



BIKE EAST BAY Ride On



SPECIAL ISSUE: TRANSPORTATION JUSTICE

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ADVOCACY MANAGER

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZER

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Ginger Jui

EVENTS MANAGER

Dave Mann

MEMBERSHIP MANAGER

Rachel Jacobson

OUTREACH COORDINATOR

Francisco Grajales

ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGER

Hansa Jacob-Martin

GRAPHIC DESIGNER

Kyle Smith

HAZARD ELIMINATION

Ian McDonald

OFFICE

466 Water Street
Jack London Square
Oakland, CA 94607

MAILING ADDRESS

P.O. Box 1736
Oakland, CA 94604

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LETTER FROM THE SADDLE

I am excited to bring you this special issue of Bike East Bay's RideOn newsletter focusing on transportation justice. Since completing our strategic plan in 2014, social justice and equity have been a big focus for our board and staff. I am proud to share with you Bike East Bay's new Statement of Values for Equity and Social Justice (page 3), which is the culmination of two years of hard conversations and leadership by board and staff as we worked to implement the strategic plan.

By recognizing and actively addressing issues of race and class in bicycle advocacy, Bike East Bay is joining other leaders in the bike movement. I have been inspired by the Los Angeles County Bicycle Coalition, which is redefining its role as a social justice organization through the leadership of Executive Director Tamika Butler. I admired the strength of Transportation Alternatives, advocates for biking, walking and public transit in New York City, in taking a stand in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement against racial bias in police enforcement.

In this issue, you can read about the many ways in which Bike East Bay has already put our values into action. We are committed to practices like removing financial barriers to participation by providing scholarships (page 4, "Learning Together") and fair financial compensation (page 11, "Setting Up Shop in Richmond"). After finding hard evidence that Black bicyclists are more likely to be stopped by the police in Oakland, as is widely reported by the Black community here, we are taking a new position to end biased enforcement (page 8, "Bike East Bay Stands with Black Lives Matter").

We have to work more effectively with Black and brown communities, which are largely unseen and unheard in transportation planning. After the recent death of a bicyclist in the City of Hayward, this commitment led us to strengthen our ties with the local Latino community in order to build a more visible and more representative bike advocacy movement in Central Alameda County (page 10, "Organizing in Hayward").

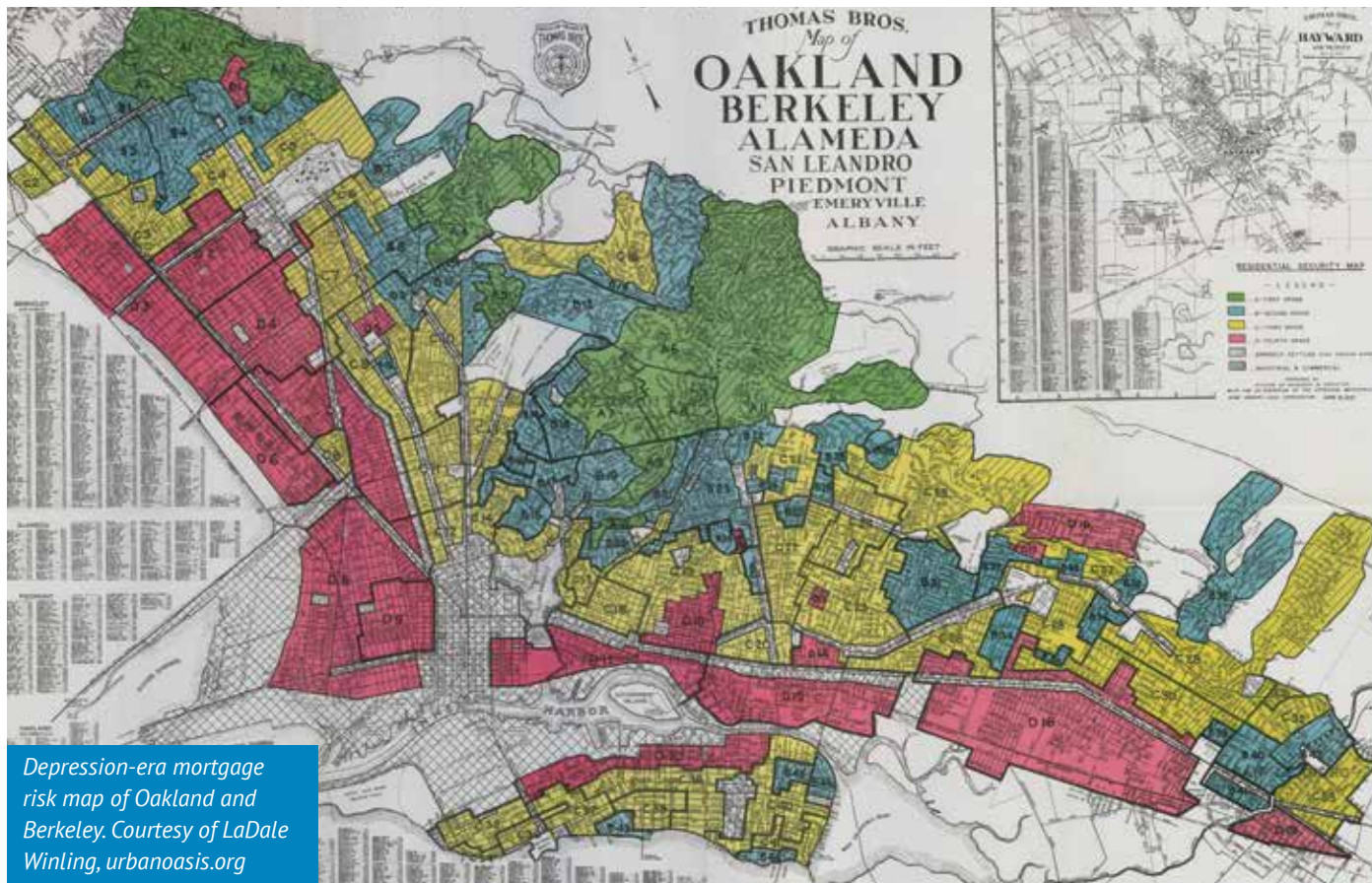
I have one more exciting piece of news to share with you all. I am taking some time off to rest and reflect on all I have learned over these past six years as your executive director at Bike East Bay. We have grown not just an amazingly effective team of advocates, but also strong leaders for our organization.

During my leave of absence from February 25 through April 30, I am leaving Bike East Bay in the very capable hands of Advocacy Director Dave Campbell and Communications Director Ginger Jui. They will step up as acting Co-Directors while I enjoy a month-long silent meditation retreat and visit with family around the country. I look forward to returning at the beginning of Bike Month this May to continue our work for a more just and equitable future.

Ride on,
Renee Rivera, Executive Director



photo: Lisa Beth Anderson



Depression-era mortgage risk map of Oakland and Berkeley. Courtesy of LaDale Winling, urbanoasis.org

WHAT'S TRANSPORTATION JUSTICE GOT TO DO WITH IT?

By Cynthia Armour and Ginger Jui

At Bike East Bay's member meeting this December, guest speaker Elly Blue told a crowd of over 90 members, "Bike advocacy is late to the social justice movement." As evidence, she pointed out that the League of American Wheelmen, the nation's first bike advocates, voted to become an exclusively white organization in 1894. Renamed the League of American Bicyclists in 1994, the ban against members of color did not come off the books until 1999. As bike advocates, we cannot escape the history that our movement was founded on gender and racial exclusion.

In 2016, Bike East Bay took a hard look at how transportation planning intersects with race and class, and what we can do about it. We can no longer ignore the fact that transportation

Organizing for Bike Equity

Join Bike East Bay for an organizing meeting to advance equity and transportation justice through bike advocacy. We especially welcome people of color who are looking to get more involved with bike equity work.

Tuesday March 7, 6-8pm at Bike East Bay headquarters, 466 Water Street, Oakland.

Learn more at BikeEastBay.org/Equity

planning and urban redevelopment have a long history of harming, segregating, and destroying the places where people of color live. In the East Bay, the practice of "redlining," the systematic denial of mortgages in poor and Black neighborhoods (marked in

red on the map above) led to decades of disinvestment that continues today. The construction of BART and freeways in the 1950's and 1960's notoriously destroyed tracts of housing in West Oakland and in Oakland's Chinatown. We also cannot ignore the deep racial biases of traffic policing (see page 8) when we consider enforcement as a tool for traffic safety.

Our staff had many conversations about equity and our role as advocates. At the end of the year, we asked ourselves a few tough questions:

In the past year, what has Bike East Bay done to advance transportation justice, equity, and inclusion? What could we have done better?

We found a number of areas where Bike East Bay has advanced social

continued on page 5



Fifteen women and people of color received scholarships for an LCI training in October.

LEARNING TOGETHER

Lessons from the League of American Bicyclists' First Instructor Training for Women and People of Color

By Ginger Jui

It made a big difference for Binky Brown, an Oakland resident and queer woman of color, to learn together with other women and people of color. This past October, Binky was one of 15 people who attended a League Certified Instructor (LCI) training geared specifically towards increasing diversity in Bike East Bay's education program.

"Knowing you're expecting a diverse crowd is awesome," said Binky. "You're just gonna be more relaxed."

As the founder of Hard Knox Bikes, Binky — who also previously ran Bike East Bay's valet bike parking program — has taught bike mechanics workshops in Oakland for years. While researching how to become a League Certified Instructor, Binky found the trainings were out of her reach. The intense three-day, 24-hour training costs \$300 and the nearest class at the time was in Napa, which is difficult to access by public transportation.

In an email to the League of American Bicyclists, Binky wrote:

"A class in downtown Oakland, near the BART stations, would allow the easiest

access for the most disadvantaged and underrepresented communities to attend an LCI Certification seminar."

Specifically, Binky highlighted the need for a class specifically for women, people of color, and transgender persons.

Two hours after Binky emailed the League, Bike East Bay received a note from the League's Executive Director Alex Doty asking if he could partner with Binky and Bike East Bay to bring an LCI training to Oakland.

"It was perfect timing," said Robert Prinz, Bike East Bay's Education Director.

Over the past year, Robert had been working to recruit more racially and geographically diverse instructors to our education program. This initiative is part of our strategy for increasing the diversity of bike advocates across the East Bay. Our bike education instructors are invested in bringing better bike infrastructure to their neighborhoods and many join advocacy efforts in the cities where they live.

Over 40 women and people of color applied for the instructor training. By securing a generous sponsor, Bay Area Bicycle Law, we were able to bring in

a League trainer to provide this class free of cost for 15 participants.

Bike East Bay learned from this training as well. Overall, the attendees felt there was not enough room in the standard instructor curriculum for them to share their knowledge as "not your typical" bike educator. We agree this was a huge missed opportunity when there were such diverse and valuable experiences in the room. Our lessons learned will be important first steps towards making the League's Smart Cycling curriculum more accessible to people from diverse backgrounds.

Education Director Robert Prinz wants future instructors-in-training to know, "You're invited to this training because we value your knowledge and experience. This training needs YOU, not the other way around."

Want to get involved in bike education in your community?

Come check out Bike East Bay's work at our upcoming Urban Cycling 101 class series. These two classes fulfill prerequisites for attending a League Certified Instructor training. Sign up at BikeEastBay.org/Education.

NEW LEAGUE CERTIFIED INSTRUCTORS

Meet three bike educators who attended the League of American Bicyclists' first instructor training for women and people of color, hosted by Bike East Bay in October.



Ana Villalobos
Bike Concord

Ana Villalobos, a Latina community leader with Bike Concord, encouraged her co-presenters to start the presentation in their native languages: English, Spanish and Cantonese. Having worked as a *promotora*, a community health educator, for the past 12 years, she has seen the importance of using home languages for outreach even if participants are bilingual and can understand English.

Ana said, "We learn it differently, hear it differently, in our own language. That's why I'm so hungry to teach."



Donna Chang
Bike Walk San Leandro

Donna Chang grew up riding her bike on the campus of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. She is now one of the leaders of local advocacy group Bike Walk San Leandro.

Donna said, "Before enrolling to become an LCI, I thought the training would be for the aggressive, fast riders. That's not usually how I think of myself."

"I know for myself, women of color are not usually the ones to raise their hands first to be the leader. In a space like this with a lot of people who look like me ready to step into a leadership role, it's so inspiring."



Binky Brown
Hard Knox Bikes

As founder of Hard Knox Bikes, Binky Brown offers bike workshops for women, people of color, queer, trans, and gender variant communities in Oakland. Bike East Bay was able to bring this training to Oakland largely thanks to a letter she wrote asking the League of American Bicyclists for an affordable and inclusive training.

Binky told us her advice for anyone trying to build more diverse bike education spaces:

"Keep reaching out. Talk to people. Get the message out about who you're serving and those people will find you."

TRANSPORTATION JUSTICE

continued from page 3

justice in our work, which you can read about throughout this special issue of RideOn. We also found that Bike East Bay needs to better address how poor street design, discriminatory policies, and racially-biased enforcement disproportionately harm people of color, lower-income people, and immigrants. In order to better guide our work in the coming year, we have developed a statement of Bike

East Bay's values for equity and social justice:

Bike East Bay believes transportation justice is an essential part of our work as bicycle advocates. In order to fulfill our mission and build a more just and equitable transportation system, we must take into account our society's systematic inequalities, including those based on race, class, gender, ability, and geography.

This statement introduces a set of specific values and principles Bike East Bay's staff and board have developed to guide our advocacy program, bike education, and community outreach work. You are invited to read the full statement on our website and to get involved at our March 7 organizing meeting for bike equity.

Learn more at BikeEastBay.org/Equity.

CALENDAR of EVENTS

ORGANIZING MEETING FOR BIKE EQUITY

Tuesday March 7, 6-8pm

Bike East Bay HQ

Join Bike East Bay for an organizing meeting to advance equity and transportation justice through bike advocacy. We especially welcome people of color who are looking to get more involved with bike equity work. Learn more at BikeEastBay.org/Equity

SPORTS BASEMENT BREWFEST

Saturday, April 29, 3pm-6pm

Sports Basement, 2727 Milvia St, Berkeley

Unlimited tastings from a stellar group of local breweries, all for just \$5. All proceeds benefit Bike East Bay.

DÍA DEL NIÑO

Sunday, April 30, 9am-12pm

Concord, Location TBA

Join Monument Impact and Bike Concord for a Family Cycling Workshop, group ride, and more. BikeEastBay.org/DiaDelNino

RIDE LIKE A GIRL

March 12, June 11, and Sept. 10

Location TBA, see wobo.org for details

Walk Oakland Bike Oakland and Bike East Bay's workshop and ride series for women and gender nonconforming folks. Part 1 is for those new to biking on city streets. Part 2 is for folks who are comfortable on bikes and want to do more. Part 3 is a bike camping adventure!

SPRING RIDE SERIES

This series of progressively challenging rides prepares Bike East Bay's team for the California Climate Ride, and the rides are open to all. More info at BikeEastBay.org/ClimateRide.

February 18: Bay Trail from MacArthur BART

March 4: Fruitvale to Fremont BART

March 18: Oakland & Berkeley Hills

from Rockridge BART

April 1: Redwood Road and Skyline from Castro Valley BART

April 15: Three Bears from Orinda BART

April 29: Mt. Diablo from Pleasant Hill BART

BIKE AMBASSADOR TRAININGS

March 20, April 5

Bike East Bay HQ, 6:30-8pm

Get in-depth knowledge about Bike East Bay, updates on current campaigns, and talking points to help signup new members.

BikeEastBay.org/Bike-Ambassador

WOMEN BIKE BOOK CLUB

Second Thursdays, 6-7:30pm.

Location varies

Bike East Bay and the Oakland Public Library co-host the Women Bike Book Club. Everyone is welcome to discuss books addressing biking, feminism, and the intersection of the two.

BikeEastBay.org/WomenBike/BookClub

WOMEN BIKE HAPPY HOUR

- OAKLAND

Fourth Thursdays, 5:30-7:30pm

Location varies

Bike East Bay and Walk Oakland Bike Oakland hold this popular social event at a different watering hole each month. Join other women and gender nonconforming folks for a refreshing beverage and inspiring company.

BikeEastBay.org/WomenBike/Events

VOLUNTEER NIGHTS

Fourth Tuesdays, 5pm-8pm

Bike East Bay HQ

Each month we'll tackle large-scale projects while socializing with fellow Bike East Bay members and supporters. Snacks and dinner provided.

SAVE THE DATE FOR OUR 2017 EVENTS

BIKE TO WORK DAY

Thursday, May 11

Join the fun on the Bay Area's biggest day for bikes.

5TH ANNUAL NORCAL SESSION FEST

Saturday, May 20, 1-5pm.

Jack London Square, Oakland

Session beer tasting festival hosted by Drake's Brewery. Benefits Bike East Bay.

PEDALFEST

Saturday, July 22, 11am-6pm

Jack London Square, Oakland

Bike East Bay's summer festival features wacky bikes, daredevil stunt riders, and pedal-powered music.

OAKLAND GRAN FONDO

Sunday, October 15

Jack London Square, Oakland

Challenge yourself on breathtaking routes through the East Bay hills. Benefits Bike East Bay.

BIKETOPIA

Thursday, November 9, 6:30-10pm

Impact Hub Oakland

Annual winter party and silent auction fundraiser.

FREE BIKE CLASSES!



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WOMEN BIKE PROFILE

MS. JARED GREER

By Rachel Jacobson

What invites people to try riding a bicycle around a city for the first time, and to keep doing it?

For Ms. Jared Greer, moving to Oakland from San Francisco, to fewer hills and calmer streets, was a start. But it was making friends with Diane Dohm, a Bike East Bay member and active bike commuter, that made bicycling stick. Each Sunday for a month, they explored a new bike route across town to enjoy the spring weather, find a place to hang out, and have a drink together.

"I felt comfortable and safe with Diane there as a mentor," Jared explained.

Diane also invited Jared to Women Bike Happy Hour, the evening get-togethers co-hosted by Bike East Bay and Walk Oakland Bike Oakland. For Jared, the happy hours felt more welcoming than typically male-dominated bicycle-related events.

"Women-focused space was key for me, and the community made it



Jared Greer with her trusty bike enjoying the Bay Trail in Oakland.

worth showing up each month," Jared said. "When there's sisterhood and the leaders are supportive and encouraging, it really makes a difference."

After Diane moved away for a new job, Jared knew she could count on finding new friends and like-minded

women to ride with through the Women Bike program. She found it so supportive she decided to step up to help organize the Women Bike Happy Hours.

Jared said, "It's working with women, it's women doing stuff by and for women, and it's supportive and encouraging, so I want to do more!"

In early 2017, Jared will be moving to San Pablo and is already planning the first Women Bike Happy Hour in Richmond. She is excited to get to know Rich City Rides, the community-run bike shop in Richmond, and to get involved with the bike community and advocacy in her new neighborhood.

The Women Bike program is community-guided and volunteer-fueled. It is growing because leaders like Jared step in, step up, and extend a warm hand to the next person on the road. Whether you are looking to learn, share, or ride together, sign up for the Women Bike monthly email to hear more about upcoming events.

BikeEastBay.org/WomenBike

BAY AREA BIKE TO WORK DAY MAY 11, 2017

Mark your calendar for the biggest bike day of the year! Bike to Work Day is Thursday, May 11, 2017. Pedal over to your local Energizer Station for a free Bike to Work Day bag stuffed with goodies and celebrate after work at Bike Happy Hours.

Bike East Bay partners with local

businesses and community organizations to bring 100+ Energizer Stations to every corner of the East Bay. You can help by volunteering to stuff bags, promoting Bike to Work Day at your workplace and helping out at a Bike Happy Hour near you.

Want to get your workplace involved in Bike to Work Day? Contact events manager Dave Mann at Dave.Mann@BikeEastBay.org to find out more.

Does your employer do a great job supporting bicycling? Nominate them for a Bike-Friendly Business Award at BikeEastBay.org/BFB.

SIGN UP TO VOLUNTEER AT BikeEastBay.org/BTWD

BIKE EAST BAY STANDS WITH BLACK LIVES MATTER

Black Bicyclists are More Likely to Be Stopped by Police and What We're Doing About It

By Robert Prinz and Ginger Jui

Bike East Bay stands in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement because traffic stops are too often the first, tragic step before the death of a Black person at the hands of police. We know from recent studies of bicycle traffic enforcement in cities like Tampa, New York, Minneapolis, and right here in Oakland that police are more likely to stop Black bicyclists for traffic violations. We take a stand because Black bicyclists are disproportionately at risk.

How much more likely are you to be stopped when biking while Black? A lot more likely, according to a study from Stanford University. Analyzing the 2014 traffic stop data from the Oakland Police Department (OPD), researchers found that of the 1,081 bicyclists stopped by police in 2014, 73% were Black. Police stopped six Black bicyclists for every white bicyclist detained. This number is disproportionately high compared to both the biking population and the general population of Oakland, which is 28% Black.

Another measure of racial disparity is in how the police encounter escalates. Even after statistically controlling for potential explanatory factors like neighborhood demographics and crime rates, police were much more likely to handcuff Black people during



a traffic stop. According to the Stanford study data, Black bicyclists stopped in West Oakland were three times more likely to be handcuffed than white bicyclists in that neighborhood.

These statistics confirm the anecdotes and daily experiences of racial profiling in Oakland's Black community. It is also important to remember here that Oakland is not unique. The instant suspicion and criminalization of Black people who bike is one manifestation of systemic racism not only in policing culture, but in American culture at large. What can we do to fight this pervasive bias in our institutions and within ourselves?

Use Data to Create Accountability

We absolutely support OPD and other police departments publishing traffic stop data for public scrutiny. As required by federal oversight, OPD released its raw traffic stop data

publicly for the first time in 2016. Bike East Bay analysed this data and compared it to the Stanford study. While racial bias continued the year after the Stanford study was published, we found that the percentage of Black male bicyclists stopped by police declined slightly from 73% in 2014 to 66% in 2015. While we do not know at this time whether specific tactics were taken to reduce bias in bicycle stops, we believe that tracking this metric is a first step towards identifying and reducing bias.

Increase Safety through Advocacy and Education

As bicycle advocates, we must question the use of police enforcement as a tool for traffic safety. Remembering the tragic deaths of Oscar Grant III, Demouria Hogg, Philando Castile, and Sandra Bland among many others, Black folks are too frequently harmed and killed after an encounter with police in the name of "traffic safety." Bike East Bay will continue to prioritize street safety through education and advocacy for better infrastructure. Until we can be confident of a peaceful outcome from traffic stops, we do not support increasing bicycle traffic stops or using ticketing as a means for increasing bicycle and pedestrian safety.

Bike East Bay has also taken steps to remove ordinances that could be used to target Black folks or create an undue burden after being stopped, including:

- Deleting unneeded city code ordinances that can be misused by police as justification for stops and searches. In 2016, our staff successfully removed the City of Oakland's bike registration requirement

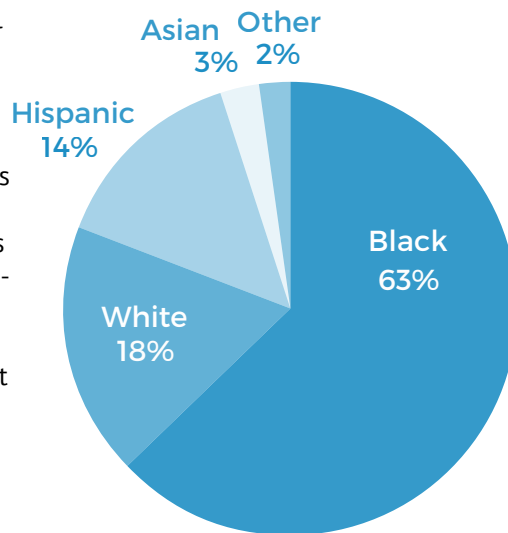
¹ Hetey, R.C., Monin, B., Maitreyi, A., and Eberhardt, J.L. (2016). *Data for Change, A Statistical Analysis of Police Stops, Searches, Handcuffings, and Arrests in Oakland, Calif, 2013-2014.*

replaced it with a free, optional registration through BikeIndex.org.

- Passing a state law allowing “bicycle traffic school” programs to reduce or remove ticket fees for bike violations. This enables free class alternatives to expensive fines that, when unpaid, lead to late fees, lost driving privileges, and eventually arrest warrants.

Change the Culture By Speaking Up

Bike East Bay stands with Black Lives Matter because when Black bicyclists are able to ride without fear, only then can we all bike in peace. We seek to change policing culture by calling out loud and clear that racial bias and police violence against Black people on bikes is unacceptable. Bike East Bay commits to being a learning organization that listens to, represents, and cultivates leadership by the people most affected by biased policing in the



Racial breakdown of 764 bicycle traffic stops made by Oakland police in 2015.

East Bay. As advocates, we will engage with community partners and citizen police advisory committees to strategize on solutions. We will hold decision makers accountable.

Bike East Bay's work on police enforcement is guided by our new statement of values for equity and social justice. Learn more at BikeEastBay.org/Equity.

WHAT IS #BLACKLIVESMATTER?

Black Lives Matter is a movement for Black empowerment and liberation. The movement began in 2013 as a social media hashtag, #BlackLivesMatter, created by three Black, queer women, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, as a call to action to end systemic racism against Black people. The hashtag was created in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman, in the shooting death of Black teenager Trayvon Martin.

Black Lives Matter gathered national attention in 2014 after activists organized large demonstrations against the shooting of 18-year old Mike Brown by police officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri. Today, Black Lives Matter is a decentralized network of activists with nearly 40 chapters in the US and Canada.

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Family and friends of Jose Enciso Hernandez at his ghost bike memorial.

TRAGEDY AND HOPE IN HAYWARD

By Susie Hufstader

Hayward resident Jose Enciso Hernandez depended on his bike for getting to work at a local restaurant. He had to bike over the I-880 freeway overpass on Tennyson Road, crossing eight on-ramps on his way to and from work. One night last October, Jose rode the overpass for the last time. His body was discovered at dawn near a crosswalk on one of the southbound entrances to the I-880 freeway.

Jose was the second person killed while walking or biking on this overpass in the past 18 months. Following this tragic news, Bike East Bay staff immediately asked Caltrans and the City of Hayward to improve bicyclist and pedestrian safety along corridor. We also connected with Jose's family to install a white-painted ghost bike in his memory.

Jose's cousin, America Enciso, is eager for change on the street. She said, "It's horrible that [Jose] and others have been killed and injured doing

something so simple as going to work. We need streets to be safer to travel in especially this area."

In the months following Jose's death, we successfully petitioned the city to increase the width of bike lanes on Tennyson Road. However, changes to the overpass itself are moving slowly. While Caltrans has agreed to upgrade crosswalk visibility, this project may be delayed until 2018.

Jose's story highlights the social and environmental injustices facing the predominantly Latino community in South Hayward. Major thoroughfares like Tennyson Road fragment the city into small neighborhoods surrounded by speeding traffic. Hayward residents who walk and bike face dangerous street crossings as they travel to work, see the doctor, or go to school. People who live next to the freeway suffer from some of the worst air pollution in our region.

Despite the urgent need for change, bike advocacy in Hayward has been

slow and challenging. Bike East Bay has few members and community partners in the area, limiting our ability to launch successful campaigns. Two years ago when Bike East Bay pushed back against the city's plan to construct the freeway-like "Hayward Loop," we were unable to turn out a vocal opposition.

Bike East Bay believes a strong community voice can make a difference for streets in Hayward. In response to Jose's death, we brought together biking and walking advocates from Hayward and the surrounding communities of Ashland, Cherryland, and San Lorenzo to form our newest local group, Bike Walk Eden. This growing advocacy community gives us hope that Hayward's upcoming Bicycle and Pedestrian Master Plan update will be an opportunity for genuine community engagement and real change on the streets.

You can connect with Bike Walk Eden on Facebook at [Facebook.com/groups/BikeWalkEden](https://www.facebook.com/groups/BikeWalkEden).

SETTING UP SHOP IN RICHMOND

By Cynthia Armour

Bike East Bay's Richmond Field Office rocked the 2016 elections! Out of this office, we distributed 600+ lawn signs, 8,000 door hangers, made 13,000 phone calls or door knocks, and walked 48 precincts. This was all made possible by a team of 50 volunteers, 4 paid callers, and staff from Bike East Bay, Rich City Rides, and the Measure X, RR, and C1 campaigns.

What were the results? While Richmond voted 75.5% in favor, Measure X did not receive the two-thirds majority vote it needed to pass in Contra Costa County. Happily, Measures RR and C1 passed, giving much needed funds to fix BART and maintain AC Transit services.

The field office did more than get out the vote. It was more than a temporary headquarters with a couch, microwave, and mountains of lawn signs. It was an opportunity to partner with a rad community organization and pay them for their work. It was about spending a significant amount of time working side by side with our friends at Rich City Rides. Together, we gave back to the bike community in Richmond by hosting bike rides, BBQs, movie nights, and an art show.

Najari Smith, founder of Rich City Rides, reflected that the campaign was a new way to engage the community around action. Rich City Rides now plans on continuing this work through future voter registration drives.

Najari said, "We do a lot of community organizing around celebrating the city and getting people biking more. The campaign was more than a social ride. We were able to engage youth in political work."



Staff and volunteers at the Richmond field office during the the 2016 election.

By partnering with Rich City Rides, Bike East Bay lived a key principle in our new statement of values: Leadership from the Community. We are committed to ensuring that the people most affected by street and policy changes are engaged and visibly leading during the decision-making process.

The Richmond Field Office was an experiment in investing beyond our historic base in Oakland and Berkeley. In order to better serve the 33 cities in Alameda and Contra Costa County, Bike East Bay has to do more than simply grow our staff and take on more work. We must also invest in the people who live in these communities.

After this successful experiment, we are now

looking ahead by asking exciting new questions. Should we work to provide more substantial employment opportunities? Or invest in establishing longer-term satellite offices? Whatever the future holds, we know from our experience in Richmond that the way forward will certainly be to invest in leadership from the community.

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