The advent of Sustainable Transport in Scotland: The implementation of Glasgow’s Strategic Plans for Cycling and the case of South City Way

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## Appendix
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Abstract: This study explores the option of stimulating cycling activity as part of the strife of the modern city towards adopting the principles of sustainable development in order to shape the everyday habits of its inhabitants. The case of the city of Glasgow was chosen as an appropriate example of the potential obstacles and benefits which the implementation of cycling policies is attributed with. The Scottish city’s cycling agenda was analysed and interpreted in light of a broader international context by offering similar instances. This paper is divided into two main parts. The first one focuses on reviewing and assessing the key aspects of Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling 2016 - 2025 and questions its applicability/capability on achieving the cycling rates (10% of all journeys) stipulated by the Scottish government. This is done via a literature review and supplementary interviews by local experts and suggests that there is a strong correlation between cycling levels and governmental/local council policies while also indicating that historical, cultural or climate-related tendencies do not have such a strong influence. The paper identifies Glasgow’s cycling plan as inclusive and contributing to the evolution of urban planning towards sustainability. Additionally, it is established that the plan creates liaisons between the state, the private sector and civil society (in the form of NGOs and local community groups as well as individuals), which has led to lasting partnerships based on the collaborative planning and execution of projects. Lastly, the analysis implies that Glasgow’s plan for cycling distinguishes deftly between applying soft or/and hard measures according to the needs of the local residents, in particular, the local users. The second part of the paper investigates the successes and shortcomings of Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling 2016 - 2025 when it comes to the case of the South City Way Development Project by drawing links from the prior analysis and additional primary data sources. The thesis suggests that the main difficulties associated with the project would stem from the inconsistent cooperation with local community groups, the lack of opportunities for citizen participation and to a lesser degree the insufficient amount of supporting cycling infrastructure (cycle parking).

Cycling-related policies have proven to be able to play a significant role in achieving sustainable urban development. Glasgow City Council's cycling plan underlines the importance of combining governmental standards, environmental needs and communal necessities but at the same time fails to implement them in practice in order to achieve the fundamental shift in behaviour set as a target by the Scottish government. Sidelong the essential partnership and cooperation with local stakeholders as well as community involvement would likely bring about fractured public support, limited outreach and thus diminished results. Having pooled considerable financial and human resources into creating the 2016 -2025 Strategic Plan for Cycling, the paper suggests that Glasgow City Council has to follow its guidelines strictly in order to lead its community towards sustainability.

Keywords: sustainable development, cycling, Glasgow, urban planning, cycling policy, public engagement

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Summary: The constantly increasing numbers of people living in cities is associated with exponentially increasing in severity environmental, economic and societal adverse effects. Projections estimate that by 2050 approximately 60% of Earth’s population will be urban-based. This rapid expansion of cities and the subsequent unsustainable growth, resource insecurity and pollution has motivated many city councils to look towards a more sustainable urban travel system. Compared to the fuel and space demanding automobile dependency, pedestrianization and cycle focus have emerged as low-cost, health improving and space saving options. Numerous cities around the globe (Europe, Northern America, Australia in particular) have developed active travel-focused urban development agendas in order to decrease the negative effects associated with automobile use and stimulate cycling/ walking as sustainable solutions in its stead. Following this trend, the Scottish government has set a target of achieving 10% of all journeys to be done by bicycle. Being the most populous city in Scotland, Glasgow has a big part to play in cultivating a bike-orientated community along with the needed facilities and infrastructure to support it. Consequently the “Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling 2016 - 2025” was introduced. Its main goal, expressed in 10 targets, is to achieve and surpass the national targets. However, upon closer observation, it is revealed that adherence to those targets is inconsistent which is why this study explored the case of the South City Way Development Project and its successes and shortcomings at towards adopting the principles of sustainable development to an urban landscape. Broader international context along with examples are provided in order to supply background for analysis of Glasgow City Council’s cycling plan which subsequently presents the opportunity to discuss the advantages and disadvantages that can be identified in the South City Way Development Project’s framework. This is done in two parts. The first one focuses on reviewing and assessing the key aspects of Glasgow’s cycling plan and questions its capability to achieve the cycling rates stipulated by the Scottish government. This is done via a literature review and supplementary interviews and suggests that inclusivity, a collaboration between governmental, private and communal groups and flexibility to soft and hard measures are pivotal. The second part of the paper investigates the performance of Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling 2016 - 2025 in the case of the South City Way Development Project by drawing links from the prior analysis and additional primary data sources. The paper argues that the main difficulties associated with the project stem from inconsistent cooperation with local community groups, lack of opportunities for citizen participation and, to a lesser degree, the insufficient amount of supporting cycling infrastructure (cycle parking). Having pooled considerable financial and human resources into creating the 2016 -2025 Strategic Plan for Cycling, the paper suggests that Glasgow City Council has to follow its guidelines strictly in order to lead its community towards sustainability.

Keywords: sustainable development, cycling, Glasgow, urban planning, cycling policy, public engagement

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Since 1990, global greenhouse emissions have risen by 40% and the Kyoto Protocol in 1992 has been one of the first united efforts to try to curb further increase. Nations part of the treaty committed to maintaining emissions up to no more than 5% over their 1990 levels until 2010 but not only did the attempt prove only partially successful but also its target has since then been identified as insufficient (Jackson 2011: 12). The IPCC’s Fourth Assessment Report states that if global temperature increase is to be contained within the 2°C mark, greenhouse gas emission would need to drop by 85% from their 1990 values (Jackson 2011: 12). Considering this target among many others, in 2014, following the Rio +20 conference, the United Nations’ member states created the successor of the Millennium Development Goals - the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Figure 1). In contrast with any previous attempts, these goals encompass a significantly broader range of topics and thus, aim to be universal and provide guidance for any state wishing to transition towards sustainability (Le Blanc 2015: 176).

![Figure 1: The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG Knowledge Platform: 2019) (open source)](image)

Cities across the globe and their transport networks, in particular, will be among the prime aspects in need of a powerful push towards transformation by following the guidelines of the SDGs. The UN-Habitat (2013: 1) estimated that in 2011 already more than half of Earth’s population lived in urban areas and this figure is projected to increase to 67% by the middle of the century (UN Habitat 2010: 7). In order to support the increase in population, most cities are rapidly expanding their transport network. Logically, the transport sector’s global estimated resource consumption - 62% of all oil and almost 26% of all energy – is also expected to rise along with its GHG emissions of which 71% is a direct contribution by urban areas (UN Habitat 2010: 8). As a result, cities also experience most significant detrimental health repercussions (UN-Habitat 2013: 7). Long-term exposure to the high levels of air pollution associated with urban transport is known to cause respiratory and cardiovascular diseases in adults and even more in children, consequently reducing life expectancy (McClintock 2002: 2). Health issues also stem from the amount of noise produced by traffic, which can result in severe annoyance, sleep loss, communication problems and learning difficulties, especially in adolescents. Additionally, the lack of physical activity combined with an over-reliance on motorized transport is a main cause of coronary heart disease and high levels of obesity in many urbanized counties. One example among
many is England, where 66% of the male and more than 50% of the female population suffers from weight associated health problems mainly due to an inactive way of life (McClintock 2002: 2).

Within transport governance, cycling has emerged as a possible solution as using a bicycle to travel instead of a motorized vehicle not only massively reduces GHG emissions, provides mobility but also significantly benefits people’s health. A review of cycling evaluatory studies uncovered that there is consistent evidence of cycling ameliorating cardiorespiratory ailments, reducing the risk of all types of cancer, and diminishing obesity morbidity in men and women (Oja et al. 2011: 508). The 1996 US Surgeon General’s Report summarized that half an hour of moderate exercise is enough to considerably improve one’s health state. It further explained that cycling is not only an opportunity for people to incorporate such activity into their daily routines but is also more sustainable in the long run than structured activity programs (running, gym, etc.) (Raynolds 2010: 2). Overall, on average cyclists are healthier and fitter than users of motorized transport (Reynolds, Winters, Ries, & Gouge, 2010).

Having said that, as a result of the sole focus on motorized transport and the lack of attention towards active travel, cycling has currently been almost eliminated or at the least has been made unpleasant in many cities around the globe (UN Habitat 2013: 3). Pedestrians and cyclists also face much higher risks of injury during journeys than people using a private vehicle, bus or train. In the US a cyclist is 12 times more likely; in Norway 7.5 times more likely to be injured while travelling than a person driving a car (Raynolds 2010: 3). WHO estimates that 27% of worldwide traffic accidents involve a pedestrian or cyclist (WHO 2009). However, there are numerous examples of the success of a cycling focused transport system. One instance is the Netherlands where authorities have repeatedly managed to achieve cycling rates of over 30% and injury ration of only 1.1 cyclists per 10 000 000 km cycled (Raynolds 2010: 3).

Evidence suggests that despite their current dependence on motorized transport many cities around the globe possess the terrain, climate and space to accommodate vast increase in bicycle traffic. And in a world which is being forced to recognize its ecological constraints as a result of the effect of climate change, not only minimizing the negative effect of our current transport system but the adoption of a more sustainable one by as many stakeholders as possible and the public has become immensely relevant (UN Habitat 2013: 10).

1.2. Purpose of the study

In its “Cycling Action Plan for Scotland”, the Scottish government (2010: 2) sets an ambitious goal to have 10% of all journeys being done by bike by 2020. An initial budget of £35.7 million was set aside in order to achieve that goal by providing cycle training across the country as well as for placing the infrastructure needed to support it. As a result, most cities established specific strategic plans with the sole purpose of achieving this goal. In Glasgow, Scotland’s most populated city that was the “Strategic Plan for Cycling 2010 - 2020” which was later updated to 2016 - 2025. The strategy aimed to address cycling needs within schools, expand and improve cycle routes and support cyclists who commute (Glasgow City Council 2015: 18). Expected to cost £6.5 million, one of the more significant project within the strategic plan is the construction of the “South City Way” which is projected to provide a direct, unobstructed route for cyclists from the south of Glasgow to the city centre (Glasgow City Council 2016: 1).

Research on the performance of Scotland, and Glasgow in particular, is limited and therefore it is relevant to investigate if Glasgow’s cycling strategy incorporates the essential components needed for the proliferation of a cycling culture. In this context, this research project explores contemporary urban planning and its implementation when it comes to the transition from the motorized vehicle focused transport system towards one that is compatible with the principles of sustainable development. Having done that, the objective of the study is twofold. Firstly, the thesis aims to contribute to sustainability research in the field of transport and urban planning by providing an additional case study (Glasgow),
which seeks to understand the effectiveness of cycling policy within an urban context. Secondly, because the research contemplates upon the advantages and disadvantages of various aspects of Glasgow City Council’s cycling policies, it has evident policy connotations. Hence, in the long-term the thesis aims to contribute to Glasgow’s future active travel efforts and sustainable transport development. Accordingly, this written discourse has the objective to answer the following questions:

- What are the essential components of successful urban cycling policies?
- How completely and to what effect does Glasgow City Council incorporate the established essential components?
- How effective are Glasgow City Council’s local community engagement tools in the case of South City Way?
2. Theoretical Rationale

2.1. Urban planning and sustainable development - a review

2.1.1. Sustainable development within the sphere of urban planning

There is significant evidence that sustainable development is influencing urban planning techniques more and more, however, transferring its conceptual simplicity into urban methodology is where the challenge begins (Berke 2000: 22). Næss (2001: 518) states that urban planners usually have several avenues through which they can pursue sustainability. Firstly, they need to constantly update their knowledge on environmentally friendly practices and to communicate that knowledge via their respective discussion and planning processes. Secondly, planners should always approach projects with several compatible alternatives in mind that have been conferred with the affected communities, local politicians and the administrative services. And thirdly, the consequences of each scenario should be available prior to development to all stakeholders. By undertaking this process planners would ensure that conflicting interests are reconciled. In a perfect case, the economy would prosper, this prosperity would be distributed evenly, and without harming the environment thus, tending to all three tenants of sustainable development (Figure 2).

Berke and Conroy (2000: 20 - 24) conducted a thorough study of planning theory and practice focused on circumventing such issues and concluded that there are four essential elements to a sustainable urban planning scheme: reproduction, balance, link local to global concerns and a dynamic process. The authors explain that when talking about “reproduction”, planners should not mistake it for a straightforward operation involving simple repetition of the status-quo but an evolving process that continuously recognizes current and future societal demands, which would revitalize it and consequently generate new sources of knowledge. “Balance” is derived from the concept of sustainable development, it must be sought in order to achieve equilibrium between the environmental, economic and social aspect of an urban area. Lacking support for the environment would lead to the eventual collapse of the planet’s

![Figure 2: The Sustainable Development Diagram (Source: Author)](image-url)
life support on which human society is built. Similarly, if economic interests are misrepresented the source of technological improvement would be disrupted and future adaptation denied. Additionally, ignorance of the social aspect would lead to the construction of cities that accommodate only a portion of the population, which in turn would introduce instability (Berke 2000: 22). Berke & Conroy (2000: 22) clarify that “linking local to global” is as much about discouraging “tunnel-vision” approaches that secure benefit for one area at the expense of another as for communities being accountable for their actions. Lastly, having a “dynamic process” is indicated by the constant opportunity for local society to participate in the planning process, suggest and make changes through debate and negotiation (Berke & Conroy 2000: 22).

The above-mentioned process can seem like a daunting task for many cities, especially ones that are severely dependent on fossil fuels in order to power their transport networks. That is, however, where the idea of cycling integrated transport networks, which correlate with all three of sustainable development’s core aspects, comes into play. Cycling is not dependent on fossil fuels and thus, benefits air quality (environmental aspect); it stimulates social inclusion via providing a cheap, accessible, low-skill mode of mobility (social aspect); is significantly cheaper to create and maintain, and favours public health which translates to lower healthcare costs and less sick days (economic aspect). When it comes to making urban planning and the subsequent development of more sustainable McClintock (2002: 8 - 9) suggests that cycling can be a powerful tool for:

- A modal shift from cars to bikes reduces resource depletion and improves air quality without increasing traffic;
- Improvement of the local quality of life through safe streets, new public spaces and urban vitality;
- High utility and recreational potential;
- Ethical and fair access to amenities;
- New employment opportunities connected to cycle infrastructure and maintenance;
- Tourism;
- Crime reduction;

To summarize, sustainable urban planning and development is achievable through continuous community-based efforts that cater to the needs of current and future generations by balancing the three core aspects of sustainable development while also linking them to the wider world. Despite the present monopoly of fossil fuels in city transport networks, cycling can prove to be an avenue of opportunity as it correlates strongly with the principles of sustainable development.

2.1.2. Sustainable development within the sphere of public engagement

After reviewing numerous author publications as well as UN and WCED material, Berke & Conroy (2004: 1382 - 1385) concluded that there is a consensus on the method best suited to be used during decision-making and public engagement sessions when striving for sustainability - community-based collaborative planning. Also known as communicative planning, collaborative planning at its best relies on an exchange of interests, requirements and responsibilities among all stakeholders. Involving as many of them as possible is essential in order to fully grasp their needs and the obstacles they face as users and administrators within the current system. They can include government officials from the
Municipal Corporations, Planning Agencies, Transport Authorities, Police, NGOs and the public (UN Habitat 2013: 22). Here, the role of the planner would be to foster conversation and discussion among participants and managing a dialogue between them is often complex, from a planning perspective, but also holds significant merits (Berke & Conroy 2004: 1382 - 1385).

An outlet where people can express their opinions and continuous participation in one has shown to gradually give birth to a form of collective consciousness that possesses a deeper understanding of local and wider consumer tendencies and behaviour (Portney 2005: 583). It also actively seeks to eliminate the destructive aspects of disputes by making them known to all stakeholders and consequently, adding them to a discussion agenda focused on conflict resolution through consensus building. What is more, related research has repeatedly proven that when stakeholders are engaged in the decision-making process, they are much more likely to favour the following project development and implementation (Berke & Conroy 2004: 1382 – 1385; Innes & Booher 1999: 419). Conducting such dynamic discussions is also highly advantageous because it takes into account the unique knowledge of each stakeholder and moreover, it has no limits in time, space or subject matter which makes it highly adaptive and evolving. As a result, produced solutions are sustainable and flexible when change is necessary (Innes & Booher 1999: 414 – 420; Margerum 2011: 57 - 58). That is made even harder by the fact that the process typically favours actors with more power at their disposal and, in addition, does not involve a change in existing power relationships (Berke 2002: 24 - 25).

To sum it up, although flawed, this paper recognizes collaborative planning’s focus on empowering and uniting people while at the same time allowing them to learn and initiate action. This inclusive, bottom-up approach correlates strongly with sustainable development’s appreciation for all three aspects of society - economic, environmental and societal - and is, therefore, useful for this thesis’ analysis.

2.1.3. Sustainable development within the sphere of urban mobility

The transport network within a city is often compared to the arterial network within the human body as both carry the lifeblood in their respective cases needed for essential functions to be carried out. Similarly, sustainable transport has been situated in the heart of the UN Sustainable Development Goals as it is vital for the implementation of most goals and simultaneously eradicates poverty and drives sustainable development forward (SDG Knowledge Platform 2019). Targets directly related to transport can be found in SDG 3 which includes a reduction of traffic-related injuries and lowering air pollution levels; SDG 7 which focuses on transcending towards renewable sources of energy; SDG 8 which relates to access to proper employment and economic growth; SDG 9 which underlines the importance of resilient and sustainable infrastructure; SDG 11 which aims to provide convenient access to public transport regardless of age, sex or disability; and SDG 12 which involves ceasing the subsidies stimulating fossil fuel dependence (SDG Knowledge Platform 2019). Hence, in order for a city’s transport system to be sustainable it needs to fulfil certain requirements, which stem from the three pillars of sustainable development (Figure 2). First, it is essential for public transport to be equitable which indicates that it must address pedestrian, cyclist and motorist needs (Nelson & Scholar 2008: 12). Second, mobility’s focus should shift from its prevalent favour of private vehicles and endeavour to explore options that are more largely accessible but less financially demanding (UN-Habitat Settlements
Third, a sustainable mobility network would work towards reducing carbon dioxide emissions locally but also correlate with global environmental efforts (Banister 2006: 283). And fourth, utility should be taken into consideration as travel behavioural studies indicate it as a major factor to the choice of transport (Nelson & Scholar2008: 8). Integrating these guiding principles within a city’s transport agenda can have remarkable benefits but can also prove to be remarkably hard to do. It involves re-designing or often even rebuilding current transport infrastructure, which is not only costly and associated with immense social change but also varies widely depending on the density and diversity of the urban area. Furthermore, there is an ongoing debate on the distribution of destinations such as work, home, leisure which poses an additional challenge (Klinger et al. 2013: 19).

Regardless, the alternative, as suggested by some, to continue using the current agenda, wherein many urban regions 75% of all trips are made by gasoline-fuelled vehicles, but at a greater efficiency severely contradicts the core principles of sustainable development (Kennedy et al. 2005: 395). Nevertheless, most cities nowadays cater only to drivers by providing straight, wide streets that allow vehicles to accelerate faster and maintain high speeds (Banister 2006: 281). Through an analysis of the countries with the highest freeway length per person in the world, which are US, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, Kenworthy (2006: 73) discovered that the continuous improvement of this status-quo simply stimulates further motorization while at the same time leading to deterioration of more sustainable modes of transport such as walking, cycling and public transport. Thus, urban transport requires not only major restructuring but also a reconciliation of sorts between the needs of people who cycle or walk and drivers. Both groups aspire for short and direct routes to their chosen destination but there is a significant difference in terms of journey pace and experience. While the driver is looking primarily for maximum speed, the cyclist will acknowledge the trip’s potential sociability, safety and enjoyment as well. It is vital for street design to change and start reflecting active travel as well.

Kennedy et al. (2005: 396) state that there are four pillars on which the foundation of such a sustainable transport network must be placed on (Figure 3): governance, financing, infrastructure and neighbourhood. The author also underlines that they are of equal importance and focusing on one in particular or ignoring one of them will inevitably lead to partial success at best. There is significant evidence pointing to the fact that adopting a sustainable urban transport agenda that transform streets into multifunctional space rather than a vehicle flow maximization tool has compelling economic advantages (Kenworthy, 2006: 77). Many cities have begun to enjoy these benefits among which are even freeway-dependent US and Canadian cities. Buehler & Pucher (2009: 79 - 80) confirm that statement through a study he conducted on the public transport share in 8 cities in the US and Canada during 2006 and 2007 which implemented sustainable transport strategies. What is more, he established that supplementing public transport with cycling-inclusive policies and infrastructure further augments the benefits of both modes of transport. Cycling extended the quickly accessible area around each transit stop significantly more than walking and at a much lower cost than either extra buses or personal vehicle would involve. On the other hand, public transport allowed cyclists to travel considerably further away and enhanced convenience when cyclists encountered unfavourable weather, difficult terrain or lack of cycle paths.
2.1.3.1. Bike sharing

A further testament to sustainable transport profitability is the establishment of public-use bicycle schemes in many cities. Also known as “bicycle transit” or “bike sharing”, public-use bicycle systems’ essence is to provide a low-cost rentable bike that can be taken from and returned to one of numerous key locations around the city which are usually self-served and extremely simple to use. The combination of those factors in addition to the health and environmental benefits of cycling has led to an explosion of such schemes. The UN estimates that by 2013 approximately 500 cities worldwide had launched a version of bike sharing with over 500 000 bicycles (UN Habitat 2013: 9) which can also be seen in Figure 4. In 2011 shared bicycles could be found in Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Republic of Korea, Brazil, Chile, China, India, Islamic Republic of Iran, Mexico among many other countries. (Midgley 2011: 4)
Bike sharing can also effectively promote cycling as a whole but also provide an alternative low-cost mobility choice and alleviate urban air quality issues (Midgley 2011: 5). However, the rationale for introducing such schemes does not end there. Bike-sharing schemes have proven to possess the potential to generate stable revenue as seen from Table 1, which represents expected yearly profit per bike. In practice, during its first year of operation, Paris’ bike-sharing scheme called Vélib earned more than €30 million solely from membership and user fees and excluding any advertisement-related income which public bikes are remarkable good for. A similar model has attracted 15 000 in Lyon and 100 000 subscribers in Barcelona for which expected revenue is $100,000 and $3.5 million respectively (Midgley 2011: 13). Perceiving the benefits of public transport and cycling interaction, many railway firms in Germany and the Netherlands have established their own bike-sharing systems which are linked to their transit stations (Midgley 2011: 15).
In spite of their many advantages, bike-sharing schemes have some notable drawbacks and challenges associated with them. To begin with, a perpetual obstacle is the fact that public bikes are constantly exposed to the elements and thus, have an ongoing maintenance cost which is further increased by acts of vandalism and theft. Even though the generated profit often mitigates those costs and unique bicycle design paired with incompatible to other bikes components can prevent theft to a large extent, these expenses should be taken into consideration (Midgley 2011: 9). Another issue stems from the space cycles take in public transport during peak hours. Priority is often given to passenger accommodation, which forces cyclist to wait until space becomes available on a later train/bus. Having said that, in many cases attaching external bike racks to the bus/train has solved this problem without incurring significant costs (Buehler & Pucher 2009: 101). The topography of the area can also prove troublesome for such schemes as bike-sharing stations on hills and once outside the city centre would consistently be empty of bicycles due to the higher effort involved with returning bikes to them. Although there is not a single solution for that, providers in different areas have either used a vehicle to redistribute bicycles on regular intervals or introduced a credit-earning system for returning bicycles to unpopular locations, both of which, however, involve a profit reduction (Midgley 2011: 12). Last but not least, bike-sharing schemes often use CO2 reduction as a prominent marketing point but evidence suggests that the effects can often be exaggerated. A study in Montreal declared that the bike-sharing scheme in the city was largely used by people who would otherwise still cycle, walk or use public transport - 86%. Only 10% of journeys replaced taxi or personal vehicle use, which underlined the discrepancies in terms of CO2 reduction (Midgley 2011: 17). Nevertheless, this does not diminish bike-sharing’s potential but just stresses the importance of careful monitoring and further research.

To sum it all up, it becomes clear that cycling has a major role to play when it comes down to sustainable development’s application to urban transport. Not only does cycling have the potential to significantly improve urban quality of life while generating profit and preserving the environment, but it also has a strong synergy with public transport. However, for cycling to proliferate, innovative urban planning methodologies and policy support are needed in order to stimulate a fundamental societal shift from private vehicle prioritized roads to multi-functional vibrant ones. Those will inevitably alter depending on each area’s cultural, geographical and political factors, which is why the next chapter will provide and look into examples of strategic city cycling plans across the globe.
3. Cycling policy around the world

3.1. A short history of cycling in the UK and beyond

Cycling was a popular mode of transport across most of Europe and Northern America before the Industrial Era. However, with the invention of the automobile even presently cycling associated nations such as the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark experienced a steep decrease in cyclist numbers between 1950 and 1975. Dutch authorities, in particular, recorded a 62% drop. Nevertheless, through the implementation of adapted to sustainable development urban planning methods after 1970 cycling has made a recovery to its previous popularity in many states (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 496) which can be seen in Figure 5. Unfortunately, that has not been the case in the UK where prior to the industrialization process cycling amounted to 15% of all trips while in 2005 it barely accounted to 1.3% of all journeys (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 496). Cyclists are also subjects of hostility from motor vehicle drivers (Aldred 2010: 40) which proves to be a barrier for its recovery. In order to address the plummeting cyclist numbers in 1996, the UK launched the National Cycling Strategy. Its main target was to re-establish British cycling culture and make cycling accessible for everyone again through national policies and supporting activities (McClintock 2002: 19 - 21). In spite of its implementation, there has been a minimal modal shift.

![Figure 5: Bicycle share of trips in Europe, North America and Australia (Buehler 2008: 498)](image)

*Figure 5*: Bicycle share of trips in Europe, North America and Australia (Buehler 2008: 498) (With permission from Taylor & Francis Online)
3.1.1. The economic aspect of cycling

Cities have become the industrial centres and the places where most of the production, consumption, distribution and innovation takes place in most countries. As a result, urban space has also evolved into an essential commodity with a volatile price nature, which can reach astronomical monetary values, especially in densely populated areas (Campbell 1996: 297; Smet 2015: 497 - 498). Moreover, as mentioned before, much of that space is often allocated to car parking and vehicle supporting facilities, the combination of which entails considerable financial costs. On the other hand, both bicycles and cycling infrastructure require significantly less space as well as maintenance. In a standard example, one car parking space is equivalent to 10 bicycle ones (Gehl, 2010: 104). Additionally, as explored prior, cycling can also open new avenues of profit-generation via cycle hire schemes and open new job opportunities associated with it.

Furthermore, from a strictly energy-efficiency perspective, a bicycle is much more adept at converting energy into distance, although slower. Using the same amount of energy, a cyclist will cover 3 times the distance a pedestrian would while a motor vehicle would require 60 times more energy than the cyclist to cover that same distance (Gehl 2010: 105). The same holds true when comparing cycling and public transport. It’s infrastructure and maintenance cost almost universally outweigh its profit, which is why it very often relies on public subsidies as a main source of funding (UN Habitats Settlements 2013: 5). To put that into perspective, by using the World Health Organization’s Health Economic Assessment Tool for cycling which calculates the mean annual economic benefit of a cyclists, Cycling England estimated that a person commuting by bike at least 3 times a week saves an average of £679.67 (Gerrard et al. 2012: 46).

Last but not least, cycling has been proven to alleviate obesity, physical inactivity and improve health altogether which directly lowers health costs. For example, a Canadian study on the subject estimated that the country spends $5.3 billion and $4.3 billion to combat physical inactivity and obesity, respectively. A 10% growth in physical activity would directly translate into $150 million in savings annually (Raynolds 2010: 4). Moreover, cycling also affects health indirectly by improving air quality. Air pollution has been estimated to be responsible for 900 to 2000 premature deaths in Australia every year which are evaluated to cost the Australian government between AUD$1.1 billion and AUD$2.6 billion (Gerrard et al. 2012: 43).

3.1.2. The social aspect of cycling

Social sustainability can be challenging to determine as it can encompass a large array of issues that vary according to the characteristics of each area. When it comes down to cities, planners need to take into consideration the constant competition among social groups over resource, service and opportunities distribution as well as common space (Campbell 1996: 298; Jacob & Hellström 2010: 663 - 664). Hence, equality among different social groups and their access to mobility that allows them to engage in civic life through common space rank high in importance (Gehl 2010: 109). Thus, a sustainable urban transport network is required that is not based on income, social or physical distinction as well as one that is evenly spread to all area (UN Habitats Settlements 2013: 5). Active travel overall but cycling, in particular, is uniquely suited to tackle these problems.

Contemporary vehicle dominant societies, on the other hand, tend to stimulate dependence on the private vehicle and its absence in a household can lead to social exclusion. What is more, even in communities where everybody owns a car, inequality is rampant when looking at who uses them. Primary access is often reserved to the white, middle-aged, healthy male while women, disabled people, the elderly and children often benefit from it a lot less (Aldred 2010: 38). Unlike such private vehicle dependent transport networks which inevitably isolate certain communities, reduce interaction between social groups and make the city more dangerous overall, cycling contributes to safer communities through traffic calming and more chances for neighbour interaction (Kenworthy 2006: 80). Cycling’s
health benefits have to be underlined again as healthier communities are also more vibrant communities. What is more, it should be added that a body of research suggests that cycling has significant psychological health benefits as well which range from anxiety and depression treatment to stimulating cognitive functioning. In a study on the subject, an Australian organization under the name of Bicycle Victoria linked cycling to relaxation, joy, socializing and stress reduction (Gerrard et al. 2012: 36 - 41). Even more, in another study, the University of Minnesota (2019) determined that cycling to be the happiest mode of transport.

It becomes clear that one of the biggest advantages of cycling in the social context is its accessibility and inclusivity. Cycling has a low-skill requirement, can be easily taken up by children, men, women, elderly, and has no license requirement, unlike the car. The Netherlands, Denmark and Germany all feature a high percentage of women and elderly cyclists. However, it should be acknowledged that despite being gender and age-neutral, in many countries men are still the dominant social group, which cycles. For example, in the UK and USA middle-aged men comprise 72% and 76% of all cyclists (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 504). And if cycling is to adequately address the social sustainability aspect, such discrepancies have to be actively confronted.

3.1.3. The environmental aspect of cycling

Cities consume colossal amounts of resources while producing similar amounts of waste and are in direct competition with the surrounding natural environment for space and as such pose a constant threat to the environment (Campbell 1996: 298; Jacob & Hellström 2010: 663 - 664). The introduction of this study noted the massive fossil fuel resource utilization that the transport sector has as well as the negative environmental effects associated with it, mainly represented by the formidable GHG emissions. The resulting adverse effects on the climate, caused by the combination of continuous demand for oil, road construction and increasing number of vehicles, can be allayed largely through the integration of cycling within everyday life. Contrary to many aspects of urban transportation, cycling has a straightforward beneficial relationship with the environment. A bicycle is not reliant on oil and does not produce fuel-related chemicals that pollute the air, water and soil. What is more, cycling significantly diminishes noise pollution and indirectly mitigates deforestation and biodiversity loss problems through its significantly lesser demand for space (McCIntock 2002: 1 - 4). Altogether, cycling is underlined as a prime option for decreasing GHG emissions and addressing the urgent issue of global temperature rise (UN Habitats Settlements 2013: 5).

To summarize, focusing on or at the very least incorporation cycling into urban transport networks can be a stable step forward towards achieving sustainable development. From an economic perspective, cycling can not only bring down transport maintenance and health costs but also reveal income sources. Socially, cycling is likely to boost safety, equality and communication by providing a low-skill, cheap way to travel and slowing down traffic. In environmental terms, using bicycles instead of vehicles can negate the many negative consequences of fossil-fuel dependence and thus, aid governments in combating climate change. This paper will continue with a portrayal of several examples that contain successful or partially so implementations of cycling strategy in order to foster sustainable development.
3.2. Preparing for cycling: Governance and Policy components

3.2.1. Governance

While it is undisputed that history, topography, climate and culture can influence the proliferation of cycling greatly, it is governance that plays the biggest role. Governance dictates development focus, conducts negotiations among stakeholders and conflict resolution, sets objectives and the criteria connected to them and organizes monitoring activities and the resulting penalties (Gibson 2005: 17). Regardless of the consequences, governance in the UK and USA has largely catered to the needs of private car owners, which has led to their low cyclist numbers as previously seen in Figure 7. In contrast, governance in the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark has shifted its focus towards cycling which has resulted in its steady increase (Buehler 2008: 496).

Such modal shift requires a complex combination of stimulating policies, investment in infrastructure, awareness campaigns and collaboration with other sustainable modes of transport (UN Habitats Settlements 2013: 37). In addition, because of its numerous benefits cycling is of interest to multiple governmental departments including planning, transport, health and education. As such, collaboration and partnership among those departments as well as public engagement have become prerequisite for successful implementation (McClintock 2002: 13; UN Habitat 2013: 26).

In summary, an overreaching cycling agenda would rely heavily on a joined coordination effort, which would be governed both horizontally and vertically. The next section will provide examples for both cases as well as instances when both are present.

3.2.2. Vertical and horizontal governance

Vertical Governance

Vertical governance is characterized by a focus on the communication and cooperation between national, regional and local government as well as drawing parallels to international actors. This process usually puts local governments in charge of designing and implementing area-specific cycling policies and activities while national and transnational levels of governance determine the best practices to do so and also secure funding (Buehler & Pucher, 2008: 509 - 510). In practice, this interaction is commonly formulated into a national cycling strategy or master plan that incorporates the necessary details, legal aspects and financial commitment. National cycling strategies also tend to set targets and provide guidance on how to reach them (Pucher & Buehler 2012: 20). Such strategies can be observed in the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany among other states.

All three of those countries relegated significant resources to rebuilding their cycling networks after their drop as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Since around 1980, their central governments started implementing cycling-stimulating policies and allocated funding used to allow local governments to construct safe cycle lanes. During the 1990s, these efforts morphed into National Bicycling Master Plans, which integrated cycling into the transport agenda across all regions. These plans benefited the current cycling efforts considerably as they channelled regional knowledge across each state and then used it to provide guidance. The master plans also enabled the central government to link regional cycling networks via cycle lanes, which encompassed multiple areas. Eventually, this transpired into the creation of transnational cycle routes governed by the EU, which also supported cycling research (Buehler & Pucher, 2008: 510).

Another example of vertical governance can be seen in the case of South Korea. Similarly to the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany, the 1990s brought South Korea’s first national cycling plan,
which amounted to 478 billion won which consequently got renewed and financed by an additional 500 billion won. The funds were spread around South Korea’s regional governments, which led to the construction of nearly 1500 km of cycle paths and various supporting facilities across the country. As a result, cyclist numbers commenced to steadily increase and reached 2.4% in 2002 when a target of 5% by 2013 was also set (UN Habitat 2013: 28).

**Horizontal governance**

On the other hand, horizontal governance focuses on the interaction between the government and various stakeholders including the public, a process that has been growing in complexity but also in importance (Meadowcroft 2007: 304). In the case of cycling, understanding the public and different stakeholders’ needs is essential as it allows for the subsequent communication and participation to transpire. What is more, this facilitates meeting each specific area’s needs but also allows for groups whose interests have been impaired such as car retailers, for example, to be addressed and possibly reconciled. Odense, Denmark and Santiago, Chile are adequate examples for horizontal governance.

The city of Odense has approximately 200 000 citizens which makes it the fourth largest city in Denmark. Building upon decades of experience and being supported by Denmark’s National Cycle Plan Odense has launched a number of interactive promotional programs, which aim to engage people of any age, gender or profession. To start with, Odense nurtures cycling ability from the very beginning with mandatory cycling education and safety activities for all students. There have been more than 300 such projects since 1979. Parents also have the option to borrow bicycle trailers and use them to take younger children to kindergarten or anywhere else. Older residents are approached with guided cycle rides while newly arrived immigrants have access to cycle training programs. In addition, all of those groups can freely use a bicycle route planning app for their daily journeys. Governmental authorities in Odense also actively work with local businesses many of which now provide their employees with bicycle they can use at their own convenience (Handy et. al. 2012: 173 - 174).

Horizontal governance has also proven successful in Santiago, Chile where the community-led organization Living City (Ciudad Viva) succeeded in establishing a proliferating cycling culture in a time when the public transport system was in a state of recovery from a near total collapse. The prize-winning institution achieved this by employing the so-called charrette methodology, which is founded on an intensive multi-day planning workshop involving all stakeholders. This allowed Living City to act as a catalyst among the many actors in Santiago and to push for a sustainable transport network based on cycling (Sagaris 2014: 74 - 75). By 2012, the citizen-led organizations had provided cycle training to many people with diverse backgrounds, extended the cycle path network from 50 km to 197 km and reached a steady annual growth in cyclist numbers of 20% since 2007. Living City has also put a lot of effort into changing the public’s attitude towards cycling which in 2000 was often defined by the media as antiquated and associated with poverty. In 2012, the bicycle had become a symbol of people’s support for the environment and their personal health. Even the 2010 elected president, Sebastián Piñera, took his victory photo while riding a bike (Sagaris 2014: 79).

**Vertical and horizontal governance combined**

Vertical and horizontal governance can achieve partial success on their own but the combination of them is what can not only increase cyclist numbers but also lead to a citywide modal shift from other unsustainable modes of transport. The following examples aim to accentuate that.

The Netherlands, where bicycle (approximately 23 000 000) outnumber inhabitants (approximately 17 000 000), is a common example of cycling strategy done right (Harms & Kansen 2018: 4). The Dutch government first officially integrated cycling into their transport development plan in 1976 in an attempt to restore cyclist numbers to their pre-industrial levels. The central government provided funding opportunities, legal support and guidance but, ultimately, empowered local authorities to create area-specific cycling plans which promote participation and provide safety to all (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 509 - 510). As a result of those ongoing efforts, by 2018 more than a quarter of all trips in
the Netherlands were being done by bicycle (Harms & Kansen 2018: 5). As the capital and most populous city in the country (approximately 743,000 people), Amsterdam has been an integral part of the process. Despite the formidable drop of cycling trips during the Industrial Era, from 75% to 25% of all journeys, cycling has been on the rise ever since the implementation of the first national cycling plan in 1976. Since then the city has invested heavily in bicycle parking facilities, over 450 km of cycle lanes, traffic calming regulation and anti-theft measures. In 2010, overall funding for cycling reached €70,000,000. Moreover, public participation has been secured through cycle training and education, which have been widely made available for anyone regardless of age, gender or nationality and obligatory for all students. In addition, schools have been supplied with bicycles, which can be loaned to any student for free. Amsterdam’s authorities are also working closely with businesses around the city and, in particular, with bicycle stores and workshop in order to deter bike thieves. They also actively engage in conflict resolution through programs such as “Park and Bike” which allows drivers to park their vehicle outside the city centre and cycle the rest of the way instead of spending much more time looking for a parking space in the city centre (Buehler & Pucher 2010: 36 - 39). Last but not least, a number of roads around Amsterdam have either been made to allow cars only one way or have been completely closed off for vehicle traffic. Altogether, the combination of vertical and horizontal governance in regards to cycling has been hugely successful with Amsterdam recording 48% of all journeys to have been made by bicycle in 2016 (Harms & Kansen 2018: 6).

Mixed governance has also been shown to accomplish set goals in cities where cycling has not been traditionally popular. Perth, Australia is an example of a low-density city that heavily relies on private vehicle availability in terms of citywide mobility. Car users used to account for 79% of the traffic while public transport was barely measured at 6% and active travel at 15% (12% walking and 3% cycling). Facing rising costs due to air pollution and social exclusion, in 2000, Perth’s authorities launched the Travel Smart programme as part of the Metropolitan Transport Strategy, which aims to considerably increase cycling, and public transport levels while limiting car use. Similarly to Amsterdam’s cycling plan, Perth’s program also has a strong vertical element which is expressed by guidance and funding provided by the central government. It’s horizontal element also resembles Amsterdam’s in regards to a partnership with businesses and schools but varied in its focus to not only empower cyclists but to systematically decrease driver numbers. Perth authorities engaged households on an individual basis via an area-specifically designed method, which successfully identified personal barriers to cycling and overcame them, where possible. The project translated into a 14% reduction in car journeys 61% of which were replaced by cycling, 35% by walking and 17% by public transport (Ashton-Graham et al. 2002: 274 - 284). The Australian government estimated that from 1998 to 2009 cycling in Perth increased by 450% (Department of Transport 2015). Following these promising results, this personalized method has been integrated into over 75 projects in 13 European cities (Ashton-Graham et al. 2002: 274 - 284).

3.2.3. Capital and Revenue policy components

From the examples provided in the previous section, cycling strategies have been identified to have two essential components: a capital component which consists of projects that are often fixed and operate over a long period of time such as cycle parking, cycle paths, signage, maintenance facilities; and a revenue component which consists of projects that focus on traffic calming, maintenance, promotion and operation costs such as cycling education activities. An extensive review of 139 research papers regarding such activities suggests a strong correlation between their intensity and cycling levels (Gössling 2013: 197). The two components have a symbiotic relationship and their effectiveness is greatly enhanced when they are used in unison with each other (Nelson & Scholar 2008: 12). The following section will look into both elements in more detail.
Capital Components - Bicycle paths and lanes

An essential element for the emergence and proliferation of a cycling community is the availability of cycle paths or cycle lanes. This capital component serves as a visual landmark in its respective area, aiding people who already cycle but also attracting more sensitive groups such as children or the elderly by providing a safe cycling space, especially when it is segregated from vehicle traffic (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 513). Dutch cycle paths have increased from 9 282 km in 1978 to 18 948 km in 1996 and Germany’s cycle path network has almost tripled in length from 12 911 km in 1976 to 31 236 km in 1996 (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 511).

Depending on their proximity to traffic, cycle paths can be divided into four different categories: shared streets where no dedicated cycling space exists; basic cycle lanes where the border between cycle and road space is indicated by striping; segregated cycle lanes which are physically separated from vehicle traffic by a barrier or a road curb; and standalone lanes which exist independently of any vehicle traffic and are usually found in parks or outside city areas. Evidence shows that cycle lanes are significantly more effective and beneficial the more disconnected from motor traffic they are. However, higher degrees of separation also entail greater construction cost and more space which often is the reason why governments tend to settle down with less secure cycle paths (Furth 2012: 108 - 109).

Figure 6: Bicycle lane example (Sustrans 2019)
(With permission of Sustrans)

Having said that, research points to the strong correlation between bicycle use and cycle lanes and if sustainable transport is to be pursued, the safety of cycle lanes is vital. Dangerous motor traffic has been repeatedly identified as the primary reason for the low numbers of cyclists in many North American cities as a very small percentage of the people who enjoy cycling are also willing to do it in heavy traffic. The majority of the population are defined as “traffic-intolerant” (Furth 2012: 108). Consequently, city authorities worldwide have begun designing the majority of their cycling infrastructure according to “Copenhagen style” cycle lanes (Figure 7) which erect a physical boundary between cyclists and road traffic. New York authorities recorded a doubling of cyclist numbers in such lanes in just two years (Gehl 2010: 11). In 2004, Berlin had 860 km while Amsterdam and Copenhagen each retained approximately 400 km of such cycle lanes (Buehler 2008: 511).
Capital Components - Bicycle parking

Widely available and secure bicycle parking is also identified as a considerable benefactor to rising cycling numbers. In general, people have a home and work destination, which they frequent but would also often have to make stops along the way. Providing accessible bicycle parking at as many key locations as possible not only sharply raises its convenience but also combats bicycle theft, which can rise exponentially if left unchecked. For example, in 2006 more than 50,000 bikes were stolen in Amsterdam (Buehler & Pucher 2010: 38).

Bicycle parking can vary widely in function and even more so in design ranging from simple racks that can be installed almost anywhere to full-service bike stations for popular public spaces. In terms of functionality, the guiding principle is for a bike’s frame and wheels to be both locked to the rack even though there are different ways to achieve this. In terms of design, cycle parking can be unsheltered or sheltered to different degrees some of which can be seen in Figure 8. Guarded parking or fully enclosed bike lockers are also options for theft and vandalism-prone locations, although more expensive (Pucher & Buehler 2012: 167 - 168).
Public transport as well as railway stations have been identified as key locations for cycle parking (Figure 9) by Dutch, Danish and German authorities and are also an appropriate location for basic repair and washing equipment (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 517). The city centre is another prime location for high quality cycle parking as it is where a large portion of employment opportunities are concentrated (Kenworthy 2006: 76 - 77). Many cities around Europe, for example Odense, Denmark and Groningen, Netherlands, provide cycle parking not only at transport hotspots but also at shopping areas and commercial centres (Pucher & Buehler 2012: 167 - 168).

![Figure 9: Bicycle parking at train stations (Pixabay 2019) (open source)](image)

**Capital components - Coordination with public transport**

The mutually advantageous relationship between cycling and public transport, which was explored in section 2.1.3., was identified to expand public transport’s catchment area as well as provide cyclists with a backup option during bad weather or against challenging topography. However, in order for city authorities to take advantage of those benefits cycling must first be integrated within the public transport network without hindering it.

As mentioned prior, cycle parking provision at key transport stations and cycle paths that lead to them are essential but planners should be mindful of their placement in order to avoid conflict with public transport users when they are embarking/disembarking from the vehicles. Among European cities, there have been two approaches to doing that. Most Dutch, Danish and German authorities design cycle paths to curve far behind transport stops, thus minimizing collision chances while larger cities like London, Paris or Berlin have allowed cyclists to use bus lanes as they often have extra capacity and buses usually move a lot slower due to their frequent stops (Pucher & Buehler 2012: 175 - 176). On the other hand, many cities in the USA, where 60% of all trips made with public transport are by bus, have...
focused on equipping the majority of buses with external bike racks. Since they don't take up space on the bus, are cheap to install and maintain as well as easy to work with, the percentage of buses with such devices in 2008 had reached 71% (Buehler & Pucher 2009: 82). The San Francisco Bay area has been particularly successful in such efforts and transformed 100% of its buses and achieved a tripling of cycling and public transport combined trips since 1990 (Buehler & Pucher 2009: 86 - 87).

Bike-sharing systems, also examined in section 2.1.3.1., can also be a considerable compliment to public transport as they can provide access to locations that otherwise have no direct transport connection and can also be a viable alternative during peak hours. Bike-sharing stations also usually have no closing times which can increase convenience during the very early or late hours when public transport is not that regular (Midgley 2009: 6). Moreover, in some countries around the world, for example Kenya, bicycles have also emerged as a competitor to taxis due to their negligible road space demand, low expenses and ability to quickly overtake vehicles during heavy traffic (Mutiso & Behrens 2011: 441). A study on New York’s CitiBike scheme has also concluded that in dense urban terrain bikes can easily contend with taxis in terms of travel time (Faghih-Imani et al. 2017: 20).

**Revenue components - Traffic calming**

Heavy traffic is a strong deterrent to cycling, especially to children, elderly and people with disabilities. A study comparing Brisbane, Australia’s mixed traffic system to Copenhagen’s segregated cycling system discovered that exposure to traffic correlates positively with cycling avoidance due to fear. What is more, fear has been shown to not only deter cyclists from joining the traffic but also from cycling altogether and thus, prevent its wide-scale proliferation in terms of both utility and recreation (Chataway et al. 2013: 40 - 41). A different study in the UK came to similar deductions but underlined recreational cycling as affected in much greater scale due to traffic (Foster et al. 2011: 2).

Because complete segregation is not always possible, many cities across Europe, especially in the Netherlands, implemented traffic calming measures as an alternative for mixed traffic roads. Traffic calming can be performed in several different ways. The most popular way is to reduce the legal speed limit as much as possible - usually bringing it down to 30 km/h. Another approach is to slow down traffic by altering the design of the streets themselves via narrowing or creating bottlenecks at specific sections of the road, repeated speed humps and raised sections. Avoiding the creation of long straight roads and instead creating curved or zigzag ones has also been shown to lower vehicle speeds considerably. Wherever possible, local authorities have also gone as far as prohibiting driving in city centres which not only significantly benefits active travel but mitigates congestion and pollution problems (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 514).

Cycling fatalities in the Netherlands, where traffic calming is widespread, are three times lower than in the United Kingdom and five times lower than the USA (Pucher & Buehler 2012: 20). Following the reduction of the average speed limit from 70 km/h to 40 km/h, the authorities in Kobylnica, Poland observed the steady improvement in cycling conditions and overall benefit to active travel (Zalewski 2002: 250). Overall, the implications of traffic calming to an emerging cycling community can be colossal and as such should be an important aspect of any cycle plan.

**Revenue components - Traffic education**

Road safety can also be improved by the provision of traffic education for both cyclists and drivers. Workshops and sessions teaching the proper skills needed to adequately control a bicycle are already provided in many countries around the globe. In the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany such courses are made available through schools where they also ensure that most children have received extensive traffic training by the fourth grade. Similarly to acquiring a driver's license, such workshops start off with an isolated environment training on a cycle track which is then followed by a supervised street practice. In the end, participants are tested by police officers who also issue certificates for successfully passing the course (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 519 - 520).
Educating drivers on how to treat cyclists on the road is equally as important as people on bicycles are significantly more vulnerable in the event of an accident. Drivers in the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany are taught to assume that pedestrians and cyclists will at some point make illegal and unsafe moves and thus, anticipate possible collisions. Active travellers (people who travel by using their own energy) that are jaywalking, cycling in the wrong direction or ignoring traffic signals are part of the final driver's license exam and unsuccessfully minimizing the risk during such encounters can easily lead to failure (Pucher & Dijkstra 2000: 24). Another crucial element in cyclist safety is their priority legal status when it comes to accidents. This essentially means that unless it can be proven beyond doubt that the active traveller deliberately caused the crash, motorist bear responsibility and act on the defensive.

The combination of cyclists and drivers’ education gears both groups with greater awareness when on the road and hence, greater safety.

**Revenue components - Promotional**

There are numerous tried and tested options employed by urban authorities for directly promoting cycling, ranging from tax breaks when purchasing a bicycle and workplace loaned bikes to cycling ambassador programmes and cycling competitions. Indirect measures in the form of increasing petrol costs and vehicles taxes or decreasing speed limits have also proven to be viable alternatives. As such, when trying to stimulate more people to get on their bicycles, planners should handpick the appropriate ones and tailor them so that the events can be relevant to the local community (Buehler & Pucher 2008: 521 - 522).

Organized group rides, led by an experienced cyclist, can serve to raise the confidence of other less frequent cyclists while also providing a stress-free social activity. Inexperienced cyclists also often need assistance with their bike’s maintenance needs which is why the so-called “Dr Bike clinics”, where basic maintenance checks and repairs are performed, usually free of charge, can successfully support an emerging cycling culture. Both events also provide people who are not cycling yet with a point of contact, where they can find advice on the type of bicycle they want to buy and the necessary accessories (McClintock 2002: 43).

Car-free days, weeks or months have also shown to be a fruitful way of spreading not only cycling but active travel awareness altogether. In essence, such events are quite straightforward as specific roads that have been selected in advance, are closed off to motorized traffic and instead opened to human-powered transport modes such as cycling, walking, skateboarding, etc. This allows people to experience the wide space usually reserved for traffic themselves and subsequently, envision a lifestyle void of vehicles. Furthermore, Car-free events also foster the sense of community and present opportunities for family-friendly activities. New York City launched a series of Car-free events in 2008 called “Summer Street” which closed off sections of the city to vehicle traffic on Sundays. This ongoing initiative has contributed to New York’s modal shift from motorized to non-motorized transport choice (Gehl 2010: 190).

Another effective, positive reinforcement tool for cycling is the cycle to work schemes, especially when implemented by big companies. Such initiatives usually allow employees to purchase a bicycle tax-free, which, however, can cost up to a set amount. Cycle to work schemes have been proven to diminish the need for parking spaces and thus, alleviate space issues as well as improve employee’s general health which reduces the number of sick days taken and consequently, increases productivity. One example is Lufthansa’s airplane maintenance depot in Hamburg, which has a staff force of approximately 7500 employees and has continuously had problems with providing enough car parking spaces. The company established its cycle to work scheme in 1990 and provided 30 spread around cycle parking facilities, circulated useful bicycle-related information via its internal communication system and created a bicycle repair service for all employees. Just weeks after its creation, cyclist numbers doubled and by 2002, 10% of all staff used a bicycle to journey to work. The similar cycle to work scheme of Nordmark Pharmaceutical Enterprise’s office in Uetersen achieved even greater results and reached 45% cycling trips of all journeys (Bohle 2002: 218 - 219).
Akin to cycle to work, the bike to school schemes aim to promote cycling among children while at the same time benefiting their health and helping them gain traffic experience in a controlled environment. Research has shown that bike to school initiatives are particularly effective when conducted with children aged 11 or younger which is when they can have the greatest influence over their future travel patterns. In the UK such initiatives have often been referred to as “cycle trains” and involve several adults leading all willing children via a safe route to school while following a strict timetable (Cleary 2002: 98). Sustrans, a sustainable transport charity in the UK, has also launched a similar project called “Safe Routes to School” which started with a 9-school pilot programme (McClintock 2002: 40) that has now grown into a fund accessible to any school around the country (Sustrans 2019).

Overall, such events and initiatives have proven instrumental in commencing a societal transport modal shift. Firstly, when successful, they have been shown to lead to a steady increase in cycling and allowed for the active travel movement to gain momentum. And secondly, the growing cyclist numbers translates to greater awareness of them and eventually greater governmental support (Gössling 2013: 204).

This last chapter looked over and identified the various policy components that are essential or beneficial towards the establishment of a cycling-focused community. By using the gathered literature and collected data, the cycling efforts in Glasgow will be analysed and evaluated in the next chapters.
4. Methodology

4.1. Methods

This study follows a three-part structure the first among which is dedicated to how the concept of sustainable development relates to urban transport. In the second part, the attention is shifted specifically towards cycling specifically and its growing relevance to sustainability efforts in the field of transport, urban mobility and the quality of life in urban areas. Examples from across the globe are presented and analysed by focusing on two dimensions: governance (horizontal and vertical coordination) and policy components (revenue and capital). The last part utilizes the above mentioned in addition to primary and secondary data to examine the success of the council’s efforts to reach the national target of 10% cycling of all journeys. The case of Glasgow’s South City Way (SCW) is also presented in order to further explore the council’s public engagement methods.

To begin with, the study has adopted a pragmatism worldview as it is strongly related to actions, situations and consequences. Pragmatism’s main concern lies with applications and solutions to problems; focused on discovering what works via pluralistic approaches via which to explore the different aspects of the case at hand (Creswell 2003: 12 - 13). On account of that, this study uses a convergent mixed methods approach, where qualitative and quantitative data is collected, analysed separately, and then merged.

Qualitative data was collected by the author who conducted and recorded nine anonymous, narrative, semi-structured interviews with professionals who work with Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling (GSPC) and continue to do so. They lasted between 15 and 30 minutes and participants included representatives of ScotRail, Glasgow City Council, GoBike, Free Wheel North, SoulRiders, Sustrans and Bike for Good. The only approached stakeholders who did not agree to be interviewed were from Glasgow’s bus companies: First, McGills and Stagecoach. All interviews started with a brief introduction, which was followed by questions regarding the role of sustainable development with the interviewee’s institution; their opinion on the national target; their experience with GSPC; and lastly, their experience with SCW. These guiding topics were developed in accordance with the thesis’ research questions and aimed to provide a local source of information that can be compared to Glasgow’s policy objectives. Side questions were often asked as well in order to elaborate the interviewee’s general state of affairs. Overall, the purpose of these interviews is to contribute to the reviewed knowledge via perceptions and experiences which supplements the theoretical analysis well (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006: 314; Esaiasson 2017). Anonymous interviews are uniquely suited for collecting deeper local knowledge and can often lead to unexpected revelations as respondents have more freedom of expression (Esaiasson 2017).

After the data collection the interviews were transcribed by the author in order to create a clear data set for analysis. The interviews’ examination was undertaken through a qualitative text analysis method – thematic analysis. This method is characterized by its three step process: descriptive coding (label keywords), interpretive coding (grouping keywords and interpreting their meaning), and defining overarching themes (highlighting themes that relate to the study’s concept) (Kind & Horrocks 2010: 152 - 158). The overarching themes are then compared and supplemented with secondary data provided by Police Scotland which relates to cycle theft in Glasgow; Sustrans which relates to cycle-to-school projects conducted in the South of Glasgow; Nextbike which underlines the use of Glasgow’s hire bike scheme; Department of Transport which presents information on transport modes used in Glasgow; and Glasgow City Council which summarizes public consultation comments and results.
4.2. Ethical considerations

Several notable ethical considerations were taken into account during data collection. First of all is the researcher’s influence. A scientific paper is expected to be as impartial as possible as influencing interview participants during the data gathering process would lead to false results and a loss of credibility. However, due to the interviews’ direct interaction, complete evasion of indirect and unintentional influence cannot be completely discounted and that holds truth for this study as well. It is acknowledged that respondents may have adapted their answers depending on a large array of unforeseeable and circumstantial factors (King & Horrocks 2010: 44).

The semi-structure adopted during interviews partially mitigated this but interviewees were also informed prior to their interviews that their personal details will not be shared and their answers will remain completely anonymous. Additionally, participants were made clear that the interview would not result in any direct financial or other compensation.

4.3. Limitations

Since this research can influence policy planners, it is important to note that it is not without limitations. Because of the time and length constraints associated with this thesis, the examples provided in the literature review only consist of widely known cases and literature in regards to governance outside the transport sector is missing. Thus, the thesis only provides a basic comparison with wider the wider world and an incomplete overview of governance from a political science perspective.

Furthermore, the study was limited by logistical and practical time limits. It attempted to involve as many stakeholders (policymakers, cyclists, NGOs, etc.) as possible in order to incorporate their point of view within the discourse and gain depth. Glasgow’s bus companies’ reluctance to participate in the interview phase also hinders the thesis as the public transport local perspective is only partially covered. Any future studies should try to extend such outreach in order to enhance the applicability and usefulness of the research.
5. Results

5.1. Primary data

Qualitative Interviews

All interviews followed a predetermined semi-structure, which initially explored their views, and experience with Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling (GSPC) and then re-focused its attention to the South City Way (SCW) project. All interviewees appeared to often interact with GSPC but to various degrees. For example, both Bike for Good and SoulRiders integrate the plan into most of their activities and also use its guidance when applying for funding. On the other hand, ScotRail refer back to the plan seldom, as its relevance to the railway company is limited. Nevertheless, the interviewees, apart from the Free Wheel North representative, express their content with GSPC and feel a notable improvement since its implementation in wider Glasgow transport developments.

On the other hand, several disadvantages are prominent in the majority of interviews. ScotRail and GoBike directly express their opinion that GSPC does not build connections with the public transport network. The majority of interviewees, especially the ones working for the council, underline an ongoing issue with the irregular funding opportunities and their inability to plan accordingly or long-term. Lastly and without an exception, all interviewees state that the current national target for cycling is unachievable not only in Glasgow but across the country.

Overall, the interviewees view the SCW as a definite improvement for the South of Glasgow. Bike for Good, SoulRiders, Sustrans and GCC all have multiple events connected to the cycle path that aim to engage and inform as many people as possible about the new cycle way to the centre. Public consultations are unanimously endorsed as a positive and helpful tool but also insufficient. The SoulRiders representative identifies them as being inaccessible by non-English speakers of which there are many in the South of Glasgow. Additionally, the Free Wheel North and GCC’s representatives underline a tendency for the same people to appear on most consultations. It was also a common opinion that feedback from consultations should be moderated and directed towards the design principles of a project instead of its technical aspects.

Most interviewees also expect the SCW to encounter a number of challenges upon its completion. Mentioned concerns are disabled access issues, conflict with motorized vehicles users over parking, insufficient level of segregation and ineffective traffic calming measures.

The transcript to each interview can be found in the Appendix section.

Funding information

The funding information accumulated by the author is represented in Figure 19 and underlines the irregular funding issue mentioned by several interviewees. The figure shows that apart from the Big Lottery Fund, all other opportunities are renewed on a yearly basis and each of them requires an annual application, which does not guarantee success.
5.2. Secondary data

The UK Department of Transport keeps a raw data count of motorized and non-motorized vehicles recorded during yearly counts. Analysing data projecting the number of bicycles and cars within the city from 2000 and 2017 indicated a steady increase in both transport options. Overall motor vehicles are also on the rise.

Police Scotland provided records of reported stolen bicycles in Glasgow’s area between 2014 and 2018. As a whole, the data suggests a slow decrease in bicycle theft across the city. This tendency is much more prominent in the SCW surrounding area where data shows cycle theft to have dropped from 467 bikes in 2014 to 291 in 2018.

NextBike supplied the author with their records of hired NextBike bicycles in Glasgow from September 2017 until January 2019. The data set provides a clear indication of a steady increase in hired bicycles regardless of the season. For example, rented bicycles in January 2018 were 5670 while in January 2019 they reached 16 277. The data follows a similar pattern when restricted to the South of Glasgow area.

Sustrans data regarding their 2017 - 2108 I-Bike school programme in the South of Glasgow demonstrates a significant modal shift with car journeys to school decreasing by 15.3% while bike ones increased by 10.1%.
6. Discussion - Glasgow’s Strategic Plans for Cycling and the case of the South City Way

6.1. Brief Introduction to cycling in Scotland

During the second half of the 20th century cycling policies and overall support for active travel was brought back to the limelight in the UK not only due to domestic but also international factors. Domestically, new urban approaches and the concept of green growth were gaining ground both of which highlighted the importance of less polluting modes of transport. Internationally, the escalation of oil price and thus, energy cost combined with rising environmental concerns further underlined active travel and cycling, in particular, as a way of addressing the energy crisis and climate change. In the end of the previous century the UK government launched its nationwide policy document “Transport 2010: A ten-year plan” which focused on boosting cyclist numbers, especially in the cities where 80% of British citizens live (Banister 2006: 276). However, there has hardly been any change during this period (Aldred & Jungnickel 2014: 78). Researchers suggest that a key reason for that is the lack of liaison between cycling and national identity. For example, unlike in the UK, Dutch and Danish perceive cycling as a beneficial resource that is part of everyday life (Freudendal-Pedersen 2015: 38; Aldred & Jungnickel 2014: 85). Creating and building up cycling as such a resource and not simply a hazardous sporty activity involves making cycling not only physically visible via infrastructure but also meaningful and culturally accepted (Aldred & Jungnickel 2014: 85).

Cycling Action Plan for Scotland 2010

Following the nationwide plan’s execution and its stagnant results, in 2010 Scotland initiated its own “Cycling Action Plan”. Spread over 17 actions, it aimed to promote cycling in educational facilities of all levels as well as workplaces while at the same time extending the Scottish cycle path network and collecting as much data as possible from it (Scottish Government 2010). The Scottish Government (2010: 1) also made the following pledge:

“By 2020, 10% of all journeys taken in Scotland will be by bike.”

At that point, in time cycling levels were fluctuating around the 1%, making this target a significant challenge for a population not used to cycling. Additionally, a big part of the £18 million budget (Scottish Government 2010: 31) was mainly attributed to extending the Scottish cycle network above the 1 926 miles it covered then (Scottish Government 2010: 17) while engagement with the population and employers received a lot less attention. In comparison, in the Netherlands, only for Amsterdam, the budget for cycling development was €70 000 000 (Buehler & Pucher 2010: 36 - 39).

Another hindrance to Scottish cycling effort came from the lack of legal and traffic law support. Unlike in many European countries, in 2011 Transport Scotland (2013: 21 - 22) decided against implementing a presumed liability law when it comes to non-motorized and motorized vehicle accidents based on the downwards trend road fatalities in the country up until 2009. However, when looking only at cycling fatalities, although fluctuating between 4 and 16 per year, they did not share the overall theme but instead stayed stable (Scottish Government 2010: 24). In 2011, 7 cyclists were fatally injured while 824 suffered a serious injury (Transport Scotland 2013: 41). The problem remained only partially addressed through encouraging 20 mph speed limits in residential districts around education zones (Scottish Government 2010: 25).

In the end of its duration, in 2013, despite increasing the national cycle path network, the plan only managed to achieve a 1% increase in cycling numbers bringing the national figure to 2% of all journeys (Glasgow Centre for Population Health 2013: 3). Travel to work and school, on the other hand, did not change from the 2% mark they were at prior (Cycling Scotland 2017: 12).
The “Cycling Action Plan for Scotland 2013 - 2016” updated and reworked the previously set 17 actions into 5 distinguished areas of development: Leadership and Partnership, Infrastructure, Integration and Road Safety, Promotion and Behavioural Change, Resourcing, Monitoring and Reporting (Transport Scotland 2013). By creating two categories (“Leadership and Partnership” and “Promotion and Behavioural Change”) focused on interaction among the active travel sector and with employers and various stakeholders, the plan recognizes the importance of public/private sector participation and engagement. Nevertheless, infrastructure development was not sidelined and by 2017 the Scottish cycle path network had increased to 2 300 miles (Transport Scotland 2017: 18). This re-focusing on vertical and horizontal governance in addition to the doubling of the active travel budget in 2014/2015 to £39.2 million - Figure 10 - contributed to the first slight but notable modal shift changes. Cycling Scotland (2018: 5) reported that 352 million miles were travelled by bike during 2016 which is an 13.5% increase compared to 2011. The increased interaction with schools and businesses saw cycle to work and school rates reach 5.1% in 2016 (Cycling Scotland 2018: 9). As no significant changes were made to traffic law or driver/cyclist interaction, one area where the 2013 - 2016 plan did not manage to achieve success is road safety where numbers did not change from their previous trend (Cycling Scotland 2017: 14).

![Figure 10: Scotland’s Active Travel budget 2010 - 2017 (Transport Scotland 2017: 22)](With permission of Transport Scotland)

The “Cycling Action Plan for Scotland 2017 - 2020” is the spiritual successor to the previous plan as it functions by the same 5 distinguished areas of development with very slight changes. The one major variation is the further doubling of the active travel budget to £80 million in 2018/2019 (Transport Scotland 2018).
6.2. Cycling in Glasgow

6.2.1. Glasgow

Glasgow is the fourth biggest city in the UK and the most populated one in Scotland, having over 620,000 citizens in 2017. It is situated on the West coast of the country along the river Clyde where it grew from a rural farming community to the largest Scottish seaport during the Industrial Revolution exporting chemicals, textiles and building sea vessels (Glasgow City Council 2019). Nowadays, Glasgow has a unique position when it comes to sustainable development as 12% of its population is identified as ethnic minorities, in comparison to 4% in Scotland, and 23% of residents are recorded to have a long-term disability, in comparison to 20% nationally. What is more, it is estimated that 1 in 5 people living in Glasgow is income deprived which is considerably more than on average in Scotland - 13% (Fenton 2017: 12).

These figures provide an additional level of complexity to policy makers but also identify the bicycle as a highly attractive transport option due to its much cheaper initial and maintenance cost than a motorized vehicle. Recognizing cycling’s positive effect on physical and mental health, and its potential to mitigate climate change, Glasgow City Council launched its first strategic plan for cycling in 2010. The plan closely followed the national strategy and recorded an increase in cyclist numbers who entered the city centre from 2,500 in 2007 to almost 10,000 in 2014 (Glasgow City Council 2015: 5). In 2016, the plan was updated and re-launched into its current 2016 – 2025 version.

6.2.2. Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling

From the start Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling 2016 - 2025 aims to be an inspirational document among all else with words like “safe” and “increase” being present in almost every page. The chosen photographs also all tend to be of healthy, smiling bicyclists from as many ages, religion, social and physical groups possible who are moving leisurely. This is done in order to appeal to the largely diverse population of the city. Most pictures also depict multiple bikes, which as the plan aspires to project cycling in Glasgow as a mass phenomenon. Surprisingly, all pictures show favourable weather conditions for a city that experiences rain almost every second day (Scottish-Places 2014).

Policy-wise, the new plan incorporates infrastructure development and community/business engagement in order to boost everyday cycling trips regardless of purpose. Four key themes are easily recognizable: a coherent network of cycle paths; a healthier city; increased numbers of cyclists; and safer travelling conditions. The plan also has a strong focus on providing training and support to schools in order to embed cycling in children’s mind-set from an early age. In an effort to broaden the scope of education facilities that offer cycle training support is offered to institutions to enable them to participate in on-road training as much as possible. Businesses have also been offered cycle training and support in order to expand cycle awareness among both drivers and cyclists. Information collected during interviews (Figure 11) with both representatives of GCC and bike workshops revealed that GSPC is also used as a guidance document for their own operational policies and funding applications while also noting down the contemporary irregular nature on the funding opportunities (explored more in section 6.2.3). Public engagement and behaviour change are addressed by hosting a number of different events around the city such as cycling fun days, Dr Bike sessions, organised rides, cyclist breakfasts, car free days, all of which were also mentioned by interviewees.
Since its implementation in 2016 GSPC has resulted in a 135% increase of cycling levels compared to 2010 (Glasgow City Council 2019). Data from the Department of Transport, shown in Figure 12, also supports this information and shows a clear trend towards higher cycling numbers. What is more, the plan is widely approved and looked up to by citizens who think that investing more in cycling instead of motorized vehicle development can benefit health and reduce air pollution. Study by Sustrans (2018: 2) concluded that 67% of Glaswegians envision the city to improve with the increase in cycling and 82% of residents prioritize cycle lanes and parking over vehicle traffic and parking.

**Figure 11:** Interviews thematic analysis on the use of GSPC in businesses (Data Source: Interview Transcripts)

**Figure 12:** Yearly Number of Bicycles in Glasgow (Data Source: Department of Transport 2019)

“Through this Strategic Plan we hope to encourage people to be more active, to get outside, to make more use of parks and open spaces.” (Glasgow City Council 2015: 8)
The GSPC enhanced cycling levels aid GCC in addressing a well-known Scottish challenge. Scotland has a nationwide problem with people living a static way of life and not partaking in the recommended levels of daily physical activity which has led to a constantly growing levels of overweight or obese individuals (Muirie 2017: 10). In 2017, it was estimated that 1 in 4 adults and 1 in 10 children in Glasgow were severely inactive and in danger of becoming overweight (Fenton 2017: 4). As mentioned before, a short daily cycle for people like that can have tremendous physical and mental health effects and subsequently reduce all-cause mortality. GSPC recognizes these facts and aims to project the individual as well as societal health benefits of cycling to the wider community.

Cycling’s health benefits also directly translate to economic benefit for the whole of Glasgow. Sustrans (2018: 2) assessed those to amount to £1.2 million annually, equivalent to the average salary of 54 nurses. There is reason to believe that this figure is substantially larger. Firstly, Sustrans only included reductions in mortality and not reductions in illness during their calculation, which would expand the number of affected people considerably. Secondly, Sustrans’ figure is based only on cyclists entering and leaving Glasgow’s city centre instead of expanding to the whole city. On the other hand, Glasgow’s Centre for Population Health suggests that the annual health economic benefit resulting from cycling is approximately £4 million (Muirie 2017: 13).

“We want Glasgow to be one of the most sustainable cities in Europe. Creating a cycle friendly city can not only help achieve that, but can also help to create a better urban environment for all with fewer cars and lower levels of congestion and pollution.” - Bailie Elaine McDougall Executive Member for Transport, Environment and Sustainability (Glasgow City Council 2015: 4)

GSPC also attempts to tackle the environmental challenge of the city in the face of growing congestion, pollution and deteriorating air quality as a result of over reliance on fossil-fuelled motor vehicles (Glasgow City Council 2015: 13). In the UK overall, it is estimated that 40 000 deaths every year can be directly traced back to heightened levels of particulate matter. And even though Scotland has successfully met its carbon reduction targets, emissions from the transport sector have actually not decreased. What is more, benefits from more fuel-efficient vehicles and the growing number of electric cars have been onset by the overall increase in motorized vehicle numbers and a falling fuel price (Committee on Climate Change 2016: 65 - 69). Similarly, despite decreasing annual mean levels of particulate matter, Glasgow has been repeatedly identified as a city infringing on European legal pollution targets. The main cause of that has been recognized as transport, and more specifically the numerous short motor vehicle journeys in the city which are most environmentally harmful due to the spike of initial engine temperature and fuel use (Muirie 2017: 12). Cycling Scotland (2017: 8) estimates that 73.1% of all journeys in Glasgow are below 5 km. Such trips are most easily substituted by cycling due to their short nature, which can alleviate some of the negative environmental effects.

Having said that, outside of several instances of “improve air quality” in the first 10 pages of the document, environmental reasoning is not so prominent in GSPC. “Poor air quality” has also been placed last of 9 challenges identified by the plan (Glasgow City Council 2015: 13). However, that should not necessarily be viewed as a negative because studies suggest that people usually find it difficult to relate to major environmental issues. Consequently, environmentalism is rarely given as a reason for starting to cycle in the first place (Aldred 2010: 43).
6.2.3. Components

6.2.3.1. Vertical Governance

In section 3.2.2, it was explored how strong central government leadership can navigate regional cycling development efforts by setting clear targets, providing guidance on effective public engagement tools and committing to continuous funding provision. However, literature and data from the conducted interviews both suggest that this is where GCC’s efforts fall short.

Firstly, there is strong indication that the national target of 10% cycling journeys from all trips countrywide by 2020 is severely misjudged. From the 9 interviews, not a single participant thought that Glasgow can reach the 10% bar which can be seen in Figure 13. The Sustrans and one of the GCC representatives expressed an opinion that isolated workplaces would be the only places where success would be found while the representative from Free Wheel North stated that the national target is so misdirected that it no longer featured in cycling development conversations. Interviewees indicated that, in the case of Glasgow, reaching the target was never even considered, as the majority of cycling infrastructure projects would not be completed by 2020.

Another major flaw preventing regional authorities, including Glasgow, from even attempting to achieve this goal is the insufficient amount of funding designated for active travel and also its irregular nature. Table 3 provides a list of publicly known funding opportunities available to local authorities and institutions in 2019. A significant problem comes from the fact that all funds only allow for yearly projects and require re-application every year. This essentially means that stakeholders cannot plan long-term as funding may or may not be available every year. The interviewed GCC councillor further explained that multiple-layer projects as a major cycle path can easily become disjointed due to, for example, funding not being available for cycle parking once the cycle path is complete. A further issue stems from the fact that the cycling funding made available by the Scottish Government does not reflect

Figure 13: Interviews thematic analysis on vertical governance desynchronization (Data Source: Interview Transcripts)
the set target. Table 2 shows that while investment for cycling development has been increasing with time, it still represents a significantly lower proportion of overall transport spending. As it stands currently, 4% of transport spending is devoted to achieving a 10% target.

A regional example of cycling culture aspiration being supported by sufficient funding is Edinburgh. The city council has slowly been increasing the percentage of funding made available for capital and revenue active travel projects with a commitment of 5% in 2012/13, 6% in 2013/14, 7% in 2014/15, 8% in 2015 and 9% in 2016/17. The increased spending has boosted both public transport and cycle use throughout the city while decreasing car use (Spokes 2015: 3 - 4). Edinburgh also remains the only city in Scotland with a 7.7% cycle to work residents number (Cycling Scotland 2018: 27). However, in most other Scottish cities, including Glasgow, inadequate vertical governance, in the face of insufficient finance availability and post-deadline infrastructure completion, has not only made achieving the 10% goal highly unlikely but has also crippled two of the four pillars Kennedy et al. (2005: 396) have identified as essential for a successful sustainable urban transport system.

Table 2: Scottish Transport and Cycling Budget (Data Source: Transport Scotland Statistics 2018)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total cycling (millions £)</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total transport (millions £)</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>2019</td>
<td>2108</td>
<td>2125</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cycling % of total</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provider</td>
<td>Funding Organisations</td>
<td>Minimum</td>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
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<td>Contact</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cycling Scotland</td>
<td>E-Bike Grant</td>
<td>£30,000</td>
<td>£150,000</td>
<td>Annual</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>£30,000 - £150,000</td>
<td>Grant Officer</td>
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6.2.3.2. Capital and revenue projects execution

**Safe Cycling in Glasgow**

In section 3.2.3, this study reviewed the importance of perceiving cycling as safe to its growing popularity among the public. Supplying easily accessible cycle lanes and lowering traffic speeds were identified to have a direct correlation to cycling proliferation. The number of registered motor vehicles in Scotland has been constantly rising reaching 2.86 million in 2015 (of which 2.54 million were personal vehicles) (Transport Scotland 2016). Reassuringly, despite that, surveys showed that in 2013 the total number of traffic injuries were at their lowest in Scotland, decreasing by almost 50% when compared to 2009. However, accidents involving a cyclist rose by 16% with ones, which resulted in the cyclist being admitted in hospital increasing by 34%. Surveys also indicated that casualty rates were highest in Scotland’s largest cities (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee), and, in particular, within their most economically deprived area where casualties were 1.4 times more common than in the most affluent suburbs (Whyte & Waugh 2015). This can suggest either that socioeconomically deprived communities are more prone to cycle or that safety measures are lacking in such areas. Possibly, a combination of the two. Regardless, among Scottish authorities, Glasgow has seen the biggest increase with licensed number of cars reaching approximately 1.1 million in 2017 - Figure 14 - and, as mentioned before, includes a significantly higher number of economically deprived people. Hence, the greater need for segregated cycle lanes and stricter traffic calming measures.

![Figure 14: Yearly Number of Cars in Glasgow (Data Source: Department of Transport 2019)](image)

Compared to 2006 when Glasgow’s cycle network was only 116 km, in 2015 GCC has succeeded in creating 310 km of cycle lanes which include commuter routes, signed routes in parks and open spaces, signed ‘quiet ways’ and local routes (Glasgow City Council 2015: 23). Furthermore, GCC has vouched to further expand the network to 400 km in 2025 (Glasgow City Council 2015: 18). What should be taken into consideration, however, is that a significant part of this length are shared bus lanes which offer the lowest level of traffic separation and thus, the lowest level of safety for cyclists. This was also pointed out and stressed by the GoBike representative during the interview. GCC does not offer clear information on the proportion of physically segregated lanes either currently or as they will be after future developments which makes it hard to judge the degree of success they will have. In comparison with shared lanes, the recently built and fully segregated West City Way highlights the prominence of safety. A study done along the cycle path found out that more than 1 in 5 people cycling along it had initially used a different mode of transport. What is more, the majority of respondents...
claimed they use the path regardless of it prolonging they overall journey. The study also concluded that, in addition to safety, the raised curb resulted in more cycle confidence, especially during peak times (ODS Consulting 2015: 23 - 26).

To further boost safety, tackle the increasing accident numbers and their severity GCC have introduced 65 mandatory 20 miles per hour zones covering over 160 km of road since 2011 (Glasgow City Council 2015: 20). The first such areas were established in 2010 focused on schools and education institutions and then steadily expanded to include popular public spaces as well. In March 2016, the whole city centre was included as a 20 miles per hour zone (Glasgow City Council 2016).

“Quite simply, reducing speeds within communities can save lives.”
(Glasgow City Council 2015: 20)

There is clear evidence, which links low-speed zones to improved safety and reduction to both number of accidents and their severity, especially when compared to even 30 miles per hour zones (van Schagen 2006; Grundy et al. 2009). Data on the effectiveness of Glasgow’s traffic calming measures is not available but a study on them in Edinburgh revealed that low-speed zones improve general perceptions of cycling and has led to a rise in the number of children walking (63% to 65%) and cycling (4% to 12%) to school, as well as playing on their own outside their home (31% to 55%). (Edinburgh City Council 2015).

Bike Security in Glasgow

Bicycle parking has been shown to directly correlate with bicycle theft and thus, cycling popularity. GSPC does not directly address the issue and lacks any kind of information on the subject which can prove to be detrimental to cycling GCC efforts overall. The subject is indirectly referred to by the council’s pledge to add 100 bicycle parking spaces each year as it has done since 2007 (Glasgow City Council 2015: 28). This is insufficient at best as a report done by Sustrans (2018: 11) concluded that only 28% of Glaswegians think that bicycle security is adequate throughout the city. What is more, Police records show that every year in Glasgow more than 1000 bicycles are stolen. Figure 15 projects a slight tendency towards a reduction in theft but it should also be acknowledged that Glasgow appears to be prone to surges in such criminal activity, which can be observed, by the number of stolen bikes in 2014 and 2017. As such, it is possible that Glasgow will experience another bicycle theft surge in the near future.

The indication of ongoing cycle theft and negative public opinion when it comes to bike security should be acknowledged and acted upon. Otherwise, it would continue to hinder citywide cycling proliferation efforts.
Cycling and Public Transport Integration in Glasgow

Earlier, in sections 2.1.3. and 3.2.3., this study explored the symbiotic relationship between properly combined cycling and public transport systems. Coordination between the two allows for further away cycle trips while also expanding the catchment area of each public transport station.

“And let’s face it, we won’t get people to suddenly start cycling 30 miles.” - ScotRail representative

However, this is also another aspect where GSPC’s efforts are limited. Both GoBike and ScotRail representatives stressed the lack of coordination between the two transport modes (Figure 16). As a result, support for combined trips is uneven with cycling only being facilitated in some train stations by having installed bicycle parking and trains allowing usually two bicycles on board. ScotRail has further supporting cycling via establishing a 12-station hire-scheme, which supports approximately 100 bikes, and also maintaining a “Cycle Rescue” service for any cyclists who have founded themselves stranded along their journey. Last but not least, ScotRail has managed a £400,000 Cycle Fund which is accessible by any councils and community organisations that aim to deliver projects linking active travel and train use while also reducing congestion and pollution (ScotRail 2019).

On the other hand, cycling support among public bus transport is non-existent. By exploring bus operators’ policies on cycling via information provided on their website several key points became apparent. The majority of bus service providers will only accept a folding bike that, however, has been packaged or put in a bag while normal bikes are not allowed on any bus apart from specific ones operated by Stagecoach:
• Citylink - a subject to availability of accommodation, bicycles in a box/bag
• Stagecoach - non-folding bicycles are only allowed on a very limited number of buses which have been specifically equipped for that purpose while folding ones can be transported via all vehicles as long as they are in a suitable container
• First - only folding bikes in a box/bag allowed
• Megabus - only folding bikes in a box/bag allowed
• National Express - only folding bikes in a box/bag allowed

It should also be noted that all bus providers operating in Glasgow were approached for an interview on the subject but outright refused or ignored the query, indicating there might be a certain level of discontent over the topic. Further prove on that can be found in the GSPC document where ScotRail features as a partner to the plan whereas none of the bus companies do so (Glasgow City Council 2015: 16).

**Figure 16:** Interviews thematic analysis on coordination de-synchronization between cycling and public transport in Glasgow (Data Source: Interview Transcripts)

**Glasgow’s Public Bike Hire Scheme - NextBike**

Glasgow’s public bike hire scheme allows individuals who wish to use a bicycle but do not own one to do so by registering with Nextbike either online, via an app, or by phone. Having done that, they can hire bikes from and return them to any of the 66 locations across the city through the NextBike app by phone, or using a rental card obtainable from the company. Costs vary according to subscription type. An annual subscription of £60 allows the user to have a NextBike for free during the first 30 minutes after which there is a fee of £0.50 for every additional half an hour up to £5 per 24 hours. Less frequent users can decide to purchase an initial £10 credit, which sets the cost of each rental to £1 per 30 minutes up to a maximum of £10 in any 24-hour period. All of Glasgow’s universities have also subscribed to the scheme and provide free memberships to their staff and students (NextBike 2019).

Data provided for this study by NextBike helps to evaluate how much the scheme has managed to influence travel behaviour in Glasgow. In its first year of operation, 2014 - 2015, NextBike recorded...
approximately 76 000 hires with average trip distance and time being, respectively, 2 km and 10 minutes. Bikes were used up to 4 times more frequent during the summer months (June-August) compared with the winter period (December-February) (Muirie 2017: 36). From Figure 17 it is calculated that the number of yearly rentals has risen to above 218 000 - almost 3 times more. Both journey time and length remain similar with more than half lasting between 3 - 15 minutes and travelling between 1.93 km and 2.08 km (NextBike 2016: 7). 84% of the rentals being kept for under 30 minutes (NextBike 2016: 5) which can be attributed to NextBike’s annual subscription option but also to Glasgow’s high proportion of trips under 5 km.

Figure 17: NextBike rentals in Glasgow (Data Source: NextBike)

Figure 17 shows a clear tendency of increasing hired-bicycle use in Glasgow, a trend that is shared among all the other three locations where NextBike is available - Bath, Stirling and the University of Warwick (NextBike 2016: 3). Similarly to the 2014/2015 period, a positive correlation between the number of rental and the season can be traced in 2017/2018 with hired bicycles in January 2018 being 4 to 5 times lower than in July the same year. It is safe to assume then that weather greatly affects people’s likelihood of using the NextBike scheme, which is common in most European, and North American schemes as seen in section 2.1.3.1. However, it should also be recognized that despite weather temperatures and humidity averages being the same (Time and Date 2019) there has been a major increase in rental numbers even during the winter months. For example, during December 2017 and January 2018 rentals reached, respectively, 6,107 and 5,670 while a year later in December 2018 and January 2019 rentals had risen to, respectively, 12,636 and 16,277. The same can be observed when comparing the autumn months. These figures not only further prove the rising popularity of NextBike and thus, cycling overall, but also suggest that weather is not such a massive obstacle.

Overall, data implies that the NextBike scheme is actively contributing to growing cycling community and use throughout the city. It also directly stimulates cycling to work as commuters forming a large proportion of overall users (NextBike 2016: 5). The Glasgow Centre for Population health has also stated that NextBike registration data includes a large proportion of female cyclists which contributes to a more inclusive cycling experience in Glasgow (Muirie 2017: 36). By normalising cycling as a standard travel option and providing a low-cost alternative to the high proportion of under 5 km trips in Glasgow, NextBike directly contributes to the city’s effort at lowering congestion and
Improving air quality. What is more, it enhances the image of cycling as a valuable part of public transport. Therefore, it is safe to assume that NextBike can positively affect the public mandate of cycling in Glasgow and consequently increase investment in the field of active travel (Goodman et al. 2014: 7).

**Cycling to Work, School and for Leisure in Glasgow**

One of the targets set in the GSPC is for the number of children cycling to school to at least double - from 3.5% to 7% by 2025 - as well as for bike training (Bikeability) and parking to be accessible in any school (Glasgow City Council 2015: 18). Similarly to the national target, these goals have also proven to be challenging. As of 2015, the majority of students were driven to school with only a fraction cycling - 5% for primary and 1% for secondary schools. Despite GCC’s efforts, the last 20 years have shown a steady drop of active travel journeys to school in favour of greater car use (Fenton 2017: 4; Cycling Scotland 2017: 37). Possible reasons for that can be the perceived safety risk of parents letting their children cycle to school on their own as well as inadequate cycling infrastructure as implied by a survey done by Sustrans (2016) which also recorded that almost 10% of all students in Glasgow would rather cycle to school instead of being driven or using the public transport. Participants the Scottish Household Survey who drove their children to school indicated convenience (41%), safety (20%), too far a distance to walk (16%) and speed (14%) as the top reasons for their transport choice. (Transport Scotland 2015). These finding are backed up by the fact that most cycling infrastructure projects in Glasgow have not yet been completed and thus, there is a lack of convenient and safe paths to schools.

On the other hand, GCC’s efforts have seen a more positive response when it comes to cycling to work. Data shows that from 2001 to 2011 the proportion of people cycling to work remained more or less unchanged fluctuating around 1.5% (Understanding Glasgow 2011). Since the implementation of GCC’s cycling plans this percentage has risen to 2% in 2015 and then to 3.5% in 2016 (Cycling Scotland 2017: 37).

Outside of cycling to work and school, leisure cycling does not seem to currently be a priority for GCC. It was not covered by the 2010 - 2020 strategic plan and made its first appearance in the 2016 - 2025 plan for cycling but is only always mentioned along with sport, commuting or performance cycling. During interviews, the GoBike, Soulriders and one of GCC’s representatives also commented and made the same point. This can be considered as a missed opportunity for further cycling popularization because, as it can be seen in Figure 18, leisure cycling constitutes almost a third of all trips in Glasgow. Another characteristic that has been overlooked in the document is the high proportion of ethnic minority groups in Glasgow (12%). Sustrans (2018: 4) estimates that only 5% of cyclists are older than 65 years, 32% are women and 8% are not white. These statistics underline a problem of inclusivity where cycling is dominated by white, middle-age males which, however, has not been addressed in either GSPCs.
As its most ambitious, expensive and extensive project yet, South City Way has been the focus of much media as well as community attention. During the interviews conducted for this survey it was referred to as an example of what both GSPCs represent. It is also a highlight of GCC’s proactive engagement, provision of clear and accessible information, high quality cycling infrastructure and timely dialogue with local communities about local transport infrastructure plans. In light of this, the case of SCW will be analysed as a source that provides deeper understanding on GCC’s efforts to establishing a long-lasting cycling community.

**6.2.4. South City Way - an example of community engagement**

Following an extensive evaluation, design and assessment process, in August 2016 Glasgow City Council was awarded a £3.25 million funding from the Scottish Government which is matched by a further £3.25 million provided by the council itself for the construction of a modern, safe and adhering to Danish standards cycle lane along a main road in the South of Glasgow-SouthCityWay. Its aim is to link the South part of the city to its overall cycle network while at the same time providing a fast, safe and comfortable cycling route to the city centre. The cycling infrastructure project is delivered alongside continuous promotional activities organized in part by cooperating with various community cycle groups - Bike for Good, SoulRiders, Free Wheel North, South West Community Cycles and Cycling UK (Glasgow City Council 2019). Apart from increasing cyclist numbers, these engagement activities aim to address wider community concerns and issues and simultaneously to boost accessibility and participation (Glasgow City Council 2019). They can be divided into three separate categories - direct promotional activity, school’s outreach and council/community interaction.
SCW Direct Promotional Activity

GCC approached promotion via several different avenues. To begin with, the SCW project team attended several public events such as the launch of Bike for Good’s workshop in the area where they set up a stall. During the event, the team answered questions and provided information on the project and travel planning. The team’s physical attendance is supplemented by a 12-metre banner that is exhibited over the M74, a nearby motorway. Ideas for its design and slogan are also open to local artists (Glasgow City Council 2019).

Following that, in the summer of 2018 GCC collaborated with a number of community groups operating around SCW and assisted in the organization of the area’s first street festival, which took place along the cycle path. The event featured live music, Dr Bike, led rides, kids cycling activities and more (Glasgow City Council 2019). It also was the beginning of the Bike for Good supported loyalty card scheme, which, as explained by the Bike for Good representative during the interview, stimulates cyclist to explore as many of the shops located along the cycle path and collect rewards. However, the interviewee also added that the scheme was not as popular as hoped which is why it will be relaunched in the near future. As an additional effort to promote and engage the community, GCC has launched a small grant fund accessible by local community groups, which can apply for up to £5,000. These finances are designated to allow for a local expression of encouraging travel by foot or bike, or improve the appearance of areas, alongside the South City Way or within 500 metres of it. The funds have so far been used to organize led cycle rides, setting up a local walking group, creating a community artwork, planting trees and repurposing car parking spaces (Sustrans Showcase 2018).

Lastly, the project was popularized by the creation of several new NextBike Stations along the cycle path. Data collected from them and previously installed stations, depicted in Figure 19, suggests an increase in cycling activity in the region, which, however, is much more modest then in Glasgow as a whole. This can be attributed to the not yet completed cycle path and the lack of other segregated cycle lanes and is expected to change with the project’s completion. A cycle counter installed on the South West City Way, which goes through a neighbouring area, recorded passing cyclist over 200 days. After the cycle path was completed, passing cyclists averaged at 500 per day with a clear increase over time (MacPherson 2017: 5).

![Figure 19: SCW area NextBike rentals (Data Source: NextBike)](image-url)
Overall, these activities draw attention to the SCW project and establish an ongoing presence of the project theme thus, opening the community for an ongoing dialogue. What is more, providing an opportunity for local communities to customize their cycle space and for local artists to design the promotional banner and thus, contribute to the initiative increases the chances of a favourable project reception by the community as it was explored in section 2.1.2. Interviewees from Bike for Good, SoulRiders and GCC also accentuated the value of a physical cycling prioritizing infrastructure on a main road and its capabilities of self-promotion. Concerns by the Free Wheel North and GoBike representatives were also voiced regarding the lack of disincentives for driving in GSPC and as a result in SCW where several intersections do not currently grant priority to the cyclist, thus heightening accident risk. This can prove to be severely detrimental to the effect of the SCW project, especially when being reminded of the fact that cycling injuries have increased in Scotland by 16%, mostly in big cities such as Glasgow (Whyte & Waugh 2015).

### SCW promotional activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raise awareness and popularize cycling events along the SCW:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Launch festivity</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Small businesses exploration scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bike for Good/SoulRiders' various cycling events</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Making driving less attractive activity:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. GoBike protest activity to reduce motorized-vehicle privileges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. GSPC's limited information on the benefits of decreasing car dependency</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. SCW intersections' right of way obscurity</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCW's self-promotion:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. SCW's physical presence encourages people to cycle.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. SCW completed segments can change opponents' opinion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. SCW is a straight, segregated path on a main road, showing GCC's dedication to cycling.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 20:** Interview Comments on SCW Promotional activity (Data Source: Interview Data)

**School's Outreach in the SCW area**

GCC’s schools outreach and cycle training provision has been managed and channelled through Sustrans’ I-Bike-Officer initiative. Starting in 2017 and finishing in 2018 an I-Bike-Officer was assigned to the South of Glasgow area and conducted an array of different cycling activities during both school times and summer vacation in 13 schools. In his own words, he always aimed to portray that:

**“SCW is safe for children and teaches them about traffic!”** - Sustrans representative

During the year the I-Bike-Officer conducted 484 activities which lasted 961 hours and were attended by 17,588 students, 1,144 staff and 552 parents. Sustrans carried out surveys pre and post project in order to evaluate its success and potential to stimulate a modal shift towards active travel. Data from both of those was provided to the author by Sustrans and is visible in Table 4. The success of the programme quickly becomes apparent with cycling increasing by 10.1% while car use declined by 15.3%. These results are significantly higher than the Glasgow average of 2% to 3% and indicate the
potential for citywide change when students are provided with a safe cycle path to and from school as well as training and education on cycling. Implemented across the city, it is highly likely that the I-Bike-Officer support scheme would significantly boost cycle-to-school levels, especially in schools, which also are connected by the Glasgow cycle network.

**Table 4:** Sutrans’ Schools Outreach project results (Data Source: Sustans)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pre 2017 – 2018 South Glasgow % Transport to School Modal Split</th>
<th>Post 2017 – 2018 South Glasgow % Transport to School Modal Split</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bike</td>
<td>Walk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bike</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>51.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pre 2017 – 2018 South Glasgow % Transport to School Modal Split</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bike</td>
<td>Walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bike</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Post 2017/2018 South Glasgow Project Results**

|                  | 10.1% | 1.9% | 4.5% | -15.3% | 0.1% | -2.5% | 1.1% |

**Council/Community Interaction**

The main tool of GCC when interacting with the local community during the planning and construction of SCW have been consultations with the public. Such events comprise of the project team presenting their plan and design for the cycle path as well as addressing any past concerns while noting down new ones. Public consultations are the instrument through which council/community interaction is facilitated and channelled. In the case of the SCW, there have been more than ever before, as mentioned during the interview with GCC’s representative. Up until the end of 2018, the council had hosted 6 such consultations with attendance ranging from 25 to over 50 people of which on average more than half left feedback. To stimulate attendance GCC cooperated with Bike for Good who often provided free bicycle servicing during such events (Glasgow City Council 2019).

The pre-construction and early-construction phases received overwhelmingly positive feedback from residents, businesses and future users of the cycle path (Glasgow City Council 2019) which indicated the enthusiasm of the local community for the project. Recurrent comments during those events were: “The more dedicated cycle lanes the better.”; “More segregated facilities.”; “These projects are visible demonstrations of the Council’s commitment to active transport.” (Glasgow City Council 2019). Additionally, during the conducted interviews one of the GCC representatives who attended those consultations said the following:

“*During the community consultations, we’ve actually been worried that we haven’t had that much negative feedback. We received a few bits and pieces when we started working outside of shops but even then, the majority of the feedback was favourable.*” - GCC representative
A separate, specifically designed, consultation was held on the 23rd of May 2017, which targeted local business owner concerns and reservations about the project. During the event, information was provided about the superior economic benefits of more cyclists and pedestrians than vehicle drivers were. Also explained in section 3.1.1., there is conclusive evidence of the wider economic advantages of active travellers, which includes higher retail value and trade that is more frequent. Despite studies showing that cyclists tend to spend less per visit, they purchase items from shops on a greater frequency (Raje & Saffrey 2016: 18). The majority of attendees indicated their reassurance and were supportive of the investment being made throughout the area. As a result of this interaction, GCC segmented the construction of the cycle path in order to shorten and lessen the impact of construction works on traders along the road. The consultations have also aided the SCW project team in identifying key locations where the increased cycle traffic was not supported by sufficient cycle parking. One such example are the Govanhill Baths and the surrounding shops which now has a 14-bike storage space along with a widened footway (Glasgow City Council 2019). Their effectiveness is reflected in Figure 22, shows that cycle theft in 2018 has gone down by almost 50% from its 2014 levels.

![Figure 22: Bicycle theft levels in the SCW area (Data Source: Police Scotland)](image)

Overall, evidence suggests that public consultations by their results and interviewees (Figure 23), are performing well as both a way for the local community to express their thoughts and opinions as well as an information source allowing the council to prevent possible future conflicts and issues overall. Interview data, however, suggests that the public consultation method is not sufficient, especially when it comes to a culturally diverse area such as the South of Glasgow. Both Bike for Good and SoulRiders have their workshops in the SCW area, which allows them to collect a lot of first hand experiences and opinions regarding the cycle path and GCC’s engagement. Both representatives mentioned the diverse nature of the community with the SoulRiders one claiming that there are over 40 different languages spoken locally. As such, it is possible that people whose first language is not English might be deterred from attending public consultations due to a communication barrier that is, otherwise, unseen in other less culturally diverse communities. Furthermore, the interviews with GCC representatives also revealed that consultations, regardless of where they are, are often in part attended.
by dedicated cyclists who do not reside in the project’s area but want to support further cycling investment and development. Despite being a sign of Glasgow’s cycling community’s commitment, in the case of SCW the combination of these occurrences can lead to projects being shaped by external opinions instead of local ones. A further testament to that possibility is the previously mentioned lack of representation for Glasgow’s high proportion of minority groups. Keeping that in mind, the risk of investment reinforcing existing cycling inequalities should be recognized and mitigated by the council as much as possible (Understanding Glasgow 2011).

Figure 23: Interview thematic analysis on public consultations (Data Source: Interview Transcripts)

**SCW’s Presumed Future Challenge**

The question of SCW’s inclusiveness was where interviewees were most uncertain and also where opinions were the most polarised. Most interviewees mentioned they have personally or have knowledge of people who have experienced both drivers and pedestrians disregarding the cycle path and obstructing cycle traffic along it. Moreover, commonly encountered comments during public consultations also insinuated the problem: “Car parking in cycle track is a problem.”; “Need some way to stop cars parking on SCW.” (Glasgow City Council 2019). This problem is even more impactful for people with disabilities as stated by the Free Wheel North representative. Users of the organization’s vehicles, which are suited for people with various disabilities (Figure 24), would find
it significantly challenging to tackle such obstructions as some of them would not have the confidence or ability to circumvent a car parked on the cycle path.

Figure 24: Free Wheel North’s pedal-powered vehicles for people with disabilities (Free Wheel North 2018: 6) (With permission of Free Wheel North)

On the other hand, during the interview, the GCC counsellor explained that dedicated cycle paths are a new feature for Glasgow and drivers are not used to them. GCC’s representatives further elaborated that the issue will be ameliorated with the project’s completion as that is when traffic wardens would officially be able to fine irresponsible drivers. Evidence, however, suggests otherwise as both physical segregation of the cycle path and traffic warden coverage have proven insufficient in some cases, which can be seen in Figure 25. Connecting this issue to the previously mentioned one regarding priority on intersections points to the conclusion that road safety will continue to be of a concern even with the cycle path and would not only possibly deter the less confident or disabled cyclists but also mitigate the positive effects resulting from Bike for Good, SoulRiders and Sustrans’ efforts to stimulate cycling among people who would normally use another mode of transport.

Figure 25: A Glasgow driver parking over a designated cycle path (Free Wheel North 2018: 2) (With Permission of Free Wheel North)
In this last chapter, the study looked into GCC’s efforts of establishing a cycling community in Scotland’s most populous city both by analysing citywide efforts and the specific instance of SCW. This identified the difficulty of achieving a fluent collaboration among the different levels of government, both funding and target-wise, as well as the lack of attention on inclusivity but also underlined the success of Glasgow’s public hire bike scheme and I-Bike-Officer initiative. The performance of other areas was not so easy to judge as for example the public consultation methods used by the council. Although effective, they might not necessarily represent the needs of culturally diverse areas such as the South of Glasgow. In summary, these mixed results confirmed and further demonstrated that without sufficient funding from the central government, which reflects the set targets cycling aspirations cannot be achieved up to the desired standard.
7. Conclusion

Transport has been pinpointed as one of the greatest contributors to climate change being responsible for a massive part of global CO\textsubscript{2} emissions. In relation to that, this paper identified cycling as a main component to establishing an active, sustainable travel system, which can benefit the environmental through lowering congestion, and improving air quality; the economy through new employment opportunities and lower health costs; and society through providing a widely accessible and interaction-friendly transport option. In spite of this, in Scotland as a whole as well as in Glasgow, in particular, the number of motor vehicles is increasing while cycling levels have grown slightly but as a whole have stagnated over the past ten years among both children and adults. Research demonstrated that:

- National transport funding allocation for active travel does not reflect set targets, which in turn will be widely, if not completely, unachieved.
- Bicycle numbers are increasing in Glasgow but at a slow pace. Nevertheless, cycling potential in the city is high as indicated by the results of Sustrans’ I-Bike-Officer programme.
- The minor shift towards cycling is also highly unlikely to be enough to tackle the escalating issue of population inactivity and obesity thus, reinforcing the likelihood of ill health during the future.
- Safety is expected to remain an obstacle for cycling as combined road traffic accidents have experienced a major decrease in Scotland but the ones involving a cyclist, specifically, have grown.
- Public consultations are an effective but not universal public engagement tool. Implementing them in culturally diverse areas, such as the South of Glasgow, involves a language barrier, which can lead to projects being catered to foreign and not regional needs.
- Current infrastructure is prone to violation by drivers and current council regulation has not been effective at discouraging this behaviour. Hence, many people, ones with disabilities in particular, would be deterred from cycling.

Through bringing together a lot of research done on cycling in Scotland and its own interview experience, this study made it clear that there are multiple policies and initiatives in Scotland and in Glasgow, which aim to be supportive of cycling. GCC and its strategic plans serve as a source for information and guidance for many smaller institutions and also aid in securing investment within the city. GSPC 2016 - 2025 provides a clear vision of what the council aspires its transport system to look like in the future. Via the plan, GCC also recognizes the potential and wide-ranging benefits which active travel can have on population health, the economy and the urban environment. Yet the effectiveness of the actions that stem from this document seems to be hindered by insufficient vertical governance. Glasgow and any city in Scotland really, need a long-term shift in national investment towards cycling. The proportion of transport budget spent on cycling should increase to reflect the set target of 10%. Furthermore, some actions also suffer from disjointed implementation which culminates into mixed results such as the abovementioned public transport integration (available on trains but not on buses) and cycling infrastructure violation (high quality cycle path but lacking regulation). On the other hand, developments such as the South-West City Way cycle path attract numerous cyclists daily and suggest that the South City Way will do so too. Although, caution is needed when designing and collecting feedback on such projects in order to ensure that such massive investments benefit all population groups but most of all the local community. Lastly, the expanding 20 miles per hour initiative in Glasgow is a great tool but more pressure should be directed towards curbing the trend of greater car use. A car-dominated culture is not sustainable and poses significant adverse effects.
8. Acknowledgements

This paper is dedicated to Nikola Komsalov who first harboured the spark of environmentalism in me, gave me the tools to learn and led me down the road of sustainability. Thank you for that and more, dear grandfather. To this day, I strive to carry your wisdom, perseverance and kindness everywhere I go. Your inspiration and the time spent with you make this paper as much yours as it is mine.

I also want to extend my gratitude to a number of individuals and organizations who made this project possible. Firstly, many thanks to Glasgow City Council and its many friendly employees who never said no or that they did not have enough time. Secondly, I want to acknowledge the support provided to me by both of my internship supervisors, John Thorne and Viola Retzlaff. Your guidance and navigation, especially in the beginning of the project, helped me grow both professionally and academically. I count myself lucky to have had the opportunity to learn from your experience. Thirdly, I want to express my gratitude to both my supervisor Stefan Gössling and my subject reviewer Jan-Henrik Nilsson who must have spent several late evening reading my drafts and supplying my with some much needed feedback. Thank you both for the timely and helpful guidance encouragements.

I am deeply grateful and respectful to all participants in my interview series who completely voluntarily dedicated some time during their busy schedules to contribute their experience and knowledge thus, making this project that much more complete. Thank you for sharing your stories and opinions and trusting me to put them into good use. I also want to recognize Sustrans, NextBike and Police Scotland for providing me with some much-needed data as well. I hope this thesis does you all justice.

Last but not least, I want to acknowledge the moral and physical support lent to me by my friends and family: mom, dad, Niki, Ryan, Josefine, Pauline, Shirin. Thank you for giving up your time, patience and food supplies to help me deal with the obstacles and late nights this project demanded.
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Interview Transcripts

1. Scot Rail representative – 05/03/19
Interviewer: Georgi Gushlekov
Interviewee: Scot Rail Cycling officer
Location: Bike for Good workshop, 509 Victoria Rd, Glasgow G42 8BH

Interviewer: Hey! Can you tell me what is your current employment and how long have you been at that position?

Interviewee: Hello. Of course, I am the current Cycling Officer in ScotRail and have been at the position for 2 years and a half.

Interviewer: Are you familiar with the concept of sustainable development and is something ScotRail strives for?

Interviewee: Sustainability is something we work closely with, it is integrated in our overall agenda. Any construction efforts are also closely linked to it but mostly ScotRail focuses on collaborative efforts with other organizations in order to achieve the goals we have set. We have organized Dr Bike sessions and similar activities among many of our stations.

Interviewer: Are you in ScotRail familiar with Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling 2016 – 2025 and ScotRail’s relation towards it? Is it something on your radar?

Interviewee: We are familiar with it and try to complement it whenever possible. However, one major disadvantage we find in it and the reason we are not able to use it as much as we want to is its lack of emphasis on the combination of transport modes. As a train company, obviously we focus on rail transport but we have incorporated cycle spaces in many of our trains. And let’s face it, we won’t get people to suddenly start cycling 30 miles. In order to increase cycling numbers, there needs to be a stronger emphasis on biking, using the rail, then biking some more.

Interviewer: Is that the reasoning behind your Cycle hire scheme?

Interviewee: Partially, the scheme allows people to travel lightly and encourages them to leave their car at home. It is also a nice point of contact with many institutions we want to work with. For example, we’ve used the hire stations as places to have Dr Bikes and do collaborative events with bike workshops, Cycling Scotland, Cycling UK and Sustrans. Partnership and community engagement are vital.

Interviewer: In this regard, do you believe the current plan to be sufficient for the 10% target set by the Scottish Government to be achieved?

Interviewee: We have discussed it a lot in the office and the common opinion in ScotRail is that it is far too ambitious. 10% of all journeys is a lot when keeping in mind that most places in Glasgow sit at 1% or 2%. Authorities should not compare Scotland to other countries. Usually, always the Netherlands. Something that is effective there might not be applicable or not so efficient here.

Interviewer: I see. And are you familiar with the South City Way Development Project? Does ScotRail have any links to it?
Interviewee: We are closely following its progress as we have one station along it. However, our hands are pretty tied until its completion. I believe we will work more on the project once it is completed. Sorry that I can’t contribute more here.

Interviewer: Nothing to apologize for! As a Cycling Officer in ScotRail you deal a lot with the current cycling plan of the company. What if any changes or improvements would you like to see in the current cycling strategy of ScotRail?

Interviewee: As I said before, I don’t think simply asking people to cycle more is the way to go. We need to emphasise mode combination and for that to work, I believe, it is essential for ScotRail to collaborate even more with region specific NGOs and community groups. Short and sweet!

Interviewer: And how big of an influence do you believe community feedback should have when it comes to projects such as the South City Way?

Interviewee: In ScotRail we work with community feedback all the time. Mainly coming from emails and online activity. Our cycle carriage is an idea we taught of but received a lot of help from different communities prior to its implementation. We also participate in a Cycle Forum 3 times per year.

Interviewer: Can you tell me a bit more about that?

Interviewee: Of course, it’s a meeting which emphasises speaking face-to-face in real time. We always invite other pro-cycling organizations as well such as Cycling UK, Cycling Scotland, GoBike, SPOKES and Sustrans. We receive a lot of feedback on our activities from there and always try to adapt it as best as we can. But it can often be hard to juggle between country-wide plans and specific demands from individual communities. So, I think that community feedback is important but has to be balanced so it does not harm the overall planning of a project.

Interviewer: I think that was my last question. Thank you for having me today! Anything you would like to add before we finish?

Interviewee: It was a pleasure. Happy to help. I would just sum up my main point and underline collaboration.

2. Bike for Good representative – 05/03/19
Interviewer: Georgi Gushlekov

Interviewee: Bike for Good representative

Location: Bike for Good workshop, 509 Victoria Rd, Glasgow G42 8BH

Interviewer: Hey. So, what is your current employment and how long have you been at the position?

Interviewee: So, I work as an events and communication coordinator and I’ve been at that position since June last year, so June 2018.

Interviewer: So, already you’ve had plenty of experience.

Interviewee: Yeah, plenty of experience. I was actually volunteering here before that.

Interviewer: As a mechanic or?

Interviewee: No, just helping run the shop, running cycling lessons.
Interviewer: Nice, that’s good to hear. So, do you guys deal with the concept of sustainable development around the shop?
Interviewee: Yes, absolutely. That is a big part of the work we do. There are a few different things of that that cycling covers, I guess. So, the environmental impact side of it is a big one as well as encouraging people to try different ways to travel, to stay healthy and fit.
Interviewer: I guess the bike covers environmental, social and…
Interviewee: It does, it ticks all the boxes.
Interviewer: Do you guys work with Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling? Is it something that’s on your radar?
Interviewee: We do, the plan helps us to apply for funding to implement the huge variety of workshops that we do. Workshops and sessions, the kind of work we do.
Interviewer: So, apart from the mechanic sessions, what kind of other sessions do you do?
Interviewee: So, we do free bike lessons.
Interviewer: Is that for any age?
Interviewee: Any age. Yeah. So, we get, actually, a lot of adults who don’t know how to cycle. Men mostly but still a good range of people. We also do “How to fix your own bike” sessions which allows people to use our resources to fix their bikes themselves and then mechanic classes which are a lot more structured. Like a proper lesson. It’s a mechanic teaching you to use specific equipment.
Interviewer: Is that the Velotech?
Interviewee: The mechanics running it have the Velotech certificates but the classes are more casual than that so that anyone can participate.
Interviewer: To deal with basic tasks?
Interviewee: That’s it. We also run cycle group lessons solely for women too and groups cycle sessions, like a group ride.
Interviewer: Like a led ride?
Interviewee: Yes, a led ride. We’ve got one just for women on Thursday mornings and the one for anyone is on Saturdays.
Interviewer: Is it in specific places?
Interviewee: No, they’ll be here in the hub and then cycle anywhere, the leader will have an idea of the path, depending on the kind of group, what can they do. We also do a lot of schools outreach where we bring our fleet of bikes and teach a whole class, make sure we have a mechanic as well who can have a look at any bikes there.
Interviewer: Is that around the whole of Glasgow or more situated in the south?
Interviewee: Just the south, so yeah, we do those in a certain radius. There are so many primary schools here, it’s crazy, there are eight or nine.
Interviewer: So, you don’t lack work?
Interviewee: No but that’s what we are here to do. Tell me if I am speaking too quickly, I can slow down.
Interviewer: No. So, the next question would be regarding the target the government set, the 10%. Do you think it’s not ambitious enough or, maybe, too ambitious?

Interviewee: Do you know, it’s not something…We have run events in the past that has been specifically about engaging people with climate change and to make them aware of the climate change problem facing Scotland. That’s something we have spoken about quite a lot. And, I think, yes, it can be achieved but the South of Glasgow won’t manage in the set time period.

Interviewer: It’s possible, there’s just a lot of work to be done.

Interviewee: Exactly, a lot more to still do. And a lot of that work is something we are trying to achieve but, yes, I think it can be achieved.

Interviewer: What do you want to see more in Glasgow or maybe what do you want to see less of as well?

Interviewee: Sure, I would like to see more, that would be great, but I feel like Glasgow city is doing a really good job, we do a lot to help reach the sustainable city goals. It feels that way.

Interviewer: Do you think that more needs to be invested in infrastructure or more collaboration, what do you think should be the priority?

Interviewee: That’s a good question. I guess more infrastructure, that would be a very good thing because excellent infrastructure is on its way to really transform the area. More of that would be absolutely great. As far as I know there’s not much apart from SCW going in the area.

Interviewer: Do you do anything connected to the SCW project?

Interviewee: We do, we participated in the launch of SCW. We were one of the organizations that were really active in the big celebratory launch that they had. Us and a few shops across the road. Connected to that we’ve got a loyalty card scheme that is centred around the SCW. So, all the shops along the SCW, you can pick up a card from us and then get stamps from shops along the SCW and get discounts. We hope that will encourage people to use the SCW, which means they will be on their bikes.

Interviewer: That sounds like such a good idea.

Interviewee: Yeah, absolutely, it’s been quite slow to take off. We are moving around the corner and when we do that, we are going to do a re-launch just to get it back on track. It’s really great. When they collect enough stamps from different shops they can come back here and get a freebie or maybe a reduced service for their bike.

Interviewer: Sounds like a great initiative.

Interviewee: Yeah, it’s been slow on the uptake but we’ll give it another go.

Interviewer: Connected to SCW, is there something you don’t agree with? Do you like the design?

Interviewee: Yeah, I do. I mean, I don’t have an issue with the design. I feel like more people using would be good as many pedestrians don’t realize they are walking on it.

Interviewer: So, maybe, community outreach is something that is lacking?

Interviewee: Yeah, I think so. Maybe just a little bit of awareness and a positive spin on it as a lot of people see the SCW fewer car spaces in front of their shop, fewer customers. But we know from research we were doing that more cyclists and fewer car spaces is better. They are more likely to go in the shop rather than the car.
Interviewer: So, the design, in your opinion, is pretty good, it’s just that the work with the people is possibly something that needs to be addressed.
Interviewee: Yeah, for lot of our users who are not confident, it’s brilliant because they would have never otherwise gone on the road and now, they do. That’s great, it’s exactly what we are after.
Interviewer: My last question would be connected to the fact that such development projects are focused on the people, how big of an impact do you think community feedback should be?
Interviewee: Massive! I think a massive part of it, really.
Interviewer: I know that they do sessions where they can drop in and share ideas.
Interviewee: Yeah, they do. Fortunately, they do. Something like that is so brilliant, people really do value it. There is quite a strong community here in Govan Hill, there are people that are really happy to get involved and have their say before works commence.
Interviewer: Unless you have something else to add?
Interviewee: No, I don’t think so. I hope I made sense.
Interviewer: Of course, thanks a lot for everything.
Interviewee: No problem. SCW, in the end of the day it’s encouraging people, it’s such a visual statement that we value cycling, we value other modes of transport in the area. People literally have come here and said “I wasn’t cycling in the area and now I am.” That’s very impactful.

3. Go Bike Representative - 07/03/19
Interviewer: Georgi Gushlekov
Interviewee: Go Bike representative
Location: Glasgow

Interviewer: Hello! Can we start with telling us about your position and how long you’ve been on it?
Interviewee: I am a Community Member at GoBike but that’s a voluntary position which I have been doing for over a year. I started in February last year. My work there is cycle-related and quite statistic.
Interviewer: And do you work with the concept of sustainable development?
Interviewee: We do but our work is mostly focused on cycling and cycling infrastructure, for example segregated cycle lanes. We also deal with issues related to availability in Glasgow, planning for cycling, the strategic perspective, making sure that organizations understand the environmental and social justice issues in Glasgow, specifically. Not everyone has access to cheap and affordable transport. So that would be brilliant if more people are able to safely cycle and get to places that are now not that well connected. For example, at the moment it’s not that easy to get from the North to West part of Glasgow. It can be quite expensive. So that is what I am trying to change but as a voluntary organization we don’t have our own strategy towards sustainable development.
Interviewer: So, what kind of events do you take part in?
Interviewee: We are strongly involved with tackling the problems around unsustainable transport, planning around it, making it harder to drive and reducing parking are very important, and also reforming what we have into something more sustainable. The types of events we do are usually
focused around those issues. We had one on University Avenue recently where we had a human bike lane. We had another human bike lane on Byres Road a couple of months ago. With those we try to highlight how things can improve and being positive.

Interviewer: And is Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling something you are aware of?

Interviewee: Yeah, I am familiar with it. Several people in GoBike know a lot about it.

Interviewer: Can you pinpoint some advantages/disadvantages associated with it?

Interviewee: I think that are big positive is that it recognizes the cycling potential in the Glasgow area and provides that information for smaller institutions to use it. It’s really ambitious in wanting to build more routes and also highlights that there are lots of smaller towns close to Glasgow that you can reach with a bike within 30 minutes which is a very doable amount. Most people would be happy to cycle and it’s important for the plan to highlight how easy it is to do so. I think where it needs a bit more work is connected to cycle lanes. It states that at the moment there is 310 km of cycle lanes but those include bus lanes which are usually not that good, especially when they are narrow. It doesn’t add up to easy cycling. So those 310 km are a bit misleading. Combined trips are also not accounted for. They also tend to mix up leisure and utility cycling. The strategy says it focuses on both but utility cycling is prevalent – going to the shops, getting to school. Most of the journeys they consider tend to be utility. And that is very interesting because not many people would go in their car for a leisure ride but cyclists very often do. So, more attention needs to be put on leisure cycling.

Interviewee: And what are your thoughts on the 10% target set by the Scottish Government?

Interviewer: We should definitely be more ambitious because cycling is about providing everyone with the freedom to travel on their own terms and safely. Not everyone has to cycle but they have to have the opportunity to do so if they want to. But I think it is a difficult target to hit at the moment. It is happening with the help of the cycle plan but we need to better understand trends, other travel modes in relation to cycling, bicycle parking next to bus stops. This is pretty common in Holland and Germany but we don’t see it at all in the UK. Multi-modal journeys are crucial if we want to achieve this target and at the moment they are not accounted for. Cycling more than 10 miles can be quite hard for new cyclists. We need to make it comfortable to cycle for short journeys as well, though. Many people travel 3-4 miles. It’s a combination of the two.

Interviewee: Has GoBike been involved in any way with the SCW development project?

Interviewer: We have been very supportive because it’s a brilliant example of segregated cycle way. It’s well built, we have looked at the plans for it and offered suggestions for improvements. There is a current issue with side streets as they don’t give priority to people on the cycle track. That should not be ambiguous. Cyclists should have priority. Across Europe pedestrians and cyclists tend to have priority. The cars have to stop. We are pursuing that and have an active conversation with the officers behind the project.

Interviewee: Do you think that the project embodies the cycle plan’s values?

Interviewer: It certainly supports the objective set in the strategic plan. You need to remember, though, that project like that are not quickly delivered and are already halfway through the current cycling plan of Glasgow. Projects like that can easily transcend into the next one.

Interviewee: Are there any changes you would want to see?

Interviewer: The side street issue needs to be resolved. For the cycle lane to be safe, there needs to be clarity on who has priority. In terms of promotion, I know they have a huge banner promoting the cycle lane over one side of the street but other big roads in the region lack that. They had a party for the launch of the project to get the community engaged, get children cycling on it. But, I think, a lot
more will have to be done once it is actually complete because people will then be able to use it. It’s
good to keep the community informed, though.
Interviewee: And what do you think of the public consultations they had?
Interviewer: Well, there’s usually people who really don’t want change and then people who talk
about specific technical design changes. When I went to one of them, they were open to have a
conversation. They positioned it quite well. This is more of a personal perspective than a GoBike one
but I don’t think people should give advice regarding the technical aspects. Consultations can be a nice
way to achieve consensus but the average citizen would not be able to provide constructive feedback
on delivery and planning. What they can help with is, for example, opinion on the side street issue
which could have been solved from the very beginning. So, the design principles is something people
can assist with.
Interviewee: How big of an impact should this feedback have?
Interviewer: A fair amount. I do think they sometimes involve the community at the wrong level. The
principles are where the community can help and delivery not so much.

4. Glasgow City Council Representative – 15/03/19
Interviewer: Georgi Gushlekov
Interviewee: Glasgow City Council representative
Location: Exchange House, 231 George Street, Glasgow, G1 1QU

Interviewer: Hello! Can we start with your position and a brief overview of your work?
Interviewee: Of course, I work in the Neighbourhoods and Sustainability department of Glasgow City
Council and am also an assistant lead for the South City Way development project. I have also worked
closely on the Strategic Plan for Cycling 2016-2025. It sets out Glasgow’s vision, objectives, targets
and actions for increasing levels of cycling – for leisure, as a mode of transport and for sport. The Plan
updated the 2010 strategy which focused on preparing the city for the 2014 Commonwealth Games.
Back then the plan was not specifically set on cycling but included it as a vital part towards reducing
carbon emissions. However, the data we collected during the games proved conclusive so that we can
create a strategic plan specifically for cycling.
Interviewer: So, since then how has cycling come into the broader plan for sustainable development?
Interviewee: As I said it used to be a part of it but has now outgrown it. It is a common opinion here
that cycling plays a vital role in achieving sustainability. The significant interest we receive for most
cycle improvements along with the different types of data we collect has convinced us that Glasgow
wants to cycle and we are determined to provide the support to make this happen. We pooled a lot of
resources and created the Strategic Plan for Cycling 2016-2025. What changed was that, in contrast to
previous documents, it looked at cycling as a way of not only commuting but leisure as well. And it
delivered results, since its implementation we have observed a steady yearly increase in cycling
boosted during and after big events such as the world tours.
Interviewer: Three years have passed since the creation of the strategic plan, is there something you
have identified for revision? Something that has worked particularly well?
Interviewee: The plan operates on a large scale and its results are slow to show, especially since
collecting data on a city level requires a lot of resources. This is why we have envisioned a revision
every 3 to 4 years. The next one is planned for 2020. Also, so far, the plan has managed boost cycling on a continuous basis. It works well and so far, as I can tell has no immediate negatives. As for pointing out a specific benefit, the plan is a collaborative effort of actions which supplement each other. Infrastructure enables cycling communities to create events and activities around it, and vice versa. So, I am reluctant to underline anything in specific since it is the collaboration between revenue and capital-based projects that works so well.

Interviewer: What’s your opinion on the 10% target set by the government, can the plan achieve it?
Interviewee: 10% of all journeys is extremely ambitious and would need more time. However, 10% for many institutions is manageable. Most workplaces have already reached between 6% to 9% for cycling, some have even passed the mark. The larger public will need more time, though.

Interviewer: I see. What has your experience been with the SCW project?
Interviewee: The SCW is a massive project with a lot of components. It is complicated construction-wise as well as coordination-wise. It is also something that many people support but we always have to deal with a lot of negative feedback during construction. Especially from shop owners. This is one of the reasons we segmented the project into 5 phases. This approach allows us to concentrate on smaller sections of the cycle path and finish them quicker while also disturbing a lot less shop owners. We also organized the community drop-in sessions.

Interviewer: And how well, in your opinion, does the SCW incorporate the strategic plan’s values?
Interviewee: SCW was planned before the creation of the cycling plan and had to adapt in many ways. Now, however, it is an integral part in it.

Interviewer: You mentioned you have regular community feedback sessions. How big of an impact do they have on the project?
Interviewee: Marketing and communication are critical to achieving behaviour change once the project is completed. Strong, coherent events and campaigns will be required to promote the work that is being done, to advertise the facilities available and to make people aware of the transport options they have. We will need to engage with a variety of audiences and ensure that our message about cycling reaches out across the city. The same goes for a project of the scale that is SCW. We have had more community consultation sessions for SCW than for any other project and those have led to, I have to say, a few construction and design changes in the project. However, their aim has always been to mostly provide transparency and inclusiveness for the local community. I specifically remember a shop owner that came to all of them and was continuously opposed to the project. He thought that the construction works will damage his business and then the loss of car spaces will further increase that. Shortly after the section that his shop was in was completed, he came to the next consultation, apologized and genuinely expresses his content with the cycle path. “I have to admit, this is nice.” – were his exact words. Collaboration is really important. We need the support of employers and organisations across the city if we are to achieve our vision for cycling. To assist with this, we will continue to work with a range of partners, including the NHS and SPT, to help encourage organisations, employers, schools, universities and colleges to participate in activities such as travel planning, Active Travel Champions, I Bike and Cycle Friendly status.

Interviewer: That was my last question but thanks you so much!

5. Free Wheel North Representative – 15/03/19
Interviewer: Georgi Gushlekov
Interviewee: Free Wheel North representative
Interviewer: So, just to start it off, can you tell me what’s your position and a little bit about your institution?

Interviewee: I am the managing director of Free Wheel North and we are a cycling development organization. A charity which specialized in helping people who are usually excluded from participating in particular cycling. We have every conceivable form of peddle power here. It makes it possible for people with any ability or disability to cycle. Our groups are as diverse as Scottish RNIB to Scottish Autism, to Head Injuries Trust. When we first opened in 2011, one of our politicians said: “Cycling is not for everybody.” And that’s where he went wrong from the very beginning. We prove here that cycling is for absolutely everybody. We have all the machines here that you see in Sweden, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, where diverse cycling is normal. Diverse cycling is not normal in the UK and the reason it’s not normal in the UK is that it’s physically impossible to cycle with a diverse cycling machine on UK cycling infrastructure. When you try to use a cycle path or something designated as a cycle path, you find barriers, contraptions, steps, railings, everything that makes it physically impossible to use and not only for people with high end needs but also for people with limb loss, blindness. If you can’t carry your bike over big objects, if you are not strong enough to do that you cannot use the cycle infrastructure in the UK and that’s what we are trying to change. We have it here in a kilometre that is safe, segregated cycle space for people of all abilities but if you go outside of here it doesn’t exist, in general.

Interviewer: Is the concept of sustainable development something you use a lot here as well?

Interviewee: It is. Instead of using fossil fuels, use your muscles. Instead of concerning yourself with Brexit, because 90% of media coverage at the moment is about Brexit, or how can we keep selling cows and fuel, and roads, and insurance, and policing to keep the existing structure going that is fossil fuel dependant and unsustainable, why not use a bicycle? Why not walk? That’s sustainable development.

Interviewer: And is the Glasgow Strategic Plan for Cycling on your radar?

Interviewee: I’ve seen it. It is flawed, it is a series of platitudes, hollow. “Isn’t cycling nice?” “Can we persuade you to cycle?” “The velodrome! Isn’t it great?” “Let’s put some balloons on a stall and encourage people to cycle.” The way to get people to cycle is to design cycle-friendly space that is inclusive, where the traffic is calmed or excluded. For example, part of the strategy should be on car-free days. We had one recently. We did one on Brayside street in Maryhill, which is the street where I live, and that’s a labyrinth. Every morning I see cars going through with 50 miles/hour next to the schools, next to where children are trying to cross the roads and that, obviously, prevents people, prevents children from cycling to school. They don’t do it, it’s too dangerous. Take the traffic away, make car-free space, people will do it. That should be the strategy. The existing strategy doesn’t mention this, it doesn’t mention things like pedal-powered taxis. I was one such in 2009. Friday, Saturday night I was taking people to the city centre to night clubs and pubs until 2 o’clock in the morning as a pedal-powered taxi service. So not only is that not on the council’s radar, they actually opposed it by taking people to court for doing it. That is the cycling strategy as it currently exists.

Interviewer: Do you think there is any benefit to it? Anything that it does well?

Interviewee: I can’t think of anything. It’s just so timid and vacuous. That entire strategy is so void of content that I don’t think it’s worth trying to adjust it. I think it needs to be scrapped and we need to start again with more radical and simple ideas. It’s a matter of just doing it instead of talking platitudes. It’s exactly the same thought that Greta Thunberg made in her inspiring talk on the Climate Change toll. Solutions don’t need to come from endless meetings, strategies and conferences going
forward. No, there are no solutions there. It’s being done in Holland, Denmark, Sweden, more than in the UK, Scotland.

Interviewer: And what’s your opinion on the 10% target set by the Scottish government?
Interviewee: It’s being completely ignored. I was in the Active Travel Summit late last year and it was about a mixture of public transport and active travel, walking and cycling. At that summit, the target of 10% by 2020 has been slightly moved out of the agenda, doesn’t it? It’s like it doesn’t exist anymore. Now we are talking about 2030, 2040. That target has been actively sidelined, removed from the agenda.

Interviewer: Do you think it’s ambitious enough?
Interviewee: No, the 2020 10% target was not ambitious enough and is not achieved and it’s nearly 2020 now. It’s just being put back and disregarded. The experts who were giving the talks pretend as it never existed. It’s all 2030, 2040 for even less ambitious targets. We need to move from this talking, conference circuit into action. We need to do it.

Interviewer: Is your charity have any stake on the SCW development project?
Interviewee: Not very much. I went to one of the early design consultations but the consultation process is very bureaucratic. I don’t think it’s worth my time to go through these official channels. It’s not about observing the existing rule system, we need to change the rules. We know what to do, it’s being done much better elsewhere, we don’t have to reinvent the wheel. We are 50 or 60 years behind to, for example, the Netherlands. It’s very simple, we just need to transfer time and space from inactive travel to active travel. It’s very simple. You just take space away, narrow the streets, less space for cars, more space for people and have car-free days.

Interviewer: And the SCW, its segregated cycle lanes, is it not a project that is at least half-way there?
Interviewee: No, because the design is too poor. What you mean by segregation is usually a curb, barrier that is there to protect cyclists from motorists. If you go to any segregated cycle lane in the UK right now, you will see the curb, you will see cars parked on the cycle path. Curbs do nothing. Curbs are the weakest from of segregation. The concept is protection. You need protected cycle space. That’s not the same as segregated cycle space. So, millions of pounds are being poured into segregated cycle lanes but it’s entirely the wrong concept. If you observe a road with a line of traffic cones when traffic works are being undertaken, sometimes you get a default cycle lane that pops up since the cars don’t go on it. I saw that on Byres road where a lot of work is being done. They are set on making the whole of West end more active, more vibrant, a more cycle-friendly community but I took a photograph of Byres road, it had a line of traffic cones down one lane, it was coned off. Instantaneously that became a cycle path. People started using it. It keeps the cars away, not curbs. All streets in the UK are based on pavement and road with a curb separating them. On every street in the UK you can see cars parking on the pavement which proves that the curb is no barrier to the car. You can see, take lots of photographs of that over Glasgow. In the Winefred area instead of a curb they put a line of poles as a demarcation principle between the pavement and the road. When you have a line of poles, you’ve got 0 parking on the pavement. It’s a very simple fact that cars can’t go past poles. When the poles end, you’ve got cars parking on the pavement immediately after.

Interviewer: So, security and protection on the SCW should be a top priority and at the moment it is not?
Interviewee: Yeah. And another important principle is to control speed of traffic. There is a growing movement for the 20 miles/hour speed limit in urban areas. But how do you bring down the speed of traffic. If you look at Clyde Street, there are signs along the whole road saying 20 miles/hour. No one takes any notice of them, whatsoever. The cares are going along at 50, 60 miles/hour. Why is that? Because a motorist’s psychology of driving is determined by the design and the shape of the space. So,
if they see a long, flat, wide street that signals to the human brain to go fast. And that is reinforced by the nature of segregation which is your traditional pavement, curb, road. The curb signals go fast. Look at Buchanan street, it’s not a completely traffic-free street. You’ve got deliveries, police vehicles but nothing goes faster than 5 miles/hour because it’s a space that’s been noted as a space with a mixture of pedestrians, cyclists and vehicles. So, everything is calmed by the nature of the space. The design and the nature of the space determines the psychology of speed, of what permissions are allowed. And it’s not segregated, it’s open.

Interviewer: In the case of SCW, the council organized several drop-in sessions. Do you think that’s of a benefit to such projects?

Interviewee: Sessions involving the people and the design of places, that’s a good thing, inherently. But how you do it is a key. Inviting people to come in to look at drawing and talk to people is a default method. You focus it on special days, put notices out. That’s not the best way of doing it. There tends to be a filter operating there. All those people opposed to change tend to come to those meetings and that’s what many cycle communities are finding. Do you know about the Yorkhill project?

Interviewer: No.

Interviewee: That’s in the West end area, near the Kelvingrove gallery, near Bike for Good. The local community council being led by Leigh Grant, a local community activist, tried to make that area into a cycle-friendly village. He’s doing some good stuff, trying his best to get the community on board but he got a real backlash by the community. Some call it a “bikelash”. Lots of people came out and said: “You can’t take away our parking”. And these people are the people who tend to come to consultations, to local community meetings to make a change. Those who tend to agree with it, they don’t come. How then do you engage communities and people? You need to try your best to sample it, you do something like “Cycle Sundays”. During the 1970s’ oil crisis they had to cut down on oil and that aligned with the movement to reduce road death, a protest movement. When it all came down together, it all started with having “Cycle Sundays”. Many cities throughout the Netherlands did it every Sunday and people started to realize and remember they enjoyed having the street space, free of cars. No more talk, meetings, etc. but doing it, have “Cycle Sundays”. Sampling is key.

6. Soulriders Representative – 15/03/19

Interviewer: Georgi Gushlekov

Interviewee: Soulriders representative

Location: 4 Forth Street, Glasgow, G41 1TG

Interviewer: Hey. So, can you tell me a bit about Soulriders and how long you have been at your position?

Interviewee: Souriders is a community led organization, an enterprise and charity. We repair and refurbish bikes to give to the community as well as we run training and social riding. We’ve got “Soul Kids” for children, we try to swap cars with bikes in “Be Spokes”, we have women-only sessions. There is also a big gap in engaging cycling with minorities so we try to cater for their needs at all levels of cycling: leisurely, commuting or even sports. There is a big gap, which is even more so when you take into account the gender gap. So, we try to cater to all the different levels of society who can benefit from cycling. And my own position, I am a project coordinator and its funded by “Children in need”. I work on all the different projects. There have been some dormant projects like working with people with disabilities, it’s called “Free Flow” where we have an open day. We have people from the community and talk to them about inclusive cycling and I run “Soul Kids” and “Be Spokes”, I lead
leisure rides and so on. Project coordinator is quite a diverse position, I’d be writing funding applications or leading led rides, group sessional work or some days networking, developing those links between organizations.

Interviewer: Is the concept of sustainable development something that you deal with on a daily basis?

Interviewee: Do you mean infrastructural work?

Interviewer: Not necessarily. How do you interpret it, how do you use it on a daily basis?

Interviewee: Cycling is a big part of it. From the point of a social enterprise, a charity, for us sustainable development is... A lot of third sector organizations across Glasgow, we get funding from different avenues. 10-15 years ago, the new policies came into play, tax breaks as long as you work for social good. Obviously, we want to develop the social enterprise to fund the work that we are doing so sustainable development for us means getting that social enterprise to the point where it is actually sustaining ourselves and allows us to invest into other areas. Develop the work space, develop the opportunities that we offer to people be it services or employment. As for a business, we want to not be susceptible to outside forces.

Interviewer: Is the Glasgow Strategic Plan on Cycling on your radar?

Interviewee: It is. We are facing unprecedented levels of bad weather, it’s a public health crisis, air pollution, congestion. Basically, a lot of things are affecting people’s lifestyle. So, the strategic plan did a lot of research looking into people’s habits and found that it has increased slightly but it was still below that 10%. It increased from 6% to 7% which is a lot but still not enough compared to how much of an issue sedentary lifestyle has transformed into. So, they looked into people's patterns, what prevents them from taking up cycling as lots of people do it leisurely but there are tens of thousands of journeys in Glasgow that can be done by bike but they are done by car. That is, obviously, a big problem, a huge carbon dioxide output. These are people who don’t have passengers, don’t have shopping. There is definitely a potential to increase cycling but one of the main barriers to cycling are that people don’t feel safe on the road, the weather, it’s not seen as convenient, it’s seen as a time restraint. We’ve done consultations of our own and we found the same thing. We use the data and guidance it provides on a regular basis, obviously, looking into ethnic minorities who mention lack of bike ownership and never learning how to ride a bike. It allows us to secure funding for the ots of things we need to address. But essentially the big ones are time, weather, safety. So, for a development project, such as the SCW, segregated cycle lanes will see an increase people using cycling, active travel.

Interviewer: Connected to the problems you mentioned: weather, safety. Do you know of any particular activities done by the council that are aimed at resolving those?

Interviewee: In terms of safety the big one is segregated cycle lanes and that’s where SCW comes along. But a lot of the cycle lanes are still not protected, and for those that are there are problems. For example, for SCW there is an intersection that is still not safe. But I think the council are doing a good job at SCW. I talk to a lot of people who are involved with it, it will be interesting to see how it comes about, to see the benefits. The problem with the weather though, it’s the biggest one, at least at our consultations. It’s a community consultation. In terms of weather, I can’t say that I’ve seen the council do too much. It’s almost as it’s not being thought of. I know there is a development officer in the council who often does “Be Bright Be Seen” events which is especially for cycling at night. That comes under weather as lights help visibility. But I can’t think of anything else that they are doing to tackle weather. I think that protected cycle shelters are something they can look into a bit more.

Interviewer: Is the 10% target, set by the government something that you think can be achieved?

Interviewee: Yeah, if you think of all the major works that are being done. For example, the Smarter Choices, Smarter Places programme funds many projects. And when infrastructure is there for safe
cycling, what follows is an increase in cycling. Just based on such project, it will increase but sustaining that, catering to all different abilities is the hard part. E-bikes hopefully will become a big thing in the future. It’s an achievable goal, probably not in its current time frame, though, for the South of Glasgow, at least. But they know what they are talking about.

Interviewer: Are Soulriders involved with the SCW project?
Interviewee: Yeah, so with any major infrastructure project there is a small community fund as well. We received some of this funding, which is for 500 meters around the SCW, to promote the project. Our “Soul Sisters”, a project only for women led by 4 women, is trying to get female cyclists on the SCW. This project will be partially funded by the SCW fund and any time we do a led ride or any kind of session we will have the SCW logo. We also have couple of artistic projects going on. We are painting several walls where people will be able to share their stories on SCW. It will help the look of SCW, it will also show that if people need repair or want to participate in a session, we are here. So, yeah, we definitely are involved in it but more in a community aspect.

Interviewer: What do you think of the design of SCW?
Interviewee: I’ve been on it, especially in its west part. Its surface is really smooth, which might be a problem when it rains. The part on Victoria road is really good, really well segregated. There are still people who drive over it and it’s the council’s job to enforce that this does not happen.

Interviewer: The council is also doing several community consultations, have you participated in them?
Interviewee: No, I haven’t been to one of them.

Interviewer: Ok. What’s your opinion on the council’s community engagement approach?
Interviewee: I think the small bits of funding help a lot to promote the SCW. For example, any training that we do will be bringing the possibility to people. That this is a viable alternative to going to town, it’s an important route. We engage with minorities and we have a sensitive hub that engages with all communities. There are over 40 different languages being spoken between Govan and Pollokshields. Engaging with the minority populations here, who are historically not cyclists, we will continue doing that.

Interviewer: To what extent do you think that community feedback should be taken into account?
Interviewee: It’s hard to take qualitative data. And you are talking about qualitative data. It’s easy to have cycle count metrics but it’s not really taking into account people’s lives. If we are looking into a minority community where the number of bikes goes down, you can easily forget them. Understanding why are they not using a bike, what changes can be made to get them involved in it. That’s really important and I am not sure that consultations achieve that. They can be very intimidating for a novice English speaker. This type of data is vital if you want to address 0% cycling communities. You need to look at the reality of people’s situation.

7. Glasgow City Council councillor - 29/03/19
Interviewee: Georgi Gushlekov
Interviewer: What is your current employment and how long have you been at the position?
Interviewee: I am a councillor for Langside which is just south of the South City Way so it’s not in the ward I represent but I am convener for sustainability and carbon reduction which means I am responsible for transport.

Interviewer: Is that for the whole of Glasgow?

Interviewee: Yes. Active travel, cycling is one of things I look out for. So, I’ve got that overlook across the city so I am very involved in South City Way. I’ve been doing for 2 years.

Interviewer: So, is the concept of sustainable development something that you work with?

Interviewee: Absolutely. We’ve got teams that work with sustainability but it is a much wider concept and needs to fit with everything. I’ve got some things in transport that I am directly responsible for but a lot of is also somebody else’s work.

Interviewer: There’s a big team working on it?

Interviewee: A department of around 2000 people that work in terms of the topics I am directly responsible for. Within that we have a sustainable transport team who work on walking and cycling projects so things like South City Way.

Interviewer: Are they the team that worked on Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling? Have you been involved in the process of creating it?

Interviewee: Yes, they are and no, I was not. That was before my time. I was here from 2015 in opposition and now that I am administration councillor, I took over the role of transport.

Interviewer: Do you work with the cycle plan actively?

Interviewee: From a political perspective we have to make sure that the policies and strategies that are in place are delivered through the work we do so we are quite far removed from the actual delivery of what happens and how projects are done. What’s important is for us to make sure everything that does happen aligns with those strategies. So, the cycling strategy is really important. We are also working on a new transport strategy for the whole city and we’ll have to make sure the cycling strategy fits in there. It’s an essential component of that. Strategies are really important so we know we are all heading in the same direction.

Interviewer: In its implementation have you found something that works really well?

Interviewee: I’ve only been doing this for 2 years but I think making sure everybody is really clear on the direction we are trying to go in. Quite often you can have cycling strategies that would want to do things but there’s an anxiety on taking road space away or taking parking away and that can make it hard to implement. So, making sure that we’re all absolutely signed up to the fact that we’ll prioritize walking, cycling and buses over private cars really helps to push those projects on. The plan also helps with securing funding. And just having a really strong team that is absolutely committed to applying for money as most of our projects are funded through Transport Scotland. Making sure we have a team that is committed to seeking those opportunities and applying for that money has been really important.

Interviewer: On the other hand, have you found something that has not worked that well and would need to be revised?

Interviewee: One of the things we are looking at is thinking about what our priorities are so we’ve got a map of what we aspire the network to look like but sometimes different parts are done because a certain reason will come up. For example, we’ll do a certain road because housing has been built nearby and therefore you want to put cycling racks in time. It makes sense. Sometimes you apply for funding but you don’t necessarily get it so while you’ve got the order you want to do things in some of them might jump out of order. It’s important to be flexible and be able to do that but it can be quite
difficult to plan a network when we don’t know how much money we’ll have next year or the year after because that’s a national government priority. They allocate funding. It can be quite difficult with the shifting sands of funding to know the order things will happen in. Every bit of infrastructure is good but you do need to be flexible. Sometimes it can be hard to have that vision of what will be here next year or the year after.

Interviewer: Do you think that the plan will be able to reach the 10% set by the government?
Interviewee: If anyone is going to do it, it will be the big cities. Certainly, that is where you can create that modal shift more easily because we have short journeys. We’re still building cycle lanes too slow but when you look at how long it takes from applying for the money to designing to delivery, it can be 2,3,4 years. I think that at the rate we are building we might struggle to build fast enough. The ambition is there. We have a lot of designs in the pipeline, for example, but we won’t seem them on the ground. We won’t even being to build some of those projects before 2020. And I am not entirely sure how much we can influence.

Interviewer: So, the deadline might be a bit too ambitious then?
Interviewee: Possibly. If we want to make significant changes to modal shift, we need to be able to build more quickly and consistently.

Interviewer: How does the South City Way fit in the whole?
Interviewee: South City Way is a beautiful project. It was designed and the funding was secured before I was in post so I inherited the South City Way as a project that was already drawn up and ready to be built. We started construction 6 months after I came into post and that’s been really exciting because while I’ve been talking about a lot of projects and we’ve been planning our aspirations, it’s been really useful having something on the ground that embodies GSPC standards and to which I can point out to and say: “That’s what our aspiration actually looks like.” It’s very different to anything else we’ve ever built. It’s Copenhagen style so it’s got this step track and we think that’s really visually important especially through a high street. We think it improves the public realm and especially through an area like Govan Hill that has a high street – Victoria Road – a very busy road, it makes it look iconic, it makes it look like the cycle lane is an important part of the public realm. It’s very much part of the roads and it’s a very important story that we can tell to other parts of the city. There’s a tiny bit of Victoria Road built, the next bit will go on site, hopefully before May, and that will really start to connect. We’ll really start to see the difference there. It’s also really important because it’s coming through an area that’s very densely populated – around Queen’s Park, Battlefield and Govan Hill itself. There are so many people living so close to that route that by having the South City Way, once it’s complete, we can offer that whole south part a safe way to get into town. That’s very visible so people will be inspired by it, will see it and realize how safe it is. And that’s really exciting. We need people who live here to also understand that there is not enough room for them to park all their cars. There are other ways of living and if we want people to have nice neighbourhoods, giving them this really easy option to get into town is going to be crucial. And it’s a big straight route, it doesn’t go on side streets, it doesn’t go out of the way, it’s there, it’s right alongside the bus routes. That shows we aim to give priority. It’s not a meandering through the side streets route, we’re going straight through. That’s been hard in some places where we’ve had to change traffic flow. This will reduce the amount of traffic of vehicles that can go through. Certain sections of the road, the bridge, it’s hard because you only have the width you have. We need to find a way to take that to Merchant city. It’s difficult but it’s really important that it is that very visible route. So, those are some of the reasons why I am so excited about it.

Interviewer: What kind of good/bad experiences have you had with implementing the project? Promoting it?
Interviewee: People got interested when they saw it was starting to be built. It wasn’t as difficult. When you are digging outside of shops it can be difficult for the shop keepers but the team did a huge amount of consultations beforehand so, by the time we got to digging they had already communicated a lot with the local businesses. They did a pretty good job. People have started to pay attention to, they have started to see it on the ground. Some people will always be negative, they think it’s a waste of money, that the space should be for cars, that bikes should not have space. You get a lot of people parking on it thinking it is perfect car width which is something we have to deal with. People get upset because they see people parking on it and it feels like a waste, like it is damaging it. We’ve got some challenges around there that say: “Look, it’s not finished so there still will be problems but once its finished and people are using it, it will be much easier for the cars to realize they can’t park there because it’s busy.” So, let's finish the whole thing and then we can look into any defects. It does kind of self-sells in a way but we are looking into behavioural change with the schools nearby. We’ve had lots of interventions with all the schools that are on route so the kids can get used to bikes so they can use it when it’s ready. We try to engage with community groups as well in the grand scheme. Local organizations can get some money so they can plant some flowers or do a mural or different piece of work. Through those kinds of things, we are hoping for people to see that it is not just a cycle route, it’s an improvement along that corridor which feels a lot more like community-based project than just building a road.

Interviewer: Once it’s finished, how do you plan to enforce that drivers won’t park there?
Interviewee: That’s going to be a challenge. We have a parking enforcement team that cover the whole city. They try to manage traffic, so the more things like putting parking permits for residents, the more we need them to be out enforcing. It’s key for cycle lanes. Because they are so new to the city, we also need to be targeting them. When we put a new parking zone in, we send officers to try and drive that home and I think we need to do a similar thing with cycle routes that say: “We will ticket you if you come in.” Just get them out of the habit but it is hard. Quite often people will do those things at night when the officers are not there. You can’t control everyone’s behaviour; antisocial behaviour happens and cycle lanes is one of those things. So, we try to manage it but there is a limit. That will be easier when it’s finished, when all the double yellow lines are in and it’s a complete route.

Interviewer: As you said, you’ve done a lot of consultations with the public. What’s your experience with them? How much can community feedback change the project?
Interviewee: You’ve got two aspects to consultations’ feedback. You tend to have people who live near and are interested and people who are interested in cycling who are interested overall in whatever you are doing. So, whatever you are doing there will always be interested groups that want to feed into it. They’ll be very careful to criticize any bits of the design they are not happy with. One of the things we really want to avoid is putting the design out before you’ve done the consultation. Having the consultation prior ensures that people have had their say. It’s much harder to plan and have the people object. That’s why we do lots of consultations for each phase. Things sometimes change as a result of consultations. We often have different options and it’s a case of saying: “Both of these options work. What do you prefer?” Then you don’t have to change the design but simply choose which option to take forward. We do that in consultation as well. Everything in local government is a compromise. Everything! It’s a matter of having a compromise in the right place.

Interviewer: Anything else you want to add before we finish?
Interviewee: One thing that I find exciting about South City Way is that it’s a commuter route. It’s a route that we know is busy already but it’s about trying to get different groups of people onto it. Transport is expensive and bikes are a cheap way to get around. If we can connect communities that maybe need cheaper ways of travelling that improves inequality at the same time as benefiting the environment. That’s something I feel very strongly about. Women, children, older people as well. I commute via the South City Way every morning and every night and you do see women on bikes but
you also see a lot of fit middle-age men as well which is great. I’m glad they are on bikes but I feel that those people would cycle anyway. They’ll go on the roads and they are okay. It’s the group of people that you don’t see. The older women or parents with their kids. Those people will not go on the roads so with the South City Way we’re giving them an option that they wouldn’t have had before. Now, I am used to the roads and will go alongside them anywhere but if there were more cycle lanes I would have probably started cycling much earlier in my life. So, I do believe that the project will transform people’s lives through more worthwhile trips.

8. Sustrans representative - 04/04/19
Interviewer: Georgi Gushlekov
Interviewee: Sustrans representative
Location: Glasgow G2 1DU

Interviewer: Can we start with an overview of your current employment?
Interviewee: Basically, I’ve been working on the South City Way for the last two and a half years, more or less. I’m currently working with 14 schools and my job is, basically, to get more children on bikes, more children active in general. To help them actively take the route to and from school. Bikes are obviously one of the main factors in that. So, any child on a bike or a scooter or walking, that’s what I am interested in. At the moment I deliver a program within school hours to entice children to get on a bike, scooter or walking to and from school. That’s the main message that is being pushed and the South City Way plays a big part in that. A lot of kids know that that’s there and using it is a long-term legacy. I am informing and educating them about it. From experience, most people know how busy the roads in Glasgow are particularly in the beginning and end of school hours and if I can have less people travelling to school by car, that’s a job well done. Most of the journeys that children are making by car are short journeys anyway and that’s been proven by several different sources and local authorities. If I can make these kids do those trips actively, I’m ticking a lot of boxes: traffic reduction, greener city, healthier children. We’ve got a massive obesity epidemic in Scotland, particularly among the children as a result of them spending lots of time on their Ipads, computers. They are less likely to get on a bike or be active in some way, so even if it is the only time of the day those kids are going to be active, to and from school, it will help and assist them in the future. That’s a major factor aswell. We, in Sustrans, are strongly focused on health and wellbeing.

Interviewer: Does the concept of sustainable development play a big role in your profession?
Interviewee: Absolutely, sustainable development is a huge factor and in Sustrans it has two main components – active travel to reduce traffic, get more people on bikes, walking but also the health aspect.

Interviewer: Is Glasgow’s Strategic plan for cycling something you work with?
Interviewee: Absolutely, I submit reports into their system. Factors that are taken into consideration are age, gender, which school is it, how many children, what was the activity and how long did it last for. Most of my activities last for about an hour and can address confidence issues, skills training and led rides which are for children who can ride bikes but might not have access to one. All of those serve to entice them into using bikes and also to show them that they have the South City Way right on their doorstep as most children I work with are local. It contributes to long-term activity and can change their travel plans. Social inclusion is also a massive factor so if I can turn up to a school, do those session and convince some students of how easy cycling can be, I do it. Cycling is
healthy and everybody can relate to it. If you can relate to what a child does at home or potentially can do at home, it’s something they would take on long-term and legacy is what we are looking for.

Interviewer: What have you found to work particularly well?
Interviewee: My whole program is completely catered to Glasgow. I work with colleagues from other areas and they don’t have some of the activities that I do but at the same time, I don’t have some of the activities that they do. Population and cultural differences are massive and ability, age, gender need to be taken into account. For example, East Dunbartonshire, a neighbouring local authority, much more affluent though, more space, have a completely different program. Their program is based on led rides which my colleague does which can last for 3 to 4 hours. I can’t do that with my children. We don’t have the infrastructure yet and the standard of cyclists needs to be quite high for such a long ride. In more affluent areas, we have found that children learn to cycle from an earlier age and thus, the standard is much higher. But that doesn’t mean that the children in Glasgow have missed out, their program has just been tailored to suit them. It would be dangerous to take children out in some of the local roads but what we do have is plenty of accessible parks. Our education session which we usually do in the winter period have worked quite well also. I usually do those in classrooms and teach the children some basic bike maintenance like puncture repairs, we’d talk about carbon footprint and link it to active travel in order to show how it benefits it. Allowing some creative freedom is what makes GSPC so useful. You access its wide data set and learn from it but cater to what you are dealing with.

Interviewer: And, have you identified something that has not worked that well?
Interviewee: I can’t comment to much on that as my work is narrowly focused on schools and children so I don’t use the full scope of the strategic plan. What I can tell is that tailoring according to the area should be applied to all activities. Glasgow is a huge city; every area is different and targets and types of activities need to change ever so slightly according to the area. It’s important to know your audience.

Interviewer: What are your thoughts on the 10% target set by the Scottish government?
Interviewee: You need to set targets that achievable but at the same time you need to give yourself something to work towards, it needs to be a challenge. If you set a non-challenging one, why do it in the first place? So, the national target shows ambition and there are many problems like traffic congestion, air pollution and child obesity which are affected by it. Whether we meet that or not, I’m not sure but there are lots of people working towards it.

Interviewer: So, reaching the target is not the most important thing?
Interviewee: As a person who works on the ground, I can say that it’s not. I see the visible changes already but it’s going to be a long-term change culturally. It’s not going to happen overnight but slowly. You need the infrastructure there to do it and that’s where South City Way comes in. We need more cycle lanes; parking and the council is trying to meet that.

Interviewer: How does the South City Way fit into your work?
Interviewee: I use the South City Way as a route for travelling to and from locations. I also take children out via the South City Way. It’s safe, enjoyable and educational because the children are close to the road to see but not so close for it to be a danger to them. If more roads had the same infrastructure as Victoria road, it would be fantastic. At the moment, of course, it’s still a work in progress but I try to use it because it gives the children a real, tangible experience and allows them to be part of the traffic. The South City Way enables me to do that. I wasn’t able to do it before. The only problem I can see at the moment is that you still get individuals parking on the area but as a piece of infrastructure, it’s excellent. Critics also need to keep in mind that it’s not finished yet.
Interviewer: You mentioned that you talk to children about the South City Way. Can you elaborate on that?
Interviewee: I usually do it during school health weeks or parents’ days where I have an information stall. I do giveaways and provide maps that show the South City Way and its connections. Most parents have been forthcoming and welcoming. So far, I haven’t had any negativity and I think it is because parents realize how positive cycling can be for their children. Parents also know me and have seen me at least a few times during PE sessions. All the children know me as well as I usually stay in each school for a prolonged period of time – 6- or 7-week period. Full days. I am almost part of the staff and that personal touch is appealing to parents which helps a lot for passing on information. Parents usually end up wanting to see more. There’s a bit of a downside to it, though. I am the only person who is doing that particular work in Glasgow at the moment and most schools want such activities. There’s a demand for it. Surveys and interviews with head teachers from different schools clearly show that. We can do more but it all comes down to economy and budget.

Interviewer: Can you identify any challenges for the South City Way?

Interviewee: The parking issue. Stricter guidelines are needed in the area to avoid issues whether through fines, wardens, cameras. And that’s very important. You can already see the benefits from the South City Way – new shops, café bars. This only happens when an area is developing. In the past this area was a bit run down, it lacked character and the South City Way can change that.

Interviewer: What’s your opinion on the public consultations?

Interviewee: I’ve worked in partnership with the council and I would say that they are beneficial. That’s how many of the local people find out about it and get educated. It also helps to identify any potential pitfalls or negativities beforehand. Any development can be amended and should if the public have a problem. People should not have a major say for technical aspects as many people in those consultations won’t even be cyclists. You can also receive feedback from people who don’t know much about the project or don’t frequent the site of the project. Therefore, they can have a negative view on it before even seeing it. And for the South City Way, the positives outweigh the negatives whether you are a cyclist or not. It’s going to benefit anybody in the area – residents, home owners, property owners. People are also usually worried about parking but if most people cycle, is there even going to be a parking issue?

Interviewer: That was my last question but do you have anything to add?

Interviewee: I would stress that we need more infrastructure like the South City Way and the council are working towards that. I also think we need to have more people on the ground working on the behaviour change element to get more people on their bikes. Greater community engagement is needed, not only infrastructure. It takes both to swing communities long-term.

9. Glasgow City Council representative - 12/04/19

Interviewer: Georgi Gushlekov

Interviewee: Glasgow City Council representative

Location: Glasgow G2 1DU

Interviewer: Can we start with a brief description of your current position and how long you’ve been there for?
Interviewee: I’m assistant group manager in the Neighbourhoods and Sustainability department. I am also project lead for the South City Way. I’ve been a civic engineer for 20 years. My background has always been in transport so I’m a civil engineer to trait but a transport professional. I’ve done a bit of civil engineering but my time has been more focused on project like bus corridors, parking schemes, traffic calming, so I’ve always been more of a traffic engineer. So, I’m usually working on the existent network rather than on new sites.

Interviewer: Now that you are within Glasgow City Council, is the concept of sustainable development something that you work closely with?

Interviewee: Me and my team are part of the Sustainable Transport team and we are responsible for most of the cycling and bus schemes. We vary between providing resources, so assisting other organization with expertise, and implementing them on the technical side.

Interviewer: What’s your involvement with Glasgow’s Strategic Plan for Cycling?

Interviewee: That’s one of the key documents that my team works with. It’s something we are always following; our projects are falling from that and we work on them. It’s a policy and procedure document from which projects arise.

Interviewer: What have you found to work particularly well?

Interviewee: One of the most important things the plan has achieved is that it has risen the profile of cycling, it helped us secure funding. When it was first created it got allocated £2 000 000 per year which lasted for the first couple of years and since then it’s been a good leverage point really.

Interviewer: Have you identified a drawback to the plan since it came into play?

Interviewee: Because it is a policy document, I can identify a specific policy that has not worked as well as we planned. The counterflow of cycling has not been that successful but it’s hard to strike a balance when transforming two-way streets into one-way and providing cycling facilities on them in both directions. There’re always competing demands for road space and we need to acknowledge the Police’s safety requirements as well. There’s been an ongoing debate on that with different viewpoints. For example, a few experts from London are saying that cycling is safe on a one-way street even if there are cars parked on either side but the Police are not quite so keen.

Interviewer: What’s your personal opinion on the 10% target set by the Scottish Government?

Interviewee: It won’t be achieved in the next 10 years. It’s not too ambitious and it can be achieved but the thing is, you have to put the commitment in it. Obviously, you need to keep in mind what is politically acceptable, but if you doubled the price of petrol tomorrow that may help; if you increase the price of cars; if we have a fuel strike. One such example is the Trucker’s strike a few years ago which led to fuel shortages and car use plummeted. It also made people think what they would do if petrol was not freely accessible. Another thing is, if you look at how much budget has been made available to reach this target, it’s not 10% of the transport budget. So, how can you make cycling 10% of all journeys when the central government spends much more on motor ways like the A1? If you want to reach these 10% you need to spend more than 10% of the budget on it because you are trying to move people in that direction. A lot of money is being made available but it’s not as much as it should be. It should also be set there in advance so councils can plan for longer periods. Currently, it changes every year. It’s hard to deliver something when you don’t know if you have the funds for it.

Interviewer: How does the South City Way come into Glasgow’s cycling strategy?

Interviewee: South City Way will be one of the core routes and it’s been going really well because our cycling strategy at that time started to really emphasise greener ways of travel. Having funding from Community Links available has also greatly benefited it as we had the project match funded. So, we didn’t have to go back and re-apply, we had the money in the bank and were able to go ahead with it.
Interviewer: What’s your experience been in promoting the project?
Interviewee: South City Way has been very successful. During the community consultations, we’ve actually been worried that we haven’t had that much negative feedback. We received a few bits and pieces when we started working outside of shops but even then, the majority of the feedback was favourable. It’s not a case of 100% of the people thinking it’s great but we’ve had much smaller schemes, for example the installation of a bus stop, where lots of people complain and in this case it’s 3 km of cycle path.

Interviewer: The consultations have been a way to educate the people about South City Way. Can you tell me a bit more about them and any other such initiatives?
Interviewee: There’re a number of behaviour change programmes like that where a lot of dialogue takes place, a lot of stakeholders are present. There’s Community Grants, done by Sustrans, which has distributed money to people who want to encourage active travel. We’ve been working with the schools in the area through an I-Bike officer as well as separate funding for bikes, and obviously, PR. We’ve had a lot of dialogue with shopkeepers through Bike for Good.

Interviewer: Now that South City Way has been several years in the making, can you envision any challenges upon its completion?
Interviewee: There’re still a number of challenges associated with construction that we need to overcome and technical issues at several very tight, from a physical constraint perspective, sections. We also still need to have more consultations in the centre where feedback has been a bit more negative due to some residents losing their parking spaces. Because many people there have parking permits, they feel they won’t be able to park as often. Those concerns are not directly aimed at the South City Way but at the fact that they have paid for a parking permit that’s suppose to guarantee them a space to park. But if they come home after 18:00, when parking is free in the city centre, every space is taken up and the South City Way will take even more spaces away. “Where am I going to park?” “I have paid for a parking permit” – those sorts of things come up. It’s not a problem during the day when parking is not free but after 18:00 when everybody is treated equally.

Parking on the South City Way has been a problem too but we are not able to enforce no-parking until everything is in place. We can’t have a warden to actually do it until all the signs and legislation has been put it. Even with that done, you will always have someone that does it but once the route is fully completed and more people use it, self-enforcement will play a big role. Why does a person not park in a busy cycle route? Because he thinks he is causing an obstruction, it’s hard to do it if someone is actually cycling on it.

Interviewer: Regarding the consultations, how big has their influence been over the course of the project?
Interviewee: They are extremely useful. Being able to get local people involved really helps in reducing the number of objections. You can often get a lot of problems from misinformation but being able to put that to bed before it happens is crucial. In my previous experience I’ve seen that all it takes is one disgruntled person to spread misinformation and then you would have an uphill battle. A person can say all the parking will get removed for the cycle lane and if that goes around all the businesses, we would get lots of complaints. Many people would always think that’s what you are doing, even though it’s not true or only partially so. This can sometimes mean that you’ve lost the battle before it has even started. People can be quite vocal even if it’s not based on facts. Community consultations stifle such rumours, collaborating with groups in the area who can do the same also helps a lot. It stops misinformation before it escalates. All it takes is one person to say “I’ve seen the plans; it doesn’t look like that.” It stops it. People are really interested to come along to the consultations. Of course, you always get people who even after so long don’t know about it. But maybe they just don’t want to be engaged.