

Rail strikes: Understanding the impact on passengers - full report



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Definitions

The following terms are used throughout with their associated definitions:

- **Commuting for education**: this indicates those that were travelling to an educational institution to study (not, e.g., teachers commuting to a school to work).
- Critical Worker: anyone who indicated that they work in one of the following sectors: health and social care; education and childcare; key public services (justice system, religious staff, charities, management of the deceased, journalists providing public service broadcasting); local and national government; food and necessary goods (including food production, distribution, sale and delivery); public safety or national security (police, MoD, armed forces, fire & rescue, NCA, border security, prison and probation staff); transport; utilities, communication or financial services (banks, information technology, telecommunications, postal services, waste disposal, power and water sectors). This follows a Department for Education definition published 01/04/2022 (updated 07/06/2022): Emergency planning and response for education, childcare, and children's social care settings, Annex B: Critical Workers. See <u>https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/emergency-planning-and-response-foreducation-childcare-and-childrens-social-care-settings</u>
- Ethnic minority: all respondents who self-reported their ethnicity as falling in any group other than "White English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British" (and so including White minorities) are reported as part of the ethnic minority group. This follows standard Office for National Statistics guidance on reporting on ethnicity. See https://style.ons.gov.uk/house-style/race-and-ethnicity/
- **Train operating company (TOC)**: these are companies that run passenger train services, and lease and manage stations. Each TOC manages a different set of services on routes on the rail network. A small number of TOCs are Open Access Operators: these are rail companies which operate separately from the main rail franchising system, and who receive no government subsidies.
- **Worker**: someone who indicated that they are either employed full-time (30+hrs/week), employed part-time (15-29 hrs/week), employed part-time (<15hrs/week), or self-employed.

Executive summary

Background and objectives

The Department for Transport commissioned research to understand changes to rail passengers' travel behaviours in response to rail strikes and to measure any related impacts on rail passengers' lives. In the weeks following rail strikes, fieldwork was conducted by intercepting passengers on trains and inviting them to complete a questionnaire. Passengers were asked about any journeys they were planning to make in a strike week, including days when there was no strike action on the network.

The sampling approach was designed to provide a representative sample of rail journeys rather than rail users and ensure representative coverage of journeys on all Train Operating Companies (TOCs) in England, except for London Underground, London Overground, and the Elizabeth Line. In total, 17,383 questionnaires were completed across four phases of fieldwork between July and October 2022. The sampling approach means that there was a higher change of sampling frequent passengers, who were more likely to be travelling in the weeks after strikes.

Overall impact on passenger journeys

Just over half of survey respondents (52%) had planned to make a rail journey during a strike week. Twenty-nine per cent had planned to make at least one commuting journey to/from work, 17% had planned to make a leisure journey, 4% had planned to commute for education, 3% had planned to make a business journey and 1% had planned to make a journey for a healthcare appointment.

The majority (81%) of those who had intended to travel by rail during a strike week had their journey(s) impacted in some way. Half (51%) made none of their planned rail journeys, 21% reduced the number of rail journeys they made, and 9% travelled on a different day for at least one journey.

The passengers most likely to have had their journeys impacted by rail strikes can broadly be said to fit the profile of a typical rail commuter: they were frequent rail users (travelling at least once a week), they were under the age of 65 (i.e., of working age), they worked full-time, had a relatively high gross household income, and were commuting when they were surveyed.



Figure 0. Impact on journeys amongst all respondents and those who had planned to travel

C1. Which of the following best describes your experience of that week? Please think about journeys you had planned before you were aware of the strike action or would have made if there was no strike action. Base: All respondents (17,383) and those who planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

Impacts on rail passengers' work, social and home lives

When asked about the specific impacts experienced in their work, social and home lives as a direct result of the strikes, **forty-five per cent of all respondents explicitly reported that they had not experienced any of the impacts listed**. Of those who had planned to travel during the strike week, just under a quarter (24%) did not experience any of the impacts listed.

Impacts on work and working arrangements were most common (reported by 29% of all respondents and 47% of those who had planned to travel during a strike week), followed by disruption to social plans or time with family (17% and 27% respectively). Smaller proportions reported impacts on education (3% and 5% respectively), and health, care, and caring responsibilities (2% and 4% respectively).

Impacts on work

Amongst those who had planned to commute to/from work by rail during a strike week, the majority (70%) reported at least one work-related impact.

Almost one in five of all respondents (19%) were unable to get to their place of work during a strike week, which, at a total level, is the single greatest impact of the strikes reported. Amongst those who had planned to commute to/from work during a strike week, this percentage rises to 50%.

Having the flexibility to work from home appears to mitigate the level of workrelated impact reported. Of those who had planned to commute to/from work during a strike week, and who never have the flexibility to work from home, 13% reported being unable to work at all, compared to 6% of all those who had planned to commute to/from work.

Impacts on education

Nearly half (47%) of those who had specifically planned to travel for education during a strike week reported that they experienced some impact on their education. Amongst this group, the most reported impact was the inability to get to a place of education (22%), followed by having to study less than planned (18%), and having to change study hours (14%). Only 7% of those who had planned to travel for education purposes reported being unable to study at all.

Those who had planned to travel to/from a place of education were more likely than those travelling for other purposes to have made all their planned rail journeys (20%, compared to 18% for personal business, 16% for leisure, and 13% for commuting to/from work).

Impacts on social and leisure activities

Amongst those who had planned to travel for leisure or for personal business during a strike week, around half (50% and 46% respectively) reported an impact to their social plans or time with family. Nearly one quarter (23% and 24% respectively) reported that they had to spend less time with family or friends, and around two fifths (41% and 37% respectively) had to cancel/re-arrange their plans.

Younger respondents (under 35s), disabled respondents, and those with less flexible working arrangements were more likely to report that they had to cancel/re-arrange social plans and/or spend less time with their friends/family.

Respondents who had planned to travel for leisure purposes were more likely than those planning to commute to/from work to have used another mode of transport to make their planned journey. Amongst those who had planned to make a leisure journey by rail, 15% switched to car, motorbike or van (compared to 13% of those planning to commute to/from work) and a similar pattern is observed for all other transport modes.

Impacts on health and care

One third (32%) of those who had planned to travel for a healthcare appointment reported that they had to cancel or rearrange a healthcare appointment. This is on a lower level than seen for those who had planned to travel for other purposes (70% of those who had planned to travel for work reported a work-related impact, 50% of those who had planned to travel for leisure reported a social impact, and 47% of those planning to travel for education reported an education-related impact).

Financial impacts

Seventeen per cent of all respondents reported at least one type of negative financial impact (personal loss of earnings, loss of business earnings, increased travel

costs, additional childcare costs, other); over half (55%) reported no negative financial impact. The most common negative financial impact reported was increased travel costs (9% of all respondents).

One in ten respondents (9%) reported at least one type of positive financial impact (saved on travel costs, saved on childcare costs, other); six in ten (60%) reported no positive impact. The main positive impact came from savings to travel costs, reported by 8% of all respondents.

Long term impact and future plans

Nearly one third of all respondents (31%) said they would "stay at home and not travel at all" if further strike action was announced. A similar proportion said they would switch to another transport mode (33% across modes).

One quarter of respondents (25%) reported that making alternative arrangements was not a problem and would not be, even long term. For one in seven (14%), making alternative arrangements was already not feasible. This percentage increases amongst those who had experienced an impact to their journey during a strike week (19%). Responses also differ by respondents' most common rail journey purpose in the past 6 months: those most commonly travelling by rail for business and leisure are most likely to say that making alternative arrangements is not a problem (29% each), and least likely to say that it's already not feasible (11% each). Those most commonly travelling by rail for education are least likely to say that making alternative arrangements is not an issue (14%) and are most likely to say this is already not feasible (22%).

Background, objectives, and methodology

Background

The Department for Transport (DfT) commissioned the independent research agency Savanta to undertake a survey of the rail network in England to investigate the impact of strike action on rail passengers. The aims of the project were to understand changes to rail passengers' travel behaviours in response to rail strikes and to measure any related impacts on rail passengers' social, economic, and personal lives.

The research covered four periods of strike action over the summer and early autumn of 2022, with fieldwork conducted in the weeks following rail strikes. Each phase focused on understanding the impact of the most recent week of strike action, and any associated changes to travel behaviours.

Table 1. Fieldwork dates			
Phase	Fieldwork	Strike week referenced	Extent of disruption
1	16/07/2022 - 26/07/2022	w/c 20/06/2022	3 strike days (Tues, Thurs, Sat)
2	01/08/2022 - 12/08/2022	w/c 25/07/2022	2 strike days (Weds, Sat)
3	22/08/2022 - 08/09/2022	w/c 15/08/2022	2 strike days (Thurs, Sat)
4	10/10/2022 - 23/10/2022	w/c 03/10/2022	2 strike days (Weds, Sat)

Objectives

The research was designed to understand the impact of the strikes on all types of rail passengers aged 16 and over, specifically investigating (and quantifying) the changes individuals had to make to planned rail journeys as a result of strike action. Objectives included understanding the impact on travelling to/from work and education, for business journeys, for social/leisure journeys or for healthcare/caring reasons. Respondents were also asked about any personal financial losses or savings that occurred as a direct result of the strikes.

Beyond impact to journeys and day-to-day lives, the project also explored:

- different approaches passengers took to mitigate the impact of strike action on their journeys and lives by making alternative arrangements
- passenger perceptions of how well the industry as a whole informed them about strikes and their potential impacts
- the potential behavioural changes that respondents stated may result from prolonged strike activity

Methodology

Sampling for this research was designed to provide a representative sample of rail journeys and representative coverage of journeys on all Train Operating Companies (TOCs) in England with the exception of London Underground, London Overground, and the Elizabeth Line. It was also designed to provide robust data by sub-groups according to various demographic characteristics. In total, 17,383¹ questionnaires were completed across four phases of fieldwork between July and October 2022.

The approach of intercepting passengers aged 16 and over on trains and inviting them to complete an online or paper questionnaire was the most efficient, cost-effective, robust, and timely way of reaching rail users who may have been intending to travel on strike days and is an industry standard for surveys of this kind.

Sampling Plan: Explanation of the approach taken

The goals of the sampling approach were to:

- create a sample of the whole rail network (with exclusions mentioned above), including all TOCs, and a sample of different routes within each TOC which is as representative as possible of that TOC's routes
- collect a large enough sample for each TOC to allow for robust reporting at a TOC level
- collect a sample of journeys across those routes made by typical adult (16+) users in weeks following strike action
- collect a sample across different days of the week and times of day, with a mix of morning, evening, and weekend shifts
- collect a sample of sufficient size for robust analysis of key sub-groups including TOC, journey purpose by TOC (business, leisure, commuting of different types), weekend/weekday travel by TOC, degree of flexibility to travel, employment sector including critical worker vs non-critical workers, gross household income, age, gender, ethnicity, disability, and whether or not the passengers have caring responsibilities

A sampling plan was devised to ensure that the goals of this approach were achieved. To robustly examine data at the TOC level, all TOCs were targeted with a planned minimum sample size of 500 responses, with that target being reached on all TOCs except one (see Table 2 and footnote 5 below). Given that TOCs vary quite widely in the number of passenger journeys that take place on their routes, collecting a large enough sample for each TOC ultimately meant that the sample over-represents those TOCs with fewer passenger journeys, and under-represents those with more passenger journeys.

Randomly sampling routes across the network based on proportion of operating journeys could result in some TOCs being missed out entirely, or a sample being collected from TOCs that is too small to produce robust statistics. The effect of over- and under-sampling was adjusted for using scaling weights: see the Weighting section below for details.

Routes for initial fieldwork shifts were selected based on published route maps and in consultation with TOCs, with a profile of shifts planned that covered a range of the typical services and routes operated by each TOC. For phases three and four of fieldwork, data from the LENNON ticketing and revenue system was used to ensure that the final sample of routes was representative, using numbers of passenger journeys made across routes within TOCs.² The routes covered in the initial phases of research were checked against these profiles and the final sampling plan was adjusted to ensure representative coverage of services operated. Where there were more routes than could be covered by the number of fieldwork shifts allocated to a TOC (on TOCs with complicated networks), routes were stratified based on the number of passenger journeys and then randomly sampled to ensure coverage of a representative sample of routes. The resulting sample was spread across the whole of the rail network, excluding routes operated by ScotRail, Transport for Wales, and Transport for London (the Elizabeth Line and London Overground services).³

Although fieldwork took place across four phases, in weeks following strike action, the sample was designed to provide representative coverage of the network as a whole (and of individual TOCs at a total level) across the four phases of fieldwork, rather than within each phase. Samples were not matched across phases of fieldwork, and so data across phases should be treated as a single sample, and interpreted in that way, rather than as separate samples for individual phases.

The patterns of disruption and the impacts on passengers' work and home lives are broadly similar between waves although there are indications that the timing of the strikes leads to differences in the experience of education related impacts and social impacts. This consistency between waves gives some confidence that the findings can be generalised to future strikes. However, variations in the unions involved, location, scale and timing of strike action may all lead to different levels of disruption for passengers. These factors should be considered when using the results of this research to understand the impact on passengers of any future strike activity. Note that the sample is representative of journeys being made at the time of recruitment for the survey, during a normal week of rail service: it does not attempt to represent typical rail usage during weeks of strike action, but instead the impact of that action on typical rail users.

The final achieved sample was 17,383 responses, with the following breakdown by TOC:⁴

² The LENNON (Latest Earnings Networked Nationally Over Night) ticketing and revenue system holds information on the vast majority of rail tickets purchased in Great Britain, and allocates journeys from those ticket sales to TOCs using the mathematical model ORCATS (Operational Research Computerised Allocation of Tickets to Services). A summary of passenger journeys allocated to routes operated by each TOC over a baseline period of 6 – 12 June 2022 was used to estimate passenger flows on those routes in a typical week prior to the beginning of rolling strike action.

³ For sampling purposes Govia Thameslink Railway brands (Southern, Thameslink, Great Northern, and Gatwick Express) were treated separately, and West Midlands Trains was treated as one TOC combining West Midlands Railway and London Northwestern Railway Routes.

⁴ In the LENNON system, the Govia Thameslink Railway TOC brands are combined into two sub-brands, Thameslink/Great Northern and Southern/Gatwick Express. As a result, weights were applied using these

тос	Responses	тос	Responses	тос	Responses
Avanti	727	Hull Trains	794	Greater Anglia	565
c2c	639	LNER	744	GWR	1,373
Chiltern	763	LUMO 5	420	Heathrow Express	531
CrossCountry	799	Merseyrail	564	SWR	1,013
East Midlands Railway	924	Northern	937	TPE	961
Grand Central	526	Southeastern	921	West Midlands Railway/LNWR	1,011
Thameslink/Great Northern	1,771	Southern/Gatwick Express	1,400		

Table 2. Sample size by train operating company

Fieldwork

Questionnaires were distributed by fieldworkers on trains. Fieldworkers were provided with a schedule covering a number of trains for them to travel on during shifts lasting approximately six hours. Depending on the routes being covered, questionnaires were handed out on two to eight trains in each shift.

All passengers on sampled services were approached to ask if they were willing to participate in the research. Respondents were given the option to participate in the research using either a paper self-completion questionnaire that could be completed and handed back to the fieldworker (or in exceptional cases, returned in a pre-paid envelope), or online using a link provided as a QR code. An option for telephone completion was also provided.⁶ By exception, there was also the facility for researchers to assist passengers to complete the survey on the train or for them to request a follow up telephone interview.

Weighting

Scaling weights were calculated by comparing overall proportions of the samples achieved per TOC with the proportions of operating journeys allocated to each TOC in LENNON data covering all periods of fieldwork. This adjustment was used to correct for the general fact that smaller TOCs had to be oversampled to generate a large enough sample for analysis of the data by TOC, across all TOCs on the network.

A non-response adjustment was also applied to account for differences in the overall profile of rail users observed during fieldwork and the profile achieved in the sample. Fieldworkers used count sheets to record data for respondents who took questionnaires, QR codes and those who refused to participate. Categories recorded were journey purpose (commuter, business, leisure), observable age bracket (under 35, 35-44, 45-64, 65+), and observable gender (male, female). On review, commuter and business journey

groupings (see weighting section), and the groupings have been used at some points when discussing TOC level data in this report.

⁵ LUMO was the TOC where the 500 sample minimum was not reached, but given the very low network journey proportion occupied by this TOC, this does not represent an under-sampling.

⁶ Only two respondents provided their telephone details for this purpose and neither of these were able to be contacted.

purpose counts, and counts for the middle two categories for age were each combined into a single category, giving the following categories used in the final adjustment:

- Age: under 35, 35-64, 65+
- Gender: male, female
- Journey purpose: commuter/business, leisure

We recognise that there is the potential for statistical bias to be introduced through human error when applying this count method, and these counts do not give us a perfect indication of the population profile of rail users. However, there is no other currently available data that would give as accurate a profile of passengers for each TOC, split by age, gender, and journey purpose.

The final dataset was weighted to reflect these passenger profiles within TOC, and a combination of the two adjustments (scaling for TOC journey proportion, and non-response bias adjustment) was achieved using a Random Iterative Method (RIM) weighting algorithm.⁷

Strengths and limitations of the approach

As discussed above, the methodology was devised to optimise coverage of typical journeys across the rail network, to allow for examination of responses by TOC and by different journey profile characteristics. This approach contrasts with the approach of sampling adults, which is used in other available research on the same topic, including questions included by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the Department for Transport in the Opinions and Lifestyle Survey.⁸

Our approach means that there is a higher chance of sampling frequent passengers, as they will be more likely to be travelling in the weeks after strikes. This is an intentional feature of the approach, since the sample is intended to represent typical rail journeys, and frequent users make more rail journeys. It is important to note, however, that the final sample does ultimately capture a wide range of frequent and infrequent rail users, which remains true when looking at the proportion who planned to travel during the previous strike week. Respondents were asked about all journeys they planned to make during a strike week, including the purpose of each journey and the day they planned to make the journey. They were also asked about the journeys they actually made. The following table shows how the frequency of train travel was higher for the sub-group of those planning to travel during a strike week than for all respondents.

⁷ Due to concerns over the completeness of some of the count data, achieved profiles were used in two instances for Heathrow Express and Avanti West Coast (i.e., no adjustment was applied in these cases).

⁸ Office for National Statistics (2023) Public Opinions and Social Trends, Great Britain: travel to work and rail disruptions. Available from: <u>Public opinions and social trends</u>, <u>Great Britain: travel to work and rail</u> <u>disruptions - Office for National Statistics</u>

Table 3. Frequency of train travel

Frequency of travelling by train in the past 6 months	All respondents	Those planning to travel during a strike week
5 or more times a week	17%	25%
3-4 times a week	16%	23%
1-2 times a week	19%	24%
1-3 times a month	26%	17%
Less often	17%	6%
Base	17,383	8,527

It is the case, however, that very irregular users, who may have been intending to make a one-off journey during the week of a strike but who did not subsequently make another journey by rail will not have been captured. Sampling and weighting for this research was designed to be representative at a journey level rather than by individual user. This is achieved by surveying individuals travelling on specific trains, with the aim of capturing representative responses for journeys being made on those trains. There is the small possibility that the same person responded to the survey on more than one occasion.

The focus on rail journeys, and the rail users making those journeys, means that direct impacts of the strikes have been captured in detail, but secondary social or economic impacts on the wider population and businesses have not been captured, and the results cannot be scaled to the general population of GB adults.

Confidence intervals

Our sampling approach means that the result is not a simple random sample, which could only be achieved with a sample frame of every individual who intended to travel by rail during a strike week. To provide a rough indication of how the confidence limits for results vary according to sample sizes and proportions, the table below shows what intervals would apply for a random sample. Due to the sample design, the intervals for this sample would be consistently a little larger than those shown here (although the exact intervals for this sample method cannot be calculated). Confidence intervals are provided at a 95% confidence level and based on 10%/90%, 30%/70% and 50% of respondents giving a specific response (as indicated in the table below).

Indicative data cell	Sample Size	Confidence Interval (to one decimal place)		
		10%/90%	30%/70%	50%
All respondents	17,383	+/- 0.4	+/- 0.7	+/- 0.7
50% of sample	8,500	+/- 0.6	+/- 1.0	+/- 1.1
25% of sample	4,000	+/- 0.9	+/- 1.4	+/- 1.6
Larger Train Operating Company	1,000	+/- 1.9	+/- 2.8	+/- 3.1
Smaller Train Operating Company	500	+/- 2.6	+/- 4.0	+/- 4.4

Table 4. Confidence intervals

Where differences between proportions are reported to be statistically significant in the report, this is also an indication (as with confidence intervals) based on an assumption of randomness in the sample.

Demographics of Survey Respondents⁹

The targeted on-train approach adopted for this survey was expected to provide results that are representative of rail journeys in England. The tables below show the demographic profile of respondents.

Table 5.	Gender	of res	pondents

Table 6. Age of respondents

Gender	Survey respondents
	All respondents
Male	44%
Female	42%
Identify in another way	1%
Prefer not to say/No answer	13%
Base	17,383

A large proportion of respondents were in younger and working-age age groups.

Age	Survey Respondents
	All respondents
16-24 years old	16%
25-34 years old	20%
35-44 years old	18%
45-54 years old	15%
55-64 years old	13%
65-74 years old	7%
75 years and over	2%
Prefer not to answer/No answer	9%
Base	17,383

⁹ Profile percentages do not always sum to 100%. Some respondents chose not to respond to some questions. In other instances, respondents could provide multiple answers and, therefore, figures may sum to greater than 100%.

Table 7. Ethnicity of respondents

Ethnicity	Survey Respondents
	All respondents
White (excluding White minorities)	64%
White minorities	10%
Mixed	4%
Asian	6%
Black	3%
Other	1%
Prefer not to answer/No answer	12%
Base	17,383

One in seven respondents described themselves as having a long-term physical or mental health condition or illness.

Table 8. Respondent disability	
Disability	Survey Respondents
	All respondents
Not disabled	66%
Disabled	15%
Prefer not to say/No answer	18%
Base	17,383

Amongst respondents who describe themselves as having a disability, mental health is by far the most cited condition (44%), followed by mobility, stamina, and social or behavioural issues (17%, 17% and 16% respectively).

Table 9. Types of respondent disability

Disability type	Survey Respondents
	Those with a disability
Vision	8%
Hearing	13%
Mobility	17%
Dexterity	5%
Learning	9%
Memory	5%
Mental Health	44%
Stamina	17%
Social or behavioural	16%
Other	10%
Base	2,745

The employment rate amongst survey respondents is much higher than observed in the general population of adults in England. Around three quarters (73%) stated that they were employed, and more than half (55%) were in full-time employment. In the Census 2021, 57% of adults were employed.

Table 10. Work status of respondents

Economic status	Survey Respondents
	All respondents
Employed (total)	73%
Employed, full-time (30+ hrs/week)	55%
Employed, part-time (<29 hrs/week)	11%
Self-employed	9%
Base	17,383

Amongst those who said they were employed, half (51%) would be classified as a critical worker, based on the sector they work in. This equates to nearly two fifths of all respondents (38%).

Table 11. Critical worker status of respondents

Critical worker status	Survey Respondents				
	All respondents	Those employed/self- employed			
Critical worker	38%	51%			
Work in other industry/sector	30%	41%			
Don't know/no answer	3%	2%			
Base	17,383	12,684			

There is a relationship between travelling to/from work by train and having a higher gross household income. One in five (21%) of those who usually travel to work by train reported having a gross household income of over £100,000, compared to just over one in ten (13%) of those who do not usually travel to work by train.

Table 12. Gross household income for all providing an answer, those who usually travel to work by train and those who do not usually travel to work by train

GROSS household income	Under £5,000	£5,001 - £10,000	£10,001 - £20,000	£20,001 - £30,000	£30,001 - £40,000	£40,001 - £50,000	£50,001 - £75,000	£75,001 - £100,000	Over £100,000	Base
All employed respondents providing an answer	4%	3%	9%	16%	13%	12%	17%	10%	16%	11,839
Usually travel to work by train	1%	2%	5%	13%	14%	13%	19%	12%	21%	4,299
Don't usually travel to work by train	3%	3%	10%	19%	15%	12%	17%	9%	13%	4,732

Survey respondents who had planned to travel during a strike week were most likely to be planning to commute to/from work or planning to travel for leisure (29% and 17% respectively). This reported journey purpose is in line with what was observed in the 2021 National Travel Survey, with commuting and leisure being the most common purposes for surface rail journeys.

Table 13. Respondents' planned journey purpose during a strike week

Journey purpose	Survey Respondents	
	All respondents	Those who planned to travel by rail during a strike week
Commute to/from work	29%	57%
Commute to/from education	4%	7%
Travel for business	3%	6%
Travel for healthcare appt	1%	2%
Travel for leisure	17%	32%
Base	17,383	8,527

1. Overall impact on planned journeys

Disruption to planned journeys

Just over half of respondents to the survey (52%) had planned to make a rail journey during a strike week.¹⁰ Forty-two per cent reported experiencing some kind of disruption to their planned rail journeys (i.e., they either didn't make at least some planned journeys, or had to change the day of at least one journey), and 10% reported having made all of the rail journeys that they had planned to make.

Four fifths (81%) of those who had intended to travel by rail during a strike week had their journey(s) impacted in some way. Half (51%) of those who had planned to make journeys by rail reported having made none of their planned rail journeys during the week when strikes took place, 21% reduced the number of rail journeys they made, and 9% travelled on a different day. Figure 1 summarises.

¹⁰ On planned journeys, respondents were asked to think about "journeys you had planned before you were aware of the strike action, or would have made if there was no strike action".



Figure 1. Impact on journeys amongst all respondents and those who had planned to travel

C1. Which of the following best describes your experience of that week? Please think about journeys you had planned before you were aware of the strike action or would have made if there was no strike action. Base: All respondents (17,383)

Respondents who planned to travel by rail in a strike week were also asked about further details of their experience of rail services and facilities during strike weeks. The two most common responses were that there was no rail service at all on the day they wished to travel or that there were severely reduced rail services, both at 36%.¹¹ It should be noted that we do not have comparable responses for a week without strike action and there are other causes of rail disruption which may lead to some of the observed responses.

¹¹ 5% of respondents said they experienced bus replacement services during strike weeks, although these may have been associated with planned engineering works, since Department for Transport records suggest that Train Operating Companies did not run rail replacement services during strike action. Rail replacement services were provided on some routes for engineering works during the fieldwork period.



Figure 2. Types of disruption experienced by those who had planned to travel

C4. Thinking of that week, please indicate which of the following, if any, you experienced. Please think about journeys you had planned before you were aware of the strike action, or would have made if there was no strike action (Multiple responses allowed) Base: Those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

The two most common planned journey purposes during a strike week were commuting and leisure. Twenty-nine per cent of respondents had planned to make at least one commuting journey to/from work in a strike week, 17% had planned to make a leisure journey, 4% had planned to commute for education, 3% had planned to make a company business journey, 3% had planned to make a journey for other personal business (job interview, banking etc.), and 1% had planned to make a journey for a healthcare appointment (GP, hospital, dentist etc.).

Disruption to journeys across journey purposes was broadly similar, with some specific differences in the extent and type of disruption.

Those who had planned to travel for education in a strike week were the most likely to say that they made all of their planned rail journeys (at 20%), and less likely than those travelling for work and leisure to say that they made none of their planned rail journeys (43%). Those who had planned to travel for a healthcare appointment were more likely than those planning to travel to/from work or for leisure to say that they changed the day of at least one of their rail journeys (at 18%). Figure 3 summarises the different proportions of those who had planned to travel for each of the purposes above that experienced some kind of disruption to their planned rail journeys, and the proportion that made all of their planned rail journeys.

Figure 3. Impact on planned journeys by planned journey purpose

- Had planned to travel by rail but made none of the rail journeys they planned
- Travelled by rail but did not make every rail journey they were planning to
- Made all the rail journeys they were planning to but had to change the day of at least one
- Made all rail journeys on the days they were planning to



C1. Which of the following best describes your experience of that week? Please think about journeys you had planned before you were aware of the strike action, or would have made if there was no strike action. Base: Those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

On types of disruption experienced (Figure 4 below), again we see a broadly consistent pattern across planned journey purposes with some small differences in specific disruptions. The most-commonly experienced disruption across all planned journey purposes was "no rail services at all", experienced by 36% of those who had planned to make a rail journey.



Figure 4. Types of disruption experienced by planned journey purpose

- No rail services at all on a day they wished to travel
- Severely reduced rail services
- Partially reduced rail services
- More overcrowded trains than usual
- Longer rail journey times
- My station was closed on a day they wished to travel

C4. Thinking of that week, please indicate which of the following, if any, you experienced. (Multiple responses allowed) Base: Those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

Reasons for not travelling

Perceiving that there were no rail services available was the main reason selected by respondents for not making all of the rail journeys they planned to make in a strike week (with 42% of those planning to make journeys saying this), but other factors played a role. In particular, lack of confidence or information about services appeared to discourage rail use: a lack of certainty about the journey (17%) and lack of awareness of what was/was not running (9%) were given as reasons for not making planned trips by relatively high proportions of respondents (see Figure 5).



Figure 5. Reason for not making all planned journeys

C5. If you did not make all of the journeys you were planning to, what was the reason? (Multiple responses allowed) Base: Those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

Again, we see a similar pattern across different planned journey purposes, with "no rail services" and "lack of certainty" ranking highest across journey purposes. Figure 6 shows six commonly reported reasons for not making a planned rail journey by planned journey purpose.



Figure 6. Six common reasons for not making planned journeys by planned journey purpose

C5. If you did not make all of the journeys you were planning to, what was the reason? (Multiple responses allowed) Base: Those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

Summary of impacts on lives



D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. (Multiple responses allowed) Base: All respondents (17,383)

Other impacts reported by respondents

As part of the survey, respondents were given the opportunity to write in their own words any other impacts (not listed in the questionnaire) that the strikes had had on them. There were very low levels of specific mentions of other impacts, with none being mentioned by more than 3% of all respondents. A summary of some recurring themes is given below. Many of these were captured elsewhere in the questionnaire.

- 3% of respondents used this as an opportunity to express their support for the strike action
- 3% had experienced longer or extended journey times (all respondents were asked about this elsewhere in the questionnaire)
- 2% experienced stress/anxiety/a negative impact on their mental health. This rose to 4% amongst those who categorised themselves as having a disability
- 2% referenced general levels of inconvenience/hassle/disruption
- 2% referred to specific family or childcare commitments that were impacted
- 2% mentioned cancelling or rearranging a leisure activity
- 2% mentioned a lack of alternative travel options

Differences in reported impacts across groups

The passengers most likely to have had their journeys impacted by rail strikes can broadly be said to fit the profile of a typical rail commuter who travels to/from work: they were frequent rail users (travelling at least once a week), they were under the age of 65 (i.e. of working age), they work full-time, have a relatively high gross household income, and were commuting when they were surveyed.

Those who usually travel to work by train, those who usually travel to/from work in peak hours, and those who have commuted to/from work in past 6 months were all more likely to have had their journey impacted than other groups (at 64%, 66% and 58% respectively). Those that work from one central location, work mainly from one place, or those who work from different locations were all more likely to experience an impact on their planned rail journeys (at 48%, 51% and 45% respectively) when compared to those who always work from home (28%).

Individuals aged between 25 and 44 were most likely to have had their rail journeys impacted, but these were also the age groups which had the highest proportions of individuals who had planned to make a rail journey during a strike week. They were also the groups with the highest proportions making a commuting journey when surveyed, or for whom commuting was their most common journey purpose in the past 6 months. Forty-eight per cent of the 25-34 group and 47% of the 35-44 group experienced some impact to planned rail journeys. This compares to 25% of those aged 65-74.

A large proportion of those working full-time experienced an impact on their planned rail journeys (at 49%). Full-time and part-time students were most likely to report having made all of the journeys on the day that they had planned during a strike week, at 13%, compared to 10% for full-time and part-time workers, and 9% for the self-employed.

There is a general upward trend of impact to journeys as gross household income increases (Figure 8, below).



Figure 8. Percentage experiencing an impact to planned journeys, by gross household income

C1. Which of the following best describes your experience of that week? Base: All respondents (17,383)

This pattern is possibly at least partially explained by the relationship between gross household income and frequent use of train for commuting. Figure 9 makes this relationship clear: as household income increases, so does the proportion of the group that reports commuting to/from work as their most common use of trains in the past 6 months.



Figure 9. Percentage reporting "commuting to/from work" as the most common journey purpose when travelling by train in the past 6 months by gross household income

H3. And for what purpose did you travel by train most often in the past 6 months? Base: All respondents (17,383)

There is some other evidence of disproportionate impact to journeys which is not related to being a commuter or frequent rail user. Forty-four per cent of disabled respondents experienced disruption to a planned journey, compared to 41% of those with no disability.

Higher proportions of critical workers in public safety (54%) and those in utilities/communications/financial services (51%) experienced an impact from train strikes than those who were not categorised as critical workers (47%). There was not, however, a statistically significant difference in impacts to journeys for critical workers working in other sectors.

Disruption across TOCs

The survey data identifies which TOC a respondent was travelling on when they were asked to participate in the research. However, it does not identify which (if any) TOC they travelled on, or wanted to travel on, during a strike week. This means that we can report on differences in experiences of passengers travelling on different TOCs when fieldwork took place, but are unable to conclusively report any information about the impact during a strike week by TOC.

To give an overview, Figure 10 shows the percentage of respondents that reported having planned to travel, and having experiencing any kind of impact to their journeys (made none of their planned rail journeys, did not make all of their planned rail journeys, had to change the day of at least one), by the TOC that runs the service that they were surveyed on.



Figure 10. Percentage of respondents reporting any impact to journey(s), by TOC

C1. Which of the following best describes your experience of that week? Please think about journeys you had planned before you were aware of the strike action, or would have made if there was no strike action Base: All respondents (17,383)

Some of the TOCs with the lowest reported impacts to journeys (LUMO, Grand Central, Heathrow Express) were those TOCs where there was no targeted strike action in weeks preceding fieldwork (even though there was an impact of strikes by Network Rail employees). Four of the five TOCs with the lowest proportions of respondents reporting any impact to planned rail journeys are open-access operators (Grand Central, Hull Trains, Heathrow Express, Lumo).

Focusing only on those who said they were commuting when surveyed (the group that we expect to make the most regular and repeated journeys over time), we see a similar ranking of TOCs, albeit with higher levels of disruption to planned rail journeys.

In some cases, fieldwork took place on different routes on TOCs across different phases of fieldwork, and the extent and type of disruption in the prior week of strike action varied across TOCs in different phases. Responses across TOCs suggest that impacts were experienced by passengers across the whole rail network even though not all TOCs were subject to direct strike action. Forty-two percent of those travelling on a TOC following a strike week where neither direct action nor Network Rail strike action were experienced in the week referred to in the questionnaire said that their journeys were affected. This was almost the same as the figure of 41% for those travelling on TOCs where strike action did take place. As already pointed out, planned travel may have been on routes managed by different TOCs to those on which respondents were asked to participate in the survey, but these findings still suggest that there was an impact across the rail network.

Table 14 below summarises percentages of all respondents who completed a questionnaire during fieldwork which referenced a prior week in which there was either direct strike action on that TOC, an impact from strike action by Network Rail employees, or no impact of either kind. The base size is given in brackets for each percentage: so, for example, 175 respondents filled in a questionnaire on LUMO when that TOC was impacted by strike action by Network Rail employees in the prior strike week, and 17% of those respondents reported having experienced an impact to their journey during that strike week. The "Total" column gives the percentage of all respondents, by TOC, who reported an impact to their journey across all fieldwork.

Table 14. Percentage of respondents travelling with each TOC that reported any journey impact in a strike week, by the type of strike action on that TOC in the relevant strike week.¹²

	TOTAL	TOC impacted by direct strike action	TOC impacted by Network Rail action only	TOC not impacted by direct action or Network Rail action
Avanti West Coast	40% (n=727)	40% (n=727)	-	-
c2c	47% (n=639)	47% (n=639)	-	-
Chiltern Railways	43% (n=763)	43% (n=763)	-	-
CrossCountry	39% (n=799)	39% (n=799)	-	-
East Midlands Railway	36% (n=924)	36% (n=924)	-	-
Grand Central	35% (n=526)	-	36% (n=288)	34% (n=238)
Thameslink/Great Northern (*a)	47% (n=1,771)	50% (n=350)	53% (n=515)	43% (n=906)
Greater Anglia	38% (n=565)	38% (n=565)	-	-
GWR	37% (n=1,373)	37% (n=1,373)	-	-
Heathrow Express	29% (n=531)	-	30% (n=513)	#
Hull Trains	32% (n=794)	30% (n=577)	-	38% (n=217)
LNER	35% (n=744)	35% (n=744)	-	-
LUMO	21% (n=420)	-	17% (n=175)	24% (n=245)
Merseyrail	38% (n=564)	-	-	38% (n=564)
Northern	38% (n=937)	38% (n=937)	-	-
Southeastern	48% (n=921)	48% (n=921)	-	-
Southern/Gatwick Express (*b)	41% (n=1,400)	38% (n=412)	40% (n=254)	44% (n=734)
South Western Railway	42% (n=1,013)	42% (n=1,013)	-	-
TransPennine Express	42% (n=961)	42% (n=961)	-	-
West Midlands Railway/LNWR (*c)	40% (n=1,011)	40% (n=1,011)	-	-

C1. Which of the following best describes your experience of that week? Base: All respondents (17,383)

indicates that a value has been redacted due to low count; a dash "-" indicates that no fieldwork took place on that TOC after a week of strike action of the type in that column.

Response to strike disruption

Respondents who did not make all of their planned rail journeys in a strike week were asked about a range of actions that they took instead of travelling by rail.

Working from home was reported by the highest percentage (30%), followed by cancelling plans (18%), travelling by car/motorbike/van (17%), and re-arranging plans (16%). Figure 11 summarises all responses.

¹² See the methodology section in the introductory chapter for details on why certain TOCs (*a. Thameslink/Great Northern, *b. Southern/Gatwick Express, *c. West Midlands/LNWR) are grouped together in this way.



Figure 11. Responses to being unable to travel due to strikes

C6. What did you do instead of travelling by rail on the day(s) you were planning to? (Multiple responses allowed) Base: Those who didn't make all the rail journeys they were planning to (6,172)

Below, we focus on mode switch, and levels of satisfaction with information provision related to disruption.

Mode switch

The most commonly reported alternative mode of transport used instead of travelling by train was car, motorbike or van, at 7% of all respondents and 13% of those who had planned to make a rail journey in a strike week. This was followed by bus/coach at 4% of all respondents and 8% of those who had planned to make a rail journey. Figure 12 summarises mode switch among those who had planned to travel.



Figure 12. Mode switch among those who had planned to travel

C6. What did you do instead of travelling by rail on the day(s) you were planning to? (Multiple responses allowed) Base: Those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

Amongst respondents who did not make all of their planned rail journeys, the two most commonly reported realistic and affordable alternatives to rail were car/van (21%), and bus (16%), but the majority (51%) reported that train was the only realistic and affordable option for them.



Figure 13. Realistic and affordable alternatives to rail

C7. Which, if any, of the following other travel methods would have been realistic and affordable options to make the journey(s) you had originally been planning? Base: Those who didn't make all the journeys they were planning to (6,172)

Responding that train was the only realistic option was most common amongst those in the highest household income bracket (over £100,000). Table 15 summarises.

	Under £5,000	£5,001 - £10,000	£10,001 - £20,000	£20,001 - £30,000	£30,001 - £40,000	£40,001 - £50,000	£50,001 - £75,000	£75,001 - £100,000	Over £100,000
Train was the only realistic option	38%	40%	43%	53%	54%	50%	53%	50%	60%
Car/van as driver or passenger	20%	12%	18%	15%	21%	25%	24%	30%	21%
Bus	20%	33%	25%	18%	14%	15%	13%	12%	7%
Base	130	144	403	699	568	535	765	431	780

Table 15. Selected realistic and affordable alternatives to train by gross household income

C7. Which, if any, of the following other travel methods would have been realistic and affordable options to make the journey(s) you had originally been planning? Base: Those who didn't make all the journeys they were planning to (6,172)

Looking at age, we see an interesting pattern. Those in the youngest age group (16-17) are more likely than most other age groups to have reported that car/van (as a driver or passenger) would have been a realistic and affordable alternative option to rail. Bus is also more commonly reported as an alternative by younger respondents. Those in age groups between 25 and 54 were more likely to say that train was the only realistic option than those in the youngest age groups (16-17 and 18-24). See Table 16.

Table 16. Selected realistic and affordable alternatives to train by age

	16-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
Train was the only realistic option	39%	47%	52%	53%	57%	52%	50%	50%
Car/van as driver or passenger	33%	16%	19%	20%	25%	25%	20%	23%
Bus	30%	22%	17%	14%	10%	10%	18%	15%
Base	148	946	1,598	1,127	833	676	263	85 ¹³

C7. Which, if any, of the following other travel methods would have been realistic and affordable options to make the journey(s) you had originally been planning? Base: Those who didn't make all the journeys they were planning to (6,172)Y

The final difference of note in relation to realistic and affordable alternatives to train relates to ethnicity. White (excluding White minority) respondents were more likely than ethnic minority respondents to report that train was the only realistic option, but bus is more commonly reported by ethnic minority respondents as a realistic alternative, and car/van is more commonly reported by White respondents (excluding White minorities). Table 17 summarises.

¹³ Note that the base size for 75+ is low (at n = 85), and the impact of wider confidence intervals at small base sizes should be taken into consideration in interpreting this data.

	White (excluding White minorities)	Ethnic minority	Mixed	Asian	Black
Train was the only realistic option	53%	49%	49%	53%	55%
Car/van as driver or passenger	24%	15%	16%	15%	11%
Bus	13%	21%	17%	17%	23%
Base	3,979	1,503	240	437	197

Table 17. Selected realistic and affordable alternatives to train by ethnicity

C7. Which, if any, of the following other travel methods would have been realistic and affordable options to make the journey(s) you had originally been planning? Base: Those who didn't make all the journeys they were planning to (6,172)

Satisfaction with information provision

Whilst the majority of those who had planned to travel in a strike week (62%) were satisfied overall with being made aware of strikes in advance, there were lower levels of satisfaction with information helping to aid decision making, both in advance (35%) and also at the station on the day of the journey (28%).

Figure 14. Satisfaction with information regarding strikes



F1. Please rate your satisfaction with the following in relation to the rail strikes. Base: Those who planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

There is an effect of age on reported dissatisfaction with information provision: younger respondents were broadly more dissatisfied with all aspects than those in older age groups (see Figure 15).



- Being made aware of the strikes in advance
- Advance information to aid decision making, including alternative travel options
- Access to relevant information to aid decision making whilst at the train station on a strike day
- Compensation for journeys where tickets had already been paid for



F1. Please rate your satisfaction with the following in relation to the rail strikes. Base: Those who planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

Those on relatively lower household incomes (up to £30,000 gross) were generally less satisfied with being made aware of the strikes in advance (Figure 16).





■% Dissatisfied with being made aware of the strikes in advance

F1. Please rate your satisfaction with the following in relation to the rail strikes: 'Being made aware of the strikes in advance'. Base: Those who planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)
2. Impact on work and working arrangements

Disruption to planned journeys

Impacts on work and working arrangements were the most commonly reported impacts across all respondents and amongst those who were planning to travel by rail during a strike week.

Respondents were asked whether they had experienced any consequences of strike action on their work lives and working arrangements. At least one work-related impact was reported by 29% of all respondents, and by 47% of those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week. Amongst those who had specifically planned to commute to/from work by rail during a strike week, 70% reported at least one work-related impact. A breakdown of the percentages of different groups experiencing each of the specific work impacts is given in Figure 17.





D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. (Multiple responses allowed) Base: All respondents (17,383)

Almost one in five of all respondents (19%) were unable to get to their place of work during the week of a strike, which, at a total level, is the single greatest impact of the strikes reported (the next highest being having to cancel/re-arrange social plans, which was reported by 14%; see chapter 4). In contrast, a relatively small percentage of respondents reported not being able to work at all.

Beyond those direct impacts to working life, 31% of those who had planned to commute to/from work reported a financial loss due to strike action, with 16% specifically reporting a personal loss of earnings (see chapter 6 for detail discussion of financial impacts).

Planned commuting journeys

Commuting was impacted throughout weeks of strike action, but there was unsurprisingly a more pronounced impact on strike days than on other days within a strike week. Fewer than half (48%) of reported planned journeys to/from work by train on strike days were made. Figure 18 gives a summary of planned commuting journeys that were made during weeks affected by rail strikes. The percentage of completed journeys is calculated from reports of having travelled on a specific day as a proportion of reports of having planned travel on that same day. For example, in the "Total" bar, respondents indicated that they had planned to make commuting journeys on 15,527 days in total, and 62% of those

planned commuting days were reported to have actually resulted in a commuting journey on that day.¹⁴



Figure 18. Percentage of planned journeys which were made - Commuting to/from work¹⁵

C2. As far as you can remember, which days were you actually planning to travel and for what purpose? C3. As far as you can remember, which days did you actually travel and for what purpose? Planned journey bases indicated under each bar

The data confirms changes in working patterns that have been observed in general post-COVID-19, whereby there is a lower volume of planned commuting journeys at the start and end of the week compared with the middle of the week. There is more intention to commute to/from work during the Tuesday-Thursday period than on Mondays, Fridays or at the weekend (Table 18).

Table 18. Proportion of respondents who had planned to make a journey during a strike week who planned to commute to/from work by day of week

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
Planned to commute to/from work on that day	37%	41%	41%	40%	31%	11%	8%

C2. As far as you can remember, which days were you actually planning to travel and for what purpose? C3. As far as you can remember, which days did you actually travel and for what purpose? Base: those who planned to make a journey during a strike week (n = 8,527 respondents)

¹⁴ Respondents were only allowed to tick the day of planned/made journeys, and so this does not take into account the possibility of multiple journeys of the same purpose having been planned or made on any day.
 ¹⁵ Wednesday 22nd June, Friday 24th June and Friday 19th August are included in both "day before a strike day" and "day after a strike day" categories.

Differences in reported impacts across groups

There were differences in the extent of impact reported by working status: amongst fulltime workers, almost two-fifths (39%) reported any work-related impact, compared to 22% of part-time workers and 31% who were self-employed. Table 19 summarises.

Table 19. Work-related impacts by working status

	Work full-time	Work Part-time	Self-employed
Any work-related impact	39%	22%	31%
Unable to get to place of work	28%	13%	15%
Had to change working hours	9%	6%	10%
Had to work less than planned	7%	5%	10%
Had to change working day	6%	5%	7%
Unable to work at all	3%	3%	4%
Base	9,552	1,873	1,419

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. Base: All respondents (17,383)

A similar trend is observed amongst those who regularly used the train to commute to/from work. Amongst respondents who reported that the most frequent train journey purpose was commuting in the past 6 months, 59% of full-time workers and 55% of self-employed workers experienced any work-related impact compared to 48% of part-time workers.

A large proportion of those who had planned a commuting journey during a strike week experienced one or more work-related impact (70%). This was the highest proportion across all planned journey purposes, as shown in Table 20.

Table 20. Percentages experiencing any work-related impact across different planned journey purposes

	Commuting to/from work	Commuting for education	Company business	Healthcare appointment	Personal business	Leisure
Any work- related impact	70%	29%	54%	39%	32%	28%
Base	4,387	578	559	210	514	3,074

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Frequent rail users were more likely to report work-related impacts. This is true in general across all specific work impacts as well as overall ("any work impact"), as shown in Figure 19.



Figure 19. Work-related impacts by frequency of rail travel in the past 6 months

- Any work-related impact
- I was unable to work at all
- I had to change my working hours
- I was unable to get to my place of work
- I had to work less than planned
- I had to change my working days

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. Base: All respondents (17,383)

This difference is likely to reflect the fact that a high proportion of frequent rail users were commuters travelling to/from work. Respondents who were commuting when they were surveyed make up 64% of those who use train services five or more times a week, 54% of those using train services three to four times a week, and 38% of those using train services one to two times a week.

Household income

Overall, work-related impacts were more likely to be reported by respondents with a gross household income of more than £20,000 per year. Thirty-four per cent of those with household incomes of more than £20,000 reported any work-related impact compared to 21% of those with £20,000 and under. Those with the highest gross household incomes (i.e., those over £100,000 per year) reported work impacts most: 39% of this group reported any work-related impact.

However, the picture is more complicated when focusing on those respondents who had planned to commute to/from work during a strike week and comparing across different categories of impact. While there is still a large proportion of those in the highest household income bracket (over £100,000) reporting any work-related impact, this is mostly driven by being unable to get to a place of work (Figure 20).

Figure 20. Work-related impacts for those who had planned to commute to/from work during a strike week, by gross household income¹⁶



D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week? Base: Those who planned to commute to/from work by rail during a strike week (4,387)

Ethnicity and work impacts

Each of the specific work-related impacts is reported more commonly by ethnic minority respondents than White (excluding White minority) respondents. Table 21 summarises.

	Ethnic minority	White (excluding White minorities)
Any work-related impact	35%	26%
I was unable to get to my place of work	22%	18%
I had to change my working hours	9%	6%
I had to work less than planned	7%	5%
I had to change my working days	5%	4%
I was unable to work at all	4%	2%
Base	4,155	11,370

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. Base: All respondents (n = 17,383)

However, these differences do not take into account the different profiles of the two groups. Ethnic minority respondents tend to be younger than White (excluding White minority) respondents, as shown in Table 22. The table shows that ethnic minority respondents tend to be younger than White (excluding White minority) respondents, and

¹⁶ Under £5,000 and £5,001 - £10,000 income brackets have been combined (to form the "up to £10,000" bracket) because of a low base size in separate categories.

younger people are also more likely than older adults to report that the strikes resulted in a work related impact (further detail provided in the paragraph below Table 22).

able 22. Age profiles for White and ethnic minority groups (percentage of those groups in each age bracket)									
	16-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+	Base
Ethnic minority	3%	19%	29%	24%	12%	8%	3%	1%	4,115
White (excl. White minorities)	2%	13%	19%	17%	18%	16%	10%	3%	11,370

J1. Please could you tell me which of the following age groups you fall into? Base: All respondents (n = 17,383)

A higher percentage of respondents in the 16-44 age range (where there is a disproportionately high percentage of ethnic minority respondents) overall reported any work-related impact compared to the 45-75+ range (at 33% vs 23%). The difference in work-related impacts is also associated with the fact that a higher proportion of ethnic minority respondents were planning to commute to/from work by train during a strike week (33% compared to 27% of White respondents, excluding white minorities). This pattern is repeated in responses to the most common journey purpose for rail journeys in the past 6 months across the groups, with 40% of White (excluding white minority) respondents giving "commuting to/from work" as their most common purpose compared to 47% for ethnic minorities. The difference in age and rail use for commuting is also reflected in a difference in the proportion of respondents across the two groups who were retired: 3% of ethnic minority respondents were retired compared to 12% of White (excluding white minority) respondents.

Overall, this means that the ethnic minority group is more likely to be of working age, and more likely to be commuting to work by train, potentially explaining the difference in work-related impacts across the groups.

Gender and work impacts

A higher percentage of men reported work-related impacts than women, as detailed in Figure 21.



Figure 21. Work-related impacts by gender

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. Base: All respondents (17,383)

Again, there are differences in the profiles of male and female respondents that help to explain these differences in impact. First, there are overall differences in the proportions of these groups in full-time and part-time employment (Table 23).

	Employed/self- employed (overall)	Employed full- time (30+ hrs)	Employed part- time (15-29 hrs)	Employed part- time (<15 hrs)	Self-employed	Base	
Male	78%	62%	4%	2%	11%	7,100	
Female	74%	53%	11%	4%	7%	8,156	

Table 23. Employment categories for male and female respondents

I1. Are you [list of employment categories]? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Since those in full-time employment more commonly experienced work-related impacts (see Table 19 above), the difference in employment profiles for male and female respondents translates to a higher incidence of work-related impact for men (31%) than women (26%).

Moreover, a higher proportion of men reported having planned to commute to/from work during a strike week (31%) than women (28%), and a higher proportion of men were commuting when surveyed (36% vs 29%). As discussed above (Table 20 and beneath Figure 19), these groups (those who had planned to commute to/from work in a strike week and those commuting when surveyed) experienced more work-related impacts overall.

Response to strike disruption and mitigating factors

Adjustments to working arrangements were made in some cases in response to disruption due to strike action, with working from home being the most common adjustment. Of those who had planned to travel by rail for any purpose in a strike week, but who did not make all of their planned rail journeys, 6% took annual leave, 7% changed their working days, and 30% worked from home instead of travelling. For those who had planned commuting journeys in a strike week (but who did not make all of their journeys), those figures rise to 8%, 9%, and 43% respectively.

Flexible and inflexible working arrangements

Working location and the flexibility that individuals have in terms of working from home in some cases appears related to the level of work-related impact experienced. Six per cent of those in employment (including self-employed) said that they always work from home, and 10% of this group experienced at least one work-related impact, compared to 38% of those who travel to only one workplace/central location, and 41% who travel mainly to one workplace/central location.

Of those who had planned to commute to/from work during a strike week, and who never have the flexibility to work from home, 13% reported being unable to work at all, compared to 6% of all those who had planned to commute to/from work (regardless of work location flexibility), and 1% of those who had planned to commute to/from work and who have the flexibility to work from home all of the time.

Those who have the flexibility to work from home all of the time experience the lowest proportion of work-related impacts for the most part, while those who never or rarely have that flexibility were most likely to report being unable to work at all. Figure 22 summarises.



Figure 22. Work-related impacts by flexibility to work from home

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. Base: All respondents (17,383)

The same pattern is observed amongst just those who had planned to commute to/from work during a strike week, albeit with higher reported levels of impact (Figure 23).

Figure 23. Work-related impacts for those who had planned to commute to/from work during a strike week by flexibility to work from home



D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. Base: Those who planned to commute to/from work by rail during a strike week (4,387)

This could indicate that those who never have the flexibility to work from home have no choice but to travel to their workplace even during periods of strike action. There is some indication this might be the right interpretation because, whilst this group were least likely to say they could not get to their place of work, they were most likely to experience longer journey times when travelling to work (Figure 24).



Figure 24. Percentage reporting longer journey times by flexibility of working arrangements

C4. Thinking of that week, please indicate which of the following, if any, you experienced. (Multiple responses allowed). Base: Those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

Critical workers were more likely to have said that they never have the flexibility to work from home (30% of critical workers) than those who work in other industries (21% of others). However, a smaller percentage of critical workers reported any work-related impact (34% vs 38% of those working in other industries), and critical workers did not experience any specific work impact more commonly than non-critical workers. Amongst those who had planned to commute to/from work in a strike week, we still see a smaller percentage of critical workers reporting any work-related impacts (70% vs 73% of those working in other industries). This again suggests that the relationship between flexibility to work from home and work-related impacts is not straightforward.

Mode switch

Forty-four percent of those who had planned to make a commuting journey during a strike week reported that train was the only realistic and affordable option for their journey. Mode switch for those who had planned to commute to/from work was in line with all those who had planned a journey in a strike week (for any purpose), with car, motorbike, or van use being the most common alternative where rail travel was disrupted (Table 24).

Table 24. Mode switch for those who had planned to travel (for any purpose) and those who had planned to commute to/from work

	Had planned to travel in strike week for any purpose	Had planned to commute to/from work during strike week
I travelled by car/motorbike/van	13%	13%
I travelled by bus/coach	8%	8%
I travelled by taxi/minicab	4%	5%
I travelled by another form of public transport	4%	4%
I cycled/walked	2%	3%
Base	8,527	4,387

C6. What did you do instead of travelling by rail on the day(s) you were planning to? Base: Those who planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527), those who planned to commute to/from work by rail during a strike week (4,387)

3. Impact on education

Interpreting impacts on education: contextual factors

There are contextual factors relating to the timing of fieldwork and the age of respondents that should be considered when interpreting the findings presented in this chapter. Both of these points mean that it is possible that the impact of rail strikes on education and study arrangements is underestimated in our findings.

The timing of the strikes, and fieldwork, is likely to be the most significant. Whilst phase 1 (towards the end of June) and phase 4 (October) fell within school term times, phases 2 and 3 fell within summer holiday periods. It is possible that those students eligible to participate in this research (aged 16 and over) had already entered the post-exam period at the end of June, and by the time of the July fieldwork period, they may no longer have been travelling to their place of study.

Looking at responses by different phases of fieldwork, it is clear that there is an increase in phase 4 in the proportion of respondents who were travelling for education purposes when they were surveyed (9% compared to 2% and 3% in earlier phases), corresponding with a move into term time.

The second factor to bear in mind is the age of participants: only people aged 16 and older were invited to participate in the survey. This means that impacts on children in primary education and secondary education prior to aged 16 were not directly captured by our survey. To give an indication of the impact on children under 16, we collected data from respondents on impacts on child dependents in their household instead.

Data from the National Travel Survey suggest that journeys to/from school by rail were not common in England. NTS data from 2021 shows that only 1% of journeys to/from school had surface rail as their main mode.¹⁷ Given this, we would expect to see low levels of disruption to education-related travel for under 16s overall.

¹⁷ Department for Transport (2022). National Travel Survey 2021, data table NTS0613. Available at: <u>nts0613.ods</u> (see also https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/national-travel-survey-2021).

Disruption to planned journeys

Six per cent of respondents reported that they travelled by train most often in the past 6 months for the purposes of commuting for education. Four per cent of respondents were travelling for education when surveyed, and 4% reported that they had planned a journey for education purposes during a strike week. Respondents were asked whether they had experienced any of the following consequences of strike action on their education: "I was unable to get to a place of education", "I was unable to study at all", "I had to study less than planned", "I had to change my study hours", "I had to change my study days", and "I was unable to sit an exam".

At least one impact on planned study or study arrangements was reported by 3% of all respondents, 5% of those who had planned to travel for any purpose in a strike week, and 47% of those who had planned to travel specifically for education. The most commonly reported impact was the inability to get to a place of education, followed by having to study less than planned, and then having to change study hours. Specific impacts are summarised in Figure 25.



Figure 25. Impacts to education and study arrangements

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. (Multiple responses allowed). Base: All respondents (17,383)

These responses suggest that being unable to get to a place of education did not in all cases mean that a respondent was entirely unable to study: only 7% of those who had planned to travel for education purposes reported being unable to study at all, compared to 22% who said that they were unable to get to their place of education. However, 18% of this group reported that they had to study less than planned.

It is clear that there was little impact on exams: fewer than 1% of respondents overall (and those who had planned to travel for any purpose) were unable to sit an exam due to strikes, and 2% of those who had planned to travel for education purposes during the

week of the strike reported this impact. However, the strike dates covered by the fieldwork periods in this project largely fell outside of the core public examination periods for A levels and GCSEs, although phase 1 may have picked up some impact on exams in the week commencing 20th June.

Just over half (53%) of those who had planned to travel for education during a strike week did not report any of the above listed study-related impacts. This contrasts with the lower percentage of those planning to commute to/from work who did not experience any work-related impacts (30%).¹⁸

Impact on dependants

Although participation in the survey was limited to people aged 16 and above, all respondents were also asked if they had dependants in their household, including children aged under 16.

Around one in five respondents (19%) reported having a child dependant aged under 16 in their household, and 3% of those respondents reported that travel to a place of education for their dependant was affected by the strikes.

Planned journeys for education

Those who had planned to travel to/from a place of education were the group that most commonly continued to make all of their planned rail journeys on the days they were planning to, in spite of strike action. Amongst those who had planned to travel for education, 20% reported having made all of the rail journeys they were planning to (compared to 13% of those commuting to/from work).

Although the proportion of successful planned journeys for education dips on strike days (see Figure 26), the proportion is no more negatively impacted on days that fall immediately after strike days than on other days in the strike week, which is unlike the pattern seen for those commuting for work.

¹⁸ Those who did not report any impacts include those who did not respond to question D1, selected 'None of the above' or 'Don't know/can't remember'.



Figure 26. Percentage of planned journeys that were made – Commuting for education¹⁹

C2. As far as you can remember, which days were you planning to travel and for what purpose? C3. As far as you can remember, which days did you actually travel and for what purpose? Planned journey bases indicated under each bar

The 57% of converted planned journeys on strike days is greater than the proportions seen for other types of journey: most notably greater than for commuting to/from work, where 48% of planned journeys were made on strike days. This suggests that those who travel for education purposes by rail were more likely to complete their planned journeys in spite of strike action.

Those who had planned to travel for education were also significantly less likely than those who had planned to commute to/from work to report that they experienced "no rail services" (33% vs 40%) or "severely reduced rail services" (35% vs 42%) on a day that they had planned to travel.

Differences in reported impacts across groups

Table 25. Study-related impacts by age and student status

Unsurprisingly, younger respondents and those who reported that they were full-time or part-time students were the groups most likely to experience impacts to education. Being a student and being in the 16-17 and 18-24 age groups were highly correlated. Eight per cent of all respondents reported being full-time students, and 2% part-time, but these proportions increase to 56% and 6% for those aged 16-17, and 35% and 4% for those aged 18-24. A summary of study-related impacts across these groups, compared to all respondents, is given in Table 25.

	All respondents	Those aged 16-17	Those aged 18-24	Full-time student	Part-time student
Any impact on study	3%	23%	10%	21%	22%
I had to change my study days	1%	4%	2%	4%	7%
I had to change my study hours	1%	4%	3%	7%	5%
l had to study less than planned	1%	8%	4%	9%	7%
I was unable to get to my place of education	1%	10%	4%	9%	9%
I was unable to study at all	1%	3%	2%	3%	4%
I was unable to sit an exam	0.2%	1%	1%	1%	0.4%
Base	17,383	398	2,683	1,505	280

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. Base: All respondents (17,383)

The same pattern emerges when looking at most common journey purpose by train in the last 6 months: the 16-17 and 18-24 groups were markedly more likely to say that they mostly use train to commute for education (Table 26).

Table 26. Percentage of each group reporting that "commuting for education" is the purpose they used train for most in the last 6 months

All respondents	16-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
	43%	21%	4%	2%	1%	1%	0.5%	0.3%
Base	398	2,683	3,960	2,874	2,387	2,111	1,180	401

H3. And for what purpose did you travel by train most often in the past 6 months? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Study-related impacts by ethnicity

As was the case for work-related impacts, there was a difference in the experience of study-related impacts by ethnicity. Each of the specific study-related impacts, excluding being unable to sit an exam, was experienced by a larger proportion of ethnic minority respondents than White (excluding White minority) respondents. The table below summarises.

	Ethnic minority	White (excluding White minorities)
Any study-related impact	6%	2%
I had to change my study days	1%	0.5%
I had to change my study hours	1%*	1%*
I had to study less than planned	2%	1%
I was unable to get to my place of education	2%	1%
I was unable to study at all	1%	0.4%
I was unable to sit an exam	0.3%*	0.1%*
Base	4,155	11,370

Table 27. Study-related impacts for White and ethnic minority groups

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. Base: All respondents (17,383). Percentages marked with * appear the similar due to rounding, but differences between columns are statistically significant.

As with work-related differences, though, this is most likely explained by differences in the age profile of the two groups. The majority of all study-related impacts were reported by those in the 16-17 and 18-24 age groups, and ethnic minority respondents are also more likely to be in those groups. For full details, see section "Ethnicity and work impacts" in Chapter 2.

Study-related impacts by gender

Table 28 Study-related impacts for females and males

A higher proportion of female respondents reported study-related impacts than males at a total level.

	Female	Male	
Any study-related impact	4%	2%	
I had to change my study days	1%	1%	
I had to change my study hours	1%*	1%*	
I had to study less than planned	1%*	1%*	
I was unable to get to my place of education	2%	1%	
I was unable to study at all	1%	0.4%	
I was unable to sit an exam	0.2%	0.1%	
Base	8,156	7,100	

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. Base: All respondents (17,383). Percentages marked with * appear the same due to rounding, but differences between columns are statistically significant.

This difference is likely explained by the fact that females in the sample were more likely to be in education: 10% of all female respondents were full-time students/pupils, and 2% were part-time students/pupils, compared to 6% full-time and 1% part-time for males.

Response to strike disruption and mitigating factors

As part of their usual study arrangements, four per cent of students surveyed said that they always study at home or through distance learning, but the majority mainly or only travel to one central location to study (73%). Just over a fifth (22%) of those who mainly or only travel to one central location to study reported a study-related impact.

Some respondents were able to mitigate the impact of rail strikes by studying from home instead of travelling, although this was a less common response to rail strikes than working from home for work commuters. Twenty-two percent of those who had planned to travel for education in a strike week said that they studied from home instead of travelling. This compares to 43% of those who had planned to commute to/from work who worked from home instead of travelling.

Mode switch

Thirty-one per cent of those who had planned to make a journey for education purposes during a strike week reported that the train was the only realistic and affordable option for their journey. Mode switch for those who had planned to travel for education during a strike week was in line with all those who had planned a journey in a strike week (for any purpose), with car, motorbike, or van use being the most common alternative where rail travel was disrupted, followed by bus or coach (summarised in Table 29).

Table 29. Mode switch for those who had planned to travel (for any purpose) and those who had planned to travel for education

	Had planned to travel in strike week for any purpose	Had planned to travel for education during strike week
I travelled by car/motorbike/van	13%	14%
I travelled by bus/coach	8%	11%
I travelled by taxi/minicab	4%	4%
I travelled by another form of public transport	4%	5%
I cycled/walked	2%	4%
Base	8,527	578

C6. What did you do instead of travelling by rail on the day(s) you were planning to? (Multiple responses allowed) Base: Those who planned to make rail journeys in a strike week (8,527)

The prevalence of mode switch to car, motorbike or van may appear counterintuitive, given that study-related impacts were typically experienced by respondents in younger age groups, where personal car and van use is lower in the population overall: National Travel Survey ad hoc analysis from 2016-2017 shows that 52% of 17-20 year olds were non-drivers, compared to 13% with non-driver status across all age ranges.²⁰ However, the response here does not distinguish between personal vehicle usage as a driver and a passenger, and should be understood in that light.

²⁰ Ad hoc National Travel Survey analysis. Table NTSQ02004b: Adult personal car access by age: England, 2016-2017. Available at https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/ad-hoc-national-travel-survey-analysis

4. Impact on social and leisure activities

Disruption to planned journeys

One in six of all respondents (17%) reported an impact to their social plans or time with family because of the strikes: 8% said they had to spend less time with friends/family, and 14% said they had to cancel/re-arrange social plans. Amongst those who had planned to travel during a strike week, around one quarter (27%) said their social plans had been impacted. This proportion almost doubles amongst those who specifically planned to travel for leisure (50%) or for personal business (46%) during a strike week. A breakdown of the percentages of different groups experiencing each of the specific social-related impacts is given in Figure 27.

Figure 27. Impact of strikes on social and leisure activities amongst all respondents, those who had planned to travel by rail, and those who had planned to travel for leisure and/or personal business

- All respondents (17,383)
- Had planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)
- Had planned to travel by rail for leisure during a strike week (3,074)
- Had planned to travel by rail on other personal business during a strike week (514)



D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. (Multiple responses allowed) Base: All respondents (17,383)

The timing of rail strikes is particularly pertinent when considering the extent to which social and leisure activities have been impacted. As shown in Table 30, amongst those planning to travel by rail during a strike week, the proportion of those planning to travel for leisure purposes was higher over the weekend (Friday to Sunday) than on weekdays (Monday to Thursday). Nearly one in five (18%) planned to travel for leisure purposes on a Saturday, compared with between 4 and 8% on Monday to Friday.

Table 30. Proportion of those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week who had planned to travel for leisure (by day of week)

	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
Planned to travel for leisure	5%	4%	5%	6%	8%	18%	11%

C2. As far as you can remember, which days were you actually planning to travel and for what purpose? C3. As far as you can remember, which days did you actually travel and for what purpose? Base: Those who planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

In the months of June to October 2022 (including periods not covered by our fieldwork), approximately one half of rail strike days fell on a Saturday.

Although direct comparisons between research phases are not possible due to the sampling approach, there are suggestions of changes in patterns of rail travel for leisure purposes across the phases. A higher percentage of passengers reported a social and leisure impact in August when rail strikes took place on a Thursday and Saturday during the strike week. It is also important to note that the August strike dates took place during the summer holiday period, when the percentage of those who had planned to travel for leisure also increased (from 28% in July to 38% in August).

Only around two in five (44%) leisure journeys planned on a strike day were made. This is on a lower level than seen for other journey purposes (48% for commuting to/from work, and 57% for commuting for education). The proportion of completed planned journeys on the days before and after a strike day also sits on a lower level than seen for those other travel purposes. Figure 28 summarises.



Figure 28. Percentage of planned journeys that were made – Travelling for leisure purposes²¹

C2. As far as you can remember, which days were you planning to travel and for what purpose? C3. As far as you can remember, which days did you actually travel and for what purpose? Planned journey bases indicated under each column

The lower conversion from planned to made journeys for leisure purposes may be driven by the less formal nature of these plans, which tend to be more easily cancelled/rescheduled than other activities, such as work and education. Nevertheless, the observed impact on this type of travel is still of note, particularly as those with certain protected characteristics were more likely to be affected than others. See next section for more details.

Differences in reported impacts across groups

Younger respondents (under 35s), disabled respondents, and those with less flexible working arrangements were more likely to report that they had to cancel/re-arrange social plans and/or spend less time with their friends/family.

As Figure 29 demonstrates, the strikes had a greater impact on the social and leisure activities of those aged under 35 compared to those aged 35 and over. In each of the under 35 age categories, just under one in five respondents said they had to cancel/rearrange social plans. There is a step change after this, with the proportion of those reporting having to cancel/rearrange social plans dropping to between one in eight to one in 10 across all of the older age categories.

²¹ Percentages in this figure are calculated in the same way as in Figure 18: see chapter 2 for details.



Figure 29. Impact on social and leisure activities by age

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. (Multiple responses allowed) Base: All respondents (17,383)

Reflecting this age effect, students were particularly likely to say the strikes impacted their social interactions, with 25% of full-time students and 27% of part-time students reporting that they experienced some impact (having to cancel/re-arrange social plans and/or spending less time with family/friends).

Flexibility in working arrangements for those in employment played a role in whether the strikes had an impact on social and leisure plans. As shown in Figure 30, those who never have the flexibility to work from home were more likely to report an impact to their social and leisure plans (20%) than those who have the flexibility to work from home all of the time (16%) It is therefore not surprising that the reported impact to leisure and social activities is higher for certain types of employment, including critical workers (18%) compared to non-critical workers (17%).



Figure 30. Impact on social and leisure activities by flexibility to work from home

D1. indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. (Multiple responses allowed) Base: All respondents (17,383)

Perhaps linked to the topic of flexibility, the reported impact on social and leisure activities was also higher amongst those who described themselves as full-time carers than those in full-time employment (27% compared to 17% for full-time workers).

Respondents with a disability were more likely than those with no disability to say they had to cancel/re-arrange social plans (18% vs. 13% respectively) and/or spend less time with friends/family (12% vs. 7% respectively). Moreover, the percentage of those who reported their social plans were impacted was higher amongst those who described their disability as related to learning than those who described their disability as physical (e.g., vision, hearing, mobility and dexterity).

	No Disability	Any Disability	Learning	Memory	Mental Health	Social
I had to cancel/re-arrange social plans	13%	18%	26%	27%	22%	21%
I had to spend less time with friends/family	7%	12%	20%	17%	14%	16%
Base	11,661	2,745	253	141	1,263	456

Table 31. Impact on social activities by disability type

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. (Multiple responses allowed) Base: All respondents (17,383)

Response to strike disruption and mitigating factors

Looking specifically at respondents who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week, those who had planned to travel for leisure purposes more often cancelled or re-arranged their plans (39%) compared to those who had planned to commute to/from work for work (16%), travel for education (26%).

However, as outlined in the following paragraphs, it does not necessarily follow that this group was disproportionately impacted by a lack of alternative travel options.

Mode switch

Respondents who had planned to travel for leisure purposes were more likely than those planning to commute to/from work to have used another mode of transport to make their planned journey. Amongst those who had planned to make a journey in a strike week, one in six who planned to make a leisure journey by rail (15%) switched to car, motorbike, or van, compared to 13% of who had planned to make a commuting journey for work. A similar pattern is observed for all other transport modes, with higher proportions of those who planned rail travel for leisure purposes switching to alternatives.

	Had planned to travel by rail to commute to/from work during a strike week	Had planned to travel by rail for leisure during a strike week
I travelled by car/motorbike/van	13%	15%
I travelled by bus/coach	8%	10%
I travelled by taxi/minicab	5%	5%
I travelled by another form of public transport	4%	5%
I cycled/walked	3%	4%
Base	4,387	3,074

Table 32. Mode switch for all those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week for any purpose and for leisure

C6. What did you do instead of travelling by rail on the day(s) you were planning to? (Multiple responses allowed). Base: Those who planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

The perceived feasibility of alternative transport modes also differs by journey purpose. Coach travel (8%) was more likely to be considered to be realistic and affordable alternative by those who had planned to travel for leisure during a strike week than those travelling for work, education, or company business.

5. Impact on health and care

Disruption to planned journeys

Only a small number of respondents reported that their health and care plans had been impacted by the strike action (2% of all respondents). This figure includes those who reported that they: were unable to get to a health appointment so cancelled/re-scheduled it, were unable to access social care, were unable to undertake caring responsibilities, and/or had to arrange alternative childcare.

For those who had planned to travel during a strike week, the percentage impacted doubles to 4%. It is much higher for those who specifically planned to travel for a healthcare appointment (35%) but remains on a lower level than the related impact reported by those who had planned to travel for other purposes (70% of those who had planned to travel for other purposes (70% of those who had planned to travel for leisure reported a social impact, and 47% of those planning to travel for education reported an education-related impact).

Looking specifically at those who had planned to travel for a healthcare appointment, around one third (32%) had to cancel or re-arrange their appointment as a result of the strikes: nearly one in five (17%) said they had to cancel the appointment, and a similar percentage (18%) had to re-schedule (see Figure 31). Just under two thirds (63%) of people who had planned to travel for a healthcare appointment reported no impact from the rail strikes on travel to a healthcare appointment.



Figure 31. Impacts to health and care plans

All respondents (17,383)

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. (Multiple responses allowed) Base: All respondents (17,383)

The impact on social care and caring responsibilities sits on a low level across all respondents, including those who had planned to travel for a healthcare appointment and those who had planned to travel for other personal business.

Table 33. Care impacts amongst those who had planned to travel for a Healthcare appointment or Other personal business during a strike week

	All respondents	Planned travel for healthcare appointment	Planned travel for other personal business
I was unable to access social care	0.1%	1%	0.4%
I was unable to undertake caring responsibilities	1%	2%	3%
I had to rearrange alternative childcare	1%	3%	2%
Base	17,383	210	514

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any day as a direct result of the strikes that week. (Multiple responses allowed) Base: All respondents (17,383)

Respondents with children under the age of 16 were asked about any impacts the strikes had on their children. The reported impact on children and dependents (aged under 16) was also low. Just 1% of respondents with children/dependents said that their child/children's travel for healthcare purposes had been affected as a direct result of the rail strikes. Similarly, just 1% reported that travel to childcare had been affected, and less than 1% said that their travel to a social care appointment was affected.

Just under half (49%) of planned rail journeys for healthcare purposes during a strike week were made. This drops to around one third (34%) when the journey was planned for a strike day.



Figure 32. Percent of planned journeys that were made - travelling to a healthcare appointment²² 70%

C2. As far as you can remember, which days were you planning to travel and for what purpose? C3. As far as you can remember, which days did you actually travel and for what purpose? Planned journey bases indicated next to each bar

Differences in reported impacts across groups

Some statistically significant differences were observed across sub-groups. However, the percentage of those whose health and care plans were impacted was small.

Compared to others, a higher percentage of full-time carers reported that their health and care plans were impacted by the strikes (13% vs. 2-6% overall). There is also a statistically significant difference between those working in the health and social care sector and others (4% vs. 2% respectively).

As might be expected, a higher-than-average percentage of those with children aged under 16 reported having to arrange alternative childcare during the strike action (2%, compared with 1% overall).

Table 34 below summarises.

²² Percentages in this figure are calculated in the same way as in Figure 18: see chapter 2 for details. Note that base sizes are low for this journey purpose, and the impact of wider confidence intervals at such small base sizes should be taken into consideration in interpreting this data.

	All respondents	Full-time carer	Health and social care worker	Have children aged under 16
I was unable to get a health appointment and so cancelled it	1%	4%	1%	1%
I was unable to get to a health appointment and so rescheduled it	1%	1%	1%	1%
I was unable to access social care	0.1%	1%	0.1%	<0.1%
I was unable to undertake caring responsibilities	1%	7%	1%	1%
I had to arrange alternative childcare	1%	1%	1%	2%
Any Health and care impact	2%	13%	4%	4%
Base	17,383	129	1,854	3,229

Table 34. Impact on health and care by selected sub-groups

D1. Please indicate if any of the following were true on any days as a direct result of the strikes that week? Base: All respondents (17,383).

The above-mentioned differences show that the impact on health and care plans is greater amongst those who have formal or regular responsibilities in this area.

Respondents with a disability were more likely than those with no disability to have planned to travel by rail to a healthcare appointment during a strike week (2% vs. 1% of those with no disability). It is therefore not surprising that, in this group, a higher-than-average percentage reported that their health and care plans had been impacted by the strikes (5% vs. 2% of those with no disability).

Response to strike disruption and mitigating factors

Mode switch

A quarter (25%) of those who had planned to travel for a healthcare appointment switched to another mode of transport. This is at a significantly lower level than for those who had planned to travel for education (32%) or leisure (33%). In line with those travelling for other purposes, respondents who had planned to travel to a healthcare appointment most often switched to private transport (i.e., car/motorbike/van). As shown in Table 35, the specific transport choices of those who switched mode to travel to a healthcare appointment are not significantly different from those used for other journey purposes.

Table 35. Mode switch by planned journey purpose

	All who planned to travel	Commute to/from work	Healthcare appointment	Education	Leisure
I travelled by car /motorbike/van	13%	13%	11%	14%	15%
I travelled by bus/coach	8%	8%	7%	11%	10%
I travelled by taxi/minicab	4%	5%	6%	4%	5%
I travelled by another form of public transport	4%	4%	4%	5%	5%
I cycled/walked	2%	3%	5%	4%	4%
Base	8,527	4,387	210	578	3,074

C6. What did you do instead of travelling by rail on the day(s) you were planning to? Base: Those who planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)

6. Financial impact

Disruption to planned journeys

Respondents were asked if they personally experienced any negative or positive financial impacts as a result of the rail strikes. The most common response was that there was no impact in both cases: fifty-five per cent of all respondents reported no negative financial impact, and 60% reported no positive financial impact. Seventeen per cent of respondents reported at least one type of negative financial impact (personal loss of earnings, loss of business earnings, increased travel costs, additional childcare costs, other), and 9% of respondents reported at least one type of positive financial impact (saved on travel costs, saved on childcare costs, other). The main positive impact came from savings to travel costs, which was reported by 8% of respondents.

In interpreting the findings in this section, it should be noted that the financial impacts are focused solely on impacts that the respondents personally experienced, and should not be interpreted as including any secondary impacts to, e.g., the respondent's employer or other businesses (beyond businesses that they personally own and run).

Negative financial impacts

The most common negative financial impact reported was increased travel costs (9% of all respondents, 14% of those who planned to travel in a strike week), followed by personal loss of earnings (7% and 12%). Other losses were reported by a small percentage of respondents. Figure 33 summarises reporting of financial impact.

Figure 33. Percentages reporting different types of financial loss among all respondents, those who had planned to travel, and those who had journey(s) impacted

- All respondents (17,383)
- Had planned to travel by rail during a strike week (8,527)
- Had planned to travel by rail during a strike week and experienced disruption (6,797)



D2. Did the strikes have any negative financial impacts on you personally? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Comparing across planned journey purpose during a strike week, we see financial impacts were reported most by those who had planned to travel on company business (35% reporting any loss) and those who had planned to travel to a healthcare appointment (34% reporting any loss).



Figure 34. Percentage reporting any financial loss by planned journey purpose in a strike week

 Had their journey(s) impacted (6,797)
 30%

 Commuting to/from work (4,387)
 31%

 Commuting for education (578)
 29%

 Company business (559)
 35%

 Healthcare appointment (210)
 30%

 Leisure (3,074)
 20%
 30%

 0%
 10%
 20%
 30%

D2. Did the strikes have any negative financial impacts on you personally? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Those who had planned to travel on personal business or for leisure were less likely to report a personal loss of earnings (although the difference between "commuting for education" and "personal business" is not significant). Those who had planned to travel on company business were unsurprisingly the most likely to report a business loss (see Figure 35).

Figure 35. Percentage reporting different types of financial loss by planned journey purpose in a strike week



D2. Did the strikes have any negative financial impacts on you personally? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Positive financial impacts

The main positive financial impact reported by respondents was savings to travel costs, which was reported by 8% of all respondents, 13% of those who had planned to travel during a strike week, and 15% of those who had their journey(s) impacted in some way. Savings on travel costs were most commonly reported by those who had planned to commute to/from work during a strike week, at 18%. This compared to 11% for those who had planned to travel for leisure, 9% for those who had planned to travel for education, company business, and personal business, and 8% for those who had planned to travel for healthcare (see Table 36).

Table 36. Percentage reporting a saving on travel cost as a result of the strikes, by planned journey purpose during strike week

	Commuting to/from work	Commuting for education	Company business	Healthcare appointment	Personal business	Leisure
Saved on travel costs	18%	9%	9%	8%	9%	11%
Base	4,387	578	559	210	514	3,074

D3. Did the strikes have any positive financial impacts on you personally? Base: All respondents (17,383)

A negligible number of respondents reported having saved on childcare costs (around 0.1% of all respondents), and 1% of all respondents reported 'other' savings.

Differences in reported impacts across groups

Differences in reporting of personal loss of earnings across different age groups, genders, and ethnic groups tracks those differences in work-related impact discussed in chapter 2: men were more likely to report a loss of earnings, as are people of working age (compared with older respondents), and ethnic minorities (compared with White respondents, excluding White minorities). For detailed discussion, see chapter 2, but to summarise: these differences appear to be related to the demographic make-up of these different groups, and the likelihood that they are in full-time work, and a commuter.

Some patterns of difference in personal loss of earnings appear not to be directly related to being a commuter travelling to/from work. Reporting of personal loss of earnings is highest in low to mid-income groups, and falls off amongst the highest earners. However, this pattern is not replicated when looking at the income distribution of those who had most commonly commuted to/from work in the past 6 months. The percentage reporting that commuting to/from work was their most common journey purpose increased with income Table 37 shows the pattern of reported personal loss of earning by gross household income, and Table 38 shows the opposite pattern for respondents reporting using the train most frequently in the past 6 months for commuting purposes.

	Under £5,000	£5,001 - £10,000	£10,001 - £20,000	£20,001 - £30,000	£30,001 - £40,000	£40,001 - £50,000	£50,001 - £75,000	£75,001 - £100,000	Over £100,000
Personal loss of earnings	11%	9%	10%	11%	9%	7%	6%	3%	4%
Base	423	414	1,157	1,948	1,593	1,400	1,942	1,152	1,810

Table 37. Percentage reporting personal loss of earnings by gross household income

D2. Did the strikes have any negative financial impacts on you personally? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Table 38. Percentage giving commuting to/from work as the most common purpose of rail travel in the past 6 months, by
gross household income

	Under £5,000	£5,001 - £10,000	£10,001 - £20,000	£20,001 - £30,000	£30,001 - £40,000	£40,001 - £50,000	£50,001 - £75,000	£75,001 - £100,000	Over £100,000
Commuting to/from work	18%	24%	28%	41%	48%	50%	52%	55%	58%
Base	423	414	1,157	1,948	1,593	1,400	1,942	1,152	1,810

H3. And for what purpose did you travel by train most often in the past 6 months? Base: All respondents (17,383)

This suggests that being a regular commuter is not the explanation for differences in proportions reporting a loss of earnings across income groups.

Looking at employment status, higher proportions of self-employed workers than any other employment status said they experienced a personal loss of earnings (13%) or business earnings (6%). Amongst those who had planned to travel during a strike week, 24% of self-employed workers reported a personal loss of earnings, and 9% reported a loss of business earnings.

Reporting of personal loss of earnings increases as flexibility to work from home decreases and was most common amongst those who never have the flexibility to work from home (Figure 36).

Figure 36. Percentage reporting personal loss of earnings by how often they have the flexibility to work from home



D2. Did the strikes have any negative financial impacts on you personally? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Finally, disability appeared to play a role: a higher percentage of passengers with a disability (at 8%) than those with no disability (at 6%) reported a personal loss of earnings due to the strikes.

Increased travel costs

"Increased travel costs" was the most commonly reported loss due to strike action (reported by 9% of all respondents). Reporting of this impact shows a similar distribution across age groups as personal loss of earnings, although it is reported by a higher percentage overall, and we still see some reporting of increased travel costs by those in the oldest age groups.

Table 39. Percentage reporting increased travel costs and personal loss of earnings by age group.

	16-17	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
Increased travel costs	8%	10%	11%	8%	7%	7%	4%	5%
Personal loss of earnings	6%	9%	8%	9%	6%	4%	2%	0%
Base	398	2,683	3,960	2,874	2,387	2,111	1,180	401

D2. Did the strikes have any negative financial impacts on you personally? Base: All respondents (17,383)

A higher proportion of ethnic minority respondents reported increased travel costs (12%) when compared to White (excluding White minority) respondents (7%).²³

Table 40. Percentage reporting increased travel costs by ethnicity

_	Ethnic minority	White (excl. White minorities)	Mixed	Asian	Black	Other	Prefer not to answer
Increased travel costs	12%	7%	10%	14%	11%	9%	10%
Base	4,155	11,370	605	1,180	563	165	450

D2. Did the strikes have any negative financial impacts on you personally? Base: All respondents (17,383)

²³ On different age distributions across ethnic minority and White groups, see discussion of work-related impacts in chapter 2.
7. Long-term impact and future plans

Disruption to planned journeys

To investigate potential changes to behaviour in response to ongoing strike action, we asked respondents about their expected actions in response to future strikes, and about potential changes to behaviour if strike action were to continue long-term.

Response to future strikes

When asked what they would do if further strike action were announced, the most common single response was "stay at home and not travel at all" (31% of all respondents). Plans for mode switch were also commonly reported, with 33% of all respondents reporting a planned switch to at least one other mode of transport. Figure 37 summarises responses.

Figure 37. Planned action if further strikes announced



G1. If further strike action is announced during a week you are planning to travel by rail, what are you most likely to do next time? Base: All respondents (17,383)

The chart suggests that having had a journey previously impacted by strike action makes a respondent more likely to say they would plan to stay at home and not travel at all. However, this effect does not appear to extend to other categories.

As far as mode switch is concerned, we see similar proportions of respondents reporting planned switches in response to future strike action as we saw for actual mode switch in response to strike action. Looking at those who had planned to travel by rail during a strike week, 13% travelled by car/motorbike/van, 8% travelled by bus/coach, 4% travelled by taxi/minicab, 4% travelled by another form of public transport, and 2% cycled or walked.

Focusing on groups according to their planned journey purpose during a strike week, we see some differences in whether respondents say that they would still attempt to travel by train in the future or stay at home and not travel at all. Those who had planned to commute to/from work in a strike week were the most likely to say that they would stay at home and not travel (45% of this group), and those who had planned to travel for education were the most likely to say that they would still attempt to travel by train (see Figure 38). This point echoes the fact discussed earlier that those who had planned to travel for education were most likely to say that they made all of their planned journeys (see chapter 1).



Figure 38. Planned action if further strikes announced by planned journey purpose in previous strike week

G1. If further strike action is announced during a week you are planning to travel by rail, what are you most likely to do next time? Base: All respondents (17,383)

The same pattern, with those commuting to/from work being more likely to say they would plan stay at home and not travel than those travelling for other journey purposes, and

those commuting for education being more likely to say they would still attempt to travel by train than other journey purposes, is replicated when looking at most common train journey purpose in the past 6 months:



Figure 39. Planned action if further strikes announced by most common journey purpose in past 6 months

Focusing on planned mode switch for future strikes, those who had planned to travel for education during a strike week were the most likely to say that they would switch to another mode of transport (41% of this group). They were also the most likely to say they would specifically switch to bus or coach (16% of this group). Those who had planned to travel for company business were the most likely to say that they would switch to car or motorbike instead of train (20% of this group). Those who had planned to travel to a healthcare appointment were most likely to say that they would switch to taxi (9% of this group). Figure 40 summarises.

G1. If further strike action is announced during a week you are planning to travel by rail, what are you most likely to do next time? Base: All respondents (17,383)



Figure 40. Hypothesised mode switch by previously planned journey purpose

G1. If further strike action is announced during a week you are planning to travel by rail, what are you most likely to do next time? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Again, these patterns are replicated when comparing across most common train journey purpose in the past 6 months:

Figure 41. Hypothesised mode switch by most common train journey purpose in the past 6 months

Any mode switch

- Travel by car/ motorbike instead
- Travel by bus/ coach instead
- Travel by taxi instead
- Travel by another form of public transport instead Travel by bicycle/ walk instead



G1. If further strike action is announced during a week you are planning to travel by rail, what are you most likely to do next time? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Behaviour change if strikes continue long term

Asked about a hypothetical situation in which the rail strikes continue for an extended period of time, 47% of all respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that they would reduce the number of journeys they make by rail if the strikes continue long-term. Around one quarter (24%) agreed or strongly agreed that they would no longer make journeys by train if the strikes continued long-term, and 36% disagreed or strongly disagreed. Around two-thirds of all respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "as soon as the strikes are over, I will return to my usual pattern of rail travel" (see Figure 42).



Figure 42. Possible changes to travel behaviour if strikes continue long term.

G2. Imagine a scenario where the rail strikes continue for an extended period of time. Please indicate how much you agree/disagree with these statements. Base: All respondents (17,383)

Ability to make alternative arrangements

A quarter of all respondents said that making alternative arrangements wasn't a problem, even if strike action continues long-term. Conversely 14% said that making alternative arrangements was already not feasible. Those respondents who had experienced an impact to their journey during a strike week, though, were less likely to say that making alternative arrangements would not be a problem (18%), and more likely to say that it is already not feasible (19%). Figure 43 summarises.

Figure 43. Ability to make alternative arrangements: all respondents and those who had journey(s) impacted during a strike week



G3. Which of the following best describes your situation regarding the rail strikes? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Comparing groups by most common journey purpose in the past 6 months of rail travel, a clear pattern emerges: regular business and leisure travellers were most likely to say that making alternative arrangements is not a problem, and least likely to say that it's already not feasible. The opposite pattern holds for people travelling for education (see Figure 44).





Making alternative arrangements not a problem now or long-term

G3. Which of the following best describes your situation regarding the rail strikes? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Changes over time

Although the sample was designed to be interpreted as a single sample across the four phases of fieldwork, if we examine the long-term attitudes of respondents within each phase, for indicative purposes only, similar proportions said it was already not feasible to make alternative arrangements in July (13%) and in October (14%), while the proportion of those agreeing that making alternative arrangements is not a problem increased across the four phases, from 23% to 27%. This suggests that there was not a worsening of respondents' expectations around their ability to make alternative arrangements in the face of ongoing rail strikes.

Differences in reported impacts across groups

Response to future strikes

Those in younger age groups (23% of those aged under 25), lower household income bands (22% in households with incomes of £10,000 or lower, 17% for those with incomes £10,001 to £30,000) or with a disability (16%) were all more likely than average to say that they would still attempt to travel by train if there were strikes in future weeks when they have planned journeys.

The youngest respondents (ages 16-17 and 18-24) were the most likely to say that they would still attempt to travel by train if there was strike action announced in a week when they were planning to travel, and the least likely to stay at home and not try to travel. The middle age bands were most likely to say that they will stay at home and not try to travel (Figure 45).



Figure 45. Planned action if further strikes announced by age

G1. If further strike action is announced during a week you are planning to travel by rail, what are you most likely to do next time? Base: All respondents (17,383)

A breakdown by gross household income shows a clear trend: a higher household income corresponds to a higher percentage reporting that they would stay at home, and a lower percentage reporting that they would still attempt to travel (Figure 46).



Figure 46. Planned action if further strikes announced by gross household income

G1. If further strike action is announced during a week you are planning to travel by rail, what are you most likely to do next time? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Mirroring their actual behaviour during the strike periods examined earlier in the report (chapter 1), those in relatively lower income households were also more likely to say they would switch to travelling by bus or coach next time there is strike action called (16% of those with household annual incomes of £20,000 or less compared to 7% with higher household incomes than this), whilst those with higher household incomes are more likely to say they will switch their mode usage to cars or motorbikes (19% of those with household incomes of more than £20,000 said this compared with 11% with household incomes of £20,000 or less).

Focusing on disabled passengers, a larger proportion of those with any disability compared to those with no disability reported that they would still attempt to travel by train (16% vs 13%), and a smaller proportion reported that they would stay at home and not travel at all (30% vs 33%).

Making alternative arrangements

Those with higher gross household incomes and older age groups were more likely to report that they would be able to make alternative arrangements if strikes continue long term. We see a broadly positive relationship between gross household income and reporting that making alternative arrangements is not being a problem, and a broadly negative relationship between gross household income and making alternative arrangements already not being feasible (Figure 47). A similar pattern holds for age (Figure 48).



Figure 47. Ability to make alternative arrangements if strikes continue long term by gross household income

G3. Which of the following best describes your situation regarding the rail strikes? Base: All respondents (17,383)



Figure 48. Ability to make alternative arrangements if strikes continue long term by age group

G3. Which of the following best describes your situation regarding the rail strikes? Base: All respondents (17,383)

There is also a difference between those with and without disabilities. Sixteen per cent of those with a disability said that making alternative arrangements is already not feasible, compared to 13% of those without a disability. Twenty-four per cent of those with a

disability said there would be no issues long term, compared to 27% of those without. Table 41 gives a detailed breakdown of responses by disability.

Table 41. Ability to make alternative arrangements by disability type

Disability	Making alternative arrangements is not a problem and would not be, even long term	Making alternative arrangements is already not feasible	Base
None	27%	13%	11,661
Any	24%	16%	2,745
Vision	24%	19%	220
Hearing	28%	13%	294
Mobility	22%	21%	447
Dexterity	26%	11%	134
Learning	24%	21%	253
Memory	23%	21%	141
Mental Health	22%	18%	1,263
Stamina	23%	17%	454
Social	25%	14%	456
Other	20%	15%	270

G3. Which of the following best describes your situation regarding the rail strikes? Base: All respondents (17,383)

Annex A: List of bases

Base	Number of respondents
All respondents	17,383
Had planned to travel by rail during a strike week	8,527
Had planned to travel by rail during a strike week and experienced some disruption	6,797
Had planned to commute to/from work by rail in a strike week	4,387
Had planned to commute for education by rail in a strike week	578
Had planned to travel by rail on company business	559
Had planned to travel by rail to a healthcare appointment	210
Had planned to travel by rail on other personal business	514
Had planned to travel by rail for leisure	3,074
Commuting whilst surveyed	4,574
Do not always work from home	11,811

Annex B: Comparison with data from the ONS Opinions and Lifestyle Survey (OPN)

The ONS Opinions and Lifestyle Survey (fieldwork periods 22 June to 3 July 2022, 3 to 14 August 2022, 21 December 2022 to 8 January 2023, 11 to 22 January 2023, and 8 to 19 February 2023) also includes a question module on impacts of rail strikes. The OPN and Rail Strikes: Understanding the Impact on Passengers differ in their methodologies. The OPN is a representative survey of around 2,500 GB adults (sample size varying by wave), mainly conducted online, while the DfT survey of 17,383 journeys was sampled to be representative of rail journeys in England (excluding London Underground, London Overground, and the Elizabeth Line).

Common themes emerged from both surveys: the largest impacts of rail strikes on respondents lives are on work and leisure, with a relatively small proportion of respondents reporting impacts on access to healthcare or education, which is consistent with the proportion of passengers travelling for those reasons.