

THE CONSEQUENCES OF "WHO GETS THE CAR" IN  
THE ONE-CAR FAMILY

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*ABSTRACT: Transport planning is still largely focused on the journey to work. Little consideration has been given to individuals not in the workforce. This paper draws attention to the mobility problems of women left at home without the family car as a consequence of the husband using it to commute to work.*

*It is proposed that to improve transport efficiency the trend to leave the family car at home be encouraged, thereby reducing the pressure to acquire a second family car which many families can ill afford.*

*The possibilities of increased car-pooling, improved access to public transport, new cross-country bus services and provision of community buses are discussed.*

Background Paper for  
Session 5

## CONSEQUENCES OF "WHO GETS THE CAR"

### INTRODUCTION

Urban transport planning is still largely focused on only one aspect of transport needs, the journey-to-work requirements. Little consideration has been given to the mobility of individuals not in the workforce, most of whom are women, children and elderly people. The aim of this paper is primarily to draw attention to the problems of social isolation, boredom and lack of mobility encountered by women left at home without the family car, which the husband has typically taken to work.

Transport difficulties have been identified for the carless (Bence 1973) and working women (Black 1976; Black and Conroy 1977; Manning 1978). Although transport planners may be aware that suburban women without access to a car suffer mobility constraints, it is felt that the consequences of these constraints are not fully appreciated. To understand why this may be so, this paper will firstly discuss past transport planning and planners' attitudes to women. This will be followed by an analysis of the present use of the family car. It is suggested that it is usually most appropriate to leave the family car at home with the women, and hence children. Solutions are proposed to achieve this objective through community involvement in car-pooling, strong incentives for employers to provide company cars or vans, through improved access to public transport, introduction of cross country bus services and provision of community buses. Such measures could prevent or delay the acquisition of the second family car which many families can ill afford.

### URBAN TRANSPORT PLANNING

Transport problems associated with commuter travel, such as congestion, poor public transport, loss of time and resultant frustrations, are the most readily apparent issues to those involved in transport planning. The individual worker, the business community and Government Departments associated with transport are all concerned with the inefficiencies of the existing commuter transport system. Therefore, pressures from the most influential areas of urban life continue to encourage a predominance of attention to the journey-to-work requirements. Transport planning continues at the macro level, focusing on commercial and employment centres, and decisions are based on aggregated data of existing travel patterns, which are predominantly those of car travellers. Improved efficiency is measured in terms of speed, capacity and convenience. Thus, huge amounts of public money is spent on the road system to accommodate increasing car ownership and usage. Transport resources have therefore favoured private rather than public transport, in response to the worker's choice of car usage, thereby further encouraging it.

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The inevitable growth of car ownership is not often questioned by transport researchers. Acquisition of a second family car is perceived as the ultimate solution to mobility for all the family, without querying whether the family car is being used in the most appropriate way at present. This paper suggests it is not. Purchasing a second family car is too expensive for many families as their scarce resources could be better spent elsewhere. Increasing car ownership also imposes additional social costs on the wider community, while energy conservation appears to be of little concern to many people.

Much of transport planning appears to have been based on an assumption of universal car ownership. The household has been taken to be synonymous with the individual in the sense that in a one-car household, everyone in that household is assumed to have private transport mobility (Report for Department of Environment, Housing and Community Development (D.E.H.C.D.) by Planning Workshop on Individual Mobility and Transport Planning, 1976 pp.12-14). Although there is an average of 1.25 cars per household, 18 per cent of households do not have a car, while 48 per cent have only one car. Twenty-three per cent are two-car households, and seven per cent have three or more cars (N.S.W. 1976 census). Of the 48 per cent with one car, about one quarter of these cars are left at home for the rest of the family (Report for the Cities Commission (C.C.) on Women and Planning by MSJ Keys Young Planners, 1975, Vol. 1 p.93), husbands either car-pooling, using a company car or public transport. The North East Area Public Transportation Review (NEAPTR) undertaken for the S.A. Department of Transport by MSJ Keys Young Planners in 1976, found that where husbands took the car to work, they expected their wives to remain confined to public transport or their feet, until they could afford a second car. This means that children in these families are also affected.

Therefore, at least 55 per cent of households do not have access to the family car during the day. The mobility needs of these individuals have been overlooked largely because of the narrow focus on vehicles, rather than on providing mobility for people, connecting them with activities and opportunities. This has resulted from a disregard of the micro level of transport needs, and consequential neglect of neighbourhood mobility. Transport planning has analysed existing trends, rather than projected from individual needs. The past concentration on the journey-to-work problems and the neglect of the rest of the community, particularly women, is partly related to planners' attitudes to women.

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### PLANNERS' ATTITUDES TO WOMEN

The Cities Commission study surveyed the attitudes of planners and decision makers to women (1975 Vol. 2). This report shows that planners are predominantly middle class men who tend to hold traditional views about women and support the status quo. Women's needs are seen to relate to their roles as mothers and wives, with their interests focused on shops and schools. This has implications for transport planning, as women are perceived as home oriented with their duties centering around the house and their children. Access to opportunities outside the home environment is thus not considered a necessary aspect of the housewife's life.

Even in traditional mother roles, however, women's needs are not being realistically considered in planning. Shopping centres are planned for easy car access while approximately 55 per cent of women do not have a car during the day. As only about 18 per cent of women shop in the evening or weekend (derived from C.C. 1975 Vol.1 p. 102), then there must be a considerable number of women not using the car for shopping. Centralised facilities such as hospitals, health centres, sports complexes and schools can often only be reached effectively by car. Many newer outer suburbs do not even have most of these facilities yet, and even if they do, there is little private and no public transport. Thus, those women without cars and away from public transport remain isolated.

The low value which society places on women's domestic time has made planning for women less important (Bruegel and Kay 1975 p.499). If women have to spend a large part of their day walking or using public transport, then the time taken in these journeys is accepted as unfortunate, but inevitable for most, except for women of higher socio-economic status (SES) who either have access to the second car or live close to public transport. Planning continues to be based on the philosophy of "women and children last", a philosophy which Hugh Stretton strongly criticises (Stretton 1970). Attention is now being drawn to the fact that women's roles are changing, with more women in the workforce (married women employed has increased from 12.6 per cent in 1954 to 35.4 per cent in 1970 (C.C. 1975 Vol. 1 p. 3)) and the nuclear family stage is shortening. It was found, however, that planners tend to view with suspicion changes concerning increased freedom for women and shifts in the nature of the traditional family structure. "When planners undertake analysis on the basis of categories such as households or families, women are rarely accorded their own identity within it" (Bruegel and Kay 1975 p. 500).

Past planning attitudes are no longer appropriate to present transport problems. By looking at the needs

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of women, and hence children, solutions can be found to a wide range of transport difficulties including reducing peak hour traffic and the growth of car ownership.

### DISBENEFITS OF INCREASED CAR USAGE

An upsurge in awareness about quality of life has caused a public reaction against environmental and social costs arising from car ownership. Car usage creates costs such as noise, air pollution, congestion and accidents, and road construction creates costs such as demolition of property and neighbourhood disintegration, particularly in inner city areas.

Development of road transport enabled community life to spread out. The desire for house ownership, greater privacy and more room, became the goal for many families. The result was a spreading out of suburbia, particularly in countries such as Australia and the United States where there is greater availability of land. The social consequences of suburban sprawl, however, have been increasing remoteness from established facilities, jobs and existing transport links. In the new suburb a sense of community is virtually non-existent, and combined with lack of transport, this is creating new kinds of social problems, the suburban 'neurosis' for example. Disadvantages are more related to 'where one lives', rather than 'what one earns' (from Whitlam, cited in Black and Conroy 1977 p.1014). People living in the outer areas have further to travel to work, and hence are more likely to need the family car. Although the car made it technically possible to locate away from the CBD, employment and community facilities have not kept pace with suburban sprawl. Nevertheless employment in the suburbs in 1971 accounted for 81.12 per cent of jobs (P.E.C. 1976). Employment location to date has primarily been based on economic criteria. Firms locate their activities to optimise their profits, while often creating social costs of traffic congestion, inaccessibility and social disruption. One form of social disruption is the necessity for use of the family car to get to work.

### THE CONSEQUENCES OF "WHO GETS THE CAR" IN THE ONE-CAR FAMILY

Four questions are asked in investigating the consequences of "who gets the car" in the one-car family:

1. What is the effect on the remaining members of the family who do without the family car during the day?
2. Why is the car necessary in the journey-to-work?
3. What happens to the car when taken to work?
4. What is the most appropriate use for the family car?

## CONSEQUENCES OF "WHO GETS THE CAR"

1. What is the effect on the remaining members of the family who do without the family car?

It is important to recognise that the opportunities available to the car owning person are very different from those of the individual who is forced to rely on public transport. Hillman, Henderson and Whalley (1973) show that there is a significant difference in the travel and activity patterns between individuals with access to cars and those without. People without cars consider themselves handicapped (South Sydney Municipal Council/Fox and Associates 1978). In South Sydney, 55 per cent of respondents to a survey investigating needs of handicapped people did not identify themselves as linguistically, physically or socially handicapped, but considered they were handicapped in their mobility. There were twice as many women as men in this group (1978 p.2).

Constraints imposed by being without a car have been identified for both employed women and women not in the workforce. The degree to which women are affected is related to the distance of their dwelling from the city, their access to public transport and their SES. Women in outlying commuter areas such as Gosford and Wyong are invariably without the car from 6.00 a.m. to 8.00 p.m., and there is no off-peak transport at all in most of these areas (Gosford/Wyong Joint Steering Committee Report 1974). Whether at home or at work, many women's mobility is intimately tied up with the life-style and mobility requirements of their children. "Inflexible schedules of the husband and children impose severe constraints especially if the woman is without a car" (DEHCD 1976 p.30). The restricted life style of women without cars not only reduces their opportunities to raise their quality of life, but quite often keeps them house-bound in a state of social isolation and boredom (C.C. survey of 1,202 women 1975 Vol. 1).

A further problem is that a significant proportion of women do not have driving licences. Of the 44 per cent of the metropolitan population who have car licences, 65 per cent of these are males, 35 per cent females (Department Motor Transport cited in D.E.H.C.D. 1976 p.11). This can be attributed to the low expectation that many women have of driving a vehicle, the belief that driving is the man's sphere, the expense of obtaining a licence, and a general lack of confidence particularly with increasing age.

### Employed Women

Employed women are more likely to have access to a car than women at home (C.C. Vol. 1, p.93), which is partly due to a number of women getting lifts to work.

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In lower SES suburbs, most employed women use public transport or walk to work. In higher SES suburbs, women have a much higher level of car usage. This can be explained by the higher proportion of two-car families in these suburbs, as well as a greater willingness of higher SES husbands to leave the car at home and use public transport, walk or even ride bikes to work (NEAPTR survey), since many are commuting to the CBD and live near public transport. Black and Conroy examined eight outer suburbs and found that the proportion of men who use cars ranges from 74 per cent (Casula) to 93 per cent (St. Ives), while the proportion of women who have use of a car ranges from 23 per cent (Casula) to 68 per cent (St. Ives) (1977 p.1023). Therefore, women's access to cars is generally less than half that of men, except in the high SES suburbs.

As public transport is considerably slower than private transport, particularly for those living in outer suburbs (see Black and Conroy 1977 p.1020), then unless women are able and prepared to undertake lengthy journeys to work, they are forced to take jobs near their homes. This is particularly relevant to employed women with children. Among this group, the Women and Planning survey found that 41 per cent of employed married women have jobs within ten minutes of their home (C.C. 1975 p.42). The reasons given are that they are able to manage their domestic affairs and children if they work close to home. Therefore, women often take a less satisfying job so they can carry out dual roles - those of mother and employee. Access to a car would reduce the restrictions on employment opportunities for women, particularly for women with older children. Lack of child care facilities and after school activities is a more significant restriction than transport for women with young children. Because of these difficulties, many women are searching for scarce part-time work close to home.

The burden of doing the housework combined with a job is another disadvantage employed women face, since 85 per cent of employed married women do either all or most of the housework (C.C. 1975 Vol. 1 p.83). These women would benefit greatly if they had use of the car to ease some of the strain associated with undertaking a double work load. Many women accept this work load as they still have guilt feelings associated with working and desiring personal satisfaction (Department of Tourism and Recreation (D.T.R.)/Anderson and Ward 1975 pp. 14-15). These guilt feelings make many women hesitate to demand any rights in access to the car. Although financial factors are the main reasons given for married women returning to the workforce, almost half the women surveyed gave explanations such as: to meet people, a change from home, or relief from boredom (C.C. 1975). The desire to return to the workforce is therefore related to

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the social isolation and other disadvantages women undergo during the child-rearing years.

### Women not in the Workforce

The Department of Tourism and Recreation study (1975) found in their survey of women at home that half the women had no vehicle available to them and another quarter said that they had access to the car only when it was pre-arranged with their husbands. Therefore, only one-quarter of housewives had full-time access to a car.

Women at home without a car can suffer the following disabilities:

- \* Social isolation and boredom
- \* Difficulty in undertaking routine duties
- \* Inability to participate in many activities
- \* Loss of confidence
- \* Inability to work

Social isolation was a major problem identified by the C.C. and D.T.R. surveys in 1975. It was found that 50 per cent of women wanted to meet more people. There was a low level of interaction between neighbours, with 40 per cent of women having no good friends within ten minutes walking distance of their homes, and 55 per cent of women had either no contact or infrequent contact with their neighbours. During the day, approximately 40 per cent of women never went out to social or recreational activities when their husband was working. This evidence highlights the lack of social contact among women. The lives these women lead, which are frequently regarded as normal, are in fact abnormal. People require social interaction with others, particularly their own age group, for social development, for interest and for enjoyment. Women at home without a car cannot satisfy most of these needs.

The disadvantages arising from social isolation are greatest in the newer outer suburbs as in these areas there are few or no facilities, and often no public transport. Women without cars in these outer areas are a very disadvantaged segment of our community. The greatest pressure to own two cars is being felt by outer area residents, due to the long distances between facilities and the long journeys to work (NEAPTR Study 1975).

The expectation that women with young children can use public transport, if available, is in most cases unrealistic. The sheer physical strain of getting to and from bus stops or railway stations with babies, children,



prams, and parcels, has to be experienced to be appreciated. Reliance on public transport involves so many difficulties that invariably women choose to stay at home. Instead, they undertake a multiplicity of little trips, usually within walking distance-- taking the children to school or shopping. These activities can consume the whole day. With a car they could be done relatively quickly.

Without a car, women are able to participate in few activities, particularly if they live away from public transport services. In any case, there have been few facilities built to meet women's needs; neighbourhood planning has so far catered for men, children, teenagers, and elderly people. Often, the only activity for women during the weekday is a visit to Playgroup (NEAPTER Study; survey by Wyong Council 1978). The Women's Health Movement has begun to tackle this problem and has set up three Health Centres in Gosford, Liverpool and Leichhardt which have a multi-purpose program of counselling, medical services, adult education courses, activities groups and child care facilities. The program caters for the many women "isolated geographically, emotionally and socially". To overcome mobility difficulties, the Gosford Health Centre provides a free bus service which collects women from a wide radius around Gosford and brings them into the Centre. This perhaps indicates that solutions to some micro level transport problems are best handled with subsidies at a community level.

Recreational opportunities for women are limited as women have been excluded from many areas of recreational activity. There are few clubs or sporting facilities for women. Some 50 per cent of women interviewed would like to engage in more recreational activities (C.C. Vol. 1 1975 p.88). As husbands have a negative attitude to women going out at night, particularly if they are to babysit (D.T.R. 1975 p.50), then access to the car during the day would enable women not in the workforce or women who work part time, to satisfy these needs.

The Women and Planning survey showed that many women lack confidence to proceed from the point where they departed from the workforce. The inability to engage in activities and develop skills during child-rearing years makes re-entry into the workforce much more difficult. Mobility during child-rearing years would at least reduce these difficulties and perhaps enable women to undertake further education courses if desired.

Finally, many women at home who would like to join the workforce are unable to do so because quick and convenient transport is not available.

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### 2. Why is the car necessary in the journey-to-work?

About 80 per cent of journeys to work are cross country rather than into the city. As public transport at present primarily serves the Central Business District (CBD), it is not possible within an acceptable time for many commuters to use public transport for cross country commuter trips, which cover a multitude of destinations at a wide variety of travel times. The introduction of new cross country bus services would make only a small impact on the present commuter car trips, particularly in view of the Australian preference for car travel.

The car is necessary for some individuals, such as marketing personnel or tradesmen, who require the car for their work. Other less obvious but also significant reasons for use of the car in the journey-to-work include: the car is traditionally perceived as the man's property and many men attach a status symbol to owning and driving a car; the flexibility of car travel; some people prefer privacy; crowded peak hour public transport services are disliked.

A traditional belief is that the breadwinner's needs are the most important and therefore, if a car enables time saving in the journey-to-work, this justifies the car being taken to work. The NEAPTR Study showed the commuter's mania for saving time in the journey-to-work. The car is considered essential to achieve this objective. This desire of the male worker must be balanced against the problems faced by women at home.

It is appropriate to ask at this point: What about women's wasted time sitting at home or performing routine tasks by slow or difficult modes, that is walking or using public transport?

### 3. What happens to the car when the car is taken to work?

Apart from cases where the car is used for business purposes, the car invariably remains parked all day. This represents an idle resource. But there are other consequences while the car remains parked. Commuters usually fill railway station car parks by 8.30 a.m. and then spill over into surrounding streets. This has detrimental effects on local residents and businesses. A number of Councils are under serious pressure from the commercial sector, who claim they are losing business due to the difficulty local shoppers now have in obtaining parking spaces. Gosford, Wyong and Blacktown are examples. Non-commuters cannot find a parking spot and often bypass

the railway altogether and drive to their destinations instead, thus decreasing off-peak patronage further.

Other commuters park their cars near their place of work, filling up residential streets and business centres -- the recent dispute between Parramatta Council and some Telecom employees is an example -- while others remain stacked together in multi-storey car parks. Meanwhile, women do without.

#### 4. What is the most appropriate use for the family car?

It has been shown that the car is necessary for women who often have dual roles if employed, or who are stranded at home with few opportunities if not in the workforce. It is also recognised that the car is a necessity for many journeys to work across the suburbs. Others need the car for their work. Therefore, "who gets the car?" To date, the commuter has mostly taken the car. This paper suggests, however, that the car would be better left with the women and children in many cases. Improvement of public transport to meet women's mobility requirements is not a feasible solution. Patronage on off-peak services is too low for the services to cover costs, and services could not be provided to cater for the multitude of directions that women need to cover each day (latent as well as present needs) all at different times. Furthermore, public transport is often inappropriate and inadequate when travelling with young children.

Reducing the number of cars involved in the journey-to-work is desirable from an economic point of view through reduced expenditure on road, traffic and parking requirements, and from a social point of view through reduced noise, congestion, accidents, demolition of property, and so forth. Thus by deciding to leave the car at home, a number of problems could be solved, but at some sacrifice.

#### SOLUTIONS

To encourage the commuter to leave the family car at home, three suggestions are made:

1. Organise increased car-pooling.
2. Improve access to public transport and introduce cross country bus services.
3. Subsidise community transport services.

##### 1. Car-Pooling

If one accepts that many workers require the car merely to get to their place of work, due to lack of adequate public transport for these journeys, then for these

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people serious attempts must be made to reduce the number of cars travelling in a similar direction. Car or van-pooling can release up to four cars or more, per pool vehicle, for house-bound women. For the present, it appears that with the existing CBD orientation of public transport, plus the apparent Australian dislike for using it (the 20 per cent fare reduction and flexitime have had little impact on declining public transport patronage), the convenience of a door-to-door mode will be the only acceptable solution for many. Car-pooling offers continued use of the car, but some sacrifices in flexibility are required. In a car-pool, perhaps, it is inconvenient to waste five to ten minutes collecting passengers, and perhaps there are constraints in all having to come home at the same time. But are these constraints comparable with women having to remain at home most of the day, isolated away from the adult world and outside opportunities, engaged in mundane routine activities which centre around their children? For the sacrifices to appear worthwhile to commuters, and for the benefits to be fully appreciated by women, a strongly organised community campaign will have to present the objectives and benefits of car-pooling.

After matching origin, destination and times of travel data, it is suggested that it will be necessary to approach each individual car commuter who appears a candidate for a car-pool<sup>1</sup>. Community workers could perform this task, finding solutions for obstacles to the scheme. Even if commuters left the car at home three days a week, leaving two days to work back or do other things enroute, the programme would be worthwhile. Further incentives could be provided through use of a commuter transit lane, free or preferential parking, discounted registration fees or petrol discounts for car-poolers.

The N.S.W. Traffic Authority undertook a programme in 1976, firstly to investigate people's attitudes to car-pooling, and secondly, to conduct a car-pool matching experiment. The study revealed that 11 per cent of commuters currently car-pool, but between 60 and 70 per cent of commuters indicated that they might join car-pools. The main incentive was cost savings. Employers were generally indifferent to the role they could play (1977 pp.1 - 16). The experiment, which was conducted in

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1 A pilot survey is being designed at present to test how many commuters could be matched within a section of a suburb. Every household will be contacted; origin, destination and time data will then be matched, and this will be followed through with individual interviews with each likely candidate. The success rate of this experiment will then be compared with the Traffic Authority's experiment (see below).

the Ryde area<sup>1</sup>, was promoted through a variety of methods: logo, brochure/application forms, information kits, display posters, and bumper stickers. The brochure/application forms were distributed to potential car-poolers who applied to the Traffic Authority if they were interested. Only 345 applicants were received, a considerable proportion of which were professional and technical people, indicating there is an explanatory process required for men and women in blue collar households.

Although the above experiment was a start, it left people to approach the Traffic Authority. I suggest that it needs to be handled the other way round. Individuals will have to be approached by those organising a car-pooling scheme, and encouragement and assistance to solving difficulties will have to be handled at an individual level. This involves a thorough community programme.

In addition, strong incentives could be given to employers to encourage provision of vans or company cars for employee commuter pooling. For example, tax concessions and ability to charge a fare to cover costs. A successful van-pooling scheme is carried out by 3M Company in the USA where there is a charge of 80 cents for a ten mile round trip, \$1 for a 40 mile round trip (Black 1976 p.13).

Existing institutional constraints to car-pooling need to be either altered or clarified. These include: the ambiguous definition of a "public motor vehicle" under the N.S.W. Regulations in the Transport Act; Comprehensive Insurance policies which have an exclusion clause which does not cover any loss, damage or liability while the motor vehicle "is being used for the conveyance of passengers for hire or reward"; and a clarification that there is no taxation problem for car-poolers who operate on a non-profit basis.

## 2. Public Transport

One neglected area in public transport planning is access to its services. Mini buses operating frequent services along a variety of routes to connect with main services, would appear to be the first step towards achieving this objective. The mini buses could be public, private or community, all working in a co-ordinated

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1 The experiment originally was to have been conducted in the Warringah area but unions objected on the grounds that the experiment may cause loss of public transport patronage and hence loss of jobs. The aim of car-pooling is to attract those already travelling cars to share cars, and it is at this sector that car-pooling efforts should be made.

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schedule. Improved co-ordination of existing bus services with train services should be another immediate objective.

New cross country PTC bus services should be introduced. Private bus companies may also be willing to provide cross country services, particularly if provided with information on expected demand for services.

### 3. Community Transport Services

Provision and financial support for community buses is a necessary transport objective. These buses could provide peak and off-peak services by connecting commuters with main public transport services during peak hours, and then providing off-peak services for the carless individuals. Mini buses appear to be the most appropriate.

The provision of community social workers to organise populations about limited transport services would be a first step to achieving a number of transport objectives. This would include gaining assistance from those with family cars.

### CONCLUSION

This paper has demonstrated that individuals left without access to a car are significantly disadvantaged. Particular attention has been drawn to the plight of women who are often house-bound without a car, suffering social isolation and limited opportunities. Access to a car would considerably improve their position. It could also be of benefit to other members of their families. Children and grandparents would be able to engage in more outside activities, or attend appointments more easily. Other sections of the community, who have no car, could gain assistance from those with cars in their vicinity. This kind of assistance is part and parcel of many small rural communities who invariably have no or poor transport.

It has already been shown by other researchers that women have much lower access to a car than men in their journeys to work. As a result, they are either forced to take a less satisfactory job closer to home or have to undertake considerably longer commuter trips. Many women in the workforce have dual roles as mothers and employees, and use of a car would considerably assist to relieve the strain of this workload. Therefore, it is suggested that the car is most appropriate with the woman, where possible.

Private solutions are being sought to transport problems through the use of family resources to acquire a second car. Prominent transport researchers appear to see this as the most realistic solution. "The most realistic

prospect for the future is increased household car-ownership. In this way, access to private transport will become more equal for males and females..." (Black 1976 p.13). Although equality in mobility is essential, this paper questions the costs imposed on society through acquisition of the second family car. Since the car taken to work generally remains a wasted resource throughout the day, it is suggested that solutions be found to leaving the car at home. Advantages accruing could be:

\* Advantages for women

- less social isolation, boredom and dissatisfaction with home life through opportunity to engage in outside activities;
- more choice in whether they would like to work or not;
- greater mobility and hence opportunities for their children, the elderly and other disadvantaged people in the community;
- less insecurity among women;
- less differences between women of higher and lower socio-economic status.

\* Advantages to commuters

(who use car-pools)

- less road congestion;
- the strain of driving is shared;
- social contact with neighbours;

(who use public transport)

- could use public transport rather than car on new cross country routes.

\* Advantages for the Government

- reduced road expenditure;
- more efficient public transport catering better for the needs of the people;
- increased patronage.

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