

Beyond 'good' and 'bad' cyclists. On compensation effects between risk taking, safety equipment and secondary tasks

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 observational study

16 Structured abstract

17 INTRODUCTION

In France the number of injuries involving cyclists has risen over the last 10 years. With the 18 widespread use of ICT devices, secondary tasks have become a major focus for transport safety 19 20 research. They have also been identified as a predictor of collision. Although still scarce, this 21 literature on cyclists' secondary tasks identifies a recurrent profile. Young cyclists are in the 22 spotlight as they often use earbuds or headphones and combine such use with taking other major 23 risks on the road. Despite their vulnerability, their group accounts for only 12% of severe fatalities, which is proportional to their share of the urban cyclist population. This paper explores other 24 cyclist profiles in an attempt to understand the discrepancy between the perception of risk-prone 25 behaviour and transport safety statistics. 26

27 METHODS

- 28 We seek to establish more nuanced profiles, i.e. cyclists who balance risk-taking and safety. In order
- 29 to detect these profiles, we conducted 1,746 observations at 14 locations in the city of Besançon
- 30 (France). For each observation we considered 30 variables that provide information on the cyclist's
- 31 profile, secondary tasks, risks taken, and safety equipment.

32 RESULTS

- 33 These observed situations show that the two well-documented profiles (i.e. 'risk-prone' or 'risk-
- 34 averse') together represent only 53.84% of our observations. We identify more mitigated profiles.
- 35 Primarily a large group (37.29%) consists of middle-aged and elderly cyclists who are poorly
- 36 equipped, who are rarely engaged in any secondary tasks, but who take occasional risks on the road.

37 CONCLUSIONS

- 38 Policies that aim to reduce the use of ICT devices on bike for all are necessary but not sufficient
- 39 for reducing collisions. In addition to providing dedicated infrastructure, more targeted responses
- 40 need to be provided to these different groups, such as focused actions on safety equipment and
- 41 compliance with the traffic regulations for elderly cyclists.

42 1. Introduction

The widespread use of smartphones and the advent of devices designed to facilitate listening or communication while cycling has given rise to a scarce but growing literature on cycling safety and secondary tasks (de Waard et al. 2009; Huemer et al., 2019; Terzano, 2013).

It has been shown that the simple fact of performing secondary tasks while cycling can predict collisions; this especially concerns teenagers and young adults (Goldenbeld et al., 2012). In so far as they impair attention, perception, hearing and sight, secondary tasks are considered central to cycling accidentology (e.g. Huemer et al., 2019; Terzano, 2013).

50 For instance, de Waard et al. (2014, 2015) have shown that the use of a hand-held phone has three 51 major impacts: (1) it increases reaction time to an auditory signal by 50%; (2) it significantly 52 decreases the number of objects detected in the visual periphery; and (3) it causes the cyclists to 53 keep more distance from the curb, and thus brings them closer to other road users especially cars. 54 These studies also report reduced attention to auditory signals if the cyclist is wearing an earpiece

- 55 (83% do not hear the signal).
- 56 Despite the existence of recent publications like the articles mentioned above, most of the literature

focuses on the risks of secondary tasks when driving a car. For instance, Olson et al. (2009) have shown that a driver who texts a message is 23.2 times more likely to be involved in a safety-critical

59 event.

60 Other studies also examine the impact of secondary tasks realized by pedestrians: when the latter

talk on the phone, they tend to cross the street without looking significantly more often (Nasar et
 al., 2008).

63 A comparison of current literature on these three types of users shows that the effects of secondary

tasks diverge between them. Notably, according to several studies realized in the Netherlands, 70%

65 of bicycle crashes are single-vehicle crashes; half of these collisions involve structural elements

66 (Goldenbeld et al., 2012; Schepers, 2008, 2009). It therefore constitutes a risk more to themselves

67 than to other users like pedestrians or other cyclists (Terzano, 2013).

- 68 The literature identifies a typical profile with risky behaviour. Younger (generally male) cyclists, 69 more exactly teenagers and young adults, tend to engage more frequently in secondary tasks 70 involving ICT devices. These cyclists also usually combine these secondary tasks with taking risks
- 71 with regard to traffic regulations, and they fail to wear safety equipment such as helmets. All this
- 72 makes them particularly prone to serious injuries or fatalities in the city (Goldenbeld et al., 2012).
- 73 Most of the literature emphasizes combinations of equipment and behaviour (complying with

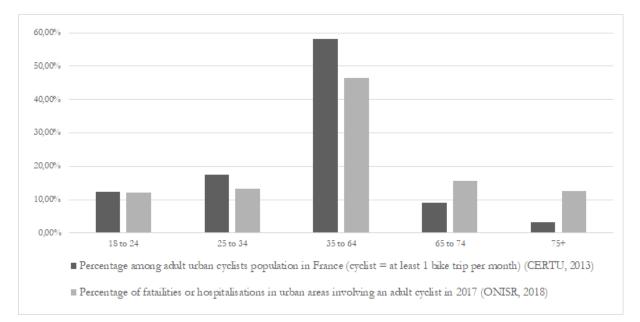
74 traffic rules: using cycle paths, stopping at traffic lights, etc.) that tend to distinguish two specific

75 profiles. The first applies to risk-taking cyclists, who are rather young, often boys, poorly equipped,

76 prone to engaging in secondary tasks, riding fast, and breaking the traffic law. The second applies

77 to risk-aware cyclists who do just the opposite. This rather normative dualism between 'good' (risk-

- averse) and 'bad' (risk-prone) cyclists does not help in thinking about the diversity and multi-
- 79 factorial nature of safety-related cycling practices.
- 80 Moreover, a careful analysis of road safety data for France shows that young cyclists (18-24 y.o.)
- 81 are obviously exposed to the risk of fatalities or serious injuries. That said, when we compare this
- 82 figure with their share in the population of regular or more occasional urban cyclists, we find that
- 83 their fatalities or hospitalisations rate is simply proportional to their number (see Figure 1)
- 84 (CERTU, 2013; ONISR, 2018).



85

Figure 1: Share of fatalities or hospitalisations in French urban areas, and share of the population of adult urban cyclists, by age group

88 Obviously, cyclists are not always responsible for the collisions they are involved in. That said, the substantial number of serious collisions for elderly cyclists raises questions as they are globally not 89 particularly involved in secondary tasks, they are generally better equipped, and generally take few 90 risks but still experience a high number of severe collisions, well in excess of the cycling population 91 92 they represent (see Figure 1). Part of the explanation for these fatalities and hospitalisations 93 overrepresentations comes from the 'frailty bias' (Evans, 2001; Hakamies-Blomqvist, 1998, 2003). 94 Indeed, compared to younger populations, older people are more often injured or hospitalized after 95 a collision.

96 We designed this study through a partnership with the local authority (*Grand Besançon Métropole*) 97 which was particularly concerned with cycling safety. While for most modes of transport, the 98 number of fatalities and injuries is decreasing in French cities, there was an increase in both these 99 indicators for cyclists over the period 2007–2018, partly attributed to secondary tasks and the 100 ensuing decreased attention span (ONISR, 2018).

101 A systematic and wide-ranging analysis of all behaviours on the road, but also an analysis of 102 equipment and areas frequented, is therefore necessary in order to gain a better understanding of 103 this risk-taking, in a more sophisticated and realistic classification than a division between 'good' 104 and 'bad' cyclists. It only takes a brief period of observation of urban cyclists to realize that many 105 other combinations can be found between types of cyclists, their equipment, their secondary tasks, 106 and their (non-)compliance with traffic regulations. For example, Kirchner et al. (2015) and de 107 Waard et al. (2010) show that cyclists adapt their speed when interacting with mobile phones.

108 The broader hypothesis that we seek to test in this paper is the existence of compensatory effects

109 for a large proportion of the cycling population, between the use of safety equipment, risk-taking,

and secondary tasks in the different areas frequented. For example, cyclists with little safety gear

111 may tend to moderate their speed and may tend to prioritize reserved bicycle lanes in order to limit

112 collisions with motorized vehicles. Another example, on the other hand, people with different

113 safety items (helmet, reflective tape, and jackets) may tend to feel safe and may ride faster and

114 occasionally break the rules of the road.

In order to test our hypothesis, a field observation campaign was conducted in Besançon (France)
 to jointly analyse several dimensions potentially explaining urban cyclists' behaviour with regard to
 safety.

118 **2.** Case study, material and methods

119 Our observation seeks to respond to several limitations in the literature. First, most of the observational protocols are limited to a small number of locations, usually along routes that are 120 121 well equipped for cyclists, and where bicycle traffic is substantial (de Waard et al., 2015; Huemer et 122 al., 2019). This type of observational protocol allows a maximum number of cyclists to be observed 123 and limits double counting. Moreover, observing along routes separate from motor traffic also 124 allows more secondary tasks to be observed. However, these observations are therefore limited to 125 a few types of cycling situations, and do not allow for the observation of behaviour in a set of differentiated situations (such as cycling in car traffic or crossing a pedestrian precinct). 126

127 Secondly, observational studies of secondary tasks while cycling are mainly conducted in cities with 128 well-equipped infrastructure for cyclists (such as separate paths, or priority at the traffic lights) and 129 where cycling is a frequent mode of transport. For example, Braunschweig (Germany) where cycling had a modal share of 15% in 2004, or Groningen (the Netherlands, 60% in 2017) are 130 considered in de Waard et al., 2015 and Huemer et al., 2019 (EPOMM, 2020). Although these cities 131 132 are seen as models for increasing the modal share of cycling, they do not represent the majority of 133 cases in Europe (Raser et al., 2018). We present a study conducted in a city where cycling is less 134 central, whether in terms of modal share or in terms of density of cycling facilities.

- 135 Our study was conducted in Besançon which is the second most populated city in the Bourgogne-136 Franche-Comté region of France with 117,000 inhabitants including a large student population 137 (23,0000). The modal share for bike-use is 3% (Grand Besançon, 2015). Although fairly compared with Danish or Dutch cities, this percentage is typical of medium-sized French cities. The local 138 authority (Grand Besancon Métropole) has furthermore reported a doubling of this modal share since 139 2008 and considers there are 4,000 cyclists for 15,000 bike trips every day in Besançon (Grand 140 Besançon, 2015). This rather low cycling modal share can be explained by many geographical, social 141 142 and cultural factors, but also by cycling facilities that are quantitatively less significant than in the 143 cities mentioned above and whose quality is sometimes criticized by local cycling associations. 144 There are 110 km of reserved bicycle paths in the conurbation of Besançon for 193,000 inhabitants, 145 i.e. 0.57 metres of track per inhabitant. This indicator is at least three times lower than for Nordic cities with equivalent populations (e.g. Odense, Turku, Aalborg, Örebro) (Bono, 2014; Mueller et 146 147 al., 2018).
- 148 For cyclists as for other vehicle conductors in France since 2015, most secondary tasks are illegal,
- 149 namely the use of an earpiece or making a phone call, or sending a message. Hence, we have chosen
- 150 a methodology that relies on observation rather than on reported frequencies that may often be
- 151 underestimated in such cases.
- 152 Observations were made on 12 March 2020, five days before the French lockdown measures due
- to the COVID-19 pandemic, from 3 pm to 7 pm. The weather was sunny. The temperature was
- 154 15 °C. The sun went down around 6:30 pm. This observation was conducted as a workshop with
- 155 undergraduate geography students. To ensure that the observation was very detailed, two students
- 156 (three in the most crowded places) positioned themselves to be able to observe the same cyclist
- 157 behaviours without being seen. For example, one group stayed in a car, another was in a café. We
- 158 tested student positions on 20 February and 5 March 2020 from 3 to 6 pm. During these two

159 sessions, students were also trained to complete the observation grid to improve inter-coder 160 reliability. The study was conducted in accordance with French data privacy policy. Firstly, we 161 observed only adults, even though teenager behaviours are a topical issue. Secondly, we used direct

162 observation with no video recording.

163 In this study, what we observed were 'situations', each made up of a particular person (A) with 164 particular equipment (D) behaving in a particular way in terms of secondary tasks (B) and risk-165 taking (C) in a particular place (E). At the top of each coding sheet, we recorded the observation location, the date, the weather, and the time. Two points need to be made. First, regarding speed 166 (c3), observers were asked to indicate '0' when the cyclist was stationary, voluntarily standing astride 167 their bike, and not waiting at a traffic light, '1' when the cyclist was pushing their bicycle, '2' when 168 the cyclist was riding at a normal or reduced speed, and '3' when the cyclist was riding too fast, in 169 170 a manner that was risky for others. Another precautionary point concerned compliance with the traffic regulations (c2) as this information was central to our study. The infringements identified 171 172 did not concern the lack of regulatory equipment, or riding with one or no hands, or excessive 173 loading or possible excessive speed, as this information was already taken into account elsewhere. 174 Here infringements concerned only either failure to obey traffic signs, riding in areas prohibited to 175 cyclists or riding against the flow of traffic.

175 Cyclists of fiding against the now of traffic.

176 In all 1,881 situations were observed. We decided to remove 135 observations of cyclists who used

177 public bikes (VéloCité). These bikes are already equipped with certain safety devices by default, their

178 use leads to no helmet usage and so could bias our analysis. The study was therefore based on the

179 remaining 1,746 observations.

180 We selected 14 observation points in partnership with the local authority's Transport and Mobility

181 Department. These points correspond to major paths taken by cyclists in the city centre. The areas

182 taken into consideration differ greatly with regard to the sharing of public space (Table 1).

	Number of observations	Is cycling assigned to a dedicated path or road lane?	Is the road shared with motorized vehicles ? (if yes, what is the speed limit for cars?)	Are there tram rails at this location?	Is the path shared with pedestrians ?
1	82	\checkmark	☑ / 30		
2	152	\checkmark			V
3	82	\checkmark		V	\checkmark
4	86	\checkmark	☑ / 30	V	\checkmark
5	175	\checkmark	☑ / 30		
6	73		☑ / 30		
7	84	\checkmark	☑ / 50		
8	210		☑ / 30		\checkmark
9	147		☑ / 50	V	\checkmark
10	233			V	\checkmark
11	161	\checkmark			V
12	130	\checkmark		V	V
13	90	\checkmark			\checkmark
14	41	\checkmark	☑ / 50		

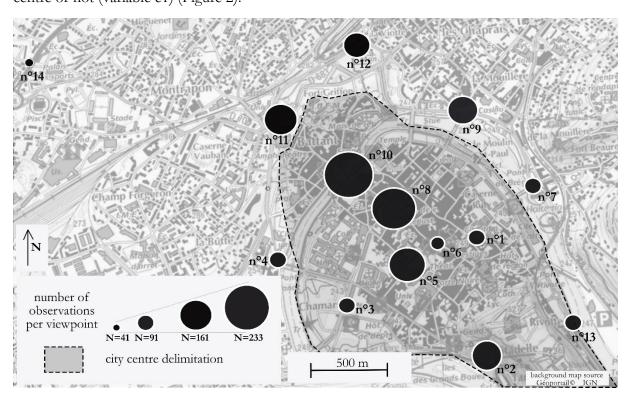
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Table 1: Characteristics of the fourteen observation points

In the case of co-presence with motorized vehicles, the maximum traffic speed could also vary
(30km/h or 50km/h). As the centre of Besançon is split (in terms of urban form) between a very

186 dense historical centre with narrow one-way streets and low speed limits and more recent districts

187 with wider traffic lanes, we also took as a variable whether the observation point was in the historic188 centre or not (variable e1) (Figure 2).



189 190

Figure 2: Fourteen observation points have been selected in and around the city centre

As the observation lasted several hours with 14 observation points corresponding to the places most frequented by cyclists, some cyclists must have been observed several times. Insofar as we seek to identify situations in which cyclists behave in one way or another, these double counts are not detrimental to our observation as we observed situations rather than cyclists, allowing us to assess both the persistence of certain behaviours and the relevance of the types of areas frequented for safety-related behaviour.

- In order to estimate multiple counts of cyclists, though, we looked for identical profiles in several observations by taking into account the variables that are consistent between two observations points: gender, age group, equipment, whether they are sports cyclists or cycle as part of their job (delivery person or police officer). In all 722 different profiles were identified with an observation frequency of 2.38 times per profile. As a result, we can state that our observation corresponds to approximately 720 different people. Our observation therefore corresponds to 18% of the 4,000
- 203 estimated daily cyclists which is substantial.
- 204
- 205
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- 209
- 210

211 **3. Results and discussion**

212 3.1. Few secondary tasks, but other risky behaviours

In general, the unsafe behaviours we are trying to observe and understand are rather rare. This isespecially true for secondary tasks (Table 2).

	Variables	Modalities	N=	⁰∕₀
	A1: Condon	[1 = man]	1,135	65.46%
	A1: Gender	[0 = woman]	599	34.54%
		[18-35]	784	44.95%
	A2: Age category	[36-60]	837	48%
		[60+]	123	7.05%
Α	A31: Cycling alone	[1= yes]	1,545	88.49%
'Cyclist	A32: Cycling with someone on the bike	[1= yes]	80	4.58%
profile'	A 33: Cycling with someone alongside	[1= yes]	119	6.82%
	A34: Transporting something	[1= yes]	64	3.67%
	A4 : Cycling for sport (i.e. the person observed is dressed like a sports cyclist)	[1= yes]	94	5.38%
	A5 : Professional on bike (i.e. mainly delivery people and three police officers)	[1= yes]	116	6.64%
	B1 : Listening	[1= yes]	97	5.56%
	B2: Phoning	[1 = yes]	14	0.80%
В	B3: Manipulating screen	[1= yes]	6	0.34%
'Secondary	B4 : Looking at screen	[1= yes]	11	0.63%
tasks'	B5 : Talking	[1 = yes]	101	5.78%
	B6 : Eating	[1= yes]	4	0.23%
	B7: Smoking	[1= yes]	8	0.46%
		[0]	14	0.80%
	C1: Number of hands on handlebars	[1]	113	6.48%
0		[2]	1,618	92.72%
C	C2: Traffic compliance	[0 = no]	192	11%
'Risk-taking'		[0= standing]	72	4.13%
	C3: Speed	[1= walking w. bike] [2= moderate]	35	2.01% 61.10%
		[3= riding briskly]	1,065 571	32.76%
	D11 : Normal bike	[1 = yes]	1,408	80.64%
	D12: E-bike	[1= yes]	307	17.58%
	D2: Helmet	[1 = yes]	563	32.25%
D	D3: Cycling jacket	[1= yes]	120	6.87%
	D4: Light-coloured clothes	[1= yes]	223	12.77%
'Equipment'	D5: Reflecting stripes	[1= yes]	247	14.15%
		[0= no light]	981	56.19%
	D6 : Bicycle headlight	[1= not in function]	636	36.43%
		[2= in function]	129	7.39%
	E1: City centre	[1= yes]	1,097	62.83%
	E2: Dedicated cycle path	[1= yes]	1,083	62.03%
Ε		[1 = yes speed limited to	626	35.85%
'Areas frequented'	E3: Riding through motorized traffic	30km/h] [2= yes speed limited to 50km/h]	272	15.58%
	E4: Tram rails at the intersection	[1= yes]	678	38.83%
	E5: Path shared with pedestrians	[1= yes]	1,291	73.94%

Table 2: Observed situations

- 216 Only two secondary tasks stand out: 'listening via an earbud or headphones' (5.56% of the total
- 217 observations) and 'talking to someone' (5.78%). The fact that these two secondary tasks emerge is
- consistent with recent literature (Huemer et al., 2019). That said, they occur less frequently than in
- Braunschweig (2019) where the corresponding percentages were 13.1% and 7% (Huemer et al.,
- 220 2019). Part of this discrepancy could be explained by the fact that these latter observations were 221 conducted exclusively on dedicated cycle paths. It is also possible that the French legislation
- banning the wearing of headphones since 2015, although its existence is still largely unknown to
- the public, may have contributed to a lower level of these secondary tasks. Apart from these two
- secondary task, the others (eating, smoking, looking at/manipulating a screen or phoning) are very
- 225 marginal as they are recorded in less than 1% of the total observations.
- In Besançon, other types of risky behaviours are more common. For example, traffic violations were observed in 11% of situations, cyclists riding briskly in 32.76% of cases, and having only one hand or none at all on the handlebars in 7.28% of cases. Safety equipment is not the norm: 56.19% of cyclists do not have headlights and 67.75% do not wear helmets. Safety equipment of other kinds is even rarer.
- 231 3.2. Cumulative effects towards dangerous or safe behaviours
- In order to identify the correlations between profiles, behaviours, equipment, locations, and the 232 233 possible existence of cumulative or compensatory effects concerning cycling safety, we generated 234 a table of interactions among variables (Figure 3). The significance of these pairwise interactions is 235 tested through Chi-square tests (randomized so that the nominal 5% Type I risk of an individual 236 test is valid, despite sometimes low sample sizes in the corresponding contingency tables). The sign of the correlation is calculated based on the numerical encoding of all variables (which are all binary 237 or ordinal). Positive correlations are shown in red, negative ones in blue. Only significant 238 239 correlations appear in dark colours. From this table with multiple correlations (n=435 among which 167 are significant at the $\alpha = 5$ % level hence a false discovery rate of 0,05*435/167=13%), it is 240 241 possible to distinguish results that sometimes involve cumulative effects (one intensifies the other) 242 and sometimes compensatory effects (one moderates the other).
- The first thing that stands out in this graph is the presence of a 'red square' of positive correlations between items of safety equipment (d-d square). When cyclists have one piece of safety equipment, it is very likely that they will have others. Electric bikes usually come with a higher level of safety equipment whereas cyclists with 'normal' bikes tend to have less safety equipment. This is consistent with the formation of two contrasting groups, equipment-wise: risk-averse cyclists, who have at least two pieces of safety equipment (involved in $n_{obs}=535$ observations) and risk-prone ones, who have none at all ($n_{obs}=615$).
- As for secondary tasks, they are not positively correlated to each other, and are significantly correlated with few of the other variables (b-b square). This is probably linked, at least in part, to the rarity of their occurrence. Besides, it is understandably difficult, from a practical point of view, for cyclists to engage in several secondary tasks at once.
- Listening with an earpiece (b1) is clearly the prerogative of young, male cyclists: compliance with traffic regulations is negatively and significantly correlated with this, and these cyclists keep a lower number of hands on the handlebars. They also wear helmets less. This use of the earpiece does not seem to depend at all on the diversity of places frequented. It is therefore used as much on a recorrect highly not here in the middle of car traffic
- reserved bicycle path as in the middle of car traffic...

- Talking to someone on a bicycle (b5) is more likely to be done by young to middle-aged cyclists, most often carrying a child in a back seat. For these people, the emphasis is on safety with helmets being very frequently worn, reflective strips increasing their visibility, and reduced speed and so greater (though not significantly so) compliance with traffic regulations. Although the number of hands on the handlebars is significantly lower, it is worth specifying that this is the case when the
- bike is stationary or when the cyclist is pushing the bike. Risk-taking is therefore limited.
- Although for these variables there is a polarization between at-risk groups and more cautious groups, we can also distinguish variables that tend to offset each other and which characterize other cyclists whose risk-taking seems more controlled.
- 268 3.3. Compensatory effects between risk and safety

In the middle of Figure 3, the correlations between speed, number of hands on the handlebars and 269 270 compliance with traffic regulations seem to show compensating effects (c-c square). Indeed, speed is negatively correlated with observance of the rules of the road. Speed could be a compensation 271 272 for risk-taking (e.g. running a red light) or, conversely, non-compliance with traffic regulations 273 could be due to wanting to ride fast. On the other hand, speed is positively correlated with the 274 number of hands. In other words, cyclists who break the rules of the road riding at high speed tend 275 to do so with full control of their bike. The three kinds of risky behaviours (high speed, non-276 compliance with rules and less than two hands on the handlebar) are associated only 9 times in 277 1746 observations (0.05%, among whom exclusively men, 7 of whom are between 18 and 35 years 278 of age).

Riding an electric bicycle (d12) also has a compensating effect. Certainly, as we saw earlier, these cyclists are better equipped, especially with helmets. That said, the feeling of security that this probably gives them might encourage them to ride faster, and often too fast in relation to the areas they ride through (c3). These cyclists also have a tendency, albeit a statistically insignificant one, to commit more traffic offences than others (c2).

Other correlations also support this line of reasoning. For example, wearing of a helmet (d2) is correlated with a higher speed (c3) that is regularly dangerous for other users. Some secondary tasks, which impact attention, seem to be compensated for by reduced speed and most often by cyclists stopping their travel. Telephoning (b2) or talking (b5) are negatively correlated with speed (c3). In these cases, cyclists frequently stop or get off their bikes to walk. It seems, then, that the term 'secondary task' is sometimes debatable.

Cycling on the tram tracks (e4) seems to involve cyclists who are particularly equipped with visibility and lighting devices. Although it is forbidden to ride there, these are frequented areas because trams are not frequent (one every 10 minutes in each direction on average) and no other vehicles are allowed. Apart from a rare but potentially very serious collision with a tram, these areas also present the risk of pedestrians crossing without looking as they would do in a pedestrian zone. Getting cyclists to equip themselves with lights and reflective devices, and probably also with bicycle bells, might be one way to adapt to the specific dangers found in these environments.

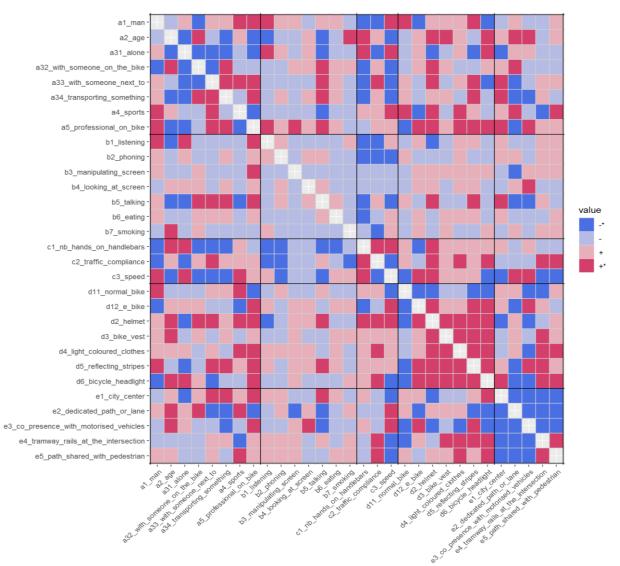


Figure 3: Interactions between variables (negative in blue, positive in red, darkest colours corresponding to significant interactions)

300 4. Cyclist profiles related to safety

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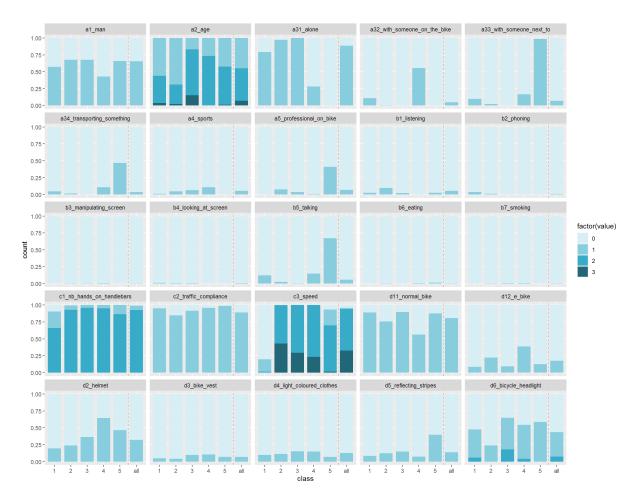
We carried out a hierarchical clustering analysis of our data, which enabled us to analyse multivariate profiles beyond pairwise interactions of variables. We carried out this analysis on all variables except those relating to the areas crossed since we wanted to focus on people's profiles. We calculated the distance between individuals as simple euclidean distances (all variables being either binary, coded as 0/1 or ordinal, coded e.g. as 0/1/2). We then carried out the clustering (Ward's method) and selected several clusters (5) that maximised the ratio of minimal intercluster distance to maximal intracluster distance (Figure 4).

308 For each variable, the sixth histogram represents its distribution for the entire population under

309 consideration. Results are calculated for the 1719 observations without missing information. As

310 this observation was conducted in a particular environmental context and circumstances, these five

311 classes cannot be extrapolated to other places or times.



312

313

Figure 4: Five classes of cyclists and their related profiles, behaviours and equipment

The first class, with a relatively small number of situations (n=82, 4.78% of observed situations), is mainly made up of people who are stationary or pushing their bicycles. These people phone more than others, they listen with earpieces, and speak a little more than the average, although all these secondary tasks are still very rare. There is a slight over-representation of women and younger people. This therefore nuances the image of young people who take risks, since some of them stop to engage in a secondary task without taking any particular risk.

The second class of situation is better documented in the literature. It concerns a larger group of observations (n=812, 47.23%). These are mostly young men who are alone, who listen the most on a headphone or earpiece, who least obey the traffic rules, who ride fastest, who have little safety equipment and in particular very rarely a helmet and a light. It is the second-best equipped group in e-bikes.

Class 3 corresponds to a large number of observations (n=640, 37.29% of observed situations) concerning older cyclists, mainly equipped with 'normal' bikes but little equipment other than a headlight. This group wears helmets only at the average level for all observations, which remains rather low (32.25%). Although they are rarely engaged in any secondary tasks, relatively frequent traffic offences are noticed for this group, which is the second largest in terms of traffic law violations and speeding. This group seems to be less well documented in the literature.

331 The fourth class includes a smaller number of observed situations (n=112, 6.52%). They concern 332 a majority of middle-aged women, more than half of whom are carrying someone (usually a child

in a bicycle seat). These people may also occasionally transport something or interact with other

cyclists. Apart from talking with someone, no other secondary tasks were observed. This group hasthe highest rate of e-bike riding, with the highest helmet wearing rate. Quite counter-intuitively,

some risk-taking is to be noted, especially in terms of high speed probably due to the greater use

337 of e-bikes. This group seems to be often forgotten in the safety policy concerning speed.

338 The last group is made up of situations (n=73, 4.25% of observed situations) involving, for nearly

half the number, people who cycle as part of their job, many of whom are delivery riders. As a

result they are rather well equipped with helmets and reflective stripes as part of their work outfit.

341 They fully comply with traffic regulations, and they find themselves in a variety of situations: at a 342 standstill or walking to consult and manipulate their smartphone screen (waiting for an order),

riding very fast, or riding more slowly to find a delivery location. They are almost systematically in

a group and talk more than the other people observed. This is a group in which young men are

345 over-represented. On the whole they do not appear to exhibit risky behaviour on the road.

	N _{obs} (%)	Dominant profile	Over- represented equipment	Risk-taking	Over- represented secondary tasks
Class 1	82 (4.78%)	Young, women	Light	Few risks taken, walking or standing	Only talking
Class 2	812 (47.23%)	Young, men	No equipment; substantial share of e- bikes	Multiple and frequent	Listening with earpiece or headphones
Class 3	640 (37.23%)	Middle aged and old, men	Headlight	In the average	No secondary tasks
Class 4	112 (6.52%)	Middle aged, women, transporting a child	Large share of e-bikes, helmet, vest, headlight	No infringement but sometimes high speed	Only talking
Class 5	73 (4.25%)	Delivery workers, in group of cyclists	Reflecting stripes, helmet, headlight	Few risks taken	Talking frequently when standing or walking

346 To sum up, we establish five main profiles (Table 3) to go beyond 'good' and 'bad' cyclists.

Table 3: Five dominant cyclist profiles related to safety

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354 **5.** Conclusions

Our hypothesis about the existence of compensatory effects in terms of cycling safety is validated.Even though we identify the two well documented extreme profiles that either accumulate all

357 possible risks or avoid them all (classes 2 and 4 respectively), these types of profiles appear only 358 812 and 112 times respectively, i.e. 53.84% of the situations observed.

As a result just under half of urban cyclists are in the in-between group, which compensates 359

between risk-taking and safety. These compensatory effects sometimes tend to reduce part of the 360

361 risk associated with secondary tasks while cycling. For instance, our study shows that a significant

362 number of cyclists (class 1) either stop on the side of the road or walk next to their bikes to make phone calls and interact with their phones. This group includes an overrepresentation of young

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- 364 people that challenges their image as a risk-prone population.
- 365 Our study also exposes the existence of "in-between" behaviours, particularly in Class 3 (37.3% of observed situations). This class is composed of mainly middle-aged and elderly male cyclists. On 366 367 the one hand, these cyclists almost never engage in any secondary tasks, and have a higher equipment with headlights than the general population observed (64.69% of class 3 cyclists have a 368 headlight; compared to 43.81% in the general population). On the other hand, two indicators -369 although close to the average of observations - show that these older cyclists rarely wear a helmet 370 (e.g. 63.43% of class 3 cyclists do not wear a helmet) and sometimes do not comply with traffic 371
- 372 regulations (infringements are observed in almost 8.59% of the situations involving these cyclists).

373 Considering these results, associated with the frailty bias (Hakamies-Blomqvist, 1998) and the 374 natural decline in concentration, attention, hearing and sight (Schmitz et al., 2010) affecting older 375 people in general, elderly could become a new target for safety policies. In addition to the provision 376 of more dedicated infrastructure, targeted responses could be provided - whether focused more on the use of helmets and compliance with the traffic regulations for elderly cyclists, or on 377 378 secondary tasks for younger male cyclists - to reduce the number of cyclist injuries and fatalities in 379 cities in France and elsewhere.

An analysis that combines the different facets of cycling behavior, as we have attempted to do in 380 this study, allows for a better understanding of the diversity of cycling practices with respect to 381 safety, and perhaps helps identifying more effective measures to improve it. 382

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