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The truth of the matter

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1 Introduction

For many, the Government's publication of Planning Policy Guidance Note 13 (Transport) in 1994 would have come as a welcome acknowledgement of the importance of land use planning as an integral part of a transport policy designed to maintain or improve access for all while reducing dependence on the private car. With a new Labour administration arriving in 1997, this was followed by the publication of a new Transport White Paper setting out the Government's integrated transport policy. The policy recognised the need for "integration with land use planning - at national, regional and local level, so that transport and planning work together to support more sustainable travel choices and reduce the need to travel". In 2000 the Government published its ten year spending plan for transport. The Ten Year Plan acknowledges the role of land use planning though spends precious little text dwelling upon it. It notes that "In the longer term new land use planning and other policies will increasingly help to limit the growth in demand. In the meantime there is a range of actions we can take to tackle rising congestion". In 2001 the long awaited revised version of PPG 13 was published.

This paper considers the reality behind the aim to integrate land use planning and transport. It begins by taking a closer look at the three principal objectives of PPG 13. While integration of land use planning and transport might seem a welcome step forward in policy thinking, the paper then introduces a crucial third element, namely society and lifestyles to create a 'triangle of interaction'. Some brief insights into the (changing) nature of society and lifestyles are subsequently provided to reinforce the importance of this third element. At the heart of the paper is then a series of realities that must be confronted if planning policy is to move from principles into practice and indeed if such practice is to materially affect accessibility and car use. In light of these considerations the paper finally reflects on the extent to which the outlook for integrated land use and transport planning is one of optimism or pessimism.

2 A closer look at the PPG 13 objectives

In order to integrate planning and transport, PPG 13 has three objectives, namely to:

- promote more sustainable transport choices for both people and moving freight;
- promote accessibility to jobs, shopping, leisure facilities and services by public transport, walking and cycling; and
- reduce the need to travel, especially by car.

In summary, the objectives aim to reduce dependence upon and use of the car while maintaining or improving access. The objectives themselves must surely enjoy widespread support. However, they are carefully worded such that they can be met irrespective of whether or not positive change to personal travel is achieved. They suggest, therefore, that land use planning can facilitate but not guarantee bringing about such change. Each of the objectives are now considered in turn.

2.1 To promote more sustainable transport choices for both people and moving freight

The clear emphasis within PPG 13 is upon walking, cycling and bus use being the sustainable transport alternatives to car use. Figure 1 illustrates conceptually the relative attractiveness of the different transport choices and how this might change, or rather might be hoped to change, in future as a consequence of planning guidance being followed. Attractiveness of the car is reduced while the attractiveness of walking, cycling and bus use is increased. Hence the PPG13 objective has been met. However, the car remains the most attractive option and hence continues as the preferred choice. For those people who do not have car use as an available choice then achievement of this objective *does* indicate that the means of transport upon which they rely for access have been improved, thus improving access itself.

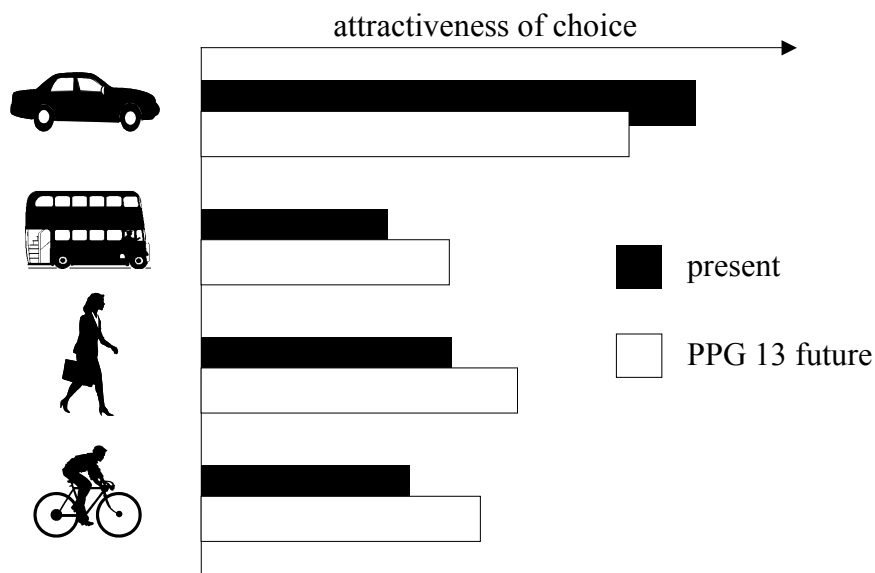


Fig. 1. The influence on travel choice attractiveness sought by planning policy

2.2 To promote accessibility to jobs, shopping, leisure facilities and services by public transport, walking and cycling

Accessibility is at the heart of PPG 13. The significance of accessibility and its relationship with transport are also centred upon in the recent report by the Government’s Social Exclusion Unit¹. In this report accessibility is taken to refer to “whether or not people can get to key services at reasonable cost, in reasonable time and with reasonable ease”. From this interpretation it can be inferred that if it is too expensive to reach a service, *or* it takes too long *or* it is too difficult to reach then the service becomes or remains inaccessible. Key to the SEU wording is the term ‘reasonable’. While in the forthcoming accessibility audits, to be conducted by local authorities as a consequence of this report, ‘reasonable’ may be treated

¹ SEU (2003). *Making the Connections: Final Report on Transport and Social Exclusion*. February, Social Exclusion Unit.

objectively, in practice the term is subjective. It relates to the individual concerned. In terms of cost, reasonable will relate to a person's means to pay but also to their perception of the relative cost when compared to the alternatives (the car) available. Whether or not the time to reach a service is reasonable will be dependent upon the value of time attributed by the individual – i.e. their preparedness to devote time to travelling. 'Difficulty of reaching' may relate to how seamless the journey is – a bus journey involving interchange and periods of waiting may be seen as difficult or mentally taxing. Difficulty may also relate to problems of physical access (e.g. a mother incumbent with a pushchair and young child).

For the *majority* of people, most key services can be reached at reasonable cost, in reasonable time and with reasonable ease by car. However, the PPG 13 objective focuses on alternatives means of access to that provided by the car. Alongside walking, cycling and public transport such alternatives must also include non-corporeal or *virtual* access, notably via the Internet. PPG 13 does acknowledge that information and communications technology (ICT) is creating opportunities to reduce the need to travel. However, by also noting that "the effects of ICT are difficult to predict", the guidance conveniently avoids any attempt to assess how planners and policymakers might positively exploit the use of ICTs.

2.3 *To reduce the need to travel, especially by car*

This third objective can be seen to represent a number of goals. Firstly that of reducing the need to travel *as far* by any means of travel but especially by car – i.e. reducing the length of journeys. Secondly, reducing the need to depend upon the car as a means of travel. Thirdly, reducing the *absolute* need to travel – i.e. reducing the length and number of journeys. Importantly, all three of these goals represent an enabling role for land use planning. In other words, it is assumed that to *actually* reduce travel will depend upon other factors. This is a crucial point in relation to an integrated transport policy. No single element alone within the policy is likely to realise desired change in levels and patterns of travel but when acting together, the elements *do* have the potential to realise change.

How then are the objectives intended to be met thereby achieving an integration of planning and transport? The first approach concerns *density* of development. From a transport perspective, low-density development results in people travelling from multiple locations to destinations. For public transport to serve such movements would require a dense network with many stations or stops. Use of the services on such a network would be low making it difficult or impossible to run commercially viable services. Meanwhile, high-density development results in people travelling from fewer locations to fewer destinations. In other words, in terms of a public transport network, a greater number of origins or destinations can be reached within a reasonable walking distance of each station or stop. This reduces the number of stations or stops required while providing (potentially) higher levels of patronage that makes services commercially viable.

The second approach to achieving the objectives relates to *proximity*, i.e. steps taken to move destinations closer to people or to move people closer to destinations. Higher land use densities can help achieve this as can, in principle, mixed-use development. Mixed use development introduces the possibility of some or all of the daily activities in which a household engages being located within walking or cycling distance. However, PPG 13 itself notes that "it should not be assumed that the juxtaposition of different uses will automatically lead to less car dependency". This will be returned to later.

Consideration of the three objectives highlights the inter-dependency between land use and transport and the need, therefore, for an integrated policy approach. However, the effectiveness of such a policy approach will be largely determined by the public and the choices they make in going about their daily routines of activities and travel. Accordingly, there is a need to further extend consideration of the inter-dependencies at work.

3 Introducing ‘society’ into the integration arena

It is possible to conceive of an evolution of integration, or rather an evolution in terms of the factors we consider important in transport policy and practice. In its most primitive state, transport policy all but ignores the interaction between transport and land use. Land use is merely seen as an input to a process of determining the nature and levels of demand imposed on the transport system. Transport policy has now evolved such that it recognises rather than ignores the interaction between transport and land use that takes place in practice. In theory at least this should lead to more effective policymaking as links between actions and outcomes are better understood.

However, there is a need for evolution to go one step further. Crucial to a better understanding of actions and outcomes is the context in which transport and land use interactions occur, namely the society in which we live and the lifestyles we pursue. Indeed society and lifestyles is more than a context – it provides the third point on a ‘triangle of interaction’ (see Figure 2).

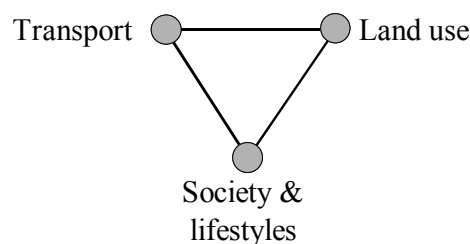


Fig. 2. The triangle of interaction

Recognising that interactions take place between transport, land use and society and lifestyles does little to simplify the challenge of effective policy formulation and implementation. Nevertheless, it is critical to any hope of policy success that we recognise the importance of society and lifestyles. Therefore, this part of the paper therefore presents and considers some of the facts relating to present day society and lifestyles.

3.1 *Society and lifestyles - women*

For too long there has been a tendency for planners and policymakers to imply that women, the elderly and the disabled are minority groups in society – groups to be considered as an after-thought to devising solutions to tackle the transport problems at hand. We have a transport system that has evolved in the hands of middle-class, middle-income, educated and technically-minded men. Yet it is *this* group in society that represents a minority of the travelling public. 51 per cent of the UK population are female and hence represent the *majority* of those using our transport system.

The role of women in society has changed dramatically. Since 1987, the number of women in paid employment has increased by 2.1 million. They now account for 46 per cent of those employed. One in four employees overall now work part-time (an increase of almost a third

since 1987). Women represent 82 per cent of part-time workers. Alongside 1 in 4 working men working more than 50 hours a week in the UK, 1 in 10 working women do likewise.

Women much more than men must juggle household and childcare responsibilities alongside their paid employment (between 1987 and 2001 the number of private and voluntary sector registered day nursery places increased by nine times). This demands greater flexibility in the patterns and timings of trips – something public transport provision is not easily able to address. Given also, that in the last 30 years the number of women with driving licences has doubled (60 per cent now hold a licence) it is not perhaps surprising that women are inclined to turn to the car as their preferred means of transport.

3.2 *Society and lifestyles - employment*

Commuting accounts for 16 per cent of all journeys made in Britain and remains a major contributor to traffic congestion with a high dependence on car use (70 per cent of commute trips are made by car). It might be hoped that land use planning will work towards reducing the relative distances between home and work and thereby reduce the length of trips and the need to commute by car. Consider, then, some statistics about employment.

1 in 3 employees stay in a job for less than two years with over half staying for less than five years. Allied to this, 1 in 10 households have changed residence in the last 12 months (albeit with most moving locally). This points towards both an opportunity for, and a threat to, an integrated transport and land use policy approach. There is a major dynamic in the system with regard to the relative location of the home and workplace. While there can be a balance locally between the supply of job opportunities and the supply of housing (a situation facilitated by land use planning), it does not necessarily follow that local people will find matches with local employment. This is likely to be particularly the case for skilled and professional jobs.

1 in 5 jobs are now in financial and business services – the area of the economy showing the largest growth. The spatial location of the workplace is less significant for such jobs compared to those in manufacturing. Accordingly, businesses themselves are more readily able to relocate while their employees are increasingly able to take advantage of flexible working regimes. 1 in 14 of all those in employment now work from home at least once a week – this represents an 80 per cent increase between 1997 and 2001. While teleworking may not be *causing* residential relocation further from the workplace, it is probable that it is facilitating relocation of either the home or the workplace such that the distance between the two increases. People can and do change jobs relatively frequently. Many in paid employment are living with a partner who is also in paid employment (and who may also be subject to frequent job changes). It seems as a consequence that (some) people are now less inclined to move house when they change jobs. Instead they use a combination of flexible working and a greater dependency on mobility to accommodate this lifestyle of working. The cost of greater reliance on mobility and ICT would appear to be offset comfortably by the 125 per cent increase (in real terms) of disposable income which has been seen between 1971 and 2001.

3.3 *Society and lifestyles - mobility*

Professor Phil Goodwin has used the phrase ‘running to stand still’ in an assessment of what achievements might emerge from the Government’s Ten Year Plan for transport². It is helpful

² Goodwin, P. (2001). *Running to stand still*, CPRE.

in passing to acknowledge what an achievement arresting present trends might be before even turning to the aspiration of reversing such trends. Consider what changes have taken place in transport over the past 40 years³. The total distance travelled per person is 2½ times higher today and the proportion of that travel undertaken by car has increased by a half. Supporting these trends, the number of licensed cars is four times higher today than 40 years ago. While Government may wish to separate out car ownership from car use, the fact remains that ownership and use have both increased dramatically. Many in society have become dependent on their cars and such dependency is deeply ingrained (something returned to later).

3.4 *Society and lifestyles - technology*

As noted earlier, attaining access to opportunities, services, social networks and other goods need not only be through mobility. The information age is providing opportunities increasingly for virtual access – the ability to communicate electronically and thereby work remotely, the ability to shop from home, the ability to deal with personal finances online and so on. Such opportunities are no longer the preserve of a privileged few. 65 per cent of households now have mobile phones and nearly half of all households have Internet access. Household spending on communications is now 8 times higher than 30 years ago (although is still only amounts to 2 per cent of overall household expenditure compared to the 15 per cent spent on transport). Use of the Internet, in particular, can improve access and can reduce the *need* to travel, especially by car. There would appear to be considerable synergy between the objectives of land use planning and what, largely at present through market forces, the Internet might achieve.

3.5 *Society and lifestyles - policy*

Further to the scant mention of the role of land use planning within the Government's Ten Year Plan for transport, the changing nature of society and lifestyles also receives little attention. Indeed, by its own admission the Government appears ill-prepared to adequately embrace the 'triangle of interaction' referred to earlier. In the Ten Year Plan it is noted that "social and technological changes will also alter patterns of behaviour in *unforeseen* [emphasis added] ways" and that "the likely effects of increasing Internet use on transport and work patterns are still *uncertain but potentially profound* [emphasis added], and will need to be monitored closely".

Having touched upon the societal context for the sought-after interaction between land use and transport, the paper now turns to consider some of the realities that must be confronted if integrated transport and land use policy are to progress from principles into practice and to achieve positive change.

4 Some realities to be confronted

4.1 *An autobiographical insight*

By way of illustrating the influence lifestyles can exert on any efforts of land use planning to reduce the amount of mobility and dependence on the car, an insight into the circumstances of the author's household is offered (though the extent to which this example is typical or atypical of the wider population is left to the reader to judge).

³ DfT (2002). *Transport Statistics Great Britain: 2002 Edition*. Department for Transport, October, TSO, London.

The author moved from his parental home to Cardiff to become a university student. For seven years he walked cycled or drove the 1-2 miles to ‘work’ at the University. Living in close proximity to his daily routine of activities reduced the need to travel, especially by car. He then worked for eight years in Southampton while living in a village near Salisbury where he and his wife began bringing up their young family. The choice of location was governed by house prices, the attractiveness of the area and the proximity of family and friends. On most working days he drove the 35 miles to work. Once income permitted, the family acquired their second car to support the author’s wife in her daily routine as a mother and part-time worker (returned to in a moment). A year ago, a career move presented itself and the author began working in Bristol. This job relocation was only achievable because of the availability of a flexible working arrangement avoiding the need for the 70 mile one-way car commute to be made every working day. A house move has thus far been resisted due largely to the established existence and social network the family now enjoys near Salisbury and the expense and considerable inconvenience that a house move would represent. In effect, the diminished significance of workplace location coupled with the availability of and use of the car has enabled lifestyle choices to be made which in turn have rendered any transport alternatives to the car no longer viable.

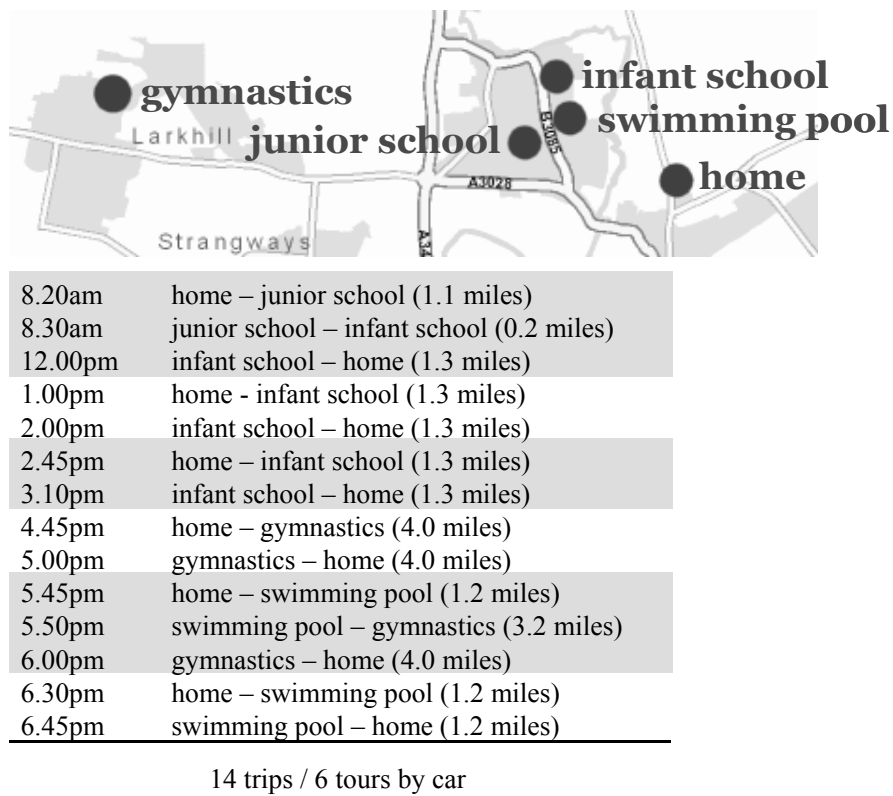


Fig. 3. A day in the life of a mum and part-time worker

Meanwhile the author’s wife leads an existence as a mum (with two children) and a part-time worker (teaching assistant at her daughter’s infant school). Figure 3 illustrates her schedule of trips on a Monday during term time. The schedule involves four destinations outside the home – her daughter’s school which is 1.3 miles away; her son’s school which is 1.1 miles away; the local swimming pool for her son’s swimming lessons which is 1.2 miles away and a sports centre where her daughter goes to gymnastics (4 miles away). In spite of all but one of these destinations being comfortably within walking distance from home, the author’s wife makes 14 trips by car during this one day. Land use planning could hardly have managed to

place these five locations in closer proximity. Public transport would struggle to serve this spatial and temporal pattern of movements. Even supposing it were able to do so, the ease of reaching demanded by the schedule of activities would not make public transport a viable alternative to the car. The number of trips could be reduced by more trip chaining. However, this would involve periods of waiting at various locations outside the home. The reality is that such time is needed for other household commitments as well as to retain the sanity of the author's wife!

This offers just one insight into the everyday realities that the public confront in going about their daily lives – realities that can prevent the integration of planning and transport from achieving any positive effect. Car dependence is deeply entrenched such that to reduce car use would (apparently) reduce access or reduce the quality of life or life choices of the individuals concerned. However, at this point it should be stressed again that while such observations may hold true for those with access to a car, for those without, positive effect may well be realised.

4.2 *Land use versus land users*

The example above touches upon the need to make an important distinction, namely that between land use and land *users*. Land use and its planning can certainly facilitate improved access to destinations and a reduction in the need to travel (by car). However, the extent to which selected destinations *are* accessed and the amount by which (car) travel *is* reduced is ultimately governed by the land users – the location choices of business, the location and travel choices of individuals and the spatial patterns of daily activities they choose or seek to maintain.

4.3 *Relying on the individual is flawed*

Why then should the distinction above be important? Under present conditions, land use is regulated or influenced by Government. Meanwhile, choices made by land users are much more difficult if not politically impossible to control, particularly for a Government that endorses the importance of an individual's freedom of choice. In the Transport White Paper, the Government stresses the importance of everyone doing their bit. It points out that ultimately, while Government can set a framework for change and put in place measures that can help make it happen, ultimately change is derived from the choices of individuals. The Paper relies upon "individuals/families/communities considering their own travel habits". However, the reality is that it is highly unlikely that as individuals we *can* be relied upon to bring about change.

Firstly, there are social norms to contend with. They dictate or subconsciously influence how we believe we should behave in order to be 'normal' or to fit in. For an individual to not comply with the norms can be seen as 'abnormal'. There are many examples of social norms that relate to transport. It is normal to use a car almost regardless of journey length. It is normal to be ignorant of what public transport has to offer. It is (or has been) normal to be apathetic towards environmental issues. It is becoming normal to drive and to be seen to drive a sports utility vehicle. The list could go on. Norms can be an impediment to changes in behaviour on the part of the individual. However, heart can be taken from the fact that norms are not fixed and given - they can change over time because of circumstance, experience and changing societal priorities.

Secondly, habitual behaviour presents further inertia to change. Human beings are creatures of habit. In transport terms, they settle for travel options that are *good enough* and stick with

them. Contrary to some economic theory, they are not continuously seeking to optimise their travel choices. Indeed they may remain ignorant of improvements to travel alternatives or perceive them to be less attractive than they actually are. Provided they remain content with their good enough travel choices then habit is quite likely to prevail.

Thirdly, social dilemmas exist that prevent us acting collectively to move to a more desirable state that benefits us all because of self-interest and the pursuit of personal gain. A simple example illustrates the point. If we all use our cars to travel to work then we all lose in terms of congestion and high travel times. If we were all to switch to using the bus to travel to work (sufficient carrying capacity permitting) then we would all gain in terms of reduced congestion and reduced journey times. If an individual chooses to use the bus and others do not then whilst those others will enjoy a marginal gain, the individual will suffer a 'loss'. If, however, the individual remains in their car while others use the bus then the individual gains. Rationally, since the choice outcomes of others are not known, the individual will elect to remain in their car. This is true of all individuals and thus the original or existing condition prevails and we all lose out.

Taken together, these points convey an important message – Government needs to take a *firm* lead if it expects to realise significant behavioural change. In this regard Ken Livingstone has set a good example for other politicians to follow. Traffic restraint, coupled with other policy measures such as public transport improvements can 'force' behavioural change such that norms are changed, habits are challenged and social dilemmas are overcome. This must be a top-down rather than a bottom-up approach.

4.4 *Political and public complacency*

Taking a firm lead can prove unpopular with the voting public, particularly when fuelled by press coverage which has a leaning towards highlighting the negatives rather than the positives of our transport system and its developments. In this context what impetus or motivation is there for the politician to pursue potentially effective yet unpopular policies? Were we to be facing a crisis situation in transport then such an impetus might present itself and taking a firm lead might receive greater sympathy from the press and the public. Frustratingly, we *are* facing a crisis but one which is cumulative rather than immediate. Society's dependence on mobility is like a drug addiction. We can see that it is unhealthy but the very characteristic of our addiction which makes it ultimately so threatening is that its adverse affects build up slowly over time. Much as the smoker finds it hard to reconcile the long term prospect of lung cancer with the short term relief of a cigarette, so too might society have adopted a worrying complacency to the eventual consequences of its growing dependence on mobility. Like the smoker, we cannot know for certain what course our dependency might take. Society may still continue to function for another forty years with its growing dependency on mobility. Yet we know that to do nothing about our dependency equates to taking a risk with the health of society. We also know that to do too little too late could result in sealing our fate.

4.5 *'Investment' and 'return'*

To overcome political complacency, or perhaps more aptly political nervousness, and to encourage political resolve requires evidence of policy impacts and positive progress. Herein lies a problem for land use planning and the part it can play in an integrated transport policy. Figure 4 illustrates the point.

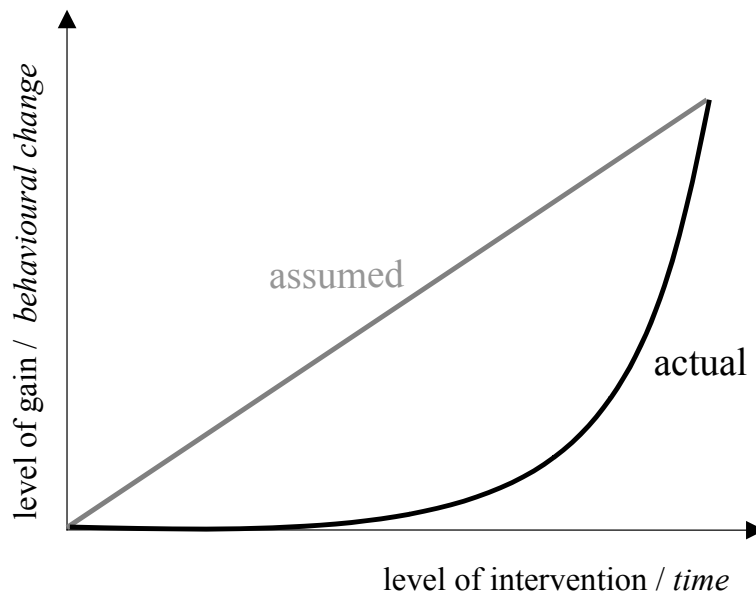


Fig 4. Illustrative relationships between policy intervention and change achieved

If one assumes that the level of policy intervention equates to an investment on the part of the politicians then positive effect or gain achieved equates to the return on that investment. Given the short duration of the political cycle and political nervousness about heavy-handed intervention, a linear relationship between intervention and gain might be assumed or desired. In other words, putting a bit in gets a bit out. However, the actual relationship is much more likely to be exponential, i.e. modest intervention or the initial build up of intervention does not yield a return. However, at some point intervention reaches a level which begins to yield a sharp increase in gain. The level of intervention may either be reflected in the severity or level of investment in a particular measure or it may be reflected by the extent to which all the necessary component parts of an integrated transport policy are introduced. So, for example, the flat part of the curve may represent the introduction of land use changes and public transport improvements. However, only once traffic restraint measures are introduced alongside these do we begin to move up the curve and realise the returns on our investment.

The same diagram with its axes relabelled 'time' (time elapsed since the introduction of the interventions) and (level of) 'behavioural change' can be used loosely to illustrate another point. Behavioural change resulting from an integrated transport and land use policy may lag behind the interventions concerned in light of issues such as social norms, habit and social dilemmas alongside the longer term nature of the home/job relocation dynamic in the system. Again, the level of behavioural change may not be linearly related with time elapsed.

Such observations point perhaps towards a political dilemma. Boldly pursuing all the elements of an integrated transport policy to the extents required risks losing the support of the electorate with insufficient time left in the term of office to see the gains resulting from the policy and to recover such support. On the other hand, failing to *fully* pursue an integrated policy approach is almost certain to fail.

4.6 *Integration or disintegration?*

Faced with the dilemma above it seems that the policymakers are inclined to follow the second route. Professor Phil Goodwin, in his critique of the (likely) treatment of the recommendations emerging from the recent multi-modal studies, has likened this treatment to

a *disintegration* of the studies⁴. It seems that, in part through funding constraints, Government is cherry picking from the recommendations rather than recognising the need to adopt the recommendations as a cohesive and effective whole. This threat of disintegration is epitomised by the recent announcement in July 2003 made by the Secretary of State for Transport. Alistair Darling unveiled a £7bn package of road-widening while announcing a *feasibility study* looking into national road user charging. Capacity improvements then are cleared to go ahead while the other important ingredients of the integrated policy remain in doubt, namely the introduction of traffic restraint, (sufficient) improvements to alternatives to the car and sufficiently robust land use planning. Figure 5 illustrates the likely outcomes of the route politicians appear increasingly at risk of taking.

PPG 13 itself is highly cautious when it comes to traffic restraint. In terms of car parking provision it seeks to tread a fine line between attempting, through restricted levels of parking provision, to reduce car use for access while seeking not to discourage new investment and interest from developers in urban areas. Parking provision remains a powerful tool in the land use planning armoury and yet its power can only be fully realised if other components of the integrated transport policy come into force. In particular, viable alternatives to the car must be available if car use, through parking restrictions, is to be discouraged. PPG 13 states that “The likely availability and use of public transport is a very important ingredient in determining the locational policies designed to reduce the need to travel by car....The aim should be to establish a high quality, safe, secure and reliable network of routes, with good interchanges, which matches the pattern of travel demand in order to maximise potential use of public transport”. This remains a tall order to achieve and indeed even then, the aim only goes as far as maximising *potential* rather than *actual* use of public transport.

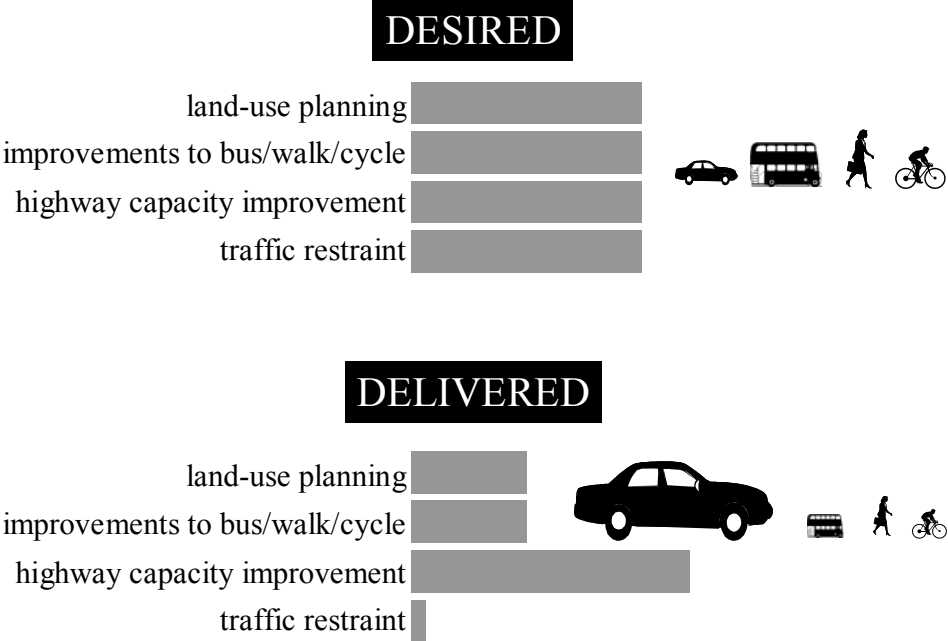


Fig. 5. Illustrative comparison of the desired and delivered policy implementation

⁴ Goodwin, P.B. (2003). Towards a Genuinely Sustainable Transport Agenda for the UK. in Docherty, I. and Shaw, J. (eds.) *A New Deal for Transport*, Blackwells, in press.

5 The outlook – optimism or pessimism?

Having introduced society and lifestyles into the arena of integrated land use planning and transport and then put forward a selection of societal and political realities that must be confronted it is now appropriate to summarise by reflecting upon whether the outlook for PPG 13 and the integration of planning and transport is one of optimism or pessimism.

5.1 Optimism

PPG 13 is an important step in the right direction. Without it things would get worse or get better more slowly. The window of opportunity for a *fully* integrated approach to be pursued remains open following the congestion charging scheme in London. This is an opportunity that can and must be seized, but seized quickly. We are currently moving along the flat part of the investment and return curve (see Figure 4) – over time the return on our investment *will* be realised.

5.2 Pessimism

Naturally when it comes to transport it is easier to be pessimistic than optimistic! The pessimistic outlook is that the influences of society and lifestyles will overwhelm efforts to achieve positive *effect* from an integrated transport and land use policy in spite of how vigorously such a policy is pursued. Allied to this, political resolve will waver or a new administration will introduce a new era of procrastination.

6 Concluding remarks

It might appear that this paper has said little of direct relevance to the topic of land use planning and transport. To some extent this is true. However, that several of the issues raised have an *indirect* bearing on land use planning and transport should not diminish their potential importance. The paper has highlighted, should anyone not already have been aware, that the *effective* integration of planning and transport is complicated. A potentially critical point of detail within PPG 13 has been drawn out, namely that the policy guidance seeks to enable or facilitate (positive) change but does not guarantee achieving it. Achievement will be based on a range of other factors including society and lifestyles. The paper stresses that an holistic approach to interpreting the interaction between land use and transport must also include the additional interactions with society and lifestyles. Stemming from a consideration of society and lifestyles is the contention that the individual in society cannot be relied upon to bring about positive change at the aggregate level. This can only be achieved through strong political leadership and the pursuit of a fully integrated policy approach that employs carrots and sticks to the extent necessary.