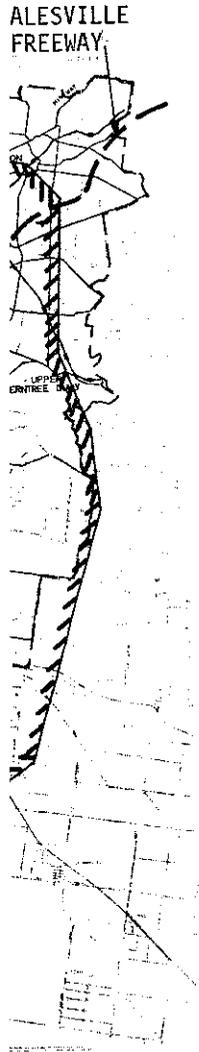


THE APPLICATION OF CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR THEORY TO PUBLIC TRANSPORT MARKETING

A.W.W. GODFREY & F.N. AFFLECK

ABSTRACT:

This paper commences with a brief description of a general model of consumer behaviour and a more specific model of transport mode choice. The key element in the latter is the concept of the 'modal pool'. When people plan a trip they bring into their modal choice decision only those modes which they regard as suitable and available to them for that trip. Their perception of what is suitable and available may or may not correspond with what actually exists. A mode cannot be chosen if it is not in a person's modal pool. The paper goes on to report a study conducted in Adelaide in which the processes of formation and change in modal pools were investigated. The conclusions reached are applied to market segmentation, with the market for travel to work examined in detail as an example. The application of consumer behaviour theory to practical marketing planning is illustrated by discussion of development and promotion of new services in outer suburban areas.



1. INTRODUCTION

We are all familiar with the frustration of research into the attitudes of users and non-users of public transport towards various physical characteristics of the service - frequency, speed, availability of shelters, seat design, and so on. The research produces what seem to be sensible answers, action is sometimes then taken to remedy the problems highlighted, but patronage does not increase.

Perhaps we are asking the wrong questions, because it is obvious we are not making improvements which bring public transport closer to meeting the real needs of potential customers.

Approaches to marketing public transport have generally developed away from the mainstream of consumer marketing. Research has been directed largely to gaining greater understanding of the product rather than the potential consumer. 'Marketing' has mistakenly been thought to mean only promotion and advertising.

Meanwhile consumer goods marketing has become increasingly concerned with the development of models of consumer behaviour, their use to delineate market segments in behavioural terms, and the development of products which are tailored to fit the consumption system of selected groups. Products are derived from the marketing process; they are not a datum. The marketer seeks to obtain an understanding of the whole psycho-social framework within which consumption of his product takes place. This leads to the development of products which are 'positioned' to match the needs and perceptions of carefully researched groups of potential buyers.

A study commissioned in 1976 by the Director-General of Transport in South Australia * gave an opportunity to test the applicability of a consumer behaviour approach to public transport marketing.

The objectives were to provide a basis for the development of a marketing programme by obtaining the information needed to -

- (a) identify market segments as a basis for market research activities
- (b) provide general statements of attitudes of users and non-users to public transport in the segments identified
- (c) provide a guide to further market research, the relevant techniques and a review of their effectiveness, and
- (d) provide input for a general promotion campaign.

* P.A. CONSULTING SERVICES PTY. LTD. and FRED AFFLECK AND ASSOCIATES for the Director-General of Transport, Adelaide, July 1976, *A marketing study of needs for mobility and attitudes to transportation in metropolitan Adelaide.* Permission to present this paper is gratefully acknowledged.

The primary aim of the programme was thus to explore behaviour and attitudes in depth, in order to provide a basis on which to develop consumer-oriented marketing programmes and match public transport more closely to customer needs.

In order to satisfy these objectives, a programme of qualitative research was developed which was designed to study the behavioural framework within which people decide when and how to travel.

2. CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

2.1 A GENERAL MODEL OF CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

Consumer behaviour has been defined as * -

"the acts of individuals directly involved in obtaining and using economic goods and services, including the decision processes that precede and determine these acts."

This definition emphasises individual decision processes rather than group market level effects. It also emphasises causality rather than simply cataloguing historic events. The authors of this definition develop a model which seeks to explain consumer behaviour in terms of psychological variables, the perception process, the decision process, and the influence of external constraining forces.

Referring to the complete model shown in Figure 1, we can see it consists of six key elements -

- (a) *The 'Central Control Unit'*. This refers to that set of personality factors, attitudes, information and experience which form the criteria against which incoming information is evaluated.
- (b) *Information processing*. We are continuously bombarded with an unorganised stream of information through all five senses. Our ability to act rationally, or indeed to act at all, depends on a means of filtering and sorting this welter of information into a coherent pattern. Consciously and sub-consciously we develop filters which limit the information which gains our attention, and selects that which is comprehended and retained. In particular, we become adept at filtering out those messages which are psychologically irrelevant.
- (c) *Problem recognition*. The idea of 'problem recognition' depends on a concept of the Central Control Unit as an essentially lazy thing which wants to exist in a state of idle comfort. However, incoming information may lead it to recognition of a problem, which may in turn stimulate action to allow it to overcome the problem and return to torpid bliss.

* J.F. ENGEL, D.T. KOLLAT AND R.D. BLACKWELL (1973). *Consumer Behaviour* New York (2nd Edition), P. 5. This is one of the most important books in this field. (Underlining added)

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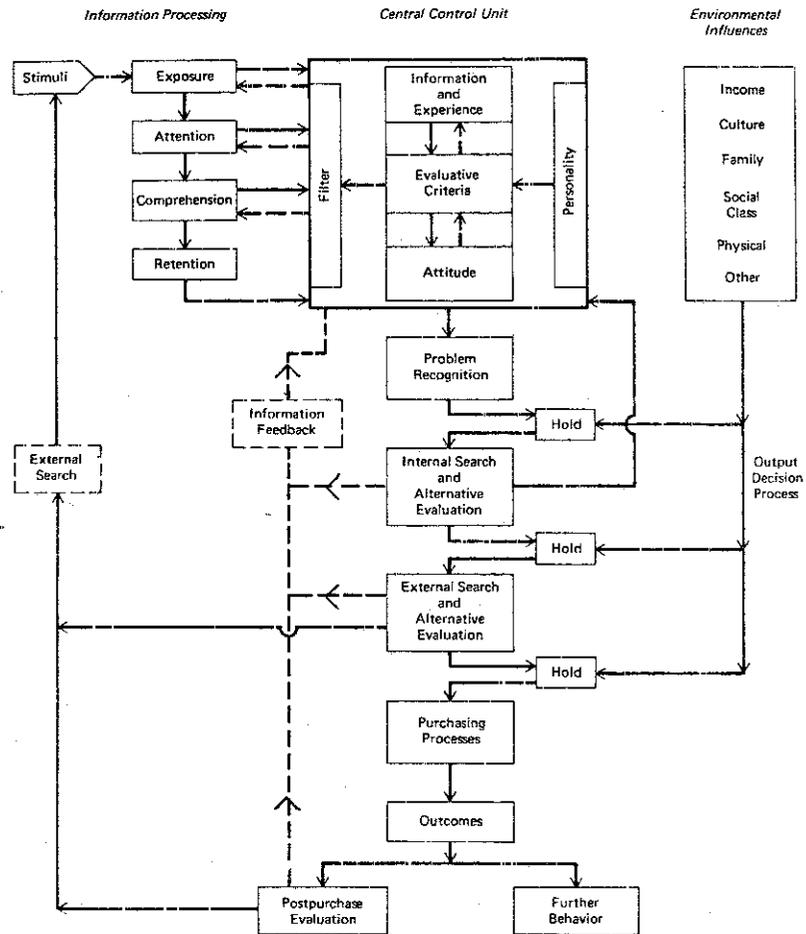


Fig 1 - Complete Model of Consumer Behaviour Showing Purchasing Processes and Outcomes

Source Engel et al. op cit. p.58.

- (d) *Decision Process.* Problem recognition may (but does not necessarily) lead to a process of decision. However, this process can be influenced and may be aborted by a host of environmental influences, by the effluxion of time, or by the supersession of more important problems. Or the decision process may lead to purchase processes.
- (e) *Purchase processes.* This is the point at which the individual physically interacts with the seller. Again, a whole series of influences (location, price, salesman, etc.) may modify or abort the process, but purchase may result.
- (f) *Purchase.* The purchase results in a number of outcomes. These are evaluated and fed back into future attitudes and decisions. They may also lead to further, consequential behaviour.

It is not the purpose of this paper to explore this general model and its value to prediction in depth. However, it is important to stress a number of features of the model -

- (a) it suggests that attitudes and stored experience have a central role in determining what information is perceived, how it is interpreted and whether incoming information results in 'problem recognition'
- (b) it emphasises the gauntlet of 'filters' through which information must pass to be recognised and retained
- (c) it suggests that 'problem recognition' is a necessary pre-requisite to a search process, and can have a special role in triggering alterations to an habitual purchase process
- (d) it highlights the large number of ways in which the overall process may be aborted.

2.2 THE CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR MODEL APPLIED TO TRANSPORT MODE CHOICE

Christopher Lovelock has applied a simplified form of consumer behaviour model to transport modal choice, illustrated in Figure 2 *. Transport is a derived demand, and therefore the modal choice decision shown in the model is preceded by the consumer's decision to make a trip.

The centre of interest in Lovelock's model is the concept of the 'Modal Pool', which forms part of the Central Control Unit shown in Figure 1. More specifically it is part of the evaluative criteria. Lovelock considers this modal pool to be the most important single factor affecting modal choice.

* CHRISTOPHER H. LOVELOCK (1975). Modeling the modal choice decision process. *Transportation* Vol. 4, pp. 253-265.

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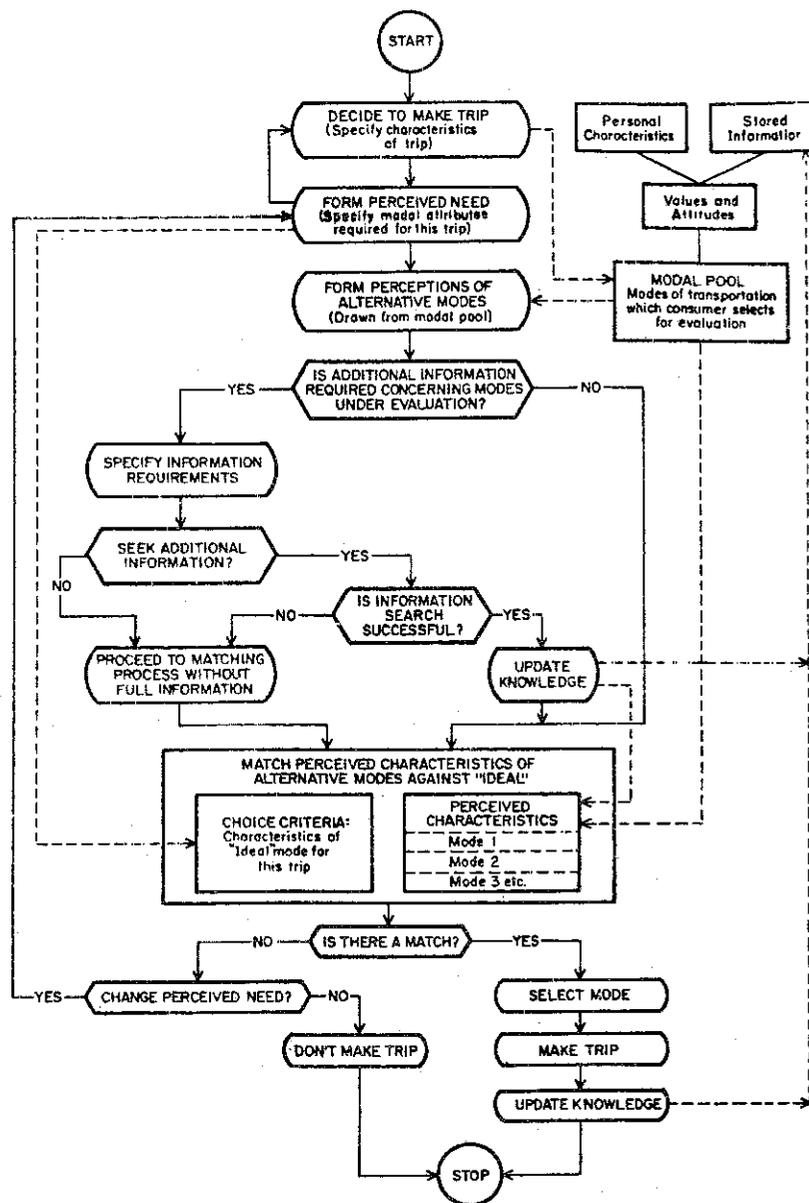


Fig 2 - The modal choice decision process for a specific trip

Source Christopher H. Lovelock op cit. p.258.

When people plan a trip they bring into their modal choice decision only those modes which they regard as suitable and available to them for their trip. Their perception of what is suitable and available may or may not correspond with what actually exists. For example a bus may run between a person's front door and his office, but it may never enter his mind to consider using it. It is thus not in his modal pool.

This model clearly differs from the models of modal choice normally used by transport planners. In these it is assumed that consumers of transport are rational economic decision makers, aware of all available alternatives, and choosing among them on the basis of cost, albeit perhaps incorrectly perceived.

Lovelock's model focuses on three sequential stages in modal choice -

- (a) the selection of alternative modes from the modal pool
- (b) the possible search for additional information about particular modes
- (c) the match of modal characteristics against a perception of an 'ideal' mode for the trip.

This serves to emphasise that a mode cannot be chosen if it is not in a person's modal pool, which, to repeat, is not necessarily identical with all modes available.

Alternative modes (if indeed there are more than one) which are selected from the modal pool are evaluated against an 'ideal'. Lack of information about a mode in the modal pool (e.g. about schedules) may then trigger a search, or may lead to a modal choice decision on the basis of incomplete information.

This suggests that actions to improve service features may have little effect in attracting people who do not include public transport in their modal pool. Information about such improvements will simply be filtered out in the same way that a non-smoker filters out cigarette advertising.

If these models of consumer behaviour are valid, they suggest that the most fruitful approach to market segmentation - and ultimately to formulating marketing strategy - will be through study of attitudes, in order to differentiate between groups which have different modal pools, and to determine the actions necessary to bring about desired changes in modal pools.

Lovelock's model does not, however, address itself to the dynamics of how an individual forms or changes his modal pool. Nor does it examine whether an individual's modal pool contains the same modes for all types of trip. In approaching our study it seemed to us that answers to these questions would be vital to an understanding of mode choice behaviour.

3. STUDY DESIGN

Our study was therefore conceived as a study of attitudes and behaviour, and it sought to explore mobility needs within the wider context of people's life styles. We wanted to know how people perceive problems involving mobility and how they go about solving them. We also wanted to see whether groups of people could be identified who have similar perceptions and similar solutions. Specifically -

- (a) is the concept of a 'modal pool' valid and useful in public transport marketing?
- (b) if so, how does an individual form and change this modal pool?
- (c) what conclusions can be drawn for marketing public transport, in particular about potential target market segments?

The method of approach adopted was to conduct a series of 'rounds' of group discussions and depth interviews. The first round was very wide ranging both in the choice of respondent and in the topics of discussion. The interviewers were seeking to test concepts and to identify groups and issues for further study. Following evaluation of first round results, two succeeding rounds of discussions were undertaken with increasingly sharply defined groups in order to test specific findings in greater depth.

The succeeding rounds were directed primarily towards the following groups -

- (a) residents in new outer suburban areas: these residents had moved house relatively recently and most had growing families
- (b) elderly people in the Woodville area: this is an area which is well served by radial transport to the city but which has very little locally oriented public transport, in a district which has a high concentration of elderly people and which appears to have a fairly strong community identity
- (c) ethnic groups in inner suburbs and the Port Adelaide area: ethnic groups also appear to have distinct attitudes and needs and tend to live in identifiable areas
- (d) school leavers and tertiary students: these are of interest for exploration of the attitudes formed during a period of rapid development and occupational change including transition from "captivity" to "non-captivity" to public transport.

No quantitative research was undertaken during this study, although a questionnaire was developed and tested for use in delineating segments in quantitative terms.

4. STUDY FINDINGS

During our research it became clear that the concept of a 'modal pool' and the model of modal choice suggested by Lovelock are very valuable in explaining consumer attitudes and behaviour. People do make decisions about trips with reference to a pool of modes which they consider feasible. Moreover, for any individual the contents of the modal pool may differ for different trip purposes.

A number of segments were defined which do not entirely coincide with the traditional view of segmentation of the market for public transport. By exploring the factors which determine differences and changes in people's modal pools, a view of the internal dynamics of these segments was obtained which we believe to be persuasive, although by the nature of the research they cannot be said to be proven.

4.1 CONTENTS OF THE MODAL POOL

The content of a person's modal pool is affected by a complex of factors: attitudes, transport resources available, and the requirements of various trip purposes. No single factor is solely responsible.

Differences in attitudes reflect a variety of personal, social and cultural factors. In particular -

- (a) children and the elderly are most favourably disposed towards public transport, while young adults (especially males) are least likely to include it in their modal pools
- (b) women are generally more favourably disposed to public transport; many women clearly dislike driving, especially in heavy traffic; moreover, they appear to have less need than males for the 'ego-reinforcement' provided by car driving
- (c) migrants are generally more favourably disposed to public transport than native Australians.

Availability of transport resources is critically important -

- (a) where a car is available for any trip people generally prefer to use it (with the significant exceptions for some people of work trips to the City)
- (b) a car (or cars) is generally regarded as a household possession, and therefore in principle available to all. As a result many decisions about trips and modes are taken by the family as a unit rather than by the individual. The family act quite consciously to allocate their private transport resources and to reschedule activities for which other acceptable transport is not available. In some families only the car is considered suitable for all trips, and planning consists of scheduling activities around access to the car

- (c) where a frequent public transport service is available to major activity centres people are more likely to include it in their modal pools; such conditions exist in most inner suburban areas of Adelaide
- (d) where people have become used to living without adequate public transport they are most unlikely to use it even if a good service is later made available.

As already stated, the contents of a person's modal pool may differ for different trip purposes. Differences are determined largely by special requirements or problems associated with specific trip purposes. However, most people regard public transport as a poor second best to the car for virtually all purposes. There is a range of uses for which public transport is regarded as totally unsuited. In particular -

- (a) where heavy and/or bulky parcels must be carried, public transport is generally not considered. Thus very few people include public transport in their modal pool for food shopping trips
- (b) where trip purposes require journeys for which public transport connections or frequency are poor (e.g. recreational and entertainment trips, visiting friends, travel to work outside the c.b.d.) public transport is generally not in people's modal pools
- (c) where parking is likely to be difficult and expensive, some people prefer to use public transport. Thus public transport is often included in people's modal pools for trips to work in the c.b.d. and to go shopping for clothes, etc. in the c.b.d.

Where public transport is regarded as not suited or not available for a particular trip purpose, allocation of the car to another member of the household may result in postponement or cancellation of the planned activity, or in undertaking the same activity elsewhere. The most obvious example is shopping for supplies. Another example could be the decision not to take the children to the beach during holidays.

The practical importance of the modal pool lies in the fact that where a mode is not in the modal pool improvements in service (frequency, comfort, routing etc.) are simply irrelevant. The improvements and messages which seek to draw them to consumers' attention are not perceived. Unless something can be done which both breaks through the filters and reintroduces the mode into the consumer's set of 'evaluative criteria', there is no possibility that he or she will consider that mode.

Consumer behaviour theory states in effect that people act as the 'rational man' of economic theory only in the stages from problem recognition to purchase and within the framework of perceived alternatives. It also implies that the number of perceived alternatives is likely to be substantially fewer than the number physically available.

4.2 DYNAMICS OF THE MODAL POOL

The findings of the study confirm that an individual's modal pool and modal choice tend to be stable. Repetitive choice of a given mode reinforces its position, while continued non-use or adverse experiences are likely to cause a mode to drop out of the modal pool. It is a particular problem that many of these adverse experiences are due to imperfect knowledge of the system. The infrequent bus traveller is therefore likely to experience a high level of anxiety and "assaults" which tend to confirm his dislike for public transport.

Familiarity and habit thus lead to the tendency for the modal pool to shrink to one habitual mode for each type of trip unless something triggers a search for new alternatives and conscious expansion of the modal pool. The findings of the study suggest that there are two principal ways in which modal pools can be expanded -

- (a) the occurrence of 'events' which in some way give rise to problems which make the established modal pool seem incomplete
- (b) the recurrence of mobility problems for which no solutions are available; the result is a continuing search for new alternatives.

The tendency to reduction of the modal pool through habit is often counteracted by 'events' which trigger periods of search. Examples of such events are moving house, changing job or a public transport strike. The household unit, as it progresses through the family life cycle is a significant and continuing source of events. Transport habits appear to be most stable among middle aged couples when their children have left home and 'events' are relatively less frequent.

Recurring mobility problems leading to a search for alternatives were found particularly among women respondents. A very common example was shopping for supplies in one-car families where the husband "needs" the car for work -

- (a) the wife could not drive herself during the week
- (b) shopping by bus was considered impractical because of the problem of carrying heavy parcels
- (c) continued reliance on a friend was regarded as demeaning
- (d) the usual solution was to be driven by the husband on a Saturday when crowds are at their worst, bargains are scarcest and so is time.

In this situation the modal pool usually included all physically available modes and a search for more (e.g. a second car) was always near to the conscious mind.

Two phenomena which we repeatedly encountered in our study illustrate the dynamics of changes in the modal pool very vividly. Both clearly have long term consequences for modal choice and both highlight special aspects of the task of marketing public transport. These phenomena are:

- (a) the second car
- (b) modal choice in the 'new' outer suburbs.

The Second Car

A very high proportion of households now have one car and a growing proportion have two or more. Our research highlighted the fact that where the number of eligible drivers exceeds the number of cars, the question of whether to buy a second car is perpetually 'warm' and often 'hot'. There is clearly a trigger mechanism which precipitates another round of discussion to purchase a second car and a possible decision to purchase. Because the husband normally has first call on the car, the wife usually appears to initiate discussions.

As indicated in the previous section, the question of a second car arises because none of the available modes is perceived to give an adequate match to needs. This usually occurs in a situation of increasing transport need. It may be a major event such as the wife taking a job, or a minor event such as the onset of winter which increases demands by the children to be ferried to school.

A tentative finding is that the kinds of need which trigger demand for a second car are frequently local, (ferrying to school, to activities, local shopping, etc.). If this is correct it has far reaching implications for the public transport system i.e. inadequate local facilities will lead to a decline in use of the total system.

It is also clear that the decision to buy a second car is generally irreversible. A two-car family seldom reverts to being a one-car family until at or near retirement. This is in spite of the fact that the decision to buy an extra car is often taken reluctantly. It often occurs at a time of general financial pressure; in addition it is the only time that the full economic costs of car ownership are taken into account.

Once the decision has been made, the addition of another car typically results in public transport dropping out of the modal pool for additional members of the family ("Mum can drive me") and for an additional range of uses.

Transport Availability and Modal Choice in the Outer Suburbs

A new suburban area typically grows fairly piecemeal, and has few facilities until development is well advanced. In one area visited during the study, the nearest visible bus stop was a kilometre away; the respondent interviewed was not sure whether or when this bus ran. In fact the only public transport service provided was a rush-hour rail feeder service. It was three or four kilometres to the nearest shop, which was near the railway station.

A one-car family living in this situation is seriously lacking in transport facilities, particularly if, as is likely the husband works outside the o.b.d. and needs the car to get to work. Virtually all services are beyond walking distance and as a result the wife is likely to stay at home except when the husband is home to provide transport.

The absence of public transport increases pressures to obtain a second car. This may be resisted for some time for financial reasons, but pressures of a growing family and distant schools tend to force the issue.

By the time the estate is sufficiently densely settled to give 'economic justification' for introduction of public transport services, many families have therefore adapted to the lack of service and public transport is excluded from their modal pool. This in turn leads to low patronage of public transport when it is introduced.

This analysis suggests that transport marketing must concentrate on identifying and catering to needs for which significant sections of the population believe there is no currently satisfactory solution. It must also be sensitive to the kinds of 'events' which create new mobility needs and find ways of satisfying these needs.

For example, it suggests that any long term strategy for reducing the drift from public transport must consider the introduction of services in advance of economic densities in order to reduce the need to purchase a second car. It also lends weight to the suggestion above that local services may be more important than radial services in achieving this aim. Experiments will need a considerable amount of time to be allowed to prove themselves because additions to an individual's modal pool and consequent changes in habits do not occur rapidly.

This also highlights the importance of market segmentation which is geared to behavioural factors. For example it highlights the inadequacy of the conventional distinction between "captives" and "non-captives".

Examples of very different groups of captives, most of them quite unstable in their loyalty to public transport, are -

- (a) people under driving age or not economically independent who are in a stage of expanding horizons and expectations. At the same time they tend to enter a period of hostility to public transport. They are very likely to become non-captive and to desert public transport entirely
- (b) women with families who have a wide variety of transport needs most of which are local, and varying attitudes to car driving. Inadequate public transport service may force them to become non-captive, while a good system may tap considerable latent demand as well as reducing the need for a second car
- (c) old people whose travel needs tend to be very local and whose world is contracting spatially. If public transport is inadequate, they are likely to confine their activities to within walking distance
- (d) people below the poverty line, including single mothers, unemployed, etc.

5. MARKETS AND SEGMENTS

"The challenge of market segmentation is to determine groups of people whose preferences are sufficiently similar to each other, yet different from other groups, to justify modification of a product to the preferences of that specific group". *

Although the term is increasingly used, the concept of market segmentation still plays little part in conventional transport planning. 'Trip purpose' is used as a convenient means of considering potential demand, captivity and peaking effects. There is little evidence that segments are closely considered in product or even message design and the market offerings to all segments are remarkable only for their homogeneity.

* ENGEL et al. op. cit. p.14

A consumer behaviour approach highlights the dramatically different requirements of different 'trip purposes'. Indeed, because these are derived from different primary activities, they often represent quite different markets for mobility. Within each trip purpose, distinct segments can be defined. The journey to work is fixed in origin, destination and time, and is characteristically radial. Shopping for supplies is flexible in both destination and time, is characteristically local and has special requirements for movement of goods. Shopping for supplies is typically regarded as work - a job to be dealt with efficiently, whereas "other shopping" is often a social occasion.

In order to illustrate means of segmentation within each market, Table 1 suggest dimensions for segmenting the most familiar of these markets, the journey to work. The dimensions suggested are, location of work, attitudinal group and location of residence. Within each segment it would be possible to develop coherent marketing strategies and to predict the commercial consequences with some confidence.

Space does not permit detailed analysis of other segments. However, behavioural analysis highlights the complexity of markets for mobility and demonstrates that no single basis of segmentation can hope to be adequate. As a contrast to the approach to segmenting the journey to work, shown in the table, elderly people in the inner suburbs form a distinct and identifiable segment with quite different mobility needs, and a quite different modal pool.

Incidentally, behavioural analysis emphasises the very great importance of local journeys as against radial journeys and of household decision making rather than individual decision making.

6. AN EXAMPLE OF THE APPLICATION OF CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR THEORY

An example will serve to illustrate the way in which Consumer Behaviour Theory might be used as a basis for practical marketing planning. Development and promotion of services in the outer suburbs constitute a particular problem for the operator. Residential densities are low, the distance to the c.b.d. is long, and because of the congested inner suburban section of the trip, travel speeds are often slow. Households are newly established and travel patterns are not fixed. Often the only immediately apparent demand is for the journey to work, which for the operator merely adds to the deficit.

Residents (especially women) arriving in these new suburbs are also usually faced with circumstances which create recurring mobility problems -

- (a) most households have only one car and family finances are tight
- (b) the family car is very often used by the husband for journeys to work; work places are largely outside the c.b.d.
- (c) shopping and community facilities tend to be beyond walking distance
- (d) many households have young children whose changing activities will create increasing demands for mobility.

Our findings strongly suggest that the most usual solution adopted is eventual purchase of a second car, despite the heavy burden this places upon family finances. However, public transport could offer an alternative solution.

TABLE 1
KEY SEGMENTS IN THE JOURNEY TO WORK TRAVEL MARKET

Location of Work	Attitudinal Group	Location of Residence	Comments
Workers in the c.b.d. (and on radial routes between home and c.b.d.)			- the main area in which public transport is perceived to be competitive.
	young men	inner suburbs	- rail can be promoted (on the basis of speed and convenience) where people live within walking distance of a station - promotion of the present bus system would yield low returns
		outer suburbs	- feeder to rail may be promotable (if transfer is sufficiently convenient) on the basis of speed (properly researched) and letting the wife use the car - slow speed makes the present bus system largely unacceptable
	others	inner suburbs	- both bus and rail fairly extensively used - good scope for improving market share through decreased delays and improved reliability - some scope for increase through promotion of comparative door to door times and costs where favourable
		outer suburbs	- in areas where a service is provided major inhibitors are crowding, lack of late homewards services - slow speeds of buses are also a major problem - many outer areas have no satisfactory service

	outer suburbs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - in areas where a service is provided major inhibitors are crowding, lack of late homewards services - slow speeds of buses are also a major problem - many outer areas have no satisfactory service
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TABLE 1 (Contd.)

Location of Work	Attitudinal Group	Location of Residence	Comments
Workers elsewhere during normal hours	all	all	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - public transport is not perceived as serving needs primarily because of difficulty and time involved in transfers and overall length of journey - public transport will not compete until interchange is greatly improved - ease of private car parking at out of town offices etc. make it difficult for public transport to compete
large factories			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - some experimentation with buses direct to/from factories may be justified where workers come from a dense enough catchment area - unlikely to be successful until general attitudes towards public transport improve - at present even car pooling arrangements are not successful
other employers			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - marketing results are unlikely to justify costs due to the very dispersed nature of origins and destinations
Workers elsewhere on shift	all	all	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as for workers elsewhere during normal hours but with increased problems of cost and supply and decreased probability of use
Mobile workers e.g. building site workers	not relevant	not relevant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - public transport inherently unsuitable

Provision of public transport services which are accurately matched to specific user needs, which are available as people move into the area, and are properly promoted, would not only meet a social need but also offer substantial promise of becoming economic.

Developing new public transport products is a task particularly suited to a project team approach, in line with common practice for product development in private enterprise. The team should include marketing, traffic planning and costing skills. The objectives of each project should be specific and quantified.

For each new suburb in which public transport is to be marketed, a quantitative survey should be undertaken to determine attitudes, travel habits and requirements. This should be associated with a study of community facilities, development plans, etc. From these surveys it should be possible to build a picture of the travel markets in the area.

Several possible products should be considered. Special consideration should be given to local services through the day which run to relevant local activity centres, e.g. shops, schools, community centres and so on. Experimental services designed to meet special consumer needs for shopping for supplies should be investigated. Acceptably fast transit to the c.b.d. could be provided through specially developed interchanges.

Following this the project team can develop the routes, schedules and special service features required to cater to each market for which public transport is feasible. This should be undertaken in close liaison with any existing community groups, and the development of such groups should be encouraged. Objectives and budgets should be established for each service.

Following the design stage, new services should be formally 'launched' and accompanied by careful promotion and monitoring both of ridership and attitudes (of both users and non-users). The launch is extremely important to ultimate success and all aspects should be carefully planned including the provision of good advance promotional support.

New products should be promoted intensively within the local area, using personal calls, community groups and local shopkeepers, as well as local media. Good use should be made of opportunities for joint promotion with shopkeepers. As new residents continue to move in information on local services available should be directed to them.

The programme should be conceived as an integrated attempt to create products which satisfy a selected range of mobility needs in the area and not simply as the introduction of a new 'service'. Commitment should be given to a project for a minimum period of one year and preferably two years, since people's habits change slowly. Development and acceptance of new public transport products should be monitored regularly, and modifications made where opportunities are indicated to match them closer to consumer needs.