BIKESHARE AND EQUITY IN BERKELEY, CA 1 2 3 4 Sarah Saviskas Department of City and Regional Planning 5 University of California, Berkeley 6 228 Wurster Hall, MC 1820 7 Berkeley, CA 94720 8 9 Email: sarah.saviskas@berkeley.edu 10 Paul Sohn* 11 12 Department of City and Regional Planning 13 University of California, Berkeley 228 Wurster Hall, MC 1820 14 Berkeley, CA 94720 15 Email: paulsohn@berkeley.edu 16 17 18 *Corresponding Author 19 20 21 Submission to Transportation Research Board 22 23 August 1, 2015 24 25 Word count: 5,691 (text) + 4 x 250 words (tables and figures) = 6,691 words 26 27 Keywords: Bikeshare, Equity, Low-income, Barriers to Access

ABSTRACT

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2 Bikeshare programs are becoming increasingly popular in cities around the United States.

- 3 However, there are concerns that they do not provide equitable access across socioeconomic or
- 4 racial/ethnic groups. Even though equity concerns are widely acknowledged in the literature and
- 5 among practitioners, there is a gap in data on how low-income communities use (or don't use)
- 6 bikeshare and on the seemingly conventional metrics that deprioritize access for lower-income
- 7 neighborhoods. Given that Berkeley, Oakland, and Emeryville are launching bikeshare programs
- 8 in 2016 as an expansion of Bay Area Bike Share, this research sought to better understand
- 9 Berkeley residents' attitudes about bicycling and bikeshare; to identify location and financial
- barriers to a future system; and to analyze these data across different sociodemographic groups.
- An intercept survey was conducted at a rapid transit station near lower-income neighborhoods of
- Berkeley. Results indicated that low-income and high-income respondents have a similar level of
- interest in using Berkeley bikeshare and having a bikeshare station located in their neighborhood
- or near their home. Station location is the factor that respondents report being most important in
- making it more or less likely that they will use bikeshare in the future. Cost and the ability to use
- a credit card are the next most important factors. The results also indicated that access to a credit
- card and the internet are not significant barriers to utilizing bikeshare. Finally, the study found
- that White Alone, non-Hispanic respondents are far more likely to have heard of bikeshare
- before the survey than non-White respondents.

INTRODUCTION

Bikeshare programs have become increasingly common in the U.S., with 22 systems claiming over 884,000 users around the country as of 2012 (*I*). The number of systems more than doubled since then, according to a count by the Pedestrian and Bicycle Information Center, and include large systems like Boston Hubway, New York Citibikes, Seattle Pronto, and Bay Area Bike Share (*2*). While these bikeshare programs have proven popular, some have argued that they do not provide equitable access across socioeconomic or racial/ethnic groups.

Bikeshare programs around the country are aware of this critique and seem to be concerned about equity, yet there is a gap in data on how low-income communities use (or don't use) bikeshare and on the seemingly conventional metrics that deprioritize access for lower-income neighborhoods. It is important to try to fill this gap in order to better serve low-income populations.

Berkeley, Oakland, and Emeryville are launching bikeshare programs next year as an expansion of Bay Area Bike Share. These cities are just beginning the strategic planning process to determine key details of the programs, including where and how far apart to place stations and how to implement payment. Equity, along with economic and environmental considerations, is a key concern for those making these decisions.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESES

The fact that Berkeley is beginning its strategic planning process presented a unique opportunity to help fill the equity data gap. Therefore, through this research, we sought to better understand Berkeley residents' attitudes and perceptions about bicycling and bikeshare; to identify location and financial barriers to a future system; and to analyze these data across different sociodemographic groups.

We hypothesized that in Berkeley, the lower-income neighborhoods that are similar to those typically underserved by bikeshare systems are indeed suitable for bikeshare, and that residents of these neighborhoods would take bikesharing trips for utilitarian purposes, including commuting to work/school and running errands. We also hypothesized that common verification steps, including the use of a credit card and signing up for an online membership, may be especially large barriers to using bikeshare for lower-income individuals.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Bikesharing systems provide short-term bicycle access to individuals on an "as-needed" basis, usually for less than an hour at a time, as a point-to-point transit option (1, 3). Each bikeshare system has slightly different rules for accessing a bike, but many cities require signing up for a yearly membership online or paying by credit/debit card. A few systems, such as Capital Bikeshare in D.C., let you pay by cash, and others enable payments in monthly installments, such as Capital Bikeshare and Boston Hubway, though these options are not common.

While some perceive bikeshare systems as being catered mainly to tourists, the data suggest that users are taking trips on bikeshare for largely utilitarian purposes. A 2012 survey of users of four North American systems found that the most common purpose for bikeshare trips was for travel to work or school; social/entertainment and running errands are two other common purposes (1). Therefore, there could be a market within bikeshare programs for low-income individuals.

The demographic profile of bikeshare users is skewed on multiple accounts—by income, race, and educational attainment. In the same survey of users in four North American cities,

Shaheen et al. found that nearly 80% are Caucasian and that 85% are college-educated (1). Another study found that only 2% of Capital Bikeshare members are Black/African-American, compared to 50% of the population of Washington, D.C. (4). Additionally, a 2014 study of user impacts of bikeshare programs found that low-income bikeshare members are under-represented in the population, while high-income members are over-represented (5). A CityLab analysis of this study found that "bikeshare membership has a tipping point of roughly \$50,000 in household income" (6). Further, a London study found that bikeshare members were more likely to live in affluent areas, but that when controlling for greater bikeshare station density in these areas, those in less affluent areas use bikeshare more often (4).

Early spatial analysis of station location suitability by the City of Berkeley and City of Oakland has focused on current bike commute share, distance from BART, retail/employment density, and distance from the existing bicycle network; this analysis concludes that West Oakland, West Berkeley, and large areas of East Oakland are relatively unsuitable for bikeshare stations. A similar study, which generated a model to determine spatial suitability for expansion of Capital Bikeshare using data from existing ridership, found that non-White population prevalence was negatively correlated to suitability (7). Both data-driven attempts to determine where to place new stations suggest that low-income, non-White neighborhoods are less suitable locations for bikeshare.

There seems to be general agreement that bikeshare systems should make a greater effort to promote equity. Systems across the country are implementing or planning to implement a wide range of measures to promote equity, including station siting in low-income communities and providing assistance in overcoming financial barriers (8). For example, Philadelphia has made equity a primary focus of its recently launched bikeshare system. The City's bikeshare business plan has an explicit Social Equity Strategy, which includes strategies for overcoming key barriers to lower-income people using bikeshare, such as station location, system access and verification, cultural barriers, and cost barrier to entry (9). As of May 2015, Philadelphia placed 20 out of its 70 initial bike share stations in low-income neighborhoods (10). The City also partnered with the Temple University Institute for Survey Research to organize a focus group of nearly 60 residents from low-income neighborhoods to discuss how to make bikeshare accessible to all residents (10).

Chicago is also taking steps to incorporate equity into its bikeshare system. The City is launching the "Divvy for Everyone" program, which will offer a one-time annual membership to low-income residents for \$5 rather than the standard \$75 fee (11). Applicants must sign up in person, which is intended to minimize confusion associated with signing up online. Boston also has a program offering \$5 subsidized memberships and has been conducting outreach to low-income communities since its program's inception. Conversely, Minneapolis' attempt to expand to low-income areas yielded limited success despite prior evidence that community members had positive views on bikesharing, and found that "simply installing kiosks in a low-income area is not sufficient to increase residents' use of bike share" (12). However, there is little literature on the effectiveness of expanding bikeshare in low-income neighborhoods, as bikeshare equity has only recently come to the forefront.

The Institute for Transportation and Development Policy report lists several barriers to shared-ride mobility for low-income households, including structural issues (physical and logistical access), financial issues (user costs and bank account access), and informational and cultural barriers (3). A report from the National Association of City Transportation Officials notes that no matter the sociodemographic composition of a neighborhood, station density is key:

"systems that have lower station density in low-income neighborhoods often exacerbate equity issues, as stations are too far apart to provide a real transportation option for low-income riders" (13).

RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

In order to address our research questions, we conducted 3 interviews with bikeshare professionals—Kara Oberg, City of Berkeley Bikeshare Coordinator; Darren Buck, Bicycle Program Specialist at D.C. Department of Transportation; and Heath Maddox, Transportation Planner at San Francisco Municipal Transportation Agency. The interviews addressed perceived barriers to low-income people using bikeshare, challenges to providing bikeshare to low-income communities, and potential solutions to these barriers and challenges. Additionally, we developed and administered a pilot intercept survey to 86 individuals at the Ashby BART station and adjacent flea market. It addressed current bicycling behavior and perceptions, attitudes towards use of bikeshare in the future, possible barriers to bikeshare, and basic demographic information, such as income, race/ethnicity, age, and residential location.

There is no comparable data collection being done by the City of Berkeley on bikeshare. While an upcoming street design survey commissioned by the City of Berkeley plans to ask one question about potential bikeshare use, we felt this was inadequate. Therefore, we coordinated with the City of Berkeley's bikeshare coordinator in designing the pilot intercept survey. The City would like to use our findings to inform its planning efforts and to serve as a foundation for additional research.

We decided to survey at the Ashby BART station for several reasons. Firstly, since we were working with the City of Berkeley, we wanted to survey within Berkeley (as opposed to Oakland or Emeryville). Secondly, this BART station serves South and West Berkeley, which are both Metropolitan Transportation Commission (MTC) "Communities of Concern" and have higher proportions of African Americans and Hispanic/Latinos than Berkeley overall. Finally, this is an area that the City of Berkeley's early spatial analysis for station suitability found to be less suitable.

Our approach to sampling was to stop everyone possible in the flea market and at Ashby BART, though we only targeted people leaving the BART station; we did not think people rushing to catch a BART train would be as willing to speak with us. We decided not to screen people based on their income or race because we thought collecting a broad range of responses would be helpful for comparison and for future analysis by the City. That said, when a BART train arrived and there was a large influx of people, we targeted non-Whites. Also, towards the end of our data collection, we targeted women, as our respondents to date were predominantly male.

Survey data were primarily analyzed using chi-square tests. In order to compare Likert-scale variables (i.e. questions asked on a 1-5 scale) across groups, we created binary variables between respondents that answered "4" or "5" versus those that responded "1", "2", or "3". To compare results by income, we use a binary variable with \$50,000 annual household income as a cut-off. This was an appropriate cutoff for our data because it is relatively close to median household incomes in census tracts near our survey location, and other studies identify \$50,000 annual household income as the "tipping point" below which bikeshare use tends to be less common (6).

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

This section describes themes that emerged from the three interviews with bikeshare professionals, and it summarizes interviewees' views on barriers to bikeshare in low-income neighborhoods and potential solutions.

Barriers to Low-Income Individuals Using Bikeshare

Interviewees identified station location as a key barrier to low-income individuals using bikeshare. They agreed that bikeshare is not typically placed in low-income neighborhoods for a variety of reasons that vary across cities. Some reasons mentioned include the low density of low-income neighborhoods in some cities, a lack of existing bicycle infrastructure, a perceived lack of interest in bikeshare in low-income neighborhoods, and a perception that bikeshare in those neighborhoods may not be financially sustainable. Darren Buck mentioned that in D.C., bikeshare is usually placed in high-density, mixed use locations to ensure high ridership, and low-income communities are often in outlying areas with lower population density that is residential-only. Thus, "it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy because the demand for station hardware is in busier areas" (Darren Buck, personal communication, 2015, unpublished data). Also, public transit networks are already established and have an existing customer-base, so transit is somewhat of a competitor. Heath Maddox noted that "bikesharing has an equity problem. I think to a certain extent, it's exacerbated by station placement, but it's not a simple nut to crack. Station placement [alone] won't fix it" (Heath Maddox, personal communication, 2015, unpublished data); many other barriers are contributing to unequal access to bikeshare, which are outlined below. Maddox's statement echoes the findings of Stewart et al. that expanding bikeshare stations to low-income neighborhoods in Minneapolis was not a sufficient intervention for increasing use.

The cost and payment options are other potential barriers to low-income individuals using bikeshare. There was no consensus among our interviewees about the extent to which price is a barrier. Some felt this was a significant barrier, and others felt price is often overstated and that there are larger barriers to access. Similarly, there were mixed opinions on the extent to which requiring payment via credit card is a significant barrier. All three interviewees mentioned credit card access as a potential barrier, as low-income individuals may not have credit cards, but Maddox and Buck both mentioned that this has not proven to be as large of a barrier as expected. However, all interviewees mentioned that paying for a full year membership up front (typically \$75-100) may be a big request for lower-income households, especially if they are not predisposed to ride a bike. Many people budget on a monthly instead of annual basis. All interviewees mentioned that monthly installments or waived fees are options to consider. Oberg mentioned studies that have shown that people are actually willing to pay more annually if charged on a month-to-month basis (Kara Oberg, personal communication, 2015, unpublished data).

Additionally, resistance to change is another potential barrier. Change tends to have a negative connotation in low-income, minority communities, as change has not historically benefitted the community. Buck mentioned that it is a perception issue. "[Bikeshare has] plopped down stations in neighborhoods without much notice. There could be a perception that bikeshare is a system that goes along with other changes not beneficial to low-income communities" (Buck 2015).

Finally, cultural prejudices are a potential barrier to low-income bikeshare use. While this can vary a lot from neighborhood to neighborhood, interviewees noted a stigma against biking.

The car is often seen as a status symbol, so bicycles are not viewed as a legitimate mode of transportation. People that use bikeshare tend to be people who have a car and just choose to use bikeshare. Many people that could benefit more from bikeshare and don't have a car are saving to get a car. As Maddox pointed out, "yes, we need to address equity in cycling, but we also need to build bicycling culture outside the realm of bike coalition members. That's something that's beyond the scope of any bikesharing program" (2015).

Challenges to Providing Bikeshare in Low-Income Communities

All three interviewees raised outreach and marketing as a fundamental challenge. It is essential to get the word out about bikeshare, but there are many challenges associated with this. First and foremost, "it is time intensive, and time comes down to money." And oftentimes, there is little to no budget for marketing. Also, to be effective, outreach should be done in multiple languages, which takes more time and money. The default approach tends to be social media, but not everyone uses social media. Maddox pointed out, "The kind of marketing you'd do in lower income communities is more like community organizing...[This requires a certain] skill set. People in public health are better about developing those ties" (Maddox 2015).

Another key challenge is that there is no universal definition for equity. 20% of stations in Berkeley are supposed to be placed in "Communities of Concern," according to MTC's definition, but Kara Oberg argued that this definition allows for some ambiguity. UC Berkeley technically qualifies as a community of concern, so Oberg pointed out that this requirement could be fulfilled by only providing stations there.

One difficulty is that bikeshare systems have competing goals. If the goal of a bikeshare system is to make money, providing bikeshare in low-income communities may not be economically feasible. If equity is a goal, it makes more sense to provide bikeshare in these communities. In general, the expectation is that bikeshare stations located in low-income areas will generate less money due to less use, requiring fundraising to pay for them, but it is not a given that low-income stations are going to see less use (Maddox 2015).

Further, many bikeshare systems are expected to be self-sufficient, which can be problematic from an equity perspective. Maddox pointed out that bikeshare is currently expected to pay for itself, which factors into the decision-making process about station location. Buck argued that bikeshare programs "need to figure out how to adapt the existing model to suit the particular needs of low-income communities" (Buck 2015).

Finally, the technology for administering bikeshare is complex, so changing the system is challenging. Several bikeshare programs have considered or are considering a "smart card" payment option, including D.C. and Berkeley, but there are many complications. Buck noted that the technology for getting the bikeshare key fob and smart card to talk to each other is complicated, which is why D.C. is moving toward an "open pay" system where users can tap their smartphone or chip credit card for payment.

Potential Solutions

Bikeshare's marketing strategy needs to be revamped, according to interviewees. A more robust outreach approach that goes beyond social media is essential. Buck argued that bikeshare programs need to get away from traditional messages targeting "young, hip white people aged 25-34." In that regard, all three interviewees emphasized the importance of partnering with local organizations. Local nonprofits, social service agencies, and low-income housing providers have existing relationships with communities, so getting the word out about bikeshare and learning

about the community's perception about bicycling through a trusted member of the community is advantageous. It has been successful in the past.

To address the financial barriers, bikeshare systems could offer various payment options. Allowing monthly payments and the ability to pay in cash or via a pass purchased at stores like Walgreens could reduce financial barriers. Maddox mentioned that instead of trying to get around the requirement of having a credit card, one strategy is to help unbanked individuals get a credit card. Another potential solution is providing membership discounts. In many cases, lower-income individuals have good credit and access to a credit card, but are simply more price-sensitive. Interviewees agreed that providing a deeply discounted membership would help increase access to bikeshare. Maddox mentioned the idea of providing a reduced-rate corporate membership for residents of low-income housing.

On the administrative side, Oberg mentioned that one way to ensure that resources are directed toward lower-income communities is to explicitly write an equity clause into the contract with the bikeshare vendor that cannot be manipulated. Finally, interviewees agreed that there is a lack of rigorous program evaluation of bikeshare; it is essential to track and analyze usage moving forward.

SURVEY FINDINGS

This section describes key intercept survey findings, and it compares respondents' bicycle use, interest in bikeshare, anticipated future use, and potential barriers to access.

Characteristics of Survey Respondents

- Personal characteristics of survey respondents are listed in Table 1. Of 86 respondents, there was an even mix of male and female respondents and a wide range of racial/ethnic backgrounds. 35% of respondents were non-Hispanic White, 28% were non-Hispanic Black, and 20% reported being Hispanic/Latino of any race. Blacks and Hispanics/Latinos were over-represented in our survey sample compared to the City of Berkeley's population, and our sample mix more closely resembles the racial/ethnic mix of the City of Oakland's population. About 60% of the survey sample reported an annual household income of \$50,000 or less, which is larger than the equivalent proportion for either City, according to 2008-2012 ACS 5-year estimates. 31% of the
- equivalent proportion for either City, according to 2008-2012 ACS 5-year estimates. 31% survey sample reported living in a zip code that is fully or partly in the City of Berkeley.

TABLE 1 Characteristics of Respondents

Category	Count of Respondents	Proportion of Respondents	
Gender			
Male	45	52%	
Female	40	47%	
Did not respond	1	1%	
Race/Ethnicity			
All Hispanic/Latino	17	20%	
White Alone, Not Hispanic	30	35%	
Black/African-American Alone, Not Hispanic	24	28%	
Asian Alone, Not Hispanic	5	6%	
Other Alone, Not Hispanic	4	5%	
Multiracial, Not Hispanic	3	3%	
Did not respond	3	3%	
Annual Household Income			
Low Income (<\$50,000)	51	59%	
High Income (>=\$50,000)	28	33%	
Did not respond	7	8%	
Other Characteristics			
Age (mean years)	33.6	12.0 (S.D.)	
Has a credit card	75	89%	
Has regular access to internet	80	95%	
Resident of Berkeley	26	31%	

Comparison of Bicycle Use by Income

A large majority of survey respondents agreed that biking is a good way to make short trips and that they like riding a bike, and 65% reported having access to a bike for their personal use. Respondents were most likely to report biking at least once a week for shopping/errands (63% of those that have access to a bicycle for personal use), followed by social activities (59%).

There were substantial differences by income levels on bike use. Although a smaller proportion of low-income respondents reported having regular access to a bike, those that do reported more frequent use for every trip purpose we listed in the survey. While commuting is the trip purpose that the smallest proportion of overall respondents reported biking for on a weekly basis, it has the biggest difference between income levels: 68% of low-income respondents reported commuting by bike weekly or more often, compared to 32% of high-income respondents.

Interest in Bikeshare and Potential Barriers for Low-Income Users

Responses to key survey questions by income are displayed in Table 2. There was high overall interest in the Bay Area Bike Share expansion to the East Bay. 80% of respondents responded "yes" when asked if they would consider using the bikeshare program in Berkeley next year. A similar proportion (81%) indicated being interested in seeing a bikeshare kiosk in their neighborhood or near their home. There was no significant variation in these measures by

income groups; low-income respondents were not in fact any less interested in bikeshare, and our data did not support a cultural explanation (e.g. there is a stigma against biking in low-income communities) for a gap in usage. We did not see differences along income lines at the neighborhood level, either; respondents living in census tracts with lower median income than the typical neighborhood in our dataset had a similar level of interest in bikeshare as those in higher-income census tracts.

Station location was the factor that respondents reported being most important in making it more or less likely that they will use bikeshare in the future. Cost and the ability to use a credit card were the next most important factors. There were no significant differences between lowand high-income respondents on these factors, including the use of a credit card to access bikeshare. While it is not surprising that cost was an important consideration for all households, the lack of difference placed on credit card access between income groups was unexpected, given the focus that our interviewees and past studies have placed on credit card access as an important barrier to using bikeshare. Our data suggested that requiring a credit card to sign up for bikeshare is not necessarily an important barrier, at least for our survey sample. This finding was further explained by the fact that 86% of low-income respondents reported having credit cards, which is not significantly different than 93% for high-income respondents.

Ability to pay using cash, ability to subscribe to the bikeshare service on a monthly basis, and the inconvenience of signing up online were all less important factors. While online sign-ups were the factor that respondents find least important overall, it was another area in which we saw significant differences by income; more than half of low-income respondents reported this as an important factor, compared to only 27% of high-income respondents. Access to the internet itself was not a factor; 94% of low-income respondents had internet access. Still, the data suggested that while credit card access is not necessarily a barrier, potential low-income users may see online sign-ups as inconvenient. Therefore, it may be important to explore other ways of signing people up for Bay Area Bike Share. Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia could be useful models in this regard.

Use of the Future Bikeshare System

When asked what they would use the future bikeshare system for, respondents most often said they would use it for social activities, followed by recreation and exercise. Fewer than half of respondents said they intend to use the system for commuting or for shopping and errands. This varied substantially from current biking patterns for respondents that have access to a bicycle, for whom shopping was the most common trip purpose taken weekly or more often. This also differs from trip purposes reported in the literature about bikeshare; Shaheen et al. found that existing bikeshare users in North America were most likely to use bikeshare for commuting, then social activities and running errands (14).

TABLE 2 Survey Results by Income Level

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Respondent Characteristics	Low Income	High Income	All	
Agreement with statements about hiling (0/ verson	(<\$50,000)	(>=\$50,000)		
Agreement with statements about biking (% respond Strongly Agree)	aea 4 or 5 ,	1 – Strongty Dis	sagree, 5 -	
"I like riding a bike"	82%	86%	84%	
"Bicycling in Berkeley is safe."	51%	54%	52%	
"Bicycling is a good way to make short trips."	92%	88%	89%	
Has access to bicycle for personal use	65%	76%	68%	
Bike weekly or more often for: (% of those that hav				
Recreation/exercise	65%	42%	11 use) 56%	
Commute to work or school*	68%	32%	54%	
Social activities (e.g. to go to a movie, restaurant,	70%	42%	59%	
bar, friend's house)	7070	T4/U	37/0	
Shopping/errands	70%	53%	63%	
Have heard of bikeshare	66%	63%	65%	
Have used bikeshare in another city	22%	19%	21%	
Would consider using a bicycle through the	86%	70%	80%	
Berkeley bikeshare program				
Interested in seeing a bikeshare kiosk in their	82%	78%	81%	
neighborhood or near their home				
(Rated "4" or "5", 1 = Not at all interested, 5 =				
Very interested)				
Would consider using Berkeley bikeshare for:				
Recreation/exercise	60%	68%	62%	
Commute to work or school	50%	37%	46%	
Social activities (e.g. to go to a movie, restaurant,	71%	74%	72%	
bar, friend's house)				
Shopping/errands	52%	42%	49%	
Importance of factors in using bikeshare in the futu	re (% respond	ed "4" or "5", 1 =	Not at al	
important, $5 = Very$ important)	0.407		000/	
Cost	84%	71%	80%	
Location of bike kiosks	88%	83%	86%	
Ability to pay using cash	56%	48%	53%	
Ability to pay using a credit card	78%	78%	78%	
Ability to subscribe to the service (monthly fee)	49%	50%	49%	
Inconvenience of signing up online*	53%	27%	45%	
Other Characteristics			_	
Has a credit card	86%	93%	89%	
Has regular access to internet	94%	96%	95%	
Resident of Berkeley	64%	79%	69%	

^{*}Difference between low-income and high-income proportion is significant at 95% confidence level.

We also collected data on respondents' likely destinations, as the survey asked for three specific places respondents were likely to go to using bikeshare. Table 3 shows the proportion of respondents that mentioned different places or types of places. Of the seventy respondents that answered this question, nearly 70% mentioned that they would use bikeshare to reach a BART station. This is by far the most popular type of destination; shopping destinations, the next most frequently mentioned category, were only mentioned by 36% of respondents. The UC Berkeley campus, downtown Berkeley, parks in the Berkeley/Oakland area, and other neighborhoods and corridors (such as "Telegraph Ave. near campus") were also mentioned by at least 10% of respondents.

Previous work has noted the potential for bikeshare to augment existing multimodal transportation systems as a "first-and-last mile" solution, as well as a "many-mile" solution (1). The fact that BART was a dominant response indicates that there is demand for Bay Area Bike Share in the East Bay as a last-mile connection to regional rapid transit.

TABLE 3 Types of Bikeshare Destinations Mentioned by Survey Respondents

Location	Low Income (<\$50,000)	High Income (>=\$50,000)	All
BART Station	68%	70%	69%
Shopping (including grocery)	41%	30%	36%
UC Berkeley	32%	10%	27%
Downtown Berkeley	18%	25%	21%
Park	18%	15%	16%
Non-downtown neighborhood/corridor	14%	10%	13%
Other cities (outside Berkeley, Oakland,	7%	15%	9%
and Emeryville)			
Other utilitarian trip (haircut, gym, insurance office)	11%	0%	9%
Restaurant or bar	9%	10%	9%
School or work	7%	5%	7%
Other social	7%	0%	4%
Downtown Oakland	2%	5%	3%

Racial Differences in Knowledge and Previous Experience of Bikeshare

A majority of respondents (65%) had heard of bikeshare before the survey, and about a fifth of respondents had actually used bikeshare in another city, including San Francisco. There was no difference on these measures by income, though this is one area where we observed significant differences by race. More than 80% of White Alone, non-Hispanic respondents said they had heard of bikeshare before the survey, compared to only 54% of non-White respondents—a significant difference at a 95% confidence level. Both groups were equally likely to be interested in using bikeshare in Berkeley and seeing a kiosk in their neighborhood.

Other Differences between Respondent Groups

Women were significantly more likely to be interested in using bikeshare in Berkeley; 93% of female respondents said they would consider using bikeshare in Berkeley, as opposed to only

1 68% of male respondents (Table 4), which is surprising given that men are more likely to bike

- than women in the United States (15). Interest in using bikeshare did not vary by age, although
- 3 respondents under 35 years old were more likely to think that biking is a good way to make short
 - trips and were more likely to consider using bikeshare for commuting.

TABLE 4 Survey Responses by Race, Gender, and Age

Respondent Characteristics	White, Non- Hispanic	Non- White	Male	Female	Younger than 35	35 or Older	All
Have heard of bikeshare ¹	83%	54%	64%	63%	65%	60%	64%
Have used bikeshare in another city	28%	15%	21%	18%	22%	13%	20%
Would consider using a bicycle through the Berkeley bikeshare program ²	79%	83%	68%	93%	83%	77%	81%
Interested in seeing a bikeshare kiosk in their neighborhood or near their home (Rated "4" or "5", 1 = Not at all interested, 5 = Very interested)	76%	83%	72%	85%	80%	73%	80%

- 1: Difference between white and non-white respondents is significant at 95% confidence level
- 2: Difference between male and female respondents is significant at 95% confidence level

7 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE WORK

This study had a number of limitations due to time constraints of our class. We only administered surveys at the Ashby Bart Station and adjacent flea market. In order to get a more representative sample of Berkeley's population, it would be helpful to conduct additional intercept surveys in other low-income communities, such as West Berkeley, other areas of South Berkeley, and student neighborhoods. While we administered some surveys on a Thursday afternoon and Friday evening, the majority were administered on the weekend, so it would be useful to survey on the weekdays as well.

It would be helpful to conduct additional in-depth interviews with bikeshare experts. Boston and Philadelphia have both prioritized equity in their bikeshare models and would likely have useful insight and lessons learned, which could be applicable to Berkeley and other cities.

Finally, we were unable to get a sense for residents' perceptions beyond the results of the intercept surveys. Interviews are a great tool for getting a detailed understanding of contextual factors, meanings, and experiences. They can also help build the trust necessary to make individuals comfortable sharing sensitive information. Therefore, we recommend conducting indepth interviews with low-income Berkeley residents. Given these three limitations, additional research is recommended as the City of Berkeley moves forward with planning its bikeshare launch next year.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this research showed that low-income and high-income respondents have a similar level of interest in using Berkeley bikeshare, which supports our hypothesis that many lower-income neighborhoods are suitable for bikeshare. While we anticipated that credit cards would be a significant barrier to using bikeshare, given the focus on this topic in the literature and in our interviews, this was not supported by our survey results. We found instead that low-income respondents generally do have credit cards and do not see them as a particularly important factor in using bikeshare. Additionally, we anticipated that bikeshare trips would primarily be for utilitarian purposes, such as commuting to work/school and running errands, as past studies have found. Our research revealed the opposite pattern. Fewer than half of respondents say they intend to use the system for commuting or for shopping and errands. However, our findings support our hypothesis that signing up for an online membership would be a barrier to using bikeshare for low-income populations.

The key recommendations to the City of Berkeley in light of this research are to utilize innovative outreach strategies and to focus planning efforts on station siting. Our research revealed that far more White Alone, non-Hispanic respondents had heard of bikeshare before taking the survey than non-White respondents. This finding, in conjunction with the finding that low-income respondents are interested in using bikeshare, leads us to recommend that marketing efforts target non-White, low-income communities. Buck argued that bikeshare programs need to get away from traditional messages targeting "young, hip white people aged 25-34," and our research supports this argument. It is essential that enough money be allotted to outreach and marketing to enable strategies beyond social media, which is inadequate and only reaches a fraction of the population. For example, we recommend partnering with existing community groups to get the word out about bikeshare in Berkeley, as they will have existing relationships with the community and are a known, trusted entity. Low-income respondents also reported being more averse to signing up for bikeshare online, revealing a need for the City to explore ways to allow people to sign up in person; this is another potential way for community groups to be involved in promoting bikeshare.

Finally, respondents across income groups reported that station location would be the most important factor in deciding whether or not to use bikeshare in Berkeley, which supports what we heard in the interviews. Low-income respondents are just as interested as high-income respondents in seeing a bikeshare kiosk in their neighborhood or near their home. Therefore, station location in low-income neighborhoods should continue to be a priority in Berkeley's bikeshare planning process. A majority of respondents anticipated using bikeshare to get to BART stations, so planning the network around these first-and-last mile trips is an important consideration. Given that respondents anticipate most frequently using bikeshare for social purposes, which is contrary to the literature, the City should be wary of siting stations solely near key employment centers. It would be helpful to conduct additional outreach to refine the list of desired station locations.

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