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Böcker, L., Anderson, E., Priya Uteng, T. & Throndsen, T. Bike sharing use in conjunction to public transport: Exploring spatiotemporal, age and gender dimensions in Oslo, Norway. Transportation Research Part A. 138, 2020, 389-401. 0965-8564

The article has been published in final form by Elsevier at

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tra.2020.06.009

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It is recommended to use the published version for citation.

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- gender dimensions in Oslo, Norway 2
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20 Abstract: Bike sharing could provide a key role in a transition towards a less car dependent and more sustainable, healthy and socially inclusive urban transport future. This paper 21 investigates two important prerequisites for bike sharing to fulfil these premises: Does it 22 23 synergise rather than compete with current alternatives to car-based urban mobility; and is it 24 inclusively accessible across population and spatial segments? Drawing on complete 2016-25 2017 trip records of the Oslo (Norway) bike sharing system, this paper analyses the potential 26 use of bike sharing for accessing, egressing and interchanging public transport and explores 27 its age and gender dimensions. Bike sharing ridership is substantially higher on routes that 28 either start or end with metro/rail connectivity, whilst controlling for other factors, such as 29 route distance, elevation, urban form, time of day and bike dock capacities. However, our 30 results also reveal that bike sharing - both as a stand-alone system and in conjunction with 31 public transport – is less accessible to, suited to, and used by women and older age groups. 32 Especially gender biases appear profound, multifaceted, and intersected by spatial inequalities favouring central male-dominated employment areas. These findings are discussed to derive 33 34 policy and design directions regarding multimodal integration, dock expansion, rental 35 limitations, and the introduction of e-bikes, to improve the performance, multimodal 36 integration, gender equality and overall socio-spatial inclusiveness of bike sharing.

37

38 Key words: Bike Sharing, Public Transport, Access-Egress, Gender, Age, Oslo Norway 39

40 **1** Introduction

A transition towards multimodal urban mobility systems dominated by public transport use, 41 walking and cycling and where cars play only a minor role, could provide for drastic CO₂-42 43 emission, air pollution and road congestion reductions, freeing up of valuable urban space, 44 promotion of active lifestyles, and more socially inclusive mobility. Around the world, bike 45 sharing systems are increasingly put forward as an important stand-alone transport mode for less car-dependent urban mobility (e.g. Fishman, 2016; DeMaio, 2017; Meyer & Shaheen, 46 2017). Recently, studies have provided important critical knowledge on bike-sharing's social 47 48 inclusiveness and environmental implications by identifying who do and do not use bike 49 sharing, and how usage competes with other transport modes (e.g. Fishman et al., 2013, 2015; Martin & Shaheen, 2014; Noland et al., 2015; Raux et al., 2017; Campbell & Brakewood, 50 51 2017; Hosford & Winters, 2018). Studies conclude that bike sharing use is often biased 52 towards privileged early adopters (e.g. men, Caucasian, younger age, higher education, higher income, inner-city dwellers), and that it does little in promoting cycling as a mass transport
mode (De Chardon, 2019). It substitutes some private car and taxi use, but especially also the
use of sustainable alternatives like walking, private bicycles and public transport. Despite the
criticism bike sharing systems can be equitable if planned and managed correctly (Nikitas,
2019).

58 Moreover, bike sharing may be more than just a viable stand-alone mode in a future urban transport system. By providing fast, seamless and inexpensive access to public 59 transport stations, cycling has the potential to vastly increase the competitiveness and social 60 equity of public transportation system as a whole by reducing total travel times, waiting times 61 at stations, travel costs, and enhancing flexibility, reliability and comfort, especially in 62 disadvantaged areas where local access to public transport is suboptimal. These potential 63 advantages are made visible by studies that model bike-and-ride accessibility as compared to 64 traditional public transport models with just pedestrian access (e.g. Boarnet et. al., 2017; 65 Pritchard et. al. 2019; Hamidi et. al., 2019). Compared to ordinary cycling, bike sharing could 66 67 synergise with public transport even better by providing the same advantages not only for access, but also for egress and possibly even for interchanging between public transport stops. 68 Yet, the empirical knowledge base for the use of bike sharing as an integrative part of 69 70 multimodal public transport is currently limited to a couple of studies. Moreover, it is under 71 investigated how spatiotemporal patterns of bike sharing generally, and of bike sharing as part 72 of multimodal public transport particularly, differ between different population categories.

73 To address these shortcomings this paper has two objectives: (1) assessing the potential use of bike sharing for accessing, egressing and interchanging between public 74 75 transport stops, and (2) exploring its age and gender dimensions. The paper draws on 76 complete 2016-2017 records of 4.7 million trips of the third-generation dock-based bike sharing scheme in Oslo (Norway). It provides route- and trip-based multivariate analyses of 77 78 bike sharing frequencies, age/gender profiles, and the use of bike sharing in proximity to 79 metro/rail whilst controlling for route distance, elevation, temporalities and urban form at origins and destinations. The next section of this paper discusses existing literature on bike 80 sharing in relation to sociodemographic profiles, spatiotemporal attributes and potential 81 access-egress use. A third section introduces our case study area, data and methods. The 82 fourth section maps the geographies of bike sharing and presents our multivariate results. The 83 paper concludes with a discussion of the significance of our bike sharing findings for research 84 85 and policy oriented towards a more environmentally sustainable and socially inclusive urban 86 mobility future.

87

88 **2** Existing findings

89 Bike sharing user profiles

90 Studies typically find that the majority of bike sharers are caucasian males under the age of 40, employed, highly educated and often in high-income groups (e.g. Martin & Shaheen, 91 92 2014; Campbell & Brakewood, 2017; Fishman et al., 2013; Fishman et. al., 2015, Hosford & 93 Winters 2018). The overlap between these characteristics and those of early adopters are hard 94 to miss (Shaheen et. al. 2011). While uneven technology adoption rates are often linked to 95 preferences, skills or costs, uneven access in the case of bike sharing seems first and foremost 96 related to geography. Two comparison studies from U.S. (Ursaki et al., 2015) and Canadian cities (Hosford & Winters, 2018) highlight the need for substantial efforts in geographical 97 98 expansion of bike sharing services to disadvantaged areas.

99 Other point specifically at gender biases. Similar to more general typologies of 100 cyclists (Ricci, 2015), Vogel and others (2014) developed a segmentation of bike sharing 101 users in Lyon, France, ranging from 'users of heart' to 'sporadic users'. Gender emerged as a 102 significant category in defining these user typologies, as the intensity of cycling practice was 103 strongly linked to being male. Adams and others (2017) argue that a lack of basic bicycle 104 infrastructure can explain why some women avoid bike sharing, as women often have higher 105 safety concerns. Gendered preferences for low-speed, safe cycling environments emerge in a survey conducted among members of Oslo bike sharing as well (Uteng et. al. 2019). Women, 106 107 on average, had several issues differing sharply from what the male members quoted. For example, female members were critical towards the maximum allowed rental time of 45 108 minutes as trip-chaining and conducting leisure trips proved to be challenge in this timeframe. 109 The fact that women were conducting other trips than access-egress also points towards the 110 111 gendered variation of both the usage and expectations from the system. Similar results were found in New York where Citi Bike trip data revealed that male users were more inclined to 112 113 end a trip by a bus stop or subway entrance (Wang & Akar, 2019).

Regarding age, most studies conclude that the age profile of bike share users is 114 115 typically younger than the general population average (Fishman et al., 2013). In a study of the four North American cities Montreal (n= 3322), Minneapolis-Saint Paul (n=1238), Toronto 116 117 (n=853) and Washington DC (n=5248), Shaheen and others (2012, 2013) highlight clear overrepresentation of younger people amongst bike sharing members. Despite this skewness, 118 a fair share, about 40% of all respondents, were 35 years of age or older. In Melbourne and 119 120 Brisbane, Australia, Fishman and others (2015), similarly found younger age (18-34), along 121 with bike sharing access near the work location, to be among the more important predictors of 122 bike share membership. Campbell & Brakewood (2017) found that in New York City, the 123 median age for bikeshare trips taken by annual members was 35 years old, and only 1.19% of these bike trips were taken by persons age 65 or older. They further conclude that targeted 124 125 expansion of bike docking stations, particularly around employment precincts and especially 126 for those with large number of employees aged under 35 may provide a significant increase in membership. However, marking particular age groups as more probably prospective members 127 might exclude other age groups who are equally willing to participate in the bike sharing 128 129 schemes but simply lack information, confidence or/and availability of bike sharing schemes in their vicinity. Another New York study finds that age not only affects overall use, but also 130 that generational cohorts have different spatial and temporal patterns of bike sharing usage 131 (Wang et al., 2018). Despite these valuable contributions, conclusions regarding the role of 132 133 age as a predictor of bike sharing frequencies, and especially its role as a mediator for patterns 134 of use, need further examination in different contexts.

135

136 *Topography, urban form and temporalities*

137 While various studies discuss user profiles, the relationship of bike sharing to spatial and 138 temporal aspects, such as topography, urban form, diurnal rhythms or seasonality, is less well 139 explored. Especially integrated analyses of spatial and temporal factors for bike sharing as 140 well as intersectionality with user profiles are understudied. Bike sharing, similarly to 141 ordinary cycling, can be expected to be constrained by topography. However, what is 142 distinctive for most bike sharing systems is that in contrast to private bicycle use, people can cycle one way downhill and use alternative transport modes when going uphill. Midgley 143 144 (2011) identifies moderate and steep uphill slopes (>4% incline) and steep downhill slopes 145 (>8%) to be an inhibiting factor for bike sharing, albeit without offering empirical evidence 146 for this. A Brisbane, Australia, study (Mateo-Babiano et. al. 2016) confirms that on some routes, users avoid returning shared bicycles to stations located at higher elevations. The 147 148 study finds for instance 1.9 times more downhill than uphill trips on routes with a 2.8% 149 average gradient, although exceptions of higher uphill frequencies were also found, making it 150 hard to draw robust conclusions. For Oslo, the context of this study, a national newspaper (Aftenposten) article observes that bike sharing trips in Oslo are predominantly downhill 151 (Kirkebøyen, 2016). Whether this pattern is mainly a consequence of avoiding steep gradients 152

or a spurious result of other factors, such as specific land uses at different elevation levels and
 peak/off-peak rhythms, needs further examination.

Other studies point at the effects of urban form and other spatial and temporal factors. 155 A Montreal BIXI bike sharing scheme study (Faghih-Imani et. al. 2014) identifies higher 156 157 ridership around the densely build urban core than in more peripheral locations of the study area. Ridership was also found significantly related to accessibility indicators and the 158 presence of restaurants, commercial enterprises and universities in the vicinity of a bike 159 docking station. An important finding emerging from the modelling exercise highlights that 160 reallocating capacity by adding a further BIXI station had a stronger impact on bicycle flows 161 compared to increasing one station's capacity. This means that dense bike sharing station 162 networks may have a beneficial effect on usage levels. In line with other studies (e.g. Uteng 163 164 2019), this study also found population density and job density around bike sharing stations to influence demand and usage rates at different times of the day/week. The study reports on 165 ridership reductions during weekends, but with the notable exception of Friday and Saturday 166 167 nights. Multiple studies point at inequalities in the geographic coverage of bike sharing systems, as they tend to favour centrally located and often wealthy areas (e.g Duran et. al., 168 169 2018). A London study (Ogilvie & Goodman, 2012) finds strong underrepresentation of 170 residents from deprived areas. Similarly, a case studies from Glasgow, UK, and Malmø, 171 Sweden, demonstrate how bike- and car-sharing schemes are less likely to extend to areas 172 where people live that are most at risk of transport-related social exclusion (Clark & Curl, 173 2016; Hamidi et al., 2019). With the gradual expansion of bike sharing systems over time, the spatial inclusiveness of bike sharing schemes may change. A later London study finds 174 175 significant yet precarious increased usages for lower income groups, with the expansion of 176 bike sharing services into poorer areas (Goodman & Cheshire, 2014).

A couple of studies highlight the intersectionality of spatiotemporal patterns of use 177 with user characteristics. A London Barclays Cycle Hire (BCH) study (Lathia et. al., 2012) 178 179 reports on a December 2010 policy change that allows casual users to access the scheme for spontaneous journeys without registering for an annual membership. Whilst the system 180 continued to be primarily used for week-day commuting, the change generated greater 181 weekend usage and a complete reversal of usage in a number of stations was noticed. Two 182 183 other London studies (Beecham & Wood, 2014; Nickkar et al., 2019) find evidence for intersectionality of spatiotemporal bike sharing usages with gender. Women perform more 184 touring and recreational bike sharing trips. They also avoid more than men routes involving 185 186 large, multi-lane roads, even for utilitarian trip purposes, and rather prefer selecting areas of 187 the city associated with slower traffic and more segregated cycle routes. A study from Nanjing, China (Zhao et. al. 2015) further reveals gender variation in bike sharing trip 188 189 chaining behaviour. Compared to men, women are more likely to make multiple-circle bike 190 sharing trips (i.e., with multiple destinations but same start and end point) especially on 191 weekdays. Similarly, studies from Montreal, London and Dublin (Faghih-Imani et. al. 2014, Beecham & Wood 2014, Murphy & Usher, 2015) highlight that different trip purposes are 192 193 influenced by gender and temporal variables, such as time of the day and day of the week, and 194 should be considered as vital inputs in future designs of bike sharing systems.

195

196 Bike sharing and public transport

Studies indicate that bike sharing systems across the world have been better at substituting walking and public transport trips than replacing car trips (Ricci 2015, Fishman et. al., 2013). Interactions between bike sharing and public transport can be classified in two ways. First, there are bike sharing trips that exclusively supplement or substitute public transport trips as a stand-alone mode. Evidence of this substitution type is found for example in Melbourne, where the emergence of bike sharing docking stations in areas with relatively poor public transport triggers some to start bike sharing and no longer use public transport (Fishman et al.204 2015).

205 Second, bike sharing may synergise with, rather than cannibalise on, public transport, by facilitating its often problematic first- (access) and last-mile (egress) segments. Assuming 206 207 access-egress by foot, a maximum of 400m is often identified as a range that people are 208 willing to travel to get to a station before demand tapers off (Iacobucci, et al., 2017). Others problematise this absolute range, indicating that people are willing to walk further for high 209 efficiency transportation modes like trains and metros than for trams and busses, for instance 210 211 in the Oslo region (Ellis et.al., 2018). Either way, adding bike sharing as an access-egress mode to public transportation instead of walking can prove to be beneficial for both 212 213 transportation modes (Ji et.al., 2018). Studies find higher bike sharing ridership numbers for docks that are connected to train stations in London (Goodman & Cheshire, 2014) and 214 215 Washington DC (Shaheen et al., 2014), and to metro stations in Paris (Shaheen et al., 2014). In Montreal, bike sharing integration has reportedly led to a 10% increased rail usage (Martin 216 217 & Shaheen, 2014).

218 Survey-based studies point out that people do indeed integrate bike sharing and public 219 transport. In Beijing and Hangzhou, over half of the respondents of the bike sharing programs 220 were reportedly combining these transportation modes (Fishman et.al, 2013). Mobike Global 221 estimated that majority of their shared bike trips were undertaken to link with buses and trains (Ding et. al. 2018). A Vienna study (Leth et. al., 2017) on travel time ratios, route-base heat 222 223 maps, detour factors and cumulative frequencies of trip distances and travel times, conclude that users do indeed combine bike sharing with public transport and that the two systems are 224 225 supplementing rather than competing with each other. Adding to this Jäppinen and others 226 (2013) modelled potential benefits of bike sharing on public transport travel times in Helsinki. Their findings showed that bike sharing combined with public transport reduced travel times 227 on average by more than 10%. However, research on whether and how bike sharing for public 228 229 transport access-egress intersects with user characteristics like age and gender and place of 230 residence is currently lacking. 231

232 **3 Methods**

233 *Study area*

This study draws on data from the "Oslo CityBike" bike sharing scheme operated by Urban 234 Infrastructure Partner (currently known as Urban Sharing). The rationale for choosing Oslo, 235 236 Norway, to study bike sharing use and its integration to public transport is fourfold: First, 237 current literature on bike sharing is mostly focussed on only a select number of 238 countries/regions (e.g. USA, UK, France, Australia and China) (Fishman, 2016). Empirical 239 bike sharing evidence from Northern Europe is limited to only a handful of studies (e.g. Caulfield et.al., 2017; Hamidi et. al., 2019; Jäppinen et.al., 2013; Nikitas et.al., 2016), and 240 241 only few of which addressing spatial inclusiveness (e.g. Hamidi et.al., 2019). The unique and 242 potentially favourable conditions for bike sharing, including relatively compact urban 243 designs, well-functioning public transportation systems, low car dependences in the bigger 244 cities, and high and increasing shares of active transport modes despite strong seasonal 245 variations in climate conditions, make Nordic cities interesting cases to study. Second, Oslo 246 forms a unique case with ambitious environmental targets aiming at reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 50% within 2030 (Plansamarbeidet, 2015). With the Norwegian land-based 247 248 power sector being 100% renewable, emission reduction efforts are more than in other 249 countries focused on the transport sector, with Oslo – where half its total emissions originate 250 from transport - being no exception. Several of these efforts are focused on shifting car use to 251 other transport modes, including strategies on decoupling growth in car traffic from population growth, establishing car free zones, spending parts of road toll incomes on public 252

253 transport and bicycle infrastructures (Norwegian Ministry of Transport and Communications, 254 2017). Third, Oslo has had a bike sharing scheme since 2002 (Alsvik, 2009), but which 255 gained particular strong traction in recent years: from 950,000 trips by 29,000 users in 2015 to 2,7 Million trips by 77,000 users in 2017 (UIP, 2018). Moreover, the bike sharing business 256 257 model applied in Oslo is particularly well-suited to be used for public transport access and 258 egress. Being dock-based, it allows for the controlled clustering of bikes at docks in the vicinity of public transport stations. Being *one-way* it can be used for both access and egress, 259 linking up station to non-station locations. By applying continuous redistributive freighting of 260 261 bikes, the scheme has some options to actively rebalance spatiotemporal matching of supply and demand, although docks do run full and empty despite these efforts. Fourth, Oslo's 262 regional public transport authority Ruter recently pinpointed the importance of bike sharing 263 264 for better integrated Mobility as a Service-inspired travel solutions for the Oslo region 265 (Aarhaug, 2017).

266 267 *Data*

268 The empirical basis for this study is formed by the complete 2016-2017 records (4.4 million trips) of population data of the Oslo bike sharing scheme. The data consists of unique bicycle 269 270 trips and includes geolocated trip origins and destinations, bike dock capacities, time, date, 271 and unique personal information of users (i.e. birth year, gender and postal code of residence). 272 The latter information has only been available to us for the selected years. With only moderate expansions to the network after since, the 2016-2017 data is nevertheless still 273 274 representative for Oslo's bike sharing patterns today, although it is important to note that there has been a change to the competitive landscape with the introduction of shared electric 275 276 scooters. As parts of the record are anonymous, some of our analyses are limited to data on 277 2.1 million trips made by 36,230 unique users who registered their personal information. In comparison the Oslo bike sharing scheme had 46,000 and 77,000 unique users in 2016 and 278 279 2017 respectively. The rest of the record consists of trips by unknown users and is only used 280 for our analysis of total bike sharing frequencies. For parts of our analyses, trip data were 281 aggregated to a route level. Total 2016-2017 bike sharing frequencies were summed up for each unique one-way origin-destination pair were in operation for at least 3 months 282 (n=23,214), including non-travelled zero frequency routes. For routes between stations that 283 were in operation more than 3 months but less than the full two years, frequencies were 284 adjusted to its two-year equivalent. In addition, the variables mean age and female share were 285 286 calculated for each route with a frequency higher than 25 (n=16,953). This minimum 287 frequency was set to avoid inaccurate aggregations based on minimal information, to avoid 288 strong outliers, and to secure normal distributions.

In a next step, both trip and route datasets were linked in *ArcGIS Pro* to population and employment densities¹, building use diversity², share of surface area covered by centre zones³, and women's population and employment shares⁴. These were summarised over 250x250m grid cells intersected by a 250m buffer around each geocoded trip/route origin and destination. To test the effects of public transport proximity on bike sharing use, additional

¹ Data source: Statistics Norway. <u>https://www.ssb.no/natur-og-miljo/geodata</u>

² Based on a Shannon Entropy Index (Shannon, 1948), ranging from minimal value when all buildings have the same function to maximum value when dwellings, stores, offices and/or industry are equally present.

³ Share of surface area covered by central zones defined by diverse economic activities, the presence of retail and public services (Statistics Norway, undated) <u>https://www.ssb.no/a/metadata/conceptvariable/vardok/2598/en</u>

⁴ The gendered division of employment between different sectors is based on the national statistics available from The Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs, available at:

https://www.bufdir.no/Statistikk og analyse/Kjonnslikestilling/Arbeidsliv og kjonn/Kjonnsfordeling sektorer/

The national averages of employment in the different sectors were applied to the jobs available in the different sectors in the different city wards of Oslo to plot the tentative concertation of female employment in the different wards of Oslo.

294 information was added on whether or not origins and destinations are within a 200m range of a metro or railway station. From earlier research we know that bike sharing plays an 295 especially important role in access/egress trips to and from metro- and railway stations 296 (Lansell, 2011; Ji et. al., 2018). Sensitivity analyses were also run for other buffer sizes 297 298 (100m, 300m and 500m) as well as for access to tram and bus stops, but were ultimately excluded due to weaker parameter effects and poorer overall model fit. Next, an origin-299 destination cost matrix network analysis was run based on the Open Street Map network to 300 estimate trip/route distances based on shortest paths on cyclable infrastructures. These were 301 intersected with a digital elevation model to calculate elevation difference between start and 302 end points. Finally, correlation matrices were run to test for multicollinearity. One 303 304 problematic correlation was identified and confirmed by a VIF test (Field, 2018) between building use diversity and employment density. These two variables have therefore been 305 added only separately and never together in our final models. Table 1 provides an overview of 306 307 all variables in this study and their respective descriptive statistics.

308

309 Table 1: Descriptive statistics

	min	max	mean	sd
User attributes (n=36,230 users)				
age	15	85	30.49	10.44
male	0	1	.58	.49
user from inner-Oslo	0	1	.59	.49
user from outer-Oslo	0	1	.14	.35
user from outside Oslo	0	1	.25	.43
Bike dock attributes (n=185 docking stations)				
bike dock capacity (# locks)	6	60	22.16	9.74
population density (inh. / km ²)	0	15318	6501	4421
employment density (jobs / km ²)	140	47213	12574	13045
building use diversity (Shannon Index)	.15	1.45	.76	.31
centreness (% surface area covered by centre zone)	0	100	62.23	34.39
% women in population	38	55	48.43	3.39
% women's employment	38	65	48.81	5.22
yes or no rail/metro access within 200m	0	1	.11	.31
Bike route attributes (n=23,241 routes)				
frequency of use (daily avg.)	.00	23.62	.36	.76
route distance in km	.00	9.74	2.71	1.46
Δ elevation	-130	130	.00	43.07
Bike trip attributes (n=2,069,287 trips)				
morning peak	0	1	.21	.41
afternoon peak	0	1	.09	.28
weekend	0	1	.14	.35

310

311 Statistical modelling techniques

312 This paper makes use of three types of multivariate modelling techniques run in the statistical 313 software package Stata. First a Negative Binomial model was applied to estimate the effect of public transport connectivity on total bike sharing route frequencies, whilst controlling for 314 315 urban form and route characteristics. The negative binomial model is preferred over a Poisson 316 regression, because it handles better the overdispersed bike sharing frequency count data (Lee et.al, 2012). Despite an excessive number of zero-frequency routes, the Negative Binomial 317 model is also preferred over a Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial model, because there is no 318 319 theoretical foundation for separate processes that lead to zero or non-zero outcomes. Second, 320 two OLS regression models were run to investigate the determinants of route mean age and route female share, both of which appear normally distributed dependent variables upon 321 visual inspection. Finally, a Multinomial Logit model was run on the trip level to investigate 322

323 under which circumstances bike sharing trips are more likely to be made in proximity to 324 metro/rail at start of a trip, at the end, at both start and end, or at neither start or end. This a 325 discrete outcome with four alternatives, where no metro/rail access is set as the reference 326 category. In this final model large numbers of trips are made by the same unique users over 327 the course of two years. This raises a challenge of dealing with non-independent observations. To relax the usual requirement that all observations should be independent, this final model 328 was performed with the Stata's "vce-cluster" command. This command estimates robust 329 standard errors for all observations (trips) clustered within each unique user, thus correcting 330 331 for intragroup correlation (Wooldridge, 2002). 332

333 **4 Results**

This section first outlines the geographic descriptions and multivariate investigations of bike sharing frequencies and age/gender profiles on a route level. Subsequently, it presents a multivariate investigation of user, trip and spatiotemporal characteristics on bike sharing system use in proximity and possible connection to metro and train stations on a trip level.

338

339 *Bike sharing route frequencies*

340 Figure 1 shows a map of total bike sharing frequencies for each route segment over the course 341 of our 2-year data period (2016-2017) visualised on a simplified Gabriel network (O'Sullivan 342 & Unwin, 2014), that connects all bike sharing docks. These total frequencies represent the 343 aggregated sum of all unique route frequencies that run through each route segment, based on a shortest path network analysis. Explorative examination of the map reveals three patterns. 344 345 First, as expected based on its higher work and residential densities, and in line with earlier 346 research from Montreal (Faghih-Imani et. al. 2014), bike sharing use is highest in the most central parts of the bike sharing network and lower towards the network's fringes that are 347 located outside the city centre, but still within the larger Oslo centre circumnavigated by the 348 349 Oslo motorway ring. Second, bike sharing frequencies seem to be larger on *radial* routes into and out of the city centre (mainly north-south oriented) than on routes across or around the 350 351 city centre (mainly east-west oriented). This pattern can be explained from its overlap with commute routes connecting employment-heavy areas in the downtown area to dense 352 residential neighbourhoods adjacing the downtown area especially to the north. Third, bike 353 sharing frequencies seem larger on routes perpendicular to and away from metro/rail 354 infrastructure than on routes parallel to these main public transport infrastructures. This might 355 356 indicate that bike sharing is used less on routes that compete directly with metro/rail, and that 357 it has a higher competitive edge in areas without metro/rail infrastructures and especially on 358 routes that connect such areas to metro and railway stations.

359 Table 2 presents the negative binomial regression results of distance, topography, 360 urban form and metro/rail connectivity on the one-directional frequencies of use of all unique bike sharing routes between docks that were in operation for at least three months in the 361 362 period 2016-2017, including zero-frequency routes. Due to over-dispersion of the count data, the negative binomial model is strongly preferred over a Poisson model, as confirmed by the 363 high (4.0E+6) and strongly significant chibar² statistic in a likelihood ratio test whether or not 364 365 alpha equals zero. The parameter coefficients of all continuous independent variables have been standardised to ease comparison of their relative impacts independent of unit of analysis, 366 while z-scores are presented to compare the relative magnitudes of statistical significance. 367 368 Bike dock capacities (i.e. the number of bicycle locks) at the start and end stations have been included as a control variable, revealing unsurprisingly strong positive correlations with 369 370 frequency of use.

As expected, the most important determinant of bike route frequency is distance - i.e.
 measured as shortest path across cyclable infrastructure network. Routes of shorter distance

373 are more frequently used than longer distance routes, but the distance decay appears more 374 linear than expected after revealing a higher parameter estimate and model fit compared to 375 sensitivity analyses with transformed logarithmic, squared and square-rooted distance 376 functions. Topography is another important factor. Routes with a lower absolute elevation 377 difference between start and end location have higher frequencies than hillier routes. 378 Congruent to existing research (e.g. Mateo-Babiano et. al. 2016), an additional positive "downhill" effect is observed where routes that have a net elevation loss are being favoured 379 over routes with a net elevation gain. This is possible in the Oslo bike sharing scheme since 380 381 routes are essentially one-way and bicycles are continuously being freighted between docking 382 stations to balance demand.

383 In addition to the effects of distance and topography, bike sharing route frequencies appear strongly influenced by urban form attributes observed in a 250-500m radius⁵ around 384 385 both start and end locations. Congruent to literature on cycling generally (Saelens et. al. 2003a, 2003b; Christiansen et. al. 2016; Yang et. al. 2019), but rarely studied in the context of 386 387 bike-sharing, urban density and diversity have strong positive effects on bike sharing frequencies. In order of magnitude of effect, routes boast higher frequencies when having 388 higher population density, higher building use diversity⁶ and higher centreness⁷ in the 389 390 vicinities of start and end locations. Although present at both ends, the effects of these urban 391 form attributes appear somewhat larger in magnitude at the end compared to start locations, 392 indicating that more trips are heading towards the most urbanised areas than originating from, 393 again made possible by redistributive freighting of bikes. The effects of employment densities at start and end locations were also tested, but ultimately omitted for multicollinearity reasons 394 395 (Pearson's r = .77 with building use diversity).

396 Besides being related to distance, topography, dock capacity and the various urban 397 form characteristics discussed above, bike sharing route frequencies are also clearly affected 398 by the proximity of both route ends to metro or rail stations, congruent to findings from 399 Washington DC, London and Paris (e.g. Goodman & Cheshire, 2014; Shaheen et al., 2014). 400 Even though we have no direct information on whether bike sharing trips have been made in 401 connection to the use of metro or rail services, our results whilst controlling for all other 402 demand-affecting factors discussed above, give a strong indication that the Oslo bike sharing system is significantly used for public transport access and egress purposes. Routes that *either* 403 start from a bike dock within a 200m buffer⁸ of a metro or train station exit, or that end at 404 one, but importantly not routes that do *both*, have clearly higher frequencies of use than the 405 406 reference category of stand-alone routes without connectivity to public transport. A logical 407 explanation is that the bike sharing system is specifically used by some to extend the 408 metro/rail network to locations that are otherwise not directly connected to train and metro 409 stations. That routes connected to metro/rail at both ends have lower frequencies may be 410 related to the competitive advantage that the high-frequency metro and rail services 411 themselves already have on these routes.

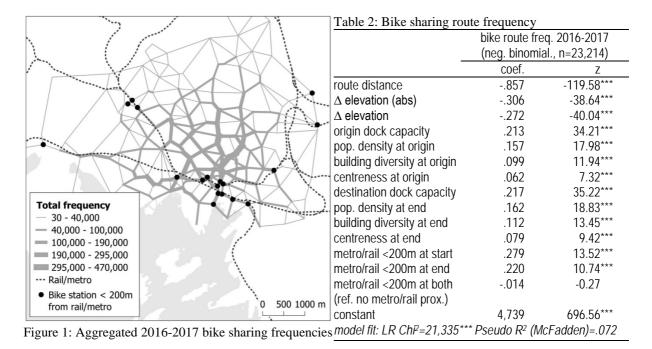
412

⁵ The radius is variable as information is retrieved from 250x250m grid cells intersected by a 250m buffer around the bike station, see section 3.

⁶ Based on a Shannon Entropy Index, ranging from minimal diversity when all buildings have the same function to maximum diversity when dwellings, stores, offices and/or industry are equally present.

⁷ Share of surface area covered by central zones defined by diverse economic activities and the presence of shops/services.

⁸ Sensitivity analyses were also run for other buffer sizes (100m, 300m and 500m) as well as for access to tram and bus stops, but were ultimately omitted due to lower parameter estimates and inferior overall model fit.



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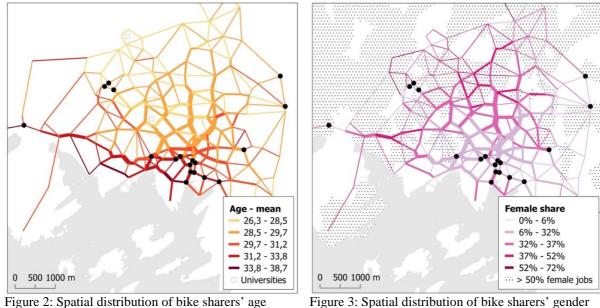
414 Bike sharing route age and gender profiles

To examine whether and how bike sharing patterns differ with regard to age and gender, we 415 416 will first geographically explore how average age (Figure 2) and the share of female bike 417 sharers (Figure 3) differ for bike sharing route segments across our study area. Besides a 418 colour scheme to reveal the respective age and gender profiles, both figures also show the 419 total bike sharing frequencies by line width similar to Figure 1, this to examine the respective 420 flows of male, female, younger and older bike sharers in both relative and absolute terms. When looked at age, it appears that there is a clear north-south divide, even though the age of 421 422 bike sharers overall is quite young - e.g. even routes with the oldest bike sharers have an average age under forty. Bike sharing route segments with the highest average age are located 423 424 downtown (centrally to the south in the study area) and westwards from there. These are 425 routes connecting the most employment-dense downtown areas with some of the most affluent Oslo neighbourhoods westwards (e.g. the city districts of Frogner and Ullern). In 426 427 contrast, areas north of the study area have much lower age shares. Possible explanations are 428 that this is where Oslo's main university campuses are located (towards the northwest, as well 429 as some of its trendiest gentrified and gentrifying neighbourhoods (towards the north east).

The system is also gender-biased. While 58% of users is male (Table 1), the share of 430 trips by men are even higher (68%). Especially downtown areas are highly male dominated, 431 432 with almost all route segments here having less than 32% female cyclists (Figure 4). Route 433 segments further away from the city centre feature somewhat more balanced gender shares, 434 although even here most routes still have a higher share of men. An explanation could be related to the geographic and gender differences in employment sectors. Downtown Oslo 435 features large shares of employment sectors (e.g. private sectors of commerce, finance and 436 437 insurance), which nationally feature much high shares of male employment. In contrast, the more gender-balanced bike sharing routes outside the city centre appear to coincide with areas 438 439 that host more female-dominated employment sectors (see dotted areas in Figure 3). Another 440 gendered pattern that can be recognised is the male dominance on route segments with 441 proximity to metro and train stations, indicated by the black dots in Figure 3. This may indicate that men use shared bikes more as public transport access or egress modes, which is 442 in line with previous findings from New York that bus stops and the number of subway 443 444 entrances have a larger effect on male than on female bike sharing trips (Wang & Akar,

2019). This and other gender and age patterns explored above will be multivariately examinednext.

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448 449

450 451

Figure 3: Spatial distribution of bike sharers' gender Source: Based on and expanding upon Uteng et al. 2019

Table 3 presents the multivariate regression results of how bike sharing route age and gender 452 profiles are affected by route distance, topography, urban form and metro/rail connectivity. 453 454 The gender profile analysis is based on and expands upon a previous study by the authours (Uteng et al., 2019). To minimise unreliable and/or extreme values on the dependent variables 455 of mean age and gender share, all routes with frequencies below 25 were omitted from the 456 457 analysis. From this frequency of 25 and up, a visual check revealed that both dependent 458 variables were more or less normally distributed. Again, standardised coefficients are presented for all continuous independent variables, while t-scores show the relative 459 460 magnitudes of statistical significance. Regarding age, besides a model with mean age as the dependent variable, additional models were estimated on the *share of younger* (<30 years old) 461 462 and *older adults* (≥ 60 years old), but these were ultimately omitted as they revealed little 463 additional information and had poorer overall model fits. The few instances where these 464 alternative age models did reveal non-linearities will be discussed.

Longer route distance positively affects the average age of users. A logarithmic 465 466 distance function has a better fit than a linear one, indicating that distance effects on age 467 mainly manifest themselves on shorter routes. Alternative younger and older-adult share models reveal that this distance-age relationship should mainly be attributed to the higher 468 469 under-30 shares on shorter distance routes, while 60+ shares were not significantly affected. 470 Additionally, uphill routes reveal older average age profiles, while downhill routes are more 471 frequented by younger age groups. Although this may seem somewhat counterintuitive, one possible explanation could be that several major education centres are located on higher 472 473 elevated parts of the study area and that the bike sharing network in those vicinities is possibly frequently used one-way (i.e. downhill) by younger age groups. Urban form effects 474 475 on bike sharing route age profiles are somewhat mixed. Routes with higher population densities at both starts and ends have younger age profiles. Also, bike sharing routes linking 476 up areas covered by centre functions have younger overall are age profiles, although this 477 478 effect is only half as strong as that of population density. On the other hand, routes linking up 479 areas with higher building use diversity, especially at the destination side of a bike sharing

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route, have older age profiles. When testing the alternative younger and older adult share models, urban form effects on age profiles seem to be mainly related to distinct route shares for those under 30, while over-60 shares are not significantly affected. Finally, metro/rail access at the end of routes has a negative effect on average age, mainly as a result of such routes being used significantly less by people aged 60 and older. However, this potential access/egress effect on age profiles is only minor in comparison to other factors.

Regarding gender, route distance (again a better fit with a logarithmic function) has a 486 positive effect on women's shares. It appears that especially men can be found on the shortest 487 distance routes. Overall, uphill bike sharing routes are slightly more used by women than by 488 men, however an additional square-transformed⁹ elevation effect shows that it is male shares 489 490 that are higher on routes with the elevation gains or losses. Nearly all previously discussed 491 urban form attributes have clear negative effects on women's route shares, indicating that men 492 use the system relatively more in the most central, trafficked, densest and urbanised parts of 493 the study area. This is in line with findings from New York that female riders prefer areas 494 with less traffic (Wang & Akar 2019). However, a more complete picture arises when 495 supplementing these classic urban form variables with attributes describing the gendering of 496 urban structures. Women's route shares are clearly positively affected by the population share 497 of women and, even more so, the employment share of women, with regard to both the 498 destinations and especially the origins of routes. These insights are in line with the geographic 499 pattern of gendered bike-sharing observed in Figure 3 and findings of the aforementioned 500 gender-investigation of Oslo bike sharing (Uteng et al., 2019). Finally, women's shares are significantly lower on routes that have metro/rail access at start, end or both start and end 501 location. This gives a strong indication that men are more likely to use the bike sharing 502 503 scheme for access, egress purposes, while women seem to use bike sharing more as a stand-504 alone mode.

505

	bike route	e mean age	bike route female share		
	(OLS regression, n=16,473)		(OLS regressi	on, n=16,947)	
	coef.	t	coef.	t	
route distance (log)	.284	11.95 ***	1.644	13.96 ***	
Δ elevation	.458	12.86 ***	.475	2.52 *	
Δ elevation (squared)			985	-8.40 ***	
pop. density at origin	433	-12.94 ***	591	-3.85 ***	
building diversity at origin	.268	8.01 ***	-1.079	-6.17 ***	
centreness at origin	183	-5.64 ***	456	-3.00 **	
% female pop. at origin			.779	5.48 ***	
% female jobs at origin	Í	ĺ	1.610	14.19 ***	
pop. density at end	401	-12.25 ***	135	90	
building diversity at end	.438	13.21 ***	471	-2.70 **	
centreness at end	205	-6.37 ***	556	-3.71 ***	
% female pop. at end			.442	3.10 **	
% female jobs at end	Í	ĺ	1.133	10.01 ***	
metro/rail prox. at start	.039	.49	-1.256	-3.42 ***	
metro/rail prox. at end	215	-2.77 **	-1.597	-4.39 ***	
metro/rail prox. at both (ref. no metro/rail prox.)	.317	1.50	-2.631	-2.55 *	
constant	29.770	1121.24 ***	33.513	270.76 ***	
model fit: F(df) / RMSE / R ²	213.14(11)***/	2.891 / .122	96.27(16)*** / 1	3.035 / .086	

506 Table 3: Multivariate outputs of bike sharing route age and gender profiles

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⁹ Similar to the absolute elevation transformation in Table 2, this square-transformed elevation only returns positive values, but with the difference that this square transformation highlights more the effect of routes with highest elevation difference.

508 Bike-sharing trips in proximity to metro/rail further examined

509 This final analysis section provides a further trip-based investigation of the potential use of bike-sharing as an access and/or egress mode to public transport. Table 4 presents 510 multinomial logistic regression results with regard to which types of trips have metro/rail 511 512 connectivity at the start, at the end, and at both the start and end (in reference to trips on 513 routes without such metro/rail access) and which users are most likely to make such trips. Again, standardised coefficients are presented for all continuous independent variables. Z-514 scores indicate the magnitude of statistical significance, while drawing on robust clustered 515 516 standard errors that take into account the non-independence of trips made by the same users. However, before we can investigate the issues above, it is important to control for a number 517 of urban form attributes that correlate with our dependent variable trip proximity to metro/rail. 518 Trips that have metro/rail proximity at origin correlate very highly with job density around 519 the metro/rail-linked start bike dock and highly with lower job and population densities 520 521 around the unconnected end location. Reversed correlations with urban form apply to bike 522 sharing trips with metro/rail proximity at the destination end. These findings are logical, but 523 of little further interest for this paper as they say little about bike sharing and more about the 524 location of metro/rail stations.

525 So, what characterises bike sharing trips with metro/rail access – i.e. the potential 526 access-egress trips – in terms of spatiotemporal aspects and users? As expected, trips with 527 metro/rail access at origin, destination or both are often of shorter distance. If indeed used for 528 access-egress, these bike sharing trips are after all only first and last mile extensions from the nearest metro/rail station. However, the logarithmic distance effect despite being statistically 529 530 significant is relatively minor compared to some of the other factors. Elevation for example 531 has a more prominent effect, with a larger share of downhill rides on routes with metro/rail proximity at the start, but a larger share of uphill rides on routes with metro/rail proximity at 532 533 its end. This pattern may be topographically unique to the Oslo city centre, where many work 534 and other destination locations are on the lowest elevation areas and thus require downhill egress rides from the metro/rail stations and uphill rides back. The former downhill effect is 535 536 larger than the latter uphill effect, which suggests indeed an overall preference for downhill rides and a partial substituting of uphill bike sharing access-egress rides by other transport 537 modes, such as walking, bus or tram. With regard to trip timing, morning peak has the highest 538 539 bike sharing ridership on access-egress routes, particularly in the direction from metro/rail to non-metro/rail locations (egress routes). Compared to the morning peak, both afternoon-peak 540 541 and weekday off-peak periods have lower ridership shares on access and especially egress 542 routes. Bike sharing trips on access-egress routes are fewest in weekends. In this period there 543 are relatively more bike sharing trips on routes without metro/rail proximity (the reference 544 category).

545 Regarding the characteristics of those using bike sharing in proximity to metro and 546 railway stations, Table 4 confirms the earlier discussed age and gender dimensions. Men and 547 younger age groups are more likely to use bike sharing in metro/rail proximity, although a 548 strong positive squared age effect indicates that it is not the oldest, but rather the middle-aged 549 groups in our study that use bike sharing less in proximity to metro and train stations. But the 550 strongest effect on whether bike sharing is used in proximity to metro and railway stations 551 (even stronger than that of distance and topography) is found with regard to the geographic 552 background of users. Users that live outside the municipality of Oslo and especially those 553 living in Oslo neighbourhoods outside the city centre, use the Oslo bike sharing scheme more 554 in proximity to metro/rail. Inner-Oslo residents – i.e. who in contrast to the former two groups 555 live inside the area serviced by the Oslo bike sharing scheme - use bike sharing more on 556 routes without metro/rail access.

557

	bike trip metro/rail proximity (<i>ref. no metro/rail proximity</i>)						
-	(multinomial logit model, n=2,005,386 trips, clustered by 35,151 users)						
		proximity at origin proximity at end		proximity at both			
	(egress routes)		(acces	(access routes)		(interchange routes)	
	coef.	Z	coef.	Z	coef.	Z	
Locational correlates							
pop. density at origin	.093	2.75 **	219	-14.24 ***	.177	3.22 ***	
job density at origin	1.266	43.38 ***	345	-20.81 ***	1.354	24.65 ***	
centreness at origin	324	-11.79 ***	014	-1.07	708	-11.97 ***	
pop. density at end	192	-11.89 ***	.247	6.18 ***	.535	4.21 ***	
job density at end	410	-23.51 ***	1.534	41.01 ***	1.852	14.27 ***	
centreness at end	030	-2.32 *	639	-20.26 ***	-1.226	-1.35 ***	
Spatio-temporal aspects							
trip distance (log)	039	-3.47 ***	024	-2.28 *	199	-5.90 ***	
Δ elevation	151	-12.07 ***	.081	7.92 ***	343	-7.68 ***	
morning peak (ref weekend)	.287	8.72 ***	.100	3.39 ***	.041	.48	
afternoon peak (ref weekend)	.015	.81	.039	2.69 **	.103	2,56 **	
weekday off-peak (ref weekend)	.018	1.71	.028	2.63 **	022	70	
User characteristics							
age	323	-5.94 ***	368	-6.91 ***	620	-5.98 ***	
age (squared)	.314	5.75 ***	.329	6.05 ***	.600	5.75 ***	
female (ref male)	083	-3.60 ***	097	-4.35 ***	249	-4.22 ***	
outer-Oslo user (ref inner-Oslo)	.541	15.19 ***	.413	12.67 ***	.726	9.20 ***	
outside Oslo user (ref inner-Oslo)	.320	8.15 ***	.326	8.66 ***	.272	2.67 **	
constant	-2.576	-123.99 ***	-2.542	-118.23 ***	-6.008	-9.35 ***	
model fit: Wald Chi2(df) = 26,090.13	8(48)***, Ps	seudo R ² (McFao	lden) = .222				

558	Table 4. Trin-based	investigation	of hike sharing in	proximity to metro/rail
220	Table 4. Thp-based	investigation	of blke sharing in	proximity to metro/ran

559 560

Conclusion and discussion

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562 Bike sharing could provide a key role in a transition towards a less car dependent and more sustainable, healthy and socially inclusive urban transport future. Yet, whilst Mobility as a 563 Service-initiatives advocate that successful multimodal public transport systems hinge on 564 common platforms, smart technologies, uniform ticketing systems, and seamless connections 565 566 between public and shared transport modes, this paper highlights that, such factors alone are not enough. For an integrated bike sharing-public transport system to successfully outcompete 567 urban car mobility, it is crucial for bike sharing to (i) synergise rather than compete with 568 current alternatives to car-based urban mobility (e.g. Fishman et al., 2013), and (ii) be 569 inclusively accessible to different population segments. Drawing on complete 2016-2017 trip 570 571 records of the one-way, dock-based Oslo (Norway) bike sharing system, this paper investigates the potential use of bike sharing for accessing, egressing and interchanging public 572 573 transport and explores its age and gender dimensions.

Our cross-sectional findings indicate that ridership on bike sharing routes is strongly 574 related to the connectivity to public transport, while controlling for other factors, such as route 575 distance, elevation, urban form, time of day and bike dock capacities. Bike sharing ridership 576 577 is higher on routes that have either their origin or destination bike sharing dock (but specifically not both) within a 200m range of metro/rail stations, especially during weekday 578 579 morning peaks and least so during weekends. Rather than competing with public transport, 580 bike sharing appears to fill a specific market share on commute routes perpendicular to the 581 metro/rail network that provide access-egress to job or residential locations less accessible by public transport. A similar effect was not found for connectivity to bus or tram stops, 582

indicating that bike sharing synergises best with higher-speed/capacity urban transportsystems that on their own offer lower door-to-door access.

However, our results also reveal that bike sharing, both as a stand-alone system and in 585 interconnection to public transport, is used differently by, and suited unevenly to different 586 587 population segments in different parts of the study area. First, the system is confined to the larger inner-city area, with the finer-grained network privileged to the very city centre. 588 Restrictions on rental duration and the inflexibility of not being able to park outside 589 590 designated docks, effectively prevent use outside the confined areas. This excludes usage in 591 the majority of high density lower-income residential areas and industrial/logistical employment centres. Second, gender differences are particularly striking: (i) despite recent 592 593 incremental increases in use amongst women (Uteng et. al. 2019), the current system is still predominantly used by men (58% male users; 68% of trips by men); (ii) it offers poorer 594 access to female- compared to male-dominated employment centres; (iii) it is utilised less by 595 596 women to access-egress public transport; and (iv) its rental restrictions, such as on maximum 597 rental duration and inflexibility of dock parking, are ill-suited to women's preferences (ibid) 598 and spatiotemporally-complex everyday activities (e.g. Schwanen et al., 2008). Third, complementing on typical early adopter biases for bike sharing found in the literature (e.g. 599 600 Fishman et. al., 2015, Campbell & Brakewood 2017, Hosford & Winters 2018), users are 601 often young (mean age: 30), especially on routes in university areas and away from 602 downtown employment centres. Access-egress bike sharing routes are used more by younger 603 people and less by middle-aged groups.

So how are these findings relevant for attractiveness, inclusiveness, health and 604 605 sustainability in cities? The knowledge provided by this study has particular significance for 606 public and private actors who want to strategically use bike sharing to achieve such greater 607 goals, rather than simply ticking the box of having a (growing) bike sharing system. To advance the performance, multimodal integration, and inclusiveness of bike sharing, policy 608 609 makers, public transport authorities and bike sharing providers are advised to consider improvements targeting (i) multimodal integration, (ii) dock expansion, (iii) rental limitations, 610 and (iv) e-bikes. First, public transport and bike sharing networks should be better integrated 611 by installing bike sharing docks within the tested 200m range of a larger and more 612 geographically distributed selection of train and metro stations. Integration could be further 613 enhanced by trialling uniform ticketing for bike sharing and public transport; walkability 614 improvements of interchange environments; and higher bike dock capacities to mitigate 615 616 interchange connectivity uncertainties related to the risk of full or empty bike docks. Second, 617 incentives should be given to trial dock expansion outside the city centre, particularly 618 focussing on bike dock pairs connecting metro/rail stations to non-station locations of high 619 residential or employment density, including lower income neighbourhoods and female-620 oriented employment centres. Third, trials should be incentivised to lift rental restrictions to 621 better suit the mobility needs of women and other marginalised groups, including longer 622 rental durations, opportunities to lock bicycles outside designated docks. Fourth, to lift range, time and bodily constraints in a hilly city context like Oslo, trials with shared electric bicycles 623 624 should be incentivised. This could also enhance the hard competitiveness of bike sharing over 625 the less physically active and arguably less durable free-floating systems of shared electric 626 scooters.

To support the knowledge base for policy towards bike sharing and the multimodal integration of this fast-growing transport mode, further research is recommended along three lines of inquiry to expand on the limitations and findings of this study. First, with today's wide (public) availability of big data on bike sharing, studies could replicate our research design to assess and cross-compare the effects of metro-rail proximity on bike sharing ridership in a wider range of contexts, including smaller and larger cities, high and low public 633 transport or cycling contexts, different topographies and climates, non-western contexts, and 634 other types of bike sharing business models (e.g. one-way/two-way/free-floating, private or publicly-funded, advertised or non-advertised). Second, a limitation of our data is that we do 635 not know whether bike sharing trips are actually used access-egress. We account for this 636 637 limitation by controlling for other known determinants of bike sharing demand, but future 638 studies could use other data collection methodologies to acquire actual revealed bike sharing access-egress behaviours, including data on integrated ticketing systems or GPS-tracking of 639 640 bike sharing users. Third, studies should investigate the rapidly changing competitive landscape and possibly intertwined usages of bike sharing and other existing or new transport 641 642 modes, including car sharing and aforementioned shared electric scooters for access-egress. 643 Finally, hegemonic quantitative approaches in studying bike sharing, should be supplemented 644 with qualitative approaches to better grasp the barriers, recruitment/retainment motivations 645 and everyday life interdependencies that shape bike sharing practices.

646

647 Acknowledgements

This research is supported by the research project "*TRANSFER – Access, egress and transfer practises for designing multimodal connectivity*" (project number 2667877) funded by the
 Research Council of Norway, through its TRANSPORT-2025 research programme. We are

- 651 grateful for the highly constructive comments by two anonymous reviewers.
- 652

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