵⁷ International Labour Conference 98th Session, Report VI Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work, p.vii

⁵⁸ The Termination of Employment Convention 1982 (No. 158) explicitly prohibits dismissals based on, among other grounds, pregnancy and absence from work during maternity leave.

⁵⁹ The Maternity Protection Recommendation, 2000 (No. 191) proposes that this period should be at least 18 weeks, which is intended to protect the woman from being pressured into returning to work when it could be detrimental to her health and that of her child. To date, Convention 183 has not been widely ratified (only 28 member States).

widely across the world.⁶⁰ A more positive development is that more countries now rely on compulsory social insurance or public funding of maternity, or a mixed system dividing responsibility between employers and social security systems, rather than financing mechanisms that place the direct costs of maternity on employers (which represents a potential burden for employers and a possible source of discrimination against women).⁶¹

Maternity protection of women workers is not only a key element of the career cycle (Figure 5) but also the first key step towards greater equality in the life cycle (Figure 4), for the women themselves and for their offspring.⁶² It is widely acknowledged that social dialogue is an important way of achieving recognition of the importance of protection for working mothers and fathers, especially when the interruptions for childbearing and childcare are compounded by contractual arrangements between the worker and the employer or the worker and an agency that supplies labour to the employer. In fact, fixed-term contracts are often designed specifically to avoid some of the social costs associated with interruptions to employment, whether in the short-term (e.g. paid sick leave or compassionate leave), medium-term (e.g. maternity pay) or longer-term (e.g. disability compensation). With this in mind, the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF) has developed 'model clauses' for use in collective agreements to ensure that pregnant seafarers are accorded pregnancy and maternity rights.⁶³ ITF-approved agreements for merchant vessels stipulate that pregnant seafarers:

- must be repatriated at the cost of the company;⁶⁴
- must receive 2 months' full pay in compensation;⁶⁵
- if working on deep-sea vessels or very high speed craft, the risks need to be carefully assessed;
- pregnancy should never be treated as a disciplinary offence.

⁶⁰ Based on a review of 166 countries undertaken in 2004, the ILO found that more than three-quarters of countries in the Americas, over 80 per cent in Asia and the Pacific, and the majority of countries in Africa provided less than 14 weeks maternity leave. In contrast, in Europe and Central Asia the majority of countries (60 per cent) provided 18 weeks or more.

⁶¹ See Öun, I. and Pardo Trujillo, G. (2005) *Maternity at Work: A Review of National Legislation*, Geneva: ILO, p.26.

⁶² Maternity protection and childcare provision not only promotes maternal health but also healthy working conditions when workers with families resume their jobs. It also reduces sex-based imbalances in doing unpaid care work, helps prevent the perpetuation of social inequalities and intergenerational poverty by strengthening families' social and economic security and reducing their vulnerability to risk, and provides a stronger start for disadvantaged children, enhancing their physical well-being, cognitive and language skills, and social and emotional development. Maternity protection should be seen as not just about equality for women, but a social policy that enables working women and men to have families and regenerate the labour force. See International Labour Conference 98th Session, Report VI Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work, pp.50-6.

⁶³ These rights should also include pre-recruitment pregnancy testing, a common practice even though it contravenes international labour standards.

⁶⁴ The timing of the repatriation may vary depending on place of work and stage of pregnancy. Where the ship is trading coastally, or where a doctor is on board, it is generally safer to work later into a pregnancy. The ITF's 'model agreement' for catering personnel employed on flag of convenience cruise vessels specifies repatriation no later than the 26th week of pregnancy.

⁶⁵ The ITF's 'model agreement' for catering personnel employed on flag of convenience cruise vessels stipulates 10 weeks basic wages.

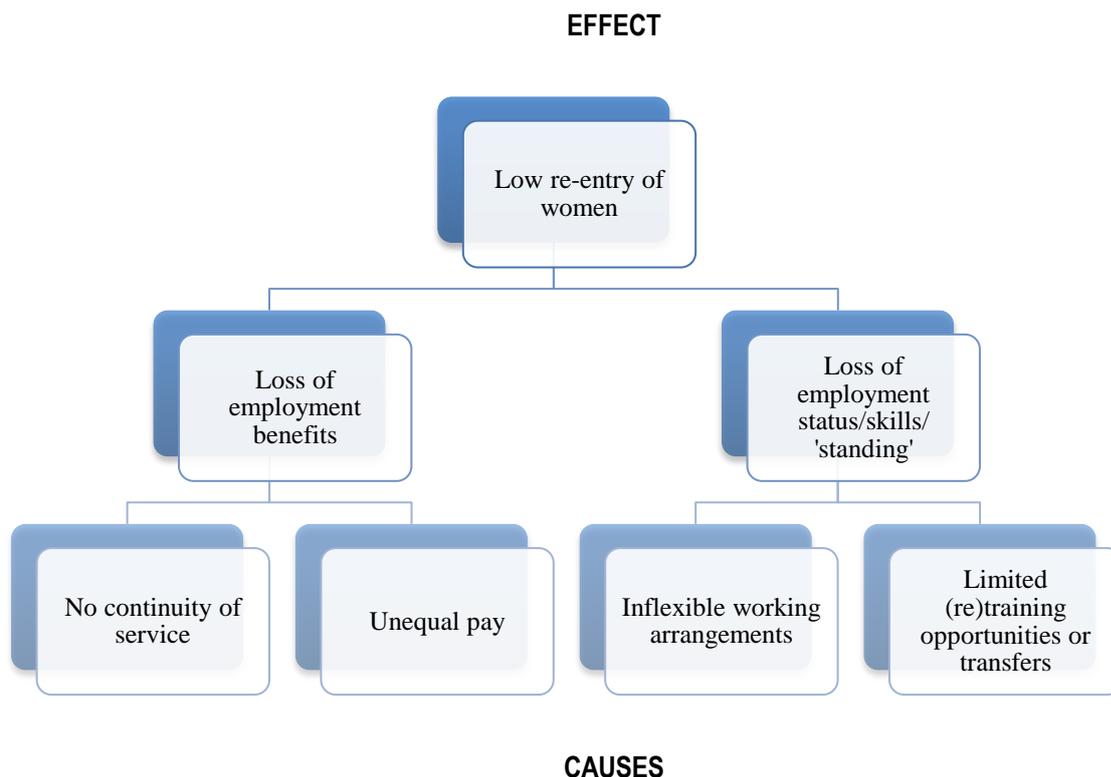
Ensuring protection for women in the transport sector in the event of contractual interruptions is invariably much easier when the contract is between the employer (transport company) and the worker rather than an employment agency (contractor) and the worker. On the one hand, employment agencies can be instrumental in securing employment for workers in the transport sector, but on the other hand they can become a barrier to women building a career and progressing through either the career cycle (Figure 5) or the life cycle (Figure 4). For example, agency workers are more likely to ‘re-cycle’ at the same (lower) level in the organization, rather than progress through the career hierarchy, and they are less likely to make any financial provision (pension contributions) for old age and enjoy their senior years (productive and secure ageing with access to social protection).

Interruptions that are perhaps unanticipated but arise from voluntary quits where the worker has secured a better job in the transport sector are obviously to be welcomed. In fact, the willingness of organizations to recruit women to higher-level positions is a sign of a well-functioning labour market with equality of opportunity. What is not at all welcome are instances of women being forced to leave their employment because of discrimination, harassment, victimisation, bullying, violence or any of the other (myriad) ‘push factors’ identified in Figure 8 (e.g. working time arrangements that are simply incompatible with family commitments). Interruptions that are unanticipated and involuntary are far more likely to create disaffection and disconnection with the transport sector, with women seeking decent work elsewhere in other sectors of employment.

3.5. Re-entry

Following a period of interruption, re-entry will be greatly enhanced if women retain their employment benefits and employment status, where the latter includes the ability to exercise existing competencies (i.e. no downgrading) and develop new skills, as well as sense that they are still respected and enjoy appropriate ‘standing’ in the eyes of their co-workers and line managers. These two branches of the re-entry problem-tree are illustrated in Figure 10. As with other problem-trees in this Section (Figures 6-9), in practice there may be other (sector-specific) branches to consider. In the maritime industry, for example, women may prefer a land-based job rather than return to sea if interruption is a result of childbirth, which requires opportunities for retraining, internal transfers and the like. For many driving jobs there may be health and safety consideration in the weeks and months following childbirth and maternity leave, which might be addressed through restricted duties or office-based work until driving duties can be resumed (e.g. transfer to tallying work on a container terminal, using a hand-held electronic device, rather than driving a tug-master or straddle carrier).

Figure 10. Cause-effect relationship of low re-entry to the transport sector



The retention of employment benefits will depend largely on equal pay policies – both state-mandated and company-based – and provisions for continuity of service (i.e. previous years’ service with the organization still count towards any service-related benefits such as paid holidays, sickness benefits, pension entitlements and the like). Women are more likely to retain their employment benefits if the company has flexible working arrangements and provides opportunities for (re)training or transfers as this will allow returnees to more quickly return to their previous levels of performance and/or perform work ‘of equal value’ to the organization.⁶⁶ After a period of interruption due to maternity leave, flexible working arrangements or a temporary transfer to office-based work during a phased return to work will also facilitate the reconciliation of work and family life during what can be one of the most difficult periods of adjustment for most women.

One of the most effective ways to ensure re-entry and prevent the loss of investment in human capital is for the organization to undertake a participatory gender audit (PGA). Over the years, the ILO has developed considerable expertise in promoting and supporting PGAs⁶⁷ and these audits focus attention not only on the organization’s internal policies and practices but also the support systems in place for gender mainstreaming. One of the most difficult barriers for women to overcome on re-entry to the organization is relearning how to ‘fit in’ and ‘do gender’ in a male-dominated industry, especially after a prolonged period at home on maternity leave. Gender is not what we are (a property of people), but

⁶⁶ As women typically perform different jobs to men, equal pay legislation is normally based on the principle of ‘equal pay for work of equal value’, rather than ‘equal pay for equal work’.

⁶⁷ See, for example, ILO (2007) *A Manual for Gender Audit Facilitators: The ILO Participatory Gender Audit Methodology*, Geneva: International Labour Organization.

something we think, something we do, and something we make accountable to others.⁶⁸ It is precisely because gender is not just located at the level of interactional and institutional behaviour (the gender we do) but at the level of deep and trans-psychic symbolic structures (the gender we think), that gender stereotypes are typically (but incorrectly) conceived as ‘universal’ and ‘ahistorical’ constructs and why it seems that every generation of women face the same (age-old) problems of ‘fitting in’ – or if returning from a period of maternity leave, ‘fitting back in’.

Once again, these problems highlight the fact that the barriers facing women in the transport sector are neither discrete nor stage-specific within the career cycle (e.g. initially ‘fitting in’ and then ‘fitting back in’, which can be especially problematic for new mothers). HR policies that make transport jobs more attractive (e.g. flexible working arrangements, paid maternity leave, on-going training opportunities, equal pay policies, codes of conduct on sexual harassment at work, backed up by clear and properly enforced disciplinary procedures) are more likely to retain women (maximise the ‘pull’ and minimise the ‘push’) and facilitate re-entry after a period of interruption.

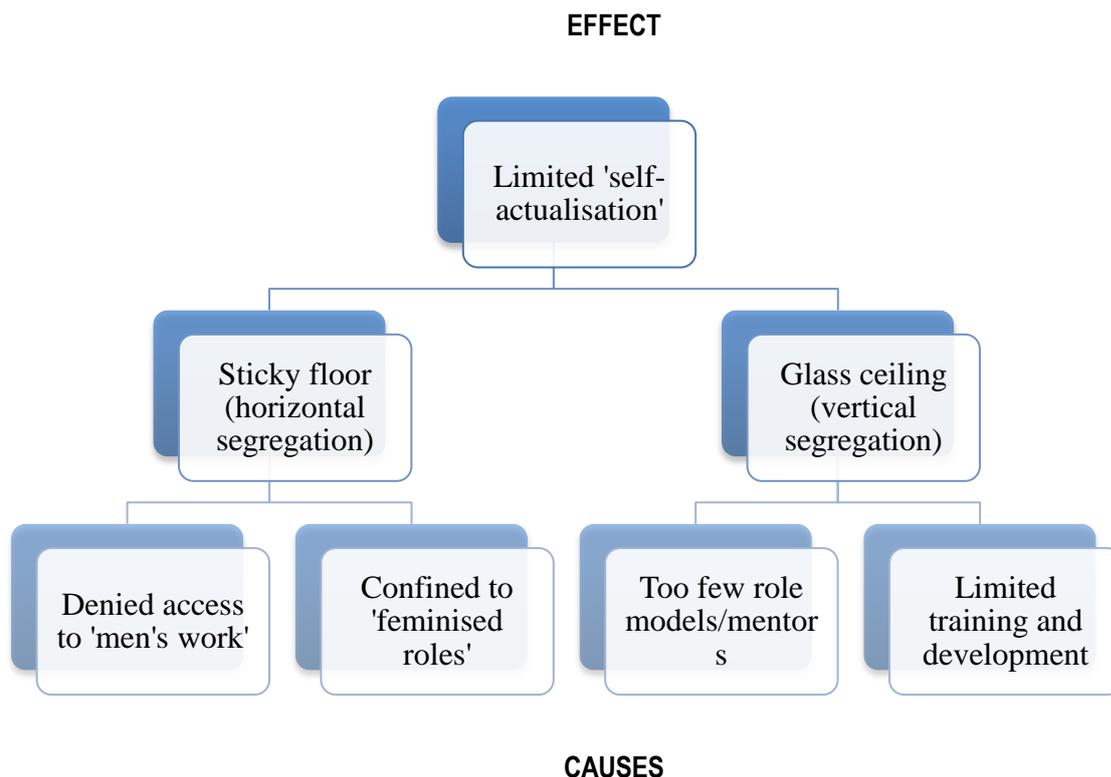
3.6. Realisation

One of the founding principles of the ILO is that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material wellbeing and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity and equal opportunity. The desire to become everything that one is capable of becoming – to realise one’s true potential – and to fulfil one’s ‘true self’ is a powerful source of motivation⁶⁹ and arguably a litmus test for ‘quality employment’ (Figure 4) and ‘decent work’. To reach the final stage of the career cycle in the transport sector (Figure 5) is extremely difficult for women as there is both horizontal segregation (a ‘sticky floor’) and vertical segregation (a ‘glass ceiling’). This is depicted in Figure 11, yet another (well pruned) problem-tree that identifies and describes some of the barriers to career progression.

⁶⁸ Powell, A., Bagilhole, B. and Dainty, A. (2009) ‘How Women Engineers Do and Undo Gender: Consequences for Gender Equality’, *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(4), p.414.

⁶⁹ ‘Self-actualization’ is a term that is used in many psychological theories, most notably Abraham Maslow’s ‘hierarchy of needs’ in which self-actualization can only be achieved once more basic needs have been met (e.g. food, shelter, warmth, security, sense of belongingness etc.).

Figure 11. Failing to realise the potential of women in the transport sector



The ‘sticky floor’ highlights the fact that women’s careers might ‘never get off the ground’ in the transport sector because they are confined to feminised roles with limited training or career opportunities.⁷⁰ For example, there is no recognized ‘career route’ from cabin crew to higher skilled, more challenging, and higher paid flight crew jobs.⁷¹ This reflects the fact that even when women secure entry to male-dominated sectors and occupations, they are typically excluded from the ‘most masculine’ tasks (e.g. very physical, dirty and/or dangerous work, as well as many ‘technical’ roles), which in turn can stall or even curtail their promotion prospects.

In a ‘macho’ working environment, the ability to perform the ‘most masculine’ tasks, and to perform them well, is often a criterion for promotion, especially to first line supervisory roles. If women are denied the opportunity to perform such work they are unlikely to be promoted.⁷² Equally important, it is often found that it is the sex of those who do the work,

⁷⁰ The jobs typically filled by women, in transport and other sectors, have much less control over decision-making than typical men’s jobs. This makes realization all the more difficult for women.

⁷¹ This is not to suggest that women (or men) in cabin crew cannot become pilots. Rather, the formal opportunities provided by airlines are limited. Sally Williams, for example, joined British Airways (BA) as cabin crew in 1984 and during her time in this role obtained a private pilot’s license. When BA recruited its first female pilots in 1987, Sally applied for the company’s cadet scheme but was told she was too old. She therefore quit her job and sold her flat to raise the funds to pay for commercial flight training. She was re-hired by BA as pilot a year later.

⁷² In response to the questionnaire survey of women in the transport sector, a woman who works for an international road haulage firm pleaded: “I wish somebody could see my qualities and let me work more.” This particular woman was less concerned about transport being perceived as ‘men’s work’ than she was with the lack of training opportunities and the absence of any promotion prospects. While she was happy to recommend road transport to other women she did not regard her own job as a long-term career.

rather than its content, that leads to a job being defined as ‘skilled’ or ‘unskilled’.⁷³ Once again, the connections and inter-dependencies between the different stages of the career cycle – in this instance between realisation and the gender bias that still permeates selection criteria (job and person specifications) – are immediately evident, reinforcing the need for a holistic approach to women’s employment in the transport sector.

The ‘sticky floor’ is compounded by the barrier of the ‘glass ceiling’, with very few female role models or mentors to support career progression⁷⁴ and limited opportunities for training and development. Women who secure employment in the transport sector are often regarded as ‘pioneers’ or ‘trail blazers’ for future generations of women. As such, they are highly visible and typically face considerable resentment and harassment from (male) co-workers and line managers. It is vital, therefore, for all parties to support these pioneers, not only to enable them to realise their full potential but to establish themselves as role models and create networks to support other women who enter the industry. There are some very practical (organizational) ways to do this (e.g. ensure that women can work alongside other women and do not work alone within an all-male team) but arguably the most important (socio-psychological) factor to consider is ‘doing gender’ in the transport sector. Women who seek employment in male-dominated sectors are typically viewed as ‘honorary men’ or ‘flawed women’.⁷⁵ Consequently, ‘doing gender’ in a male-dominated workplace can result in women being ‘undone’, for example when women perform their gender in a particular way in order to gain male acceptance which may, in turn, implicitly devalue femaleness.⁷⁶ There is a constant tension between professional and personal identities for women in such situations, the so-called ‘double-bind’ whereby women who are considered feminine are judged incompetent and women who are competent unfeminine. Box III neatly illustrates the dilemmas women face in a male-dominated workplace.⁷⁷

⁷³ See Phillips, A. and Taylor, B. (1980) ‘Sex and Skill: Notes Towards a Feminist Economics’, *Feminist Review*, 6, pp.79-88.

⁷⁴ There are several NGOs, such as *everywoman*, that seek to identify female role models in transport and logistics in order to build networks of support and mentoring. Go to: www.everywoman.com

⁷⁵ See, *inter alia*, Bennett, J.F., Davidson, M.J. and Gale, A.W. (1999) ‘Women in Construction: A Comparative Investigation into the Expectations and Experiences of Female and Male Construction Undergraduates and Employees’, *Women in Management Review*, 14(7), pp.273-91; Dryburgh, J. (1999) ‘Work Hard, Play Hard: Women and Professionalization in Engineering – Adapting to the Culture’, *Gender & Society*, 13(5), pp.664-82; Evetts, J. (1997) ‘Women and Careers in Engineering: Management Changes in the Work Organization’, *Women in Management Review*, 12(6), pp.228-33; Pringle, R. and Winning, A. (1998) ‘Building Strategies: Equal Opportunity in the Construction Industry’, *Gender, Work and Organization*, 5(4), pp.220-9; Poggio, B. (2000) ‘Between Bytes and Bricks: Gender Cultures in Work Contexts’, *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 21, pp.381-402; Powell et al (2009) *op. cit.*; and Whittock, M. (2002) ‘Women’s Experiences of Non-Traditional Employment: Is Gender Equality in this Area Possible?’ *Construction Management and Economics*, 20(5), pp.449-56.

⁷⁶ Butler, J. (2004) *Undoing Gender*, London: Routledge.

⁷⁷ Box III is based on Gherardi, S. (1994) ‘The Gender We Think, The Gender We Do in Our Everyday Organizational Lives’, *Human Relations*, 47(6), pp.591-610.

Box 3. Kiss my hand

When a woman is finally accepted as an equal in a male environment with respect to her proficiency at the tasks in hand, she is frequently made the object of public displays of appreciation and intimacy that typify the community of men. One such display is the emblematic 'slap on the back' for a 'job well done'. Silvia Gherardi reports one such incident when a young woman in an otherwise all-male team was finally acknowledged by her boss, in the presence of her entire team, after a year of being marginalised and teased as the 'angry feminist' who repulsed all advances from her male colleagues. The verbal praise of her boss was followed by a hearty slap on the back – something normally reserved for 'one of the boys'. How should a woman react to this implicit devaluation of femaleness, to being accepted as a person but devalued as a woman? To respond to only one of the two terms of the message is to ignore and disqualify the other. If she accepts the invitation to become an 'honorary man' she disqualifies her gender. If she saves the honour of her gender she displays poor communication skills by ignoring the main content of the message (acceptance). Responding to both terms of the message requires recognition of the symbolic order *and* remedial work so that the symbolic order of gender can be re-established in terms of difference. In the example cited by Gherardi, the woman used sarcasm to change the content of the message but leave its form intact – she thanked her boss and her colleagues, but then asked them in future not to slap her on the back but to kiss her on the hand. In dealing with this particular 'double-bind', her comments were 'supportive' of the ritualistic order of gender *and* a 'restitution' of the violation of that order and of the domination that it expresses.

Women who choose 'unconventional' careers in transport often find that they can cope with the actual work more easily than they can cope with the (macho) culture of the workplace, which has been established by men for men and 'not for women'. Self-actualisation can only be realised if there is a positive gender identity for women in the transport sector. Can women realise their 'true self' if they have to 'act like one of the boys', accept gender discrimination⁷⁸ or even adopt an 'anti-woman' approach?⁷⁹ Will other women be attracted to the transport sector if they believe that they too will have to adapt or even abandon their gender identity just to secure employment, 'fit in' and progress their career? Creating a more positive gender identity starts with (general) education and (technical) training, which takes us back to the roots of initial attraction depicted in Figure 6 and the very start of the career cycle depicted in Figure 5.

⁷⁸ In a macho work environment, women might decide that it's easier to 'laugh along' with sexist jokes or turn a blind eye to posters of naked women displayed on the walls of the canteen or mess room. See, for example, Davey, C.L. and Davidson, M.J. (2000) 'The Right of Passage? The Experiences of Female Pilots in Commercial Aviation', *Feminism and Psychology*, 10(2), pp.195-225.

⁷⁹ In order to 'fit in' and be accepted in a male-dominated workplace, some women will adopt the attitudes and interests expressed by male workers, even to the point of criticising female co-workers who are perceived to use 'feminine tactics' to get on. See, *inter alia*, Dryburgh (1999) *op. cit.*; Greed, C. (2000) 'Women in the Construction Professions: Achieving Critical Mass', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 7(3), pp.181-95; Knights, D. and Kerfoot, D. (2004) 'Between Representation and Subjectivity; Gender Binaries and the Politics of Organizational Transformation', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 11(4), pp.430-54; Powell et al (2009) *op. cit.*; Sheppard, D. (1989) 'Organizations, Power and Sexuality: The Image and Self-Image of Women Managers', in J. Hearn, D. Sheppard, P. Tancred-Sheriff and G. Burrell (eds.) *The Sexuality of Organizations*, London: Sage, pp.139-58; Sinclair, A. (2005) *Doing Leadership Differently*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; and Walker, M. (2001) 'Engineering Identities', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 22(1), pp.75-89.

4. The career cycle for women in different transport sectors

The framework set out in Section 3 – the career cycle and cause-effect relationships at each stage – is designed to be a practical tool for policy-makers and the social partners to promote the employment of women in the transport sector, both in terms of the number and quality of jobs. Using this framework, it is possible to consider the career cycle of women in different transport sectors in different countries, always bearing in mind the inter-connections and inter-dependencies between the different stages in the cycle. This is particularly important when designing policy interventions to enhance employment opportunities for women and mitigate any current or subsequent barriers they may face further along the career cycle. The career cycle must always be seen as precisely that – a *cycle* with no short cuts.

At the most practical level, policy interventions can be designed for specific jobs or professions within a transport sub-sector (e.g. policies to address the barriers facing women cabin crew in the low fares sector of the civil aviation industry⁸⁰ or bus drivers as opposed to tram drivers in urban transport⁸¹), although the starting point for the government and any national tripartite institutions for transport and employment (including equality) is usually the identification of common issues (barriers) that affect women in all sectors (e.g. low take-up of STEM subjects at school, legal restrictions on the working time of women, limited maternity protection, poor health and safety protection, etc.). The report of the 8th ITF Asia/Pacific Regional Conference, for example, noted that:

“Whether the women come from the port and docks, aviation, railways or road, the issues and challenges being faced by them are virtually the same in the region, only their degrees vary. Gender bias, unequal opportunities and responsibilities, wage disparities, lack of sanitation and rest room facilities, violence, sexual harassment and bullying and women’s voices not heard are some of the issues unanimously raised by the regional women, irrespective of the sectors they came from.”⁸²

Despite these commonalities, which have been outlined in Section II, some stages in the career cycle are more critical than others depending on the specific transport sector, the different job categories within the particular sector, and the region or country in question. In some transport sectors/countries, working conditions fall well short of national and certainly international standards of decent work, such that any immediate investment in attraction would probably be lost at the stages of selection and/or (initial) retention. For example, working conditions might be so poor (e.g. dirty, dangerous, physically demanding) that they are not considered by men to be ‘suitable’ for women, such that sex discrimination at the selection stage might become an almost insurmountable barrier.

⁸⁰ For example, it is not uncommon for cabin crew hired by low fares airlines to pay for their own initial training, either in full or in part, whereas the ‘legacy’ (full-service) airlines will typically fund such training in full. See Harvey, G. and Turnbull, P. (2012) *The Development of the Low Cost Model in the European Civil Aviation Industry*, Brussels: European Transport Workers’ Federation ETF, 2012. Go to: <http://www.itfglobal.org/files/extranet/75/35584/Final%20Brochure%20LFAs%20220812.pdf>

⁸¹ In many countries tram drivers do not need a bus driver’s licence, which reduces training time/costs and can enhance the attraction of these jobs to women. See Project WISE, *Women Employment in Urban Public Transport Sector*. A bus company in the UK recently hired a disused airfield so that women could practice driving a bus to determine whether they might like to join the company’s formal training programme.

⁸² Women Transport Workers Report, 8th ITF Asia/Pacific Regional Conference, 114-17 May 2013, Hong Kong.

If women are recruited but are quickly disillusioned by conditions of work, harassment, unequal pay, etc., and decide to quit, this might simply reinforce male prejudices towards women and what they regard as ‘men’s work’ as opposed to ‘women’s work’. As a result, a ‘gender-intensified’ barrier is redefined (and reinforced) as a ‘gender-specific’ barrier. This is not to suggest that women should be actively deterred from considering a transport career in these circumstances, or that all parties should not provide all the necessary support that women need to be selected on merit and retained once they secure employment in the sector. Rather, the key point is that there will be different priorities (barriers to be overcome) for different transport sectors in different countries. Moreover, the perceptions, and priorities, of the social partners are often at odds, which makes social dialogue all the more important if equality is to be achieved. Examples, from maritime and rail will suffice to demonstrate these points.

Just as there are different stages in the career cycle that present different barriers in different transport sectors in different countries or regions, there will be different (good practice) responses to minimise or alleviate these barriers for government, employers and workers’ representatives. This is illustrated with examples from road haulage (government), maritime (employers) and trade unions from all sectors of transport (workers’ representatives).

4.1. Selection and retention in the maritime sector

Concerted efforts have been made in recent years to attract more women to the maritime sector, most notably via technical-nautical and other professional qualifications obtained at university and/or maritime education and training (MET) colleges. Attraction has been spearheaded by the IMO through its global programme for the Integration of Women in the Maritime Sector, now in its 25th year. IMO activities are supported by various NGOs and civil society organizations that work with national agencies such as maritime or port authorities.⁸³ The Association of Women Managers in the Maritime Sector in East and Southern Africa (WOMESA), for example, relies on support from the Kenya Maritime Authority to resource its Secretariat, with national WOMESA Chapters organising ‘road shows’ that visit schools and youth clubs to encourage girls to achieve the necessary scientific qualifications that are required further down the line at MET colleges. Progress in attracting more women into the maritime sector in Africa is indicated by the fact that more national maritime colleges now admit female cadets.

⁸³ At this point it is worth noting that employment in the transport sector is often equated with mobile workers, such as seafarers rather than land-based employees such as public sector workers with a port authority or national maritime agency. In the maritime sector, these land-based jobs are precisely the ‘maritime jobs’ where seafaring skills, knowledge and experience are highly valued. In the EU, policy-makers are especially keen to foster the employment of Community seafarers and retain maritime expertise, both on-board ships and in land-based enterprises connected with shipping. If jobs are lost at sea then this poses a threat to future employment in the EU maritime cluster. The annual Gross Value Added of the marine and maritime sectors in the EU is currently estimated to be €495bn, there are 5.4 million Europeans employed in these sectors across EU Member States, and 88 million Europeans work in coastal regions where over 205 million live. See CEC (2007) *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: An Integrated Maritime Policy for the European Union*, COM(2007)575 final, Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, p.9; the Declaration of the European Ministers responsible for the Integrated Maritime Policy and the European Commission on a Marine and Maritime Agenda for Growth and Jobs – ‘The Limassol Declaration’, 2012; and Eurostat (2009) *Statistics in Focus*, 47/2009.

As in other parts of the world, however, women in Africa experience significant barriers when it comes to selection and securing a job at sea.⁸⁴ In other words, selection is a bigger stumbling block (barrier) for women than attraction, because even when they possess the necessary qualifications, women find it difficult to secure gainful employment on deep-sea vessels. As one woman with many years of experience at sea put it: “employers hesitate to employ women, mainly due to a lack of education or access to relevant information and/or ‘negative’ past experience, all of which continue to reinforce their (long-held) perception that it is ‘indeed troublesome, un-economical and can be risky’ to employ women.”⁸⁵ The critical interface in the career cycle for women in merchant shipping, therefore, is between selection and retention.

Life at sea is difficult, for men as well as women,⁸⁶ but it is not just long periods away from home⁸⁷ or the physical working conditions on board⁸⁸ that result in low retention. One of the uniform findings of numerous studies of women at sea is that they have to work much harder, and usually perform much better than their male counterparts in order to be accepted and be seen as able to do their jobs.⁸⁹ But this “microscopic scrutiny”, in the words of one female seafarer, also extends to women’s personal and social integrity:

⁸⁴ In interviews for this ILO study, a union representative from Sri Lanka reported just one female cadet officer working on board a ship.

⁸⁵ This comment was appended to one of the questionnaires distributed by the ILO to women seafarers. It is important to note that shipping lines with experience of hiring women often report very positive outcomes, not only in terms of the performance of the women in question but social relationships on board (e.g. more cordial and respectful relationships, more polite conversation, etc.). One woman with 22 years of experience at sea reported only one negative experience when she was 2nd Mate, which stemmed from the fact that “the Captain couldn’t stand women on board”. When she finished her contract she contacted the company and they followed disciplinary procedures against the Captain.

⁸⁶ A survey undertaken in 2010 by Nautilus, for example, found that 43 per cent of *all* respondents had personally experienced bullying, harassment or discrimination compared to 55 per cent of women who responded to the survey. See Nautilus International (2010) *Bullying, Discrimination and Harassment Survey 2010*, available at: <http://content.yudu.com/Library/A1t1on/BullyingDiscriminati/resources/index.htm?referrerUrl=http%3A%2F%2Ffree.yudu.com%2Fitem%2Fdetails%2F367054%2FBullying--Discrimination---Harassment-Report---2010%3Frefid%3D44870>

⁸⁷ Men, as well as women, cite ‘time away from home and family’ as a major downside of life at sea. However, several women with many years of experience at sea reported that they found the working pattern attractive, especially 1-1 schedules (e.g. 2 months at sea followed by 2 months paid leave at home).

⁸⁸ One woman commented on the problems of obtaining suitably designed and adequately sized personal protective equipment (PPE), particularly extra small sized safety boots, safety gloves and overalls. For many years she wore two pairs of thick socks in order to fit the smallest size of safety boots available! Numerous studies have documented poor working conditions on board deep-sea vessels, especially those that fly a flag of convenience (FoC). See Belcher, P., Sampson, H., Thomas, M., Veiga, J. and Zhao, M. (2003) *Women Seafarers: Global Employment Policies and Practices*, Geneva: International Labour Organization; and Sampson, H. (2013) *International Seafarers and Transnationalism in the Twenty-First Century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

⁸⁹ See, for example, Guo, J-L. and Liang, G-S. (2012) ‘Sailing into Rough Seas: Taiwan’s Women Seafarers’ Career Development Struggle’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 35, p.200; Thomas, M. (2004) “‘Get Yourself a Proper Job Girlie’: Recruitment, Retention and Women Seafarers’, *Maritime Policy & Management*, 31(4), p.313; and Sampson, H. (2013) *International Seafarers and Transnationalism in the Twenty-First Century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

“An error made or action taken by a male is simply not the same as if made by a female, they are ‘judged’ differently for the same. But worse, usually it will be talked about forever, literally becoming a part of one’s reputation ... The professional and personal reputation of women is often subjected to slander and defamation, mostly in the form of negative comments and degrading gossip (difficult to verify and therefore virtually impossible to prove), effectively undermining and discrediting their professional capacity as well as their personal and social integrity, all of which of course will arrive on board their next ship well before they will be signing on ... [this is] ... omnipresent but very difficult to properly verify and therefore effectively often outside the reach of existing anti-discrimination and anti-harassment policies and laws of companies or countries. But often the true reason why women leave their careers in the maritime transport industry prematurely.”⁹⁰

What women invariably find most difficult to cope with at sea is sexual harassment and ‘doing gender’. The former ranges from male banter and ‘joking’, where the intention of such behaviour ‘seems to be to get the message across that the ship is not an appropriate workplace for women’,⁹¹ to physical and sexual abuse.⁹² Coping strategies range from denial or acceptance of sexual harassment to avoidance and withdrawal.⁹³ This is often the first stage for women seafarers as they ‘manage their gender identity’ (‘do gender’), which can result in women seafarers adopting ways of behaving that are more often associated with a masculine identity. As already noted, if women ‘undo’ their gender to gain acceptance, then the prevailing male culture of the shipping industry can go unchallenged and may even contribute to the persistence of prejudice and discrimination.

Given the command and control structure at sea, and the key role of senior officers within the hierarchy on board, one of the most effective ways to dismantle the most important barriers to women’s employment in the maritime industry (i.e. selection and retention) would be gender sensitisation and on-going training for those in authority, ideally through a participatory gender audit of the shipping line and its vessels. Equal opportunities and the problems faced by women at sea should of course be part of MET programmes and initial training for ship’s officers, but in the words of one woman with 13 years’ experience at sea:

⁹⁰ This seafarer is quoted at length as her comments resonate with, and neatly summarise much of the research on the barriers faced by women seafarers.

⁹¹ Belcher et al (2003) *op. cit.*, p.48.

⁹² See, for example, Thomas, M.A. (2006) ‘Sexual Harassment in a Residential Occupation: The Experiences of Women Seafarers’, *Health Education Journal*, 65(2), pp.170-9. In its Resource Book for trade union negotiators in the transport sector, the ITF reports the case of a woman seafarer who was raped and her underwear was hung on the notice board while the offender boasted to the rest of the crew that he had finally ‘got her’. See ITF (2002) *Women Transporting the World*, London: International Transport Workers’ Federation, p.39. In one of the most recent (June 2010) and most shocking cases, a South African cadet, Akhona Geveza, was found dead in Croatian waters near her vessel. She committed suicide only a few hours after she had reported being raped by a Ukrainian Chief Officer. Ms Geveza had apparently been called in to discuss her allegation with the captain and chief officer, but never made it to the meeting.

⁹³ In the words of one woman with over 6 years of experience at sea who responded to the ILO survey, “The conscious risk in reporting sexual discrimination is also that the older generation men who have been in the industry for their entire lives, and they all know each other, that those men will sooner side with their long term male associates rather than the woman who is playing the sexist card. Additionally, no woman wants to ever ‘play’ the sexist card, as it immediately eradicates the opportunity to be respected for your capabilities or to be valued and accepted as equal.”

“Shipping company management, HR/Ship Manager(s) and/or Ship Master(s) find themselves often somewhat lost right from the start when required to work/ communicate with women, particularly when issues arise. This is mainly due to their perceptions or inexperience with female employees (as there are so few of us), as well as the well-established attitude(s) of ignorance and/or prejudice but also (and this should not be underestimated) due to fear of scandal and/or future litigation.”

Taking those with decision-making authority back into the training room would be an important step in addressing the barriers that women face at sea.

Whilst it is the responsibility of shipping lines, individual managers, captains and other senior officers to mainstream gender and respect the rights of women at sea, there is also a case for ‘gender survival training’ for women seafarers. Seafaring careers are typically around 7-8 years, for men as well as women, but more and more women have established longer-term careers at sea. These stalwarts invariably refer to their personal resilience or previous life experiences that enabled them to better cope with life at sea, and in particular their ability to ‘do gender’ (even though they might not use this term):

“I only survived these [early] years of regular harassment, intimidation, discrimination, sexism, antagonism, intrigues, bullying, mental and verbal abuse, and social and cultural isolation because of my nursing background and age. I had sufficient life experience, maturity and above all, effective cognitive coping mechanisms to be able to persevere in such circumstances.”

Mentoring of women (ideally by women) has proven to be an effective mechanism to help those who do not have the necessary personal reserves of experience or persistence when they find themselves in such a hostile environment.

At this point it is worth noting the very different barriers that women face in the cruise ship industry, where the majority works in the ‘hotel’ section (one of the ‘feminised’ jobs, alongside cabin crew in civil aviation, designated as such in Table 4).⁹⁴ There appears to be very few problems attracting or selecting women for such jobs – in fact, there is an abundant supply of labour (especially from developing and East European countries) and cruise ship companies express a clear preference for women and in many cases women from particular countries (e.g. Philippines and Indonesia) who are portrayed as obsequious workers who provide exemplary customer service.⁹⁵ The workplace hierarchy is in fact ‘racialized’,⁹⁶ mirroring the relationship between affluent and poor societies: ‘It is very

⁹⁴ Around 85 per cent of jobs on board cruise ships are classified as ‘hotel’ whilst the remainder (15 per cent) are classified as ‘marine’. Within the hotel sector, around 30 per cent of jobs are in the bar and food department while the remainder (70 per cent) are classified as ‘guest services’ (e.g. galley, cabin, cruise services, casinos, shops, gym, etc.). See Wu, B. (2005) *The World Cruise Industry: A Profile of the Global Labour Market*, Cardiff University: Seafarers International Research Centre (SIRC). Jobs at sea on board cruise ships reflect gendered roles ashore, with men occupying officer, technical and maintenance roles and women employing in the ‘caring and cleaning’ jobs.

⁹⁵ See, for example, Wood, R. (2000) ‘Caribbean Cruise Tourism: Globalization at Sea’, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2), pp.345-70.

⁹⁶ White/western employees typically work above deck to service the clientele and Asian/East European workers usually occupy the ‘menial jobs’ below deck. Some vessels employ more than sixty nationalities on board. See *Sweatships: What It’s Really Like to Work on Board Cruise Ships*, War on Want/ITF.

reminiscent of colonial days. But perhaps more accurately it can be seen as a microcosm of today's global economy'.⁹⁷

Many women, certainly from Western industrialised economies, are attracted to the cruise ship industry by the idea of getting paid to see the world.⁹⁸ Many of these workers are young with no dependants, they usually have a background in the hotel and catering industry and will often return to these jobs after just one contract at sea (usually up to 10 months).⁹⁹ Many of these women were born and brought up in port areas with relatives or friends who have seafaring and/or hotel/catering experience. Women from developing countries, in contrast, tend to have dependants¹⁰⁰ and no job to go to back home. They often go to sea with little or no idea about conditions on board or how much money they will earn after administration and agency fees.¹⁰¹ Most will need to work at least one contract to pay off such fees and earn sufficient money to send back home to their families.

Contracts are typically 10 months at sea and 2 months at home, which is a long time away from family and friends and means that workers miss important family events. Formal provision for interruption and re-entry (e.g. maternity, repatriation) counts for little when low retention (high turnover) is 'built into' recruitment practices and employment contracts.¹⁰² Very few women express an intention to work in the cruise ship industry for more than 6 years and the average length of service has fallen steadily from 3 years in 1970, to 18 months in 1990 and just 9 months by 2000 (i.e. the duration of a single contract).¹⁰³ This is hardly surprising when conditions on board (or more precisely 'below deck') are taken into consideration.

Most seafarers work a 7-day week, with the majority working more than 10 hours a day. Time ashore is limited. Authoritarian and punitive forms of management prevail, with crews reporting harassment, on-the-spot fines, and reassignment to less attractive jobs if they 'step out of line' (or in some cases 'step above deck'). Health and safety is a major

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p.1.

⁹⁸ Carnival, one of the 'big three' cruise ship companies that dominate the market, advertises 'Fun Jobs' on its website for its 'Fun Ships'.

⁹⁹ The primary motivation of these workers is not so much financial as the opportunity to 'meet people from different cultures' and 'see the world'. Western women on board cruise ships often earn much more than women from developing countries, even when performing the same or similar jobs. See Zhao, M. (2002) 'Emotional Labour in a Globalized Labour Market: Seafarers on Cruise Ships', Working Paper No.27, Cardiff University: SIRC.

¹⁰⁰ Women from developing countries can often rely on extended family for childcare and will therefore return to the workforce sooner (the re-entry stage of the career cycle).

¹⁰¹ The *Wall Street Journal* reported on one newly hired employee who had to pay a Croatian cruise-ship agent US\$600 to confirm hiring while the employer, Carnival Cruise Line, made a loan of US\$1,400 for an airfare to the USA. Now in debt, the employee was effectively an indentured cruise-line employee, obligated to work for many months just to pay off the loan. Some companies charge employees a 'security bond' of up to US\$750, supposedly to stop desertion or to cover the consequent US immigration service fine a company gets charged. It usually takes 2-3 months of the seafarer's contract to pay back initial fees. See Klein, R. (2002) *Cruise Ship Blues: The Underside of the Cruise Industry*, Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers.

¹⁰² Around half the cruise ship workforce is covered by an ITF standard agreement, with provision for maternity leave and maternity pay, repatriation and the like, but enforcement is still a major problem.

¹⁰³ See Mather, C. (2002) *Sweatships*, London: ITF; and War on Want/ITF, *op. cit.*

concern, especially the risks to women's sexual health (STDs and pregnancy on board), and there is generally a lack of confidential access to a ship's doctor, limited consultation times, and few opportunities to seek alternative medical advice or treatment ashore.¹⁰⁴ Labour turnover is so high in the cruise ship industry – both 'voluntary' quits and dismissals – that some companies have workers 'on stand-by' in motels, usually stationed at different ports of call on the vessels' itinerary.¹⁰⁵

Given these conditions of employment, there is very little prospect of women realising a career in the cruise-ship industry (i.e. the career cycle is 'cut short' after initial retention for a short-term contract or several reiterations of the same contract, with the vast majority of women being 'recycled' through the same menial, low paying jobs 'below deck' without any opportunities for career development). Thus, rather than focus on the final stages of the career cycle, the social partners need to focus on decent work and the enforcement of relevant international standards, most notably the new Maritime Labour Convention (2006) (a full list of transport sector Conventions is provided in Annex I). Without decent work on board, there is very little hope of integrating the different stages of the career cycle as (initial) retention will always be the 'weak link' in the cycle.

4.2. Agreeing on the career barriers in European railways

Women have achieved parity of employment in the service stations and ticket offices of European railways. In Eastern Europe their share of employment within this category is almost 90 per cent. For conductors on board trains the figure is just over a quarter, with a similar proportion of women employed in both Eastern and Western Europe. Amongst drivers, however, the figure is less than 3 per cent, with a similar proportion for shunters and maintenance personnel for rolling stock (just under 4 per cent).¹⁰⁶ This is despite a commitment by the European social partners¹⁰⁷ to:

- create a corporate and workplace culture which is characterised by mutual respect and esteem between all parties concerned and in which men and women will work with each other in partnership of equals;
- integrate the principle of equal opportunities and 'gender mainstreaming' in the work organization and employment policy of the company;
- review HR processes and ensure that women will not be denied or hindered in their access to occupations or leadership levels because of their gender;
- create the general framework that will make it easier for employees to reconcile their jobs and their families;
- ensure that the existing differences in the remuneration of men and women will be overcome – men and women shall receive equal remuneration for

¹⁰⁴ See Thomas, M.A. (2003) 'Sexual Health of Women Working Aboard Cruise Ships', *Health Education Journal*, 62(4), pp.293-303.

¹⁰⁵ Workers receive free board and lodging but no pay while on stand-by.

¹⁰⁶ Austrian Institute for SME Research (2012) *Women in Rail: Final Report*, Study on the Situation of Women in the Rail Sector and on the Implementation of the European Social Partners' Joint Recommendations, Vienna.

¹⁰⁷ Community of European Railway and Infrastructure Companies (CER) and the European Transport Workers' Federation (ETF).

equal work;¹⁰⁸

- create the general framework to protect women against discrimination at the workplace;
- include gender equality issues in collective bargaining and contractual labour relations; and
- act as advocates for equal opportunities in internal and external media and provide information on positive examples.¹⁰⁹

What, then, are the barriers to women's employment in European railways?

Around a quarter of European railway companies in a recent survey reported recruitment problems, especially in engineering, IT and some driving jobs. Employers identified the nature of the job (e.g. health/hygiene conditions), shift work, the requirement for spatial mobility and the 'male dominated image' of the sector as the primary barriers to the employment of women. A less frequent but more significant barrier in a handful of countries were legal restrictions on the employment of women, which can 'represent an almost insurmountable barrier'.¹¹⁰

In contrast, at the top of the list of barriers for trade unions were problems of career advancement, the lack of appropriate training for women, parental leave and re-entry policies. The majority of unions also cited the security of the workplace, health and hygiene, and sexual harassment, but far fewer cited hours of work and there was far less focus on the physical demands of the job or the male-dominated culture of the industry.¹¹¹ In terms of the career cycle, therefore, unions were focused on the barriers that hindered realisation whereas employers were more concerned with attraction and (initial) retention.

The most important issue here, of course, is not who is 'right' or who is 'wrong' – the career cycle is a *cycle* and all stages are important and interdependent. Rather, the key concern is how the social partners can best work together to address *all* these barriers, with a full understanding of all the cause-effect relationships that lie behind the various outcomes (as depicted for the transport sector in general in Section II, Figures 6-11). Railway companies are working with workers' representatives to address these issues.

In Spain, for example, there is a sectoral agreement designed to protect maternity and promote the reconciliation of work and family life, with measures to protect pregnant women from health risks and allowing them to exchange maternity leave for a reduction in working hours. At the company level, Renfe-Operadora has an agreement on part-time working to facilitate work-life reconciliation and the option to give preference to divorced workers with children when booking holidays. The company also has preferential criteria

¹⁰⁸ Women earn around 10 per cent less than men in the railway companies of Poland and Austria, and as much as 30 per cent in Lithuania. Much of this differential is the result of men working more 'premium hours' (e.g. overtime and nights) as well as the segregation of women in particular jobs/occupations on the railways (hence the importance of legislation, collective agreements, and job evaluation schemes that recognize equal pay *for work of equal value*). See ISFORT (2005) *Representation for Better Integration of Women in the Different Professions of the Railway Sector*, Final Report, p.7.

¹⁰⁹ CER/ETF (2007) *Joint Recommendations for a Better Representation and Integration of Women in the Railway Sector*, Brussels.

¹¹⁰ Austrian Institute for SME Research (2012), *op cit.*, pp.9 and 11.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* The latter, of course, might well reflect the fact that union respondents are likely to be male and many will have become union officials following previous employment in the railways.

in favour of women to encourage them to choose ‘male-dominated’ occupations. ADIF’s collective agreement contains guidelines to protect victims of gender violence, with options to reduce working hours and preference in geographical mobility, and there is a bipartite commission in charge of monitoring and evaluating an equality plan with the aim of raising awareness. Renfe-Operadora has a similar equality committee and the company’s equal opportunities plan establishes gender equality targets and a means to achieve them (e.g. diagnostic studies that include self-evaluation of HR processes, communications and other forms of social dialogue, and focus groups as a form of qualitative research).

Despite these examples of good practice, only a third of European railway companies are making explicit attempts to target women in recruitment activities or career development projects.¹¹² While it might be the case that both management and unions report progress in addressing the myriad barriers that still hinder the progress of women in the railway sector, it wasn’t too long ago that a similar study reported that the majority of European railway companies had no specific programmes to promote equality and the employment opportunities of women, ‘substantially because they do not perceive the problem of the under-representation of women, despite the evidence’.¹¹³ The evidence from the more recent study in 2012 suggests that concerted action in Europe is still warranted. This conclusion was echoed by women who work for railway companies in other parts of the world.¹¹⁴

4.3. Regulating road haulage

Long-distance trucking has proven to be a particularly unattractive sector for women. In China, for example, when state-owned trucking companies were disbanded in 1978, millions of Chinese farmers entered the freight transport industry hoping to make enough money to buy a home in the countryside. By 2000, there were estimated to be 4.4 million trucks and around 13 million drivers.¹¹⁵ Owner-operators often work in two-man teams (there are very few women who own or drive a truck) and typically spend 20 hours a day on the road. Every morning, drivers appear at regional trucking centres where brokers display contract proposals on blackboards, looking for an offer that appears favourable. Once an agreement has been signed and their truck is loaded, they drive from city to city, often for months at a time before visiting their family in their home village. Drivers are always on the lookout for a ‘home run’ – they do their best to avoid an empty return leg home and will often drop their rates well below cost to undercut any competition and thereby secure the homecoming contract. Not surprisingly, rates are very keen and it is difficult to make a profit.

Working conditions are extremely poor. Drivers regularly sleep in their trucks, the majority smoke and drink heavily, and occupational illnesses and sexually transmitted diseases are widespread. Divorce is common. So too is robbery, hijacking and extortion.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p.4.

¹¹³ ISFORT (2005) Representation and Better integration of Women in the Different Professions of the Railway Sector, Final Report.

¹¹⁴ Women in Africa and India, for example, complained about the lack of toilet facilities, especially for drivers, and long routes (journey times). In some cases (e.g. India), it was suggested that women could be rostered on shorter routes, but this can disadvantage women in terms of career development (acquiring sufficient experience to ‘qualify’ for further training and promotion).

¹¹⁵ The account is based on Jun, X. and Bensman, D. (2010) ‘The Heart of the Problem: Trucking in China’s Logistics Sector’, Rutgers University, USA.

The only way to make a profit on most contracts is to overload their trucks, which simply compounds the dangers of the job.¹¹⁶ Another option is to fake licenses to avoid registration and management fees.

Not surprisingly, gender equality is not even on the agenda for most stakeholders. There is certainly very little interest or action by trade unions because drivers are either labour service contractors or independent contractors (owner-operators), and either way they are outside the traditional scope of union organization and representation. Given the fragmented structure of the sector, there is likewise very little scope for employer intervention. Even the bigger operators, such as road container transport companies, lose out to the common truck operators because of their lower rates.

Without appropriate state regulation of the market and the operators, trucking in China will remain ‘no place for women’ or indeed any worker, male or female, seeking decent work. At present, state policy – such as imposing higher fees on container trucks than on common trucks, which are routinely overloaded – simply reinforces the sector’s backwardness and unattractiveness to workers in general and women in particular.

In contrast to the Chinese road haulage industry, the trucking sector in Europe is highly regulated. However, complex contractual arrangements now characterise the sector, with ‘letter box’ (or P.O. Box) companies established in EU Member States with lower social protection, lower labour standards and lower wages.¹¹⁷ These ‘companies’ are just one part of a cross-border system that involves operators, subsidiaries, recruitment agencies and drivers. As in other transport sectors (e.g. shipping and civil aviation), employees from one country work in another country, with many long-distance truck drivers in Western Europe now recruited from Eastern Europe, typically for a period of 3-12 weeks in the ‘host’ country before returning to their ‘home’ country for 1-3 weeks. Such contractual arrangements are unattractive to most workers, but especially women.

When ‘on contract’ and driving outside their home country, trucking companies will sometimes provide ‘barracks’ for drivers, but most ‘live’ in their lorries, usually sleeping in their cabs while parked at the roadside or tucked out of sight in an improvised parking area with no toilet or washing facilities. Most drivers cook their own food and eat in the cab, with other breaks and rest periods also taken in their lorries. Loading and unloading should be recorded as ‘other work’ (under EU law) and be paid as working time, but drivers are often instructed to use this time as break or rest time, even though they may still be responsible for supervising the un/loading activities. With long working hours – typically more than 11 hours a day ‘on the road’ if not actually driving – most drivers do not have prompt or adequate access to healthcare, assuming they could establish who bears responsibility for their medical care.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Old, dirty and inefficient trucks pollute freight routes and contribute to asthma, lung cancer and heart disease-causing smog that infests China’s industrial regions.

¹¹⁷ This account is based on ETF (2013) *Modern Slavery in Modern Europe? An ETF Account on the Working and Living Conditions of Professional Drivers in Europe*, Brussels: European Transport Workers’ Federation (ETF); and an earlier ILO Technical Cooperation Project project on ‘Strengthening the Capacity of Social Partners in the Road Transport Sector in Bulgaria and Romania to Engage in Effective and Constructive Social Dialogue at International, National and Enterprise Level’, funded by the European Commission (Grant Agreement: N° 30VS/2008/0506 – S12.513535).

¹¹⁸ A driver from country ‘A’, working in country ‘B’, hired through an agency in country ‘C’ to work for a trucking company registered in country ‘D’ will often find it difficult to ‘prove residency’ and obtain access to medical care or other social benefits.

Some of the more nefarious practices that now characterise the European road haulage industry could be eliminated through proper enforcement of national and international law, but this will not change the fundamental characteristics of the sector – long periods away from home, contractual insecurity, and very poor working conditions – that make it difficult, if not impossible for most women to reconcile with their multiple productive and reproductive roles. Women are simply not attracted to this sector in sufficient numbers for road haulage companies to address gender-specific barriers, let alone gender-intensified barriers such as proper rest periods and sleeping facilities, basic health and safety and a living wage.¹¹⁹

Even if working conditions were improved with a view to retaining more (male) drivers, women would still face discrimination at the stage of selection and it is unlikely that HR policies to facilitate interruption and re-entry (e.g. flexible working time) will be adjusted to meet the needs of the employee rather than the requirements of the customer (e.g. just-in-time deliveries, 24/7 and 360+ days per annum). This does not, of course, abrogate the state's responsibility to enforce labour standards and ensure proper social protection, both at the national and international levels. However, it does highlight the need for tripartism and the support of both employers and workers' representatives in the workplace to ensure decent work and opportunities for women to pursue a career in road transport.

4.4. The business approach to equality

The pursuit of gender equality on economic efficiency grounds has gathered momentum in recent years. For example, a recent study of pilots found that women scored significantly higher than their male counterparts on both 'flying proficiency' and 'safety orientation'. By incorporating gender issues and diversity management into crew resource management training, employing more women in the cockpit is expected to equate to safer flights, with men benefitting from flying alongside women.¹²⁰

One of the more sophisticated approaches to the 'business approach' to equality comes from the shipping industry where Maersk, the largest shipping line in the world, now undertakes a 'materiality analysis' to identify issues that are 'most material' to the business in terms of impact on cost, revenue, compliance and reputation. The 'importance to business' of various issues, such as equality and diversity, is correlated with the deemed level of 'importance to stakeholders' (e.g. employees, customers, regulators, media, investors, local communities and NGOs) to produce a 'materiality index'.

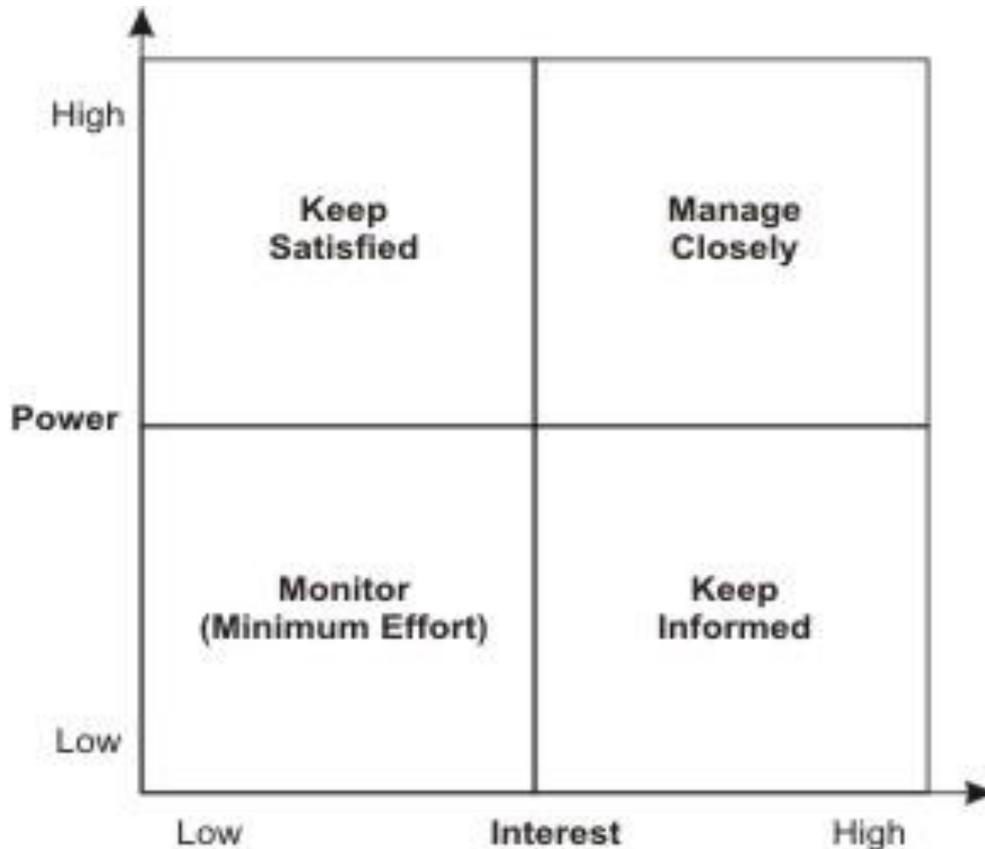
The first stage in this process ('defining the criteria') is to identify significant business aspects and stakeholders and then rate their relative importance. The second stage ('selecting the issues') involves identifying environmental, social and economic issues that

¹¹⁹ A study on the shortage of personnel in road freight transport, published by the European Parliament (2009), found that in 2006 the difference in drivers' annual pay varied from €29,000 in Belgium to just €1,800 in Bulgaria. When working in Western Europe, drivers from new Member States such as Bulgaria and Romania are generally paid a fixed amount of around €300 per month, based on pay and conditions of their country of origin, with additional income based on a daily subsistence allowance (on average €40 per day) and pay per kilometres driven or per on-time delivery. All social contributions due by the employer are calculated in relation to the fixed monthly amount of €300, which disadvantages the drivers. Non-resident drivers are not paid for the weeks they spend at home. Such payment schemes circumvent the Rome I Regulation 593/2008/EC which states that, if a worker performs work in several contracting Member States, then the law of the Member State where the worker habitually works for his or her employer should apply.

¹²⁰ Wilson, J. (2005) 'Gender-Based Issues in Aviation, Attitudes Towards Female Pilots: A Cross-Cultural Analysis', PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, South Africa.

are, or might turn out to be relevant to the organization and its shareholders. The risks and opportunities posed by each issue are then described in some detail, alongside a detailed description of the relevant stakeholders, their level of interest and influence over the issues in question.¹²¹ This stage can be accomplished via ‘stakeholder analysis’, which can be represented in a simple ‘stakeholder grid’, as illustrated in Figure 12.

Figure 12. Power/Interest Grid for Stakeholder Prioritisation and Policy



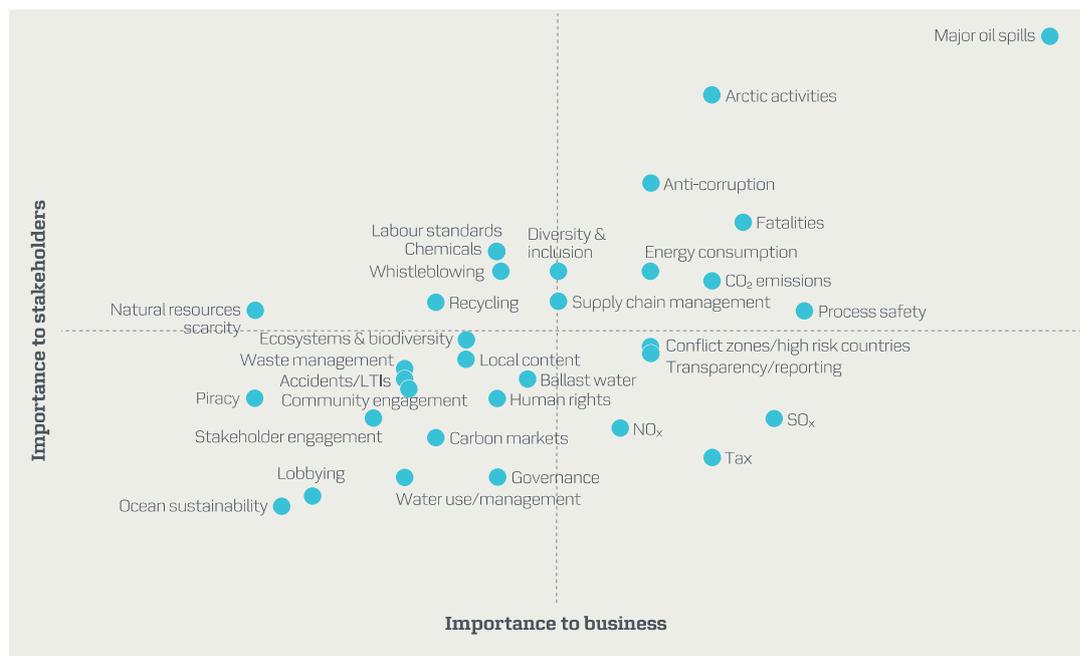
Notes:

- *High power, high interest:* these are the people and/or organizations that must be fully engaged and satisfied.
- *High power, less interest:* put enough work in with these people/organizations to keep them satisfied, but less need to involve them in decision-making.
- *Low power, high interest:* keep these people/organizations adequately informed, constant communication to ensure that no major issues arise.
- *Low power, less interest:* monitor these people/organizations, but do not invest too much time/effort in (excessive) communications.

Analysis of the issues/stakeholders can then proceed using the rating scheme developed in the first phase. The results of this analysis can then be plotted in a matrix, with the y-axis representing the importance to stakeholders and the x-axis representing the importance to business, as illustrated in Figure 13. Note that ‘diversity and inclusion’ sits squarely in the middle of the Maersk materiality matrix.

¹²¹ It is increasingly accepted that obtaining and using sex-disaggregated data is the only firm basis for an accurate situation analysis and for gender-responsive policy-making, whether at the level of the firm, the industry or society as a whole.

Figure 13. The Maersk ‘Materiality Matrix’



Whether materiality or the business case for equality and diversity will prove sufficient to overcome the barriers that women face at sea seems unlikely, at least not unless such policies are part of a broader strategy to strengthen the maritime career cycle for women. Progress is certainly stronger in land-based employment (e.g. ship planning, administration and management) as opposed to careers at sea, but this is important for women employed at sea because there are role models/mentors within the company and opportunities for realisation after a period of interruption (i.e. a switch from sea to land-based employment with Maersk). Janice Rueda, for example, was the first electrical engineer from the Philippines to sail on-board a Maersk container ship in 2004. After 8 years at sea she is now a Senior Fleet Crew Operator in the company’s planning department.

4.5. Unions need women (not just workers’) representatives

It is widely acknowledged that the relatively small number of women in key positions in representative bodies acts as a brake on the advancement of gender equality and decent work in general, and on in improving the situation of female and male workers with family responsibilities in particular.¹²² Social dialogue is one of the most effective ways to achieve recognition of the importance of protection for working mothers and fathers, and these issues are more likely to feature on the agenda when women’s voices are heard. Unfortunately, and unacceptably, women are under-represented on organization-based representative bodies (e.g. works councils, safety and health committees, consultation committees and the like) and independent representative organizations such as trade unions or professional associations (e.g. airline pilot associations).

Like transport companies the world over, transport unions are also male-dominated organizations. To a significant extent, what is true of transport companies is unsurprisingly

¹²² ILC, 98th Session, 2009, Report VI, p.52; see also Olney, S., Goodson, B., Maloba-Caines, K. and O’Neill, F. (2002) *Gender Equality: A Guide to Collective Bargaining*, (ILO, Bureau for Workers’ Activities (ACTRAV) and InFocus Programme on Strengthening Social Dialogue Geneva).

true of transport unions, to the extent that unions with low female membership are less likely to prioritize women's issues at the collective bargaining table, they are less likely to change the time/place of meetings to enable women with childcare or other domestic responsibilities to participate in union affairs,¹²³ they are less sensitive to the feelings of 'intimidation' that women might experience when they do attend their first (male-dominated) union meetings, etc. The result is that women are less active in the internal affairs of the union and their concerns are less visible in the external relationships that the union has with employers, government departments, NGOs and the like.

At present, the strongest growth of ITF-affiliated membership is amongst women in the maritime sector (including ports), but the participation of women is still disappointingly low. At recent meetings of ITF affiliates in the Asia-Pacific region (2012), for example, the participation of women ranged from just 6 per cent of delegates at the regional committee meeting of seafarers to just under 30 per cent for the Asia-Pacific Civil Aviation Conference and the Dockers' Section Conference. In many ways, unions face their own cycle of barriers ranging from initial recruitment and organization of women transport workers, which can be extremely difficult in many (sub)sectors (e.g. road haulage or women employed on short-term contracts on cruise ships), through to encouraging women's active participation in the union and taking on decision-making and leadership roles.

One of the main difficulties that women face is that they often occupy jobs that are not regarded as 'proper transport jobs' by (male-dominated) transport unions. This might include land-based maritime jobs, catering or cleaning on the railways, office-based work in urban transport, or packaging/warehousing in the ports. There are some concerted campaigns to organise such jobs (women) in several countries (e.g. bedroll, catering and cleaning staff on Indian railways) and these campaigns represents a challenge to age-old, male-dominated perceptions of who is/is not a transport worker, which of course is being rewritten by the restructuring of transport companies, modal integration, global transport value chains, etc. Unions can in fact play a very positive role in changing the image of the transport sector, making it more open and welcoming to women by making women more visible in documents, newsletters, webpages, flyers, and other promotional material.¹²⁴

When women face obstacles to participating in mixed (male-dominated) groups, then women-based groups (e.g. women's committees) may be the only alternative to represent female workers and help them in organising and getting their voices heard. When they do this, unions have achieved some considerable success, both in a national and international context, typically through a two-stage process. First, women's issues are more likely to feature on the collective bargaining agenda. Secondly, once the issues are on the agenda, the union is able to win support for women's issues, especially policies designed to resolve of gender-intensified barriers because this benefits the entire membership (i.e. men as well as women).¹²⁵ In India, the Transport & Dock Workers' Union (Mumbai) has included maternity benefits and health and safety for women in the collective bargaining agreement, as well as leave for adoptive mothers. The Norwegian Seafarers' Unions has ensured that both men and women are covered by state-paid parental leave provisions when working on

¹²³ Women from India interviewed during the research for this ILO study cited this as the main problem in getting more women involved in the union.

¹²⁴ Several transport unions have reported positive effects on membership recruitment and participation when they revise their image to appeal to women workers. See, for example, WIR (2012) *op cit.*, pp.10-11.

¹²⁵ Unions will of course also press gender-specific issues. For example, the BTB has negotiated for women-specific personal protective equipment in Belgian ports.

board Norwegian-flagged vessels, and has also negotiated similar protection for Bahamas-flagged cruise vessels so that companies will repatriate women no later than the 26th week of her pregnancy and she is still entitled to 180 days basic pay and priority in filling a suitable equivalent vacancy within 3 years of the birth of her child.¹²⁶

There will always be some (male) trade unionist who regard such contract provisions as ‘gender-specific’ benefits, but if unions promote them as ‘gender-intensified benefits’ they are more likely to win support with both their members and transport organizations. Just as there is a ‘business case’ for gender equality, there is an ‘organising and mobilising’ case for gender equality within trade unions. In the railways, for example, some unions have pressed health and safety and hygiene from a gender perspective, as well as harassment and mobbing, which are now increasingly covered by clauses in the relevant collective bargaining agreement.¹²⁷ Concerns over bullying and harassment are often difficult to verify and can be problematic, to say the least, for women to raise in a workplace context (especially if the perpetrator is the woman’s immediate line manager or a senior manager). Unions can play a vital role in this context as an independent representative organization. Unions have not only supported individual victims but also worked with transport companies to develop longer-term strategies to combat harassment, bullying and workplace violence (e.g. ‘de-escalation’ training for workers who might have to deal with irate passengers).

A major task for transport unions is to provide training and mentoring for women to enable them to take on decision-making and leadership roles. Women in some countries have reported hostility from fellow (male) trade unionists on the grounds that they are being ‘favoured’ with training opportunities by the union hierarchy or international federations. In so many ways, these tensions mirror those found in transport companies when they seek to proactively recruit more women and develop HR policies designed to maximise the retention women’s human capital and the realisation of their career potential. In many unions, gender balance in union leadership and decision-making structures is now firmly on the agenda, at an industry, national and international level. The European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), for example, has developed a programme ‘From Membership to Leadership – Advancing Women in Trade Unions’, with ‘ten things trade unions can do to promote gender balance in union leadership and decision-making’:

1. Make the argument for gender balance as a core union priority.
2. Actively promote gender equality at all levels of the organization through gender mainstreaming.
3. Introduce statutory rule changes on gender balance.
4. Prepare women for decision-making and leadership roles.
5. Engage men to build a consensus for balanced gender representation.
6. Address the image and culture of unions.
7. Build union organization so that women’s activism, involvement, decision-making roles exists at all levels of the union.

¹²⁶ See ITF (2013) *op cit.*, pp.13-14

¹²⁷ WIR (2012) *op cit.*, pp.11-13.

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8. Ensure that trade union organizations promote gender diversity through their own internal human resources.
 9. Provide gender-disaggregated data.
 10. Take a strategic approach and develop concrete actions plans to improve gender balance, including measures to monitor and assess the outcomes and implementation of actions.

There will be fewer barriers to women's employment in the transport sector if managers trained in women's rights, and fully aware of the 'business case' for gender equality, sit across the negotiating table or other forums for social dialogue with workers' representatives who are also trained in women's rights (ideally a balanced representation of women and men). Under these circumstances we can expect a general improvement in management-worker relations and greater space for women's concerns in collective bargaining agreements and within the broader social dialogue agenda.

5. Conclusion

The development of a career cycle model for women in the transport sector has facilitated the identification of appropriate policies to address the barriers that women face at each stage in the cycle. Section II sketches out the policy options for each stage in the cycle through cause-effect problem trees, an approach that has been used successfully by the ILO for other policy issues. Data from specific transport sectors can be used to target specific stages in the career cycle where the barriers to women have proven most difficult to overcome.

An extensive array of tools and instruments is currently available to the ILO for both transport and gender, as well as specific issues such as health and safety, in the form of Conventions and Recommendations, guidelines, training packages, toolkits, codes of conduct and codes of practice. There are also tools and instruments developed by other international agencies (e.g. IMO for shipping) as well as multinational transport companies and national and international trade union organizations (e.g. 'model agreements' on issues such as parental leave and bullying, harassment and violence at work). In sum, the ILO now has at its disposal the foundations of a solid portfolio of policy advice on gender equality in the transport sector.

Annex I. Transport sector conventions

- 1920 – Minimum age (Sea) C007 (revised 1936)
- 1920 – Unemployment Indemnity (Shipwreck) C008
- 1920 – Placing of Seamen C009
- 1921 – Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea) C016
- 1926 – Seamen's Articles of Agreement C022
- 1926 – Repatriation of Seamen C023 (Revised 1987)
- 1936 – Officers' Competency Certificates C053
- 1929 – Marking of Weight (Packages Transport by Vessels) C027
- 1929 – Protection against Accidents (Dockers) C028
- 1936 – Holidays with Pay (Sea) C054
- 1936 – Shipowners' Liability (Sick and Injured Seamen) C055
- 1936 – Sickness Insurance (Sea) C056
- 1936 – Hours of Work and Manning (Sea) C057
- 1939 – Hours of Work and Rest Periods (Road Transport) C067
- 1946 – Food and Catering (Ships' Crews) C068
- 1946 – Certification of Ships' Cooks C069
- 1946 – Social Security (Seafarers) C070 (Revised 1987)
- 1946 – Seafarers' Pensions C071
- 1946 – Paid Vacations (Seafarers) C072 (revised 1949)
- 1946 – Medical Examinations (Seafarers) C073
- 1946 – Certification of Able Seamen C074
- 1946 – Accommodation of Crews Convention C075 (revised 1949)
- 1946 – Wages, Hours of Work and Manning (Sea) C076 (revised 1949, 1958)
- 1958 – Seafarers' Identity Document C108 (Revised 2003)
- 1970 – Accommodation of Crews (Supplementary Provisions) C133
- 1970 – Prevention of Accidents (Seafarers) C134
- 1973 – Dock Work Convention C137
- 1976 – Continuity of Employment (Seafarers) C145
- 1976 – Seafarers' Annual Leave with Pay C146
- 1976 – Merchant Shipping (Minimum Standards) C147
- 1979 – Occupational Safety and Health (Dock Work) C152
- 1979 – Hours of Work and Rest Periods (Road Transport) C153
- 1987 – Seafarers' Welfare Convention C163
- 1987 – Health Protection and Medical Care (Seafarers) C164
- 1996 – Labour Inspection (Seafarers) C178
- 1996 – Recruitment and Placement of Seafarers C179
- 1996 – Seafarers' Hours of Work and the Manning of Ships C180
- 2006 – Maritime Labour Convention - MLC, 2006