



Inequalities in usage of a public bicycle sharing scheme: Socio-demographic predictors of uptake and usage of the London (UK) cycle hire scheme

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ARTICLE INFO

Available online 14 May 2012

Keywords:

Public health
Motor activity
Bicycling
Transportation
Socioeconomic factors

ABSTRACT

Objective. Cycling confers individual and population-level health benefits, but uptake is not always equitable across socio-demographic groups. We sought to examine inequalities in uptake and usage of London's Barclays Cycle Hire (BCH) scheme.

Method. We obtained complete BCH registration data, and compared users with the general population. We examined usage levels by explanatory variables including gender, small-area income-deprivation and local cycling prevalence.

Results. 100,801 registered individuals made 2.5 million trips between July 2010 and March 2011. Compared with residents and workers in the central London area served by the scheme, registered individuals were more likely to be male and to live in areas of low deprivation and high cycling prevalence. Among those registered, females made 1.63 (95%CI 1.53, 1.74) fewer trips per month than males, and made under a fifth of all trips. Adjusting for the fact that deprived areas were less likely to be close to BCH docking stations, users in the most deprived areas made 0.85 (95%CI 0.63, 1.07) more trips per month than those in the least deprived areas.

Conclusion. Females and residents in deprived areas are underrepresented among users of London's public bicycle sharing scheme. The scheme's planned expansion into more deprived areas has, however, the potential to create a more equitable uptake of cycling.

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Introduction

Cycling confers individual and population-level health benefits, including benefits from decreased cardiovascular risk, improved mental wellbeing, decreased air pollution and decreased exposure to road traffic collisions (de Hartog et al., 2010; Lindsay et al., 2011; Pucher et al., 2010a, 2010b; Rojas-Rueda et al., 2011; Woodcock et al., 2009). Yet levels of cycling in the UK remain low (Department for Transport, 2010). Promoting active travel is now high on the public health agenda (Douglas et al., 2011) and public bicycle sharing schemes have become a popular intervention, with an estimated 375 schemes in 33 countries around the world (Midgley, 2011).

In the UK, London's public bicycle sharing scheme, the Barclays Cycle Hire (BCH) scheme, was introduced by the public body Transport for London in July 2010. At its launch, the scheme comprised 3000 bicycles located at 315 docking stations throughout central London (Transport for London, 2010b). When registering, individuals pay £3 for a BCH 'key' and then choose between 1-day access (£1), 7-day access (£5) or annual access (£45). After paying the access fee trips of under 30 min

are free but longer trips incur additional usage charges. Registration was compulsory prior to 3rd December 2010, but since this date non-registered individuals have been able to buy 1-day or 7-day access as pay-as-you-go 'casual' users. A debit or credit card is required to pay for keys, access and usage charges (Transport for London, 2010a).

The BCH scheme is one of the Mayor of London's initiatives to increase London's modal share of cycling from 2% to 5% by 2026 (Transport for London, 2010b, 2010c). There are, however, concerns that interventions to promote cycling may be inequitable, with levels of cycling uptake in the UK higher amongst affluent white men (Marmot, 2010; Parkin et al., 2008; Steinbach et al., 2011). While the aim of the BCH scheme was not to reduce inequalities (Transport for London, 2010b, 2010c), it has been argued that the health and equity impacts of all public investment projects should be evaluated (Kahlmeier et al., 2010; Ståhl et al., 2006).

Despite public bicycle sharing schemes existing in many other European and North American cities, evidence reviews have identified few published evaluations (Pucher et al., 2010a, 2010b; Yang et al., 2010). A study modelling the benefits of Barcelona's scheme identified likely health and environmental benefits, but did not consider equity impacts (Rojas-Rueda et al., 2011), while an evaluation of Montreal's scheme found that users were more likely to be young, well-educated, current cyclists (Fuller et al., 2011). An online customer satisfaction survey of 1297 BCH scheme users, found an overrepresentation of young, white, high-

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earning men (Transport for London,2010d), however its validity was limited by a 5% response rate (personal communication, 2011).

This study uses complete registration data from the first seven months of the BCH scheme to compare the personal and area-level characteristics of users with those of the general population, and to examine the predictors of scheme usage.

Methods

Transport for London provided anonymised registration data for all users who registered between 30th July 2010 and 23rd February 2011 (the most recent data then available). Registration data comprised each individual's title; date of registration; initial access type (1-day, 7-day or annual); and postcode of registration debit or credit card. Registration data was linked to the total number of BCH trips made prior to 18th March 2011. Our dataset did not include data on pay-as-you-go 'casual' users who, since 3rd December, have been able to use the BCH without registering.

We used titles to assign gender as 'male', 'female', or 'ambiguous'. As proxies for individual-level data, we used postcodes to assign deprivation, ethnicity and mode of commute data at the level of the Lower Super Output Area (LSOA, mean population 1500). We assigned small-area income deprivation using the 2010 English Indices of Deprivation (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011), and assigned the proportions of 'non-White British residents' and 'adult commuters who normally commute by bicycle' using the 2001 census (Office for National Statistics, 2001). We used postcode centroids to generate distance to the nearest BCH docking station, and to calculate the number of docking stations within 250 m. Our primary measure of BCH usage was 'mean number of trips per

month of registration' among individuals who registered for the scheme, with the denominator calculated to include fractions of months. As a secondary outcome we examined whether registering individuals ever used the scheme. Individuals with missing data for any variable (1.2%) were excluded from analyses.

We compared personal and area-level characteristics of registered users with area-level characteristics of two populations: a) residents of Greater London and b) all residents and workers in the BCH 'Zone'. We defined this Zone as all LSOAs where part or all of the LSOA is within 500 m of a BCH docking station, and identified the home postcodes of workers in this Zone using CommuterFlows data from the 2001 census (Office for National Statistics, 2008). We characterised the comparator populations using mid-2010 estimates of population size and gender ratio (Office for National Statistics, 2011), and using the area-level deprivation, ethnicity and mode of commute data sources described above. We report comparator characteristics of the Zone population as weighted averages, weighting each Zone LSOA by its total population of residents living in that LSOA plus non-residents commuting to that LSOA.

Statistical analysis

We used linear regression to examine correlates of 'mean number of trips' (primary outcome), and logistic regression to examine correlates of 'ever use' (secondary outcome). We hypothesised that the association between socio-demographic explanatory variables and outcome variables might be affected by the geographical positioning of the scheme in relation to users, and by users' decisions regarding when and how to register for the scheme. We therefore adjusted for these variables using a hierarchical modelling approach. Model one includes the socio-demographic variables (gender,;

Table 1
Characteristics of those who registered for London's BCH between July 2010 and February 2011, n = 99,615.

Variables		Total number of registered users (column %)	Column percentages by gender		Column percentages by place of residence	
			Male	Female	London	Non-London
Gender	Male	69,293 (69.6)	-	-	66.7	79.4
	Female	27,199 (27.3)	-	-	30.3	16.9
	Ambiguous	3123 (3.1)	-	-	3.0	3.7
Place of residence	London	77,230 (77.5)	74.4	86.1	-	-
	Non-London	22,385 (22.5)	25.7	13.9	-	-
Income deprivation fifth of residential LSOA ^a	1 (least deprived)	26,248 (26.4)	27.5	23.4	20.6	46.0
	2	16,304 (16.4)	17.0	14.5	13.3	26.9
	3	19,596 (19.7)	19.5	20.0	20.5	16.8
	4	21,673 (21.8)	21.0	23.6	25.7	8.3
	5 (most deprived)	15,794 (15.9)	15.0	18.5	19.9	2.0
Percentage of residential LSOA population who are non-White British	0–24.9	28,704 (28.8)	32.5	19.3	9.7	94.9
	25–49.9	44,090 (44.3)	42.3	48.9	55.9	4.6
	50–74.9	25,760 (25.9)	24.1	30.8	33.3	0.4
	75–100	1061 (1.1)	1.1	1.0	1.4	0.1
Percentage of residential LSOA population who commute by cycling	0–2.49	38,028 (38.2)	40.4	32.9	30.9	63.3
	2.5–4.99	42,310 (42.5)	41.3	45.8	47.4	25.4
	5–7.49	14,976 (15.0)	14.3	16.8	17.8	5.4
	over 7.5	4301 (4.3)	4.1	4.6	3.9	6.0
Distance from residence to nearest cycle hire docking station (metres)	0–499	34,173 (34.3)	31.8	41.0	44.3	0
	500–999	5653 (5.7)	5.2	6.9	7.3	0
	1000–1999	6529 (6.6)	6.1	7.8	8.5	0
	over 2000	53,260 (53.5)	57.0	44.3	40.0	100
Number of cycle hire docking stations within 250 m of residence	0	72,467 (72.8)	74.6	67.8	64.9	100
	1	12,521 (12.6)	11.7	14.9	16.2	0
	More than 1	14,627 (14.7)	13.7	17.4	18.9	0
Month of registration ^b	Jul/Aug-10	50,347 (50.5)	51.1	49.4	51.8	46.1
	Sep-10	24,868 (25.0)	24.7	25.7	24.7	26.1
	Oct-10	12,631 (12.7)	12.4	13.4	12.5	13.2
	Nov-10	6359 (6.4)	6.3	6.5	6.0	7.9
	Dec-10	1567 (1.6)	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.8
	Jan/Feb-11	3843 (3.9)	3.9	3.7	3.5	5.0
Access type	1-day	58,508 (58.7)	56.6	64.4	58.9	58.1
	7-day	4186 (4.2)	3.9	5.0	4.2	4.3
	Annual	36,921 (37.1)	39.5	30.6	36.9	37.6

BCH = Barclays Cycle Hire, LSOA = lower super output area. Registered individuals with one or more items of missing data (n = 1186) were excluded from analysis.

^a Deprivation fifths defined relative to England as a whole.

^b Jul and Aug 2010 combined and Jan and Feb 2011 combined as data only recorded from 30th Jul to 23rd Feb.

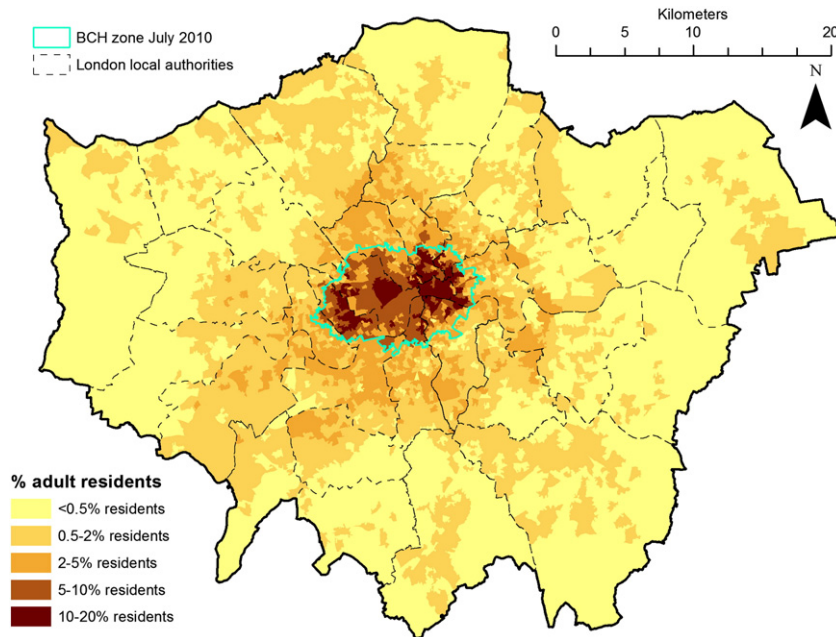


Fig. 1. Map of London showing LSOAs of residence of BCH users with London postcodes (London, 2010–2011).

place of residence,; and area-level income-deprivation, ethnicity and commuter behaviour); model two also adjusts for distance and density of BCH stations from the registered address; and model three further adjusts for month of registration and access type.

We accounted for spatial autocorrelation using maximum likelihood estimation to fit three-level linear and logistic random intercept models, of individuals nested within LSOAs nested within boroughs (further details in supplementary material). STATA 11 was used for all statistical analyses and ARC GIS 9.2 was used to create a map. Ethical approval was granted by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine's ethics committee.

Results

Between 30th July 2010 and 23rd February 2011, 100,801 individuals registered to use the BCH scheme. Data was complete for 99,615 individuals (98.8%). A total of 2,497,919 trips were made between 30th

July 2010 and 17th March 2011, however one quarter (25.4%) of registered users made no trips in the recorded period. The mean total number of trips per registered user was 24.8, (standard deviation 47.9; 95%CI 24.5–25.1), with a mean of 4.15 (standard deviation 7.9; 95%CI 4.10–4.20) trips per user per month of registration. Among those whose gender was known, less than one fifth (18.4%) of the total number of trips were made by females.

Over two-thirds (69.6%) of registered users were male, and approximately three-quarters (77.5%) had London postcodes. One-third (34.3%) lived within 500 m of a BCH docking station, and one-quarter (27.3%) had one or more BCH docking stations within a 250-metre radius of their address. Half (50.5%) registered within the first two months of the scheme, with registrations declining over time, perhaps partly due to the transition to winter. 58.7% of users registered for 1-day access and 37.1% registered for annual access. Males were more likely than females to be non-London residents

Table 2
Comparison of the characteristics of the general population with those of registered BCH users, (London, 2010–2011).

Variables	General population		Registered BCH users			
	BCH Zone residents and workers	Greater London residents	All BCH users	Greater London residents	Non-London residents	
Percentage of population by gender	Male	48.7	49.8	69.6	66.7	79.4
	Female	51.3	50.2	27.3	30.3	16.9
	Ambiguous	–	–	3.1	3.0	3.7
Percentage of population by small-area income deprivation fifth	1 (least deprived)	20.4	11.3	26.4	20.6	46.0
	2	15.8	12.1	16.4	13.3	26.9
	3	18.1	16.8	19.7	20.5	16.8
	4	23.2	27.3	21.8	25.7	8.3
	5 (most deprived)	22.7	32.6	15.9	19.9	2.0
Mean percentage of area population who are non-White British	34.3	40.1	36.1	43.7	9.8	
Mean percentage of commuters in area population who usually commute by cycling	2.6	2.3	3.4	3.6	2.9	

BCH = Barclays Cycle Hire, LSOA = lower super output area. All differences between 'BCH Zone residents and workers' and 'All BCH users' were significant at $p < 0.001$, using chi-squared tests for gender and area deprivation and t-tests for ethnicity and cycling prevalence.

(25.7% versus 13.9%) and to choose annual access (39.5% versus 30.6%). Table 1 presents full results, while Fig. 1 shows the geographical distribution of London users in relation to the BCH Zone.

In comparison with residents and workers in the BCH Zone (Table 2), registered users were more likely to be male (69.6% versus 48.7%), less likely to live in LSOAs with income deprivation scores in the most deprived fifth (15.9% versus 22.7%) and more likely to live in LSOAs with income deprivation scores in the least deprived fifth (26.4% versus 20.4%). The ethnic diversity of registered users' areas was slightly greater than the average for residents and workers in the BCH Zone (mean percentage of populations who were 'non-White British' 36.1% versus 34.3%), and the prevalence of commuter cycling in registered users' areas was higher than the average for the home areas of BCH Zone residents and workers (mean percentage of population commuting by cycling 3.4% versus 2.6%). All comparisons were statistically significant at the $p < 0.001$ level.

Among those who did register for the scheme, female gender was associated with making fewer BCH trips per month in both unadjusted and adjusted analyses (Table 3; fully-adjusted regression coefficient for mean number of trips -1.63 , 95%CI $-1.74, -1.53$). Living outside of London was associated with making more trips by BCH bicycle in both adjusted and unadjusted analyses (fully-adjusted regression coefficient 1.37 , 95%CI $1.02, 1.72$).

Mean number of BCH trips per month did not vary by income deprivation in unadjusted analysis, but after adjusting for the distance and density of BCH docking stations (model 2), those in more income-deprived areas made more trips on average (regression coefficient 0.60 , 95%CI $0.37, 0.84$ for the highest versus the lowest deprivation fifths). This difference between model 1 and model 2 reflected the

fact that those in more deprived areas were less likely to live very close to BCH docking stations (32.3% versus 37.5% living within 500 m of a docking station, for the highest versus the lowest deprivation fifths). The magnitude of the association with income deprivation increased still further after adjusting for month of registration and access type (model 3). This reflected the fact that area deprivation was associated with a reduced likelihood of choosing annual access (30.9%, 37.2% and 42.0% chose annual access in the highest, middle and lowest deprivation fifths) but that there was a higher level of usage among those in deprived areas who did have annual access (8.8, 7.7 and 6.8 trips per month for the highest, middle and lowest deprivation fifths).

There was little systematic association with area ethnic composition, other than a slightly lower mean trip rate among those living in areas where 25 to 50% of the population was non-White British. Commuter cycling prevalence in area of residence was also not associated with the number of trips made per month after adjusting for the fact that high-cycling areas tended to be further from the BCH Zone. By contrast, shorter distance to the nearest docking station was associated with making progressively more trips per month, as was having more docking stations within 250 m of the residential address.

There was no clear trend between month of registration and number of trips made per month during the early months of the BCH scheme. Average usage was, however, over three trips per month higher among individuals registering after the introduction of pay-as-you-go 'casual' usage in December 2010, suggesting that once casual use was an option only relatively few prospective users decided to register. This finding was unchanged in sensitivity analysis using months not individuals as the units of analysis in order to take seasonality more fully into account (further details in supplementary

Table 3
Predictors of mean number of trips made by BCH bicycle per month, among registered users (London, 2010–2011).

Variables		Mean number of trips made per month	Linear regression coefficients (95% CI) for mean number of trips made by BCH bicycle per month			
			Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender	Male	4.7	0	0	0	0
	Female	2.7	-2.06 (-2.17, -1.95)	-2.06 (-2.16, -1.95)	-2.06 (-2.17, -1.96)	-1.63 (-1.74, -1.53)
Place of residence	Ambiguous	4.4	-0.30 (-0.57, -0.02)	-0.28 (-0.56, -0.01)	-0.29 (-0.56, -0.01)	-0.34 (-0.60, -0.08)
	London	4.1	0	0	0	0
Income deprivation fifth of LSOA	Non-London	4.5	1.14 (0.74, 1.55)	0.90 (0.46, 1.34)	1.57 (1.15, 2.00)	1.37 (1.02, 1.72)
	1 (least deprived)	4.2	0	0	0	0
	2	4.1	0.00 (-0.22, 0.21)	0.03 (-0.17, 0.24)	0.16 (-0.02, 0.34)	0.28 (0.11, 0.45)
	3	4.2	0.06 (-0.16, 0.28)	0.18 (-0.04, 0.40)	0.32 (0.14, 0.51)	0.45 (0.28, 0.63)
	4	4.1	-0.15 (-0.39, 0.08)	-0.01 (-0.25, 0.23)	0.29 (0.10, 0.49)	0.51 (0.33, 0.69)
Percentage of LSOA who are non-White British	5 (most deprived)	4.2	-0.01 (-0.27, 0.26)	-0.08 (-0.36, 0.20)	0.60 (0.37, 0.84)	0.85 (0.63, 1.07)
	0–24.9	4.2	0	0	0	0
	25–49.9	3.7	-0.72 (-0.98, -0.46)	-0.43 (-0.71, -0.14)	-0.58 (-0.83, -0.33)	-0.55 (-0.78, -0.31)
	50–74.9	4.8	0.02 (-0.29, 0.33)	0.38 (0.03, 0.73)	-0.39 (-0.69, -0.10)	-0.22 (-0.50, 0.05)
	75–100	4.5	0.43 (-0.27, 1.13)	0.72 (0.00, 1.44)	-0.62 (-1.24, -0.01)	-0.38 (-0.96, 0.20)
Percentage of LSOA who commute by cycling	0–2.49	4.0	0	0	0	0
	2.5–4.99	4.5	0.09 (-0.09, 0.27)	0.16 (-0.01, 0.34)	0.10 (-0.05, 0.25)	0.15 (0.01, 0.29)
	5–7.49	3.9	-0.28 (-0.54, -0.01)	-0.11 (-0.37, 0.16)	-0.05 (-0.27, 0.16)	-0.02 (-0.22, 0.18)
	over 7.5	3.1	-0.97 (-1.37, -0.57)	-0.80 (-1.20, -0.41)	-0.16 (-0.49, 0.17)	-0.16 (-0.48, 0.15)
Distance from residence to nearest cycle hire docking station (metres)	0–499	6.1	0	0	0	0
	500–999	3.4	-2.91 (-3.19, -2.64)	-2.33 (-2.64, -2.02)	-1.88 (-2.17, -1.59)	-1.88 (-2.17, -1.59)
	1000–1999	2.1	-4.69 (-4.96, -4.41)	-4.01 (-4.33, -3.69)	-3.24 (-3.53, -2.94)	-3.24 (-3.53, -2.94)
Number of cycle hire docking stations within 250 m of residence	over 2000	3.2	-5.14 (-5.40, -4.89)	-4.49 (-4.79, -4.19)	-3.57 (-3.85, -3.29)	-3.57 (-3.85, -3.29)
	0	3.3	0	0	0	0
	1	6.1	2.45 (2.24, 2.67)	0.79 (0.55, 1.04)	0.68 (0.45, 0.91)	0.68 (0.45, 0.91)
Month of registration	More than 1	6.6	2.87 (2.64, 3.10)	1.13 (0.88, 1.39)	1.01 (0.77, 1.25)	1.01 (0.77, 1.25)
	Jul/Aug-10	4.0	0	0	0	0
	Sept 2010	4.0	-0.01 (-0.13, 0.10)			-0.03 (-0.14, 0.08)
	Oct 2010	4.2	0.22 (0.07, 0.37)			0.26 (0.11, 0.40)
	Nov 2010	3.2	-0.71 (-0.91, -0.51)			-0.62 (-0.80, -0.43)
Access type	Dec 2010	5.4	1.39 (1.00, 1.77)			1.01 (0.65, 1.37)
	Jan/Feb-11	8.4	4.24 (3.99, 4.49)			3.47 (3.23, 3.71)
	1-day	2.0	0			0
	7-day	5.0	2.62 (2.39, 2.85)			2.59 (2.37, 2.82)
Annual	7.5	5.18 (5.09, 5.28)			4.89 (4.79, 4.98)	

BCH = Barclays Cycle Hire, LSOA = lower super output area.
Values shaded bold are different from the reference category with $p < 0.001$.

Table 4
Predictors of ever making any trip by BCH bicycle, among registered users (London, 2010–2011).

Variables		Percentage of users making at least one trip	Odds ratios (95% CI) for 'ever use'			
			Unadjusted	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender	Male	76.4	1	1	1	1
	Female	67.2	0.59 (0.57, 0.60)	0.59 (0.57, 0.61)	0.59 (0.57, 0.61)	0.64 (0.62, 0.66)
Place of residence	Ambiguous	76.8	1.00 (0.92, 1.10)	1.00 (0.92, 1.09)	1.00 (0.92, 1.09)	1.01 (0.92, 1.11)
	London	74.1	1	1	1	1
	Non-London	72.9	1.18 (1.07, 1.31)	1.09 (0.97, 1.22)	1.24 (1.13, 1.36)	1.26 (1.16, 1.36)
Income deprivation fifth of LSOA	1 (least deprived)	75.6	1	1	1	1
	2	73.6	0.97 (0.92, 1.03)	0.98 (0.92, 1.04)	0.99 (0.94, 1.04)	1.01 (0.96, 1.07)
	3	74.2	0.93 (0.88, 0.99)	0.95 (0.89, 1.01)	0.97 (0.92, 1.02)	1.00 (0.95, 1.05)
	4	73.4	0.89 (0.84, 0.95)	0.91 (0.85, 0.97)	0.94 (0.89, 0.99)	0.99 (0.93, 1.05)
	5 (most deprived)	71.3	0.80 (0.75, 0.86)	0.80 (0.74, 0.86)	0.89 (0.83, 0.95)	0.94 (0.88, 1.01)
Percentage of LSOA who are non-White British	0–24.9	71.9	1	1	1	1
	25–49.9	73.8	0.91 (0.85, 0.98)	1.00 (0.92, 1.08)	0.96 (0.90, 1.03)	0.97 (0.91, 1.04)
	50–74.9	76.4	0.94 (0.87, 1.02)	1.10 (1.00, 1.20)	0.94 (0.86, 1.01)	0.99 (0.91, 1.07)
	75–100	70.6	0.92 (0.77, 1.10)	1.07 (0.89, 1.30)	0.84 (0.71, 1.00)	0.88 (0.74, 1.04)
Percentage of LSOA who commute by cycling	0–2.49	72.7	1	1	1	1
	2.5–4.99	75.1	0.97 (0.93, 1.02)	1.00 (0.95, 1.05)	0.99 (0.95, 1.03)	1.01 (0.97, 1.06)
	5–7.49	74.0	0.98 (0.92, 1.05)	1.03 (0.96, 1.11)	1.04 (0.98, 1.11)	1.07 (1.01, 1.14)
	over 7.5	71.7	0.90 (0.81, 1.00)	0.94 (0.85, 1.04)	1.10 (1.00, 1.20)	1.13 (1.03, 1.23)
Distance from residence to nearest cycle hire docking station (metres)	0–499	82.3	1	1	1	1
	500–999	74.9	0.65 (0.60, 0.70)		0.72 (0.66, 0.79)	0.77 (0.70, 0.85)
	1000–1999	68.3	0.46 (0.43, 0.49)		0.50 (0.46, 0.55)	0.56 (0.51, 0.62)
	over 2000	69.0	0.40 (0.37, 0.43)		0.42 (0.38, 0.45)	0.48 (0.44, 0.52)
Number of cycle hire docking stations within 250 m of residence	0	70.5	1	1	1	1
	1	82.0	1.61 (1.51, 1.72)		1.10 (1.02, 1.19)	1.07 (0.98, 1.16)
Month of registration	More than 1	83.5	1.78 (1.66, 1.90)		1.20 (1.11, 1.31)	1.16 (1.07, 1.26)
	Jul/Aug-10	76.7	1	1	1	1
	Sept 2010	75.2	0.92 (0.88, 0.95)			0.91 (0.87, 0.94)
	Oct 2010	70.7	0.72 (0.69, 0.76)			0.71 (0.68, 0.75)
	Nov 2010	56.7	0.39 (0.37, 0.41)			0.37 (0.35, 0.39)
Access type	Dec 2010	64.7	0.55 (0.49, 0.61)			0.46 (0.41, 0.52)
	Jan/Feb-11	70.4	0.70 (0.65, 0.75)			0.54 (0.50, 0.58)
	1-day	64.5	1	1	1	1
	7-day	70.7	1.27 (1.18, 1.36)			1.23 (1.15, 1.32)
	Annual	89.1	4.31 (4.15, 4.48)			4.22 (4.07, 4.39)

BCH = Barclays Cycle Hire, LSOA = lower super output area.

Values shaded bold are different from the reference category with $p < 0.001$.

material). Having 7-day or annual access was also associated with making more trips per month.

Many of these findings were replicated for our secondary outcome of 'ever making a BCH trip' (Table 4). Once again, females were less likely ever to make a trip, while those from outside of London, those living close to a cycle hire docking station, and those with 7-day or annual access were more likely. In contrast to our findings for mean trip usage, however, area deprivation and ethnic composition were not associated with ever making a trip. There was also some evidence that those living in areas of high commuter cycling prevalence were more likely ever to make a trip, despite the fact that this variable had not been associated with mean number of trips.

Discussion

Main findings

This study examined the personal and area-level characteristics of the 100,801 individuals who registered to use the BCH scheme in the first seven months of its operation. We found that females made up under a third of those registered with BCH, were less likely than males ever to use the scheme after registering, and also made fewer trips on average. The result was that only 18.4% of all BCH cycling trips were made by females, lower than the proportion of 32.6% reported for all London cycling trips (Transport for London, 2009). A number of studies have explored the reasons for low uptake of cycling amongst women, citing reasons including perceived cultural inappropriateness, fear of road danger and trip complexity (Dickenson et al., 2003; Garrard et al., 2008; Root and Schintler, 1999; Steinbach et al., 2011). However as BCH cycling currently appears to be less gender-

equitable than non-BCH cycling in London, further exploration is warranted into any specific barriers to registering for and using the scheme. The notable contrast between our findings and the apparently above-average gender equity of the equivalent Montreal cycle hire scheme (Fuller et al., 2011) also highlights the importance of context specific evaluations of interventions to promote cycling.

After adjusting for the fact that those living in income-deprived areas were less likely to live close to a BCH docking station, registered users from deprived areas made more trips on average than those from less-deprived areas. This suggests that there may be a greater latent demand for cycling in deprived areas, perhaps due to low levels of bicycle ownership resulting from lack of affordability or storage facilities. It is therefore possible that a disproportionate increase in uptake would be seen among deprived populations if BCH docking stations were situated in more deprived areas, as is planned with the expansion of the BCH scheme in spring 2012. Exploration of other potential barriers to usage among deprived populations, including the cost of annual access and the need to pay using a debit or credit card is also warranted.

Limitations

The use of routinely collected registration data limited what could be studied. It was necessary to use area-level data as a proxy for individual socio-economic deprivation and ethnicity, and it is not known if the observed associations would hold true at the individual level. This is a particular limitation with respect to ethnicity data, which in addition was (like our commuter data) collected almost a decade before the period of this study. In addition, as access keys can be passed between individuals, it is likely that a small number of trips

were made by individuals with different demographic profiles to those who registered. A further limitation is the lack of a clearly defined denominator population, as any individual with a UK debit or credit card could register to use the scheme. Having data for only a seven month period meant it was not possible to study temporal trends, particularly as usage levels are likely to be highly affected by the seasons.

Conclusion

The health benefits of cycling are well known, and public bicycle sharing schemes are becoming a popular way of promoting cycling in urban environments. Our study has shown that London's public bicycle sharing scheme is being well used, but that usage is not equitably distributed throughout the population. Specifically, women and those living in deprived areas are less likely to register to use the scheme. Amongst those who did register, however, usage was actually higher among those living in deprived areas after adjusting for the fact that those areas were less likely to be close to a BCH docking station. This suggests that the scheme may be meeting a currently unmet need for access to bicycling in deprived communities. Policy makers should consider the health benefits that could be gained from expanding the scheme into deprived areas, and from investigating other means to increase uptake of the scheme among women and those on low incomes.

Funding

FO conducted this independent research during an MSc funded by the UK National Health Service (NHS)'s postgraduate public health training programme. AG supervised the research during a post-doctoral research fellowship supported by the UK National Institute for Health Research (NIHR). The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the NHS, the NIHR or the UK Department of Health.

Conflict of interest statement

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Clare Sheffield and colleagues at Transport for London for providing us with the data used for this study. Census output is Crown copyright and is reproduced with the permission of the Controller of HMSO and the Queen's Printer for Scotland.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ypmed.2012.05.002>.

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