1 Title:

# Measuring spatial inequalities in the access to stationbased bike-sharing in Barcelona using an Adapted Affordability Index.

5 Abstract:

6 Bike-sharing schemes have been spreading globally during the last years. These should be 7 publicly available schemes, servicing all groups of population. But the literature shows there 8 are underrepresented population groups amongst their users. The physical access to bike-9 sharing stations and the supporting network of cycle lanes seems to influence the use of the 10 schemes, especially of lower-income communities.

This paper applies an index as a tool to evaluate spatial inequalities in the access to stationbased bike-sharing schemes and the cycle network. The index aggregates several variables related to the population level of affordability, including mobility-related variables. The Adapted Affordability Index was inspired in an existing one, produced by the city council, in an attempt to ensure its usability for policymaking. The index was calculated and applied to the case of the bike-sharing scheme in Barcelona, at the geographical level of census tracts.

17 The index shows a strong correlation with income, a variable not always publicly available at

- 18 such a small geographical level.
- 19 This study shows that there are inequalities in spatial access to the Barcelona bike-sharing
- scheme; the wealthier the population group, the more they have access to cycling infrastructure,
- especially to bike-sharing stations. The bike-sharing trend is accentuated in the hilly areas ofthe city.
- 23 The successful application of the Adapted Affordability Index to the city of Barcelona is a
- 24 promising avenue to provide a robust and easy to use bike-sharing spatial equity evaluation
- 25 tool for policymaking.
- 26 Keywords:
- 27 Bike-sharing; spatial inequalities; index; access; cycling infrastructure
- 28
- 29 Highlights:
- Spatial access to the Barcelona bike-sharing scheme *Bicing* is assessed for both bike sharing stations and the cycle network.
- An Adapted Affordability Index is created in order to classify the population at the geographical level of census tracts.
  - The Adapted Affordability Index strongly correlates with Income, which validates its use for social equity purposes.
- The wealthier the population, the more they have access to cycling infrastructure,
   especially to bike-sharing stations.
- wealthiest population in hilly areas have access to bike-sharing stations despite these
   being technically adverse locations.
- 40

# 41 1 Introduction

42 The use of the bicycle for everyday mobility is on the rise in urban environments. One of the 43 determinants for its use is the availability of a cycle network. This cycling-specific type of 44 infrastructure is located in specific locations and spaces. The access to specific locations and 45 spaces where cycling infrastructure can be found influences the mobility choices of city 46 dwellers. Schemes that provide shared use of a bicycle fleet, or bike-sharing schemes (hereafter 'BSS'), facilitate the use of the cycle network by the population. Both the cycle network and 47 48 BSS are considered cycling infrastructure, "hardware" that is used to support cycling mobility 49 (Anaya-Boig, 2021). 50 Despite of the first BSS being implemented in Amsterdam in 1965 (Feddes, de Lange &

Brömmelstroet, 2019), it was not until the following century that a new generation of BSS, generally operated via contact-less cards, began to appear in many cities and towns (Fishman, 2019). The academic interest in BSS has steadily increased over the last years, as review papers show (Fishman, 2016; Fishman, Washington & Haworth, 2013; Picci, 2015; Si *et al.*, 2019).

show (Fishman, 2016; Fishman, Washington & Haworth, 2013; Ricci, 2015; Si *et al.*, 2019).

55 BSS provide an active mobility option which, on the one hand, has a positive impact on

56 individual health, mainly thanks to the benefits of physical activity; and on the other hand, it

57 has public health benefits as a substitute for less sustainable mobility options (Rojas-Rueda *et* 

- 58 *al.*, 2011; Woodcock *et al.*, 2014).
- 59 Nevertheless, these benefits don't seem to be equally distributed amongst different population

groups. Inequalities in the usage of BSS have been documented in Woodcock et al (2014), who
 found that the user profile of the BSS in London was predominantly male, white and employed.

62 Additionally, studies in Australia and the United States showed than BSS users were younger,

- richer and more educated than the general population (Fishman *et al.*, 2014; Shaheen, Martin
- 64 & Cohen, 2013). Race and income were analysed by McNeil *et al.* (2018) in a broad report
- 65 about three cities with BSS in the US, showing that marginalised groups' barriers were bigger.
- In her review, Ricci (2015) gathered evidence of how the differences usage is associated with an inequality of access to BSS from different cities in the world (Dublin, London, Montreal,
- 68 Toronto, Salt Lake City, Minneapolis-Saint Paul, Mexico City, Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou).

69 The literature points out to the spatial distribution of BSS stations as a key feature to explain

- these inequalities in the usage of BSS (Clark & Curl, 2016; Ricci, 2015). As Clark and Curl
- 71 (2016) explain, when all population groups have equal access to BSS stations, we would expect
- the proportion of the group which can access a station to equal that of the population as a whole.
   Where there are differences, this can be considered an indication of socio-spatial inequality of
- 73 Where there are differences, this can be considered an indication of socio-spatial inequality of 74 access and an indication of potential exclusion of some groups with respect to accessing BSS.
- 75 Spatial access to BSS has been generally assessed in the literature by analysing the proximity
- 76 to BSS stations. Howland et al. showed that the lack of BSS stations was an important barrier
- 77 to the use of BSS in cities of the United States: 41% of operators "feel lack of bike
- 78 infrastructure was a barrier to their potential users" (2017:pp.15–16). In a study sampling
- students in the University of Valencia, Molina-García *et al.*, (2013) found than the most likely to become users were those who lived 250 metres or less from a BSS station. Similarly, Curto
- *et al.* (2016) found that the availability of BSS stations close to home was positively associated
- 82 with bicycle commuting in Barcelona.
- 83 Studies that measure inequalities in the access to cycling infrastructures provide a description
- 84 of the disparities between population with spatial access and population without spatial access
- 85 to a service or resource, however spatial access is defined in each of the studies. This in itself,
- does not imply equity or fairness, however, a moral assumption can be made implying that unequal access to cycling infrastructure is unfair (Lucas *et al.*, 2019). Some studies show that

88 some population groups would benefit more than others from having access to cycling 89 mobility. For example, Teunissen et al. (2015) found that the Cicloruta bicycle network and Ciclovía recreational program in Bogotá (Colombia) do not offer equal access for all socio-90 91 economic strata (hereafter 'SES'), especially for the lower SES, however users mainly come from low and middle income SES. In other words, these lower income groups should have 92 93 even more access to cycling infrastructure to achieve a fair or just state of affairs. García-94 Palomares et al. (2012) made an interesting contribution to this debate by assessing the two 95 most commonly used location-allocation modelling for the city of Madrid, concluding that 96 models with more uniform coverage are more equitable, compared to models that maximize 97 potential demand. Even if there is no stated demand, it seems that the location of BSS stations 98 in deprived areas could unlock a hidden demand and generate even bigger social benefits for 99 lower-income populations. This would be supported by a study lead by Ogilvie and Goodman in London (2012), who found that people living in deprived areas, despite being less likely to 100 101 live close to a BSS station, made more trips on average than people living in wealthier areas. 102 The authors (ibid.) explained these findings in relation to the lack of bicycle ownership 103 affordability (this was confirmed by McNeil, Broach & Dill, 2018) or storage facilities. Adding 104 to the equity debate, McNeil et al. (2018) found that lower-income communities reported a 105 greater need for stations than higher-income communities.

106 In terms of how to assess spatial access to BSS stations, Duran et al. (2018), in a study featuring 107 five Brazilian cities, defined catchment areas using buffers around the BSS stations. In this 108 study, researchers used publicly available household -level disaggregated data. Authors found 109 that the mean income of the head of the household in the areas served by the BSS was 1.6 to 110 2.3 times the average of the cities'. They also found that the percentage of white residents in 111 the cities BSS' catchment areas was almost twice as high as the cities' average. Using data 112 from 29 BSS in the United States, Barajas (2018) also compared residents in service areas, this time defined as census units within 400 m of a bike-sharing station. The author found that BSS 113 114 disproportionately served residential areas that are whiter, less poor and more proficient in 115 English. Hosford and Winters (2018) compared residents inside and outside bike-sharing service areas in five Canadian cities. They used Dissemination Areas, the smallest spatial unit 116 for which socioeconomic data is disseminated in Canada, located within 500 m from a bike-117 118 sharing station. Authors found that advantaged areas have better access to BSS infrastructure 119 in four of the five cities. A recent study by Chen et al. (2019) located in southern Tampa 120 (Florida, US), was able to capture disparities at individual level, thanks to their access to 121 disaggregated data. Results show notable spatial disparities in the access to BSS stations (Gini coefficient higher than 0.95) and disparities amongst individuals of different socioeconomic 122 123 groups categorized by race, income level and age.

The use of the bicycles of BSS requires appropriate infrastructures and spaces. This might seem 124 125 obvious, but there are not many studies using both variables to assess bike-share use and even 126 less to assess this in regard to equity. An exception is a BSS trip generation study in the city of 127 New York, that found that the proximity of cycle lanes to BSS stations was associated with a 128 greater use of the BSS (Noland, Smart & Guo, 2016). Studies assessing BSS performance acknowledge the need for these schemes to be integrated within the cycle infrastructure 129 network. In Spain, a study in Valencia by Molina-García et al. (2013) concluded that a 130 successful use of the BSS needed to be complemented with a cycle network. In line with 131 132 previous observations by Midgley (2011) and also in Spain, Marqués et al. (2015) conclude 133 that an integrated offer of cycling infrastructure (BSS stations and cycle network) was 134 necessary to attract new cyclists in the city of Seville. The access to both BSS and the cycle 135 network seems to be lower for disadvantaged communities, such as low-income groups and

- ethnic minorities, as shown by the results of a survey to BSS operators, the majority from theUnited States (Leister *et al.*, 2018).
- 138 Following Martens *et al.* (2019) principles for measuring transport equity, we argue that an
- 139 unequal distribution of cycling infrastructure (BSS stations and the cycle network) sets the
- 140 conditions for an inequitable allocation of cycling mobility resources. The aim of this study is
- 141 to measure socio-spatial inequalities in the access to BSS by assessing the population in census
- 142 tracts that have a station in their area against those that don't. Additionally, we acknowledge
- 143 the importance of the spatial access to cycle lanes to support the use of the BSS by analysing
- 144 first the integration between both networks (the BSS stations' network and the cycle network)
- 145 and second the access to the cycle network.
- The BSS "Bicing" used in the study is the one in Barcelona, Spain. It is a BSS with 419 stations and 6,000 bicycles in a city of 1,600,000 inhabitants. Launched in March 2007, "Bicing" is used 34,920 times per day. The total number of cycle trips in the city was 184,186 which corresponded to a modal split of 2.3% of all trips (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2020b).
- 150 Geographic units (census tracts) were classified according to the different categories of an
- 151 index especially created for this study and inspired in an existing one, used by the city council.
- 152 The aim is to tackle the absence of BSS equity evaluation tools both in academic literature and
- 153 in policymaking with the most transferable and easy-to-use index proposal.

# 154 2 Materials and methods

The aim of the study is to measure socio-spatial inequalities in the access to a BSS, including the cycle network that would support the use of the scheme. The cycling infrastructure networks that will be analysed are, on the one hand, the BSS stations' network and, on the other hand, the cycle network.

159 Assuming that the equal distribution of these two infrastructural elements facilitates cycling mobility in an equitable way, the subsequent equity analysis focuses on measuring the 160 161 corresponding indicators in a disaggregated manner. The indicator for the availability of the 162 BSS network and the cycle network is defined by a catchment area within and around the 163 census tracts. The disaggregation used to differentiate population groups from each other is 164 operationalised through an index specifically created for this study. The index was inspired in an existing affordability index used by the city council at a level of their districts and adapted 165 166 to a smaller spatial unit (census tracts), thus improving its accuracy, and to the publicly 167 available data. The affordability index reflects the distribution of income of the population living in the census tracts. 168

- 169 The index-categorised census tracts with access to both cycling infrastructures: BSS stations
- 170 and cycle network, were compared with those without access in order to assess if different
- 171 categories differ.
- Finally, sensitivity analyses were performed in order to assess the definition of catchment area,the validity of the index against income and whether hilliness was a confounding effect.

## 174 2.1 Data preparation

175 In the absence of individual-level disaggregated data, as used in some of the studies mentioned 176 above (e.g. Molina-García *et al.*, 2013; Curto *et al.*, 2016; Duran *et al.*, 2018), we used the 177 smallest geographical unit for which population data was available for our research, census 178 tracts, also called census areas in other countries. These geographical units were first

179 mentioned in the Spanish Electoral National Law of 1877 (Government of Spain, 1878:pp.379–

- 180 406). According to this law, census tracts should be relatively similar in terms of area and they
- 181 need to have a clear delimitation. The law also establishes that census tracts need to be defined
- by the provincial office of the Electoral Census. In the city of Barcelona, the 1,068 census tracts
- 183 range from 657 to 3,677 residents (mean=1,525; SD=357).
- The cycle network spatial layer (Table 1) was created by selecting the existing cycle paths. The
  176.6 km of cycle network included the "Green Belt" (in Catalan, "Ronda Verda", a regional
- 186 cycle network within the province of Barcelona) and "Cycle lanes". Cycle lanes included non-
- 187 segregated cycle paths on pedestrian areas and cycle tracks on the road, completely protected
- 188 from the rest of the road users or semi-segregated, by using rubber pieces.
- 189**Table 1.**Description of the Spatial information used in the analysis.

Spatial Information (geographic features)	Source
Census tracts Boundaries (polygons)	ICGC (2017) <sup>a</sup>
Cycle network (lines)	Open Data BCN (2018) <sup>b</sup>
Bike-Sharing Stations (points)	Open Data BCN (2018) <sup>c</sup>
<b>Elevation model</b> (Raster 2D)	ICGC (2016) <sup>d</sup>

Note: INE, Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Statistics Institute); BCN, Barcelona; ICGC, Institut
 Cartogràfic i Geològic de Catalunya (Cartography and Geography Institute of Catalonia).

192 <sup>a</sup> ICGC provided the delimitation of the census tracts updated for Catalonia 193 (https://www.icgc.cat/en/Public-Administration-and-Enterprises/Downloads/Geoinformation-194 layers/Census-sections) 195 <sup>b</sup>Open Data BCN (https://opendata-ajuntament.barcelona.cat/) information was provided by Barcelona 196 City Council. The datasets included in the Cycle network were: "Ronda Verda" and "Cycle paths". 197 <sup>°</sup> Open Data BCN ( https://opendata-ajuntament.barcelona.cat/) is provided by Barcelona City Council. 198 The dataset was "Bicing stations location". Note that at the end of 2018 started a transition to a different 199 technology and the number of stations is planned to increase during 2019 and 2020.  $^{d}$  ICGC provided a "Terrain elevation model" with a grid of 2x2 metres of resolution 200 201 (https://www.icgc.cat/en/Downloads/Elevations/2x2-m-Terrain-elevation-model). 202



Figure 1. Map with topography and census tracts in Barcelona

The map in Figure 1 shows the census tracts delimitation in the city of Barcelona. The map also shows the land elevation or topography.

207 2.2 Adapted Affordability Index (AAI)

We propose an Adapted Affordability Index (hereafter 'AAI'). The AAI is an adaptation from an existing index designed by the Barcelona City Council, the "Household Income Index" – originally in Catalan "*Índex de Renda Familiar*" (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016). The main goal of the original index was to categorise the population in different groups, in relation to their level of affordability. The differences between these groups would help to illustrate social inequalities in a spatial context, measured against the averages of a specific population, in this case, the population of the city of Barcelona.

The reasons why we use the "Household Income Index" by the city council as a starting point are twofold: on the one hand, it features mobility-related variables that were appropriate for our study. On the other hand, this study aimes at producing easy-to-use outcomes for policymakers, hence the inspiration of an index that was created by policymakers for their own use. The only study that had assessed bike-sharing spatial equity using an index is the aforementioned Canadian-based analysis by Hosford and Winters (2018). The Pampalon Deprivation Index features material and social deprivation indicators (Pampalon *et al.*, 2012) but none of them are mobility-related and the authors did not adapted it for their study.

224 There are only two differences from the original definition of the city council's affordability 225 index caused by data availability and the specific focus on mobility. One of the differences is 226 that the city council uses a bigger geographical unit, the districts. We aimed at the smallest possible geographical unit and we found information at the level of census tracts for all the 227 228 variables included in the city council's index except for the Proportion of unemployed 229 population. We decided to use Census tracts in spite of losing one variable of the original Index. 230 The other difference relates to the vehicle ownership, in this case, given that the information 231 was available, we decided to account only for non-commercial vehicles in order to have a more 232 accurate idea of mobility options unrelated to logistics.

The following table shows the details of the variables that were aggregated in the AAI and the extra variable Income, against which the AAI was tested for correlation as a sensitivity analysis.

236 **Table 2.** Description of the variables in the Adapted Affordability Index (AAI).

Source				
nts				
Ajuntament de Barcelona (2016) <sup>a</sup>				
Ajuntament de Barcelona (2016) <sup>b</sup>				
Ajuntament de Barcelona (2016) <sup>c</sup>				
Ajuntament de Barcelona (2016) <sup>d</sup>				

Average Income per person (older than 15 years old) [ $\in$ ] INE (2016)<sup>e</sup>

- Note: AAI, Adapted Affordability Index; HS, horsepower; INE, Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National
   Statistics Institute).
- 239 a Reading of the Register of inhabitants of Barcelona City Council on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 2016
   240 (<u>https://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/tpob/pad/padro/a2016/nivi/nivi11.htm</u>)
- <sup>b</sup> Local land value, Data from the Property Tax Database, Land registry/records office, Ministry of
   Economy and Finance, reading on January 2016. Provided by the City Council Finance Institute,
   Barcelona (<u>https://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/timm/classol/locals/valor/a2016/VL04.htm</u>).
- <sup>c</sup> Taxable horsepower of automobiles. Vehicle census of Barcelona City Council, 2106
   (<u>https://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/economia/vehicles/a2016/potencia/t05.htm</u>). The Tax to a
   vehicle of 16 or more taxable horsepower is at least 172 € per year, similar to the tax of a minibus or a
   medium-sized van (<u>https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/hisenda/en/ivtm-tax-mechanically-powered-</u>
   vehicles).

- <sup>d</sup> Type of owner of automobiles. Vehicle census of Barcelona City Council, 2106 (<u>https://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/economia/vehicles/a2016/propiet/t04.htm</u>)
   <sup>e</sup> Data from the National Institute of Statistics, 2016
- 252 (https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=30896#!tabs-tabla)
- All the alphanumeric information described in Table 2 was associated to the geographical units
   census tracts and it was merged using ArcGIS software (ESRI, 2016).
- 255 The City Council of Barcelona applied weights in the calculation of the Index ranging between
- 256 17.5% and 15.0% and depending on the type of information provided by each variable. We
- 257 decided to apply equal weights of the variables in the AAI calculations given that the difference
- between the weights was very small and the sources of the information were different.
- As a data clustering method, the index was divided into 5 categories, using the Jenks natural breaks classification method (Jenks, 1967). The Jenks method optimises the accuracy in the visualisation of categories on a map statistically by reducing the variance within classes and
- 262 maximising the variance between classes. This clustering method was calculated using ArcGIS
- 263 (ESRI, 2016).
- The city council index did not feature any income variable, which is widely used in equity analysis if available. This variable was not available at the level of census tracts at the time that the city council designed their index and we decided to replicate the limitations that the city
- council faced, in order to create an index that would still be valid to assess mobility equity in
  absence of the income variable. This way we also supported the transferability of the study, as
- income information might not be available or updated at the level of census tracts for other cities.
- Furthermore, the recent availability of income data at census tracts level allowed us to perform a sensitivity analysis to check the validity of our results. The sensitivity analysis consisted of the calculation of the correlation between the AAI and the income variable.

#### 274 2.3 Access to BSS

In order to assess the access to the BSS scheme, we have done three different analyses. The first one explores the integration of the BSS station network with the cycle network, applying a walking distance analysis. The second and main analysis of this paper defines the catchment area of both stations and cycle network and compares the AAI performance for the residents within and outside it. The third analysis examines whether the hilliness can be a confounding effect for the access to BSS stations.

281 2.3.1 The cycle network as a support for the BSS

We assume that the spatial access to the BSS is partly conditioned by the availability of a cycle 282 283 network in which to use the shared bicycles. For this reason, not only we have analysed the 284 access to the cycle network using the same conditions used to define the access to the BSS 285 stations, but we have also analysed how the two networks are integrated in space. We have also assumed that the BSS users will cover the shortest distance between the BSS station network 286 287 and the cycle network by walking, using the street network (not the Euclidian distance). We have calculated the average walking distance between the BSS stations and the cycle network 288 289 for each of the index categories. A statistical test, a one-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) 290 was used to assess whether there were differences between the categories.

#### 291 2.3.2 Catchment area

292 The area in which population can physically access a station-based BSS is defined as the 293 catchment area around BSS stations. This study focuses on residential population; thus, access 294 to BSS stations is defined as the walking distance to and from stations from the residence 295 location. When data are available at individual or household level, the geographical objects to analyse are "points". In this case, in the literature, BSS catchment areas are defined as buffers, 296 297 and studies then compare the characteristics of the population in geo-located points within and 298 outside these buffers. The radius of these buffers is usually defined by distance that the 299 residents are willing to walk to the BSS stations, assuming they are all able to walk.

300 When individual, disaggregated data is not available, studies use aggregated data in areal units 301 such as census tracts or neighbourhoods. In these other cases, the geographical objects to 302 analyse are "polygons", and the literature is not consistent in the definition of the catchment 303 area; there are studies that implement buffers (Smith, Oh & Lei, 2015; Hosford & Winters, 304 2018) and others that define catchment areas as those areal units with any station within their 305 polygon (Brown et al., 2019). Implementing buffers around polygons or just selecting those 306 polygons that contain BSS stations both have limitations. Buffers add large amounts of area to the calculations by adding areal units with no stations where only a small part of the population 307 has spatial access to the BSS. Selecting only stations contained in the polygons overlooks 308 residents of neighbouring polygons that fall within walking distance from a BSS station. 309

310 This study uses aggregated data at census tract level and Barcelona is a relatively small city in 311 terms of area (it has 101.4 km<sup>2</sup>, with a shape of a triangle of about 11 km per side) with an exceptionally high population density (16.150 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>). For this reason, 312 implementing buffers of 400m or 500m as found in the literature for cities in the United States 313 and Brazil, both for aggregated and disaggregated data (Smith, Oh & Lei, 2015; Hosford & 314 315 Winters, 2018; Ursaki & Aultman-Hall, 2015; Duran et al., 2018) around the 419 stations of 316 the Barcelona BSS would cover the entire area of the city. Given these specific urban features, we decided to define the catchment areas by selecting the census tracts containing any station 317

318 and to run a sensitivity analysis adapting the buffer methodology to the Barcelona context.

The access to cycling facilities has then been defined in spatial terms applying the following conditions:

- Bicycle-sharing stations (points) that were "completely contained" in the census tracts
   (polygons).
- Cycle network (lines) that "intersected" with the census tracts (polygons)

324 For a sensitivity analysis, the willingness to walk to a BSS station that defines buffer distances 325 was calculated in relation to the density of the BSS station network. We argue that the average distance between neighbouring BSS stations influences the willingness to walk of the 326 (potential) users of the BSS. If residents are planning to use the scheme, they will be aware of 327 328 the location of the stations through the mapping services and the scheme app. Within the service area, that matches the municipality of Barcelona, residents have at least two stations at 329 their reach; for this reason, we have assumed that they are not willing to walk more than half 330 331 of the average distance between stations. We have calculated the average distance between 332 closest stations applying a Nearest Distance Analysis using the software QGIS (QGIS 333 Development Team, 2020).

To avoid the limitation of adding large amounts of extra area to the calculations, part of which would hold residents with no access to BSS stations, we applied an additional condition to the

- buffer-selected census tracts; they needed to be covered by the buffer in at least 50% of their
  - 337 area.

- Hence, the definition of catchment areas for the sensitivity analysis is as follows:
- Bicycle-sharing stations (points) that were "completely contained" in the census tracts
   (polygons) or within a buffer of half of the average distance between neighbouring
   stations around the census tracts, when the buffer covers 50% or more of the area of the
   buffer-selected census tract.
- Cycle network (lines) that "intersected" with the census tracts (polygons) or with a buffer of half of the average distance between neighbouring stations around the census tracts, when the buffer covers 50% or more of the area of the buffer-selected census tract.
- Hilliness is known to be a constricting factor for the use of BSS (Mateo-Babiano *et al.*, 2016;
  Sun, Chen & Jiao, 2018) and cycling infrastructure (Parkin, Wardman & Page, 2008;
  Vandenbulcke *et al.*, 2011). Previous studies of the Barcelona BSS show that cyclists are more
  inclined to avoid using stations located in elevated areas (Faghih-Imani *et al.*, 2017).
- 351 Even when it is used as a sheer technical limitation, this constriction might hinder the access
- 352 to cycling facilities of population groups living in hilly areas. In other words, hilliness could
- 353 work as a confounding effect; it is a technical explanation of the lack of stations in hilly areas,
- but it could also be related to the characteristics of the residents in these areas. For this reason,
- 355 we decided to undertake a sensitivity analysis by stratifying the sample and analysing only the 356 billy areas (Paumon et al. 2012)
- hilly areas (Bauman *et al.*, 2012).
- The map in Figure 1 provides illustrative reference for the hilly areas in the city. For the sensitivity analysis, census tracts with hilliness were defined as those that had more than 5%
- of slope in at least half of their area. We found that 19 stations and 33.4 km of the cycle network
- 360 are located in hilly census tracts.
- 361

362 In order to compare all the possible situations in terms of access to BSS stations and to the cycle network, six sub-groups have been studied; with and without access to BSS stations, with 363 364 and without access to the cycle network, with access to both and with access to neither of them. 365 For each of the sub-groups, the size and statistical strength of the difference between the AAI 366 categories (first, for the general sample and second for the population living in hilly areas) was 367 calculated with the Chi-Squared residuals and visualised in specific graphics. R Studio software (RStudio Team, 2018), with the package "corrplot" (Wei & Simko, 2017), was used 368 369 to calculate and visualise Chi-Squared residuals.

# 370 3 Results

- The first part of the results of this study was the calculation and visualisation of the AdaptedAffordability Index at the level of census tracts.
- The second part is the classification of the indexed census tracts according to their residents'access to cycling infrastructures. It also includes several sensitivity analyses.
- 375 3.1 Adapted Affordability Index (AAI)
- The calculation of the AAI for the Barcelona census tracts produced five categories that are visualised in Figure 2.



Figure 2. Adapted Affordability Index for the city of Barcelona

The AAI map in the figure above shows the distribution of the five categories in the urban space, ranging from category AAI 1 in yellow for the most deprived census tracts to AAI 5 in brown for the wealthiest and with AAI 2 in ochre, AAI 3 in orange and AAI 4 in brick red in between. Wealthier census tracts (AAI 4 and AAI 5) are mainly located in two areas: from the NW to the city centre and along most of the coastline. Deprived areas (AAI 1 and AAI 2) are mostly located in the historic city centre, close to the old docks. Census tracts of the lowest categories can also be found in areas to the NE and W of the city.

#### 387 Sensitivity analysis with Income

- 388 In order to assess if the AAI was related to income, a correlation test was calculated. A positive
- 389 correlation between the Adapted Affordability Index (AAI) variable and the Income variable
- 390 was found. The linear correlation between the two variables was strong and statistically
- 391 significant, r=0.836, n=1,068, p < 0.01.

- 392 3.2 Access
- 393 3.2.1 The cycle network as a support for the BSS

To assess the integration of the BSS station network with the cycle network, the average walking distance between networks was calculated. Table 3 presents the average walking distance disaggregated by category.

397Table 3.<br/>categoryAverage walking distance (metres) between BSS stations and cycle network, by AAI

AAI Category	Ν	Average distance (metres) (SD)					
Category 1	30	195 (190)					
Category 2	69	220 (251)					
Category 3	156	157 (204)					
Category 4	104	170 (254)					
Category 5	60	221 (217)					
All categories	419	183 (227)					

400

401 As the Standard Deviation (SD) shows, there is a certain level of variability around the 402 calculated means, especially in AAI 4. In terms of how the average distance differ between 403 AAI Categories, a one-way ANOVA test determined that there were differences between group 404 means (F (4,414) = 1.49, p = 0.20).

405 3.2.2 Catchment area

406 Of the total number of census tracts, 28.0% have access to BSS stations (Figure 3), 42.0% have 407 access to the cycle network (Figure 4), 16.9% have access to both and 46.9% have access to

408 neither stations nor the cycle network.

<sup>399</sup> 

Note: AAI, Adapted Affordability Index; N, number of observations; SD, Standard Deviation.









Figure 5. Census tracts with access to both the cycle network and to BSS stations



#### 418 **Figure 6.**

Census tracts without access to the cycle network and to BSS stations.

419

420 Census tracts with access to BSS stations are scattered due to stations being points geolocated 421 at a certain distance between each other (Figure 3). There is a lack of stations close to the city 422 administrative boundaries. These are, in general, poorer and industrial areas. The seafront is an 423 exception to the absence of BSS stations in the boundaries. Coincidentally, it hosts high-value 424 properties (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2020a:fig.Lloguer Mitjà Mensual per Barris).

- 425 In contrast, census tracts with access to the cycle network show certain continuity due to the
- 426 fact that they follow the lines of the cycle lanes and paths (Figure 4). However, the map also
- 427 shows a gap without any cycling infrastructure in a considerable area of the city. Note that the
- 428 over-printed pink dots are meant to differentiate that coloured units in this map indicate the 429 opposite from the rest, a lack of access.
- 430 Census tracts with access to both BSS stations and to the cycle network are centrally located
- 431 or in the seafront and other wealthy areas of the city. On the other extreme, the lack of access
- 432 to neither cycle infrastructures is located in hilly areas and poorer census tracts.



434 **Figure 7.** Total population split by AAI Category

- 435 The figure above presents the total population of the municipality of Barcelona split by AAI
- 436 Category. Categories seem to be normally distributed, with the central category being the most
- 437 populated and the poorest and wealthiest categories being the least populated.

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438<br/>439Table 4.<br/>Distribution of the total census tracts and population by Adapted Affordability Index Category and access to cycle network and to bike-sharing<br/>stations.

ALL CENSUS TRACTS				Cycle n	Bike-sharing stations				D-4h		Nama			
			No		Yes		No		Yes		Both		INOILE	
AAI Catego- ry	Census tracts (%)	Total Popu- lation (%)	Census tracts (% All catego- ries)	Popu- lation (% Category Total)	Census tracts (% All catego- ries)	Popu- lation (% Category Total)	Census tracts (% All catego- ries)	Popu- lation (% Categor y Total)						
1	73	129,995	54	94,773	19	35,222	53	94,322	20	35,673	9	18,037	43	77,137
	(6.8)	(8.0)	(8.7)	(72.9)	(4.2)	(27.1)	(6.9)	(72.6)	(6.7)	(27.4)	(5.0)	(13.9)	(8.6)	(59.3)
2	271	411,027	185	274,492	86	136,535	218	322,698	53	88,329	25	45,763	157	231,926
	(25.4)	(25.2)	(29.9)	(66.8)	(19.2)	(33.2)	(28.3)	(78.5)	(17.7)	(21.5)	(13.8)	(11.1)	(31.3)	(56.4)
3	424	638,924	235	342,959	189	295,965	306	451,356	118	187,568	73	119,956	190	275,347
	(39.7)	(39.2)	(38.0)	(53.7)	(42.1)	(46.3)	(39.8)	(70.6)	(39.5)	(29.4)	(40.3)	(18.8)	(37.9)	(43.1)
4	236	352,695	111	162,875	125	189,820	160	233,242	76	119,453	54	86,370	89	129,792
	(22.1)	(21.7)	(17.9)	(46.2)	(27.8)	(53.8)	(20.8)	(66.1)	(25.4)	(33.9)	(29.8)	(24.5)	(17.8)	(36.8)
5	64	96,295	34	49,027	30	47,268	32	45,737	32	50,558	20	33,590	22	32,059
	(6.0)	(5.9)	(5.5)	(50.9)	(6.7)	(49.1)	(4.2)	(47.5)	(10.7)	(52.5)	(11.0)	(34.9)	(4.4)	(33.3)
All Catego-	1,068	1,628,936	619	924,126	449	704,810	769	1,147,355	299	481,581	181	303,716	501	746,261
ries	(100.0)	(100.0)	(58.0)	(56.7)	(42.0)	(43.3)	(72.0)	(70.4)	(28.0)	(29.6)	(16,9)	(18.6)	(46.9)	(45.8)

440 Note: AAI, Adapted Affordability Index

- The distribution of the AAI categories according to spatial access to the two types of cycling infrastructure (Table 4) shows that 72-73% of the most deprived communities lack of access in contrast to only 47-50% of the wealthiest. Communities scoring in the central to high AAI categories are the ones with higher access to both cycle infrastructures. Communities without access to neither cycling infrastructure are mainly those in AAI categories central to lower.
- 447 In line with the percentages of the population with access to both types of cycling infrastructure
- 448 (Figure 3 and Figure 4), all categories show less access to BSS stations than to the cycle 449 network.
- 450 It is clear for BSS stations that the wealthier the population, the more access they have to BSS.
- 451 This is less clear for the cycle network, as only the two lowest categories had less than half of
- 452 the population without access.



#### 454 **Figure 8.** Percentage of population in each category with no access to cycle network and with 455 no access to BSS stations. Linear regression equations and R-squared values displayed on chart.

In order to quantify the decrease of access to cycle infrastructure detected already in the description of the data, a linear regression was calculated for the population lacking access to each types of infrastructure and to both. The negative coefficients of the linear regressions for each of infrastructures were very similar (-6.25 and -6.46), which makes the two regression lines appear almost parallel. The relationship between complete lack of access and population was even steeper but in general, the rate of increase of access to both types of cycling infrastructures as categories became wealthier was similar.

The R-squared value for the lack of access to BSS stations was higher than for the lack of access to the cycle network, but they still explained 70% and 82% of the variance respectively.

- 465 The goodness-of-fit of the linear regression between complete lack of access and population
- 466 was the highest.
- 467 Extreme categories represented a similar percentage of population lacking access to both types
- 468 of cycling infrastructure, but intermediate categories showed a relatively higher percentage of
- 469 population lacking access to BSS stations than to the cycle network.





471 Figure 9. Residual plot of the Chi-squared Test of the AAI categories (1 to 5, in the y axis) of
472 the population in all census tracts with (Yes) and without (No) access to the cycle network and BSS
473 stations, access to both and access to neither of them.

474 A Chi-Squared test was calculated to observe the differences in the access to the cycle network 475 and to BSS stations for residents in each of the categories (Figure 9). For a given cell, the size 476 of the circle is proportional to the amount of the cell contribution. The contribution (in %) of a 477 given cell to the total Chi-square score is calculated as the squared of the residual of the cell by the total Chi-square score:  $r^2/\chi^2$ . Positive residuals are in blue and they show a positive 478 association between the corresponding the specific AAI category and whether they have access 479 480 to cycling infrastructure(s). Conversely, negative residuals are in red and they show a negative 481 association. The vertical bar at the right side of the plot shows the numeric size of the residuals 482 in correspondence to the colour range. The figure shows the plot on the left and the numeric 483 results on the right, in the same grid.

484 The residual plot visualises and unveils the socio-spatial inequalities of the two cycling 485 infrastructure networks:

- Population in census tracts with lower index values have significantly less access to both the cycle network and BSS stations.
- Population in census tracts with higher index values have significantly more access to both the cycle network and BSS stations.
- The population with more access to the cycle network are the residents in census tracts
   with AAI 4, whereas for BSS stations they are the residents in AAI 5, the wealthiest.
- The population with less access to the cycle network are the residents in the two lowest
   AAI, whereas for BSS stations it is the population in AAI 2 tracts.
- 494
   The wealthiest category of population had a disproportionate access to both cycle infrastructures.
- 496 The lack of access to both cycle infrastructures was more evident for the second AAI category.
- 498

499 As a sensitivity analysis, the definition of the catchment areas based on census tracts was 500 extended by buffers, under the condition of a partial coverage of the buffered census tracts.

- 501 This analysis was motivated by the realisation that the density of the BSS station network in
- 502 Barcelona BSS was higher than in the cities studied in the literature. For example, in cities in
- 503 Brazil, the average distance between neighbouring BSS stations is about 500 m (Duran *et al.*,
- 504 2018) but in Barcelona is 170 m (this was calculated using a Nearest Neighbour Analysis). It 505 was assumed that willingness to walk of potential BSS users would be half of the average
- 506 distance between neighbouring stations, that is 85m.
- 507

To determine the catchment area of the BSS we applied 85m buffers around the census tracts' polygons, selected those that were covered by the buffer in more than half of their area, and run the analysis again. The number of census tracts of a total of 1,068 with access to BSS stations increased from 299 to 313 and for cycle network it increased from 449 to 493. This is a very small increase, that did not alter the results obtained for the non-buffered catchment area.

- 515
- 515 3.2.3 Hilliness

516 For a sensitivity analysis, only the subsample of the population living in hilly areas was used

517 (Figure 10).





519

Figure 10. Census tracts with hilliness

520 Observing the map, it is not clear whether there are more residents of the poorer categories or

521 of the wealthier categories living in hilly areas. This makes it difficult to conclude if the lack

522 of cycling infrastructure in hilly areas is affecting all categories of residents equally.





- Unlike the total population shown in Figure 7, the population in hilly areas is not normally distributed by AAI categories; there is almost half of the population in the two most deprived 525
- 526 527 categories.

529	Table 5.	Distribution of the population living in census tracts with hilliness by Adapted Affordability Index Category and access to cycle network and
530	to bike-sharing	stations.

CENSUS TRACTS WITH HILLINESS		ŀ	Access to the	cycle netwo	ork	Access to bike-sharing stations				Both		None		
			1	No		Yes	Ν	Vo	Ŷ	es				
AAI Cate- gory	Census tracts (%)	Total Popu- lation	Census tracts (% All catego- ries)	Popu- lation (% Category Total)										
1	16	24,972	12	20,046	4	4,926	15	23,224	1	1,748	0	0	11	18,298
	(8.0)	(8.3)	(6.6)	(80.3)	(11.1)	(19.7)	(8.0)	(93.0)	(7.1)	(7.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(7.1)	(73.3)
2	74	111,737	62	93,234	12	18,503	73	110,107	1	1,630	0	0	61	91,604
	(36.8)	(36.7)	(34.3)	(83.4)	(33.3)	(16.6)	(39.0)	(98.5)	(7.1)	(1.5)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(39.4)	(83.1)
3	63	92,898	51	76,046	12	16,852	57	83,659	6	9,239	3	4,761	48	71,568
	(31.3)	(31.4)	(28.2)	(81.9)	(33.3)	(18.1)	(30.5)	(90.1)	(42.9)	(9.9)	(75.0)	(5.0)	(31.0)	(75.8)
4	34	48,372	29	41,595	5	6,777	33	46,963	1	1,409	0	0	28	40,186
	(16.9)	(16.1)	(16.0)	(86.0)	(13.9)	(14.0)	(17.6)	(97.1)	(7.1)	(2.9)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(18.1)	(83.1)
5	14	22,612	11	17,073	3	5,539	9	14,806	5	7,806	1	1,799	7	11,066
	(7.0)	(7.5)	(6.1)	(75.5)	(8.3)	(24.5)	(4.8)	(65.5)	(35.7)	(34.5)	(25.5)	(8.0)	(4.5)	(48.9)
All	201	300,591	165	247,994	36	52,597	187	278,759	14	21,832	4	6,560	155	232,722
Categories	(100.0)	(100.0)	(82.1)	(82.5)	(17.9)	(17.5)	(93.0)	(92.7)	(7.0)	(7.3)	(2.0)	(2.2)	(77.1)	(77.4)

531 Note: AAI, Adapted Affordability Index

532

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- 534 As expected, because of the technical constrictions of placing BSS stations in hilly areas and
- the lower preference of cyclists to use these areas, the percentage of population without access
- to cycling infrastructure (Table 5) was higher than for the whole city (Table 4).
- 537 However, the wealthiest category presented the highest percentage of population with access
- to each types of cycling infrastructure. This difference was more evident for BSS stations, with
- 539 more than a third of the wealthiest group of population living in hilly areas having access to
- 540 BSS stations.



541

# Figure 12. Residual plots of the Chi-squared Test of the AAI categories of the population in hilly census tracts with and without access to the cycle network and Bike-sharing stations, access to both and access to neither of them.

545 The residual plot highlights the difference in the access to BSS stations, with the wealthiest 546 category (AAI 5) being clearly favoured and poorer category AAI 2 being disadvantaged. As 547 shown in the numeric results, the effect for the access to BSS stations of people in AAI 5 is 548 more than twice as big as the effect of lack of access for those in AAI 2. This effect is similar 549 to the population with access to both infrastructures, adding a more perceptible positive effect 550 for the middle category AAI 3. Those with lack of access to both types of infrastructure still 551 show some effect favouring category AAI 5 and disfavouring category AAI 2.

# 552 4 Discussion

553 This paper presents an index as a tool to evaluate spatial inequalities for BSS and applies it to 554 the case of the BSS in Barcelona. This study shows that there are inequalities in the spatial 555 access to the Barcelona BSS and validates the index as an evaluation tool for policymaking.

The design and calculation of an Adapted Affordability Index from an existing one, produced by the city council, have been tested as a potential evaluation tool. The AAI index improved the geographical detail of the city council's by using the smaller units census tracts. Furthermore, the correlation with the variable income proved that the index was valid as a measure of social inequalities and reinforced transferability potential to cases with no or outof-date income data.

- 562 The average distance between BSS stations and the cycle network is close to 200 m across
- 563 Barcelona but there are differences between categories, which is later illustrated by the slightly
- unequal access to each of the networks by residents, especially those in extreme categories.

The distribution of the five categories of the index unveiled disparities in the access of the different population groups to cycling infrastructure. In the poorest categories, around three quarters of the population lacked access to cycling infrastructure, whereas for the wealthiest categories, the percentage of population with and without access is similar. That is to say, the wealthier the population, the more access they have to cycling infrastructure, especially to BSS stations.

- 571 The comparison of six sub-groups of population– with and without access to both BSS stations 572 and to the cycle network, with access to both and with access to neither of them – with the total 573 population showed differences in some of the categories. The size of these differences, 574 expressed with the Chi-squared residuals, was especially notable for the access to bike-share 575 of the wealthiest category. The lack of access was more evident for the two poorest categories,
- 576 for the cycle network and for category AAI 2 for BSS stations. Population with access to both
- 577 types of infrastructures was disproportionally wealthier (category AAI 5), whereas population
- 578 without access to neither of them was disproportionally poorer (categories AAI 1 and AAI 2).
- 579 To explore the potentially confounding effect of hilliness, a sub-sample of the hilly areas was
- 580 studied. The access to BSS stations shows the biggest effect in inequalities, with the wealthiest
- 581 population category AAI 5 having much better access to BSS stations, even when there was a
- higher percentage of poor population living in hilly areas than in the whole city. Although this
- 583 study does not assess cycling demand, it shows the unequal distribution of the BSS service,
- even in areas with potentially lower demand due to hilliness.
- 585 The results of the hilliness sensitivity analysis uncovered the contrast between a technical 586 guideline – and research evidence - suggesting the avoidance of hilly areas for the location of 587 cycling infrastructure, with other decision-making processes that result in the opposite, 588 favouring the wealthiest population groups and exacerbating inequalities. The high level of 589 access of a specific group in comparison to others should be regarded as a flow in the 590 implementation of a public policy; which instead of being as universally accessible as possible 591 (Beroud & Anaya, 2012), is favouring the wealthiest population group.
- 592 The study was not exempt of limitations. Census tracts are the smallest geographical units with
- useful information for these calculations. Nevertheless, the use of census tracts to account forpopulation physical access had some limitations. We did not account for the exact population
- 595 location, and the distribution of population within the area of the census tract might not be
- 596 homogeneous. Household-located information, which is point-based, would have allowed the
- 597 use of buffers to estimate the level of access to infrastructure, as other studies have shown
- 598 (Duran et al., 2018), but this was not available.
- 599 It is also worth noting that we were not accounting for all the population that could potentially
- 600 use the bike-sharing scheme, as we didn't include non-resident population in this analysis. This
- 601 prevented us to analyse the potential inequalities in the access of the BSS as the "last-mile" of 602 non-residents' trip chain. We did not have access to the appropriate information that would
- 602 non-residents' trip chain. We did not have access to the appropriate information that would 603 have been required for this type of analyses. In parallel, we assumed all residents were willing
- and able to use the cycling infrastructure, which might not have been the case because of not
- 605 having the skills, capacities or willingness to cycle.
- 606 However, our study has noticeable strengths. In a broad sense, the use of an index allowed us 607 to represent the complexity of spatial equity in an aggregated way. Thus, it is an easy-to-use

- 608 evaluation tool for policy-makers, with potential practical applications to manage access609 inequalities to cycling policies.
- 610 Instead of assessing how BSS' infrastructure attracts potential and actual users, our study
- 611 focused in assessing inequalities of BSS from the users' perspective, exploring the potential
- 612 cycling mobility demand of the city dwellers. By doing this we moved from a mobility-
- 613 centered approach to an accessibility-centered approach (Martens, 2019), and we applied this
- to BSS. As Martens posits "accessibility measurement is not merely an option but an absolute
- 615 necessity", if decision-makers want to take the interests of persons seriously in the design of
- 616 transportation systems (2019:p.28).
- 617 In order to make it as transferable as possible, the index was designed to be used in the absence 618 of income data, but it was validated with a strong correlation with the income variable. It was 619 a priority that the data used for the construction of the index was generally available and easy
- 620 to find for city councils. The AAI was designed in a way that it could also be applied to bigger
- 621 geographical units, in case it was necessary.
- 622 A distinctive feature of this study is the definition of buffer distance used in the sensitivity
- analysis, which can influence future studies using both individual-disaggregated data and areal-
- 624 aggregated data. This distance is equivalent to an estimation of the willingness to walk to a
- BSS station and is defined in relation to the density of the BSS station network and conditioned by local urban features such as dimension of the service area (in this case, corresponding to the
- 627 city boundaries).
- The AAI includes mobility-related variables. High taxable horsepower automobiles are usually bigger in size than automobiles with lower horsepower but more expensive to own and
- maintain. Although there is not a definition of SUV (Sports Utility Vehicle) in terms of their
- 631 horsepower, we assume that part of these high taxable horsepower automobiles can be 632 considered SUV. The SUV segment is on the rise at least in Europe and it's replacing smaller
- 633 utility vehicles (Mock, 2020). This is contributing to transport inequalities (Antal, Mattioli &
- Rattle, 2020), which makes it an important variable to feature in this type of analyses.
- Furthermore, the issue of car ownership is becoming complex with the increase of shared mobility options, which could be understood as part of Mobility as a Service (MaaS). BSS can
- 637 be part of MaaS, actually as Cycling as a Service (Petzer, Wieczorek & Verbong, 2019). These
- 638 considerations would support the possibility of including these shared mobility options in 630 future studies. Clark and Curl (2016) sheady studied the second to both mobility options in
- 639 future studies. Clark and Curl (2016) already studied the access to both services, bicycle and 640 car share, in the same study, but more research is needed to properly understand the potential
- 641 equity impact of car sharing schemes (Tyndall, 2017).
- This study presents the AAI and applies it in one case study, but more case studies are needed in order to assess the applicability of this evaluation tool to a variety of situations. One of the goals of this study was also to produce an evaluation tool that policymakers and practitioners could use, but it has not yet been used by them, whose feedback could be critical in the improvement of such tool.
- All data used in this study was collected before the Barcelona BSS, "Bicing", changed of contract holder. This change implied a change in the technology, including a bigger share of electric bicycles in the fleet, and an extension of the scheme to other parts of the city where it had not been before. This could have facilitated cycling in hilly areas and expanded the catchment area of the scheme. An updated analysis after these changes would help to assess whether the inequalities detected in this study have attenuated and provide valuable information for BSS design and planning.

# 654 5 Conclusions

The index presented in this paper uses the available data to produce both a rigorous and an usable means for policymakers to calculate distributional inequalities in the access to BSS. Practical, easy-to-use evaluation tools are needed in order to assess bike-sharing inequalities in different cities. Adding to the existing literature, this paper focuses in a densely populated city of southern Europe, Barcelona. Confirming the existing inequalities and the need to integrate the access to the cycle network and use local indicators to produce more accurate results, such as hilliness and a network-based willingness to walk concept.

662 Results show that policies in relation to the promotion of cycling are failing to reach the most 663 deprived areas in Barcelona, where poorer population live. Redistributive policies should 664 prioritise the access to BSS and to the cycle network of poorer population groups, known to 665 obtain greater societal benefits from this access than wealthier ones such as facilitating their 666 social mobility and access to labour, education and health services.

667 Not only that, but governments should investigate why the wealthiest population groups, 668 including those living in technically adverse (hilly) areas, are given more access to BSS stations 669 than the rest of the population. Decision-making processes in relation to the location of stations 670 and other features of BSS need to improve their governance and democratization in order to

671 produce more equitable outcomes.

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