

CSRM Modelling Summary Report for Cambridge and South Cambridgeshire Local Plans – July 2013

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background to tests

This Summary Report outlines the work undertaken by WSP Group and Atkins to investigate the transport implications of a range of development options, as well as the preferred development strategy for Cambridge City and South Cambridgeshire Local Plans to 2031. These Local Plan development strategies and the Transport Strategy measures have been tested in the Cambridge Sub Regional Model (CSRM) through to 2031.

CSRM is an established dynamic land use and transportation model, which incorporates housing, employment, transport demand and transport infrastructure. Testing with the model allows the outcomes of differing strategies to be independently assessed, to identify which perform best across a range of criteria, including changes in travel behaviour, and patterns of job growth and employed residents.

Through their respective Local Plans Cambridge City Council and South Cambridgeshire District Council are planning to meet the objectively assessed needs for housing and jobs 2011 to 2031 (Cambridge 14,000 homes and 22,000 jobs; South Cambridgeshire 19,000 homes and 22,000 jobs)

CSRM has been used to model different development assumptions for strategy options and then how these perform with proposed Transport Strategy measures in place. The testing has informed decisions on the preferred Local Plan Strategies and demonstrated the positive impact of the Transport Strategy measures proposed.

1.2 Forecast Traffic Growth

The location of the majority of traffic and non-car trips on the network is pre-determined by the distribution of existing and currently planned development in Cambridge, South Cambridgeshire and beyond. In addition, published National Forecasts for the East of England predict 2010 to 2030 road traffic growth in the range 37% to 39% (dependent on urban or rural definitions). In the model, there is overall headline traffic growth of 40% across the wider Cambridge sub-region reflecting the higher than average growth of Cambridgeshire compared to the rest of the East of England.

Without any transport mitigation, Cambridge City is forecast to have lower than average traffic growth which accords well with both sustainable planning and transport policies but demonstrates the challenge of levels of existing traffic congestion, which will be difficult to reverse. Cambridge will have a 32% growth in the AM peak hour (8am-9am) rising to 41% in the inter-peak (2pm-3pm). South Cambridgeshire is likely to experience higher average traffic growth than Cambridge City but still lower than the wider Cambridge sub region with figures of 38% in the AM peak and 46% in the inter-peak periods as people either move around within South Cambridgeshire for employment and services or use Cambridge as their main destination for these trips.

Whilst a shift in distribution of development and associated journeys will occur over the longer term to 2031, with the preferred Local Plan strategies and Transport Strategy measures in place a positive impact can be achieved. With this in mind the planning strategy in the two local plans aims to build on the existing City and South Cambridgeshire local plans which focus development in and on the edge of Cambridge and at the new town of Northstowe, and locate development where it will reduce the need to

travel and where it will have the greatest opportunity to facilitate trips by sustainable non-car modes compatible with other sustainability considerations.

1.3 Phases of Modelling Tests

The modelling work has been carried out in three phases. The testing of options has examined the individual elements of the strategy options in isolation before being tested in combination up to a forecast year of 2031. The preferred strategy was then tested. In all options, the committed level of development in planning permissions and current plans remained constant and accounts for a significant proportion of the development required over the period to 2031. The three phases of testing are described below.

Phase 1: In Autumn 2012 seven different scenarios were tested based on the sites in the Issues and Options consultation, **including the current committed level of development (planning permissions and sites allocated in current local plans), and the 7 scenarios that test the effects of the site options which were consulted on between June and September 2012.** The additional growth scenarios separately tested locations as follows:

- Cambridge urban sites;
- New settlement development split between Bourn Airfield and Waterbeach;
- A single, larger, new settlement at Waterbeach
- Village extensions;
- The Cambridge Fringe, tested at two levels of development; and
- A combined option covering all of these together.

These scenarios sequentially increased the total development, allowing the impact of varying levels of future housing at different stage of the development sequence to be tested. They assume no mitigation measures, which were considered at phases 2 and 3 below.

Phase 2: Detailed tests were carried out on **short-listed strategic options** with a focused set of potential transport mitigations also considered and the effects of the different options compared. The options tested at this stage were village focused development in South Cambridgeshire, development at Bourn Airfield and a new town at Waterbeach. It was assumed that the whole of the new settlements would be built by 2031 in order to explore the impacts of the whole developments, even though this is not likely to be the case and only approximately 3,100 homes are anticipated to be built by then across both new settlements.

This approach does not give a true representation of the impacts of the new settlements because phasing and impacts of housing and employment development elsewhere beyond 2031 will also play a part in longer term travel patterns. This issue is particularly relevant to the Waterbeach results, which can only be seen as broadly indicative of the trip generation for such a complex site. More detailed work would include consideration of on-site design and master planning, facilities and potential for trip internalisation, as well as additional employment on and off-site.

Phase 3: In the final phase, the **Proposed Submission Local Plan scenarios for South Cambridgeshire and Cambridge** were tested together with an enhanced package of transport mitigations. A parallel test of the potential for demand management to reduce the number of car entries into Cambridge was also carried out.

2 Results of Development Strategy Tests

2.1 Phase 1 Tests

The initial **Phase 1** results illustrated that increasing traffic levels occur in the Cambridge area in all available strategies, particularly for traffic in rural areas and on routes into Cambridge. These results are well aligned with Government regional forecasts, and have been confirmed in later tests as options were refined. The following factors were found to contribute to the increasing demand for car travel:

- Increases in availability of cars, particularly in rural areas with greatest reliance on car travel;
- A growth in traffic to fill available road capacity (e.g. in off-peak periods or as a result of modal switch); and
- Most importantly, the economic growth of the sub-region requiring increasing numbers of workers to fill jobs – where housing for workers is not available locally, the model assumes that the difference is met by increased levels of in-commuting.

As might be expected, new households in or near Cambridge use cars less than those in villages or new settlements further from Cambridge : typically there are 6% more extra car trips per household further from Cambridge. However, this does not translate into such significant differences in traffic growth for the Districts as a whole, for two reasons:

- The new development being re-located between these areas is relatively small, when considering the total dwellings in the two districts, and hence the change in car trips has only a small proportional impact;
- Given the level of congestion on key routes into Cambridge, there is predicted to be suppressed demand for car travel by 2031. When road space is freed up by developing in more sustainable locations, some of the benefit is eroded as this suppressed demand returns, a process known as back-filling. Hence the net benefit is less than would be expected based on local trip generation.

The net effect was that comparing the most dispersed development strategy (village extensions) with the densest (city and fringe locations only), the total car mode share altered by just over 1%. The impact of this was explored further in the Phase 2 tests.

These results also indicated that the major influence on traffic growth in Cambridge and South Cambridgeshire is the quantum of employment and housing growth. Low housing growth options require more in-commuting trips to support employment, which is largely car-based. Though high housing growth options generate more trips locally, the total vehicle kilometres are lower due to shortening of car trips.

2.2 Transport Strategy Measures

The Phase 2 and Phase 3 model tests were carried out initially assuming **only committed transport investment is undertaken** (including upgrading the A14 and Cambridge Science Park station).

A further series of tests investigated **the improvements which could be made to the network by using a focused set of transport improvements**. The package of measures tested included:

- Strategic corridor improvements - A428 Black Cat - Caxton Gibbet, A14 upgrade Ellington to Milton;
- Access controls close to Cambridge Ring Road to enhance public transport operations and discourage cross city movements in the built up area;
- A major increase in dedicated cycle provision in Cambridge and South Cambridgeshire;

- A wide range of bus priority measures in Cambridge and on major routes to/from Cambridge, including busways and High Quality Public Transport (HQPT) on routes from Royston, Haverhill and St Neots;
- Additional Park and Ride sites on the A428, the A1307 and at Hauxton on the A10, and the re-location of Newmarket Road P&R to Airport Way;
- Improvements in rail services, speed and capacity, including the Thameslink upgrade and improved rolling stock; and
- A segregated busway from Waterbeach to Cambridge and dualling of the A10, implemented ahead of development of Waterbeach New Town.

The focused package of measures listed above was applied to each of the Phase 2 options, with the Waterbeach busway and A10 dualling implemented only in the Waterbeach New Town option. More information is included in the technical appendix.

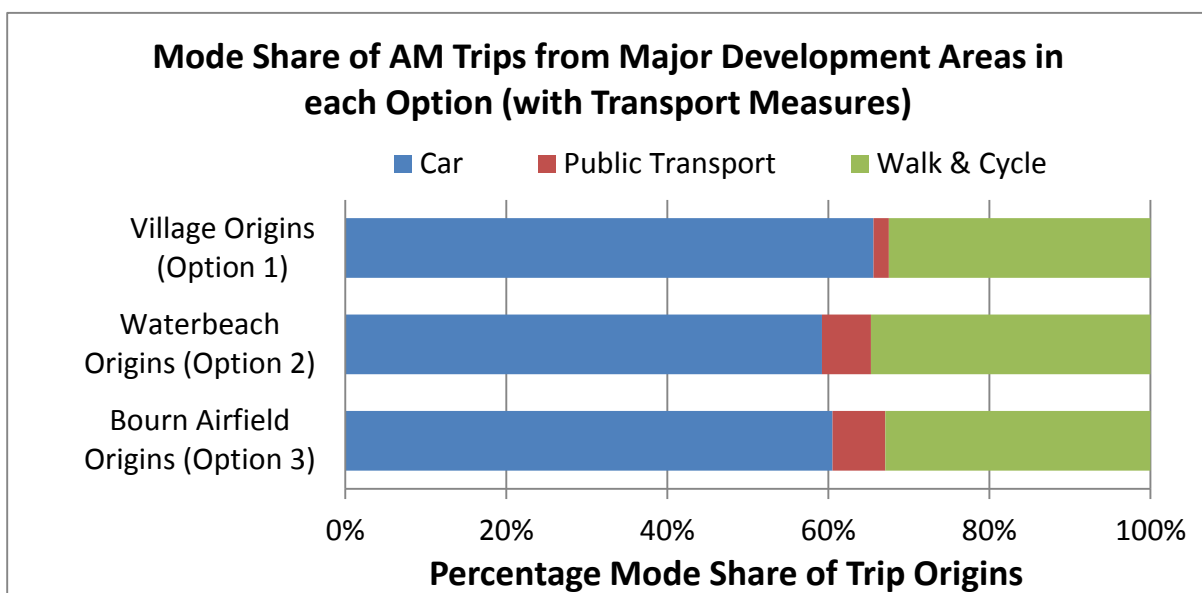
A full package of enhanced transport measures was applied in Phase 3, that comprised all the focused package and included some additional improvements to the HQPT services in terms of priority and improved journey times.

Further details of the transport measures are provided in Appendix B.

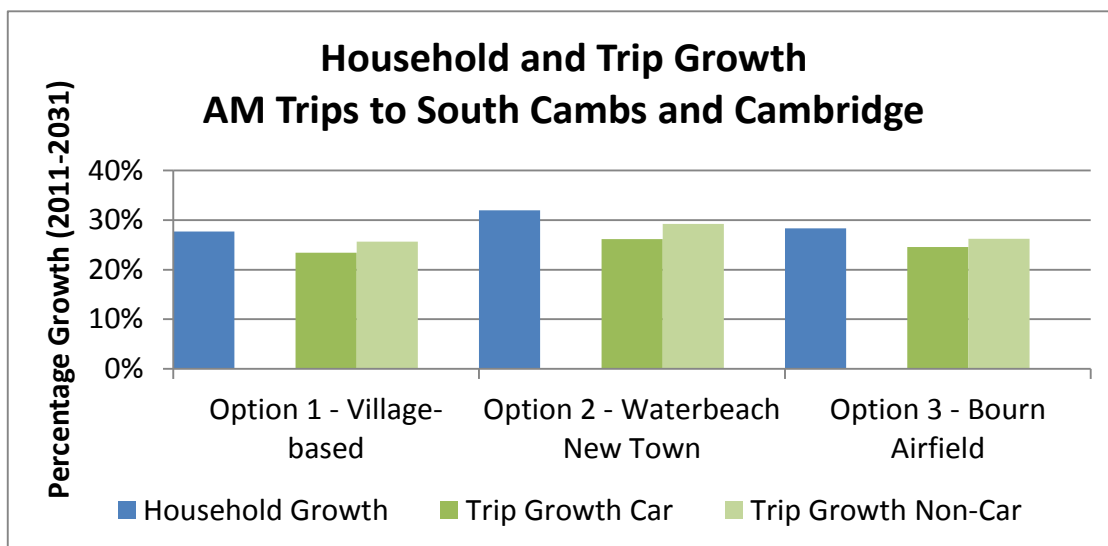
2.3 Phase 2 Tests

Following the phase 1 testing and considering alongside other planning considerations, the District and City Councils concluded that sites on the edge of Cambridge were not reasonable options for further testing. The **Phase 2** tests therefore focused on new settlements and village alternative options for the 5000 homes required. The testing confirmed the general trends identified at phase 1, and investigated **whether any major differences between strategy options** would be seen once the focused transport mitigation measures described above were considered.

The chart below compares trips generated by the new developments in each of the options tested, when focused transport measures were in place. This shows that 66% of the additional village-based trips would be made by car, compared with only 2% by public transport. By comparison, the additional Waterbeach based trips are 59% car and 6% public transport, and the Bourn Airfield trips 61% car and 7% public transport. This indicates that the new settlement options have advantages in terms of sustainable mode share. The lower car mode share for Waterbeach and Bourn relates to both the greater accessibility by public transport, and the higher level of internal trips. Waterbeach additionally has a larger number of walk and cycle trips to Cambridge.



However, overall traffic growth across the sub-region is more similar in each option, as shown below. This reflects the relatively small amount of additional development compared with the total amount of development in the area. The total trip growth naturally varies according to the number of households delivered (blue bars), which varied across the options tested as the strategy was being refined. The relative growth of car and non-car trips however shows less different between the options.



When comparing the village-based (dispersed) development option with the new settlements (Waterbeach and Bourn Airfield), there are two competing factors:

- As shown above, for new settlements, a lower car mode share is possible, as the greater size brings opportunities for internalised trips and site-specific public transport measures to reduce car mode share. By comparison, for village-based developments mitigation is more difficult;
- The larger developments produce more concentrated traffic increases, which would need to be mitigated with sustainable transport schemes and specific highway measures, particularly on routes around Waterbeach.

The modelling results suggested these factors are reasonably balanced. The village-based developments generate a higher proportion of car trips overall, but some increase in localised traffic problems was observed in the new settlement options.

In addition, the *overall* levels of traffic increase, and the benefits of the focused package Transport Strategy measures, are similar whether additional development being identified in the new Local Plans is focused in the villages, Bourn Airfield or Waterbeach. As has been noted for Phase 1, this is both because of 'back-filling' when suppressed demand rises to take advantage of road space freed, and also because much of the traffic on the network is generated by existing or committed houses and businesses.

The differences between development options are relatively small in terms of the number of additional dwellings (<5,000 dwellings). For example, the Bourn Airfield development tested at 3,500 dwellings represents only 2.5% of the total existing and committed dwellings in 2031. A similar proportion of the overall trip origins will be affected by the strategy. Given many of the destinations will remain the same, the scope to radically alter the traffic through development location is clearly more limited.

The Phase 2 results have demonstrated that the dispersed village development option is less preferable than new settlements in terms of car mode share of new trips generated. This reflects the improved access to public transport and greater internalisation that can be achieved in larger

developments with more concentrated locations of housing and ability to generate more local employment.

Furthermore, whilst the concentrated impacts of the car trips on specific corridors creates more congestion on those routes than a rural dispersed strategy this can be more easily addressed through delivery of new settlements. They have the advantage of being able to provide for coordinated infrastructure on key routes in the form of public transport and highway measures. In addition, having Bourn Airfield and Cambourne West on the same corridor helps to support the public transport improvements that would help mitigate the transport impacts and congestion on Madingley Road between the A428 and the M11 junction and onward into the City.

2.4 Phase 3 - Preferred Local Plan Strategies

The phased testing described above has informed the preferred Local Plan Strategies. Phase 3 of the testing was carried out as follows:

- Strategic development at Waterbeach new town and Bourn Airfield new village, though only circa 3,100 dwellings are expected to be delivered in the timeframe modelled (2011 to 2031) and also a Cambourne West village expansion of circa 1,500 dwellings;
- Development of 895 additional dwellings in six villages in South Cambridgeshire; and
- The total employment in Cambridge reflects the up to date technical work including the Strategic Housing Market Assessment identification of 22,100 additional jobs by 2031 (increased from phases 1 and 2).

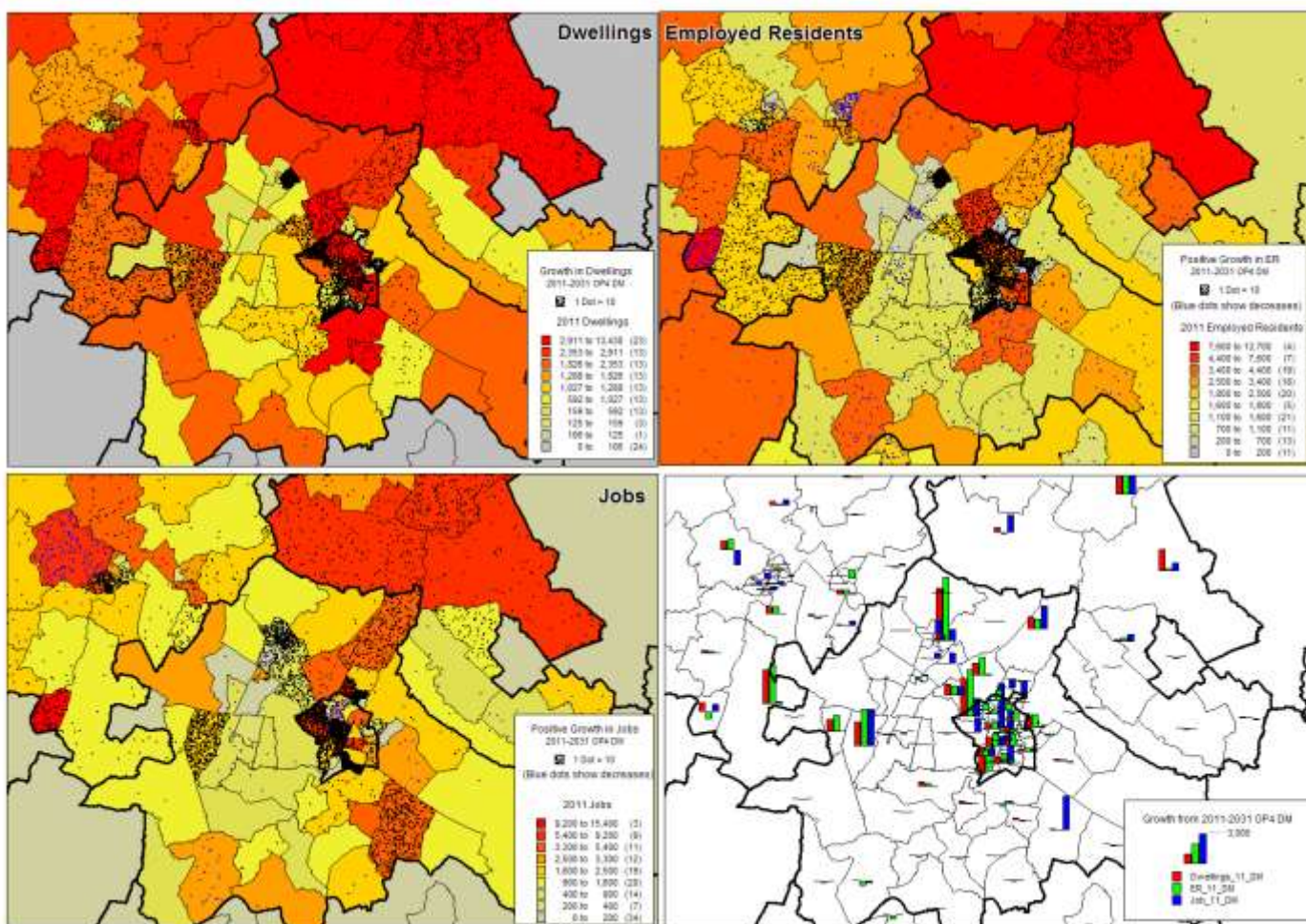
As part of the phase 3 testing, the model assumptions that were used in the phase 1 and 2 testing regarding the number of workers in the Sub Region were reviewed, based on information in the recently published Strategic Housing Market Assessment chapter on forecasts for all homes (May 2013) that identified objectively assessed needs for jobs and homes having looked at a range of available forecasts and the 2011 Census. This review showed that the higher employment levels in Cambridge would be associated with an increase in the number of employed residents in the City and South Cambridgeshire. This increase is in line with trends observed in the 2011 Census, that the number of workers per dwelling (especially in Cambridge City) has been increasing, as has the proportion of dwellings with employed residents.

The assumed growth in employment and population means that a similar proportion of the population is forecast to be in employment in 2031 as in 2011 (around 50%) with the remaining 50% being children, the retired as well as those of working age not in employment. The overall balance of jobs to workers is forecast to improve over time. For Cambridge City, the model is indicating that there will be an increasing proportion of the resident population in employment, resulting in a better balance between jobs and the resident workforce and the potential to reduce the amount of commuting into and out of the City. This assumes some continuing increase in household size in the City, as indicated in the 2011 Census.

Car ownership levels are rising through time and this is reflected in the assumptions input to the model for growth from 2011 to 2031. The percentage of households without a car will fall overall, though in the City the proportion of households without a car rises from 28% in 2011 to 30% by 2031. This is due to improved accessibility by non-car modes than in other parts of the sub region as well as the number of opportunities for work and leisure in the immediate vicinity.

The change in distribution of population and employment is shown below in the locations of dwellings, employed residents (workers) and jobs growth.

Change in Dwellings, Employed Residents and Jobs, 2011-2031
(see large scale version at Appendix A)

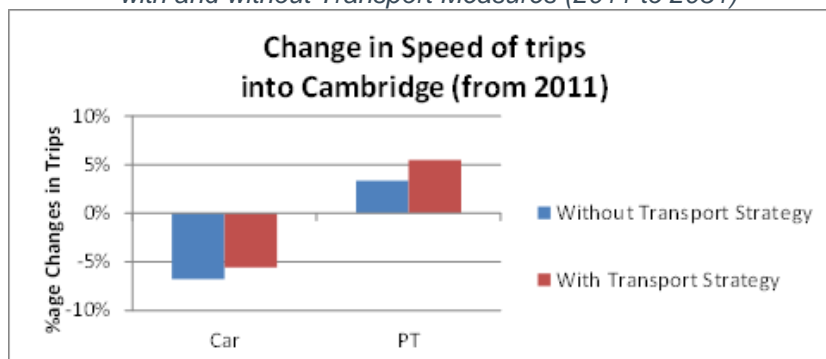


This section shows the impact of the preferred strategy on different aspects of transport demand and the transport network. Results are shown for the Preferred Local Plan strategy. Responses of a similar scale were seen for the Phase 2 options tested.

Journey Times

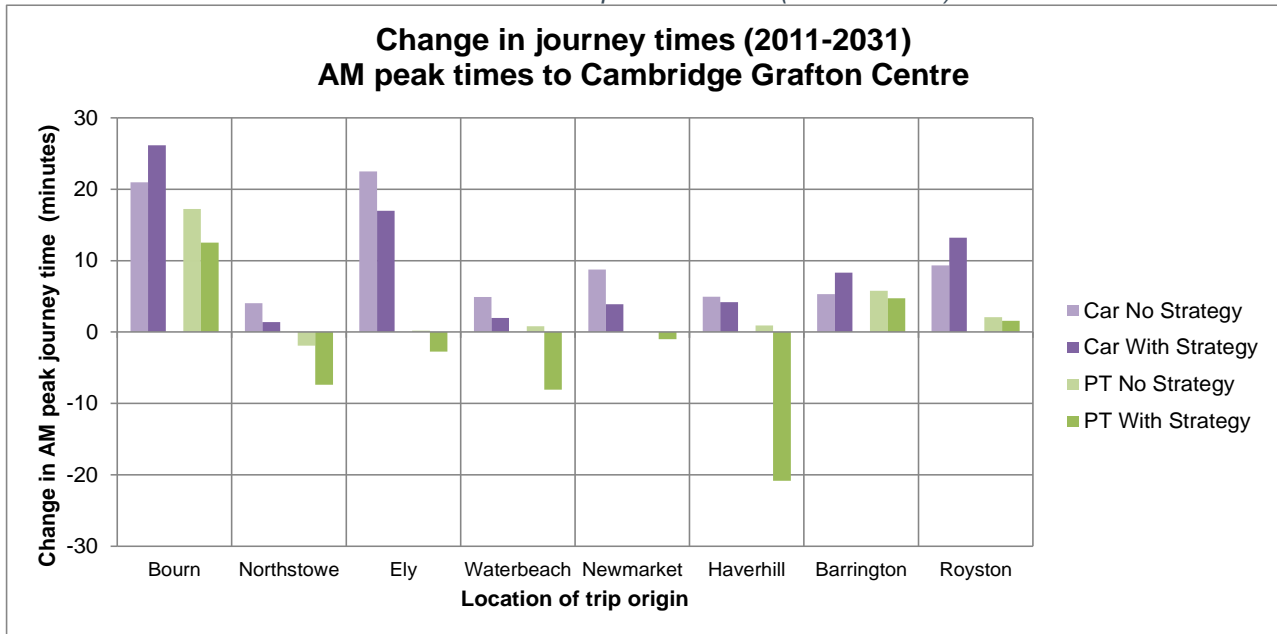
The tests demonstrated that **investment in high quality public transport corridors** significantly increases patronage and helps improve the accessibility of Cambridge in particular. This is shown below in terms of the improvement of public transport journey times with the Transport Strategy in place.

Percentage change in speed of trips into Cambridge (from outside) with and without Transport Measures (2011 to 2031)



While it is clear that on average, travel conditions by car deteriorate over time while those for public transport improve, there will be spatial variations based on the availability of high quality public transport facilities between key locations.

Change in AM peak journey time from selected locations to central Cambridge zone with and without Transport Measures (2011 to 2031)



The transport strategy changes to travel times are shown above. Car travel times are forecast to increase over the 20 year period in all cases, with the strategy alleviating congestion in some corridors. Note that journey times from the south and west increase slightly with the strategy in place, which reflects re-routing to cross the City once the expanded core scheme is in place. Travel times by public transport increase over time less than those by car and in some cases are forecast to reduce with the strategy amplifying this effect.

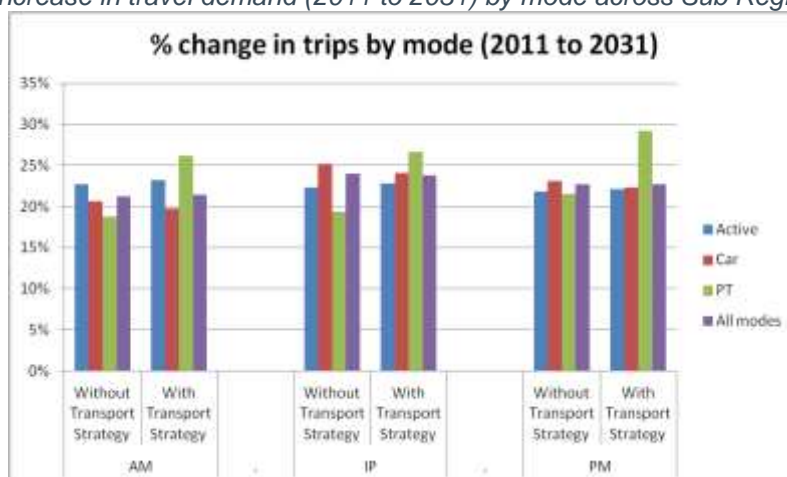
The chart also highlights congestion effects which remain on some corridors, and affect both car and bus journey times from on the A428 (Bourn) and A10 south (Barrington and Royston) although some of this is down to this analysis using the Grafton Centre as the main destination whereas for many from the south and west the destination is more likely to be the historic city centre which can be accessed more quickly from these directions than the Grafton Centre. In particular, on the A428 corridor, additional bus priority improvements on the edge of Cambridge will be essential to improve the journey times above for Bourn to ensure non-car trips are made to facilitate sustainable growth.

Further details of travel times by corridor are included in Appendix C (High Quality PT Corridors) and D (variations in journey time).

Change in Trips

The growth in population and employment will result in an increased demand for travel across the sub region.

Increase in travel demand (2011 to 2031) by mode across Sub Region



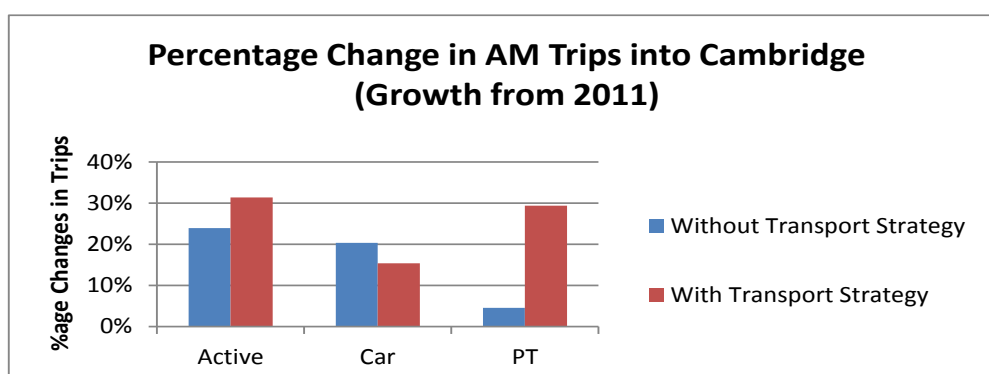
The chart shows how this increased demand varies by time of day and mode and that the **total demand across all modes increases between 20% and 25% in all time periods**. The growth in public transport trips improves significantly with the transport strategy, in particular public transport trips growing 26% in the AM with transport measures, compared with 17% without. However, public transport remains a minority mode for medium and particularly longer distance travel. Improvements to cycling facilities within and around Cambridge also have potential to reduce car trips.

The growth in travel demand forecast as a result of the planning assumptions tested is most pronounced for travel to and from Cambridge City.

From origins in:	To destinations in:			
	Cambridge City	South Cambs	Elsewhere	All Areas
Cambridge City	31%	30%	23%	30%
South Cambridgeshire	31%	29%	21%	27%
Elsewhere	26%	24%	15%	17%
All areas	30%	28%	17%	23%

This shows that travel to, from and within the City is expected to grow by around 30% while average growth in the sub region is 23%. It can be seen below that with the transport strategy in place it helps significantly increase trips by non-car modes and improves overall accessibility to and from the City, with cycling and walking growing from 24% to 32% and public transport growing from 4% to 29% between the without strategy and with strategy situation.

Change in trips into Cambridge (from outside) with and without Transport Measures (2011 to 2031)



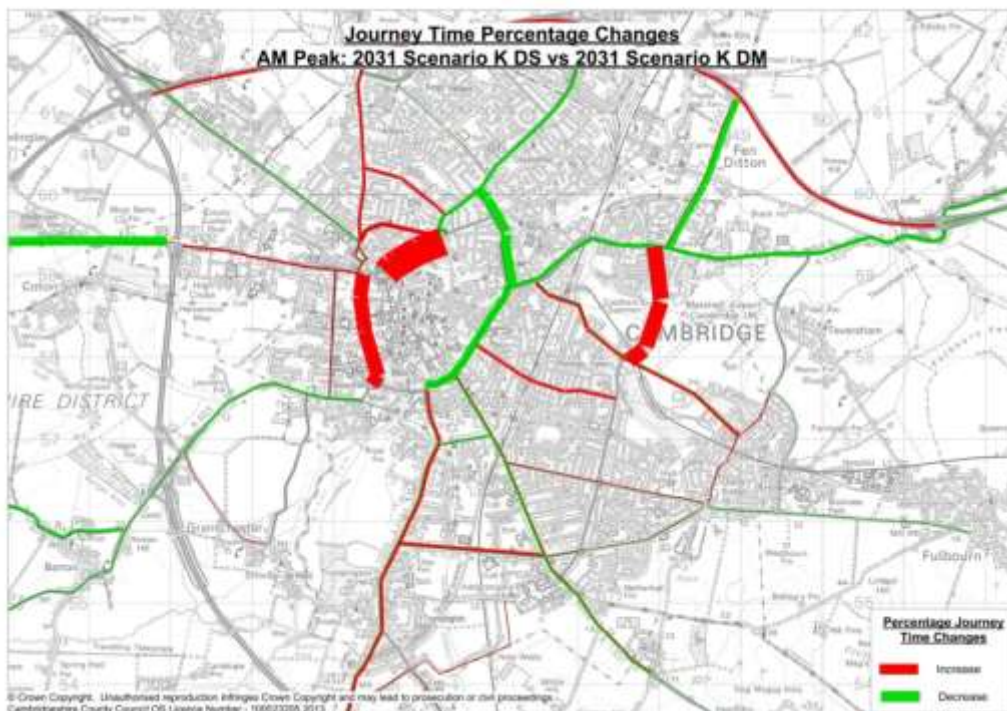
Traffic Growth and Congestion

With **continued growth in AM peak trips into Cambridge predicted by all modes, there is likely to be peak hour congestion.** Without strategy interventions, the increase in vehicle miles travelled in Cambridge will translate into a 61% rise in peak hour travel times with time spent in congested conditions more than doubling (113%). In South Cambridgeshire, similarly projected levels of growth could result in peak travel times increasing by 62% and time spent in congestion rising by 125% particularly on the approaches to Cambridge.

The modelling shows that unless further medium and long-term measures are put in place over time, the location and severity of congestion hotspots could radiate out from Cambridge over an ever widening area. This emphasises the importance of the Transport Strategy in providing alternative modes of travel to the car.

The diagram below shows the impact of further Core Scheme type interventions, potential road closures of Hills Road, East Road and Mill Road alongside comprehensive parking restrictions in residential areas, as an expansion to the existing core scheme, can reduce journey times for certain segments of movements within Cambridge City but increase journey time pressures on other key routes. These measures will assist in improving travel by non-car modes, reducing journey times and increasing non-car modes shares.

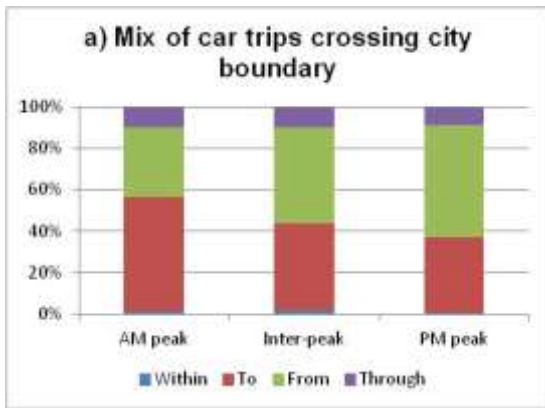
Change in selected 2031 highway journey times as a result of Transport Strategy



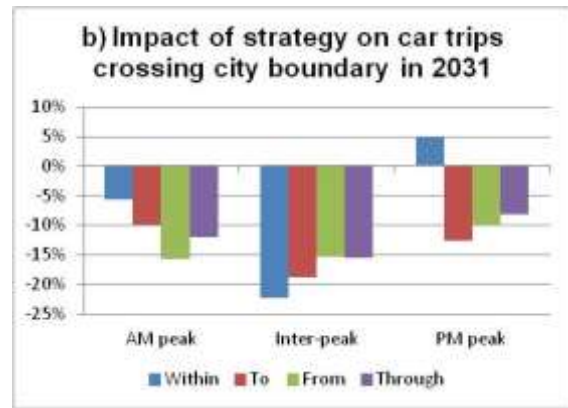
Trips to / from Cambridge

Analysis shows that a majority of the car trips using the radial routes to cross into or out from the city have one end of their journey in the City and the other outside. In each time period modelled approximately 10% of the trips are however passing through the city, with a very small number (between 1% and 2%) travelling out and then back in again with both ends of their journey within the city. The strategy reduces travel to, from and through the city as a result of the extension of the core scheme making it more difficult to cross the city by car.

Trips crossing city boundary in 2031 without Strategy



Impact of strategy on each category of trip



Types of trip:	To	trips with an origin outside the city and a destination within the city
	From	trips with an origin in the city and a destination outside
	Through	trips which start and end outside the city, but pass through
	Within	trips which start and end inside the city, but travel out then back in again

The Transport Strategy measures proposed have a beneficial impact on travel behaviour in the two districts. The Transport Strategy measures directly cause non-car trips into Cambridge to grow at double the rate they would otherwise be expected to (26% compared with 13%). The growth in car trips into Cambridge is reduced by 10%. The measures have the added impact of increasing the total trips into Cambridge during the peak by 2.5%, as the rise in non-car trips exceeds the fall in car trips (i.e. the City becomes slightly more accessible overall). This clearly shows that the Transport Strategy improves trips by public transport, cycling and walking.

2.5 Managing Growing Travel Demands

There is likely to be significant growth in demand for car travel across the sub-region as outlined above both as a result of general trends in car use and ownership as well as from development. The Transport Strategy measures have been shown to improve non-car travel significantly and reduce congestion in the context of the level of planned growth and increasing travel demand. However, as Cambridge is such a magnet, particularly in terms of jobs, the modelling shows that in-commuting from further afield will continue to grow, unless there are restrictions as well as improvements to the transport network people will continue to drive and road space will fill up. Therefore a balanced approach is proposed in the Transport Strategy, and this aligns with evidence of how the current core scheme has helped to reduce traffic through the centre.

In addition to the main transport measures tested, a sensitivity test was undertaken with stricter controls of parking, which might be delivered through more extensive residential parking permits or limited supply of employers parking. Due to the way in which the model works, the test was carried out by adding an additional time penalty for all cars ending their journey in the City. This was an additional 20 minutes to all journey time at the end of car trips into Cambridge City, and additionally to the Science Park and Addenbrookes. Additionally, a 10 minute penalty was applied for Northstowe and Cambourne, to reflect the lower parking provision anticipated for employment sites in those developments.

This has a significant impact on AM Peak car trips into Cambridge City. These were reduced to slightly below the 2011 base level, a reduction of approximately 5,000 trips. Of these, 50% appear to enter Cambridge in the AM Peak by another mode, with the largest rise being for Park & Ride (a growth in excess of 60%) and a circa 8% rise in cycle, walk and rail trips to the City. There are reductions of a

similar scale in car trips within the City, with 4,000 fewer trips, of which approximately half make trips by cycling and walking instead.

As a consequence of the additional road space freed up, there is an increase in car trips entirely outside the City Centre, with these increasing by around 2,000 (<1%), this will be due both to a decrease in congestion inducing car traffic, and a switching of destination for some trips. These results are consistent with the observed impact of the previous core scheme.

The modelled responses also included a decrease in leisure, retail and personal business trips to Cambridge. In modelling terms a proportion of these re-located to destinations outside Cambridge. This is a potential response should people who normally arrive by car find parking not available, and alternative means of travel are not sufficiently accessible. However, the model cannot fully account for the strong attraction of Cambridge for these types of trips, so the extent of the response needs careful consideration.

It was concluded that if such measures could be introduced, then they would decrease peak hour car entries to the City considerably. Such a potential demand management measure therefore has a positive impact in encouraging people to travel by Park and Ride and other non-car alternative modes of travel. For discretionary inter peak trips, there may be some reduction in trips, however this could be addressed by only enforcing restrictions at peak times.

3 Conclusions

Economic growth in the sub region brings opportunities and challenges in terms of increased population and a greater demand for travel. Increases in availability of cars are projected through time, particularly in the rural areas with greatest reliance on car travel. Without adapting the way people live and work, this will almost certainly lead to increased demand for travel resulting in more congestion and increased air pollution at peak times. Where spare road capacity is available, travel patterns and mode share will normally shift to take advantage of this and fill available road capacity. This may take the form of changes in the locations of development in the economic growth of the sub-region and requires increasing numbers of workers to fill jobs. Where housing for workers is not available locally, this tends to increase levels of in-commuting.

Whilst much of the trip patterns are generated by the historic distribution of development, the transport strategy will be critical to continuing the strategy of shifting from a reliance on car based travel to sustainable modes permitting viable and self-supporting public transport alternatives to be created to the new development areas delivered by the Local Plan Strategies.

The key findings of the detailed transport modelling undertaken to inform the two Councils' Local Plans and the Cambridge and South Cambridgeshire Transport Strategy are as follows:

- The Preferred Local Plan Strategies should focus development in key locations rather than dispersed in villages;
- These locations should maximise sustainable travel alternatives to the car, particularly by providing high quality public transport for those expanded and new settlements, and these locations are best suited to delivering the necessary infrastructure to encourage travel by non-car modes;
- Such public transport routes need to be able to bypass queues and congestion to offer reliable and swift journey times both to the identified growth areas to improve options for residents in existing villages and settlements as well as for the new developments.
- The Transport Strategy will help to make the City and key destinations such as employment centres more accessible;
- The Preferred Local Plan Strategies and transport measures should reduce the amount of car growth to and from the City; and
- With a growth in travel demand generally stricter controls on car access and parking in Cambridge City will need to play an increasing role in managing car travel demand. Initial testing suggests that demand measures such as parking restraint appear to offer a realistic and cost effective mechanism of reducing car growth where strong alternative modes exist.

This work has therefore demonstrated that the proposed Local Plan and Transport Strategy should have a beneficial effect overall. The development strategy chosen by providing further housing will assist in minimising in-commuting, which is a major driver of future traffic growth. The focus on new settlements will provide opportunities to further minimise traffic growth through use of sustainable travel modes and internalisation of trips.

The Transport Strategy, and the inclusion of identified transport requirements in Local Plan policies for the major developments will help in mitigating some of the implications of future growth through providing high quality alternatives to the car that can bypass congestion and provide an attractive alternative that results in an increase in the modal shift and number of non-car trips within Cambridge and South Cambridgeshire. The Transport strategy should help to reduce congestion, help mitigate the impacts of growth, enhance travel by sustainable alternatives and help make the City and South Cambridgeshire more accessible overall, for existing and planned communities. It will ensure priority for sustainable modes can be promoted through appropriate planning allocations and tailoring high quality public transport services to provide reliable and attractive routes to areas of greatest demands.