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programs had dwindled or disappeared.

In the future, a resurgence in advocacy may reverse the deterioration of bicycle programs and result in increased bicycle use by Davis residents. 2 Buehler and Handy Fifty years of bicycle policy in Davis, CA INTRODUCTION Davis, California has long been recognized as the “Bicycle Capital of the U.S.” The city’s logo is a highwheeler bicycle and there is a long history of support for bicycle facilities from city council, staff, and university officials. Since the early 1960s it has boasted the highest bicycle per capita ratio, highest biketowork commute mode share, the highest proportion of bike lanes on city streets 1,2. Its most recent recognition was in 2005 when it became the only city to receive the League of American Bicyclists “Platinum City” rating, confirming once again that Davis is the best bicycling city in the U.S. Today Davis has 50 miles of bike lanes on 95% of arterial streets and 50 miles of Class 1 bike paths, all in a city of ten square miles. Davis is more than just the best city in the U.S. for bicycling. It is, rather, the only city in the U.S. that has been designed for bicyclists from the ground up—a veritable “bicycling paradise,” at least by U.S. standards. In Davis, ordinary Americans can and will ride a bike for their daily travel needs. Bicycling in Davis has few barriers physical or psychological and requires a minimal skill level. Anecdotal stories are common about adults of all ages who hadn’t ridden a bike since childhood until they moved to Davis. By contrast, other U.S. bicycle-oriented cities have populations of deliberate bicyclists— people who achieve a modest level of skill, ride well-maintained bikes, and often wear helmets. Davis is more like Amsterdam, where typical bicyclists ride singlespeed bikes with baskets, wear street clothes and shun helmets. While Davis’s achievements in bicycle culture have long been recognized, the sequence of events that created the unique circumstances have not been thoroughly investigated.

Recognition is usually given to the “university town” and “ideal geography” factors and to the role of citizen activists in the 1960s in inventing and implementing the modern bike lane. The importance of civic support and continued infrastructure expansion in later years are also noted. But these accounts fail to explain why similar cities, such as Tucson AZ, Chico CA, or Eugene OR, have never achieved the same intensity of bicycle use and culture. Why is Davis the only American city to have achieved such a high level of bicycle use. What were the unique events that triggered this condition, and how did they perpetuate themselves. These questions are fascinating from a historical perspective, but they also have current relevance. First, climate change and high fuel prices are increasing the value of bicycle transportation, and if the successes enjoyed in Davis were better understood it would be easier to replicate them elsewhere. Second, Davis has experienced a marked decrease in bicycle use since the mid-1990s, and understanding the initial emergence of intense bicycle culture can cast light on elements that may have been lost in subsequent decades and that could help policymakers reverse this trend. RESEARCH METHODS Research was conducted through a series of interviews with city and university staff and members of the community. Twenty-seven individuals were interviewed, and they referred us to about 100 documents, including plans, reports, meeting minutes, and 3 Buehler and Handy others. Local newspapers were reviewed on microfilm for the years of rapid policy change. From the material gathered, a general historical overview of events was identified, from the mid-1950s to the present. After the order in which events occurred was determined, the development of policy was interpreted using two different frameworks. First, the Advocacy Coalition Framework describes how groups of actors, based on common beliefs and personal connections, can effect changes in policy.

Coalitions are necessary because of the technical information required, the long incubation period, and the distribution of power and knowledge across groups 3. The Multiple Streams Theory describes a sequence of events required to change policy. Change requires the confluence of a problem, a policy solution, and political will, all of which can be shaped by a “policy entrepreneur” into opening a temporal “policy window”. Once the window is open, major policy change can occur, and the window can be maintained as long as there is political reward for developing and testing

new policies. Pre1964 “Before everything happened” Davis has always been a bicyclefriendly city. In 1950, it had excellent circumstances for the development of a bicycle culture. It was a small town, home to the University of California’s agricultural research campus. The climate was mild, with occasional freezes in the winter and dry summers. It is topographically flat. The downtown was compact, and located immediately adjacent to the university core. Rail service to Sacramento and the San Francisco Bay area was excellent. While there are no unusual historical references to bicycles in the 1950s, many people report that the city was dominated by bicycles to a greater extent than neighboring cities. 4 Buehler and Handy In 1959, Davis’s future prospects changed when the University of California made Davis an autonomous campus and planned for an increase from 2000 to 10,000 students within a decade. This growth presented the opportunity to shape the campus,,and the newly named chancellor, Emil Mrak, Figure 1. On campus, nearly everyone bicycled in 1966, was a supporter of Ansel Adams, Fiat Lux collection bicycling. As a teen he loved to ride his bike around the Santa Clara valley, and as chancellor he directed his architects “to plan for a bicycleriding, treelined campus” 5,6.

The first campus plan featured extensive bike paths looping through the proposed developments, passing under streets, and having exclusive parking areas outside each building. Core campus would be closed to cars. In acceptance letters to new students, Mrak instructed them to “bring a bicycle to campus so you can get to classes on time” on the sprawling campus 7. Under Mrak’s leadership, bicycle use became almost universal on campus, and resulted in increased bicycling in the city. City leaders took a less enthusiastic view of bicycles. Bicycles crowded the streets, and many riders had little regard for traffic laws. Citizens had made small steps in trying to control the impact of cars, such as maverick city councilor Kathleen Green who wove probicycle language into the city’s first General Plan in 1958. But it wasn’t until 1963, when Davis residents Frank and Eve Child returned from a sabbatical in the Netherlands, that the simmering discontent heated to a boil. 5 Buehler and Handy Identifying the problem and winning political support Frank was a professor of Economics, and his family of six enjoyed riding bicycles in The Hague so much that when they returned to Davis they sold their second car. Davis had many bicyclists, but the streets provided no guidance for the interaction of bikes and cars. Conflicts were common, and bicyclists were being literally run off the city’s streets by increased driving. For Frank and Eve, it made perfect sense that Davis could simply reconfigure their streets and reduce or eliminate the conflicts between bikes and cars 9. When initial efforts got them nowhere, they penned a letter to the newspaper, proposing separate lanes for bikes, inviting supporters to meet at their house, and concluding “where there is no vision, the people perish.” 10. The Childs and others formed the “Citizens’ Bicycle Study Group” and began quietly meeting with city officials.

Their proposal was politely turned down by the city’s planners, engineers, police, and council itself. The city engineer assured them that since most bicycle accidents occurred at intersections, lanes wouldn’t solve safety problems. The police chief didn’t think it would be enforceable 7. Unperturbed, in the fall of 1964 the group began circulating a petition for bike lanes, citing the health, economic benefits of bicycling, the growing hazards of bicycling, and the selfreinforcing traffic problem. They petitioned council to provide bike lanes on all arterial streets, and to take action before city growth “made such action prohibitively expensive” 8. This well reasoned, well articulated argument received wide public support. Frank Child routinely appeared at council meetings and reported how many citizens had signed. After some discussion, the council considered the matter, voted to study bike lanes on neighborhood streets to elementary schools, and proceeded to form a “study committee” with representatives from everyone except the Citizen’s Bicycle Study Group 8. As another year went by, the number of signatories grew to 2000, and city council elections were coming up. By this time, the Childs were known as representatives of the large bicyclist population, and Child was courted by and endorsed several candidates who made bike lanes a campaign issue. One even put cardboard discs in his supporters’ bike wheels proclaiming “Maynard Skinner for



Council!" 11. Bike lane supporters won a landslide victory. Now, with a problem, a proposed policy, and political will, a policy window was opened. Within a few months, council voted to instruct Public Works staff to create bike lanes on city arterial streets. Implementing a policy Now that the problem was identified and political will assembled, the policy needed to be refined and proven. The advocacy coalition expanded from its citizen base to include elected officials and city staff.

The engineers, planners and police officers all quickly changed their approach to dealing with the bicycle study group, and everyone met and discussed their visions and concerns. They then set out to develop geometric standards for striping bike lanes on the streets of Davis 10. Another challenge was changing the state street and highway legislation to accept bicycle lanes as legal elements of California roadways. Fortunately, city councilor Norm Woodbury was a professional lobbyist at the state capitol in Sacramento and was able to 6 Buehler and Handy steer city staff to the right contacts to get a bill through the Assembly and signed by Governor Reagan 11. In the fall of 1967 the plans were ready, the state laws were changed, and Davis striped bike lanes on several city streets. The bike lanes were an instant success. Bicyclists liked having a designated spot on the roads, and motorists liked having bicyclists out of the way. The momentum began with Chancellor Mrak in 1961 and continued with the Childs in 1964, resulting in the creation of the first bike lanes in the United States. Experimentation in policy application City staff were under pressure to create bike lanes with few precedents. Everyone had different ideas about how bikes should be accommodated on the roads. Frank Child preferred the Amsterdam model, with bikes on paths behind curbs or parked cars. City staff thought bikes would be best riding in the street next to the moving traffic. Fortunately, city staff had adequate support from council to experiment with many different lane and path configurations, including. Eventually all lanes were converted to the now familiar configuration of the bike lane between the moving cars and parked cars, but this example is illustrative of the type of experimentation that was done to see how different configurations worked.