

1 **Who cycles more? Determining cycling frequency through a segmentation approach in**
2 **Montreal, Canada**

3
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35 March 2015

36 For citation please use : Damant-Sirois, G. & El-Geneidy, A. (2015). Who cycles more? Determining
37 cycling frequency through a segmentation approach in Montreal, Canada. *Transportation Research Part*
38 *A: Policy and Practice*, 77, 113-125.

39

1 **ABSTRACT**

2 The decision to cycle frequently in an urban setting is a complex process and is affected by a
3 variety of factors. This study analyzed the various factors influencing cycling frequency among
4 1,707 cyclists from Montreal, Canada using an ordinal logistic regression. A segmentation of
5 cyclists is used in a series of ordinal logistic models to better understand the different impacts of
6 variables on the frequency of cycling among each group of cyclists for commute and for
7 utilitarian purposes. Our models show a variation in the impacts of each dependent variable on
8 frequency of cycling across the various segments of cyclists. Mainly making cyclists feel safe
9 not only on bicycle specific infrastructure but also on regular streets, emphasizing the low cost,
10 convenience and improving the opinion on cycling in the population are effective interventions
11 to increase bicycle usage. Also, it was shown that women were less likely to cycle to work than
12 men, but more likely to cycle for other utilitarian trips, pointing at the presence of specific
13 barriers to commuting for woman. Although the findings from this study are specific to
14 Montreal, they can be of interest to transportation planners and engineers working towards
15 increasing cycling frequency in other regions.

16

1 INTRODUCTION

2 Policy makers and officials promoting cycling often use health, congestion reduction and
3 environmental benefits as a way to convince people to cycle more. While these benefits make an
4 increase in cycling a logical goal for decision makers, they might not be the most effective
5 argument in a promotional campaign or a good guide for planning interventions aimed at
6 increasing bicycle usage. Focusing on the convenience and flexibility of cycling might be a
7 better strategy to increase cycling for utilitarian purposes (Pucher & Buehler, 2008). Indeed,
8 Börjesson and Eliasson (2012) found that it is better to present cycling as a mode that can
9 compete with others rather than focusing on environmental and health benefits.

10 There is a vast amount of literature on cycling usage and frequency determinants, but
11 ambiguity remains and conclusions have been inconsistent for many variables (Heinen, van Wee,
12 & Maat, 2010). For example, several studies found that men cycle more frequently than women
13 (Dill & Voros, 2007; Stinson & Bhat, 2004), while some studies suggest otherwise (de Geus, De
14 Bourdeaudhuij, Jannes, & Meeusen, 2008; Wardman, Tight, & Page, 2007). Many other
15 variables did not bring consensus, like age, built environment and income. This study builds on
16 past findings to test the importance of the determinants of cycling frequency. It furthermore uses
17 a novel segmentation approach and adds new variables that have not been tested before in
18 previous research. Population segmentation has been shown to nuance results and to be useful in
19 informing decision makers about interventions (Dill & McNeil, 2013; Geller, 2006; Kroesen &
20 Handy, 2013). Indeed, different types of cyclists react differently to different types of
21 infrastructure (Larsen & El-Geneidy, 2011) or to varying conditions (Bergström & Magnusson,
22 2003; Nankervis, 1999). This study uses a sample of 1,707 Montreal cyclists and a segmentation
23 analysis that has been developed in a previous study (Damant-Sirois, Grimsrud, & El-Geneidy,
24 2014) to understand the determinants of increasing cycling frequencies among specific types of
25 cyclists for different purposes.

26 The findings of this research can help transportation planners, engineers and policy
27 makers design and effectively adopt interventions or promotional campaigns that can increase
28 bicycle usage in cities. In the following sections we present the relevant literature on
29 determinants of bicycle usage and frequency, and on cyclists' typologies. This is followed by an
30 explanation of the study context and data used. Later we present the methodology, which is
31 followed by a presentation of the analysis and results. The paper ends with a discussion of the
32 results, conclusions and policy recommendations.

33 BACKGROUND

34 *Determinants of cycling*

35 Determinants of cycling can be grouped into four main categories: individual characteristics (e.g.
36 gender, household size), individual attitudes, social environment (e.g. mode of transportation
37 norms, social perception of cyclists), and built environment.

38 *Individual characteristics:* While some studies found that age has no clear impact on cycling
39 (Kitamura, Mokhtarian, & Laidet, 1997; Wardman et al., 2007), most studies observed a
40 variation in cycling usage with age (Dill & Voros, 2007; O'Connor & Brown, 2010). With
41 regard to gender, when drawing a general portrait of the cyclist population, the share of women
42 cycling compared to men has been shown to be smaller. Therefore, sex has been explored as a

1 determinant of bicycle usage and their relationship has been shown to be significant (Akar,
2 Fischer, & Namgung, 2013; Landis, Vattikuti, & Brannick, 1997; Levinson, Krizek, & Gillen,
3 2005) and is often explained by claiming that women are more risk averse than men or that
4 women could still be more involved in household responsibilities (J. Garrard, 2003; Heinen et
5 al., 2010). The structure of a cyclist's household has shown to be significantly correlated with
6 bicycle usage (e.g. number of people in household) (Moudon et al., 2005; Ryley, 2006) as is car
7 ownership (Dill & Voros, 2007; Kitamura et al., 1997; Parkin, Wardman, & Page, 2008; Stinson
8 & Bhat, 2004).

9 *Individual attitudes:* Fernández-Heredia et al. (2014) show that attitudes can directly influence
10 the intention of cycling, but also the perception of the benefits and barriers of cycling. Pro-
11 bicycle attitudes and pro-car attitudes have both strong and opposite impacts on cycling
12 frequency and behavior (Dill & Carr, 2003; Fernández-Heredia et al., 2014; Handy & Xing,
13 2010; Heinen, Maat, & van Wee, 2011; Heinen, Maat, & van Wee, 2013; Vredin Johansson,
14 Heldt, & Johansson, 2006). Safety perceptions, which are considered to be one of the most
15 important determinants of cycling (Heinen et al., 2011; Rietveld & Daniel, 2004; Titze,
16 Stronegger, Janschitz, & Oja, 2007; Xing, Handy, & Mokhtarian, 2010) are also impacted by
17 individuals' attitudes (Fernández-Heredia et al., 2014). Having a pro-environment attitude has
18 also been shown to be positively correlated to frequent cycling (Li, Wang, Yang, & Ragland,
19 2013; Vredin Johansson et al., 2006). Finally, Fernández-Heredia et al.(2014) show that people
20 who see cycling as a way to exercise are more likely to cycle more often.

21 *Social environment:* A review of the literature on cycling determinants showed that many studies
22 have found a significant correlation between cycling frequency and different social environment
23 variables (Willis, Manaugh, & El-Geneidy). Xing and Handy (2008) found that one's social
24 environment was a stronger determinant of bicycle ownership and usage than the built
25 environment. It has a strong impact on the decision to use a bicycle for recreational purposes
26 (Xing et al., 2010). Titze et al. (2007) and Heinen et al. (2013) found that social and peer support
27 for cycling have a strong and positive impact on the decision to commute by bicycle. A study by
28 de Geus et al. (2008) had a similar conclusion and showed that augmenting social support
29 through a campaign would be an efficient way to increasing cycling frequency.

30 *Built environment:* This category has been extensively studied and while earlier research found a
31 strong and positive correlation with bicycle usage (Cervero & Kockelman, 1997; Dill & Carr,
32 2003), results have been nuanced with the introduction of self-selection as a control variable
33 (Handy, Cao, & Mokhtarian, 2005). Self-selection represents the idea that people who already
34 have the intention of cycling will locate themselves in areas that offers substantial bicycle
35 infrastructure. This gives the impression that this type of infrastructure incentivizes people to
36 cycle more. However, even when controlling for self-selection and individual attitudes, some
37 studies still found some correlation between cycling usage and the built environment (Pinjari,
38 Bhat, & Hensher, 2009; Xing et al., 2010). Some studies also show that infrastructure has an
39 impact on individuals' perceptions of safety while cycling (Carver, Timperio, Hesketh, &
40 Crawford, 2010; Fraser & Lock, 2011). Others have demonstrated that infrastructure influences
41 the behavior of cyclists (Krizek, El-Geneidy, & Thompson, 2007; Menghini, Carrasco,
42 Schüssler, & Axhausen, 2010; Tilahun, Levinson, & Krizek, 2007). Finally, commute distance
43 has been shown to be negatively correlated with commuting frequency (Heinen et al., 2013).

1 For this study, we include different variables from each of these four categories, while
2 controlling for self-selection. Due to the importance of safety perceptions on cycling frequency,
3 usage, and behavior (Willis et al.), different safety perception measures are included in our
4 analysis, although they were not tested intensively in previous research. McNeil et al. (2015)
5 studied the comfort perception of four cyclist types on different types of infrastructure.
6 However they found that perceptions of comfort did not match reality. They hypothesized that
7 it might be due to intersections not being taken into consideration when respondents answered
8 the survey. Furthermore, Ma et al. (2014) found that the perceived environment was significantly
9 correlated to cycling behavior while objective environment had only an indirect impact. This
10 study takes a different approach to understanding perceptions of safety. Instead of studying
11 general cycling safety perception separately from infrastructure usage or proximity, this research
12 incorporates safety perceptions of specific infrastructure at intersections and between
13 intersections and its impact on cycling frequency.

14 *Segmentation of cyclists*

15 Typologies of cyclists have mostly been used to describe the cyclist population (Jensen,
16 1999; Larsen & El-Geneidy, 2011), what affects this population (Bergström & Magnusson,
17 2003), how they are perceived (Gatersleben & Haddad, 2010) or their intention of cycling and
18 their perception of cycling safety (Geller, 2006). Damant-Sirois et al. (2014) developed a multi-
19 dimensional typology that included the motivations and deterrents to cycle, childhood and
20 adulthood encouragement, and route and infrastructure preferences. Dill and McNeil (2013) used
21 the Portland cyclist typology developed by Geller (2006) to inform a set of recommendations.
22 Kroesen and Handy (2013) segmented cyclists into four groups to study the relation between
23 non-work related trips and commutes. The two models, one using a segmented sample and the
24 other not, gave similar results, but the impact and level of statistical significance varied across
25 the groups. This shows it might be useful, if the data indicate the pertinence of doing so, to
26 segment a population in order to better understand the factors affecting the different groups of
27 cyclists and to recommend policies tailored to a target audience.

28 This study examines the impact of previously suggested determinants of bicycle usage by
29 using the typology developed by Damant-Sirois et al. (2014), both on frequency of commute and
30 utilitarian cycling trips (i.e. shopping, grocery shopping and social activities). This typology is
31 developed using a factor analysis followed by a k-means cluster. A total of thirty-five variables
32 were used in the factor analysis and were combined into seven components: impact of weather
33 and effort, time efficiency, peer and institutional encouragement, cycling identity and enjoyment,
34 presence of bicycle infrastructure on the decision to cycle, and the presence and speed of cars,
35 and the parental encouragement during childhood. Using these seven components, the typology
36 divides the cycling population into four distinct groups:

37 *Dedicated cyclists (24%)* are motivated to cycle because of the speed, predictability and
38 flexibility of cycling. Peer and employers/schools can encourage this group to use their bicycle
39 more. They strongly identify themselves as cyclists and enjoy riding their bicycle. They are less
40 keen on using separated infrastructure than the other groups and are not deterred by adverse
41 weather conditions.

42 *Path-using cyclists (36%)* are not strongly impacted by weather conditions either. They
43 have a strong cyclist identity that motivates them to cycle and enjoy riding a bicycle. The main

1 difference they have with *dedicated cyclists* is that they dislike cycling near cars and prefer
2 infrastructure that separates cycling traffic from automobile traffic. In contrast to *dedicated*
3 *cyclists*, they were actively encouraged by their parents to cycle both as a sport or recreational
4 activity as well as to reach various destinations.

5 *Fairweather utilitarians*(23%) are best defined as contextual users, since they choose
6 another mode if they perceive it as more convenient. They are unlikely to cycle in bad weather.
7 As *path-using cyclists*, they prefer to use bicycle paths and are influenced by peers and
8 institutional encouragement. They distinguish themselves from the other clusters because they do
9 not identify as ‘cyclists’.

10 *Leisure cyclists* (17%) prefer to use infrastructure segregated from traffic and prefer not
11 to ride close to parked or driving cars. They cycle because they enjoy cycling and because they
12 identify themselves strongly as cyclists, but not because it is a convenient mode. They are the
13 type of cyclists that cycle mostly as a hobby or as a family activity rather than for transportation.

14 The variables chosen to define the segments come from the literature on cycling
15 determinants. The results made sense when tested with other variables from the same survey
16 (variables such as commuting frequency or safety perceptions using different infrastructures).
17 Finally, every cyclist (one cycling every day or only once a year) can be represented in this
18 typology and the variables used to segment the cyclists are generalizable to different contexts.

19 One major advantage of this typology compared to others is that it is based on empirical
20 evidence resulting from a large sample of cyclists. Although, the Portland typology developed by
21 Geller (2006) has more frequently been adopted by others, we do not believe that it is reliable for
22 various reasons. For example, Geller (2006) clearly declares the major point of weakness in his
23 typology by stating that “These numbers, when originally assigned, were not based upon any
24 survey or polling data, or on any study. Rather, they were developed based on the professional
25 experience of one bicycle planner.” Later Dill and McNeil (2013) found several contradictions
26 in Geller’s approach to segmentation.

27 The study by Damant-Sirois et al. (2014) developed recommendations on how to increase
28 the frequency of cycling for each type mainly using descriptive statistics and did not analyze the
29 accuracy of their claims nor the power of impact each policy will have on cycling frequency. The
30 goal of the paper was mainly to generate an accurate segmentation and proof its uniqueness
31 through descriptive statistics. Furthermore, no multivariate analysis and only chi-square tests
32 were run to test the similarities and differences between the groups. One of the goals of the
33 current research is to use this typology in a rigorous setting and test the differences between the
34 groups in a multivariate analysis.

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37 **STUDY CONTEXT AND DATA**

38 **Study Context**

39 This study uses answers from cyclists from Montreal, Canada. Montreal has approximately 1.8
40 million people living in the city and about 3.8 million in the greater region, making it the second
41 largest city in Canada. With regard to transportation mode share, Montreal has the highest
42 combined share of public transit, walking and bicycling in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). In
43 the city of Montreal, 36% of the population aged between 18 and 74 years old cycle at least once

1 a week and 52% at least once a year (Vélo Québec, 2010). The bicycle mode share for
2 commuting in the region is 1.6% and 3.2% in the city (Statistics Canada, 2011). This gap
3 between cycling for commute on a regular basis (3.2%) and the percentage of people who cycled
4 at least once a year or over the past week (52% and 36% respectively) needs to shrink if the
5 Montreal region wishes to increase the number of cyclists on the road. This goal is not limited to
6 Montreal but of interest to other regions as well, which makes this paper of value to other
7 regions.

8 **Data**

9 The data used in this study come from a bilingual (French and English) online survey that was
10 available for a month at the end of spring 2013. Guidelines developed by Dillman et al. (2009)
11 were used to reduce sample bias. Following these recommendations, an extensive advertisement
12 campaign was conducted, which included survey links disseminated through the Transportation
13 Research at McGill (TRAM) group mailing-list and other newsletter groups. In addition, social-
14 media, French and English newspaper advertisements and articles, flyer distribution to
15 individuals, bicycle shops, businesses along major bicycle paths and around a major bicycle
16 event were also used. Finally, a major radio show interview was conducted.

17 The survey was aimed only at cyclists. A cyclist is defined as a person who cycled at
18 least once for any purpose in the past year. The number of respondents was 2,644 with a final
19 sample size of 2,004 with complete records. However, the sample size for this particular study is
20 1,524 for the models analyzing the commute trips and 1,707 for the models studying other
21 utilitarian trips. This difference comes from the fact that respondents who worked from home
22 were removed from the sample for the commute to work model.

23 The survey was divided into seven main sections presented in the following order:
24 general information, cycling behavior, cycling history, motivations and habits, infrastructure,
25 route and investment, BIXI (Montreal's bicycle-sharing system), and personal profile.
26 Respondents were asked to state their behavior, home and job location, motivations and
27 deterrents to cycling, and preferences with different subjects like infrastructure, route and
28 intersection, and their safety perception of specific infrastructure types. Most of the variables
29 used in the models come directly from this survey, but others were obtained indirectly through
30 the analysis of geographic characteristics of home and job location.

31 **METHODOLOGY**

32 The dependent variables used in the multivariate analysis are ordinal. Therefore, an ordered logit
33 regression model is used to analyze the factors affecting the frequency of cycling. The dependent
34 variables were drawn from the following question for different trip purposes: "When you travel
35 for these purposes, how often do you travel by bicycle (including BIXI)?" The possible answers
36 were: Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Often, Always and Not Applicable. Participants who answered
37 *Not Applicable* were removed from the study. There are pros and cons for categorizing frequency
38 in this way instead of in a continuous manner, like the number of days per week. One
39 disadvantage of ordinal variable in this context is that it might add subjectivity to the respondents
40 answers. However, in the context of this particular research, this data type was most appropriate
41 to answer our research question. Such likert scale observations are meaningful only in relation to
42 other values on the same scale, not in any true quantitative sense (Bowen & Shenyang, 2011). In
43 other words the frequency of usage need to be measured only against the values questioned in the

1 survey. The main advantage for using the former is that it is better at answering the main
2 question of our research without asking the respondents to answer many similar questions. In this
3 case, the fundamental research question was ‘what makes individuals choose to use a bicycle for
4 a trip when they make this trip’ rather than ‘what makes an individual makes a certain amount of
5 trips’. This way, the question controls for differences in life habits (e.g. number of times a week
6 a person shops) or work status (e.g. part-time or full-time). It allows us to differentiate between
7 someone who cycles only once a month to get to work because he or she only works once a
8 month from someone who cycles twice a week to work, but takes a car the other three times. The
9 goal here is to identify the determinants that make people choose to cycle over another mode.
10 This is in line with cities’ objective of shifting people from cars to bicycle for the trips they
11 already do, rather than increasing the number of trips *per se*.

12 Two models are developed; one for commute frequency and one for other utilitarian trips. The
13 models are applied to the full sample and to the four different types of cyclists described above.
14 A total of 10 regression models are developed. The variables used were inspired by the literature
15 presented above. The rationale behind the models is similar to the one developed by Fernández-
16 Heredia et al. (2014), except that the physical determinants (e.g. individual fitness) factor is
17 replaced by a social environment one as it was shown to be more significant in the literature and
18 that physical determinants was not a strong factor in their study.

19 Table 1 presents the average and standard deviation for every variable used in the study.
20 A chi-square, reported in the table, is used to test if the differences between the four types of
21 cyclists are significant. It is important to note that the variables used in the models are not used
22 to define the types of cyclists to avoid any violations in the assumptions of the statistical
23 technique used.

1 Table 1 Variables used in the models

	All		Path-Using Cyclists		Leisure Cyclists		Fairweather Utilitarians		Dedicated Cyclists	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Dependent variables										
#Commute frequency***	3,91	1,25	4,25	1,11	3,23	1,4	3,47	1,23	4,27	1,03
#Utilitarian trips frequency***	3,16	1,16	3,52	1,04	2,19	1,06	2,8	1	3,62	1,02
Built environment										
Commute distance (km)	4,64	4,13	4,38	3,52	5,68	5,72	4,19	3,57	4,76	4,05
Walkscore	82,26	14,03	84,2	12,31	74,66	17,47	83,26	12,9	83,8	13,03
Density (1000pop/km ²)	11,31	7,04	12,52	8,5	8,55	5,7	11,22	5,78	11,4	5,61
Social environment										
Getting a car is a normal step to become an adult*** (%)	0,38	0,49	0,37	0,48	0,5	0,5	0,35	0,48	0,34	0,48
Car is a symbol of social status (%)	0,37	0,48	0,36	0,48	0,43	0,5	0,35	0,48	0,36	0,48
Adult cycle*** (%)	0,68	0,46	0,72	0,45	0,52	0,5	0,71	0,45	0,72	0,45
It is a normal to take public transit* (%)	0,63	0,48	0,63	0,48	0,56	0,5	0,66	0,47	0,66	0,48
Children cycle (%)	0,48	0,5	0,48	0,5	0,51	0,5	0,46	0,5	0,47	0,5
Self-Selection control										
#Moved for bike infrastructure***	3,02	1,17	3,26	1,13	2,88	1,18	2,87	1,14	2,89	1,19
Safety perception on different infrastructure types										
#Painted symbol intersection***	2,89	1,21	2,78	1,19	2,79	1,21	2,75	1,21	3,29	1,18
#Painted symbol between***	2,79	1,20	2,69	1,18	2,68	1,22	2,62	1,17	3,21	1,18
#Painted lane intersection***	3,25	1,11	3,15	1,13	3,12	1,13	3,20	1,13	3,56	1,00
#Painted lane between***	3,01	1,10	2,92	1,11	2,93	1,13	2,93	1,07	3,32	1,04
#Residential intersection***	3,61	0,98	3,55	1,00	3,51	0,93	3,47	0,96	3,91	0,94
#Residential between***	3,60	0,99	3,55	1,02	3,47	0,93	3,46	1,01	3,93	0,86
#Main intersection***	2,39	1,15	2,25	1,14	2,15	1,11	2,18	1,02	3,05	1,10
#Main between***	2,05	1,00	1,88	0,92	1,91	0,97	1,88	0,87	2,65	1,04
#Bi-directional intersection ***	2,92	1,26	2,94	1,25	3,10	1,32	3,13	1,21	2,54	1,19
#Bi-directional between***	3,60	1,20	3,70	1,17	3,57	1,24	3,74	1,14	3,32	1,22
Attitudes										
#Environmental motivation***	4,2	0,89	4,45	0,78	3,93	1,06	4,02	0,82	4,16	0,9
#Cost motivation***	3,8	1,15	4,12	1,04	3,13	1,22	3,64	1,1	3,9	1,06
#Health Motivation	4,22	0,86	4,35	0,83	4,42	0,75	3,99	0,83	4,07	0,92
#Cyclists should be more aware of their own safety	4,04	1,02	4,08	0,99	4,08	1,02	4,04	1	3,96	1,09
#Drivers should be more aware of cyclists safety**	4,6	0,74	4,68	0,62	4,54	0,81	4,5	0,84	4,61	0,73
Individual characteristics										
AGE	37,34	11,54	36,06	11	43,25	11,92	35,61	10,8	36,7	11,48
Number of people in household	2,42	1,21	2,48	1,26	2,38	1,19	2,45	1,17	2,33	1,17
Number of cars in household***	0,69	0,78	0,54	0,69	1,1	0,87	0,73	0,73	0,58	0,76
Female* (%)	0,4	0,49	0,41	0,49	0,31	0,46	0,42	0,49	0,41	0,49
	N=1707		N=658		N=293		N=378		N=378	

2 * indicates the level of statistical significant difference across the samples

3 *Significant at 10%, **Significant 5%, ***Significant at 1%

1 In Table 1 Variables used in the models commute and utilitarian trip frequency represents
2 the average answer on a 5-likert scale ranging from never to always. The utilitarian trips include
3 grocery shopping, shopping and going to social activities (e.g. restaurant, bar, etc.). The
4 motivation variables come from a question where respondents are asked to rate the importance,
5 on a 5-likert scale, of different sources of motivation to use a bicycle. Health motivation is
6 important for all groups, but is not significantly different between them, while the other two,
7 environmental and cost motivations are.

8 A series of questions are asked about the importance of different strategies to improve
9 cycling in Montreal. Two of these questions asked respondents to rank the importance, on a 5-
10 likert scale, of increasing bicycle safety awareness for cyclists and drivers. The variable *moved*
11 *for bicycle infrastructure* comes from a question that asked the importance of different factors in
12 their last home location decision on a 5-likert scale. This variable will help to control for self-
13 selection in the models.

14 The *Walk Score*, commute distance and density variables are derived using a Geographic
15 Information System (GIS) and based on respondents' self-reported home and work location.
16 Commute distance is obtained through a network analysis tool in ArcGIS asking for the shortest
17 possible route using a network of streets and bicycle facilities. We can see that the commuting
18 distance is relatively small for each group and that the average Walk Score is quite high. This
19 means that most respondents are living in the central areas of Montreal.

20 Five variables describing respondents' social environment are obtained through a series
21 of questions where participants are asked to check box if the statement was applicable. These
22 questions were asked following this sentence: "How would you characterize the cycling culture
23 where you live now?" The percentage represents the share of people who considered the
24 statement to be applicable to them. For example, 68% of the respondents said that it is common
25 for adult to cycle where they live, which is higher than for children at 48%. Standard deviations
26 were relatively high so there is some variance on these variables within group even if they all
27 live in the same city. The last set of variables represents demographic information. There is a
28 statistically significant variation between groups for the number of cars and share of females
29 within each group.

30 To reduce the number of variables in the statistical models and to account for colinearity,
31 a factor analysis is done to merge similar questions concentrating on safety perceptions and the
32 social environment. The total variance explained for the safety perceptions component is 68%
33 and 60% for the social environment one. Table 2 shows the grouping results, the weights of each
34 variable into the component and the name of the new component.

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1 **Table 2 Results from the factor cluster analysis**

Component	Variables	Loadings
Car-oriented environment	Getting a car is a normal step to become an adult	.799
	Car is a symbol of social status	.743
	Adult cycle	-.563
Active-oriented	It is normal to take public transit	.525
	Children cycle	.767
	Painted symbol Inter.	.665
Safety perception on-street infrastructure	Painted symbol Between	.874
	Painted lane Intersection	.873
	Painted lane between	.694
	Residential between	.662
Safety perception street	Residential intersection	.889
	Main Intersection	.871
	Main between	.585
	Bi-directional intersec.	.528
Safety perception, separated infrastructure	Bi-directional between	.849
		.846

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3 Two distinct social environment components appeared. In the first one, cars have
4 preponderant social importance. In the second, alternative modes, bicycling and transit, are social
5 norms and are well accepted. The variable *adult cycle* is negatively correlated for the “car-
6 oriented” social environment and positively correlated with the other.

7 The three other components represent the safety perceptions of different groups regarding
8 different infrastructure. Respondents are asked to rate the safety of specific infrastructure
9 between and at intersections. The results gave three distinct groups of infrastructure. The first
10 one is the safety perception of on-street painting, the second is the safety perception of streets
11 without any infrastructure or indication, but with more importance to residential streets than
12 main streets as seen in Table 2, and the last one is the safety perception of infrastructure that
13 separates cyclists from car traffic.

14 The dependent variables used in the study are the frequency of cycling for commuting
15 and for other utilitarian trips. As expected, by conducting a preliminary analysis and supporting
16 the findings on the types developed previously (Damant-Sirois et al., 2014), some groups were
17 either not represented at all in the *never* or the *always* category. Therefore, to meet the
18 *proportionality assumption* of equivalent distance between each category for an ordered logit
19 regression (tested through a test of parallel lines) some categories were merged. The *never*
20 category was merged with the *rarely* category for the commute to work or school. For the

1 *dedicated cyclists*, the new *rarely* category had to be merged with the *sometimes* category as
2 there was almost no member of this group in that category. The *never* category was merged with
3 *rarely* for both the *dedicated cyclists* and *path-using cyclists*, and the *always* was merged with
4 the *often* category for the *fairweather utilitarians* and the *leisure cyclists* for the utilitarian trips.
5 Also, to test for co-linearity between the variables, a variance inflation factor test is conducted in
6 addition to a regular correlation matrix.

7 Using the variables presented in Table 1 and the components presented in Table 2, an
8 ordered logit regression is run with the commute and utilitarian trips frequency as dependent
9 variables for the entire sample and for each cyclist's type.

10 ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

11 A total of ten regressions are presented; one for the entire sample and one for each of the four
12 cyclists types for both the commute and utilitarian trips frequency. The results of these
13 regressions give information on two perspectives. First, they test the usefulness for policy and
14 research to segment a population into groups, the adequacy of the typology previously developed
15 and if this typology can be used to inform recommendations made to policy makers on how to
16 increase cycling frequency for different purposes and for different groups. Second, it indicates
17 which factors are correlated with cycling frequency as a mode of transportation which can be
18 used to inform interventions. Table 3 presents the results for the commuting to work frequency
19 regression. The number adjacent to the dependent variable represents the categories of
20 frequency: 2 represents Never and Rarely, 3 Sometimes, 4 Often and 5 Always.

21 The variables are presented by categories in this order: Built environment, social
22 environment, self-selection (control for the previous two), safety perception, attitudes and
23 individual characteristics. Similar to other research, built environment variables are not
24 significant when controlling for self-selection, except for the commuting distance, which shows
25 that every additional kilometer of commuting distance decreases the chance of being one
26 frequency category higher by about 4% and by about 8% for *fairweather utilitarians* and
27 *dedicated cyclists*. Even infrastructure distance, representing the home distance to the closest
28 facility, which was initially placed in the models, had to be removed due to its high correlation
29 with the self-selection variable. The commute distance is statistically significant for the entire
30 sample, but has to be nuanced when looking at the different types of cyclists. Interestingly, it is
31 not significant for *leisure cyclists* even though they have the highest commuting distance and the
32 biggest standard deviation (over 1 time the mean). None of the social environment variables are
33 significant in this model, except for a surprisingly negative correlation between positive social
34 perception of cycling and transit, and cycling commuting frequency for *fairweather utilitarians*.
35 This could be explained by the fact that the members of this group can easily shift from bicycle
36 to public transit as was explained in Damant-Sirois et al. (2014).

Table 3 Cycling commuting frequency regression results

	ALL			Path-Using Cyclists			Leisure Cyclists			Fairweather Utilitarians			Dedicated Cyclists		
	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
[Commu. freq. = 2]	0.199	0.036	1.118	0.403	0.019	8.346	3.319	0.028	389.051	0.021	0.000	0.986			
[Commu. freq. = 3]	0.914	0.165	5.075	1.764	0.089	34.924	18.664	0.159	2194.253	0.120	0.003	5.553	0.005	0.000	0.262
[Commu. freq. = 4]	8.842	1.585	49.331	19.853	0.998	395.115	405.783	3.272	50319.728	1.334	0.029	61.121	0.061	0.001	2.890
Commute Distance	***0.956	0.931	0.983	0.974	0.927	1.023	0.965	0.912	1.022	**0.916	0.856	0.981	***0.919	0.865	0.976
Walk Score	1.005	0.997	1.014	1.012	0.996	1.027	0.999	0.979	1.019	0.997	0.979	1.017	0.994	0.975	1.014
Density (1000/km2)	1.004	0.989	1.020	0.993	0.974	1.012	1.029	0.968	1.093	1.024	0.984	1.064	0.988	0.948	1.030
Car-oriented envir.	1.026	0.925	1.137	0.967	0.816	1.147	1.236	0.934	1.635	0.983	0.787	1.228	1.049	0.832	1.323
Active-oriented	0.922	0.832	1.022	1.044	0.876	1.243	0.959	0.730	1.260	*0.832	0.670	1.033	0.838	0.666	1.054
Self-Selection	*1.084	0.993	1.183	1.049	0.904	1.216	1.107	0.860	1.424	1.008	0.832	1.220	0.999	0.829	1.203
SP on-street	**1.128	1.021	1.247	1.037	0.872	1.233	1.210	0.905	1.618	0.863	0.684	1.090	1.142	0.917	1.422
SP separated	**0.883	0.798	0.978	0.961	0.804	1.149	0.857	0.651	1.127	1.032	0.828	1.286	0.836	0.668	1.045
SP Street	***1.244	1.127	1.373	*1.139	0.974	1.331	**1.411	1.046	1.904	1.150	0.927	1.425	**1.317	1.042	1.664
Enviro motiva.	1.075	0.943	1.227	1.111	0.874	1.411	1.037	0.751	1.432	0.889	0.669	1.180	0.959	0.716	1.284
Cost motiva.	***1.417	1.285	1.563	**1.249	1.051	1.487	***1.621	1.254	2.095	***1.325	1.080	1.626	**1.353	1.066	1.718
Health motiva.	1.030	0.907	1.170	1.018	0.822	1.260	1.208	0.809	1.806	1.047	0.800	1.369	1.071	0.800	1.435
Cyclists awareness	***0.857	0.766	0.959	**0.785	0.644	0.959	1.047	0.777	1.409	*0.788	0.606	1.024	0.919	0.730	1.157
Drivers awareness	***1.382	1.182	1.616	**1.459	1.087	1.960	1.087	0.712	1.660	***1.599	1.173	2.180	1.239	0.887	1.731
Age	**0.925	0.869	0.985	0.993	0.894	1.103	1.068	0.889	1.284	**0.862	0.749	0.992	***0.820	0.712	0.945
Age2	**1.001	1.000	1.002	1.000	0.999	1.001	0.999	0.997	1.001	**1.002	1.000	1.004	**1.002	1.001	1.004
HHPeople	**1.097	1.005	1.196	1.102	0.956	1.272	0.923	0.707	1.204	0.995	0.820	1.206	1.122	0.917	1.372
HHCars	***0.780	0.671	0.908	*0.774	0.595	1.008	0.968	0.658	1.423	*0.730	0.530	1.007	0.924	0.650	1.312
Male	***1.507	1.222	1.857	*1.394	0.985	1.974	*1.916	1.047	3.504	**1.700	1.093	2.644	1.312	0.830	2.074
Sample size	N=1524			N=609			N=225			N=331			N=359		
Model fitting sig.	p<0.01			p<0.01			p<0.01			p<0.01			p<0.01		

*Significant at 10%, **Significant 5%, ***Significant at 1%

1 Self-selection is slightly significant ($p < 0.10$) and positively correlated with commuting
2 frequency. However, when segmenting the sample, this variable is not significant for any group
3 and far from it ($p=0.430$ for *leisure cyclists* is the smallest). The safety perception variables are
4 all significant for the entire sample. Safety perception for on-street infrastructure (e.g. painted
5 lanes) and safety perception on streets without infrastructure are positively correlated with the
6 frequency of commuting by bicycle. Interestingly, safety perceptions of facilities that separate
7 cyclists from traffic have a negative correlation with commuting frequency. The safety
8 perception of residential and main streets shows a statistically significant and positive impact on
9 frequency of cycling among three of the four cyclists' types, but not a significant one for the
10 other two safety perception variables.

11 Two sub-categories of individual attitudes are included in the models: motivations and
12 perceptions of behavior towards other cyclists and drivers. No statistical significance was found
13 between health and environmental motivation and commuting frequency by bicycle. Individuals
14 are aware of these benefits (see Table 1), but what drives them to cycle more is the cost benefit.
15 Indeed, this motivation is strongly significant ($p < 0.01$ or $p < 0.05$ depending on types) and has
16 an important impact on frequency. An increase in 1 point on a 5-likert scale of the importance of
17 cost as a motivation to cycle has a probability between 25% and 62% depending on types of
18 cyclists or 42% for the entire sample to be in a higher category of cycling frequency.

19 Attitudes towards cyclists and drivers are statistically significant for the entire sample,
20 and for *path-using cyclists* and *fairweather utilitarians*. Individuals who think that cyclists
21 should be targeted in a safety awareness campaign are less likely to commute by bicycle, while
22 those who think that drivers should be targeted by such policies are more likely to cycle. One
23 way to interpret this variable is that people who think cyclists behave dangerously and should
24 change the way they use the public realm are both less likely to be a frequent cyclist and less
25 likely to want to be seen as one. Therefore, their frequency of usage will likely be lower. On the
26 other hand, people who already cycle more frequently might put the blame on car drivers for
27 conflict between road users.

28 All of the individual characteristics are significant for the entire sample and follow the
29 expected direction as defined in the literature. Even when controlling for safety perception,
30 males are between 39% and 91% more likely to be in a higher category of cycling frequency
31 compared to females depending on cyclist' type. This variable is not significant for *dedicated*
32 *cyclists*. In fact, only age is significant for this group. To verify if there are different determinants
33 depending on the purpose of the trips, the same variables, minus commuting distance, are used in
34 the second model that analyzes the factors influencing frequency for utilitarian purposes. Table 4
35 presents the results of these regression models.

36 Since most of the results are similar to the ones obtained in the commuting frequency
37 models, the presentation of the results for the utilitarian trips models will concentrate on the
38 differences between the two sets of models. Not surprisingly, the *Walk Score* variable becomes
39 statistically significant with a positive correlation for this model while the density stays not
40 significant. As *Walk Score* represents local accessibility (Manaugh & El-Geneidy, 2011, 2012) to
41 different services, it is normal that an increase of one point in *Walk Score* increases the odds of
42 being one category higher in utilitarian trips frequency by about 2% for the whole sample, the
43 *path-using cyclists* and the *fairweather utilitarians*.

1 There are important differences between the commute and the utilitarian models in the
2 results in terms of individual attitudes. Cost motivation remains strong for each cyclist type, but
3 environmental and health motivations become statistically significant. A one point increase in
4 environmental motivations on a 5-likert scale increase the odds of being in a higher category of
5 frequency of cycling for utilitarian's trips by 29%, 38% and 40% for the entire sample, the
6 *leisure cyclists* and the *fairweather utilitarians* respectively. The cyclists that have the highest
7 odds ratio for the environmental motivations variable are the ones that cycle the least often. An
8 interesting finding is the strong and negative correlation between health as a motivation to cycle
9 and the frequency of utilitarian trips. It is especially true for *fairweather utilitarians* that might
10 be deterred from cycling if they see it as an effort and for some *dedicated cyclists*, while still
11 being defined as cyclists who would cycle in any situation. Indeed, they are defined by the fact
12 they would cycle in any weather condition, that they like the speed of bicycle, they identify
13 themselves as cyclists and enjoy riding, but frequency was not a component used to define the
14 types. Therefore, the *dedicated cyclists* that are motivated by health might be cycling for sport or
15 recreation activity, but in any context and even on main artery contrary to *leisure cyclists* who
16 prefer to cycle on bicycle path and in good weather condition. These *dedicated cyclists* would
17 not *necessarily* cycle for utilitarian purposes, but are more likely to than the other types.

Table 4 Cycling for utilitarian trips frequency regression results

	ALL			Path-Using Cyclists			Leisure Cyclists			Fairweather Utilitarians			Dedicated Cyclists		
	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Odds ratio	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
[FreqUt = 1.00]	0.337	0.082	1.395				2.267	0.057	90.943	0.375	0.014	10.208			
[FreqUt = 2.00]	1.293	0.313	5.348	0.918	0.078	10.781	10.991	0.272	444.496	1.919	0.070	52.420	0.006	0.000	0.147
[FreqUt = 3.00]	6.282	1.515	26.052	4.568	0.387	53.861	62.217	1.517	2551.165	14.367	0.523	394.730	0.031	0.001	0.756
[FreqUt = 4.00]	50.890	12.208	212.142	39.361	3.302	469.152							0.252	0.011	5.995
Walk Score	***1.020	1.013	1.027	***1.019	1.006	1.032	1.010	0.993	1.026	**1.019	1.003	1.036	1.007	0.990	1.023
Density (1000/km2)	1.003	0.990	1.017	0.996	0.978	1.013	1.009	0.964	1.055	1.012	0.976	1.050	1.001	0.965	1.038
Self-Selection	**1.093	1.013	1.180	1.064	0.935	1.211	0.952	0.777	1.167	*1.177	0.994	1.394	0.978	0.832	1.150
SP on-street	***1.165	1.066	1.273	0.995	0.856	1.156	1.207	0.953	1.529	**1.251	1.010	1.550	1.070	0.880	1.303
SP separated	**0.909	0.832	0.993	1.022	0.879	1.190	0.996	0.790	1.255	0.901	0.740	1.097	0.988	0.813	1.201
SP Street	***1.301	1.191	1.422	***1.290	1.121	1.485	**1.365	1.065	1.750	1.114	0.918	1.353	1.013	0.822	1.248
Car-oriented envir.	0.931	0.850	1.019	0.920	0.793	1.067	0.855	0.679	1.077	0.955	0.778	1.171	1.009	0.824	1.236
Active-oriented	0.927	0.847	1.016	0.947	0.814	1.102	1.001	0.798	1.256	0.893	0.734	1.087	0.983	0.804	1.204
Enviro motiva.	***1.289	1.147	1.448	1.158	0.937	1.431	**1.376	1.053	1.799	***1.403	1.084	1.816	1.057	0.820	1.362
Cost motiva.	***1.417	1.298	1.547	***1.307	1.121	1.525	**1.483	1.201	1.831	*1.185	0.982	1.429	**1.253	1.013	1.551
Health motiva.	***0.786	0.701	0.881	0.859	0.711	1.036	0.887	0.628	1.254	*0.785	0.613	1.005	**0.737	0.571	0.951
Cyclists awareness	***0.849	0.769	0.938	***0.783	0.663	0.924	**0.758	0.578	0.996	1.013	0.808	1.271	0.955	0.782	1.166
Drivers awareness	***1.301	1.134	1.494	***1.315	1.017	1.700	***1.983	1.383	2.845	1.129	0.860	1.482	1.043	0.775	1.402
AGE	***0.919	0.875	0.966	0.977	0.899	1.062	0.928	0.822	1.049	0.913	0.814	1.026	**0.872	0.781	0.975
Age2	***1.001	1.000	1.001	1.000	0.999	1.001	1.001	1.000	1.002	1.001	0.999	1.002	**1.001	1.000	1.003
HHPeople	0.977	0.904	1.056	0.880	0.779	0.994	0.857	0.686	1.071	1.082	0.903	1.296	0.902	0.757	1.075
HHCars	***0.514	0.448	0.589	***0.596	0.472	0.752	***0.508	0.357	0.723	***0.520	0.386	0.702	***0.554	0.409	0.751
Male	*0.848	0.702	1.024	*0.751	0.553	1.021	0.700	0.416	1.177	1.015	0.679	1.518	1.054	0.701	1.585
Sample size	N=1707			N=658			N=293			N=378			N=378		
Model fitting sig.	p<0.01			p<0.01			p<0.01			p<0.01			p<0.01		

*Significant at 10%, **Significant 5%, ***Significant at 1%

1 The impact of the number of cars is relatively strong for this kind of trip compared to
2 commuting trips; having one additional car decreases by half the odds of being one category
3 higher in utilitarian trips frequency. It is interesting that contrarily to frequency for commuting
4 trips, males are less likely to cycle for other utilitarian purposes than females. It is only
5 significant ($p < 0.10$) for the entire sample and the *path-using cyclists*, but the result is quite
6 contrasting with the other regressions results that gave stronger and opposite direction.

7 **DISCUSSION**

8 These results confirm that it is important to segment the cyclist population instead of treating
9 them as a homogeneous group. These results also confirm the usability of the typology used in
10 this study. Indeed, while the direction of the relation of the statistically significant variables do
11 not change between types, the significance and size of the odds ratio differ between each type,
12 and between the entire sample and the types. These results are similar to those found by Dill and
13 McNeill (2013) and by Kroesen and Handy (2013) who also used cyclists segmentation in their
14 study. The differences described in this article follow the rationale that was used in the
15 development of this typology (Damant-Sirois et al., 2014). This is an important finding because
16 it shows that, while it is possible to develop sets of tools to increase bicycle usage through
17 general research, a city that knows well its cycling population would develop sets of
18 interventions that would have the biggest impact on the targeted groups.

19 Many recommendations on interventions aimed at increasing cycling frequency can be
20 extracted from our regression results. As shown in other research (Pucher & Buehler, 2008), land
21 use policy could have an impact on the frequency of commuting and utilitarian trips by bicycle.
22 Increasing the mix of land uses could reduce the distance between home location and job
23 location and increase the diversity of commerce closer to home. Both of these variables
24 positively impact bicycle usage frequency, except for *leisure cyclists*. Distance was significant
25 even if the sample was centered in the core of Montreal. This suggests that distance is important
26 even at a small scale. It also indicates that accessibility to services for bicycles should be
27 considered at a relatively small scale because respondents seem to find bicycles convenient and
28 flexible only within a relatively small area. Commuting distance was a significant deterrent even
29 for *dedicated cyclists*. This results follow what has been found by other researchers (Akar &
30 Clifton, 2009; Sener, Eluru, & Bhat, 2009)

31 While density was found not to be significant in any model, which differs from the initial
32 studies analyzing density (Cervero & Kockelman, 1997), a certain threshold of density is
33 required to sustain commercial diversity. Therefore, zoning that requires minimum housing
34 density mixed with commercial activities could be a useful tool to reach this objective. This kind
35 of interventions would affect all types of cyclists except *leisure cyclists*.

36 An important finding of this study is the varying impact of perceptions of safety along
37 different infrastructure types on cycling frequency. This differentiates this study from previous
38 ones by combining the safety perception on certain infrastructures and its impact on frequency.
39 Previous studies showed that cyclists value cycling facilities and go out of their way to use them
40 (Larsen & El-Geneidy, 2011), and more so for segregated paths over simple lanes (Broach, Dill,
41 & Gliebe, 2012). The conclusion found by Broach, Dill and Gliebe (2012), that bicycle lanes
42 offset the effect of adjacent traffic, can be confirmed with the results here. Similar to Ma et al.'s

1 (2014) findings, perception of the environment has an impact on cycling behavior. Safety is more
2 important for cyclists than the infrastructure itself. What seems to have the strongest positive
3 impact on cycling frequency is if cyclists feel safe when they are not on a separated facility. This
4 even has an impact on the frequency of *dedicated cyclists*. This means that what might be really
5 important for increasing bicycle usage is to make people feel safe everywhere in the city, not
6 only when someone reaches a specific types of infrastructure. While this can seem like a huge
7 task compared to deciding which street to build segregated infrastructure on, it also means that
8 broad interventions can have a very important impact. .

9 Another important finding is the impact of different motivations to cycle and the
10 perceptions towards cyclists on frequency of cycling for utilitarian and commuting trips. The
11 benefits that are put forward in cycling promotional campaigns are mostly concerned with
12 individual health and environmental benefits. As shown in previous studies (Li et al., 2013;
13 Vredin Johansson et al., 2006), environmental impacts of cycling are a motivation that can
14 increase the odds of cycling for utilitarian trips. This is especially for the *fairweather utilitarians*.
15 However, it does not have a significant impact on commuting. Seeing cycling as a healthy
16 activity is negatively correlated with frequency for utilitarian trips. People who see cycling as an
17 inexpensive mode of transportation are more likely to use it as a mode more frequently. This is
18 true for all segments of the sample. As suggested by Börjesson and Eliasson (2012), promoting
19 cycling by using low cost as an argument might have a stronger positive impact than promoting
20 it using health benefits. The fact that the *dedicated cyclists* are the ones that are the most
21 motivated by the convenience of cycling points towards other arguments that could be mentioned
22 in a cycling promotional campaign. The speed, flexibility for departure time and for multiple
23 trips, and the predictability of travel time are advantages that should be brought up in such
24 campaign. Also, as indicated by the importance of the social environment variables, campaigns
25 aimed at improving the perception of the population towards cyclists would be an efficient way
26 to increase the usage of bicycling as a mode of transportation.

27 Other interventions could be developed to promote and enhance the cost benefits of
28 cycling. For example, in Montreal, transit passes are tax deductible, a similar tax incentive could
29 be put in place for cycling. The growing number of cities with bicycle-sharing systems could be
30 a great opportunity to decrease the cost of cycling as it makes it easier than before to plan for
31 ways to include money-incentive interventions in policy package aimed at increasing bicycle
32 usage. Finally, the biggest monetary cost of using a personal bicycle is the purchase of the
33 bicycle; providing safe bicycle parking that prevents bicycle-theft is another strategy that could
34 reduce the cost of cycling.

35 Finally, even when controlling for safety perceptions, important differences are found
36 between males and females regarding their respective behavior as in other studies (Akar et al.,
37 2013; Jan Garrard, Rose, & Lo, 2008), except within the *dedicated cyclists* group. This shows
38 that, while this might be the case, the explanation that women are more risk averse than man is
39 not sufficient. Indeed, they tend to cycle more than men for utilitarian trips. This might be
40 explained by the dress code in work places. Future research should explore the barriers that
41 prevent women from cycling to work.

CONCLUSION

This paper studied the relationship between different factors and the frequency of cycling for utilitarian purposes by segmenting a sample of cyclists into four different types using a typology developed in previous research. The points that differentiate this study from previous ones are the segmentation approach and the usage of variables that combined safety perceptions of different infrastructure types. This allowed for a better understanding of the mechanism linking infrastructure, safety and bicycle usage. The results allow for informed decisions to be made regarding interventions aimed at increasing bicycle usage among different groups.

The results confirm the importance of segmenting the cycling population in order to account for the group's heterogeneity. Also, it showed that the typology used in this article results in logically-sound results in both an academic and policy perspective. It nuances the results and indicates which group could be more impacted by different interventions. Depending on the size of each group in a city or region, some interventions would have a stronger impact. It is important to note that some coefficients in the models do fall in between the confidence interval in another model and they are significant in both models, these coefficients represent policies that can be effective to impact more than one group and should have a significant output if they are adopted by the region.

Land use can have an impact on bicycle usage. Using zoning to promote mixed-use development or redevelopment of areas is expected to have a positive impact on bicycle usage. While building a separated bicycle path network could increase usage, it could also give the impression to people that these types of facilities are the only places cyclists can feel safe and should ride, which could lead to a lower modal share of cycling in an area. City planners and engineers should create specific interventions that help cyclists feel safe on residential streets as well. Previous studies found that men cycle more than women because they are more risk averse. The present study shows that when controlling for safety perceptions, women do cycle less than men for commuting purposes, but cycle more for other utilitarian trips. Interventions at work places, like installing a day care, showers, changing rooms, could promote cycling more among females.

The environmental and health benefits of cycling are important. Policy makers must consider these benefits when developing a regional budget. However, these benefits do not seem to directly help in increasing the frequency of cycling. Promoting cycling as a convenient, cheap and safe mode of transportation seems to be a strategy that would more efficiently increase bicycle usage among different groups.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research was funded through the National Sciences in Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC) Discovery program. We are also grateful to the Coalition Vélo Montréal for input on Montreal bicycle issues and to the Montreal cyclists who filled out the survey and wrote insightful and sometimes extensive comments. Thanks to Michael Grimsrud, Kevin Manaugh, as well as all the Transportation Research at McGill (TRAM) research group members for their support during survey preparation, data collection and cleaning, and their useful analysis insights. Thanks to Alex Legrain, Dea van Lierop and Prof. Richard Shearmur for their feedback on the article. Last, but not least, we would like to thank the two reviewers as their feedback was really helpful through the review process of the manuscript.

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