

The benefits of active transportation interventions: A review of the evidence

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Abstract: Interventions to promote active travel (walking and bicycling) have manifold societal benefits. This study reviews the benefits of active travel infrastructure (e.g., painted bicycle lane, pedestrian refuge island) and programmatic interventions (e.g., bike share program), synthesizes the effects by outcome categories and provides a summary of the effects, and quantifies the effects where possible. We cite 236 studies on intervention-specific findings. Additional evidence is used to synthesize the benefits of active travel interventions into different benefit categories including safety, physical activity, reduction in vehicle miles traveled and emissions, other health effects, and economic activity. There is relatively more evidence in the literature on safety effects and changes in bicycling and walking associated with active transportation interventions than on other effects such as changes in physical activity and vehicle miles traveled. In general, we find strong evidence for wide ranging societal benefits from active transportation interventions that increase public health and transportation system sustainability in cost-effective ways. Variation in effects is substantial for most infrastructure interventions, likely due to the wide variety of land use, environmental, cultural, and political contexts, as well as the wide variety of research methods and analyses employed across a diverse set of academic fields. The existing local transportation infrastructure and land-use patterns are especially likely to moderate the effects of active transportation interventions. This suggests that it is necessary to keep the local context in mind when evaluating the effects of specific interventions.

Keywords: Bicycling infrastructure, pedestrian infrastructure, bicyclist and pedestrian safety, active transportation, active travel programs and policies, active travel and health

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1 Introduction

Infrastructure, program, and policy interventions to increase walking and bicycling (forms of active transportation) have been studied extensively (Dill, 2009; Ewing & Cervero, 2010; Fields et al., 2022; Panter et al., 2016; Pucher et al., 2010; Schoner et al., 2015). While difficult to pin down causal effects, evidence suggests a wide variety of interventions can be effective in normalizing walking and bicycling for day-to-day travel. However, quantification of the benefits

of specific interventions are difficult to find, come from a variety of environmental-social contexts and academic disciplines, and are examined at a variety of analysis scales. These challenges of quantifying benefits of interventions have resulted in a scattered and inconsistent academic literature on the efficacy of active transportation interventions.

The magnitudes of effects of active travel projects and programs are likely to vary due to several contextual factors such as the local land-use mix. Land-use patterns have a strong impact on pedestrian and bicycling demand (Cui et al., 2014; Faghih-Imani et al., 2014; Noland et al., 2019; Oliver et al., 2007). For example, greater land-use diversity has been found to be associated with increased walking and bicycling (Chen et al., 2017; Forsyth & Krizek, 2010; Hankey et al., 2012; McConville et al., 2011; Saelens et al., 2003; Sallis et al., 2013; Winters, Brauer, et al., 2010). Thus, the type of land use in an area, among other factors, is likely to moderate the effects of active travel interventions. While local contextual factors can have an impact on the effects of active travel interventions, literature on the benefits of active travel interventions across different locations needs to be reviewed to provide an understanding of general baseline effectiveness of these interventions.

Because active transportation has very broad societal effects, measuring all the outcomes and downstream benefits of active transportation interventions is an interdisciplinary endeavor. This may be one reason, among others, why most studies of active transportation projects take a more limited view of outcomes, focusing, for example, on safety. Yet quantifying the broad ranging benefits of active transportation infrastructure and programs is essential to setting policy to fund such interventions and prioritizing possible investments.

In this paper, we examine the societal benefits of active transportation interventions. Through a conceptual evaluative framework and synthesis of research, we quantify benefits (where possible) of specific infrastructure and programs and synthesize those benefits by outcome categories of interest to researchers and practitioners. This review was conducted to fill the gap in current reviews on benefits of active travel interventions and to support the development of a tool (Favetti et al., 2022) that calculates the benefits of active transportation projects funded by the state of California, USA. A comprehensive evaluation of interventions is an essential step in the development of projects, and a tool based on a review of existing literature can learn lessons from previous experiences and avoid neglecting key elements during evaluation. Because of the specific policy purpose of supporting the development of the tool, this paper is United States (US)-focused, although many benefits are likely to apply in other countries that employ similar interventions.

2 Methods

This paper aims to provide a broad overview of the benefits of active travel interventions and a general understanding of the effectiveness of specific interventions. To this end, we searched literature based on the conceptual framework presented in Figure 1. In this conceptual framework, changes in access, perceptions, and behavior are assumed to be the root cause of active transportation project benefits, though the causal paths are complex in that societal outcomes then influence individual perceptions and behavior. Local contextual factors, particularly land-use patterns and existing transportation infrastructure, are likely to moderate the effects of active travel interventions. Research tends to focus on specific aspects of the framework rather than the system as a whole. Literature reviews on effects of active travel interventions by other researchers in the past have focused on specific effects such as mode shifts from cars to active modes (Scheepers et al., 2014), change in the amount of bicycling (Pucher et al., 2010), and health outcomes (Hansmann et al., 2022; Stankov et al., 2020). This paper aims to fill a gap in the literature to review multiple benefits of active travel interventions and provide ranges of intervention-specific benefits.

In reviewing the literature, we focused on four primary outcomes: change in perceptions, change in small-scale behaviors (e.g., drivers changing speeds, pedestrians using crosswalks), change in large-scale behaviors (e.g., travel mode choice, active travel frequency), and change in downstream societal benefits (e.g., improved health, lower greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions).

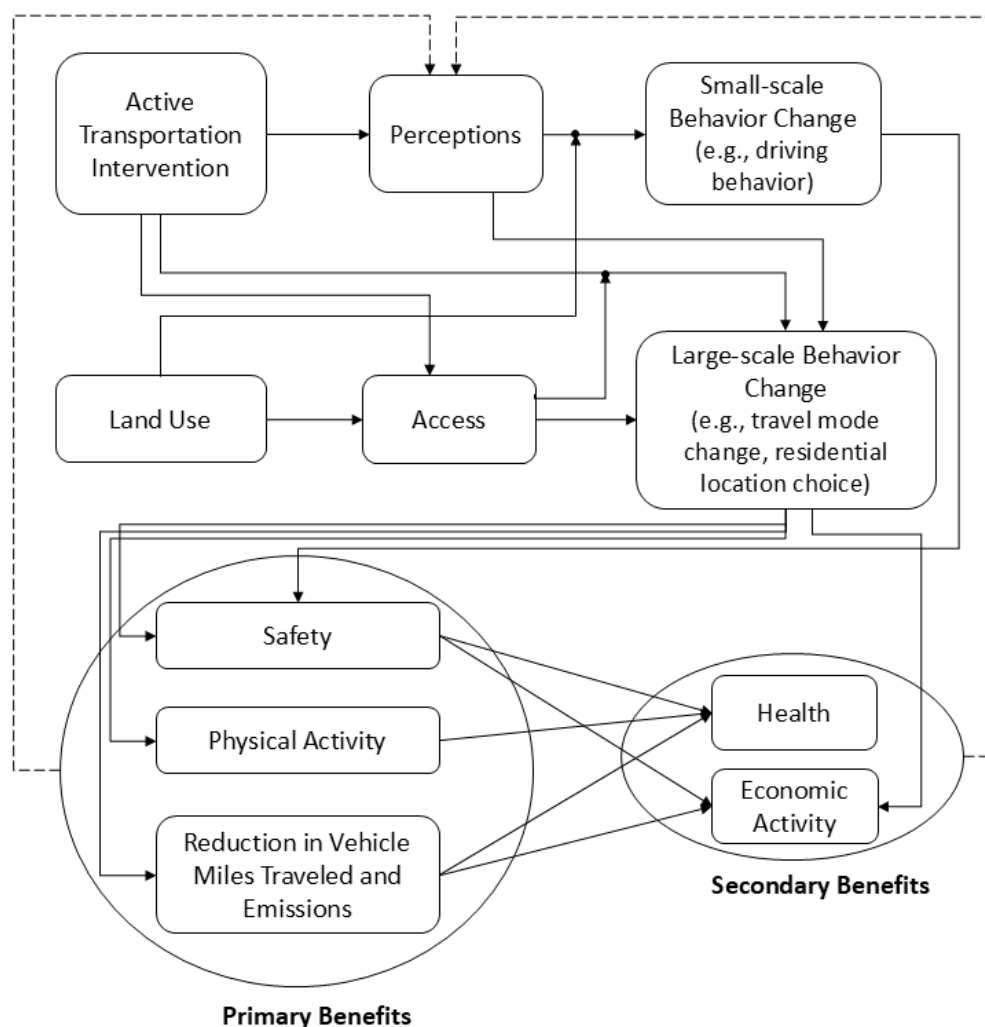


Figure 1. Conceptual framework for the effects of active transportation interventions. The effects in the diagram are examples and not an exhaustive list. Arrows pointing to boxes indicate a causal effect. Arrows pointing to other arrows indicate a moderating effect.

In conducting this review, we adopted two main approaches. The first approach consisted of a structured search process from academic search engines including Web of Science, Scopus, and Crossref. In the second approach, we used Google Scholar, which can provide a broader range of articles and reports related to a searched term and allow for a quick screening and selection process. Besides our initial searches, we also used citations from publications (especially recent review papers) to expand our review and we included literature from our prior research. About half of our citations were from the structured search process, while the other half were obtained from non-systematic means. Given the breadth of this paper, we used a wide variety of search terms related to potential benefits (e.g., increased active travel, health, cost, safety) and interventions (e.g., road diet, bike lane). In the review, we read titles and abstracts for all returned records that were published in English until the titles became increasingly irrelevant to our search

term. In the case of pure academic search engines, we more often reviewed every item returned. In some cases, we revised our search term if it proved to be too broad from the initial search (e.g., returning thousands instead of hundreds of articles). In the case of Google Scholar, we used it to find material quickly and did not review all the returned documents (often in the hundreds of thousands).

When reviewing titles and abstracts, we considered the following thresholds for inclusion:

- (1) Does the study include an active transportation infrastructure or program intervention?
- (2) Does the study report direct and/or indirect benefits or costs from interventions?
- (3) Does the study report changes in large-scale behaviors such as travel mode choice or frequency of walking and/or bicycling?
- (4) Does the study report changes in perceptions which in turn could influence walking and/or bicycling?
- (5) Does the study report changes in small-scale behaviors which could influence active travel?

If a report or journal article met the first and second criteria and either of the third, fourth, or fifth criteria, we included it. We report the range of expected outcomes as they are reported by the various authors to provide an understanding of the potential range of effects of each intervention. We ignore extreme outliers in our range summaries (and provide descriptions of outliers when available), and we provide confidence intervals when reporting specific study results where possible.¹

In our synthesis of the broad benefits of active transportation interventions (see Section 3), we focus on the primary benefits (safety, physical activity, and reduction in vehicle miles traveled and emissions) and secondary benefits (other health related effects, and economic activity) of these interventions noted in the conceptual framework. In the discussion on intervention-specific findings in Section 4, we summarized the effects of specific active travel interventions on perceptions, behavior change, and downstream benefits (e.g., safety) that were reported by studies.

2.1 Intervention context and synergy

We summarize effects in this review by treating infrastructure projects independently from programs because research has tended to focus on one or the other, but evidence also suggests that integrating infrastructure with non-infrastructure programs to increase active travel is most effective (Keall et al., 2018; Pérez et al., 2017; Pucher et al., 2010). We differentiated the types of infrastructure projects in this review based on whether they were implemented on roadways or at intersections because an intervention usually targets one or the other. The outcomes of infrastructure interventions depend on their detailed designs (which vary across studies). Most research focuses on the presence of a facility or an intervention, with little regard for the details in the design or the prior conditions, but the details are likely to have a substantial effect.

Additionally, some active transportation infrastructure interventions can also contribute to improving the active transportation network connectivity or are moderated by existing connectivity. Walking and bicycling will be used as modes of travel only if destinations are within acceptable walking and bicycling distances (Handy et al., 2014; Saelens & Handy, 2008). Distances to destinations largely depend on land-use policies, but they also depend on how directly the network connects travelers to their destinations. The layout of pedestrian and bicycle networks is thus crucial in promoting active travel. The evidence is strong that people with more

¹ We use “95CI” to denote author reported 95% confidence intervals. 95CI indicates that 95% of individual trials will yield a result within the stated range while only 5% will not.

and better connections to destinations via active transportation infrastructure are more likely to actively travel (Braun et al., 2019; Cao & Duncan, 2019; Faghih Imani et al., 2019; Veillette et al., 2019). While existing bicyclists may be willing to increase their distance to ride on better infrastructure (Broach et al., 2012; Fitch & Handy, 2020), ultimately reducing the total trip distance for accessing destinations safely and comfortably is a way to attract new bicyclists, and this connectivity likely provides synergistic benefits with those from isolated projects. For example, measurements of bicycling connectivity have been shown to improve predictions of bicycling travel to school at the individual level (Fitch et al., 2016; Fitch et al., 2018), and are associated with the number of bicycling trips at zonal levels (Lowry & Loh, 2017).

Land-use patterns are likely to influence pedestrian and bicycling volumes, and thus, are also likely to moderate the effects of active transportation interventions. For example, mixed land-use patterns are likely to result in reduced distances to destinations (Handy et al., 2010), and thus, are likely to complement interventions to increase walking and bicycling. But, at least one study suggests that greater land-use mixture is associated with a greater number of bicycle crashes, possibly due to increased conflict points in mixed land-use areas (Chen, 2015). Areas with higher proportions of commercial and open space land-use types have been found to be associated with increased bicycle crash frequency as well (Ding et al., 2020). This suggests that interventions to improve pedestrian and bicycling safety may be especially effective in these land-use contexts. While the studies by Chen (2015) and Ding et al. (2020) account for general bicycling exposure (e.g., bicycling mode share, number of bicycling trips), inferences on the relationships between the type of land use and bicycling safety should be drawn with caution because of the lack of inclusion of more detailed bicycling exposure at crash locations in analyses.

Road context (e.g., volume, modes, speed, etc.) is also likely to enhance or restrict the effect of infrastructure projects. For example arterial (primary) roads are more dangerous for bicyclists and pedestrians, due to increased exposure to vehicles and higher vehicle speeds (Chen, 2015; Dumbaugh & Li, 2011). Bike infrastructure on arterial roads is correlated with a higher number of bike crashes compared to infrastructure off arterial roads (Chen, 2015). In general, when speeds are high, greater separation is needed. If speeds can be reduced (though traffic calming or because of congestion), the safety benefits of bike lanes are likely improved (Saha et al., 2018). While road and land-use contexts are key moderators of active transportation interventions, measuring context variables lacks consistency. This may be why evidence of infrastructure influencing walking and bicycling is mixed (Saelens & Handy, 2008).

Policy context also moderates active transportation intervention benefits. Pricing (cordon, parking, VMT tax, etc.) and constraining the capacity (lane removal, lane narrowing) for driving are likely important synergies with active transportation interventions. Interventions that increase the cost of driving in conjunction with active transportation interventions are likely to increase the use of active transportation modes and reduce car use.

2.2 Limitations

This was a targeted review of various active travel interventions, not a systematic review of each intervention. Due to time and budget constraints, we targeted high-quality evidence on the effects of active travel interventions for a variety of land-use contexts, but we did not include exhaustive literature searches for each intervention. The goal of the effects we report is to provide a general order of magnitude for intervention types, thus the reported effects should not be considered expectations for any specific project. We most commonly report results as relative effects (e.g., percent change, odds ratios) because that is how most studies report effects. Unfortunately, relative effects neglect the base rate of the phenomena they represent (e.g., current bike counts, number of existing crashes), and should not always be used to compare projects or programs. For example, a 20% reduction in crashes on a secondary road may not provide as strong of a benefit as a 3% reduction in crashes on a primary road if the number of existing

crashes on the primary road is much greater. Because of this challenge, we refrain from directly comparing project types in this review, and future work is needed to calculate absolute effects from the existing literature to improve project comparisons.

3 Synthesis of benefits

In this section, we synthesize the findings from the literature on primary and secondary benefits of active transportation interventions and discuss the current evidence for generalized cost effectiveness of active transportation projects. The next section, Section 4, summarizes the intervention specific findings of this literature review.

Some benefits go undocumented in this review. Most notable are travel time savings (a long-standing yet controversial metric (Metz, 2008)), and monetary savings from vehicle use reduction. See Litman (2023) for an accounting of possible benefits for active transportation projects that are less prevalently reported in the academic literature.

As noted in the conceptual framework in the Methods section, the broad benefits of active travel interventions that we focused on in our synthesis include primary benefits (safety, physical activity, and reduction in vehicle miles traveled and emissions) and secondary benefits (other health related effects, and economic activity). Table 1 below presents a summary of the broad benefits of active transportation interventions that the literature provides evidence for, and that are discussed in more detail in the following sub-sections.

Table 1. Summary of benefits of active transportation interventions

Category	Benefits
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction in exposure of active travelers to cars (e.g., frequency of potential conflicts) through separation and protection interventions • Reduction in severity of injuries for bicyclists and pedestrians resulting from potential conflicts through reduction in car speeds
Physical activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in physical activity which in turn reduces mortality risk and reduces risk of certain diseases • Improvement in mental health
Vehicle miles traveled and vehicle emissions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction in vehicle miles traveled due to mode shifts to active transportation • Reduction in car emissions
Other health effects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement in air quality • Reduction in active travelers' exposure to vehicular emissions
Economic activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in residential property values • Stimulate spending in commercial areas

3.1 Primary benefits

3.1.1 Traffic safety

The direct effects of infrastructure on bicycling and walking safety with respect to vehicle traffic can be labeled by three primary classes: those that decrease car speeds, those that separate active travelers from cars (thereby reducing the exposure to cars), and those that protect bicyclists and pedestrians from cars. Many infrastructure projects do all three of these things because they incorporate many design changes at once. The general road context (e.g., urban arterial, rural

highway, local road) moderates the safety effects of infrastructure interventions. Because of the large variation in the effectiveness of infrastructure in urban and rural environments, crash modification factors² are generally developed separately for urban and rural roads.

3.1.1.1 Reducing car speeds

Many studies have established a relationship between speed and safety for pedestrians and bicyclists. Active travel injuries and deaths are most commonly caused by cars colliding with pedestrians and bicyclists, and the speed of cars is the root cause of injury and death (Grembek et al., 2020). Lowering speed limits and using other traffic calming measures have also been shown to provide positive safety benefits for all travelers. For bicycling, lower speed limits combined with other infrastructure projects have been associated with reduction in bike related crashes (Kaplan & Giacomo Prato, 2015; Klop & Khattak, 1999; Kullgren et al., 2019). When arterials allow car speeds much above 30 mph, physical separation and protection are needed to reduce injury risk (Grembek et al., 2020).

Greater intersection frequency along arterial roads has been associated with fewer and less severe pedestrian crashes because it leads to slower car speeds (Lee & Abdel-Aty, 2005; Marshall & Ferenchak, 2019). In the US, pedestrian crash risk at midblock crossings seems to be the greatest, and during low light conditions (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2020). Conversely, intersections are generally the most dangerous parts of the road for bicyclists, often resulting in more crashes, especially the ones with higher vehicle volumes (Kaplan & Giacomo Prato, 2015; Klassen et al., 2014; Morrison et al., 2019; Romanow et al., 2012; Saad et al., 2019). While studies show more frequent bicycle-related crashes at intersections, the crashes tend to be less severe, likely due to slower speed of vehicles (Cripton et al., 2014), and bicyclist deaths are still less common at intersections (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2014).

Reducing speed limits and implementing automatic speed enforcement offers large safety benefits (see Table 2) and are likely to be effective in cases where physical road interventions alone cannot slow traffic. For local roads, adoption of very low speed limits (15 mph) with shared space designed to prioritize pedestrian use and child play can greatly improve traffic safety (Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, 2018; Goeverden & Godefrooij, 2011; Sørensen, 2011). For collectors and minor arterials, road diets offer great safety benefits because they combine speed management with separation and protection for bicyclists and pedestrians.

3.1.1.2 Separating and protecting bicyclists and pedestrians from cars

Painted bike lanes act to separate bicyclists from cars, but they provide no protection (barrier) between cars and bikes. Nonetheless, painted bike lanes have been shown to decrease bicyclist crash rates and injuries more often than they increase them (See Table 3) and (Deliali et al., 2023; Goerke et al., 2019; Jensen, 2008; Kaplan & Giacomo Prato, 2015; Morrison et al., 2019; Pedroso et al., 2016; Reynolds et al., 2009; Robartes & Chen, 2018; Smith et al., 2019; Teschke et al., 2012). Where more separation is provided (e.g., buffers, off-street paths), more safety benefits are observed (Cripton et al., 2014; Minikel, 2012; Romanow et al., 2012; Winters et al., 2013). When protective elements are also added (e.g., curb, trees, parked cars), safety is further improved (Harris et al., 2013; Kaplan & Giacomo Prato, 2015; Schepers et al., 2011; Teschke et al., 2012; Winters et al., 2013).

² Crash modification factors (CMFs) are a standardized form of expressing the odds of an intervention reducing crashes. They are essentially odds ratios from regression models of various forms. While most include adjustments for traffic volume, only some studies include adjustments for bicyclist and pedestrian volume (even when attempting to estimate bicyclist and pedestrian injuries).

Separation and protection are also fundamental elements for pedestrian infrastructure. For example, sidewalks along roads, curb extensions, and crossing islands all provide important separation from cars as well as some protection, and they all provide safety benefits to pedestrians (See Table 4). However, because most pedestrian deaths occur at night and not at intersections or on sidewalks (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2014), interventions aimed at improving pedestrian visibility at night and at midblock crossings are likely to provide greater safety benefits. Crossing islands, raised crossings, and flashing beacons seem to provide the best safety benefits for midblock crossings, especially if they are used in concert with other traffic calming interventions (see Tables 2 and 4).

Although crashes at intersections make up a minority proportion of bicyclist and pedestrian deaths (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2014, 2020), active travelers spend far less time in intersections than they spend elsewhere, meaning that the relative rate of crashes in intersections is high. Reducing crossing distances with curb extensions while implementing traffic calming offers important safety benefits for pedestrians. Protected intersections, although little studied, show promise at providing separation and protection for bicyclists and pedestrians (Preston & Pulugurtha, 2021). At unsignalized intersections, roundabouts can provide considerable safety improvements, especially if they are designed with separated bicycling paths (See Table 2).

No road intervention is likely to influence bicyclist safety as much as designing a bicycling network that is in large part separate from the road network. Networks of off-street paths not only provide great safety benefits, but they enable and encourage bicycling for a much wider portion of the population which itself can improve safety (see discussion of Safety in Numbers below). Although care must be taken in designing crossings between off-street paths and roads, and in integrating the two in commercial districts and other areas with destination demand, off-street paths provide the most separation and protection of any infrastructure type and can be implemented as multi-use paths for pedestrians as well.

3.1.1.3 Safety in numbers

Infrastructure projects for active transportation can influence the safety of people who walk and bike by reducing their crash (and injury) risk. In addition, infrastructure projects that improve walking and bicycling safety can increase people's perceptions of safety for walking and bicycling causing them to increase their walking and bicycling activity. This increase in walking and bicycling generates a positive feedback for safety since the relative risk for people walking and bicycling is reduced when more people walk and bike; this is commonly known as the "safety in numbers" phenomenon which was observed at least as early as 1998 (Garder et al., 1998), coined in 2003 (Jacobsen, 2003), and examined extensively since (Elvik & Bjørnskau, 2017; Fyhri et al., 2017; Jacobsen et al., 2015; Tasic et al., 2017).

The mechanisms behind the safety in numbers effect are still uncertain, but some findings support, at least in part, a behavioral explanation that drivers on routes with more bicyclists or pedestrians are more aware of them and take greater precautions (Jacobsen et al., 2015). The safety in numbers effect for active travel crashes is most recently estimated to be near 0.4 (Elvik & Goel, 2019) (i.e., a 10% increase in bicycling volume only increases crashes by 4%), and the relationship may be slightly stronger for pedestrians than for bicyclists (Elvik & Bjørnskau, 2017; Elvik & Goel, 2019). This effect may be even lower for more severe injuries and deaths, although results have been mixed thus far (Elvik & Bjørnskau, 2017; Kaplan & Giacomo Prato, 2015). While the mechanisms for reduced relative risk given increasing rates of bicycling and walking have been explored, the similar effects of vehicle volume have not. It is possible that increasing vehicle volumes are indicative of congestion (and thus slower speeds) which can increase safety. However, most studies only adjust for average annual daily traffic, rather than a measure of speed or congestion.

3.1.2 Physical activity

Disease associated with physical inactivity has been quantified since the 1950's (Fox & Haskell, 1968) and has reached pandemic status (Kohl et al., 2012). Evidence suggests that the effects of physical activity on health outcomes are non-linear (i.e. the greatest benefits come from transitioning from sedentary to moderate physical activity) (Woodcock et al., 2011). Meta-analyses of cohort studies from decades of research indicates that increasing from no physical activity (0 MET-h)³ to 2.5 hours of moderate intensity physical activity (11 MET-h) per week is expected to result in reductions in risk of cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, breast cancer, colon cancer, obesity, depression, dementia, and mortality (Sadarangani et al., 2018; Woodcock et al., 2009; Woodcock et al., 2011).

The specific rates of mortality risk reduction from active travel (walking 11% (95CI 4-17%) and bicycling 10% (95CI 6-13%) (Kelly et al., 2014)) are slightly lower than those of all moderate intensity physical activity. While most of the active travel and health research has focused on physical health, mental health is also clearly improved (see expected effects on depression above). In general, active travel generates mental health benefits by reducing stress and increasing satisfaction (Gatersleben & Uzzell, 2007). And while less is known about the magnitude of effects on mental health, given the prevalence of mental illness (e.g., in the US, 18% of adults and 22% of young adults had some form of mental illness in 2015 (Bose et al., 2016)), mental health benefits from active travel could be substantial.

The research community is in consensus that new or improved infrastructure that increases active travel increases physical activity (Brown et al., 2017; Goodman et al., 2014; Goodman et al., 2019). However, much of the evidence linking active transportation projects to health outcomes comes from integrating research in transportation (on the link between projects/programs and travel behavior change) with research on physical activity and health. The field has recently seen a proliferation of model-based simulations that estimate the health effects from interventions based on assumptions about mode shifts or physical activity gains (Brown et al., 2019; Goodman et al., 2019; Gotschi, 2011; Grabow et al., 2012; Johansson et al., 2017; Kriit et al., 2019; Lindsay et al., 2011; Macmillan et al., 2014; Maizlish et al., 2017; Mizdrak et al., 2019; Rodrigues et al., 2020; Rojas-Rueda et al., 2016). These studies estimate the potential health benefits from active transportation projects, but they do not provide empirical evidence of benefits achieved. However, these simulations consistently show that shifting even moderate amounts of driving to walking or bicycling could result in substantial health benefits.

Results of the studies that attempt to measure physical activity changes (and thus health benefits) directly from active travel show that people with 30 minutes or more of active commuting have lower rates of obesity by 25-50% (95CIs 10-67%) (Gordon-Larsen et al., 2009; Steell et al., 2018), and lower rates of metabolic syndrome 33% (95CI 19-48%) (Steell et al., 2018). Active travel rates and obesity are also highly correlated at the population level ($r = -0.76$ for measured and -0.86 for self-reported obesity) (Bassett et al., 2008). Active travelers also tend to have lower diastolic blood pressure (-1.67 95CI -0.15 to -3.2) and reduced cardiovascular risk 12% (95CI 2-20%) (Gordon-Larsen et al., 2009). Although few studies attempt to show the effect of specific active transportation projects on health outcomes, there is some limited evidence. For example, when a complete painted bike lane was implemented along a new light rail line in Salt Lake City, UT, it caused a significant increase in average energy expenditure among commuters who shifted to active travel (1.16 more kilocalories per minute) (Brown et al., 2017). In three mid-sized cities in the United Kingdom where bike and pedestrian infrastructure were improved, substitution of active travel for car travel led to an average gain of 12.5 minutes of physical

³ MET is the metabolic equivalent task, a commonly used metric to standardize energy expenditure (time and intensity) across activities. Combined time spent in activities results in an estimate of total MET-hours/week (MET-h/week).

activity per week for each kilometer closer people lived to the interventions (Goodman et al., 2014). Furthermore, up to 90% of this increase in activity can be attributed directly to new or increased use of active transportation infrastructure (Panter & Ogilvie, 2015). Similarly, a study in Vancouver, Canada showed that living within 1,000 feet of a new greenway doubled (95CI 1-4) the odds of reaching 20 minutes of moderate or vigorous physical activity per day, and halved the odds (95CI 15-75%) of being sedentary for more than 9 hours (Frank et al., 2019).

Transit use has also been associated with greater physical activity due to the nature of walking to and from transit stops and origins and destinations. In the US, about a third of transit walkers achieve 30 minutes or more of physical activity from walking to and from transit alone which is thought to meet minimum physical activity guidelines (Besser & Dannenberg, 2005; Freeland et al., 2013). One study noted that transit users walk 12.4 minutes (95CI 8.7 – 16) more than non-transit users (Saelens et al., 2014). Another study conducted in the US found that those who rode public transit, even just once a week, reported nearly three times the amount of active travel per week compared to those who did not use public transit (Bopp et al., 2015). Considering that in the US half of the population does not meet the national physical activity guidelines, getting people with less-active lifestyles to use transit can have considerable health benefits from associated walking.

Many studies have estimated large reductions in health-related costs that are associated with the increased physical activity from more active travel (Aldred & Croft, 2019; Jarrett et al., 2012; Mizdrak et al., 2019; Rodrigues et al., 2020; Standen et al., 2019; Zapata-Diomedes et al., 2018). The magnitudes of those benefits depend on the estimates of increased physical activity.

3.1.3 Vehicle miles traveled and vehicle emissions

Most reductions in GHG emissions associated with active transportation projects are due to mode-shift and consequent reductions in vehicle use. Model-based simulations of mode shifts show considerable GHG reductions are possible (Mizdrak et al., 2019; Rodrigues et al., 2020). At least one intervention study in cities in New Zealand showed that investments in active transportation of nearly 3 million dollars (2011 USD) resulted in a 1.6% reduction in vehicle kilometers traveled with a corresponding 1% reduction in CO₂ emissions (Keall et al., 2018). Assessments of car use reductions, and thus GHG reductions, from project-level interventions are less common. Of those focusing on bicycling infrastructure, there is agreement that bike infrastructure reduces vehicle miles traveled (VMT) and thus GHGs (Matute et al., 2016; Piatkowski et al., 2015; Thakuriah et al., 2012). Although the magnitudes vary by type of infrastructure and the surrounding context, Volker et al. (2019) proposed a generic method that can be used to estimate VMT change from any bicycling intervention. Using this method, Volker et al. (2019) estimated the effects of a single road diet project in Davis, CA, US (Gudz et al., 2016) decreased VMT by between 55,613 and 95,740 miles per year and reduced CO₂ emissions by between 24.4 and 42.0 metric tons per year. Estimates for hypothetical bike lanes in Los Angeles, CA from a life cycle assessment are reported to have a wide range of potential GHG reductions, where a project with a low change in bicyclist volume shows an increase in 8.2 metric tons of CO₂ per year (due mostly to emissions from construction) while the same project with a very high change in user volume would result in a net decrease of 221.7 metric tons of CO₂ per year (Matute et al., 2016).

3.2 Secondary benefits

3.2.1 Other health effects

Active transportation projects can influence physical health in four primary ways. First, they improve safety for existing bicyclists and pedestrians, as summarized above. If the projects lead individuals to shift from driving to active modes, however, these individuals are now at greater risk of injury and death (though at less risk than they would have been if they had shifted modes without the project). The net effect at the population-level depends on the increase in the amount of walking and biking versus the decrease in the risk resulting from the project.

Second, when active travelers increase their amount of walking and/or bicycling they themselves may experience greater exposure to air pollutants, although when drivers shift from car to active modes at least some evidence suggests they are likely to reduce their exposure to air pollutants (Kingham et al., 2013). The population, however, benefits from an improvement in air quality resulting from the shift from driving to active travel. Infrastructure investments that provide more separation between active travelers and cars not only provide greater protection, they also reduce active travelers' exposure to car emissions (Kendrick et al., 2011; King et al., 2009). Furthermore, the details of street design (e.g., street trees, building roof height, angle of roof) can have important effects of reducing active travelers' exposure to harmful emissions (Amorim et al., 2013; Yassin, 2011).

Third, active transportation projects influence health by increasing physical activity. The benefits of increased physical activity dwarf any downsides with respect to safety and exposure to air pollutants (de Hartog et al., 2010). As discussed above, increases in physical activity resulting from active transportation projects have clear and substantial benefits at both the individual and population levels.

Fourth, mode shifts from driving to active transportation help reduce vehicular noise pollution in general (Litman, 2023; Rabl & de Nazelle, 2012). However, individuals shifting from driving to active modes are likely to be exposed to higher levels of traffic noise (Apparicio et al., 2018).

3.2.2 Economic activity

Active transportation projects also generate co-benefits for local economies. These effects have manifested in changes in consumer behavior, property values, and cost savings. Many studies have shown that active travelers spend just as much as, if not more than drivers (Bent & Singa, 2009; Clifton et al., 2012; Gilderbloom et al., 2016; Popovich & Handy, 2014). One study in Portland, Oregon found that consumers who traveled by means other than vehicles more frequently visited businesses (such as convenience stores, bars and restaurants) on average (Clifton et al., 2012). Another study in San Francisco, California found a positive association between new bicycle lanes and sales per local-serving business that faced the streets with the new bicycle lanes (Poirier, 2018). However, at least one study did conclude that adding bike infrastructure and reducing parking would not help or harm local businesses (McCoy et al., 2019).

Active transportation projects have also been found to raise residential property values in some studies. For example, one study in Austin, Texas concluded that a 1% increase in bike score, a measure of bike infrastructure and activity, increases condominium and single-family house prices by 0.3% and 0.03%, respectively (Li & Joh, 2017). In another study, single family homes were found to have greater property value if located near an off-street bike facility, but less value if near an on-street bike facility (Welch et al., 2016). Finally, one study found that in a neighborhood with bike-share, each additional bike-share station was associated with a mean home sale value increase of 2.7% (El-Geneidy et al., 2016).

These increases in property values may not benefit everyone equally, however. Studies have shown that new biking infrastructure is associated with gentrification and is more likely to be

implemented in gentrifying and affluent neighborhoods than in working class neighborhoods (Flanagan et al., 2016; Stein, 2011). Moreover, at times bicycle advocacy groups have presented infrastructure investments to attract wealthy investors to working class areas rather than a way to improve the lives of working-class people (Stehlin, 2015).

Nonetheless, active transportation infrastructure itself has not been causally linked to gentrification or the displacement of longtime residents in working class neighborhoods. One study found that the causal relationships between bicycling facility installation and socioeconomic and/or demographic changes at the block group level were generally not statistically significant (Ferenchak & Marshall, 2021). More broadly, investments in alternative transportation modes (those other than personal vehicles) in working class neighborhoods may not directly cause displacement but may prove inequitable in other ways. For example, in one study in Los Angeles, transit oriented development was determined by the authors to prevent low-income households from moving to areas which had just experienced such investments (Boarnet et al., 2020).

3.2.3 Generalized cost effectiveness

In every study we reviewed on generalized benefit-to-cost ratios for active transportation infrastructure, ratios always exceeded one, although they had wide variation (Brey et al., 2017; Macmillan et al., 2014; Meletiou et al., 2005). Simulations of investments that result in large behavior changes are expected to have large benefit-to-cost ratios between 1.5-25 to 1 (Gotschi, 2011; Macmillan et al., 2014). However, in real world before-after analyses, they tend to be slightly more uniform with a lower maximum (2-14 to 1) because of only moderate mode shifts to active travel (Chapman et al., 2018; Deenihan & Caulfield, 2014; Sælensminde, 2004; Standen et al., 2019). The benefits of active transportation projects generally exceed the costs from the health benefits alone. For example, in a review of only the generalized health benefits, the benefits exceeded costs by 9 (median) with a range from -2 to 360 (Mueller et al., 2015).

The wide variation in benefit-to-cost ratios for active transportation interventions found in the literature is likely attributable to the variation in the interventions that are examined, and variation in the type of benefits that are considered for analyses. For example, Chapman et al. (2018) examined the benefits and costs of a program that funded investments in bicycling and walking facilities, active travel promotion and bicycling training. The main benefits that Chapman et al. (2018) considered were health benefits and carbon emissions reduction benefits. The study by Brey et al. (2017) investigated the benefits and costs of construction of a bicycle lane network in a city. In addition to health and environmental benefits, Brey et al. (2017) also considered the benefits of travel time reduction, and reduction in vehicle use and maintenance costs.

4 Intervention-specific findings

This section summarizes the outcomes of specific active travel interventions. There is large variation in the magnitude of effects reported by studies for several interventions. As discussed above, this variation is likely due to the wide variety of land use, environmental, cultural, and political contexts of the areas where different studies were conducted, as well as the wide variety of study designs and research methods employed by researchers across a diverse set of academic fields. The synthesis of intervention-specific findings is reported in tabular form for a more unified presentation.

4.1 Outcomes of interventions for walking and bicycling

Table 2. Summaries of active transportation interventions for walking and bicycling and their outcomes

Intervention	Measured Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Benefits
Speed camera enforcement Camera that detects and captures images of vehicles violating traffic regulations including speeding.	Reductions in mean absolute speed by between 1-9.5 mph, reductions in all speeds by 2-33%, and reductions in percentage of speeding vehicles by 30-96% (Abdelhalim et al., 2021; Elvik et al., 2019; Hu & McCartt, 2016; Rodier et al., 2007; Soole et al., 2013).	Reductions in all crashes from 5-69% (Graham et al., 2019; Pilkington & Kinra, 2005; Thomas et al., 2008; Willardsen, 2021), reduction in injuries from 12-65% and deaths from 15-71% (Pilkington & Kinra, 2005; Tilahun, 2022).
Speed limit reductions	5 mph reduction in speed limit is expected to reduce mean speed by 1-2 mph (Elvik et al., 2019; Schaefer et al., 2022; Silvano & Bang, 2016), increases walking by 1-21% and bicycling by 4 – 22% (Tranter, 2018; Wier, 2019), although the large-scale behavioral effects are partially confounded. When combined with other infrastructure interventions, increase in active travel by 12-28% (Kullgren et al., 2019; Tranter, 2018).	5 mph reduction in speed limit is expected to reduce crashes by 10-15%, injuries by 8-15%, fatalities 10-30% (Elvik et al., 2019; Gayah et al., 2018), and bicyclist injuries 2.2-15.2% (Helak et al., 2017; Zahabi et al., 2011).
Dynamic speed display signs Also called dynamic speed feedback sign. Signs that detect and display current speed to approaching drivers, and/or display messages to reduce speed if an approaching vehicle exceeds a certain speed.	Reduce mean speed by 1-12 mph (3-10%), reduce 85 th percentile speed by 3-8%, and reduce percent of cars exceeding speed limits by 13-48% (Cruzado & Donnell, 2009; Gehlert et al., 2012; Mahmud et al., 2021; Ullman & Rose, 2005).	Reductions in crashes from 5-7% (Fyhri et al., 2017).
Vertical deflectors Creates a change in the height of a section of the roadway to slow down vehicles. Examples include speed hump, speed table and raised crosswalk among others.	One deflector can reduce average speed by 2.7-3.4 mph, and multiple successive deflectors by 8-12 mph (Agerholm et al., 2017; Cottrell et al., 2006; Ponnaluri & Groce, 2005). Substantial reduction in average speed (28-56%) observed in a study in Tennessee (Chimba & Mbuya, 2019). Average speed reduced by 50% in a study conducted in Italy (Distefano & Leonardi, 2019).	Reduction in accidents by 35-44%, and reduction in pedestrian injuries by 50% observed in studies conducted in Italy and the UK (Distefano & Leonardi, 2019; Mountain et al., 2005).
Horizontal deflectors Creates a horizontal shift in the roadway to slow down vehicles by hindering the ability of a motorist to drive in a straight line. Examples include chicane, median/pedestrian island and traffic circle.	Reduction in average speeds by 1.3-3.2 mph in some contexts (Agerholm et al., 2017; Kacprzak & Solowczuk, 2019; Lantieri et al., 2015). Average speed reduction from 35 – 50% observed in a case study conducted in Italy (Distefano & Leonardi, 2019).	Reduction in accidents by 14-29% and reduction in pedestrian injuries by 33-40% observed in studies conducted in Italy and the UK (Distefano & Leonardi, 2019; Mountain et al., 2005).
Lane narrowing	Mixed evidence— wider lanes separate vehicles from pedestrians and bicyclists, but narrower lanes cause drivers to slow down, which have known safety effects (Lee & Abdel-Aty, 2005; Rista et al., 2018; Turner et al., 2019). Lane narrowing on intersection	Lane narrowing on intersection approaches reduce crashes by 31% on average in one study (Gross et al., 2009). Another study based on data from New York City indicated that as road width increases, the probability of pedestrian-vehicle collision increases

Intervention	Measured Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Benefits
	approaches reduce speeds by 3.5-4.8 mph in one study (Gross et al., 2009). On freeways, for a lane width reduction of 1 ft or less, free flow speed is expected to reduce by 1.9 mph below that expected for the 12-ft lane width base case scenario. Narrowing lane widths to 10 ft is expected to reduce free flow speed by up to 6.6 mph (Dixon et al., 2016).	(Ukkusuri et al., 2012). Over 30% reduction in accidents and in pedestrian injuries observed in a study conducted in Italy (Distefano & Leonardi, 2019).
<p>Shared streets</p> <p>Also called curbless street or “woonerf” in Dutch.</p> <p>Street is shared among pedestrians, bicyclists, and vehicles— pedestrians have priority over vehicles.</p>	Reduction of average speeds by 20-40% from meta-analysis of converted residential to shared street (Sørensen, 2011). Speed limits are typically lower on shared streets than on conventional streets. At several shared street sites in the US, speed limits were from 10-25 mph (Sauer & Mastaglio, 2017).	Some studies report fewer collisions, increasing child play, decreasing crime, increasing real estate price, but with such few details from secondary studies, effect sizes are largely unknown (Appleyard, 1983; Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, 2018; Eubank-Ahrens, 1984; New Jersey Bicycle and Pedestrian Resource Center, 2004; Sauer & Mastaglio, 2017). Reduction in serious traffic injuries by 50% in a Netherlands study (Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission (2018) citing the FHWA).
<p>Edge lane roads (ELR)</p> <p>Also called advisory bike lane.</p> <p>Roadway designed to support vehicular traffic within a single two-way center lane, and bicyclists or pedestrians in the edge lanes on either side.</p>	<p>Changes in mean speed range from reductions of about 3 mph to increases in 1 mph (Davidse et al., 2004; Gilpin et al., 2017), change in lateral position of cars (e.g., more space when passing bicyclists) of 16 inches of more space, to 8 inches of less space (Davidse et al., 2004).</p> <p>Reduction in the 85th percentile speed of vehicles by 5%, increase in average cyclist speed by 8%, increase in average lateral separation distance when vehicles passed cyclists, and a shift in the position of cyclists towards the middle of the painted bike lane were observed in a study conducted in Ottawa, Canada (Kassim et al., 2019).</p>	Conversion of traditional two-lane two-way roads to ELRs reduced crashes by 36% in a study of 11 ELR sites in the US (Williams et al., 2022).
<p>Multi-use paths</p> <p>Also called shared-use path.</p> <p>Pathway that is physically separate from motor vehicles. It can be located either next to a roadway or away from a road. Meant for non-motorized users.</p>	<p>Associated with 18 – 31% increase in bicycling (Le et al., 2018).</p> <p>Another study found that the mean hourly bicycle counts on multi-use paths were 193% higher than those on streets without facilities (Hankey et al., 2012).</p> <p>Off-street paths are preferred for bicycling compared to nearly all other bike infrastructure (Broach et al., 2012; Clark et al., 2019; Fitch & Handy, 2020). Some evidence that living near multi-use paths increases likelihood of physical activity (Kaczynski et al., 2009; Kaczynski & Henderson, 2007).</p> <p>A study found that a 10% greater supply of bike paths (including off-street bike paths and multi-use paths) is associated with a</p>	<p>Conflicting evidence of safety of multi-use paths indicates that general safety outcomes are uncertain, and context (especially about intersections with roads) is likely to determine outcomes.</p> <p>A study conducted in Canada noted that multi-use paths reduced risk of cycling injury by 25-40% compared to that on major streets with parked cars and no cycling infrastructure. However, multi-use paths had higher risk of injury compared to that on cycle tracks, major streets with bike lanes, and bike-only paths (Winters et al., 2012).</p> <p>On the other hand, some studies indicate that risk of injury for bicycling on multi-use paths is 1.6 to 3.5 times higher than cycling on the road with or without cycling infrastructure (Aultman-Hall & Hall, 1998; Aultman-Hall & Kaltenecker, 1999; Reynolds et al., 2009).</p>

Intervention	Measured Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Benefits
	2.5% higher level of bike commuting (Buehler & Pucher, 2012).	Regarding safety at intersections, multiuse path-road intersections had a higher proportion of cycling collisions and injuries compared to road-road intersections in a study in Canada (Jestico et al., 2017).
	Multi-use paths have not been found to be significantly associated with increase in mode share of walking (Evenson et al., 2005; Wang et al., 2021).	
Road diets Conversion of an existing four-lane, undivided roadway segment to a three-lane segment consisting of two through lanes and a center, two-way left-turn lane.	Reduce mean speeds 0-4 mph (Remache-Patino et al., 2022; Thomas, 2013), increase bicyclist volumes by 30-240% and pedestrian volumes by 0-30% (City of San Jose, 2015; Gudz et al., 2016; Thomas, 2013).	Reduce crash rates by between 19-47%, with greatest relative effects in rural environments (Aljamal et al., 2021; Lim & Fontaine, 2021; Thomas, 2013; Turner et al., 2019; Zhou et al., 2022).
Roundabouts Type of intersection that is characterized by a generally circular shape, where traffic moves counter-clockwise around a circle in one or more lanes. The entering traffic yields to traffic in the circle, and the geometric design features slow vehicles entering the circle. There are no stop-signs or signals at roundabouts.	Bicyclists perceive roundabouts as safer than signalized intersections (Wang & Akar, 2018). Roundabouts with separated cycle paths are safer for bicycling compared to roundabouts with on-road bike lanes or those with no bicycling facilities (Poudel & Singleton, 2021).	Variable bicyclist safety outcomes depending on design (Harris et al., 2013; Kaplan & Giacomo Prato, 2015; Meuleners et al., 2019; Reynolds et al., 2009; Shinar, 2017). Overall safety (including drivers and passengers) is increased: 15-38% reduction in crashes. 35-52% reduction in injuries, and 49-85% reduction in deaths (Elvik, 2017; Retting et al., 2001; Wang & Cicchino, 2022).
Protected intersections Also called offset or setback intersection. Intersection with treatments including corner islands that are designed to maintain the physical separation provided by bicycle lanes through the intersection.	Increased active transportation use, especially e-scooters, observed in a study (Lyons et al., 2020). Perceived as comfortable by bicyclists (Monsere et al., 2020). Higher rate of drivers glancing at the intersection prior to a right turn and reduced average vehicle speed observed in a simulation-based study (Delialli et al., 2021).	These are commonly used in the Netherlands which have high rates of cycling and low rates of bicyclist crashes (Schepers et al., 2017). Reduction in bicycle-related conflicts at intersection observed in a simulation-based study (Preston & Pulugurtha, 2021).
Flashing beacons Flashing lights designed to draw a driver's attention to the associated traffic control sign and the need to yield to a waiting pedestrian. Examples include rectangular rapid flashing beacons and pedestrian hybrid beacons.	Flashing beacons have a high yield compliance rate of 70-97%, which is substantially higher than the crosswalk compliance rate of 10-20% (Fitzpatrick et al., 2011; Fitzpatrick et al., 2015; Fitzpatrick et al., 2020; Kothuri et al., 2021; Vanwagner et al., 2011; Zegeer et al., 2017).	Reduce pedestrian crashes by an average of 35-50%, with standard errors of 21-38% and reduce all crashes by 25% (Fitzpatrick et al., 2011; Fitzpatrick et al., 2015; Fitzpatrick et al., 2020; Vanwagner et al., 2011; Zegeer et al., 2017).

Intervention	Measured Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Benefits
<p>Traffic signals</p> <p>Traffic signal phasing interventions at intersections that improve pedestrian, bicyclist, and vehicular safety.</p>	<p>Increased pedestrian signal phase allows more people to cross the street, which is especially important for elderly populations (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2014).</p>	<p>Phasing of left turns and signals with protected left phases decrease total left-turning crashes and injuries (Harkey et al., 2008; Monsere et al., 2019). Full-red and half-red signal phasing has been shown to decrease injuries by 24% and 19% respectively (Stipancic et al., 2020). Leading Pedestrian Intervals (LPIs) have shown to reduce vehicle-pedestrian- and vehicle-vehicle- crashes by 13% (Goughnour et al., 2021). In another study, LPIs reduced near-miss vehicle-pedestrian conflicts by 42% (Arun et al., 2023).</p>
<p>Safe Routes To School (SRTS) Program</p> <p>Infrastructure investments and activities (such as public awareness campaigns and outreach) aimed at increasing walking and bicycling by children to school.</p>	<p>SRTS interventions have been shown to increase walking and bicycling to school by 31– 37% (McDonald et al., 2014; Stewart et al., 2014).</p> <p>Engineering improvements increased active travel to school by 18%, and education and encouragement programs increased active travel to school by 25% over 5 years (McDonald et al., 2014).</p> <p>In another study, routes to school with new infrastructure had a tripling effect on walking and bicycling, although the overall school-level effects were negative suggesting that gains from infrastructure investments can be lost from other factors (Boarnet et al., 2005).</p>	<p>Reduced the annual rate of school-aged pedestrian injury during school-travel hours by 44% in a study conducted in New York City (DiMaggio & Li, 2013).</p> <p>Another study conducted in Texas showed that implementation of SRTS reduced pedestrian and bicyclist injury rates in school-aged children by 14%, controlling for the temporal trend in the reduction in adult injuries (DiMaggio et al., 2015).</p> <p>Pedestrian and bicycling collision declines were also observed in a study of 47 schools in California – SRTS-funded infrastructure improvements reduced collisions involving bicyclists and pedestrians of all ages by 75% (Ragland et al., 2014).</p> <p>In another study in 18 U.S. states, SRTS interventions reduced pedestrian and bicyclist injury risk by 14-16% during school-travel hours, and reduced pedestrian and bicyclist fatality risk by 13% during school-travel hours, controlling for the temporal trend in the reduction in adult injuries (DiMaggio et al., 2016).</p>
<p>Bike Share (Infrastructure/Program)</p> <p>Short-term bike, e-bike, e-scooter, or other micro vehicle rentals.</p>	<p>Bike-share trips have been found to replace car trips at a rate ranging from 7% to 45% (Barnes, 2019; Fishman et al., 2014; Fukushima et al., 2023; NACTO, 2019). Bike-share has been found to be associated with increased levels of bicycling for specific segments of populations (Fitch et al., 2021; Hosford et al., 2019).</p>	<p>Bike-share reduced VMT by 0.79 miles per trip on average on weekdays in one study in California (Fukushige et al., 2023). Bike-share reduced traffic congestion by about 4% in one study in Washington D.C. (Hamilton & Wichman, 2018). Bike-share was found to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 283-581 grams of CO₂ equivalent on average per trip in one study (Kou et al., 2020).</p>
<p>Social Marketing (Program)</p> <p>Awareness campaigns and outreach activities to promote active transportation.</p>	<p>A few neighborhood programs in Australia and the US were found to increase bicycling by 1-2% (Pucher et al., 2010).</p> <p>A bicycling campaign in California was found to lead to an increase in bicycling frequency for only a certain section of the population – individuals who usually drive but are interested in taking up bicycling as a</p>	<p>Evidence on downstream effects of social marketing for active transportation in North America is sparse.</p>

Intervention	Measured Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Benefits
	mode of transportation (Circella et al., 2022).	
	Bicycling campaigns in Europe were found to increase bicycling in the short-term but the increases were not sustained in the long-term (Biondi et al., 2022; Höchli et al., 2019).	
	Safe Routes To School (SRTS) Program's education and encouragement initiatives increased active travel to school by 25% over 5 years (McDonald et al., 2014).	

4.2 Outcomes of interventions for bicycling

Table 3. Summaries of active transportation interventions for bicycling and their outcomes

Intervention	Measured Effects on Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Effects of Downstream Benefits
Conventional bike lane Portion of the roadway (located adjacent to motor vehicle travel lanes) that has been designated for bicycling through the use of pavement markings and signage.	Painted bike lanes increase facility usage by approximately 62% on average (ranging from 4 to 438%) and increase bicycling by approximately 22% on average (ranging from -21 to 262% (Fields et al., 2022; Hankey et al., 2012; Mölenberg et al., 2019). People report greater perceptions of safety, comfort, and willingness to ride by 50-100% in comparison to no bike lanes (Clark et al., 2019), and prefer routes with bike lanes over those without (Broach et al., 2012; Chen et al., 2018; Fitch & Handy, 2020; Hood et al., 2011).	Painted bike lanes usually increase safety with estimated crash reduction between 5-66% and when bike volumes (exposure) are included, bicyclist injury reductions between 60-78% (Abdel-Aty et al., 2014; Chen et al., 2012; Dadashova et al., 2022; A. Deliali et al., 2023; DiGioia et al., 2017; Goerke et al., 2019; Hamann & Peek-Asa, 2013; Kaplan & Giacomo Prato, 2015; Kondo et al., 2018; Morrison et al., 2019; Pedroso et al., 2016; Reynolds et al., 2009; Robartes & Donna Chen, 2018; Smith et al., 2019; Teschke et al., 2012).
Buffered bike lane Conventional bicycle lane paired with a designated buffer space separating the bicycle lane from the adjacent vehicular traffic lane and/or parking lane (NACTO).	Improved cyclist perceptions of safety and comfort (Clark et al., 2019; McNeil et al., 2015), preference for routing (Fitch & Handy, 2020), and associated with increases in bicycling from 77-271% (Monsere et al., 2014). In addition, presence of a buffer can effectively move bicyclists away from parked vehicles (Duthie et al., 2010; Fees et al., 2015).	Although there is a dearth of quantitative evidence for the safety benefits specific to buffered bike lanes, we found the following relevant evidence: Narrower vehicle travel lanes and wider bike lanes show some safety benefits (Morrison et al., 2019). A study notes that provision of a buffer zone between bicycle lanes and on-street parking lanes can reduce the risk of collisions between bicyclists and opening car doors or alighting passengers. However, the magnitude of this effect was not quantified in the study (Schimek, 2018). Buffered bike lanes discourage wrong-direction riding by bicyclists compared to roads with no bike lanes (Dhakal et al., 2018).

Intervention	Measured Effects on Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Effects of Downstream Benefits
<p>Protected bike lane (aka cycle tracks)</p> <p>Bike lanes separated from motor vehicle travel lanes using physical barriers such as bollards, concrete barriers, or a curb.</p>	<p>Increases in bicycling ranging from 21–500% (Karpinski, 2021; Monsere et al., 2014) with vertical physical objects resulting in higher comfort levels than painted buffers (McNeil et al., 2015; Monsere et al., 2014).</p> <p>A study conducted in Australia noted that while bike counts reported increase in use of a new separated bike path (23 – 97%), results of a survey indicate that this observed increase in cycling may be due to route choice changes and not mode choice changes (Rissel et al., 2015).</p>	<p>Cycle tracks have been found to reduce injuries by 41-99% (Harris et al., 2013; Teschke et al., 2012)(Harris et al., 2013; Teschke et al., 2012), and to reduce crash risk compared to conventional bike lane (Deliali et al., 2023).</p> <p>Another study reported mixed evidence – two-way protected bike lanes with heavy separation reduced risk of crashing or falling compared to major roads without bicycle facilities. But one way protected bike lanes with lighter separation had similar risk to major roads, and two way protected bike lanes with lighter separation had higher risk than major roads (Cicchino et al., 2020).</p>
<p>Off-street bike path</p> <p>Off-street paved path that is designed exclusively for bicycling.</p>	<p>Bicyclists tend to choose routes with off-street paths to a much greater extent compared to other options (Broach et al., 2012; Fitch & Handy, 2020; Wardman et al., 2007; Winters et al., 2010).</p> <p>Off-street bike paths are associated with increases in bicycling between 23– 35% (Merom et al., 2003). Greenways (linear parks with paths) have been associated with school age children bicycling (Taylor & Coutts, 2018).</p> <p>A study found that a 10% greater supply of bike paths (including off-street bike paths and multi-use paths) is associated with a 2.5% higher level of bike commuting (Buehler & Pucher, 2012).</p> <p>A study conducted in Australia found that off-street bike paths were one of the most highly reported enablers to bike riding (Pearson et al., 2023).</p>	<p>Off-street bike paths have been shown to decrease injury risk by up to 41% and injury severity in some studies, but not in others (Crompton et al., 2014; DiGioia et al., 2017; Jestico et al., 2017; Meuleners et al., 2007; Reynolds et al., 2009; Rodgers, 1997; Romanow et al., 2012; Teschke et al., 2012; Teschke et al., 2014).</p> <p>In one study, greenways have also been shown to increase physical activity in urban residential neighborhoods (Frank et al., 2019).</p> <p>Another study conducted in Canada found that off-street bike paths reduced the risk of bicycle-vehicle conflicts by 70%, but increased the risk of bicycle-pedestrian conflicts by four times compared to streets without any cycling facility (Jarry & Apparicio, 2021).</p>
<p>Bike boulevard</p> <p>Also called neighborhood greenway or neighborway.</p> <p>Low-speed and low-volume street where all types of vehicles are allowed, but the roadway is modified using signs, pavement markings, speed calming and volume management measures to enhance bicycle safety and prioritize bicycling.</p>	<p>Limited results. Bicycle boulevards are appreciated by bicyclists and neighborhood residents (Broach et al., 2012; Griswold et al., 2018) and may provide reduced stress bicycling environments (Fitch et al., 2020), but it is not clear how effective they are at increasing bicycling (Dill et al., 2014).</p> <p>In addition, a study found that a reduction in posted speed limit is more likely to reduce speed on bicycle boulevards than on non-bicycle boulevards (Schaefer et al., 2022).</p>	<p>In at least one study, collision rates on bicycle boulevards were observed to be between 2 to 8 times lower than those on adjacent arterial routes (Minikel, 2012).</p>

Intervention	Measured Effects on Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Effects of Downstream Benefits
<p>Bike shared lane markings</p> <p>Also called sharrow.</p> <p>Pavement markings used to indicate lanes that are shared between bicycles and automobiles.</p>	<p>Some studies show behavioral changes which indicate potential improvements in safety (e.g., cars changing lanes to pass, bicyclists lateral position further from parked cars, cars shifting from the right to the left travel lane) (Brady et al., 2011; Foletta et al., 2015; Hunter et al., 2010; Pol et al., 2015).</p> <p>However, another study found no statistically significant differences between driver behaviors on roads with sharrows and roads without any bike facilities. This study also found that when passing cyclists on streets with sharrows, drivers are more likely to enter adjacent lanes than when passing cyclists on streets with striped or buffered bike lanes (Lindsey et al., 2021).</p> <p>Another study conducted in Maryland found that the overtaking motor vehicle passing distance was higher on a travel lane adjoining a bicycle lane than on a travel lane with a sharrow (Love et al., 2012).</p>	<p>Limited evidence. Sharrows correlated with poorer safety outcomes than bicycle lanes or no infrastructure in at least one study (Ferenchak & Marshall, 2019).</p> <p>A study conducted in Oregon found that sharrows reduced crash risk compared to no treatment and conventional bike lane (Deliali et al., 2023).</p>
<p>Bike highways</p> <p>Also called cycle superhighway.</p> <p>Continuous, long-distance bikeway that can consist of on-street bike facilities and fully separated paths.</p>	<p>Improvement in perceived traffic safety and personal security and increased in bicycling between 0-77% (Cabral Dias & Gomes Ribeiro, 2021; Grigoropoulos et al., 2021; Skov-Petersen et al., 2017; Taciuk & Davidson, 2018).</p> <p>A study found that cycle superhighways in London increased the average travel speed of bike share trips within the impact area (within 300 m of cycle superhighway route) by 13.3%, and reduced travel time of bike share trips by 11% (Li et al., 2018).</p>	<p>Two studies conducted on the impacts of cycle superhighways in London found no significant association between cycle superhighways and bicycle crash risk (Ding et al., 2020; Li et al., 2017).</p>
<p>Bike boxes</p> <p>Also called advanced stop line.</p> <p>Designated area at the front of a motor vehicle lane at a signalized intersection where bicyclists can wait during a red signal.</p>	<p>Bike boxes have been found to be associated with improved bicyclist movements through intersections including the following: an increase in proportion of bicyclists who approached an intersection using the bicycle lane instead of the vehicle lane, who stopped before the stop line, and who departed an intersection before motorists (Loskorn et al., 2013), and an increase in right-turning cars yielding to cyclists (Dill et al., 2012).</p>	<p>Increased perceived safety at intersections (Dill et al., 2012; Götschi et al., 2018; Wang & Akar, 2018) and reduced frequency of bicycle-vehicle conflicts by 31% (Dill et al., 2012; Ohlms & Kweon, 2018).</p> <p>Bike boxes were found to reduce severity of bicycle-vehicle conflicts in one study (Russo et al., 2023).</p> <p>A study in Edinburgh noted that bicycle boxes are effective at reducing cyclists' exposure to tailpipe exhaust emissions of vehicles (Luengo-Oroz & Reis, 2019).</p>
<p>Bike signals</p> <p>Bicycle signals fully separate conflicting movements between bicycles and vehicles in time to facilitate safe crossing of roads by bicyclists.</p>	<p>Compliance by bicyclists for bike signals seems similar to normal signals, confusion amongst all road users seems to be minimal (Monsere et al., 2019). Presence of bike signals was found to positively influence bike volume around intersections (Munira et al., 2021). Bike signals were perceived as</p>	<p>Bike signals were found to eliminate right-hook conflicts among compliant road users in one study (Russo et al., 2023).</p> <p>Cyclists crossing intersections with bicycle signals tended to allocate less visual attention towards a potentially conflicting vehicle, likely increasing crash risk with errant drivers in a</p>

Intervention	Measured Effects on Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Effects of Downstream Benefits
	comfortable by bicyclists (Monsere et al., 2020), and found to be associated with low perceived crash risk at intersections (Lusk et al., 2019).	simulation-based study (Scott-Deeter et al., 2023).
Bike parking Provision of racks, lockers or covered areas to store bicycles when they are not being used.	Increasing rack supply at transit stations increases egress bicycle trips, stations with covered racks have more bike connections, and stations with bike lockers have more bike connections (Heinen & Buehler, 2019). Similarly, bicycle parking at work is associated with greater bike commuting, although exact effect sizes are unknown because of lack of causal study designs (Heinen & Buehler, 2019). The rate of bicycling as an access mode to rail stations without secure bicycle parking was found to be 0.54 times the bicycling rate to stations with secure parking in one study in Australia (Weliwitiya et al., 2019).	About 50-72% of reported stolen bicycles were ‘flyparked’ (bicycles secured to street furniture not designed for parking) in two studies conducted in Canada and UK, highlighting the need for formal bicycle parking (Egan et al., 2023; Johnson et al., 2008; van Lierop et al., 2015).
Bike Lending (Program) Programs that lend bicycles to participants for a specific time period.	Google’s bike lending program in the San Francisco Bay area was found to increase bike commuting for participants by approximately 1.7–2.3 days and 1.3–1.9 days per week on average during and after the program, respectively (Fitch et al., 2022). Another study conducted in the Portland region also found that bike lending increased bicycling (Macarthur et al., 2017). In a study with brief e-bike lending periods conducted in Norway, e-bike trips increased from 0.9 to 1.4 per day (Fyhri & Fearnley, 2015). 38% of the participants of an e-bike lending program in the UK were expected to cycle more in the future after the end of the program (Cairns et al., 2017).	Nearly all the increases in bicycling resulting from Google’s bike lending program were likely attributed to decreases in single occupancy vehicle (SOV) commuting – the program reduced SOV driving by approximately 15 miles per week for an average participant (Fitch et al., 2022). An e-bike lending program in the UK reduced VMT by 20% on average across all participants (Cairns et al., 2017).
Bike Rebates and Incentives (Program) Financial incentives that may either be a partial repayment after purchase or a point-of purchase discount to buy bicycles.	E-bike rebate programs were found to increase bicycling in the short-term (but this increase was not sustained in the long-term) in one study that evaluated three programs across Northern California (Johnson et al., 2023). The cycling mode share by kilometers traveled for people who obtained an e-bike through an e-bike incentive program in Norway was found to increase from 17% to 52% in one study (Fyhri et al., 2016).	In the short-term, e-bike rebate programs were found to replace car VMT by about 35-44%, reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 12-44 kilograms of CO ₂ per month per participant, and induce recreational travel (which could provide health and wellbeing benefits) in one study (Johnson et al., 2023). One study noted that e-bike rebate programs are likely to be rebate-limited rather than demand-limited – all available rebates are expected to be claimed, and program impacts are expected to increase proportionally with the budget (Bigazzi & Berjisian, 2021).

4.3 Outcomes of interventions for walking

Table 4. Summaries of active transportation interventions for walking and their outcomes

Intervention	Measured Effects on Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Effects of Downstream Benefits
<p>Sidewalks</p> <p>Raised curb with a paved walkway.</p>	<p>Greater width is associated with 12-33% more walking in small and large cities (Aziz et al., 2017; Barnes & Schlossberg, 2013; Guo, 2009; Guo & Loo, 2013). Some studies have found that higher sidewalk quality measured in terms of sidewalk coverage, density, curb prevalence, curb ramps, or improved corners is positively associated with walking trips (Eldeeb et al., 2021; Tian & Ewing, 2017). A study based on data from Australia found that for each 10-km increase in sidewalk length, the probability of neighborhood-based walking for transportation increased by about 3%, and the time spent walking by an individual increased by about 5 minutes per week (McCormack et al., 2012).</p>	<p>Sidewalks are associated with lower pedestrian and bicyclist crash risk (Berhanu, 2003; Kim et al., 2012; Raihan et al., 2019; Saad et al., 2019), lower pedestrian injury severity (Hwang, 2022; Khan & Habib, 2022), and relative safety effects are greater in rural settings, while absolute safety effects are greatest in urban settings (Arellana et al., 2020). One observational study found that sidewalks were associated with 40% less pedestrian crashes (Abou-Senna et al., 2022). Another study found that a 1% increase in proportion of road with sidewalk reduced the odds of pedestrian fatality by 1.5% on average (Hwang, 2022).</p>
Lighting	<p>Street lighting positively contributes to perceived safety and security for pedestrians and cyclists (Campos Ferreira et al., 2022; Herrmann-Lunecke et al., 2021; Lusk et al., 2019; Park & Garcia, 2020). Street lighting is associated with increased walking and cycling after dark (Fotios et al., 2019; Uttley et al., 2020).</p>	<p>Lighting is associated with 32-55% fewer crashes (combined 95CI 18-71%), 22-32% fewer injuries (combined 95CI 3-39%), and 66% fewer deaths (95CI 32-8%) (Beyer & Ker, 2009), with even greater pedestrian safety effects (Siddiqui et al., 2006; Wanvik, 2009). In addition, 27% fewer (95CI 9-47%) crimes in areas with street lights compared to control areas (Welsh & Farrington, 2008). A recent study found that street lighting was associated with a 58.3% lower risk of fatality in pedestrians hit by vehicles at night (Ferenchak et al., 2022). Pedestrian crashes in poorly lit or unlit conditions were associated with 34 – 49% higher risk of injury compared to crashes in well-lit or daylight conditions (Islam et al., 2022; Kemnitzer et al., 2019).</p>
<p>Crossing islands</p> <p>Also called pedestrian refuge island or median refuge island.</p> <p>Median located in the center of a multilane road that provides a safe waiting area for pedestrians and bicyclists crossing the road.</p>	<p>Crossing islands in one study showed a 10-20 percentage point increase in driver yielding, 2-5 mph reduction in speed, and a 10 percentage point increase in crosswalk use (Mead et al., 2014).</p>	<p>Islands results in 23-50% reduction in pedestrian crashes (Kang, 2019; Mead et al., 2014; Zegeer et al., 2017) and some evidence suggests that they are perceived as unsafe for bicyclists at intersections (Wang & Akar, 2018); although islands have mixed results on bicycling crash risk (Kim & Kim, 2015; Kim et al., 2012; Raihan et al., 2019). At least two studies found that crossing islands were associated with poorer safety outcomes – presence of central refuge islands increased the likelihood of collisions involving pedestrian violations at large intersections (Ghomi & Hussein, 2021); critical gap accepted by pedestrians for crossing from the crossing</p>

Intervention	Measured Effects on Perceptions and Behavior Change	Measured Effects of Downstream Benefits
		island to the curb was much shorter than that from the curb to the crossing island (Saleh et al., 2020).
<p>Crosswalks</p> <p>Path designated for pedestrians to cross a road.</p>	<p>Marked crosswalks increase pedestrian channeling and thus reduce variation in crossing behavior (Sisiopiku & Akin, 2003; Zegeer et al., 2001).</p> <p>A study conducted in UK found that a marked crosswalk was associated with increased likelihood of pedestrians using the crosswalk to cross the road, increased perceived safety, and reduced waiting time to cross (Havard & Willis, 2012).</p> <p>Conversion of a crosswalk to a high-visibility crosswalk was found to increase driver yielding by 11% and increase pedestrian compliance by 7.1% in one study (O'Brien et al., 2022).</p>	<p>Marking crosswalks alone is unlikely to provide much safety benefit (Zegeer et al., 2001). However, combining crosswalks with other traffic calming mechanisms can have substantial safety benefits for pedestrians (Poswayo et al., 2019).</p> <p>Proximity to a crosswalk was found to be associated with reduced risk of a fatal crash for pedestrians (Younes et al., 2023). High-visibility crosswalks positively modify driving behavior, reducing the risk of vehicle-pedestrian conflicts (Pantangi et al., 2021).</p>
<p>Raised crossings</p> <p>Roadway crossing where the pavement is raised typically up to the same level as the level of the sidewalk.</p>	<p>Raised crossings decrease vehicle speed (Garunović et al., 2020; Kruszyna & Matczuk-Pisarek, 2021; Loprencipe et al., 2019; Mohammadipour et al., 2020), increase driver yielding (Torres et al., 2020), and increase use of the designated crosswalk or crossing, although they are associated with reductions in pedestrian stop rates prior to crossing (Gitelman et al., 2017).</p>	<p>Limited evidence suggests decreases in pedestrian crashes by 40% and injuries by 24% (Stipancic et al., 2020; Turner et al., 2019) in addition to safety improvements for bicyclists (Schepers et al., 2011).</p>
<p>Curb extensions</p> <p>Also called bulb-out or neckdown.</p> <p>Extension of the curb line into the lane of the road adjacent to the curb.</p>	<p>Curb extensions reduce turning speed for vehicles (Fitzpatrick & Schneider, 2005), reduce 85th-percentile speed on urban roads (Mahmoud et al., 2021), and reduce crossing distances for pedestrians (reducing exposure and therefore crash risk) (Schneider et al., 2010; Schneider et al., 2017).</p> <p>A combination of temporary curb extensions and painted crosswalks was found to increase pedestrian activity by 23% in one study (Carlson et al., 2019).</p>	<p>Limited evidence suggests reduced pedestrian injuries by 24% on average with 95CI of 4-40% (Stipancic et al., 2020), and reduced pedestrian-vehicle collisions (Kang, 2019).</p>

5 Conclusion

Infrastructure and programmatic interventions to promote walking and bicycling have manifold societal benefits. The evidence is generally strong that active transportation projects and programs have many positive societal effects, with few negative ones. Potential negative effects of active travel interventions include exposure of active travelers to air pollutants, risk of injury, and possibly gentrification. Although some of the literature that we reviewed suggests possible negative effects, evidence for the benefits of active travel interventions is overwhelmingly stronger. The evidence is stronger for some kinds of interventions than others – there is generally more evidence in the literature on effects of active travel infrastructure interventions than on programmatic interventions. Moreover, investment in multiple active travel interventions

simultaneously is likely to be more effective in generating benefits than investment in only a specific intervention.

This review paper synthesizes the findings from the literature on broad benefits (including primary and secondary benefits) of active transportation interventions. It also provides detailed information on the effects of specific active transportation interventions. Thus, this paper can serve as a reference document for transportation researchers, planners, and policymakers who need information either on general benefits of active travel interventions or on effects of specific types of interventions or both. Care should be taken when comparing benefits by mode and infrastructure type as nearly all the evidence reported is relative to an unknown baseline benefit in which context likely plays an important role. Nonetheless, the ranges of effects in Tables 2-4 can help practitioners think about how to potentially combine different elements for achieving greater benefits for walking and bicycling.

Many variables are likely to moderate the expected effects of specific projects. Among several moderating factors, the existing local transportation infrastructure and land-use patterns are especially likely to influence the effects of walking and bicycling interventions, yet specifics about these interactions for each active transportation intervention is lacking in the literature. This also suggests that care is needed in generalizing these effects to specific projects, and more targeted evaluation of projects and programs that control for land use and road context variation is needed. This is especially the case for California's Active Transportation Program wherein future project-level evaluations can be conducted through standardized data collection. The outcomes of these evaluations in conjunction with the results provided by the supporting tool (Favetti et al., 2022) developed in part from this review can provide deeper insights into the specific effects of active travel interventions. These insights will be useful in estimating the effects of similar active travel interventions in other states in the US and in other countries as well.

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Author contribution

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