

# Identifying Hotspots of Transport Disadvantage and Car Dependency in Rural Ireland

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores the concepts of car dependency and transport disadvantage and the correlation between them in rural Ireland as a means of highlighting incidences of possible forced car ownership with the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS). Societal and cultural challenges associated with the prevalence of the private car as the primary or in some cases the only form of mobility for people living in rural areas are examined resulting in potential cases of forced car ownership (FCO) (Curl et al, 2018). Those defined as being forced to own a car are those who may find themselves in circumstances with low transport accessibility and low income, which is intensified by the need to economically participate in society for financial gain (Mattioli, 2014; Taylor et al., 2009; Currie and Delbosc, 2009; Currie and Senbergs, 2007). This paper examines the existing gap between the necessity of transport and the provision of reliable public transport in rural Ireland, which is frequently attributed as a major determinant of FCO in the literature. While it is acknowledged that forced car ownership similarly exists in urban areas under the same or similar conditions, this paper focuses exclusively on the incidence of FCO in rural areas due to potentially higher levels of car dependency. The main objective of this paper is to identify hotspots or areas that are susceptible to increasing rates of FCO and transport disadvantage. Using the information gained from identifying the locations of these hotspots, transport planners and policymakers can tailor interventions to improve sustainable mobility in these areas and address equity concerns.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Three out of four journeys outside Dublin were made by car in 2016 (Department of Transport, Tourism and Sport (DTTAS), 2017) and levels of car dependency tend to be even more exacerbated when there is a need to travel over longer distances within rural areas (Currie, and Senbergs, 2007). However,

34 potential ways of promoting sustainable 'car-shedding'<sup>1</sup> behaviour (Carroll, et al., 2017) in these areas  
35 must equally consider the pressing issue of public transport inaccessibility. This paper highlights  
36 instances of possible FCO in rural areas of Ireland and explores the potential root cause of this, namely  
37 transport disadvantage.

38 In the UK, research conducted by Jones (1987) and Banister (1994) suggests that the ownership of a  
39 private car is not entirely a decision that is made willingly, but in some cases it is an indispensable asset  
40 and in this way 'forced' upon socially disadvantaged groups and those living in relatively remote areas  
41 where no practical alternative to the private car exists. This paper presents an examination of instances  
42 where notwithstanding issues linked to low incomes and financial problems, car ownership may be a  
43 necessity for those living in rural areas as a result of transport inequity and poor accessibility to transport  
44 services. There are many reasons, why people opt to live in rural locations, however academic literature  
45 has long illustrated that 'low income households trade off lower housing costs for transport costs by  
46 deciding to locate on the urban fringe' (Faulkner, 1978).

47 The research presented in this paper examines the results of a study that identifies potential  
48 concentrations of FCO in rural part of Ireland, with the use of GIS and measures of transport  
49 disadvantage risk. The hotspots referred to are defined as concentrations of homogeneous conditions  
50 of poor transport accessibility and income levels that signify the existence of forced car owners (Curl,  
51 Clark and Kearns, 2018; Rau and Vega, 2012; Currie and Senbergs, 2009). This work identifies specific  
52 Electoral Divisions (ED) that have or are experiencing high levels of disadvantage and accessibility  
53 issues to important social services and amenities, such as access to schools, health care, banks and  
54 post offices as well as employment centres in rural Ireland. The findings reported in this paper provide  
55 weight to the argument that more resources, infrastructure provision and policy action are needed to  
56 adequately reduce the dependency on the private car in rural areas by providing more practical  
57 alternatives to the car and funding to support people who are often geographically and socially  
58 disadvantaged. To further examine this issue and to determine the effectiveness of rural transport in  
59 Ireland, the relationship between job accessibility and levels transport disadvantage risk is also explored  
60 by analysing journey times by car and bus services in scenarios with and without the existence of the  
61 rural transport programme (RTP). This analysis determines the changes in transport disadvantage risk  
62 values and the variance in journey times for commuting purposes since the introduction of this  
63 programme. Even though a large proportion of government investment is centred on improving transport  
64 infrastructure in the five regional cities of Ireland, i.e. Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Galway and Waterford, the  
65 analysis presented in this paper highlights the need to also seriously consider an expansion of the  
66 successful local, community-based public transport schemes such as Local Link.

67 This paper is organised in five sections, the first section has introduced the context for the research  
68 explored and the work that will be presented; Section 2 provides a review of relevant literature on car

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<sup>1</sup> Car-shedding is defined as the incidence of a reduction in private car trips, by means of encouraging the reassessment of the need to utilise a private car for certain trip purposes.

69 dependency, forced car ownership, the Rural Transport Programme (RTP) and the how it relates to  
70 transport disadvantage. Section 3 delineates the methodology and criteria employed in the analysis  
71 using GIS tools, spatial datasets (NaPTAN) and Census data. Section 4 then presents the results of the  
72 spatial and statistical analyses conducted, and finally, the paper concludes with a further discussion of  
73 the results and policy implications generated from the findings.

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## 77 **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

78 Car dependency as a result of transport disadvantage and the deprivation or inaccessibility to  
79 alternatives to the private car in rural areas has been examined in several empirical studies in countries  
80 such as Australia, UK, Germany, and China (Zhao and Bai, 2019; Mattioli, 2017; Lucas, 2012; Delbosc  
81 and Currie, 2012), yet there is scope for more. For example, Lucas, et al. (2012) state that transport  
82 poverty is under-explored and a poorly articulated issue, even within developed countries. Inaccessibility  
83 to transport due to the lack of available public transport services is a causal factor for social exclusion  
84 (Lucas, et al., 2012), which is often exacerbated in rural areas with dispersed patterns of residential  
85 development. However, a key issue is not necessarily the availability of the public transport services  
86 themselves but rather the societal effect of limiting access to various social, employment, health and  
87 educational opportunities, which are typically in greater supply in dense urban areas. Thus, this places  
88 those whom are able bodied and possess the financial means to own and maintain a private vehicle  
89 with an automatic advantage in accessing essential amenities and services in rural areas. Therefore,  
90 the aim of this paper is to identify the effectiveness and requirement for reliable, cost effective and  
91 efficient public transport services in rural parts of Ireland as a means of reversing the reliance on and  
92 dominance of private car use. This not only facilitates rural living but enables rural communities to grow  
93 in a sustainable and futureproof manner.

94 Car dependence is linked to low-density dispersed residential characteristics akin rural areas (Walks,  
95 2018; Simma and Axhausen, 2001; Newman and Kenworthy, 1999). Mattioli 2014 and Walks (2018)  
96 state that there are two main strands of transport disadvantage that are connected to car dependence;  
97 the first being related to the disadvantage of not owning a car in an area with limited public transport  
98 coverage, and the other in reference to low income households experiencing financial stress as a result  
99 of owning and maintaining a car (Delbosc and Currie, 2012; Currie and Sendbergs, 2007). The former  
100 strand will be examined further in this paper, as there are more opportunities available to address this  
101 form of transport disadvantage as a result of integrating land use and transportation planning and by

102 offering feeder community-based public transport services that link lower density areas to the  
103 mainstream public transport network. Chevallier, et al. (2018) determine that car-related economic  
104 stress (CRES) has limiting effects on individuals and households living in outer-suburban areas that are  
105 designed with the car in mind, that can result in residential relocation and travel for social activities being  
106 limited to local areas. These are in effect coping mechanisms to for the financial stress that owning a  
107 private car can have on a low-income household.

108 Perceived accessibility of particular modes has also been shown to influence the mode choice process  
109 and positive relationships may increase the likelihood of potential modal shifts occurring (Scheepers, et  
110 al., 2016). In this study the objective characteristics of the study area were acquired and analysed using  
111 ArcGIS, which is akin to other studies such as Preston and Rajé (2007) and Mackett, et al. (2008) where  
112 GIS mapping tools have been employed to analyse accessibility planning processes and the social  
113 inclusiveness of transport policy. Moreover, since 2011 the Irish Government has increasingly supported  
114 the use of GIS systems to explore the needs of people affected by transport disadvantaged in rural  
115 areas (DTTaS, 2011). Nevertheless, to the best of knowledge of the authors, no GIS-based studies  
116 addressing FCO in Ireland have been published to date.

117 Rau and Vega (2012) determine that there are more cases of disadvantage emerging in rural Ireland  
118 that are being triggered by unmet transport needs, in addition to other societal and political factors such  
119 as land use and associated residential issues linked to an unstable housing market. Central to this issue  
120 is the historic separation and disintegration of land use and transport policy in Ireland, which, as a result  
121 has exacerbated the incidence of one-off rural housing developments that are often disconnected from  
122 the mainstream public transport network. Over time this leads to potential incidences of transport poverty  
123 or poverty of access in rural areas (Farrington, et al., 2004). In Scotland, Velaga, et al. (2012) demarcate  
124 that reasons for low patronage on rural public transport services are due the lack of available services,  
125 and the services that are available are infrequent and inefficient leading to delays and overcrowding. A  
126 lack of joined up thinking and low levels of collaboration between urban and transportation planning  
127 professionals in planning for the transport requirements of new developments is often highlighted as  
128 primary cause for rural transport disadvantage. The spatial separation of activities such as employment,  
129 education, health and recreational, and the resulting derived need to travel to access these services is  
130 ultimately what exacerbates this issue. Njenga and Davis (2003) state that one of the most effective  
131 methods of addressing this is by integrating transport into land use planning processes. Lucas, et al.  
132 (2012) conclude that mainstream public transport services are one of the solutions to transport related  
133 exclusion however, community-based services, which are often more flexible and informal are effective  
134 in complementing conventional services.

135 Table 1 displays a review of the findings of some of the literature concerning transport disadvantage,  
136 car dependency and FCO.

137

Table 1: Review of the literature

Author(s)	Findings
Zhao and Bai (2019)	Distance to basic public services (e.g. hospitals, schools) was found to be related to 'forced' car ownership of low-income households in rural China.
Mattioli (2017)	While Germany presents a higher incidence of FCO in rural and suburban areas (following the spatial trends of other continental countries like Australia), findings from the UK reveal FCO is also similarly present in urban areas due to the poor quality and high prices of public transport services.
Walks (2018)	Automobile dependence was found to be positively associated with the burden of automobile loan levels among low-income households in seven of the largest Canadian metropolitan areas.
Chevallier et al. (2018)	Low-income households in car dependent areas on the outskirts of Paris and Dijon (France) tend to reduce their trips to become less vulnerable to car-related economic stress (CRES) and avoid residential relocation
Curl, et al. (2018)	At the individual and aggregate levels, the relationship between financial difficulties and car ownership has weakened, indicating a more complex and dynamic relationship between financial circumstances and car ownership than conventional wisdom would indicate.
Lucas, et al. (2016)	Transport subsidies such as concessionary fares for targeted populations, such as older people and disabled do little to address the widespread issues transport poverty.
Rock et al. (2016)	Results from the study survey pointed to considerable problems in suburban areas of Dublin that are disproportionately and unfairly impacting on particular population groups, including those that are not traditionally seen as disadvantaged.
Currie and Delbosc (2013)	The vulnerability of low-income households, living in the urban fringe is a major policy concern with regard to their inability to afford potential increases in fuel prices.
Ahern and Hine (2012)	Focus group discussions demonstrated that men find it more difficult to move from car use and car ownership to public transport and community transport use. Older women, while still experiencing difficulties in travelling, seemed to adjust to life without a car more easily than older men who were more likely to have driven themselves.
Delbosc and Currie (2012)	Voluntary and involuntary one-car households were more likely to be low-income and contain unemployed people than households running 2+ cars. Involuntary one-car households were still heavily reliant on car travel which resulted in greater problems with access, lower participation and social support and lower well-being.
Lucas (2012)	Transport-related exclusion can be identified as a universal and operational concept, although it is differentially experienced within and between nations and by different social groups in different social and geographical contexts.
Velaga et al. (2012)	Challenges to providing accessibility and connectivity in rural communities include: understanding basic technological requirements in rural areas, considering trust and reliability issues with the crowd-sourced information provided by passengers during their journeys, and understanding an anticipating passenger behaviour change in response to technological innovations.
Currie et al. (2009)	FCO households make less trips (12.9%), travel shorter distances (-7%) and slightly shorter time (-6.8%) than average 2+ car households in Outer Melbourne. This propensity to travel less might be illustrative of financial pressures and a desire to reduce the costs of travel compared to other income groups in similar circumstances.
Preston and Rajé (2007)	Accessibility planning should not be limited to analysing social exclusion. In particular, charging mechanisms targeted should also be examined as they provide funding streams to promote personalised travel marketing and transport services that may more effectively deal with exclusion.
Currie and Senbergs (2007)	Results have shown that low-income households with high car ownership make 12.9% fewer trips, travel 7% shorter distances and have 6.8% shorter travel times than the average of 2+ car households in outer Melbourne (Australia).
Njenga and Davis (2003)	Transport is necessary in achieving a wide range of objectives including economic growth, personal welfare, governance and empowerment as well as security. However, the effectiveness of the sector in delivering these objectives is limited by an absence of policy links to other sectors to which it plays an important role.

140 2.1 Rural Ireland and The Rural Transport Programme

141 In recent decades rural areas of Ireland have undergone a relatively dramatic demographic shift, which  
 142 has led to many young and educated people either moving to urban areas in Ireland in search of higher  
 143 paid employment opportunities in regional cities such as Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford,  
 144 or have chosen to emigrate from Ireland. As a consequence of this, many rural areas have experienced  
 145 rapid depopulation, with the average age profile in such areas also increasing at a similar rate. The  
 146 extent of this shift in population from rural to urban areas in Ireland is clearly illustrated in Figure 1 and  
 147 2. Figure 1 and Figure 2 (a) indicate that counties on the West coast of Ireland such as Donegal, Sligo,  
 148 Mayo and Roscommon have experienced the highest decreases in population, while cities in the East  
 149 and South coasts experienced the highest increases, namely in Dublin, Waterford, Cork, with exceptions  
 150 in Galway and Limerick. Figure 2 (b) similarly reveals that these same counties in rural Ireland that are  
 151 experiencing incidences of depopulation, also have the highest average age profile of 39.8 to 42.5 years  
 152 nationally.

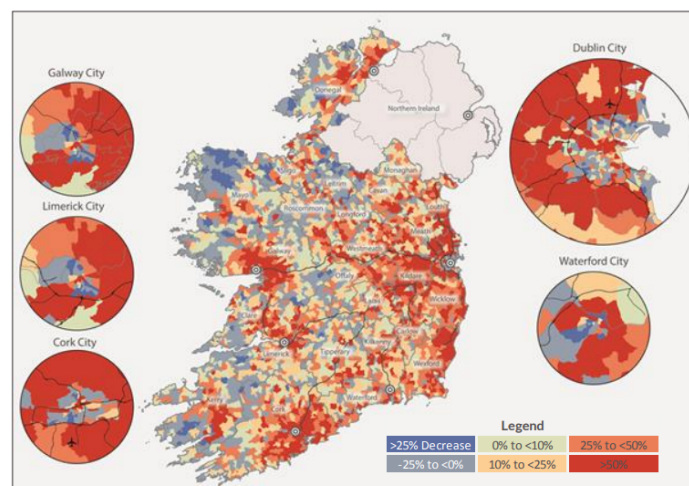
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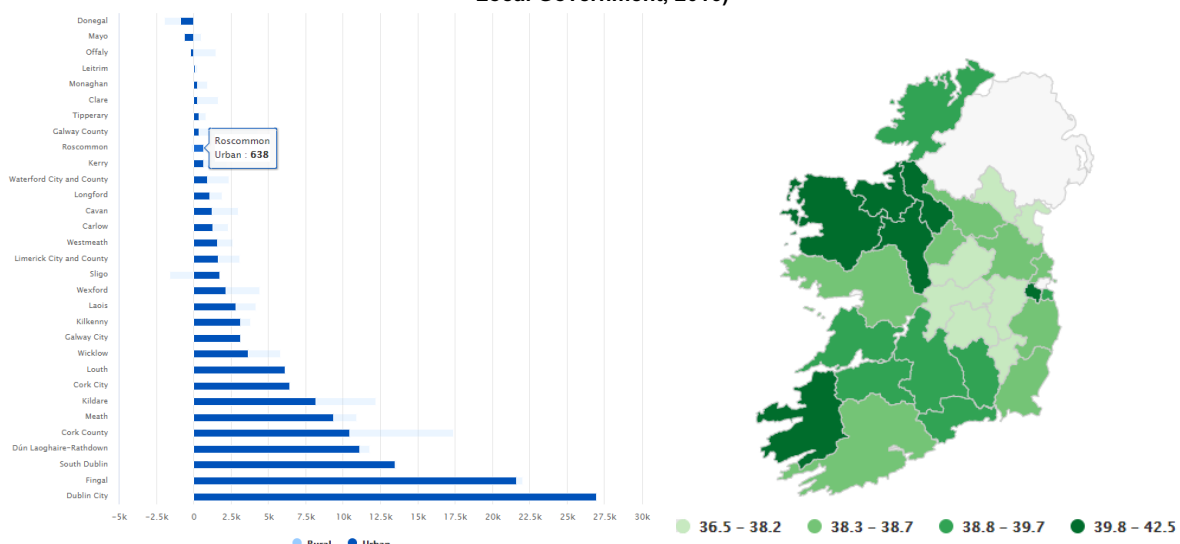
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158 **Figure 1: Percentage population change by electoral division, 1991 to 2016 (Department of Housing, Planning and**  
 159 **Local Government, 2016)**



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**Figure 2: (a) Change of urban and rural population, 2011-2016; (b) Average age of population by county, rural area,**  
**2016 (Central Statistics Office, 2016)**

162 As a result of this phenomenon, which is not exclusive to Ireland, public services and amenities such as  
163 public transport services, health care and banking facilities have suffered from a loss in business and  
164 this has ultimately led to the closure and relocation of such services due to inadequate levels demand  
165 to financially sustain the services. However, the Rural Transport Programme (RTP) is a true exception  
166 to this trend, as it was introduced to address the mobility needs of the rural population in areas  
167 experiencing a lack or in some case a total absence of public transport services.

168 The Rural Transport Programme (RTP) or Local Link, which launched in 2007, was formed on the  
169 foundations built by the Rural Transport Initiative of 2002, to meet the transport demand of those  
170 experiencing rural social exclusion and isolation or cases of 'market failure' (NTA, 2013). The  
171 programme has grown to become a major lifeline for people in rural areas of Ireland, who previously  
172 experienced difficulties in accessing service like hospitals, banks, post offices, retail centres and areas  
173 of employment etc. To demonstrate this, there were 1.76 million RTP passengers recorded 2015 alone  
174 (DTTAS, 2017). Since its restructuring in 2012-13, the National Transport Authority (NTA) established  
175 17 Transportation Coordination Units (TCUs), that reduced a number of previous Rural Transport  
176 Groups, of which there were 35. These TCUs are responsible for identifying the demand for local  
177 transport services to the NTA (NTA, 2013). This restructuring was conducted for a number of reasons,  
178 of which the principal ones were: a lack of data on the changes made to social exclusion as a result of  
179 the Programme, the organisational structure being cost-ineffective and could be improved by addressing  
180 certain inefficiencies such as high administration costs in comparison to other state funded programmes,  
181 and various issues regarding the structuring of fares and the branding or marketing of the programme  
182 nationwide (NTA, 2013). However, as confessed by a former Minister of State for Public and Commuter  
183 Services, Alan Kelly, 'not every area of the country is covered by an RTP company despite our best  
184 efforts' (NTA, 2013). In rural Ireland, McDonagh (2006) identified that there are still many areas with  
185 poor access to public transport services that only operate on one day per week from a 'hinterland  
186 catchment area' to a market town and suggests that there must be a multi-faceted solution that must be  
187 tailored to the needs of each specific area, with local community support. This paper presents a method  
188 can be applied to such as solution by initially detecting the worse hits areas of transport disadvantage  
189 risk and inaccessibility.

190  
191 Thus, this paper seeks to offer a method of identifying areas of the country that are currently not being  
192 serviced by the RTP and that are exhibiting signs of transport disadvantage risk and deprivation. It is  
193 understood by the authors that research highlighting hotspots of FCO in Ireland has not been conducted  
194 to date, therefore, this paper offers a novel approach that could aid transport planners in identifying  
195 areas in need of service provision under the RTP and provide an evidence base for strategic investment  
196 in public transport.

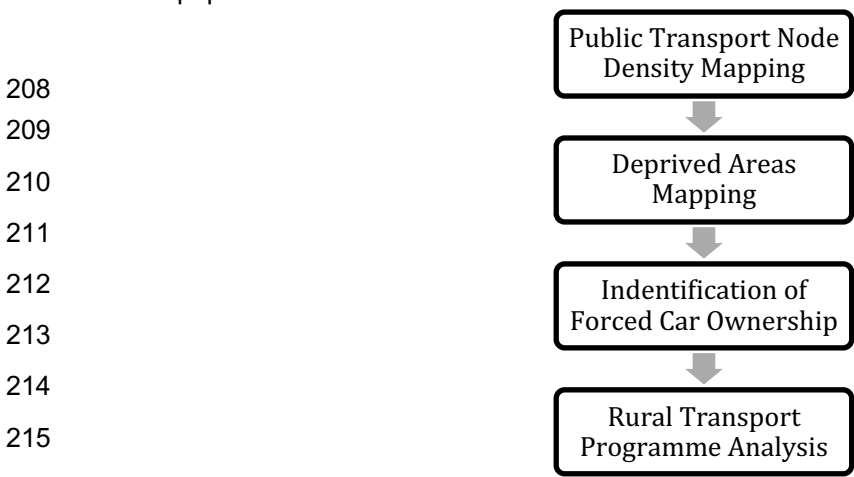
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199 **3. METHODOLOGY**

200 This methodology aims to build on previous work conducted in this area (McGoldrick and Caulfield,  
201 2015; Preston and Rajé, 2007; McDonagh, 2006), by adding an innovative tool to complement the  
202 evaluation of areas in most in need of public transport. This methodology utilises a variety of GIS  
203 analyses to enable a more objective verification of transport needs. In that sense, a fourfold analysis  
204 was developed, which is presented in the following section.

205 The research presented in this paper was conducted as part of a fourfold methodology, which is  
206 presented in Figure 3. Each part of this methodology will then be delineated in the subsequent sections  
207 of this paper:



218 **Figure 3: Methodology Flowchart**

219 *3.1 Public Transport Node Density mapping*

220 Large gaps have been consistently reported on the availability and accuracy of GTFS<sup>2</sup> and other  
221 transport-related data covering rural and peri-urban areas globally (Benevenuto and Caulfield, 2019;  
222 Oloo, 2018; Evans et al., 2018; and Starkey et al., 2013). In Ireland, despite recent efforts of enhancing  
223 these geospatial databases (NaPTAN, 2017), the level of services of public transport in rural areas is  
224 still not fully captured by the existing databases (DTTaS, 2011). Thus, this section aims to propose an  
225 alternative model to estimate the level of public transport availability in rural and remote rural areas in  
Ireland.

226 The model that is proposed applies a Kernel Density (KD) function to estimate the availability of the  
227 National Public Transport Access Nodes (NaPTAN, 2017). In total there are 19,630 nodes including bus  
228 stops, rail stations, taxi ranks, and ferry ports, which were used in this research. It is important to mention  
229 that the transport nodes introduced by the Rural Transport Programme were not included in this dataset

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<sup>2</sup> GTFS or General Transit Feed Specification is a common format for public transport data that combines spatial and tabular datasets including routes, stops and timetables.



230 at this stage. Rather the focus for this step was to examine the existing level of mainstream public  
 231 transport.

232 This approach allows converting a point-based dataset into an area-based measure that can be  
 233 aggregated at the ED level to allow further comparisons with other socio-economic indicators (e.g. HP  
 234 deprivation index). Moreover, this method (represented in Figure 4) also considers the mutual influence  
 235 of nodes placed at neighbouring EDs, minimising thus the modifiable areal unit problem (MAUP)<sup>3</sup>  
 236 (Openshaw, 1984).

237 KD maps have long been applied in similar studies to estimate the decreasing level of influence exerted  
 238 from a particular point of interest in its surrounding areas (Benevenuto and Caulfield, 2020; Polzin et al.,  
 239 2014; Guagliardo, 2004). The KD function that applied to this research consists of a continuously gradual  
 240 decay function within a threshold distance and with no effect beyond, as presented in Equation 1. This  
 241 formula draws upon the quartic kernel function proposed by Silverman (1986) and it is automatically  
 242 utilised when KD maps are generated by means of ArcGIS 10.5.

$$243 \quad Z_j = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{(dist_{max})^2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left[ \frac{3}{\pi} \cdot \left( 1 - \left( \frac{dist_i}{dist_{max}} \right)^2 \right)^2 \right] & , \text{if } dist_i < dist_{max} \\ 0 & , \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

244 **Equation 1**

245 Where:

- 246  $Z_j$  is the influence score generated by the transport nodes around grid cell  $j$
- 247  $n$  is the number of transport nodes within the threshold distance from grid cell  $j$  (i.e. only if  $dist_i < dist_{max}$ )
- 248  $dist_{max}$  is the threshold distance (also called as search radius) that is further discussed later
- 249  $dist_i$  is the distance between the grid cell  $j$  and the transport node  $i$ .
- 250

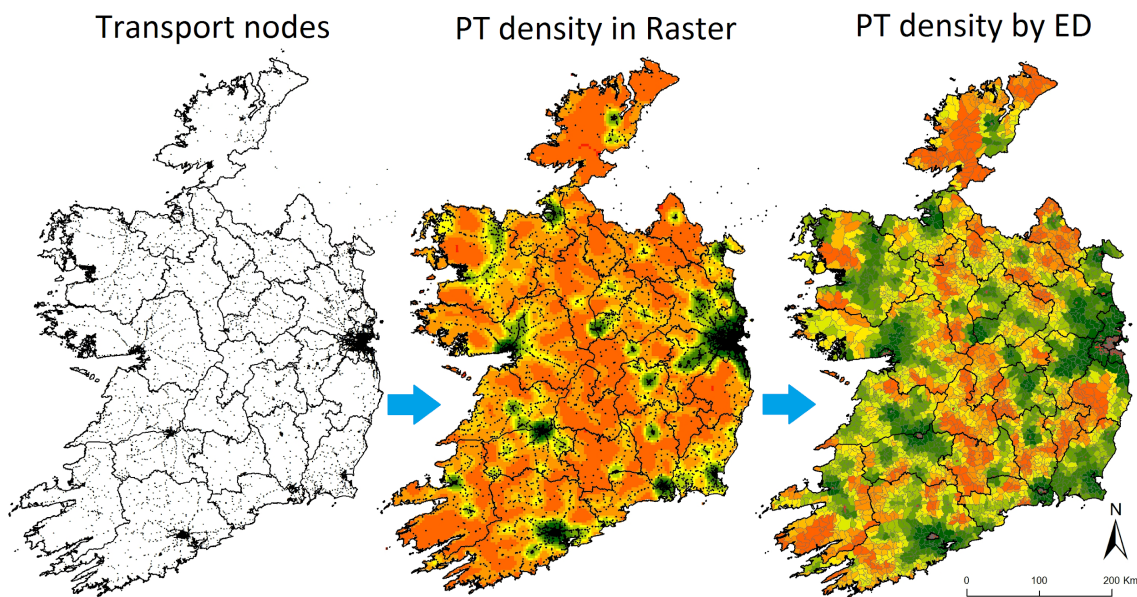
251 The KD analysis generates a raster grid in which every cell receives a value representing the density of  
 252 transport nodes considering a given search radius of 10 km and a distance-decay effect calculated by  
 253 the equation specified above. The average distance travelled to work in Ireland based upon the census  
 254 is 14 km and this informed the 10 km distance. The authors do note that this does not take into account  
 255 of the possibility of “park and ride” or “kiss and ride” possibilities, however, the data utilised in this study  
 256 was not conducive to multi-mode trips. The Irish census data only takes into account the main mode of  
 257 transport used and for the longest distance. This is a limitation of the work and when interpreting the  
 258 results this should be considered. The 10km distance is examined further in the results section in Table

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<sup>3</sup> MAUP is a source of statistical bias that refers to the fact that the observed values may vary depending on how the data is aggregated into spatial boundaries (Openshaw, 1984).

259 3, where a sensitivity analysis is conducted examining 5km and 15km distances compared to the model  
260 fit.

261 This search radius is needed to determine if a particular demand is covered (Radke and Mu, 2000) and  
262 even if not specified, geoprocessing tools from platforms such as ArcGIS apply specific algorithms to  
263 determine a default search radius either way (ESRI, 2019). Moreover, references from the transportation  
264 literature based upon Park & Ride surveys undertaken in Europe and the US point out that the vast  
265 majority of trips from home to the closest transport node are shorter than 10km (Tennøy et al., 2020;  
266 Kompil et al., 2019 Stieffenhofer et al., 2016; Turnbull et al., 2004). Therefore, the threshold distance of  
267 10km, that represents 15 minutes driving at 40km/h, is proposed as a reasonable search radius taking  
268 into account i) the spatial distribution of public transport nodes, ii) the average distance to work in Ireland  
269 and iii) references from the literature. Finally, the average density of cells intersecting each of the 3,409  
270 EDs was then given as a new attribute in each ED.



271

272

**Figure 4: Access to Public Transport calculation**

273 The indicator of public transport density by ED is thus applied as a proxy for transport disadvantage risk  
274 at a local level. In that sense, a region with a lower density of public transport nodes can be considered  
275 as more at risk to transport disadvantage. It is important to remark that this proxy has been tailored to  
276 the Irish context by applying a model that is compatible with the level of spatial data that is currently  
277 available and is able to capture the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics described earlier.  
278 Nonetheless, other accessibility indicators (e.g. cumulative opportunities, logsum benefit, two-step  
279 floating catchment area, etc) may be also appropriate to better proxy transport disadvantage in other  
280 contexts where further spatially disaggregated data is consistently available.

281 Finally, in order to further evaluate the presence of clustering patterns of ED's at transport disadvantage  
282 risk, a 'Hot Spot Analysis' (Getis and Ord, 2010) was then undertaken by means of ArcGIS. This analysis

283 applies the  $G_i^*$ -statistics methods (Ord and Getis, 1995) to identify local “pockets” where spatial  
284 autocorrelations are more likely to occur. In other words, these hotspots highlight areas with high  
285 concentration of homogeneous conditions of poor transport accessibility.

### 286 3.2 Deprived areas mapping

287 For the purpose of this research, the deprivation values from the Pobal HP index (2012) were applied  
288 to each ED in a shapefile extracted from the CSO database (2017). The HP Index is widely recognised  
289 as an accurate proxy for deprivation in Ireland, which measures the relative affluence and/or  
290 disadvantage of a particular area (Pobal, 2017). This measure of deprivation varies from a value of -35  
291 (most disadvantaged) to +35 (most affluent) and it is based on a number of factors including age  
292 dependency rate, level of education number of persons per room, unemployment rate, number of lone  
293 parents, and professional classes (Pobal, 2012). Similar to the previous indicator, a hotspot analysis  
294 was also carried out to identify clustering patterns of deprived ED’s by means of ArcGIS. Following the  
295 categorisation proposed by Haase and Pratschke (2017), all areas below the threshold of -10 in the HP  
296 index were considered as deprived areas.

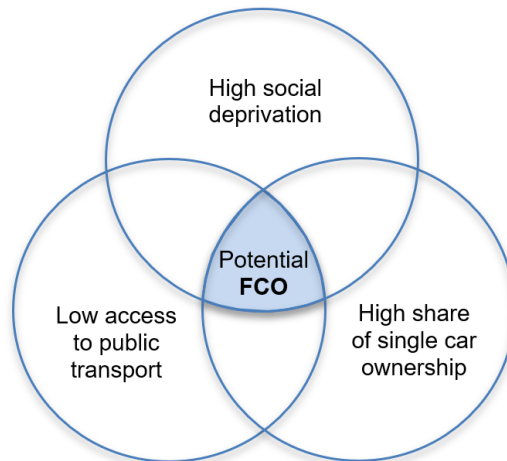
297 Finally, statistical correlations between transport disadvantage risk and deprivation were performed  
298 through (i) a Spearman’s correlation analysis, and (ii) linear regression between these two variables  
299 with the aid of SPSS software. Since several hot and cold spots of Transport Disadvantage and HP  
300 Deprivation were found at a higher level of aggregation, the final evaluation of correlation between these  
301 two variables was conducted at county level. Moreover, as EDs from the main regional cities (e.g. Cork,  
302 Limerick, and Galway), and from the whole county of Dublin presented extremely low levels of transport  
303 disadvantage, due to the high density of public transport in urban centres, they had to be excluded  
304 following a process of outlier removal.

### 305 3.3 Forced car ownership

306 In addition to the previous layers, another map was then plotted in order to assess potential of FCO.  
307 The datasets from the two latest censuses (2011 and 2016) have been used to evaluate the changes in  
308 potential FCO over the past years. As explored in Section 1, similar empirical studies have reported that  
309 forced car ownership often emerges in contexts of high social deprivation combined with high public  
310 transport disadvantage (Curl et al., 2018; Mattioli, 2017; Currie et al., 2009). Thus, in order to be  
311 considered as being potentially affected by FCO, the Electoral Districts were selected based on three  
312 simultaneous conditions that are described below:

- 313 1. High social deprivation: As already described in the previous item, socially disadvantage areas  
314 can be proxied by a HP Deprivation index. According to Haase and Pratschke (2017) areas with  
315 an absolute HP index score below -10 can be considered as socially disadvantaged.

- 316 2. Transport Disadvantage: Based on the transport disadvantage risk indicator described in  
 317 section 3.1, areas with low access to public transport have been selected. Any ED with less  
 318 than at least one transport node in its average public transport density was considered to be in  
 319 transport disadvantaged.
- 320 3. High share of single car ownership: Finally, the third symptom considered that may indicate  
 321 potential FCO is the high share of single car ownership. Even though the Irish Census also  
 322 includes indicators accounting for multiple car ownership (2, 3, 4 or more), it is reasonable to  
 323 assume that the most socially deprived households would not be able to afford more than one  
 324 car even if experiencing FCO. Therefore, the intersection of high shares of single car ownership,  
 325 social deprivation, and transport disadvantage may indicate where FCO is more likely to occur  
 326 at a local level. As the average of single car ownership of the census of 2011 and 2016 were  
 327 37% and 38% (CSO, 2011; CSO 2016), respectively, the minimum threshold considered in this  
 328 criterium was 40% (i.e. greater than the national average).



329  
 330 **Figure 5: Forced car ownership hypothesis**

331  
 332 **3.4 Rural Transport Programme Analysis**

333 In order to further investigate the impacts of the RTP on the existing levels of access to the public  
 334 transport network, the stops/stations of fixed routes serviced by this programme were incorporated in  
 335 the transport disadvantaged risk analysis. The RTP stop nodes were sourced from the National  
 336 Transport Authority of Ireland (NTA) and then mapped in ArcGIS in order to conduct an analysis of the  
 337 distribution of these stops in the road network and to determine the accessibility of these stops by means  
 338 of a buffer/ catchment analysis.

339 In this way, spatial and statistical comparisons could then be conducted by contrasting the transport  
 340 disadvantage risk indicator with and without the RTP. To do so, the same methodology applied to  
 341 estimate transport disadvantage risk described in Section 3.1 was applied now also considering the  
 342 public transport nodes introduced by the RTP. The comparison of the percentage increase in availability

343 of public transport (i.e. proxy for transport disadvantage risk) is then provided in visual and statistical  
 344 terms.

345 Moreover, due to the concentration of high levels of transport disadvantage risk in West region of Ireland,  
 346 further statistical analysis was conducted to explore the accessibility of jobs in this region. This analysis  
 347 examined data generated from the National Transport Authority (NTA) Regional Transport Modelling  
 348 System, specifically average journey time data for employment/ commuting trips in the West Regional  
 349 Model, which is a four-stage transport model. In this model trip times from and to each Electoral District  
 350 (ED) in the country are estimated as a result of computing a generalised cost function, which is  
 351 composed of the following components:

352 **Table 2 Generalised cost components for car and public transport modes**

<b>Car Generalised Cost</b>	<b>Public Transport Generalised Cost</b>
In Vehicle Time (IVT)	Perceived Walk Time (Actual Access + Egress walk time)
Travel Distance	Perceived Initial Waiting Time (Based on Service Headways)
Travel cost:	Boarding Penalties (15mins for Rail, 10mins for other modes)
Cents per Minute (per time period and user class)	Perceived Fare (divided by Value of Time)
Cents per Kilometre (per trip purpose & user class)	Perceived Transit Time (Transit time x IVT factor)
Tolls	
	Perceived Transfer Wait Time
	Transfer Penalties (min) (Mode-specific)

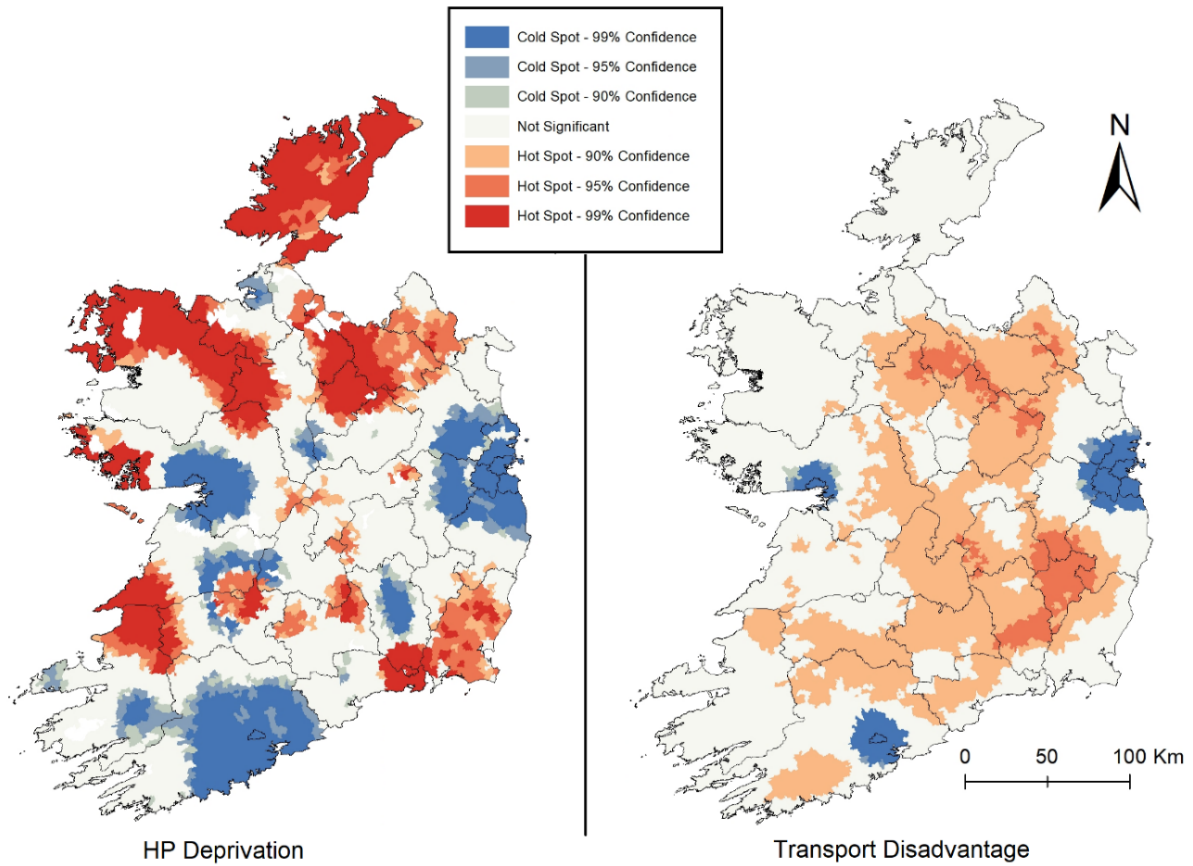
353

354 The ED to ED journey times calculated in this model are disaggregated by trip purpose (commute,  
 355 education, etc.), time of day (AM peak, Interpeak, PM Peak, and Off Peak) and mode of transport.  
 356 Journey times by public transport are estimated as result incorporating bus and rail schedules into the  
 357 model estimation process, which includes the services provided by the RTP. This journey time data was  
 358 then utilized in conjunction with Census employment data (employment numbers per ED), similarly  
 359 supplied by the NTA, to determine the number of cumulative employment opportunities accessible in 30  
 360 minutes and in 45 minutes by private car and bus transport within and between Electoral Districts (EDs)  
 361 in the West region of Ireland. Furthermore, when these results were generated, correlation tests were  
 362 conducted to identify the strength of the statistical between the number of employment opportunities  
 363 accessible and the transport disadvantage risk measure utilised in Section 3.3. To explore this  
 364 relationship, employment data (i.e. number of jobs in each ED) from the Census was utilized to  
 365 determine the total number of jobs accessible from each ED in the west region in 45 and 30 minutes  
 366 when travelling by car and bus in both the 'with RTP' and 'without RTP' scenarios for 643 EDs from this  
 367 region. Finally, these figures were then used to determine the relationship between number of jobs  
 368 accessible by these modes and the values of transport disadvantage risk for each ED in the west region.  
 369 Spearman correlation tests were subsequently employed using SPSS software to analyse the statistical  
 370 relationship between these two variables.

371

372 **4. RESULTS**

373 The Hot Spot analysis shown in Figure 3 indicates a presence of large clusters of EDs with low HP  
374 scores, particularly concentrated in counties in the west and north-west of the country, such as Donegal,  
375 Mayo, Roscommon, Leitrim, Cavan. Clusters of affluent areas, which are shown in blue, are primarily  
376 found around the three largest cities of Dublin, Cork and Galway, which was expected given that there  
377 are greater levels of access to opportunities in these more urbanised areas.

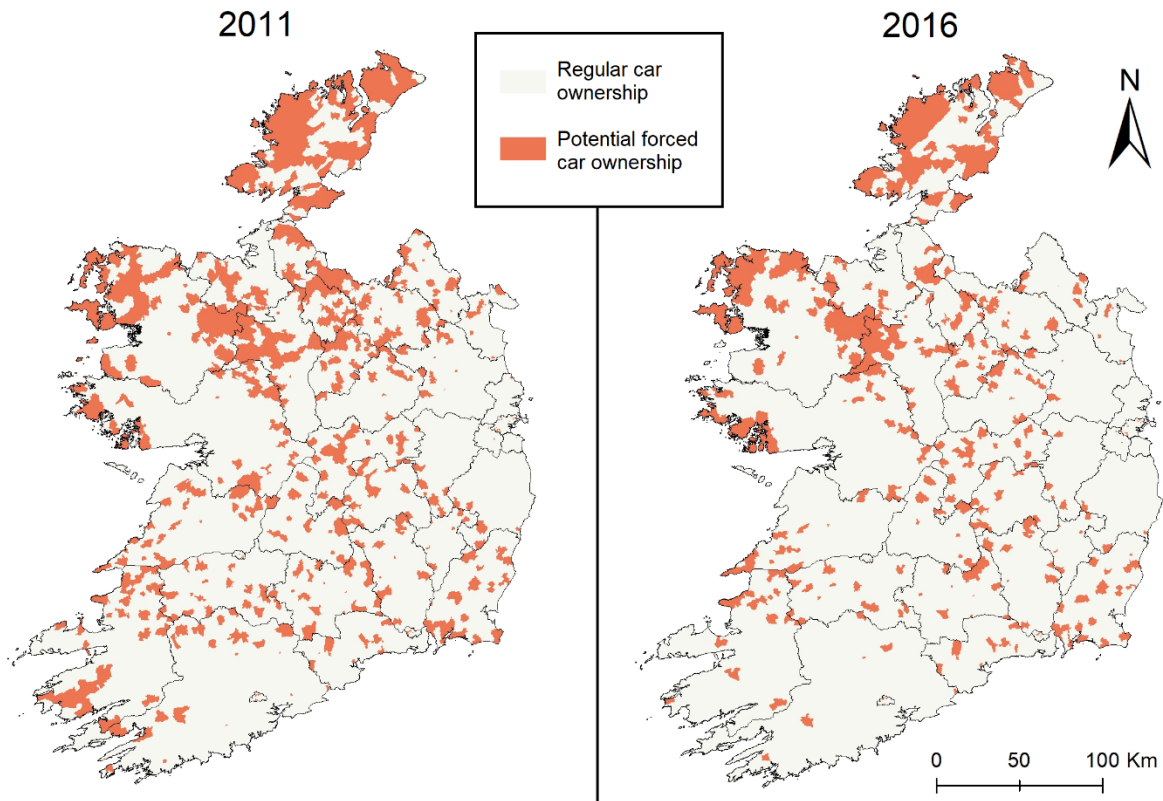


378  
379 **Figure 6: Hotspot analysis of social (left) and transport (right) disadvantage**

380 As previously delineated, areas affected by high social deprivation, public transport disadvantage risk  
381 and high shares of single car ownership are potential spots of FCO. Figure 7 presents the changes in  
382 potential levels of FCO between 2011 and 2016 in EDs in Ireland. Counties such as Donegal, Mayo,  
383 Roscommon and Sligo were found to have higher incidences of EDs with potential FCO levels in this  
384 analysis. A higher reduction in potential FCO is particularly noticeable in the south west and mid-west  
385 regions, including counties such as Kerry, Cork and Limerick. The findings show that a total of 245 EDs  
386 were lifted out of the register of areas with potential FCO in this period, 204 of these EDs were due to  
387 improvements in the HP deprivation index, 16 as a result of a decrease in the single-car ownership rate,  
388 and 25 for both reasons. This is also in line with changes in the management of the RTP from Pobal to  
389 the NTA 2013 (LocalLink, 2019), Ireland's post-recession economic recovery and increases in public  
390 transport investment between the 2011 and 2016 Census years, resulting in an increase in public  
391

392 transport patronage and which was concentrated in the Greater Dublin Area and in the regional cities of  
393 Cork, Galway and Limerick (DTTAS, 2018).

394



395

396

**Figure 7: Variations of potential FCO at Electoral District level in Ireland between 2011 and 2016**

397

398 The Spearman's test presented in Table 3, shows that in 20 out of the 26 counties there is a statistically  
399 significant ( $\text{Sig} < 0.05$ ) correlation between the transport disadvantage risk and the deprivation indices.  
400 A total of 2820 ED's were aggregated at a County level and then analysed. The coefficients estimated  
401 from the linear regression vary from +3.6 to +36.5 and the rho-squared values vary from 0.01 to 0.38  
402 depending on the county. These results show a clear trend in how lower levels of transport disadvantage  
403 risk are associated with lower levels of deprivation, which are elevated in countries in the west and north-  
404 west of Ireland. A sensitivity test was conducted, which examined the transport disadvantage and  
405 deprivation index values at both the 5km and 15km search radii. The results, which are presented in  
406 Table 3 show that for the 5km and 15km radius, 8 and 14 respectively out of the 26 counties are  
407 statistically significant ( $\text{Sig} < 0.05$ ). A comparison also shows that at the 10km radius, 14 out of the 16 R-  
408 Square values are stronger, indicating a better model fit.

409

410

411

**Table 3: Linear regression and Spearman correlation sensitivity test results between transport disadvantage risk and deprivation results (5km, 10km, and 15km search radii)**

County	5km			10km			15km		
	X coeff.	R-Square	Spearman's Sig	X coeff.	R-Square	Spearman's Sig	X coeff.	R-Square	Spearman's Sig
Carlow	-10.077*	0.069	0.150	28.147**	0.075	0.029	24.158	0.160	0.361
Cavan	-1.748	0.003	0.095	32.919***	0.218	0.000	24.304**	0.050	0.043
Clare	6.428*	0.023	0.155	16.414***	0.173	0.000	11.982***	0.156	0.000
Cork	4.798***	0.030	0.000	10.084***	0.121	0.000	5.961***	0.102	0.000
Donegal	11.277***	0.077	0.105	16.857***	0.118	0.005	19.299***	0.097	0.004
Galway	10.176***	0.078	0.000	15.128***	0.200	0.000	11.883***	0.167	0.000
Kerry	9.027***	0.078	0.004	7.842**	0.055	0.027	13.100***	0.760	0.004
Kildare	4.758*	0.037	0.099	9.565***	0.216	0.001	10.301***	0.243	0.000
Kilkenny	1.221	0.001	0.768	5.174*	0.028	0.268	5.458*	0.027	0.101
Laois	1.992	0.005	0.481	3.647	0.023	0.044	10.377**	0.068	0.007
Leitrim	13.311	0.033	0.030	36.57**	0.117	0.007	56.228***	0.221	0.006
Limerick	1.871	0.003	0.236	6.25**	0.030	0.042	6.907***	0.084	0.001
Longford	0.538	0.000	0.187	17.023***	0.093	0.007	25.714**	0.081	0.003
Louth	-2.834	0.031	0.856	5.133***	0.100	0.003	5.834	0.055	0.172
Mayo	9.499***	0.093	0.000	14.267***	0.117	0.000	18.967***	0.124	0.000
Meath	9.864***	0.197	0.000	13.642***	0.379	0.000	6.367***	0.130	0.000
Monaghan	5.841	0.022	0.058	24.715***	0.212	0.000	41.884***	0.209	0.000
Offaly	-0.041	0.000	0.671	13.041**	0.106	0.062	22.192***	0.101	0.043
Roscommon	-1.427	0.032	0.502	10.098**	0.068	0.302	15.910***	0.065	0.168
Sligo	16.037***	0.236	0.003	14.481***	0.381	0.000	22.326***	0.402	0.000
Tipperary	-9.657**	0.038	0.074	-1.537	0.000	0.671	4.236	0.002	0.791
Waterford	2.176	0.009	0.300	6.004**	0.069	0.002	5.248**	0.047	0.009
Westmeath	8.226***	0.074	0.008	15.541***	0.188	0.000	20.377***	0.203	0.000
Wexford	-1.052*	0.003	0.139	4.495**	0.049	0.187	2.786	0.015	0.975
Wicklow	4.516	0.021	0.221	14.684***	0.156	0.008	14.185***	0.233	0.000

412

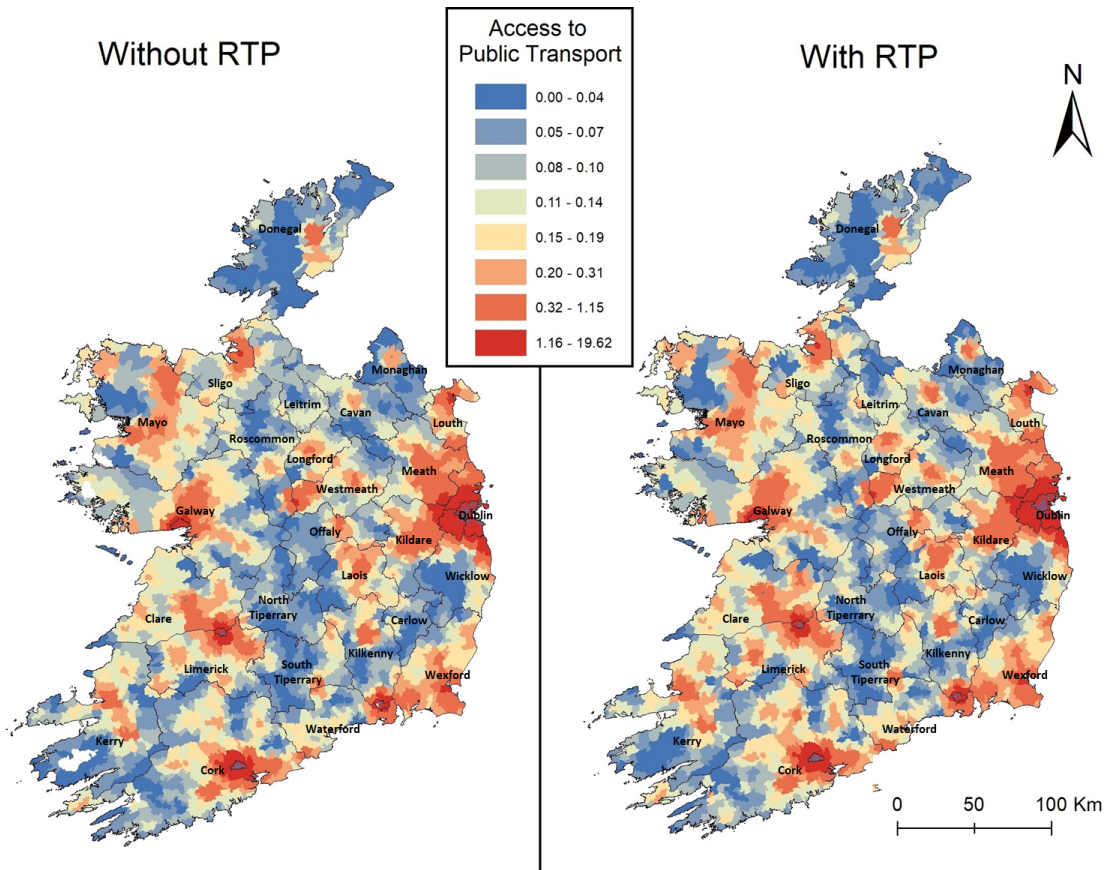
\* Significant at 90% confidence, \*\* Significant at 95% confidence, \*\*\* Significant at 99% confidence



413 As mentioned above, notwithstanding the success of the RTP, it was found that indeed not every rural  
414 area of the country is covered by their services. As a result of the analysis conducted with GIS, it was  
415 possible to substantiate that 109 rural settlements (48,375 people) were located in areas not covered  
416 by the RTP, and in 100 out of these 109 settlements there were no transport nodes available within a  
417 10 km radius. The calculated average of the deprivation index at ED level for these settlements was  
418 found to be -8.1, with 54 out of these 109 settlements considered as deprived or very deprived (i.e. less  
419 than -10) on the HP index. Since the settlement pattern of the rural population is dispersed and only a  
420 minority of live in rural settlements, it is accepted that these numbers are only a measurable part of a  
421 much larger problem.

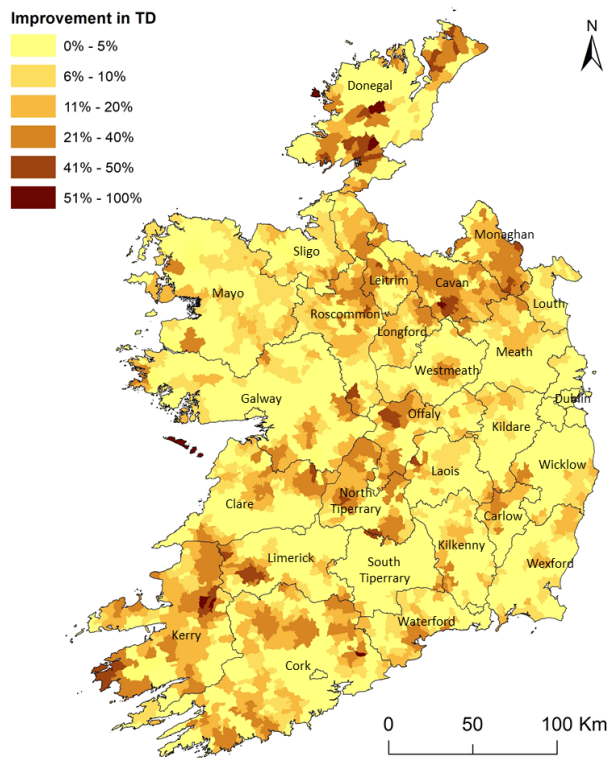
422 As a means of conducting a comparison of the coverage of public transport services in Ireland with and  
423 without the inclusion of the Rural Transport Programme; levels of transport disadvantage risk were  
424 visually represented in the maps presented in Figure 6, based on the density of transport nodes. The  
425 composite indicator of transport disadvantage risk utilised here was determined by the same criterion  
426 used to detect potential FCO spots in Figure 6. By visually representing this indicator of transport  
427 disadvantage risk, it was possible to determine the impact on possible incidences of forced car  
428 ownership with and without the existence of the RTP. Figure 8(a) displays a map of transport  
429 disadvantage risk based on the density of transport nodes from the NaPTAN network without the  
430 existence of the RTP. This map shows that there are large areas of the country, particularly in the north-  
431 west, west and south-west that are experiencing high levels of transport disadvantage risk indicated by  
432 the number of EDs displayed in blue.

433 Figure 8(b) shows a marginal improvement in transport disadvantage risk levels in certain areas as a  
434 result of the inclusion of the RTP services. This was particularly evident in EDs in the west of the country,  
435 where areas that once exhibited poor transport accessibility without the RTP, were found to have  
436 increased levels of accessibility (i.e. displayed in red and orange) with the provision of the RTP nodes  
437 serviced by Local Link services. The results also showed that EDs facing potential FCO in 2011 had  
438 their transport disadvantage risk indicator improved by 12% on average, while other EDs had only an  
439 8% improvement. This suggests that the introduction of community-based rural transport services can  
440 enable an increase in public transport coverage, which is vital for households in isolated areas of the  
441 country, who do not have access to a private vehicle. However, this analysis also highlights that many  
442 EDs in rural Ireland continue to experience high levels of transport disadvantage risk even when  
443 considering the provision of the RTP, thus, providing a justification for the expansion of this community-  
444 based scheme to service disadvantaged areas and households in remote areas of rural Ireland. For the  
445 sake of clarity the improvements in transport disadvantage after the implementation of the RTP are also  
446 shown in terms of percentage change in Figure 9.



447  
448  
449

Figure 8:(a) Transport disadvantage risk without the RTP; (b) Transport disadvantage risk with RTP



450  
451  
452

Figure 9: Percentage improvement in transport disadvantage risk after the implementation of RTP

453 To further examine the effect that the RTP has had on enhancing transport accessibility in rural Ireland,  
 454 statistical analysis was conducted to investigate the relationship between commuting journey times and  
 455 variances in transport disadvantage risk levels, in scenarios with and without the existence of the RTP.  
 456 The study area for this analysis was the West region of Ireland, as the majority of counties in this region  
 457 showed strong and statistically significant regression coefficients, thus showing a strong correlation  
 458 between the transport disadvantage risk and deprivation variables in Table 3. As set out in the  
 459 methodology in Section 3.4, journey times between EDs in the west regional model of the NTA regional  
 460 modelling system were utilised in conjunction with employment figures taken from the Census of  
 461 population to determine the number of jobs accessible in 30 and 45 minutes by public transport and  
 462 private car. This data was then used to analyse the relationship between jobs accessible and transport  
 463 disadvantage risk values explored in Figure 6 by means of a Spearman Correlation test, shown in Table  
 464 4.

465 Furthermore, the results of the correlation tests, which are presented in Table 4, showed that there is a  
 466 statistically significant relationship between the number of jobs accessible and the transport  
 467 disadvantage risk measure, in the west region of Ireland, consisting of 743 ED's. This is supported by  
 468 the strong to moderate positive correlation coefficients and p-values being statistically significant at a  
 469 0.01 level, which are displayed in all cases in Table 4, both for car and bus journeys without and with  
 470 the inclusion of RTP. In other words, a positive correlation was found between the number of jobs  
 471 accessible and the transport disadvantage risk values in the west region, which suggests that these  
 472 variables influence each other. The correlation coefficients show that there was a statistically stronger  
 473 correlation for jobs accessible by car in 30 mins, while for bus the correlation coefficients were higher  
 474 for number of jobs accessible 45 mins. The results produced from this analysis ultimately provides  
 475 evidence to show that the number of jobs accessible in two different time bands is related to the degree  
 476 of transport disadvantage risk experienced in these electoral divisions. Overall, these results showed  
 477 that EDs with high a number of jobs accessible also had lower transport disadvantage risk score,  
 478 suggesting that the number of cumulative opportunities accessible is a key indicator in identifying  
 479 disadvantage and in this way, these measures are inextricably linked and influence each other.

480

**Table 4: Spearman Correlation Test Results**

			Spearman Correlation	P-value Sig. (2-
			Coefficient	tailed)
30 mins	Car	Without RTP	0.503**	0.000
		With RTP	0.498**	0.000
	Bus	Without RTP	0.374**	0.000
		With RTP	0.380**	0.000
45 mins	Car	Without RTP	0.342**	0.000
		With RTP	0.345**	0.000
	Bus	Without RTP	0.396**	0.000
		With RTP	0.403**	0.000

481

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

## 482 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

483 The research presented in this paper provides a useful method to identify hotspots of FCO and potential  
484 areas of transport disadvantage. The characteristics found in rural Ireland are similar to those in many  
485 other countries with large areas of rural populations. Therefore, the findings presented in this paper  
486 maybe common to other similar areas across the world. One of the key aspects of the paper is the  
487 identification of hotspots as a method to tailor sustainable mobility solutions to ease any future FCO or  
488 transport disadvantage. This identification of these hotspots is one of the main contributions of this  
489 paper.

490 Community-based and scheduled door-to-door style services will not always be viable for all rural  
491 households, thus, this paper supports the view that community-based services are an appropriate  
492 alternative to traditional high frequency and high capacity bus and rail services in rural areas. This  
493 bespoke type of service caters for the distinctly dispersed, low-density travel requirements and demand  
494 existent in such areas. For those whom require tailored transport services due to specific mobility  
495 requirements such as disabled and elderly people, school children, young families, etc., community-  
496 based services may provide the most cost-effective solution to meet their mobility needs, when designed  
497 appropriately.

498 While this study was focused on rural Ireland, it is acknowledged by the authors that the methodology  
499 developed in this paper is not only exclusive to the context of Ireland, thus the same methodology could  
500 be applied to rural settings in other countries. Moreover, this methodology is similarly appropriate for  
501 analysis in an urban setting, for instance in suburban areas, as such areas also experience transport  
502 disadvantage risk and difficulties accessing mainstream public transport services. In this way, the  
503 approach conducted in this study can be easily transferable to other countries and urban locations that  
504 experience comparable transport accessibility issues.

505 Even though GIS techniques have been widely applied in the literature to assess transport disadvantage  
506 (Shay et al., 2016, Pyrialakou et al., 2016; Blair et al., 2013; Kamruzzaman and Hine, 2012), the majority  
507 of studies assessing FCO to date are based on surveys, focus groups, or statistical analysis (Curl et al.,  
508 2018; Mattioli, 2017; Currie and Senbergs, 2007). The methodology applied in this study proposes a  
509 novel approach to identify geo-spatial patterns where FCO is more likely to emerge based on the spatial  
510 intersection of socioeconomic indicators by means of GIS techniques. Although the thresholds applied  
511 to these indicators are based on robust statistical references and well-grounded literature, future  
512 research is recommended to evaluate how FCO may respond to variations on these criteria in a  
513 sensitivity analysis. Likewise, further studies and tailored surveys are also needed to explore  
514 demographics factors (e.g. gender, education level, access to driving licenses, age of residents) of  
515 households considered to be living under FCO.

516 While this study has examined the topics of transport disadvantage risk and forced car ownership on an  
517 aggregate national level, a recommendation for future research would be to examine the neighbourhood  
518 or town specific characteristics on a more disaggregate, microscopic level in rural Ireland as a means  
519 of determining the effectiveness of the RTP.

520 As presented throughout this paper, the majority of areas at transport disadvantaged risk in rural Ireland  
521 are also deprived in socio-economic dimensions. As a result, this paper suggests a potential reinforcing  
522 cycle between social deprivation and transport disadvantage, which appears to be exemplified by FCO,  
523 particularly in remote areas where even programmes like the RTP are not proving to be beneficial to  
524 everyone in the community. This study has highlighted the importance of demand responsive transport  
525 solutions and vehicle borrowing schemes such as those under the RTP in Ireland as potential solutions  
526 for tackling FCO and transport disadvantage. This is due to the fact that there is not sufficient travel  
527 demand or political will to provide full mass transit or high capacity public transport solutions for  
528 dispersed, low density patterns of settlement as seen many parts of rural Ireland.

529 Nonetheless, there is a need for further research to greater understand and assess the effectiveness of  
530 other potential alternatives for rural Ireland such as car-sharing, carpooling and micro-mobility solutions.  
531 These alternatives are not only useful in addressing inaccessibility issues associated with non-car  
532 owning households and elderly and disabled people, but similarly they can enhance accessibility to  
533 regional transport hubs and other public transport nodes to create a more integrated and sustainable  
534 transport network that is open to everyone, consequently enabling the equal economic participation of  
535 all people in society. In order to lift people who are structurally marginalised out of situations of transport  
536 disadvantage and transport poverty, we must provide a built environment that is equitable and  
537 welcoming to everyone, and a transport network that is inclusive, accessible and reliable is fundamental  
538 in achieving this aim. In a broader extent, our findings also allude to the fact that promoting sustainable  
539 car-sharing behaviour (Carroll et al., 2017), when combined with a proper access to the transport  
540 system, acts not only as an environmentally friendly solution, but also a more socially inclusive transport  
541 policy that should be considered nationally by policy and decision makers.

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