


Spring 3-21-2012

Anarchy, Play, and Carnival in the Neoliberal City: Critical Mass as Insurgent Public Space Activism

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University of San Francisco

**Anarchy, Play, and Carnival in the Neoliberal City:
Critical Mass as Insurgent Public Space Activism**

A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences
Master's Program in International Studies

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in International Studies

by
J. Andrew Blue
February 2012

**Anarchy, Play, and Carnival in the Neoliberal City:
Critical Mass as Insurgent Public Space Activism**

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

in

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

by

J. Andrew Blue

February 2012

Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Public space is fundamental to freedom, culture, identity, and community. Since the *agora* of ancient Greece, to the present day, material public space has been inseparable from the notion and practice of democracy (Hénaff and Strong, 2001). Ideally, public space is a thriving center of civic and cultural life and of intellectual exchange, and a place of open political and creative expression free of corporate control. Public space is a place of everyday community ritual, as well as festive and ceremonial ritual. Ideally, public space is a place open to all, free of charge—and so a place of genuine diversity. Public space is where we encounter strangers and where we are compelled to confront perspectives, ideas, communities, and subcultures different than our own (Lofland, 1998). Public space, therefore, becomes a venue for both cohesion and friction, negotiation and conflict, peace and struggle—all of which are necessary and/or inevitable in any society (Kohn, 2004). As we are reminded by recent historic events from Tahrir Square to Zucotti Park, public spaces are required venues for freedom and justice movements within both totalitarian regimes and liberal democracies (Springer, 2010). Though public space has rarely, if ever, fulfilled the ideal, for all the above reasons, its existence is utterly essential to socially healthy and well-functioning communities and to individual and societal freedom.

However, scholars argue public space has eroded globally at a greatly accelerated rate in recent decades, due largely to the rise and dominance of neoliberal economic policies (Low and Smith, 2006). Through the collusion of state and corporate power, the increased privatization, commodification, sanitization, regulation and surveillance of

public space are trends observable on global scales (Amster, 2008). Some scholars declare we are witnessing no less than the *end of public space*, with immeasurable implications for human and societal freedom, and the sustainability of healthy communities (Sorkin, 1992).

Nevertheless, a number of scholars who recognize the growing public space crisis, also point out that public space has always been contested and has never achieved the ideal of openness and freedom. As with all rights and freedoms, countless struggles have been fought throughout history for the right to public space and the “right to the city,” for all people (Mitchell, 2003; Lefebvre, 2006). And just as the erosion of public space has accelerated in the era of neoliberal economic globalization, so too have trans-local movements and events emerged and proliferated to resist this ominous trend. Hou (2010) has identified a new wave of “insurgent public space” activism marked by its use of particularly unconventional, creative, and playful tactics to appropriate, liberate, reclaim, and create public space for the use of all people in the interest of community, culture, and freedom. Pask (2010) looks at pockets of insurgent public space activism and suggests it has the capacity to bring together an extraordinarily broad range of people, activist and non-activist types alike, in a common effort. A decade or so before Hou declared an insurgent public space movement, Ferrell (2000) documented “interwoven but largely autonomous groups and events” (p. 22) such as Reclaim the Streets, and Critical Mass, that were rooted in anarchist politics, which had temporarily reclaimed public space in cities around the world through unconventional and festive tactics.

So then, is there hope for public space? The contemporary Arab Spring and Occupy movements remind us of the uniquely powerful synergism that can result when social-political movements utilize public space. At the same time, the swift and violent removal of Occupy encampments from most of the cities where they mushroomed, under mayoral orders and at the hands of the police, reminds us how quickly the right to public space can be restricted or denied altogether. Meanwhile the global trends eliminating public space territories and freedoms proceed largely unabated. If the creative and playful insurgent public space movements and that have emerged around the world hold answers to how public space can be reclaimed and expanded, then I suggest we should learn more about these movements and events—particularly ones, such as Critical Mass, that have proven successful in their ability to grow and sustain themselves.

Critical Mass (CM) is a large group bike ride that its proponents declared to be a “festive reclaiming of public space” (D’Andrade, 1993). Started in San Francisco nearly 20 years ago, it has since blossomed into global, trans-local phenomena, now occurring monthly, according to proponents, in some 300 cities around the world (SFCriticalMass.org, FAQ, para. 1). CM has grown globally and sustained itself for two decades, yet it has no formal structure, no organizational support, and no funding. A handful of scholars have studied CM, yet much remains to be learned about this uniquely successful arm of the insurgent public space movement. In an effort to better understand how CM is growing and proliferating globally, this research project will explore how CM impacts participants and observers, and how its unconventional elements might help to explain its capacity to attract and sustain broad participation.

Background and Need for Study

In 2010, I became engaged in the insurgent public space movement through personal experience. In spring of that year, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors was poised to do something many considered unthinkable in such an ostensibly liberal city—pass a “sit-lie” ordinance that could result in jail time for nothing more than sitting on a public sidewalk. Proponents were effective in putting forth a dominant narrative about how the sidewalks had become very dangerous places due to uncivil behavior, particularly from homeless youth, and how new laws were necessary to restrict access to the sidewalks. Yet opponents like myself saw the proposed law as an infringement of basic civil liberties and as a thinly veiled attempt to eliminate certain groups of people from arguably the one place where everyone must be allowed to exist, *public space*.

Something about the sit-lie ordinance struck an unusually potent chord with many who made up the broad, but unified and determined coalition of opponents, that including homeless, youth, LGBT, immigrant, labor, and neighborhood groups, as well as artists, and others. The issue had far larger significance to us than a simple debate over where people should be permitted to sit. To us, sit-lie raised fundamental issues about the right to public space, the value of public space, and the role of public space in our community.

To counter the dominant media narrative that portrayed the city’s sidewalks as unsafe due to allegedly aggressive homeless people, and in hopes of preventing passage of the law, we decided to stage the Sidewalks are for People Day event. We modeled this all-day, citywide event, in function and spirit, after the annual Park(ing) Day, a do-it-yourself, decentralized, event in which participants temporarily convert public parking spots into miniature public parks. In the tradition of Park(ing) Day, as well as the SF-

initiated Critical Mass bike ride, we intended for the event to move away from the traditional protest model and serve primarily as a celebration of freedom in public space. We wanted it to be a playful, creative, do-it-yourself (DIY), decentralized event, in which everyone would be encouraged to participate on any sidewalk they liked, and in any manner of their choosing.

Our expectations for the event were far exceeded. In less than three weeks from conception to execution, we set into motion an idea that took on a life of its own and ultimately engaged more than 1,000 participants in nearly 100 autonomous, highly creative mini-events on sidewalks across the city. To many of us who had been organizing events and protests in the city for years, it was unlike anything we had previously seen. Usually, a hundred protestors showing up for a rally on a “homeless issue,” such as sit-lie, would have been considered an excellent turnout. In just one day, the event managed to dramatically shift the dominant narrative in our favor. Without realizing it, we had joined the global insurgent public space movement and had experienced first-hand the extraordinary power, attraction, and importance of public space activism.

My experiences fighting the sit-lie law and organizing Sidewalks are for People Day set me on a path to learn more about public space issues and activism. Upon reading Hou’s (2010) *Insurgent Public Space: Guerilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities*, I learned that many other activists and groups around the world were engaging in unconventional and creative public space activism. The anthology contains a number of case studies and examples of insurgent public space activities, events, and groups, including Pask’s (2010) study of public space activism in Vancouver

and Toronto, and Merker's (2010) theoretical essay on Park(ing) Day and other practices in what he calls *tactical urbanism*.

Amster's (2008) work, *Lost in Space*, about the widening criminalization of homelessness, placed the SF sit-lie ordinance in a much wider context as it explained how such exclusionary laws were part of a global trend to privatize, sanitize, and commodify public spaces in the interest of private profit. Low and Smith's (2006) *The Politics of Public Space* furthered my understanding of the global picture, as it explained how the erosion of public space became most pronounced with the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s. Kohn's (2004) *Brave New Neighborhoods: The Privatization of Public Space*, helped to place current public space issues in the context of a long historical struggle for the rights of free speech and political expression in public space.

Underlying much of the recent scholarship were such works as Lofland's (1998) *The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory*, Zukin's (1996) *The Cultures of Cities*, Sorkin's (1992) *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, Davis's (1990) *Fortress Los Angeles*, Whyte's (1988) *City: Rediscovering the Center*, Kowinski's (1985) *The Mall of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise*. Works that provided further historical and theoretical structure for understanding public space activism included Mitchell's (2003) *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, and Ferrell's (2001) *Tearing Down the Streets: Adventures in Urban Anarchy*.

Meanwhile, Rebar's (2009) *The Parking Day Manifesto*, and Carlsson's (2002) *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration* provided historical and theoretical background for two San Francisco-born public space events/movements, Park(ing) Day

and Critical Mass. Both these events proved to be intriguing examples of unconventional public space activism and appeared to be highly suitable case studies for a better understanding of the insurgent public space movement in general. Hence, for my thesis research project I chose to research Critical Mass, Park(ing) Day, and the event I helped to create, Sidewalks are for People Day—as case studies in unconventional public space activism. All three case studies produced a wealth of intriguing data, *too much* in fact, to properly explore in a single thesis. So ultimately I chose to focus on the single case study of Critical Mass.

Critical Mass began in 1992—with the provocative moniker, *Commute Clot*—as a monthly group bike ride home from work. Conditions then were notoriously dangerous for bicyclists on many San Francisco (SF) streets and as Carlsson (1993) puts it, the idea was to, “make our presence felt to ourselves and the rest of the city, and ride home together” (para. 1). The idea caught on quickly in SF, with about 60 people joining on the first ride, growing to as many as 600 or more after the first year. The idea also caught on swiftly on a global scale and is now a monthly event in numerous cities around the world.

As an unconventional public space activism event/movement, particularly notable for its sustainability and global proliferation, CM may serve as a model for effective movement building within the public space activism realm and beyond. While CM has been the subject of some academic study, this project seeks to address questions that merit deeper exploration, about how and why CM is successful. More specifically, the project seeks to explore how the event’s ludic, carnivalesque, and anarchistic elements, as well as its relationship to public space, impact participants and observers, and how these

elements might provide insight into the CM's capacity to attract broad and sustained participation. With massive demonstrations in public space presently at the forefront of international issues, the exploration of an unconventional, decentralized, public space movement, that has proliferated globally and sustained itself for nearly 20 years, may prove especially relevant.

Critical Mass San Francisco: A Typical Ride

San Francisco Critical Mass occurs on the last Friday of each month, rain or shine. Participants meet at approximately 5:30 pm at Justin Herman Plaza (renamed Pee Wee Herman Plaza by early Critical Mass participants) in the Financial District at the intersection of two of the SF's most prominent thoroughfares, Market Street and the Embarcadero. CM participants generally filter into the plaza over the course of about an hour. Early arrivals socialize and lounge about throughout the plaza, on its pavement, steps, patches of grass, etc. The scene in the plaza is festive, friendly, and lively. Frequently, people walk through the pre-ride crowd handing out political or event flyers. As is discussed in the findings sections of this thesis, based on my participant-observations and surveys, the crowd of participants is a diverse mix in terms of age, race, gender, income, occupation, and in terms of motivation for participation. The crowd grows until approximately 6:15 to 6:30 pm, when eventually the ride commences and heads out along the Embarcadero or Market Street.

CM has no official leaders or schedule, and generally, no planned route¹. The actual ride commences naturally when the crowd reaches an unspecified "critical mass"

¹ Though CM never has an official planned route, at various times throughout its history, particularly in its early years, participants have proposed planned routes, and distributed

of participants. Though an individual, or a group of individuals, is likely initiating the flow of riders out of the plaza, how exactly it begins is essentially imperceptible, and doesn't happen until the group as a whole is "ready" to depart. Often there are a few "false starts" where some participants will attempt to initiate a departure or direction that doesn't "catch on," i.e. doesn't gain the unspoken consensus approval of the group, and therefore fizzles out. Once the ride has begun it flows, slowly at first, as a dense pack of bike riders, on a meandering path down city streets. The riders in front lead a route, the group as a whole will naturally go seemingly "where it wants," not necessarily taking the direction those at the front are attempting to lead it.

CM frequently breaks traffic laws. Generally riders will stay in the left lane(s), but sometimes individuals or groups of participants will cross the yellow line and occupy part or the entire oncoming lane as well. In order to maintain the unbroken procession, participants, except for those at the front, do not generally stop for traffic lights. Usually, motorists see the highly visible parade of riders, with little or no space to drive through the intersection, and so wait for the ride to pass before proceeding. Sometimes, motorists will attempt to traverse the intersection in the midst of the ride, at which point CM participants respond by "corking" the vehicle, that is, placing their bikes and bodies directly in front of the car to prevent it from moving forward and endangering fellow riders.

As will be discussed in detail in chapters 3 and 4, CM rides may frequently be described as playful and carnivalesque. Some participants, for example, ride elaborately decorated or customized bicycles, transport powerful mobile sound systems, wear

maps before the ride. Sometimes these routes are adopted by an unspoken consensus and followed by the group. Other times, they are not (D'Andrade, 2010, June 20).

costumes, stop to dance in the street, etc. The event frequently resembles a parade, one enjoyed by many bystanders on sidewalks along the route, who wave, smile, and take photographs. Rides continue for about two to three hours. The size of the group slowly grows smaller as riders peel off to bike home or to head off to other evening activities. In chapters three and four I provide further descriptions of a number of aspects of CM rides.

Research Questions and Purpose of Study

Understanding the well-documented and fundamental importance of public space to a free and healthy society, and recognizing what scholars have declared to be the global public space crisis, this study intends to examine a particularly unique and successful example of public space activism, Critical Mass. In so doing, the this study seeks to gain a better understanding of how Critical Mass functions, attracts broad participation, impacts participants and observers, and grows and sustains itself. In this effort, the study addresses two central research questions:

1. Do special characteristics of Critical Mass, particularly its relationship to public space, as well as its ludic, carnivalesque, and anarchistic elements, provide opportunities and incentives for broad participation, and if so, how and why?

2. How does Critical Mass impact the thinking, perceptions and socio-political consciousness of participants and observers?

CM is a successful movement/event that many recognize as a form of social-political activism, and that is notable for its nontraditional ludic and carnivalesque tactics and elements, its often-controversial reputation, and its lack of formal structure or leadership. An increased understanding of this unusual and unusually successful event and global movement may be helpful to other efforts locally and globally to reverse

trends towards the loss and erosion of rights to public space. Conclusions from this study may also have broader applications and benefit to any number of other movements, campaigns, or causes.

To answer the research questions, and to gain a broader understanding of how CM functions in general, this project employed the following methods: long form interviews with CM founders and other active longtime proponents/participants of CM; interviews with CM participants before and during CM rides; interviews with chance observers during CM rides; participant-observations of CM rides; surveys of participants conducted immediately prior to CM rides; surveys of participants online; and brief surveys of chance observers conducted during CM rides. In addition to these methods I also conducted a content analysis of reader comments posted on the SF Critical Mass blog and I solicited a written reflection/account from a CM participant after completing her first CM ride. I conducted all the research for this project in San Francisco in the summer and fall of 2011.

Theoretical Framework

This project drew on theory from a number of sources to guide the research and to assist in the interpretation of its findings. Theoretical ideas relating to CM's ludic, carnivalesque, and anarchistic element were central to the project. Notions from Bourdieu, and the Situationists were particularly helpful in interpreting CM's impact on participants and observers. A variety of other thinkers and ideas served to fill different niches in the theoretical framework for this project. The literature review discusses the theory in more detail, but I shall provide an initial brief overview here.

Lefebvre's Marxist theories on the dominance of the hegemonic class in the production of urban space (1994), and on the individual's fundamental "right to the city," (2006) are cornerstones for much of the contemporary debate about the meaning of public space and the importance of the right to public space. For Lefebvre (1996), the right to the city required the right to public space for a number of needs and functions including, the "moment of play and of the unpredictable" (p. 129). Mitchell (1994) draws on Lefebvre to assess what the right to the city means today and he suggests social justice and social rights are linked directly with access to public space. Stevens' (2007) says play is a human need, and even if otherwise "socially unredemptive," (p. 9) is a necessary end in itself. Yet play, says Stevens (2007), also has the capacity to bring people together and create new understandings of the meaning and value of urban spaces.

Bakhtin's (1984) discussion of Rabeliasian carnival is especially helpful in interpreting the appeal and function of Critical Mass, and in exploring the overlapping political and celebratory aspects of the CM event/movement. Bakhtin's notion of carnival as a bacchanalian festival that upends everyday societal roles and social norms, is bound only to the "laws of its own freedom" (1984, p.70), and which plays a crucial liberating role in society—sounds in many ways like a description of a Critical Mass ride. Meanwhile, Ehrenreich (2006) suggests carnival invites broad participation through its fulfillment of the human need for collective joy, and Bogad (2010) suggests that carnivalesque tactics in resistance movements are effective, disarming, and more difficult for authorities to ignore than traditional forms of protest.

Anarchist anthropologist, David Graeber (2004), who helped form the original Occupy Wall Street encampment and its first general assemblies, provided a foundational

understanding of basic anarchist principles for this project, such as anti-authoritarianism, decentralization, autonomy, self-organization, and direct democracy. As Goldman (2000), Goyen (2009), Graeber (2004) and others explain, to many anarchists, “anarchism” is more a description of a *practice* than it is a name of a political theory that holds to specific, fixed ideas; and consensus decision-making is frequently at the core of this practice write Goyen (2009) and Graeber (2004). Brienés’ (1989) notion of *prefigurative politics*—essentially, being/living the change one wants to see in the world, is helpful in understanding how Critical Mass functions politically.

Bourdieu (2007) and Debord (2006) provide insightful theory for interpreting how Critical Mass may work on the consciousness of participants and observers. Bourdieu (2007) believed the ways we routinely use public space (*habitus*) reinforce the already deeply ingrained, status quo beliefs about those spaces (*doxa*). Debord and the Situationists developed the ludic and creative practices of *détournement* and *dérive* to, in effect, break the self-reinforcing *habitus/doxa* dynamic, and allow participants to see and experience the urban environment in new and liberating ways.

Together, these theoretical notions provide direction for the research and focus for the data analysis and discussion. I will explore further these and other pieces of the project’s theoretical framework in the following chapter.

Methodology

As mentioned above, the methods employed for this project included paper and online surveys of CM participants, on-site interviews with CM participants and observers, long-form interviews with CM founders and longtime participants/proponents, and participant-observations at CM events. Additionally, I performed a content analysis

of all comments and discussion posted on a Critical Mass blog, and finally, I asked a first-time participant to write a personal account/reflection following her first Critical Mass ride. I conducted all the research in San Francisco, California in the summer and fall of 2011. In this section I will describe how, where, when, with whom, and with what instruments the various research methods were conducted. I then conclude the section with a description of how I organized and analyzed the resulting data.

Surveys

I conducted paper surveys with early-arriving participants prior to the July 29 and August 26, 2011 Critical Mass rides at Justin Herman Plaza, the meeting spot and starting point for San Francisco Critical Mass. I conducted oral surveys with chance observers during the August 26 ride on sidewalks along the route. I also conducted an online survey of Critical Mass participants and collected responses from September 1 to November 18, 2011. All surveys were anonymous and survey respondents signed informed consent forms or were read verbal consent scripts. Each respondent was offered the Research Subject's Bill of Rights (Appendix A). See Appendix B for all surveys. I employed the following three surveys for this research project.

- Survey CM-P1 (Critical Mass Participants 1): A pen-and-paper survey, photocopied and distributed with clipboards and filled out by participants, prior to CM rides in July and August 2011.
- Survey CM-P2 (Critical Mass Participants 2): An online survey of Critical Mass participants conducted online via Survey Monkey with responses collected from September 1 to November 1, 2011.

- Survey CM-O (Critical Mass Observers): Brief oral surveys of observers conducted along the route of the August 2011 CM Ride.

Respondents for Survey CM-P1 were selected at convenience, and under time constraints, but with a conscious desire to achieve a diverse sample. A total of 33 surveys were collected. Demographic questions were optional, but most participants provided some demographic information and the data shows a diverse sample in terms of race, gender, age, income, and occupation. Race and gender questions were fill-in-the-blank, as opposed to multiple-choice with fixed categories. For the racial breakdown I grouped the responses into common categories. Of the 33 respondents twelve were White, five were Asian, five were Latino, three were Black or African-American, two were Pacific Islander, three were mixed-race, and three skipped the question. For gender identity, 16 declared male, 13 declared female, one declared “Androgynous” and 1 declared “subjective.” For the complete list of the original responses and for complete demographic data see Appendix C.

Participants for the survey of observers along the August CM (Survey CM-O) ride were selected at convenience. A total of 32 surveys were collected. Because CM rides generally move quickly along an unplanned route, I needed to conduct surveys quickly with whomever would agree to participate—or I would have been left behind and no longer able to participate in the ride. These surveys were very brief and no demographic data was gathered.

Participants for the online survey (Survey CM-P2) were largely reached via the social media website, Facebook. Ninety individuals responded to the survey. I created a Facebook event page to announce the survey and invited Facebook friends to participate

and to pass along the survey to other Critical Mass riders. I also posted invitations on a number of Critical Mass facebook groups set up by Critical Mass participants and organizers in a number of cities around the world.

Surveys were anonymous and while demographic questions were optional, most participants provided demographic information. Demographic questions were fill-in-the-blank. For a complete list of original responses and complete demographic data see Appendix C. After grouping the declared-race responses into commonly used categories, they broke down as follows: 67 White, 6 Asian / Asian American, 5 Latino/Latin American, 4 Arab / Middle-Eastern, 3 mixed-race, and 5 skipped the question. Of the 90 participants in the survey, 61 were from the United States, 6 from Germany, 5 from Slovakia, 2 from Australia, 2 from Israel, 2 from Italy, 2 from Turkey, and one respectively from each of the following countries: Egypt, Hungary, Ireland, Norway, Mexico, and Spain. Forty-three of the respondents were from San Francisco. Participants in this survey consisted largely of veteran CM riders with an average of approximately 6.5 years of participation and a range of 1 to 19 years of participation.

On-Site Interviews

I conducted on-site interviews with 20 CM participants and 30 chance observers before and during Critical Mass rides on June 24, July 29, and August 26, 2011. I conducted the interviews before rides at Justin Herman Plaza, and during the rides on streets and sidewalks along the spontaneous CM route. I rode in each ride as a participant. For observer interviews I stopped along the ride to speak with pedestrians, usually on sidewalks. I attempted to interview motorists and passengers in cars along the

route as well, but was prevented from doing so by motorcycle police who escorted CM rides.

The sample for on-site interviews was a convenience sample. Interviews were necessarily brief and no personal or demographic data collected. All interviews were anonymous and interviewees granted verbal consent for the interviews.² I read a consent script and offered a signed consent form to all interviewees who desired further information. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed.

Long-Form Interviews

Long-form, sit-down interviews took place at my home, and at various cafes around San Francisco from July through September 2011. Each interview was an hour or more in length. Each interview was recorded with a digital recorder and then transcribed. Each interviewee was a willing participant, on the record, and signed an informed consent form, and given a copy of the Research Subject's Bill of Rights.

Interviewees included the following individuals: Chris Carlsson, Hugh D'Andrade, Adam Greenfield, Lauren McCarthy, Blaine Merker, and Joel Pomerantz. Chris Carlsson is a co-founder of Critical Mass and the author of a number of articles, essays, and books on Critical Mass and other subjects. Carlsson is the editor of the anthology *Critical Mass: Bicycling's Defiant Celebration* (2002). Hugh D'Andrade is an illustrator and long-time active participant and proponent of Critical Mass. D'Andrade co-authors the SF Critical Mass blog and co-authored a seminal how-to pamphlet from CM's early days, that became known globally via the Internet, "How to make a Critical

² The USF Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects granted a waiver for the signed consent form requirement for the anonymous on-site interviews. See Appendix A.

Mass: Lessons and Ideas from the San Francisco Bay Experience” (1993). Adam Greenfield is a filmmaker, blogger, community activist and long-time CM participant. Greenfield briefly made international news in 2010 upon completing his “Gubbins Experiment,” a year without use of motorized vehicles, that he chronicled on his blog of the same name. Lauren McCarthy is a long-time Critical Mass participant and co-founder of the San Jose Bike Party and San Francisco Bike Party, bike rides similar to Critical Mass except for their notable differences of planned routes and adherence to traffic laws. Blaine Merker is a member of the design collective Rebar, a co-founder of Park(ing) Day, and a long-time CM participant. Mercer is the co-author of *The Park(ing) Day Manifesto* (2009) and the author of “Rebar’s absurd tactics in generous urbanism” (2010) from Hou’s (2010) *Insurgent Public Space* anthology —two works that had an early and guiding influence on this project. Joel Pomerantz is a co-founder of Critical Mass, a natural historian, and the author of a number of articles and essays on CM, San Francisco history, and other topics.

Participant-Observations

I performed participant-observations at the June, July, August, September, and October 2011 Critical Mass rides. During each CM event I rode my bicycle, made observations, and took field notes. After each ride I wrote in more detail about my observations in a research diary. At the October CM ride, I not only participated as a cyclist, but also an activist. I handed out political literature as I have done a number of times at CM over the course of about 8-10 years. This was something I chose to do as a politically active resident of San Francisco, but it was also helpful to the purposes of this

research project as it provided data on how CM as an event, relates to, and integrates individual political expression. More details are provided in the Chapter 3.

Content Analysis and First-Time Participant's Written Account

To get a sense of the ongoing debate about the effectiveness and appropriateness of CM's tactics, structure, overall tone, etc., I performed a content analysis of all the posts, discussions, and comments on the SF Critical Mass Blog (SFCriticalMass.org) where some of CM's strongest supporters and most vehement critics alike, frequently air their opinions on CM. To perform this analysis, I used HyperResearch qualitative analysis software to analyze and thematically code the text from each article, post, discussion, and comment.

As stated, I asked one-first time CM participant to write an account of her first CM ride. She signed a verbal consent form and was given the Research Subjects Bill of Rights. For the purposes of data analysis, I treated this account the same as an interview and coded it using HyperResearch qualitative data analysis software.

Data Organization and Analysis

I employed HyperResearch qualitative data analysis software to code and categorize all interview transcripts, survey comments, field notes, and research diary entries. I coded and categorized the data based on themes relevant to the research questions. As will be discussed in the findings, I also performed an additional analysis on observer interviews, and then grouped them, based on their overall opinion of CM, into one of three categories: negative opinion, positive opinion, and mixed opinion.

I manually entered results from Survey CM-P1 and Survey CM-O into the Survey Monkey website and used the site's tools to parse, filter, and otherwise organize and analyze the survey data. Survey CM-P2 was hosted and conducted on Survey Monkey and I employed the website's tool to analyze, filter, and organize its results as well.

For ease of transcription and organization of transcripts, each interview was given a number corresponding to its digital audio track number. With all three original case studies, these audio track numbers ranged from 1-115. Tracks 1-78 surmise most of the interviews pertaining to Critical Mass. I used the track numbers to identify either the CM participant or observer who was the subject of a given interview. Therefore—as a matter of clarification—when this thesis refers to “Participant 12” in a citation, for example, it is not referring to a twelfth participant, but rather the a participant whose interview is on the twelfth digital track in a list of tracks that includes a mixture of both participants and observers.

Limitations of the Study

While this study produced intriguing data helpful in addressing the research questions, the extent to which the findings may be considered generalizable is limited. Originally, this project involved three separate case studies, before being narrowed down to only Critical Mass. This decreased sample size and sample diversity for the project as whole.

Critical Mass rides can vary significantly from month to month and from city to city, in terms of levels of participation and overall tenor. A more comprehensive study of Critical Mass would require research in multiple cities and would gather data at CM rides throughout the year.

The size of on-site interview and survey samples were sufficient to produce helpful data, but a more comprehensive study would have interviewed and surveyed more participants and observers to produce more generalizable findings. Also, the convenience samples from this study may not accurately reflect the actual demographic make-up of the participants and observer groups at CM events. One weakness in the observer interview sample was the exclusion of automobile motorists and passengers, whom I intended to include in the study, but was prevented from doing so by police officers. Due to a number of factors, including the reduction from three to one case studies on public space activism, the group of long-form interviewees lacks demographic diversity as well. Also, another problem I did not anticipate was that a number of the observers I surveyed, had on some previous occasion participated in Critical Mass themselves, muddling their role as purely observers for the purposes of the study. For analysis on observer perceptions, I saw fit to filter them from the sample, which shrunk the sample size further. Finally, the nature of catching chance observers along the route of a quickly moving event on wheels, required that observer interviews be very brief. More-in-depth interviews with observers would produce more complete and informative data

Significance of the Study

The primary beneficiaries of this study may be public space activists seeking ways to build broad, sustainable movements to reclaim and repurpose public space. The findings may also be helpful to a broader audience of activists from a range of movements and causes, seeking tactics and forms of activism and resistance to create more broad and sustainable movements. Critical Mass, with its anarchistic and carnivalesque elements has much in common with the global justice movement and

Occupy movement. Critical Mass, like its sister event Park(ing) Day, with which it shares many attributes, has been able to not only sustain itself, but has proliferated globally. A better understanding of what makes Critical Mass unique and effective should be helpful to many change-seekers in this globalized era. The findings may also be of interest to academics and others interested in issues of public space, public space activism, and broader issues of unconventional and/or sustainable social justice and political movements. Government policy-makers may find value in the research as well, in terms of how many citizens view and value the streets as public space and how many citizens believe the streets should be used as public space.

Explanation of Terms

Autonomy – In this thesis autonomy refers to self-government and independence from state authority. For anarchists or Critical Mass participants, as examples, to believe in the virtue of autonomy means they believe they have no duty as groups or individuals to obey state sanctioned laws “*simply because they are laws,*” as Wolff (1998) puts it. Autonomous individuals or groups may chose to obey state laws, but not because they believe in, nor adhere to, the moral authority of the state. Autonomous groups/individuals self-govern and recognize only their groups or themselves as holding legitimate authority.

Event /Movement – Critical Mass is referred to as both an event and movement in this paper. Critical Mass is a monthly event in the cities where it is held, but has proliferated on a global scale and may also be properly considered a movement.

Observer – Unless otherwise specified, “observer” refers to an individual who was a pedestrian bystander at a Critical Mass event, and who likely chanced upon the event.

Participant/Interviewee/Respondent – To avoid confusion, for the purposes of this thesis, the term “participant” refers to participants in Critical Mass, not necessarily to participants in the research for this project. For clarity, “interviewee” is the term used for an individual who was the subject of an interview and “respondent” is the term used for an individual who responded to a survey.

Public space -- Unless otherwise specified, “public space” in this paper refers specifically to material, geographical public space. A number of scholars (Mitchell, 2003; Springer, 2010) insist that material public space is uniquely crucial to society.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

A number of scholars, activists, and policy-makers have written a great deal about public space issues, and increasingly about the public space resistance movements as they proliferate globally. Scholars across a range of academic disciplines recognize the central importance of public space to human and societal freedom, cultural life, and the health of communities. Likewise, scholars widely recognize that public space faces increasing threats globally, due predominantly to the integration of state and economic power and the global dominance of neoliberal economic policies. As the insurgent public space movement rises up to face these threats, it has increasingly gained the interest of scholars as well. The literature also reveals a rich body of theory and history that underpins the current public space activism movements. Some theory has directly informed and inspired these movements, while some theory is useful in interpreting how and why these movements function as they do and their relevance for, and impact upon, the individual and society at large.

This literature review will first look at the broader context of public space issues, and then proceed to literature pertaining to the insurgent public space movements. This review begins with a brief look at the importance of public space to society and then how and why it is being eroded at an accelerated rate. Then, the review will look at what scholars have observed and learned about the public space insurgency, in both broader terms, as well as in the specific case of Critical Mass, the subject of this project's case study. Finally, the review will look at theoretical notions that have directly and indirectly inspired Critical Mass, as well as theory that may help explain how Critical Mass

functions and its possible political, social, and cultural importance. Throughout, I will note how this project will address the spaces in the literature where deeper exploration and further research is merited.

The Necessity and Crisis of Public Space

The Necessity of Public Space

Public space, as the sole site of guaranteed access in the city, stands materially and metaphorically as the essence of pluralism, political participation, and personal freedom”
-- Amster (2008)

Scholars have written a great deal about the historical importance of public space, from ancient civilization to the present, for personal and societal freedom, and for the sustenance of community and culture. Many scholars point to the inseparable link between democracy and public space dating back to ancient Greece (Hartley, 1992; Hénaff and Strong, 2001; Mitchell, 2003). Essential to these early incarnations of democracy was the public gathering space of the *agora*. Hénaff and Strong (2001) say the *agora* was a place in the city that could not be “appropriated and where all [became] alike . . . and equal . . . no matter what their private situation, and where everything [had to be] said and accomplished in the common and in the open” (p.11). Yet, while recognizing fully the historical and present importance of public space to democracy, Low and Smith (2006) hold a less romantic view of the *agora* and see its connection to the present struggle for public space. They note that the *agora* and its freedoms were not available to everyone and that it was “stratified as an expression of prevailing social relations,” reminding us that, “in practice, in both the Greece of old and the Western

world today, *truly public space is the exception not the rule*” [emphasis added] (Low and Smith, 2006, p. 4).

Scholars insist the connection between democracy, freedom and public space is as crucial today as it was in ancient Greece. Freedom of speech and freedom of expression have no real meaning, impact, or benefit for society if no one hears the speech or witnesses the expression (Kohn, 2004). Public space is where we confront ideas and viewpoints different than our own, uncensored by corporate or market interests and where we can encounter people of different race, ethnicity, gender identity, and class (Jacobs, 1993; Lofland, 1998; Mitchell, 2003). Kohn (2004) insists our chance encounters in public space are vital to societal cohesiveness and personal growth, saying “the political encounters that take us by surprise in the streets have the distinctive capacity to interrupt our routines, our insularity, our solipsism”(2004, p. 50). These unexpected experiences can be transformative and crucial for bridging differences, building community, and creating healthier societies. Recent research supports this notion; Smet’s (2011) study in the Netherlands found the facilitation of ‘social mixing’ in public space helps create improved social cohesion in diverse urban neighborhoods.

As was recently demonstrated by the events in public (and quasi-public) plazas from Tahrir Square to Zucotti Park to Justin Herman Plaza—geographical public space has been a necessary venue for virtually every liberation movement throughout history (Lees, 1994; Low & Smith, 2006; Mitchell, 2003). While public cyberspace, and the quasi-public cyber spaces of social media websites have proven remarkably helpful in contemporary liberation movements, the occupation of material public space is the paramount act of protest and as essential as ever (Harvey, 2011; Mitchell, 2003; Springer,

2011). Writes Mitchell (2003), “Public democracy requires public visibility, and public visibility requires material public space. This is not to say that electronic media are not important—quite the contrary—but it is to say that they are not even close to sufficient” (Mitchell, 2003, p. 148). Low and Smith (2006) note, “political movements are always about place and asserting the right against the state, to mass in public space” (p. 16). Peoples’ movements require the uncensored visibility of public space to be recognized, to grow, and to effect positive change (Springer, 2011).

Scholars also argue that true public space is essential for healthy cultural expression. Public space is ideally where art, culture, and ritual can flourish without regulation, censorship or corporate dominance, with no admission price, and where everyone is able to contribute and participate (Herzog 2004, Hou 2010, Lofland 1998, Sorkin 1992). Says Ferrell (2001), “Put simply, public space always becomes cultural space, a place of contested perception and negotiated understanding, a place where people of all sorts encode their sense of self, neighborhood, and community” (p.14). Traditional ritual and cultural practices are carried out, kept alive, and passed down in the context of public space (Herzog 2004). New art forms and the expression of new ideas find audiences and new participants in public space (Carlsson, 2008; Mitchell, 2003).

The End of Public Space?

Yet while there is strong evidence and broad agreement that public space is essential for free and healthy societies, scholars have observed a global threat to public space, driven primarily by the collusion of capital and state power through neoliberal economic policies. Sorkin (1992) and others have declared, due to commercialization, commodification, sanitization, and privatization globally, we are witnessing no less than

the *end of public space*. These trends have resulted in decreased public space, exclusionary access to public space, and/or decreased freedoms within public space (Kowinski, 1985; Barber, 2001; Zukin, 1996). Low and Smith (2006) note that post 9-11 concerns of terrorism are frequently the given rationale for today's clampdowns on public space. However, they argue the strongest driving force behind the negative trends is "the neoliberal onslaught after the 1980's", which has "brought a trenchant reregulation and redaction of public space" (p.1).

Amster (2008) says privatization may well be considered "the underlying hallmark" of neoliberal economic globalization (p. 219) and likewise is the most significant trend in the erosion of public space around the world (p 46). Privatization and semi-privatization manifest globally in the form of shopping malls, gated communities, and business improvement districts, all of which are proliferating at an ever-accelerating rate (Kohn, 2004; Lofland, 1998; Low, 2006, Sheinbaum, 2008; Steele & Symes, 2005).

Though the shopping mall existed well before the neoliberal era, it flourishes today on six continents as a vehicle for neoliberalism's global privatization project (Ritzer, 2008, Barber 2001). The shopping mall replaces the town square or urban center as the primary central gathering place in communities around the world (Kohn, 2004), converting what was once "complex, multiuse public space into a one-dimensional venue for consumption" (Barber 2001, p.203).

Meanwhile, gated communities in their various forms—ubiquitous from suburban Los Angeles to Beijing to Cairo—privatize and isolate entire residential neighborhoods, and essentially, in some cases, *entire cities* (Klein, 2007; Low, 2006; Sheinbaum, 2008). In the neoliberal age of austerity, decaying public infrastructure, and decreased public

services, gated communities offer an increasingly attractive way of life for those fortunate enough to afford it (Klein, 2007). Sheinbaum (2008) sees a link between IMF-imposed austerity programs and the emergence in Latin America of “urban mega-projects,” or as she calls them, “private cities” (p.7). These projects go well beyond standard notions of gated communities to become self-sufficient bubbles, complete with high-rise dwellings, shopping centers, hospitals, and schools (p.7). Under the constraints of IMF-imposed austerity, government officials encourage these projects as avenues for growth with minimal public expenditure.

Business improvement districts (BIDs) and incentive zoning are examples of what Lofland (1998) refers to as *shadow privatization*, “numerous odd arrangements whereby publicly owned space is transferred to private or semiprivate control with the understanding that the space is *sort of public*” (p. 211). BIDs work like miniature private governments that are granted such powers as the right to tax and police within their districts. These miniature governments are generally not democratic in structure, with voting power often being proportional to the value of property owned within the district (Kohn, 2004).

Linked closely with privatization and its erosion of public space is gentrification which is driven in large part by a global corporate strategy (Smith, 2008). Smith (2008) explains that “the globalization of productive capital embraces gentrification” and that it has become a “global urban strategy” for wealth accumulation (p. 99). Smith (2008) explains how skyrocketing real estate prices in Asian cities in the 1990s were the result of the “intense integration of the real estate industry into the definitional core of neoliberal urbanism” (p. 99). Amster (2004) writes, “gentrification is often the name given to

global processes of homogenization and corporate dominance when they crystallize in particular urban places” (p. 218). This process frequently results in public spaces like New York’s Times Square where commerce and tourism are promoted—at the expense of authentic community, culture, and free expression—through the implementation of BIDs and “quality of life” laws (Nevárez, 2011). The logic of corporate dominance, gentrification, and homogenization considers no public space sacred or off-limits as exemplified in McDonald’s attempt to open a fast food franchise on Oaxaca’s Plaza de Constitución, considered one of the world’s uniquely special public spaces (Project for Public Spaces).

Privatization and gentrification, driven by neoliberal economic globalization, result in the erosion of public space and/or freedoms within public space. BIDs and shopping malls create realms that facilitate “elite/corporate consumption” (Blomley 1994, p. 30) but which greatly limit freedoms of speech, expression, movement, and assembly. Whyte (1988) says these spaces are utterly devoid of “controversy, soap boxing, passing of leaflets, impromptu entertaining, or eccentric behavior, harmless or no” (p. 208). Gated communities may include communal gathering places such as playgrounds and parks, but these spaces are largely socio-economically and racially homogenous and frequently limit free speech, thereby undermining their role as true public space (Kohn, 2004).

Scholars observe, even within liberal democracies, the increased implementation of laws, policies, and practices designed to exercise more control over, and to exclude certain groups of people from, public space, whether to repress dissent or to make spaces more “suitable” for shopping. Youth, homeless people, immigrants, indigenous peoples,

and political activists, are common targets for exclusion. (Amster, 2008; Atkinson, 2003; Ferrell, 2001; Hermer & Mosher, 2002; Lloyd & Auld, 2003; Malone, 2001; Mitchell 2003). Additionally, Foucault's (1977) "ideal prison" has become an all-too frequent reality with the ubiquitous presence of video-surveillance cameras monitoring public spaces. Koskela (2000) illustrates the global trend towards omnipresent surveillance which "could mean . . . that cities will move closer to the 'absolute predictability' of shopping malls . . . that public space – or at least spontaneous social behavior in it – will be forced to 'die.' " (p. 247).

The Automobile and Public Space

The automobile's massive impact on global society, say scholars, includes immeasurable impact on public space. Kunstler (1993) demonstrates how, since World War II, prioritization of the automobile has dominated public policy and the design of communities in the United States. This, writes Kunstler (1993), has resulted in a "geography of nowhere," which is marked in part by a widespread neglect and erosion of public space. Meanwhile, globalization facilitates the ever-spreading impact of the automobile (Trumper & Tomic, 2009; Urry, 2004) with global implications for public space.

Jacobs (1993) observed life in New York City's public space and determined that streets and sidewalks were a city's most "vital organs" (p.192) and that they were more exciting, safer, and at their best when full of people and diverse human activity. Jacobs (1993, 2005) and Appleyard (1981) saw the automobile as highly detrimental to urban street life and community. Appleyard's (1982) groundbreaking research in San Francisco indicated that heavy automobile traffic on residential streets corresponded with

significantly decreased social ties and social interactions when compared with light-traffic streets. Urbanists and public space advocates frequently note that, as a rule, a city's streets account for its largest public space, yet this space has been reserved in many communities for the near-exclusive use of automobiles (Project for Public Spaces, "Streets as Places).

Urry (2004) writes that what first emerged in the North has gone global and "country after country is developing an automobility culture" (p. 25). Trumper & Tomic (2009) look at Pinochet's dictatorship, as the world's first organized neoliberal experiment, to examine how, as a symbol of development and modernity, the automobile has spread hand-in-hand with neoliberalism in the contemporary era of economic globalization. The spread of systems of automobility, write Trumper & Tomic (2009), is driven deliberately by government authorities and "powerful transnationalized economic interests for capital accumulation and profit making" (p. 166). As systems of automobility spread, likewise do they spread the "geography of nowhere" with its neglect and erosion of public space.

Insurgent Public Space

A Right to the City

Marxist social theorist, Henri Lefebvre (2006) said the "right to the city is like a cry and a demand" (p. 158) and that the right to the city fundamentally requires the right to public space. Mitchell (2003) has explored this notion thoroughly and sees a direct relationship "between social exclusion, social rights, and social justice in . . . public space" (p. 5). Mitchell (2003) notes that the right to public space has never been guaranteed and has only been won "through concerted struggle" (p.7). Yet while Mitchell

finds much to lament in terms of the erosion of public space, he finds hope in the “radical activist movements” he has studied from the last one hundred years (p.10) that have arisen repeatedly to reclaim the right to public space and “that struggle to remake the city in a more open and progressive light” (p.10).

Recent academic literature has looked at the groups, communities, and activists around the world who are resisting the loss of public space, taking back public space and creating new public space through creative and unconventional means and tactics, what Hou (2010) calls an “insurgent public space” (IPS) movement. Some of the sub-movements and events within the IPS movement openly flout existing laws (CM’s refusal to stop for red lights, for example), while others present a less confrontational approach such as another SF-born event, Park(ing) Day. Some have defined political agendas, but often, such as in the case of Critical Mass and Park(ing) Day, the events have no specific political or social agenda and are open to a broad range of intentions and interpretations. In the cases of some IPS activities and events, the political agenda is to reclaim public space, whereas in other instances this is a secondary goal, or one of many goals. As a rule, these movements do not engage primarily in traditional protests and are often marked by creativity, play, and celebration (Carlsson, 2008; Chen, 2010; Hou, 2010; Pask, 2010; Merker, 2010).

Agonism and Public Space as Emancipation

Springer’s (2010) discussion on “public space as emancipation,” anarchistic radical democracy, and resistance to neoliberalism, reads as an uncanny prediction and tailor-made theoretical rationale for the Occupy movement, and is equally applicable to discussions of the insurgent public space movement and Critical Mass in particular.

Springer (2010) draws on the political theory known as agonism, that holds that real consensus without exclusion is impossible in a democratic society and that the struggle for democracy is a perpetual one, between “opposing hegemonic projects which can never be reconciled rationally” (Mouffe, 2000, p. 2). Says Springer, “public space is understood as the battlefield on which the conflicting interests of the rich and poor are set, as well as the object of contestation” (2010, p. 526). Springer says that the hope for society’s true emancipation lies in a public space struggle for an anarchistic “radical democracy” (p. 531).

Springer (2010) suggests that radical democracy is a “latent energy” in all cities, “a vitality waiting to be set in motion through struggle and the contested politics of the street” (p. 553). In a manner that sounds quite similar to how both the Occupy and Critical Mass movements have proliferated, Springer believes radical democracy can mushroom concurrently, in multiple locations through the world. Springer says global activists are increasingly recognizing that “geographies of resistance are relational,” and the “‘global’ and the ‘local’ are understood as co-constitutive” (p. 525). Each local battle in and for public space against the “machinations of global capital,” from Cochabamba to Seattle, is a “nodal point of interconnection in socially produced space” (p. 527).

Springer (2010) suggests that winning rights to public space will often require breaking existing laws to demonstrate the injustice of those laws. But while Springer’s notion of anarchist radical democracy allows for inevitable dissent, difference, and confrontation—it rejects violence in all its forms. Agonistic confrontation in public space is in theory preferable alternative to antagonistic violence. Springer (2011) insists that the radical democracy engendered in public space actually “replaces antagonism, [and] is

precisely the realization of non-violent politics,” (p. 551) whereas exclusion and oppression in public space must inevitably result in eruptions of violence from the oppressed.

Springer’s (2010) theory of emancipation through public space, is perhaps a near-perfect fit for understanding Critical Mass as an expression of the latent energy for radical democracy that Springer believes exists in all cities, which is waiting to be “set in motion through struggle and the contested politics of the street” (2010, p. 553). Applying Springer’s agonist lens to CM, the event’s temporary flouting of traffic laws may be viewed as necessary to demonstrate the injustice of the system that creates laws regulating public space—and CM’s occasional conflicts with motorists may be viewed as manifestations of an agonist struggle for radical democracy that is a far preferable alternative to the antagonistic violence that might otherwise erupt.

An Issue That Brings People Together

While the agonists expect perpetual tensions between people and capital within public space, others have observed that the struggle itself to reclaim and expand public space can be especially unifying. Pask (2010) has concluded, from research in Toronto and Vancouver, two cities with burgeoning insurgent public space movements, that public space advocacy is uniquely unifying in terms of the broad range of issues, groups, and individuals it can bring under one umbrella. Public space activism brings together otherwise “siloes elements” resulting in a “sophisticated, dynamic set of linkages among artists, academics, cyclists, civil libertarians, economists, armchair urbanists, and citizens of all stripes and affiliations” (p. 238). Not only does it bring together activists, but public space activism also mobilizes people otherwise not involved in social-political

activism (p. 231). Pask (2010) concludes that public space is important to so many people, in so many different ways, that a uniquely broad range of people are motivated to participate in the struggle to preserve and reclaim public space (p. 238). This research project attempts to build upon Pask's observations by exploring how public space activism also impacts observers (not just participants, as in Pask's study), and if and how CM attracts more people into public space activism. This study also seeks to explore more deeply how and why non-activists are uniquely drawn to participate in these movements and if and how participation shapes their thinking on issues of public space and/or other social/political issues.

Critical Mass: an International Movement Born in San Francisco

Though Critical Mass is at the surface, a large group bike ride—one that has made a significant impact on bike culture, official bike policies, etc. (Furness, 2006)—its proponents insist CM is also fundamentally about reclaiming public space (D'Andrade et al, 1993). Therefore as a successful, unconventional, creative, and playful event, it serves as a quality case study for learning more about the unique nature of the insurgent public space movement and public space activism in general.

Critical Mass began nearly 20 years ago as an idea for bicycle commuters to get together once a month to ride home from work. It has since become an ever-growing global phenomena now occurring in some 300 cities on 6 continents (SFCritical Mass.org). Based on the criteria of endurance and proliferation alone, many consider CM to be a successful movement (Gordon, 2007). CM emerged from the San Francisco Bay Area's rich counter-cultural tradition and its colorful history of unconventional activists and provocateurs reclaiming public space, making creative use of public space, and

practicing “generous urbanism” (Rebar 2009). The occupiers of People’s Park (Mitchell, 2003), the Diggers, and the Free Stores Movement in the 1960s, and the Cacophony Society beginning in the 1980s, are some notable examples (Merker, 2010, p.51). More recently, CM shares the San Francisco streets with the annual Park(ing) Day event, which has exploded, from the one-day conversion of a single parking spot into a public micro-park in 2006, to, like CM, becoming an international phenomena in 161 cities and growing each year (“Park(ing) Day - Official Count,” 2011, December 12).

Critical Mass has been the subject of academic study as well as news media coverage, blogs, and many heated online and offline discussions. Furness’ (2006) study on CM focused primarily on its significant role in the “bicycle counterculture,” but recognized that the event was about much more than simply bicyclists protesting car culture. “How to Make a Critical Mass,” a flyer from CM’s early days authored by founders and active participants, states that CM is “a festive reclaiming of public space” and “is foremost a celebration, not a protest” (D’Andrade et al, 1993, p. 239). Author and activist Chris Carlsson (2002), a CM co-founder and prominent proponent, says CM has created an unprecedented sort of social space bringing people face to face in an extraordinary, “simmering cauldron of real life” (p. 6). For Carlsson, the reopening/reclaiming of public space is CM’s most important achievement. In a recent and online debate over the continued relevance of CM, Carlsson (2011, January 1) stated that, “the dynamic process of reopening a relatively undefined public space versus the incessant logic of privatization and commodification of all human experience, is the most radical and compelling aspect of this monthly event” (para. 17).

Ferrell (2001) has explored and celebrated CM’s anarchistic structure and ethos and

compares it to the “the unplanned, unguided, formless revolution” (p. 20) of the Paris Commune. Ferrell (2001) and Furness (2006) claim that CM’s lack of top-down leadership, and its makeup of “interwoven but largely autonomous groups and events” (Ferrell 2000, p. 22) is essential to its underlying philosophy and a key to its success. Carlsson (2011, January 29) has noted CM’s political nature and believes it has significant political impact, but that it does not hold a clear and specific agenda. “Critical Mass is, or seems to be, political” but is, “perhaps so multi-voiced that it cannot be summarized easily by any given set of ideas” (para. 4). Carlsson (2011, January 29) believes CM’s lack of rules or leadership creates a cooperative space for cooperative decision-making and “political self-organizing and self-management” (para. 4).

Furness (2006) and Carlsson (2002) say CM participants do not generally intend to be confrontational with law enforcement, but CM does routinely violate traffic laws and permit requirements, etc.; and confrontations between bikers and police, as well as bikers and motorists, do occur. While confident in the rightness of the cause, Carlsson (2002) recognizes the “loathing” some CM critics feel for the event, due to resulting traffic delays and the perceived arrogance and selfishness of CM participants (p. 5). Mainstream media coverage has often focused on Critical Mass as a source of controversy, conflict, and disregard for traffic laws but has also recognized its significant impact upon awareness of the bicycle advocacy movement (Gordon, 2007). D’Andrade and Carlsson, two of CM’s most prominent proponents, co-author the San Francisco Critical Mass blog (sfcriticalmass.org), which has become a prominent example of online forums where polarized discussions take place about Critical Mass’ tactics, structure, effectiveness, relevance, and perception by the larger community. D’Andrade who

generally emphasizes CM's less controversial and less disruptive qualities, nonetheless recognizes the complexity of Critical Mass issues and recognizes, like the agonists, that friction is essentially inevitable, perhaps necessary even, in public space. D'Andrade says CM has its critics but he believes it has helped "kick start a social movement" and should continue on. "We should keep pushing forward, and not stop now, just because someone says what we're doing is illegal, or rude, or whatever other complaints they have. Social change is messy, but it is also fun, and necessary. Let's get on with it," says D'Andrade (2010, April 27b, para. 4).

Blickstein and Hanson (2001), geographers with interests in social and environmentalist movements, focused a study on CM's ability as an "urban sustainability movement" to function on a variety of geographic scales -- from the very local to the global (p. 352). They insist this sort of "glocalized" movement is necessary to initiate the global shift towards ways of life that are environmentally feasible. Blickstein and Hanson (2001) also claim that CM has always maintained an efficient and effective meshing of virtual and face-to-face human contact, spreading virally around the world via the internet, but taking place in local communities with physical bodies in physical public space.

The existing literature on CM is intriguing, informative, and well researched, yet room remains for further study. Writers have theorized what drives people to participate in CM, but little or no empirical research has documented this. Similarly, there is currently little or no research assessing CM's impact on participants and chance observers. Research in these areas may help us better understand what makes CM unique

a model for social-political action, as well as how it has been able to grow and sustain itself.

Relevant Theory

For the remainder of this review, we turn to look at theory relevant to this project's research questions and to CM's ludic, celebratory, and anarchistic aspects. Participants in CM and the broader insurgent public space movement have written about the specific thinkers and theoretical concepts that have inspired and/or informed the movements. Other theory here is helpful in understanding the meaning, efficacy, and impact, as well as the appeal of these events.

Anarchism

Well before anthropologist David Graeber (2004) helped form Occupy Wall Street's first general assemblies and before he coined its "we are the 99%" mantra (Sharlet, 2011), he noted that as a political philosophy, anarchism was "veritably exploding" and that anarchist-inspired movements were proliferating widely within the global justice movement and beyond. Many people—at least in the United States—first became aware of the contemporary resurgence of anarchistic politics and direct action during the 1999 World Trade Organization protests, when self-proclaimed "Black Bloc" anarchists made headlines for smashing the windows and damaging the property of corporate targets in downtown Seattle. However, Epstein (2001) traces a history from the 19th century, of anarchistic movements in the United States, that has as much to do with the Quaker-influenced anti-nuclear movement of the 1970s—with its consensus-based decision making and nonviolent direct action—as it has to do with say, the bomb-making

Weather Underground. Had Epstein written her history today, she may well have included Occupy Wall Street, which is known for its anarchistic model and methods (Sharlet, 2011).

Graeber (2004) and Epstein (2001) both note that, although all the individuals and groups involved in these contemporary movements necessarily do not call themselves “anarchist,” they nonetheless embrace at least some anarchist principles including “autonomy, voluntary association, self-organization, mutual aid, [and] direct democracy” (Graeber, 2004, p.2).

From the 19th Century to the present, the predominant outside view of anarchists has largely been that of violent antagonists, but Goyen (2009) suggests that most anarchists have actually been “loath to commit acts of violence” (p. 449). Springer (2011) writes that the notion of anarchy is actually antithetical to violence, “precisely because all violence involves a form of domination, authority, or system of rule over other individuals” (p. 531).

Anarchism is frequently associated with what Brienens (1989) calls *prefigurative politics*—the effort to create an actual community that, as much as possible, realizes core principles and ideals. Goyens (2009) says the ongoing process of trying to live out the principles means that anarchism should be considered as much a *practice* as a political philosophy. Goldman (2000) said that anarchism provides no “iron clad program” of methods that can be applied in every context and in every community. Rather, “methods must grow out of the economic needs of each place and clime, and of the intellectual and temperamental requirements of the individual” (para. 45). Graeber (2004) writes that at the core of anarchist process within community, is the adherence to consensus decision

making—and that the strength of the consensus process is its capacity to bring people with differing ideological viewpoints into a common course of action. Therefore, says Graeber, when critics dismissed protestors in Seattle (just as they did in Zucotti Park) for allegedly lacking a “coherent ideology,” they were completely missing the point. According to Graeber, “the diversity was a function of the decentralized form of organization, and this organization *was* the movement’s ideology” (2004, p. 84).

Critical Mass resembles many anarchistic movements in that only a limited number of participants likely accept the actual label of anarchist. However, many of CM’s participants in San Francisco and around the world, (including a number of its co-founders and most prominent proponents) do proudly claim the anarchist label and do consider CM to be an anarchist event/movement in practice, spirit, and structure. Therefore, the use of anarchism as a theoretical frame for the study of CM is appropriate and helpful. This is particularly evident in light of the fact that a number of participants and scholars have claimed that CM’s anarchistic aspects are integral, essential even, to its success and appeal (see last subsection and chapter 3).

The Ludic City

Lefebvre (1996) believed that urban public space, a “seat of dissolution of normalities and constraints,” made possible the “moment of play and of the unpredictable” (p. 129). To Lefebvre (1996), the right to the city required access to public spaces that met human needs, including the human “need and the function of play” (p.195). Stevens’ (2007) has dedicated an entire book, *The Ludic City*, to exploring the importance and role of play in the city’s public spaces. (p.1). Stevens is most interested in play for play’s sake. He says that play is often blatantly unproductive, inefficient, and

“socially unredemptive” (Stevens, 2007, p. 9) but is no less essential as an end in and of itself. However, he also notes the value of play in its function of bringing together strangers and in helping to reveal the near limitless potential uses and meanings of public space (Stevens, 2007, p. 1)

Hou (2010) suggests play is central to many insurgent public space activities. If Critical Mass helps fulfill the human need to play, it may help explain its appeal, sustainability, and growth. The ludic nature of insurgent public space activities, such as CM, is an important aspect that distinguishes the IPS movement from most traditional political and social movements. Yet while most enjoy the ludic qualities of CM and other IPS activities, some participants seem to engage in these activities with clear political agendas, whereas others likely participate only for play’s sake. This thesis project seeks to explore the motivations of participants in these activities, be they purely political or purely ludic, and all the gradations in between. It also explores the effect that CM’s ludic qualities have on observers, something not fully explored in the existing literature.

Carnival

In addition to the notion of play in the general sense, the notion of carnival may serve as a particularly helpful theoretical tool for exploring the overlapping political and celebratory aspects of Critical Mass. Bakhtin (1984) uses Rabelais’ medieval carnivalesque literature as the launching point for his discussion of carnival, which he believes played a crucial subversive and liberating role in a repressive society. Carnival is the opposite of passive spectacle. Says Bakhtin (1984), “carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all people” (p.7). Everyone participates in carnival but in a context that temporarily erases

traditional roles, hierarchies and class divisions. And the only laws in carnival are the “laws of its own freedom” (p.70). The ever-present fools and clowns mock standard rituals and power structures. Bakhtin’s notion of the need of carnival to counter systemic power is akin to Nietzsche’s (1993) belief in the need in society of Dionysian frenzy to balance Apollonian order.

Ehrenreich (2006) says carnival creates the experience of collective joy, a need that is encoded in all human beings, but which is too often repressed in contemporary Western society. Just as Stevens (2007) believes play to be a valuable end in itself, so does Ehrenreich (2006) believe that the experience of collective joy is essential for the quality of individual and community life. As a temporary blowing-off-of-steam, Ehrenreich believes carnival on its own may have limited capacity to create revolutionary social change, but, when meshed with activism, can create a powerful synergism. Ehrenreich has witnessed the growing tendency of protest movements to adopt carnivalesque elements such as “costumes, music, impromptu dancing, the sharing of food and drink” (p.260).

Bogad (2010) uses the term *tactical carnival* to describe the festive, ludic form of protest increasingly employed within the global justice movement, that “involves unpermitted street parties/processions that occupy public space, both to assert movement identity and importance and often to disrupt state or corporate events/daily business” (p. 537). Bogad (2010) says tactical carnival affirms the “joy of solidarity and resistance,” and resists the confinement of everyday social identities. He suggests tactical carnival is not only more fun, but also more difficult for authorities to ignore, than standard tactics of social-political action, such as protest marches, and that its ability to disarm authorities

with humor and play is key to its effectiveness.

The existing literature on CM has highlighted its celebratory nature and other carnivalesque elements. Ferrell (2001) has noted CM's ability to weaken the barriers of age, class, gender, race, status, etc. However, a more thorough and direct exploration of the relation of Critical Mass to carnival would be valuable. This thesis project examines Critical Mass with a particular eye towards carnivalesque elements through interviews and participant observations and attempts to determine if and how CM functions as Bakhtinian carnival and if this helps explain CM's appeal and impact on individual participants and observers.

Détournement, Dérive and Tactical Urbanism

“Boredom is always counter revolutionary. Always.” – Guy Debord (1963)

To overcome the profound separation, alienation and boredom of late capitalism's “society of the spectacle” (Debord, 2005), and to defy the privatization and control-oriented designs of urban space, the Situationists (heavily influenced by the Surrealists and Dadaists) employed two primary ludic and creative tactics they termed *détournement* and *dérive* (Plant, 1992; Shepard & Smithsimon, 2011). The Situationists believed *détournement*, “the creative repurposing of familiar elements to produce new meanings” (Merker 2010, p. 51), could turn the “expressions of the capitalist system against itself” (Cameron and Holt, 2010, p.252). In the contemporary context this practice is typified in print media by the “culture jamming” of corporate images in the pages of *Adbusters*. However, Lefebvre (1994), who was closely associated with the Situationists for a time, described how an urban space might “outlive its original purpose . . . become vacant” and hence also become a ripe target for *détournement*, and “put to a use quite different from

its initial one” (p. 167).

Merker (2010) credits *détournement* as a fundamental inspiration for Park(ing) Day, the San Francisco-born insurgent public space event he co-founded, during which ordinary parking spots along city streets are temporarily repurposed as miniature parks for recreational use rather than for car storage. Drawing on the Situationists and other theorists, Rebar (2009), the design collective that founded Park(ing) Day, practices what it refers to as *tactical urbanism*, “the use of modest or temporary revisions to urban space to seed structural environmental change” (p. 3). In addition to Situationist theory, tactical urbanism is rooted in Bourdieu’s (2007) notions about how ways of acting in urban spaces (*habitus*) reinforce the already deeply ingrained, status quo beliefs about those spaces (*doxa*). Rebar (2009) believes its repurposing of parking spots is a tactic that can dramatically interrupt the self-reinforcing cycle of the *habitus/doxa* dynamic, by using parking spaces in ways that are startling to people’s usual understandings of parking spaces. As an event that takes over urban streets and temporarily replaces all automobile traffic during a rush hour commute—with a roaming, pedal-powered, carnivalesque festival—the theoretical goals of *détournement* and tactical urbanism may have relevance for Critical Mass as well.

Dérive, literally “drifting,” the term the Situationists gave to their aimless, roving explorations of the urban environment as liberating and creative acts (Debord, 2006), would seem to hold an obvious relevance to Critical Mass. Debord (2006) said that the *dérive*’s “playful-constructive behavior and awareness of psychogeographical effects” is what distinguished it from the typical urban stroll (para 1). Through an active and creative engagement of space, *dérive* had the power to alter one’s perception and

understanding of the urban environment (Plant 1992). Shepard & Smithsimon (2011) say the meanderings of *dérive*, “designed to resist the work- and control-oriented patterns of Georges Haussman’s redesign of Paris . . . anticipated today’s Critical Mass rides—a current ‘best practice’ in playful, prefigurative community organizing” (p.4). Ferrell (2001) also draws a comparison between *dérive*’s subversion of “everyday boredom” and CM’s retaking of the streets from “the drudgery of traffic and commerce” (p.298).

Détournement, *derive*, and tactical urbanism, are all potentially useful theoretical tools for understanding Critical Mass’ impact on its participants and on the often intrigued and/or perplexed observers who chance upon it. Does Critical Mass change the way participants and observers view the streets? Does Critical Mass resist the “society of the spectacle” by employing active, playful, creative engagement with the urban environment? This study looks to explore these and related questions.

Conclusions from the Literature Review

In this review of existing literature we have seen that public space is vital to society, that it is under increasing threat, and that there is a need for the insurgent public space movement that is rising up globally against the threats to public space. We have seen that public space activism is potentially capable of a broad range of participation among activists and non-activists due to its wide range of meanings and its unconventional, playful tactics and its unstructured, decentralized modes.

Critical Mass presents an excellent case study for further exploration into how and why these movements function as they do. Scholars have written valuable work on Critical Mass and the insurgent public space movement, but as we have learned in this review, there is room for more research. This project builds upon previous observations

in order to learn if and how Critical Mass is able to engage non-activists, and if so, how this engagement impacts their thinking and behavior. The theoretical notions discussed in this review will be particularly helpful for the goals of this research project. How do CM's anarchistic, playful, carnivalesque, and Situationist elements help explain its ability to grow and sustain itself, and what role do these elements play in CM's impact upon its participants and observers? Ideally, we will ultimately gain a better understanding of the significance CM and the insurgent public space movement, hold for individuals and society.

This project will expand upon how the CM event impacts the ideas and perception of chance observers. Anecdotal observations of CM prior to this study indicated that even some who regularly participate in CM, for example, do so without conscious political intentions. This is, of course, rare in political and social movements and would be worthy of further research. The existing literature has not fully explored this dynamic.

CHAPTER 3: FINDINGS FOR RESEARCH QUESTION ONE

Introduction

The presentation of findings for this paper is organized around the two key research questions. Both research questions were intended to spark inquiries that would increase the understanding of Critical Mass' impact as well as how and why it has successfully sustained itself and proliferated. The first research question explores whether particular characteristics of Critical Mass, namely, its ludic, carnivalesque, and anarchistic elements, and its relationship to public space, provide opportunities and incentives for broad and diverse participation in the event. This project gathered a good deal of data relevant to this question and the data will be presented in five thematic sections: Diversity of Participation, Protest and Play, Carnival, Anarchistic Elements, and Relationship to Public Space. When needed, these sections are broken down further into sub-sections based on the specific research methods employed to obtain the data.

The second research question, covered in Chapter 4, explores how Critical Mass impacts the thinking, perceptions and socio-political consciousness of participants and observers. The data for this question is presented in two main sections, the first regarding the impact on CM participants and the second regarding CM's impacts upon observers. As significant overlap exists within the two research questions and within the themes covered under each question—much of the data is relevant to both research questions or to more than one subsection. To avoid redundancy, such data is not presented in detail in more than one chapter or section. I do my best to reference data from different sections that has relevance elsewhere.

Research Question One:

Do special characteristics of Critical Mass, particularly its relationship to public space, as well as its ludic, carnivalesque, and anarchistic elements, provide opportunities and incentives for broad participation, and if so, how and why?

Diversity of Participation

Pask (2010) concluded that public space activism had a special capacity to bring together people from many walks of life including people otherwise not involved in activism (p. 238). This study focused on the issue of broad participation in Critical Mass in terms of individual participants' political viewpoints, agendas, motivations for participation, etc. Findings relevant to this issue will be presented throughout this chapter. Though it would be a worthy endeavor, it was not within the capacity of this qualitative research project to conduct a scientific poll of the demographic makeup of Critical Mass in terms of age, race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexual orientation. However, interviewees and survey respondents were asked to provide their opinions on CM's diversity and as a participant/observer researcher, I recorded my observations on CM's diversity as well.

Interviewee Carlsson echoed a frequently held view of CM when he said it has thus far failed in regards to achieving diversity in terms of race, ethnicity, class, and gender (personal interview, July 7, 2011). However, this viewpoint was not the consensus among survey respondents. Rather, a sizable majority said they believed CM is diverse in said regards. Of the 31 CM-P1 respondents who answered the question, 21 strongly agreed or agreed with the statement, "Critical Mass is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.," 7 were unsure and only 3 disagreed. Of

the 90 CM-P2 respondents, a solid majority (58) strongly agreed or agreed with the same statement; 16 were not sure; and 16 disagreed or strongly disagreed (see Appendix C).

Demographic data from surveys CM-P1 and CM-P2 indicate diversity in terms of income among respondents, with lower income brackets more heavily represented (see Appendix C). Responses from both surveys for “occupation,” covered a broad range of fields and sectors (including the arts, finance, technology, education, news media, publishing, urban planning, health and human services, civil servant, tourism, agriculture, and education, to name a few) with “student” being the most frequent response (see Appendix C for complete list of responses; see methodology section in the first chapter for the survey samples’ racial/ethnic demographics). Whites and/or Europeans were heavily represented as survey respondents, particularly in the online-survey (CM-P2 Survey). When handing out copies of the Survey CM-1 to participants at the July and August 2011 CM rides, I consciously desired a degree of diversity in my sample, particularly in terms of race and gender. This desire for diversity is perhaps reflected in the increased diversity of the CM-P1 sample in comparison with the CM-2 sample. However, I was able to achieve a reasonably diverse convenience sample amongst the people in my immediate physical proximity with relative ease, indicating a reasonably diverse group at the ride overall.

For each CM ride as a participant observer, I noted diversity among participants in terms of age, race, ethnicity, and class. Certainly, whites appeared to be the most heavily represented racial group. Males appeared to generally outnumber females, but not overwhelmingly. Based on my observations, the 16:13 male to female ratio of the CM-P1 survey sample would not seem far out of line as a proportionally accurate sample of the

full group of participants. While most riders appear to be between the ages of 20 to 50, there were also seniors and the occasional children riding alongside parent/guardians. On the whole, based on my non-scientific observations, I would concur with one survey respondent who stated, “Fellow riders are very interesting people from all walks of life” (respondent, CM-P2 Survey, Sept 25, 2011).

Protest vs. Play

Participant Survey Data

A fundamental theme of inquiry for this project was the contrast between the nature of CM as political protest/expression versus the nature of what may be considered more traditional tactics of social-political protest, such as marches and rallies. This discussion assumes that CM is, at least in part, political, an assumption apparently shared by the majority of participants. Survey CM-P1 respondents, roughly half of whom were first-time participants, held mixed opinions about CM being political protest. 16 of 33 said they agreed or strongly agreed with the statement “*Critical Mass serves as political protest.*” 10 were not sure, while only 2 disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 5 skipped the question. However, a solid majority of CM-P2 respondents, a group with more collective experience riding in CM, thought of CM as political. Seventy-six of the 90 CM-P2 respondents agreed or strongly agreed that “Critical Mass serves as political expression/protest,” and just 6 either disagreed or strongly disagreed.

While most respondents believed CM to be, at least in part, political, participant surveys also indicated a near unanimous opinion that CM is “fun.” Only 3 of 123 respondents from the combined participant surveys disagreed that CM is fun and 5 were “not sure.” Authors of an early Critical Mass pamphlet claimed Critical Mass was

actually more about celebration than protest (D'Andrade et al, 1993, p. 239) and this appears to be a common opinion among participants today. CM-P1 respondents were asked the following question:

Critical Mass is often considered to be part play/celebration/social activity and part protest. In your opinion, what percentage is CM protest and what percentage play/celebration/social activity? (Your combined percentages should total 100 or less.)

CM is _____% protest. CM is _____% play/celebration/social activity.

The respective median responses (rounded to the nearest 1%) were CM is 35% protest and CM is 65% play/celebration/social activity. Asked essentially the same question (Appendix B, CM-P2, question 23), CM-P2 respondents said they believed CM is 40% protest and 60% “play/celebration/social activity” (median percentages rounded to the nearest 1%).

The next question on both surveys asked respondents, in a format parallel to the previous question, to provide percentages for their *personal motivation* to participate in CM. As a group, CM-P1 respondents said the “desire to make a statement through protest” accounts for approximately 42% of their motivation to participate in CM, while the desire to “play/celebrate” accounts for approximately 58 % of their motivation. Similarly, CP-P2 respondents as a group said their motivation came 25% from the desire to protest and 75% from the desire to play/celebrate/socialize (median percentages rounded to the nearest 1%).

Lost in the averages are some interesting individual cases that demonstrate widely divergent views held by participants about what Critical Mass represents, as well as

divergence in terms of motivations to participate in CM. It was not uncommon for individual participants to have different answers, sometimes very different, when applying the protest/play ratio to Critical Mass in general, versus their personal motivation to participate. For instance, one respondent believed CM was 50% protest and 50% play, yet his personal motivation was 0% protest and 100% play. While every CM-P1 respondent believed CM, as an event, was some sort of mixture of protest and play, 5 respondents indicated their personal motivation to participate in CM was 100% play and 0% protest. All but 1 of the 87 CM-P2 respondents who answered the question believed CM, the event, to be a mixture of play and protest. Again, however, 5 of these respondents said their personal motivation was 100% play and 0% protest, while one said his motivation was 0% play and 100% protest. One respondent noted that over the years, his motivation to play relative to his motivation to protest had increased as “CM has become more established and the local issues better addressed” (Respondent 59, Survey CM-P2, September 13, 2011). One respondent suggested the lines between play and protest could be blurred and he pondered the problem of employing such a dichotomy: “The play/protest dichotomy is kinda complex, no?. . .when I think of protest, I think of a ride that is against the Iraq War, Gulf War, etc. . . .When you have certain riders who are in party mode and others who wanna protest, it becomes disjointed. Then again if you mean 'protest' being the act of riding, then I guess the fun/party is a 'protest' ” (Respondent 12, survey CM-P2, question 25, September 7, 2011).

Participant Interview Data

Interviews with participants revealed a similar mixture of motivations for their participation. One interviewee said, “I feel most people do it because it’s fun . . . but the

protest aspect is there as well” (Participant 36, personal interview, July 29, 2011). At least one interviewee and one respondent were not sure “protest” was an appropriate term to apply to CM, “I wouldn’t call it protest. I’d say more awareness. But I would say it’s 90 percent fun and 10 percent awareness” (Participant 37, personal interview, July 29, 2011). When asked his personal motivation, one first time participant replied, “Purely fun, to gain a new experience” (Participant 3, personal interview, June 24, 2011).

When asked if they saw links between CM’s playful/celebratory nature and its success in terms of growth, sustainability, and proliferation, interviewees frequently said they did. “It’s the fun element,” said one long term CM participant, “if it’s not fun, it’s not sustainable” (A. Greenfield, personal interview, August 3, 2011). Another regular participant, who rides her highly recognizable, elaborately decorated pink-themed bicycle (with matching pink faux fur outfit) and bubble machine said, CM succeeds and endures because, “it’s organic, it’s free . . . it’s fun” (Participant 9, personal interview, June 24, 2011).

Observer Survey and Interview Data

Sidewalk observers of Critical Mass had opinions similar to participants about the event in terms of the protest/play dichotomy. Most observers thought it was both play and protest, though as a group they leaned more towards “primarily play” than to “primarily protest.” Of the observers surveyed who had never been a participant in CM, only 2 thought the event appeared to be “primarily a protest,” while 10 thought it was “primarily a festive social activity,” and 13 believed it to be “both of the above.” With all observers included, the totals were 2 for “primarily a protest,” 11 for “primarily a festive social activity,” and 18 for “both of the above”. Opinions from observer interviewees

were a similar mix. In typical responses one said, “It looks like a party,” (Observer 54, personal interview, July 29, 2011) another said it appeared to be for “political purposes,” (Observer 10A, personal interview, June 24, 2011). While another said, “I think a little of both” (Observer 9, personal interview, June 24, 2011).

Participant-Observation Data

As a CM participant-observer, I witnessed many aspects that indicated the event is significantly about play, celebration, and social activity. Before and during rides, participants are meeting with friends, meeting strangers, talking together, smiling, laughing, and evidently enjoying themselves. As they ride, participants frequently cheer spontaneously, speed down hills, swerve about playfully, and generally exhibit collective joy. The atmosphere is festive, even carnivalesque at times, with music, costumes, and revelry. The carnivalesque elements of CM, in fact, seemed prominent enough to merit examination in further detail, which is the subject of the next thematic section.

Carnival

This project also intended to explore CM’s connection to the notion of “carnival,” a particular form of celebration generally marked by the temporary upending of societal norms, by the mockery of traditional social orders, and by bacchanalian behavior. Ehrenreich (2007) believes the most important aspect of traditional carnival is its capacity to generate collective joy across the community. Interviewees expressed varied opinions on the relationship of CM to the notion of carnival. D’Andrade, an active CM participant and proponent since its early days, saw similarities but did not believe CM pushed boundaries to the same extreme as carnival. With carnival, he said, “ordinary laws of

decorum are completely suspended for good and for bad. [CM] is kind of a minor version of that” (H. D’Andrade, personal interview, July 26, 2011). Carlsson, a CM co-founder, was reluctant to draw a precise parallel between CM and carnival but saw a metaphorical comparison. “Carnival and its history were based on the turning upside down of social hierarchies and Critical Mass doesn't exactly do that. But it does do it metaphorically in terms of the use of the streets” (C. Carlsson, personal interview, July 7, 2011).

One interviewee, whom I asked with no mention of carnival or anarchy, to give his opinion on the reasons for CM’s success, called CM “a moving street party” and cited CM’s carnivalesque and anarchistic elements, “I guess it's just fun . . . people like to participate in parades and carnivals, and I think people also like a little anarchy and lack of order” (CM-P12, personal interview, June 24, 2011). When asked about his personal motivation to participate in CM, he cited “political reasons” and “fun”. He also noted that like carnival, CM upends the usual societal power dynamics on the streets. “It's . . . carnivalish. You get a little frustrated every day as a cyclist getting bullied around by cars, so it's kind of like that one day you look forward to where you cannot be bullied” (P12, personal interview, June 24, 2011). A first-time participant took note of the carnival-mixed-with-politics atmosphere “It's fun to see people's reactions to this big group of bikers—some with crazy outfits, others with campaign signs, others with protest signs, others drinking beer and dancing to the music” (L. DeGuzman, personal account, August 26, 2011; see Appendix D).

During my participant observations I noted a number of links between CM and carnival, most notably on the 2011 October/Halloween ride, when the crowd was much larger than most months and where collective joy and a particularly festive mood and

atmosphere prevailed. On the Halloween ride, the overwhelming majority of riders are in costume, and a handful, like most rides, are naked. Loud, rollicking music is nearly omnipresent on each monthly ride. Several individuals rig their bikes with high-wattage mobile sound systems. High levels of creativity are frequently exhibited on monthly rides in many of the participants' outfits and bike decorations. Some participants ride customized, one-of-a-kind, low-rider cruiser bikes, or "double-decker" bikes that elevate their daredevil riders six or more feet above the ground as if in a circus performance. One CM regular, Paul Freedman, rides atop *El Arbol*, his 14-foot-tall, double-decker tandem bike creation, with molded fiberglass "tree trunk" that at night glows brightly from the inside. *El Arbol's* trunk contains a booming, custom-made, 2000-watt, pedal-powered sound system through which Freedman blasts his original hip-hop beats to accompany the original bike-themed raps he performs while riding, microphone in one hand and handlebar in the other.

CM commonly displays a whimsical mockery of car culture. For example, virtually every time a motorist shouts, "Stop blocking traffic," a participant will shout back the CM mantra, "we are traffic!" But as is tradition in carnival, much of the tension and potential conflict appears to be defused by the clownish behavior and dress of some participants and by the largely positive, it's-all-in-good-fun vibe of the event. Participants also frequently shout, "Join us!" to pedestrians and motorists, reflecting the carnivalesque trait of universal inclusion/participation (Bakhtin, 1984).

Bakhtin (1984) said the only laws of carnival are the "laws of its own freedom" (p.70). While Critical Mass does not appear to be a scene of pure bacchanalian lawlessness, it does exhibit apparent signs of increased freedom. A few riders openly

imbibe alcohol and marijuana before and during the ride, though certainly not with the frequency or in the quantities typically associated with Rabelais-era carnival or contemporary Mardi Gras. When CM travels through one of the city's long underground tunnels, the resulting scene of wild shouting and yelping might be described as near dionysian. On occasion, the CM ride will pause for 10-20 minutes as participants take over an intersection, dismount their bikes, and create a spontaneous dance party. At these times, in what has become a somewhat iconic CM gesture, some participants will lift their bikes high over their heads and shout, in an act that might be described as any or all of the following: playful, celebratory, defiant, ecstatic, victorious. On the June 2011 ride, I noticed a group of young riders who appeared particularly boisterous and asked one about his motivation to participate. He responded: "It's straight fun man, and booze makes it a 100 times funner" (P25A, personal interview, June 24, 2001). Though it should be noted, that in a classic example of CM's mixture of politics and play, he next proceeded to provide a sophisticated political commentary on CM.

In another example of increased freedom, the CM participants, as a rule, do not stop at stop signs or red lights. Hence, hundreds to thousands of participants openly and intentionally violate traffic laws on each monthly ride. And in the tradition of medieval carnival, in the case of San Francisco CM, the blatant law breaking and the temporary overturning of the car/bike power dynamic is tolerated by the city and law enforcement for the duration of the ride. Rather than enforcing traffic laws and public drinking laws, the San Francisco Police Department sends a team of officers on motorcycles to escort the event but not, for the most part, to interfere. For most of the ride the assigned police officers ride in the rear of the pack and have minimal engagement with the bike riders.

Clear limits to the permitted law breaking are demonstrated at times, such as when the mass of riders nears a freeway entrance, at which point a contingent of officers will speed ahead to block the possibility of anyone riding illegally on to the freeway. Officers will also insert themselves into conflicts between motorists and CM participants, but usually only to prod riders to move along and to prevent motorists from driving through the mass of riders. In these rather remarkable instances of official, temporary suspensions of traffic laws, the officers prevent motorists from proceeding through intersections even while they have green lights and right of way, for the safety and benefit of law-breaking CM participants. These regular happenings at CM signify a carnivalesque upending of everyday rules and power dynamics on the city streets.

Although public nudity is neither illegal in San Francisco nor especially rare at the city's festive public events and protests, the presence of nude riders was one of the most frequent subjects of remarks and quips from observers whom I interviewed along the street. As a participant observer, I had given the presence of a handful of nude riders at Critical Mass little thought, but the sheer number of remarks and expressions of varying degrees of shock from interviewees would seem to indicate it symbolizes, for at least some people, an upending of society societal norms and is therefore another aspect of CM that may be considered carnivalesque.

Anarchistic Elements

This project sought to explore connections between CM's success and its anarchistic elements. Data indicating that CM is non-dogmatic and non-ideological, presented previously in the Protest vs. Play section of this chapter, indicates that CM engages both politically minded and non-politically minded participants, and that, as a

group, participants do not hold a common agreement about any one agenda, ideology, or interpretation of Critical Mass.

Founders and long-term participants interviewed for this project saw CM's anarchistic nature as central to its uniqueness and integral to its success. Co-founder Carlsson noted the specific importance to CM's lack of specific agenda.

The key to the anarchistic element is that anybody can claim it to mean whatever they want and there's nobody to contradict them . . . That's really the key to why it can grow. It's because anybody could own it. It was super easy to take it and make it what you wanted it to be (C. Carlsson, personal interview, July 7, 2011).

Carlsson also stated that CM's existence as an event without a formal organization has made it open to broad participation.

“Critical Mass was an invention of a gathering. It's an event, not an organization. Some people get that confused. I think that's key to it –and the fact that it's an event--it doesn't have a very large agenda associated with it. The openness of the concept lent itself to lots of different kinds of people showing up and embracing it” (C. Carlsson, personal interview, July 7, 2011).

Long-term participant, Greenfield, also stated that CM's lack of ideology can be appealing to many and that it is fundamental to its success and positive impact.

There's not an organization, there's no agenda. So people can ride for whatever reason they want . . . Why does everything have to have an ideology? If it's flowing, if it's doing good things, then let it flow. Let it take its natural course and let it do good (A. Greenfield, personal interview, August 3, 2011).

Greenfield also stated that another major positive for CM was that no official organization in turn meant no regular meetings to attend. In his experience, organization meetings often become tedious and bogged down with the same people talking too much at each meeting, hence discouraging the involvement of new participants rather than encouraging expanded participation (A. Greenfield, personal interview, August 3, 2011). However, one survey respondent from Orlando was frustrated with the informal structure saying, that in his city, CM “needs to be more organized with a clearer message” (Respondent 60, Survey CM-P2, question 25, September 13, 2011).

D’Andrade (2010, April 27b) claims in an online discussion that CM’s prefigurative politics area a primary reason for his participation and that they offer an attractive alternative to traditional protest as a means for instigating social change.

I don’t like the word “protest” to describe Critical Mass. To me, a protest is a group of people complaining about poor conditions, and demanding that people in power make changes. Some people may ride on Critical Mass for this reason, but I think most of us are there “being the change” that we want to see. We are not *advocating* for more bikes on city streets. We are *directly* putting more bikes on city streets. We aren’t *asking* politicians to change the rules of the road. We are *going ahead and temporarily changing them ourselves*.

While it appears that for some participants CM is not primarily about political expression—or for some, in *no way* about political expression—my observations indicate that CM can also be a place of broad political participation and tolerance of political expression. CM appears to create a space where many individuals and groups feel free to openly express a range of political views. During the June 2011 ride I approached a biker

whose sign on his bike indicated he supported a group working to qualify a controversial measure to ban male circumcision for the San Francisco November ballot. He explained that he and a crew of anti-male-circumcision activists were riding with signs and flyers to educate other riders about the issue. When asked if he believed CM was a good venue for political expression he responded enthusiastically, “Absolutely, Absolutely!” (Participant 17, personal interview, June 24, 2011). I observed other participants on various CM rides carrying signs and handing out flyers expressing positions on a number of issues including, Bradley Manning, same sex marriage, Occupy San Francisco and “Oil Wars.” Likewise, in an indication of the diversity of viewpoints present at CM, one interviewee, upon seeing the Bradley Manning activists at work, denounced the accused US Army whistleblower as a “traitor,” while also, notably, professing his firm belief in those same activists having the right to free speech expression in the public space.

For the 2011 October/Halloween ride I engaged in political activity myself, as I have done at Critical Mass on several occasions over the course of at least 8 years. I handed out voter guides from the SF chapter of the progressive youth-led political organization, the League of Pissed Off Voters. The edgy, left-leaning Pissed Off Voter Guide (2011) was accepted graciously at CM. In my experience distributing the guide elsewhere in San Francisco, at public transit stops for example, at least one-half to two-thirds of passer bys turn down the guide, and some will appear openly annoyed. In contrast, at CM, not a single person turned down the guide nor appeared annoyed.

In the case of observers of the event, CM’s lack of clear intentions or meanings sometimes creates confusion provokes a range of responses. The majority of observer interviewees (see Chapter Four) expressed positive opinions of critical mass, however for

the minority that had negative opinions of CM, a frequent complaint was its lack of clear purpose. In a remark not unlike those frequently made to express frustration with the Occupy movement, one observer said (3 months before the first Occupy encampment), “I think most of them still have no idea why they're riding, no idea what they're doing, and I can't stand them” (Observer 20A, personal interview, June 24, 2011). However, to many observer interviewees, it did not appear to be important if a precise meaning or intention for Critical Mass was discernible. One observer stated, “I'm loving them. I think it's great . . . I don't really know exactly what you're supposed to see, if you're supposed to see something or it's just like making a statement or if it's just getting out and having fun with other cyclists. But either way, it's good” (Observer 44, personal interview, July 29, 2011). Ultimately, the majority of observer interviewees and respondents did not express confusion when asked what the event before them was about – most assuming the event to be about bike safety, equal access to streets for bikes, etc. and/or for social activity/recreation.

In the absence of formal structure, rules, or leadership, some participant interviewees and respondents saw CM as an effective anarchistic model for self-organizing and self-policing within a temporary autonomous community. One survey respondent noted that while occasional aggressive behavior mitigates the “good feelings” of CM’s festive atmosphere, the “community tends to self-police well” (Respondent, Survey CM-P2, Question 21). D’Andrade (2010) also believes self-policing is effective at CM, “Critical Mass participants should practice self-management, and that means calling out bad behavior when we see it. Every time I have done so, I have seen the misbehaving person shrink away,” (para. 9) he wrote in a blog post.

Longtime participant Pomerantz claims that over the course of the ride throughout the city, CM opens a decentralized space for “diffused decision making” that is essentially unprecedented.

[With] a lot of decentralized things, the people who get involved consider themselves equal to one another or consider themselves clued into the fact that there's no leader or whatever. With Critical Mass, there are a whole variety of understandings of what's going on, and even the people who have the least information decide for themselves what to do. They may seem like sheep, following the leader or whatever. But if something intense starts coming up, they'll leave. They'll do what they want to do. Or they'll go to the edges, or they'll decide that this is not the right situation for them and then test it later or something, whatever it is. They're deciding for themselves . . . Rather than a hierarchical command structure, it's a certain algorithm, and each individual in the algorithm is operating on their own local information. And it was an early attempt to capitalize on the benefits of this diffused decision-making that was first seen, separate from anything yet known, in its stark reality, at Critical Mass.

(J. Pomerantz, Personal Interview, August 2, 2011).

As a participant observer I took note of CM's anarchistic model and saw positive aspects and effects. After the June 2011 CM ride, I wrote in my field notes, “the term ‘beautiful anarchy’ comes to mind and seems an appropriate description of the event. No one is in charge and laws are openly defied. Yet, the scene is by-in-large quite positive, harmonious, safe, and fun” (field notes, June 24, 2011). CM exhibits autonomy in relationship to state authority through its regular and blatant disregard for traffic laws.

As a participant in CM, I have felt, as I imagine many others have, a strong sense of liberation and empowerment through this expression of autonomy. Likewise, in my experience, CM's prefigurative politics (as D'Andrade articulated in the quote earlier in this section) also engender a sense of empowerment as well as a rewarding sense that one is engaging in an event of social significance and impact. While there is no General Assembly nor any formal group discussions held, one could perhaps understand CM as operating under a model of unspoken consensus decision-making in terms of the route taken, how particular conflicts are self-policed within the community, and other issues. This unspoken consensus process appears to contribute to a largely smoothly running event and to the largely positive atmosphere at CM.

On the rides as a participant observer, I frequently witnessed the practice referred to as "corking," an example of CM's free-form self-organization. Corking is the term coined in CM's early days for when one or more participants stand along side their bicycles, directly in front of cars, to prevent the motorists from proceeding through the crowd of cyclists. Most often, corking is employed at intersections in the manner of traffic cops, to allow fellow CM riders to continue unhindered through red lights, without stopping. The corking practice appears to be necessary for the safety of riders, to maintain the unbroken flow of the ride, and to keep the group of riders together, something that has always been fundamental to the CM experience. Corkers seem to emerge naturally from the mass of riders, whenever they are needed, to prevent cars from driving through the mass. Often, in an example of the friendly and collaborative spirit common at CM, participants will spontaneously peel off from the crowd to take a turn corking and to relieve a previous corker of his/her duties.

Corkings are, perhaps, the most frequent points of conflict with motorists, and sometimes these conflicts become heated, even to the point where police officers are compelled to intervene. However, in demonstrations of self-policing within the CM community, other participants frequently roll in to play peacemaking roles in attempt to diffuse the conflicts. Other versions of corking/self-policing I witnessed were situations where, instead of blocking cars, participants corked the flow of fellow riders so that pedestrians could have a space to safely traverse the flow of riders.³

The Event's Relationship to Public Space

As anyone who understands CM should know, the collective purpose is not to make war against the automobile, it's not to 'block traffic,' it's to take back a little space for much better things (Bicycle Cowpoke, 2009, para. 10). — Reader comment on SFCriticalMass.org

Public space—in terms of its vital importance to society, its erosion globally, and the unconventional movements creating/reclaiming it—is the underlying issue of this research project. Hence CM's relationship to public space is highly relevant to both research questions and serves as a bridge of sorts between both key research questions. Much of the data in this section will be relevant to the research question explored in the next chapter, and vice versa.

Understandably, as a bicycle-driven event, many assume that if Critical Mass has a social-political message, it is primarily about bicycles and bicycle related issues.

³ As a rule, however, it appeared pedestrians were either patient and/or intimidated and did not attempt to cross the street as the riders passed through -- and riders, as a rule, did not go out of their way to accommodate pedestrians.

However, an early CM pamphlet, authored in part by the event’s founders, emphasized that the event was a “festive reclaiming of public space” (D’Andrade et al, 1993, p. 239), indicating, that for some participants, the event has always had as much to do with public space issues as it has to do with bicycles. Findings from this project support this claim.

Participant Interview and Survey Data

A sizable majority of surveyed participants indicated they saw connections between CM and public space issues. CM-P2 respondents were asked: “Has Critical Mass impacted your personal viewpoint on any of the following or other issues?”⁴ Of the 78 respondents who answered the question, a majority of them (63) selected “public space issues,” over any of the three bicycle-related choices: bike safety (60), transportation (56), or energy policy (31). When asked directly in another question if they agreed with the statement, “Critical Mass has affected the way you view and/or value the streets as public space,” 22 of 31 CM-P1 and 77 of 90 of CM-P2 respondents strongly agreed or agreed with this statement. Only a total of 7 respondents from both surveys disagreed or strongly disagreed.

A number of respondents elaborated upon their responses to the survey questions about public space issues. One respondent added, “[Critical Mass] has helped me understand that public space needs to be reclaimed . . . by people who want to change it for the better. We need to utilize public space for different things to show people in power that this is our city too” (Respondent 1, Survey CM-P2, question 17, September 1, 2011). One respondent’s summary comment on CM was simply, “Reclaim the streets.

⁴ For obvious reasons this data is equally relevant to research question two, which focuses specifically on the matter of CM’s impacts upon participants and observers.

What's more to say about it?" (Respondent 61, Survey CM-P2, question 17, September 13, 2011). Similarly, another respondent commented, "as opposed to advocating for more communal use of public space, CM has shown that we can just roll up and take it (Respondent 9, Survey CM-P2, question 17, September 7, 2011). This same respondent claimed his reason for participating in CM was "re-invention of public space" (question 10). Responding to a question about CM's impact on individual opinions on various issues, one stated, "People have a human right to exist. The ability to have and utilize public space is important because without public spaces, people cease to have the right to exist" (Respondent 43, Survey CM-P2, question 19, September 8, 2011).

Interviewees also saw importance in the relationship of CM to public space. One interviewee believed that while lacking a precise intention, CM was significant, merely because of its presence in public space. "I think it maintains a presence. It's unsuccessful if it's not there. I don't think there is a particular goal for Critical Mass. That's OK. It is there to maintain a presence. Without those bikes in the street you don't have that," he said (Participant 1, personal interview, June 24, 2011).

Though urban plazas and parks frequently receive the most attention as public spaces, Jacobs (1993) believed that the streets and sidewalks, as the lively thoroughfares of community and everyday life, were the city's most "vital organs," and its most important public spaces (p.142). A frequent theme of discussion with interviewees was the notion of streets as unique public spaces and the question of whether CM's presence in the streets was a significant factor in terms of its meaning and impact. According to Carlsson (2011) the streets are the principal "transportation arteries" and hence, "where the power is in society," (C. Carlsson, personal interview, July 7, 2011). When asked if

the streets and sidewalks were important public spaces, one interviewee responded, “Absolutely. And I think Critical Mass is a great opportunity to show that” (Participant 6, personal interview, June 24, 2011). One respondent noted, “Taken by type, the street is the largest type of public space and it’s mostly dedicated to cars! We need changes” (Respondent 4, Survey CM-P1, question 15, July 29, 2011). When asked what issues CM addresses one respondent said, “access to public spaces. The streets are always forgotten when talking about public spaces” (Respondent 4, Survey CM-P1, question 13, July 29, 2011). Another respondent believed CM was helping to create a new vision of what’s possible in the streets: “Streets should be places where kids play and adults socialize, where citizens organize protest walks, where people care for plants, where you go to take some air, without the stress of roaring and honking cars racing and parked everywhere. (Response, Survey CM-P2 Question 17, September 23, 2011). Two respondents responded simply with the popular protest chant, “Whose streets? Our streets!” (Respondent 21, Survey CM-P2, question 17, September 7, 2011; Respondent 24, Survey CM-P2, question 17, September 7, 2011).

Beyond its specific relationship to CM, participants frequently expressed strong opinions about the general importance of public space to a free and functioning society. One interviewee who was riding with political signs on his bike called access to public space a “fundamental human right” (Participant 17, personal interview, June 24, 2011). Another interviewee said, “[public space] is extremely important . . . because of the fact that a lot of people congregating in one area at one time means that a lot of ideas can be exchanged” (Participant 23, personal interview, June 24, 2011). Public space was cited as important for political expression, creative expression, and the strengthening of

community. Said one participant, “public spaces are important for us to, actually, get together, to actually act as a community . . .” (Participant 6, personal interview, June 24, 2011).

Participant Observations

As a participant-observer I made a number of observations relevant for understanding the relationship between public space and the Critical Mass event. I arrived early before each ride to witness the pre-ride ritual gathering that is a significant aspect of the Critical Mass event. Each month, participants meet in the same high-profile public space, Justin Herman Plaza. The plaza is located at the T-intersection of Market Street and the Embarcadero, two of the city’s most prominent thoroughfares, and in the shadow of the San Francisco’s iconic Ferry Building, a major transportation hub and tourist draw. In terms of being visible to the highest possible number of both commuters and tourists on a Friday afternoon, there is, perhaps, not a more advantageous location in the city. Participants begin arriving at least an hour before the ride starts, to socialize and hangout leisurely about the spacious plaza, in the grass, or on the steps. On the larger rides, such as Halloween, participants filter in until the large plaza is nearly packed with hundreds to thousands of bikes and participants. CM’s monthly high-profile “occupation” of the plaza’s public space for nearly 20 years, anticipated the equally high-profile “Occupy San Francisco encampment” in the fall of 2011 that would take over a large portion of the same plaza and create a major media event and tense standoff with the mayor and police department.

Critical Mass is an event that happens very *publicly* in public space. As one interviewee mentioned as a reason that CM draws riders year after year, “people like to

participate in parades and carnivals” (CM-P12, personal interview, June 24, 2011) and just as data already presented indicates that CM shares a number of elements with carnival, so also does CM resemble a parade in many respects. And while the word “participate” in the interviewee’s remark above is key—CM is primarily about *participation*—parades are also *shows* meant to entertain the spectators stationed on sidewalks along the way. As a CM participant, I experienced the sense of being in a parade—even a sense of serving as entertainment of sorts—particularly when the ride moved through concentrated tourist zones such as Union Square. Usually tourists express bewilderment, excitement or glee, as they smile, laugh, wave and shoot pictures and video of the event. Likewise, participants also appear to enjoy being the center of attention during the ride as they wave back, give high-fives to spectators, show off their bike tricks, etc. Parades, for a number of obvious reasons, such as unparalleled visibility, mobility, and spectator space, must take place on the public space of streets. For all these reasons and more, the public space of the streets appears equally essential to the CM event and to the special experience of participating.⁵

Kohn (2004) and others have insisted that free speech and political expression can have no meaning or impact without public space. As mentioned earlier, CM participants commonly express specific political views or ideas on a range of issues with signs, flyers, etc. Yet, beyond the explicit representation of specific causes or ideas—simply the act of participating in CM—riding with a massive group of riders, in the high-profile public space of the streets, can feel like “a statement”—a statement that may have as many meanings as there are participants—but a statement nonetheless. As a CM participant I

⁵ Once again, these observations are equally relevant to both research questions.

have noted that it can feel particularly empowering and rewarding to make this statement in the public space of the streets, where one can “preach” to others beyond just those already “converted.”

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS FOR RESEARCH QUESTION TWO

Introduction

This research project attempted to gain a better understanding of how Critical Mass impacts participants and how observers perceive CM, as a means to, in turn, better understand the growth, sustainability, and proliferation of the CM movement. Many of the findings already presented in the previous chapter have indicated ways that CM impacts observers and participants. Here I will present further findings that do not fit as neatly into the previous thematic sections.

Research Question Two

How does Critical Mass impact the thinking, perceptions and socio-political consciousness of participants and observers?

The Impact of Critical Mass on Observers and Observer Perceptions

For a better understanding of CM's success and sustainability, this project intended to learn about how first-hand chance observers perceive the event as they witness it happening on the streets. Are their perceptions of CM positive or negative? Are observers motivated by what they witness of the event to participate in CM themselves? CM is controversial in many cities where it exists and sometimes the subject of negative media attention. My content analysis of reader comments on the SF Critical Mass blog, for example, indicated that CM has its share of vehement critics. Yet anecdotal observations prior to this research project indicated that, perhaps, many chance observers viewed CM positively. For this project I interviewed and surveyed observers, during the July and August 2011 CM rides. All observer interviews and surveys were

with bystanders on sidewalks. While I attempted to speak with individuals in automobiles, police escorting CM on motorcycles prevented me from doing so. I also inquired, through interview and survey questions, how CM participants believed chance observers viewed the event.

Survey Data

The majority of the 32 observers surveyed along the route had positive reactions to CM. Of the 26 respondents who had never participated in CM ⁶, 18 said the “overall tone and impact of the event” was very positive or somewhat positive, 5 were not sure, and 3 said somewhat negative or very negative. When asked if they thought the event was confrontational, 15 disagreed or strongly disagreed, 3 were not sure, 7 agreed and 1 strongly agreed. When asked if they were “interested in participating in this event in the future” respondents were fairly evenly split in their responses. Thirteen strongly agreed or agreed, 2 weren’t sure, and 11 disagreed or strongly disagreed. As reported in the previous chapter, only 2 of these respondents believed the event they were witnessing was “primarily a protest,” whereas 10 thought it was “primarily a festive social activity” and 13 thought it was “both of the above.”

Interview Data

A majority of the 38 observer interviewees along the street during Critical Mass also had positive opinions of the event. After analysis of interview transcripts, respondents were grouped into four categories based on their stated opinions of CM. 23

⁶ Note: the 6 CM-O survey respondents who said they had participated in the CM before will occasionally be filtered from the sample in order to provide a more accurate sense of how observers, with no ties to CM, perceive the event. Appendix C provides complete CM-O Survey results with and without participants filtered from the sample.

interviewees had positive reactions/opinions, 4 had mixed reactions/opinions, 5 had negative reactions/opinions, and in 3 cases the interview did not address the question. Appendix E provides a complete list of categorized respondents with sample quotations that reflect the positive, mixed, and negative nature of the responses. One San Francisco resident who had a positive opinion of CM said, "I like it . . . I really do. I think it's great for the air and it's great for the streets and the neighborhoods" (Observer 45, personal interview, July 26, 2011). Some interviewees had clearly negative comments. Said one observer, "they are very confrontational. They are trying to piss people off and it turns people against their cause. I think it's a mistake" (Observer 70, personal interview, August 26, 2011). A mixed response was, "I fully support it but I think they're a little selfish" (Observer 42b, personal interview, July 26, 2011).

Participant Survey/Interview Data and Participant Observation Data

Pomerantz said CM had the capacity to create a significant consciousness-shifting experience for chance observers, one well outside their usual understandings of events and gatherings in the contemporary urban environment.

"Even if [the observers] know nothing about bicycling, one thing that they assume, when they see a crowd of people all going through a public space doing the same thing, is that it's either competitive or commercial . . . They look for a pattern in it so that they can figure out whether it's a race or is it a fundraiser, or what have you. But when they see . . . thousands of people all together, each looking completely different, each wearing different things, all on different pages . . . Not even behaving like you'd expect them sometimes, some of them stop,

others go on. Sometimes people peel off. It sort of feels chaotic and it's because of that the bystanders go, "Oh my God! This is so completely outside of my normal experience" (J. Pomerantz, personal interview, August 2, 2011).

When asked if they agreed with the statement, "Overall, chance observers along the route on Critical Mass rides, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity," 68 CM-P2 respondents strongly agreed or agreed, 11 were unsure, and only 8 disagreed. As a participant observer I sought to pay particular attention to the reaction of observers along the CM ride and my observations were largely in line with those of the participant surveys just mentioned. I witnessed a range of reactions but the majority of observers appeared to react positively. As mentioned elsewhere in the findings, many sidewalk observers are laughing, waving, and taking pictures as if they were enjoying a parade.

Data indicates individuals in cars may be less likely to appreciate CM. During my participant-observation rides, some automobile drivers and passengers were visibly annoyed, frustrated, or less often, outright angry. As stated earlier, conflicts between cyclists and motorists do occur. The majority of CM-P2 survey respondents (47 of 90) did not believe that motorists viewed the ride positively. A significant number were unsure (26) but only (15) thought that, overall, motorists view CM positively. However, as a participant observer it was difficult to ascertain the consensus opinion of people in cars. Not all drivers and passengers are visibly upset. On the contrary, like sidewalk observers, many people in cars are smiling, waving, cheering, giving high-fives, and taking pictures.

Impact of Critical Mass on Participants

In an effort to gain a better understanding of CM's success and sustainability, this project intended to explore the potential impacts of critical mass upon its participants. Does CM affect participant views on social and political issues? Does CM meet the needs of play, self-expression, collective joy, and community? Does CM impact the way people view and value public space? What other impact does CM have on participants that might help explain why they return to participate again, and why they tell others about the event? Again, as a good deal of overlap exists between the two research questions, many findings relevant to CM's impacts upon participants have already been presented in the previous chapter.

Interview and Survey Data

Some interviewees described CM as having a significant impact on their lives. Interviewee Greenfield, a public space advocate in his community, described his first CM ride as an extraordinarily fun, empowering, and life changing experience. He credited CM with allowing him to view the streets in a new way, and with setting him and others on the path to becoming activists. Here he describes his first ride.

I did my first Critical Mass in August 2004. I had no idea that you could have that much fun in that way. It was instantly like I could feel the synapses in my brain changing their pathways on the ride. It was completely amazing. It didn't feel like a protest. It definitely felt like a celebration, slightly provocative but not in an aggressive way, just in a kind of slightly disruptive way. I was like, 'Wow. All the cars have stopped because enough cyclists came together and made it happen. They're using this space in a different way.' It definitely changed my life . . . I

know numerous people who said that Critical Mass turned them into activists. I wonder every month, every year, how much of an impact Critical Mass is making on activists beyond just stopping traffic. I cannot even . . . It's incalculable (A. Greenfield, personal interview, August 3, 2011).

Merker (2011), also a public space advocate and co-founder of Park(ing) Day, said, “Critical Mass is one of the most special experiences about living in San Francisco for me. It's really a transformative experience for me, too, politically” (B. Merker, personal interview, August 24, 2011).

A number of interviewees and respondents described how CM had engendered a sense of empowerment and/or the experience of liberation. A few participants used the phrase “power in numbers” to describe their CM experience (DeGuzman, personal account, August 26, 2011; Greenfield, personal interview, August 3, 2011; respondent, Survey CM-P2, Question 15, September 1, 2011). One participant wrote following her first ride, “It felt liberating, empowering, a sort of public-education moment” (L. DeGuzman, personal account, August 26, 2011). One respondent wrote: “CM liberates the individual from danger, alienation, fear and dependence. These individual changes transform communities and societies. Participatory life is more fun than shopping!” (Respondent 24, Survey CM-P2, question 25, September 7, 2011). One respondent said CM had left them, “more interested in community” (Respondent 51, Survey CM-P2, question 19, September 11, 2011).

Similar to its potential to have a consciousness-shifting effect on observers, Pomerantz said CM could be a “surreal experience” for participants (particularly for first-timers) with a unique power to shake individuals from their usual experiences of

everyday life, and allowing them to experience the urban streets in entirely new ways. Said Pomerantz, CM puts people “in a weird state of mind” in which they are not necessarily all together comfortable, but which is ultimately exhilarating and has a first-time rider thinking. “Wow! Can you believe what’s happening around me?” (J. Pomerantz, Personal Interview, August 2, 2011). Pomerantz also believed that CM had the capacity to break groupthink mentality and to empower independent decision-making and independent action for participants:

[With Critical Mass] groupthink is easily broken. And so it makes it a much deeper level of independent action for the participants than something where, for example . . . you go to a football game and everybody's sitting in the bleachers . . . in a passive role . . . Everyone knows what a passive role is because we've been so well trained. But if you're in an active role and not being told what to do, it's really different. (J. Pomerantz, Personal Interview, August 2, 2011)

Some participant survey questions were intended to determine if and how respondents believed CM might have impacted their lives as individuals. The data indicates CM had impacted the majority of survey respondents, and in a variety of ways. Twenty-eight CM-P1 respondents answered the following question.

Critical Mass has had what you consider to be a positive impact on your life/behavior/habits. (For example: you now ride your bike more often in your day-to-day life due, at least in part, to your experience(s) with Critical Mass.)

Of the 17 respondents who were not first-timers, 12 strongly agreed or agreed, 2 were not sure, and only 2 disagreed.⁷ CM-P2 survey respondents were asked if they agreed/disagreed with essentially the same statement (minus the second sentence): “*Critical Mass has had a positive impact on your life/behavior/habits.*” The CM-P2 respondents were overwhelmingly in agreement with the statement. Seventy-four of the 90 respondents strongly agreed or agreed, 10 were not sure, and 6 disagreed. As a follow up, CM-P2 respondents who agreed with the above question were asked to select from a list, any of 11 specific impacts that CM may have had on their lives. 80 of the 90 total respondents answered the question. Reflecting a significant social-activity/community-building component for CM, “*You have made new friends*” was the most frequently selected impact (58 of 80) while, 44 of 80 respondents credited CM with their learning more about their community. Nearly half (38 of 80) said they became “more civically/politically involved” due at least, in part, to CM. 34 of 80 credited CM with their joining of a bicycle advocacy organization. One respondent added, “I think [CM] has made me see the importance in making large public statements and the impact it can have. Change does happen through a mass movement and there is power in numbers” (Respondent, Survey CM-P2, September 1, 2011). Most respondents also credited CM with a variety of other impacts involving their biking and/or driving habits, personal fitness etc. (See Appendix C, Survey CM-P2, Question 16 for complete data). As was presented in the last subsection of the previous chapter, a significant majority of

⁷ The question was largely irrelevant to the 16 respondents who had not yet participated in CM and were completing the survey just prior to participating in their first CM ride. Of the twelve first-timers who answered the question, 4 agreed, 7 were unsure, 1 strongly disagreed, and 4 skipped the question.

respondents also indicated that CM had impacted the way they viewed and/or valued public space.

Participant Observations

After one ride as a participant-observer I described Critical Mass as “an utterly unique experience in the urban environment.” (A. Blue, field notes, August 26, 2011). How CM has impacted myself, as a participant, is similar to the descriptions of other participants in this project have. I have found participating in CM can engender feelings of exhilaration, liberation, empowerment, and solidarity with other riders, and connectedness to the city at large. CM does feel “political” and being part of it feels like positive civic engagement. But the ludic, social, and festive elements seem to provide the strongest personal motivations for my continued participation. Over the years, my positive experiences with CM have kept me returning and have led me to encourage many other people to participate in CM. I have brought along and introduced several friends to their first CM experience. CM’s impact on myself as an individual has effectively spread more widely to others in my community.

In my experience, the fact that CM takes place in the unique public space of the city’s streets seems to play an important role in its impact. CM has allowed me to experience San Francisco in a manner unlike any other event. And while other recreational and political events happen in the streets, none seem to produce an experience quite like CM. Protest marches in the streets can resemble CM in the feelings of empowerment and solidarity that they generate, but as a rule, protest marches do not happen every month and they simply are not as fun or as playful as CM. Street festivals and block parties are fun and can engender collective joy, but they lack the fluid mobility

and the spontaneous, unpermitted nature of CM as well as the rewarding sense of civic engagement and political expression that CM can provide.

Happening in the urban streets with no permit and no set route, CM goes where it wants. If great plazas and parks are the hearts of cities, then perhaps the streets are the circulatory system that allow one to flow to all the living cells of the urban body. To carry the metaphor further, CM might be thought of as oxygen-bearing blood delivering energy and vitality, to the neighborhoods and their residents, as it flows through the city. On rides through San Francisco during Critical Mass, I have discovered new and interesting neighborhoods and routes, and have experienced familiar neighborhoods and routes in fresh and enlightening ways.

In my experience, CM's meandering exploration of the city, unencumbered by stop lights or automobiles, allows one to experience familiar urban landscapes in new and interesting ways—in a manner reminiscent of the Situationist's *dérive*. Interviewee Carlsson said that the bicycle is an “anti-spectacular device” that “subverts the spectacle, because instead of sitting in [a] car listening to corporate propaganda . . . [which is] reinforcing this representation of life that's nothing but false notes,” one is “actually in the flow of the world and traffic,” actively engaged, and creating one's own experience (C. Carlsson, personal interview, July 7, 2011). This rings true to my own personal experiences and observations of Critical Mass.

As interviewees stated, CM can resemble a parade or a carnivalesque performance. I have noted from my participation, that in the streets of a global tourist city such as San Francisco, participants are able to perform for fresh audiences from around the world each month. Invariably, when CM cruises down Market Street or

through Fisherman's Wharf, tourists who have never before witnessed Critical Mass, are smiling, laughing, waving, and shooting photographs. In my experience, the enthusiastic, positive feedback from CM's diverse audience feels affirming and is an incentive to return to participate.

The collective action, collective joy, community aspects of CM seem as essential as its location in the streets. Of course, one can bike through the streets of the city anytime, but rolling through the city as a celebrating community that temporarily crowds out all the noisy and deadly automobiles, is something altogether different. It occurred to me during one participant observation, that CM can be seen as a ritual practice, even a "church," of sorts, for the bike community. No doubt many riders would deny that CM is their church, but for me, CM fulfills, to some degree, a desire for ritual in community.

It is also my experience that Critical Mass can disrupt the self-reinforcing cycle of *habitus/doxa* (Bourdieu, 2007) and broaden one's sense of what is possible in the streets. Prior to my participation in CM, except for rare and special occasions, the streets of San Francisco did not seem as open to play, recreation, community, and politics. I credit CM with significantly widening my view on, and understanding of, the streets as public space.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter includes a discussion of the findings, significant conclusions from the findings and their implications, and finally recommendations for further study. First, we shall look again at the findings and discuss their significance in relationship to the research questions and the theory discussed in the literature review. Secondly, I will discuss the three most significant conclusions that emerge from the research as well as potentially important implications of these conclusions. Finally, I will make recommendations for study to fill in the gaps remaining within this project, as well as new directions and inquiries that may prove fruitful.

Discussion: Research Question One

Do special characteristics of Critical Mass—particularly its ludic, carnivalesque, and anarchistic elements and its relationship to public space—provide opportunities and incentives for broad participation and if so, how and why?

Diversity

Based on his observations in Toronto and Vancouver, Pask (2010) suggested that public space activism held the unique capacity to bring together folks from many walks of life, including people not otherwise politically active (p. 238). This project sought primarily to explore CM's ability to attract diverse participation in terms of social-political agendas and in terms of reasons/motivations for participation. While it was not within the means of this project to conduct a scientific poll of CM's demographic makeup, participant surveys did include optional demographic questions and I recorded

observations of CM's diversity as a participant-observer. The resulting data hints that there is diversity within CM's participation, but does not, and was not intended to, provide conclusive evidence.

Interestingly, a majority of survey respondents—even notably, those who identified themselves outside of the dominant culture—believed CM to be diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexual orientation. As a group, the online survey (CM-P2) respondents were notably less diverse than the respondents to the paper survey (CM-P1), which was conducted before actual CM rides. But this may say more about the demographics of the group of CM participants who would be reachable for, able to, and interested in, taking an online survey about CM, than it does about the demographic makeup of participants on a given CM ride. My convenience sample for Survey CM-P1 resulted in a fairly diverse sample with the people in my immediate proximity and with minimal effort, suggesting a reasonably diverse demographic at the two rides at which I conducted the survey.

Survey data indicates respondents came from a broad range of occupational fields and were distributed rather evenly over income brackets (Appendix C). Carlsson voiced a frequently held view that CM is not particularly diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. The findings from this project suggest CM may be more demographically diverse than frequently assumed and that this issue may be an appropriate area for further inquiry.

Protest vs. Play

Lefebvre (1996) and Stevens (2007) suggest that play is a human and societal need and that it fulfills a particularly important function in urban public space.

Additionally, common sense tells us people like to play and to watch others play. Hou (2010) notes the centrality of play within insurgent public space movements and suggests their ludic elements, in part, distinguish these movements from other traditional political movements. Theorizing that CM's ludic and festive aspects might help to explain CM's sustainability and proliferation, this project intended to determine if individual participants considered CM to be about play and/or protest, and if they were motivated by play and/or protest to participate. The play/protest dichotomy is perhaps overly reductive, but with the exception of a handful of respondents, interviewees and respondents appeared comfortable with the discussion initiated by this theoretical dichotomy, which rendered some intriguing data.

Survey findings revealed that most respondents believe CM to be about political protest —16 of 33 for CM-P1 and 76 of 90 for CM-P2.⁸ But respondents were in even stronger agreement that CM was “fun” with only 3 of the 123 respondents from both surveys disagreeing, and 5 “unsure.” Based on the comparison of these two sets of numbers alone, one might conclude that, for the surveyed participants, *fun* was a bigger factor in CM participation than was *protest*. And further data supports this notion. Asked to apply the play/protest dichotomy to CM as an event and to individual motivation to participate, play was given the edge by both survey groups. As a group, CM-P1 participants said on average that CM was 65% play/celebration/social activity and 35% protest, while CM-P2 participants said on average that CM was 60%

⁸ Interestingly, CM-P1 respondents were not as likely as CM-P2 respondents to consider CM to serve as political protest. Considering some of the differences between the make-ups of these two groups, this raises some intriguing questions for possible further study that I will return to in the Recommendations section of this chapter.

play/celebration/social activity and 40% protest. The respective numbers for personal motivation to participate were a bit different. On average CM-P1 respondents attributed the desire to play/celebrate for 58% of their motivation to participate, and the desire to make a statement through protest for 42% of their motivation. On average CM-P2 respondents said 75% for play/celebrate/socialize and 25% for protest. While considered together, these numbers may raise nearly as many questions as they answer, some conclusions do seem to emerge. As a whole, the respondents considered both the event and their own motivation to be *more about play than protest*. Though protest remained a significant factor for both.

In addition, the findings also revealed a number of interesting individual cases, such as the five CM-P2 respondents who said they believed CM, as an event, was a mixture of play and protest, yet their personal motivation to participate came 100% from play and 0% from protest. On the other extreme, one participant was motivated 0% by play and 100% by protest. Between the extremes were any of a variety of combinations on a dynamic continuum. This data suggests that no general agreement existed among surveyed participants in terms of why they choose to participate or in terms of what CM is about in general.

When asked the key to CM's success, interviewees frequently credited the event's ludic and festive elements. However, as with the survey data, participant interviews revealed a range of perspectives on the play/protest dichotomy. My observations as a participant support the notion that play/celebration plays a significant role in what CM is about and why it draws participants. Political expression is common at CM, but fun, celebration, and social activity prevail overall. Finally, as a group, observer survey

respondents also thought CM was both festive social activity and protest, though they said it was a festive social activity more often than protest.

In regards to the first research question, the data on CM as play and/or protest appears to suggest that CM does have broad participation in terms of reasons for individual participation. Also, respondents did not agree on what CM is about— indeed, some held widely divergent views. Both play and politics appear to hold important roles in term of providing opportunities and incentives for broad participation in Critical Mass. Of the participants sampled, play appears to motivate participation more than the desire for protest or political expression.

Carnival

The Bakhtinian / Rabelaisian notion of carnival refers to a particular form of celebration/play that serves as a bacchanalian “blowing-off-of-steam,” that is marked by community-wide participation and the upending and mockery of everyday societal roles, power dynamics, and social norms (Bakthin, 1984). During participant-observations, I took note of a number of aspects of CM that appeared carnivalesque in the Bakhtinian / Rabelaisian sense and largely found these aspects to be popular with participants who frequently and enthusiastically took part in them. As one participant put it, “People like parades and carnivals” and “a little anarchy and lack of order” (Participant 12, personal interview, June 24, 2011).

Ehrenreich (2006) believes the most important aspect of carnival is its capacity to meet the human need for collective joy. Data from each of the methods employed in the project appear to indicate that CM participants experience collective joy. Ehrenreich (2006) and others have suggested that carnival as a state-sanctioned “blowing-off-of-

steam” may sometimes do as much to preserve the status quo as it does to challenge it. However in the case of San Francisco Critical Mass, it should be noted that today’s acquiescence on the part of the city government and police department towards Critical Mass came only after a concerted but failed attempt by the city’s mayor and police chief to crackdown on the event in 1997 (Finnie, 1997). In 2010, another SF police chief again discussed cracking down on CM (Begin, 2010). One might make the case that city authorities have determined that allowing CM’s mostly harmless illegality to continue serves to diffuse a more serious rebellion. However, if authorities have semi-officially sanctioned CM, it may be said they have done so with significant reluctance and largely on CM’s terms.

Tactical carnival (Bogad, 2010) refers to the increasing use of carnivalesque elements as creative, playful, and unconventional tools for direct action, particularly by activists within the global justice movement. While it is likely that only a limited number of the participants engaging in the CM’s carnivalesque aspects are doing so with an intentional social-political agenda, the practice and effect of these aspects nonetheless resemble tactical carnival and functions as such, challenging the official delimiting of public space and transportation corridors, corporate car culture, etc. Because they are manifested through clownish and festive tactics, CM’s mockery and subversion of everyday power dynamics in the streets may be a less threatening affront to observers and the community at large, than it would be were it manifested in more militant or less entertaining ways.

CM proponents Carlsson and D’Andrade both saw comparisons between CM and carnival, but both were reluctant to draw precise parallels, suggesting that CM in San

Francisco had been to some degree absorbed into the city's everyday life. I will suggest that after Carlsson's and D'Andrade's nearly 20 years each of consistent participation in CM for these individuals, it is understandable that the event would appear less carnivalesque. Based on the data collected in this project, it appears that CM contains elements of Bakhtinian / Rabelaisian and tactical carnival and that the experiences of joy, empowerment, and freedom, engendered by these elements, may help explain its popularity and sustainability.

Anarchistic Elements

Ferrell (2001) and Furness (2006) credited CM's anarchistic structure and ethos with its vitality and flexibility. This project explored CM's anarchistic elements in order to better understand the event's ability to sustain itself, proliferate, and invite broad participation. The data appears to support the notion that CM is anarchistic in nature and practice, and that its anarchistic elements are important factors in its success.

As a participant observer I noted CM's apparent openness to participant with different political / ideological viewpoints, its partially autonomous stand in relationship to state authority, and its practices of self-organizing, self-policing, and direct action. Though CM holds no votes, one might interpret the event as a practice in unspoken collective consensus decision making in terms of the route it takes, the speed it travels, how it responds to conflicts, etc. Rather than taking discursive stances on specific issues, making policy proposals, or engaging in specific political battles, CM appears to practice prefigurative politics, as participants create and present an alternative way of living in urban public space.

CM founders and longtime proponents interviewed for this project said CM's anarchistic elements are central to its function and contribute to its sustainability and popularity. Several aspects of CM that I took note of, as a participant-observer and researcher, appear to support their claims. For example, as a form of prefigurative politics and anarchistic direct action, CM may have an enlightening and liberating impact on its participants. As one participant said, "as opposed to advocating for more communal use of public space, CM has shown that we can just roll up and take it (Respondent 9, Survey CM-P2, question 17, September 7, 2011). Also, the apparent natural ease with which participants engage in self-policing and self-organizing (as observed in "corking," for example) seems to indicate they feel quite comfortable and willing to collaborate cooperatively within CM's rules-free and authority-free structure.

As indicated by comments from at least one survey respondent and one observer interviewee, as in the case of the Occupy movement, CM's lack of formal organization and anarchistic nature in general, does not necessarily appeal to everyone. But the collective relevant data from this project would appear to indicate that CM's anarchism might well attract more people than it annoys and/or deters.

Overall, it appears that CM's anarchistic elements may contribute to the event's appeal both in terms of the inclusive and cooperative environment and in their contribution to a mostly smoothly functioning event despite its lack of formal structure.

Relationship to Public Space

As discussed in this project's literature review, numerous scholars have insisted on the fundamental importance of public space to a functioning and free society. Likewise, numerous scholars have singled out the people's struggles for public space as

fundamental in the global struggle for justice and freedom. I suggested as a premise for this thesis that we consider Critical Mass to be part of the insurgent public space movement (Hou, 2010), a movement which Hou, Pask (2010), and others have recognized as unconventional, creative, and able to draw broad participation. Does the combination of activism and public space create a synergistic effect that gives it a unique power and appeal? And if so, why and how? With the advent of the Arab Spring and Occupy Movement, this question has particular relevance today. Through the case study of CM, this project sought to explore this question and learn more about the relationship of public space and activism in general.

Perhaps some of the most intriguing and compelling findings from the case study were the those showing the impacts that Critical Mass had upon how participants view and/or value public space. Seventy-seven of the 90 Survey CM-P2 respondents either strongly agreed or agreed that CM had impacted the way they view the streets as public space. On only one other survey question, where I asked whether or not CM was “fun,” were respondents closer to unanimous agreement. These same respondents also chose “public space issues” more frequently than any other choice (including bike safety, transportation, and energy policy) when asked to select issues on which they believed CM impacted their viewpoints. Participants also took the effort to add a rather notable number of write-in comments expressing impassioned feelings and ideas about public space and CM’s relationship to public space. For example, some commented that access to public space is a fundamental human right and that it is vital to community and the exchange of ideas. (Participant 6, personal interview, June 24, 2011; Participant 17, personal interview, June 24, 2011; Participant 23, personal interview, June 24, 2011).

While CM proponents Carlsson and D'Andrade, have long insisted that CM is “festive reclaiming of public space” (D'Andrade et al, 1993, p. 239), no prior study has ever surveyed a group of participants about the issue. Survey data from this project indicates that CM participants are as concerned and motivated by public space issues, as much as or more, than bicycle issues.

Additionally a number of interviewees and survey respondents considered the streets to be especially important public spaces. Carlsson argued that the streets were principal locations of power (C. Carlsson, personal interview, July 7, 2011). One interviewee said the streets are the “largest type of public space,” (Respondent 4, Survey CM-P1, question 15, July 29, 2011); while another noted they are “always forgotten” as public spaces (Respondent 4, Survey CM-P1, question 13, July 29, 2011).

As a participant-observer I noted many aspects of the relationship of CM to public space. Whyte (1988) looked at the increasingly privatized, sanitized, and commodified urban spaces in contemporary society and lamented that they were utterly devoid of “controversy, soap boxing, passing of leaflets, impromptu entertaining, or eccentric behavior, harmless or no” (p. 208). My observations indicate that the scene Critical Mass participants create—in the streets where they ride, and in the plaza where they gather — may contain most or all of what Whyte found missing in so many contemporary public spaces.

Overall, public space appears closely linked to how CM functions and it may play a role in how it attracts participants. Participants seem to care about public space issues, whether as a result of their participation in CM or otherwise. The public streets appear to provide a “stage” for CM’s carnivalesque performance, and frequently provide

enthusiastic and appreciative audiences, whose reactions in turn may make the ride more exciting and enjoyable for participants. Public space also provides the venue for political expression, meeting strangers, and connection with community. All of these factors and more may help explain why CM is successful.

Discussion: Research Question Two

How does Critical Mass impact the thinking, perceptions and socio-political consciousness of participants and observers?

The Impact of Critical Mass on Observers and Observer Perceptions

CM is the subject of controversy and negative media attention. Yet anecdotal observations I have made prior to this project, during my years of participation in CM, indicated that many, perhaps *most*, observers viewed CM positively. This project intended to learn more about how chance observers actually perceive Critical Mass and how CM impacts them as individuals. Do they believe CM to be primarily positive or negative? Are observers motivated by what they witness of CM, to potentially participate themselves? The data reveals a range of observer perceptions of and opinions about Critical Mass, though the majority of interviewees and respondents had overall positive reactions to CM.

First, as mentioned earlier, observer respondents were more likely to view CM as primarily a festive social activity rather than a protest—though even more thought it was a combination of both. As expected, some observers expressed strongly negative opinions of CM suggesting, for example, that participants were turning people against their cause (Observer 70, personal interview, August 26, 2011). Yet, a majority of observer

respondents disagreed that CM was confrontational and the majority of respondents and interviewees had overall positive assessments of the event.

Participant interview and survey data and my participant-observations all support the notion that many pedestrian observers appear to respond positively to the ride. Based on the enthusiastic reactions of observers, it appears they may enjoy many of the same aspects of CM that also appear to make it enjoyable for participants. For example, the sheer number of bicycles in the ride (perhaps the most they have ever seen at once), the festive music playing on bike-transported sound systems, the creative costumes and elaborate custom bikes, all provoke bewilderment and surprise from chance observers. These responses hint that CM may be triggering a mental process similar to what the Situationists sought to accomplish via *détournement*. Similarly CM may be interrupting the self-reinforcing cycle of the *habitus/doxa* (Bourdieu, 2007), just as Rebar seeks to accomplish through its event Park(ing) Day and its other acts of *tactical urbanism*.

The sample of observers for this project was relatively small, and therefore it may be unwise to conclude too much from the observer data. That said, the findings from different methods were largely consistent and the results hint at some interesting conclusions. One might infer that were CM indeed received positively by most pedestrian observers, this might help explain the event's ability to attract new participants. When surveyed observers *who had never participated in CM* were asked if, upon witnessing the CM event, they were interested in participating, exactly half (13 of 26) said they were. Again, were this data generalizable to overall observer opinion, it might offer hints about CM's ability to proliferate to new cities and to attract new participants.

Impact on Participants

As a means to better understand how CM functions and why people are motivated to, participate in the event, this project sought to explore the impact CM has upon those who ride in the event. Does CM influence participants' views on public space issues and/or other social or political issues? Does CM fulfill human needs of collective joy, self-expression, joy, and community? Are CM's carnivalesque, ludic, and anarchistic elements responsible for unique impacts upon participants? The data indicates that CM did have a range of impacts on the interviewees and respondents in this study, sometimes significantly so.

Tellingly, a rather strong majority of respondents believed CM had made a positive impact on their lives (12 of 16 of CM-P1 respondents⁹ and 74 of 90 CM-P2 respondents). From a follow-up question (CM-P2, question 16)—which asked respondents to select all-that-applied from a list of potential impacts— came some particularly interesting findings. According to responses, CM was essentially as likely to impact participants in terms of their social, community, and civic lives, as it was to impact their biking habits. Nearly half of the respondents who answered the follow up question said CM had influenced them to become more civically/politically involved. More than half said CM influenced them to learn more about their community. A full 58 of 80 said CM helped them make new friends. Additionally, CM frequently had bike-related impacts upon respondents as well. More than half said they had become more confident urban bicyclists and learned more about local bicycling routes. Nearly half said they rode their bikes more often for transportation, and were more physically fit, etc.

⁹ Respondents who had yet to ride in CM at time of survey were filtered from this sample.

This diverse range of positive life impacts that participants credit to CM, may offer some insights into why the ride is popular and sustainable. The data suggests that most respondents believe CM is a positive influence in their lives and they feel good about participating for a number of reasons beyond the mere fact that CM is a protest. This would appear to counter the notion often asserted by critics that CM participants are only motivated by the desire to create traffic jams and to cause general frustration for motorists.

Much data from this project, discussed under both research questions, indicates that Situationist theory and Bourdieu's (2007) notions of *habitus* and *doxa* may be helpful in interpreting how Critical Mass works on the consciousness of the individual participant. Similar to how Debord (2006) describes the Situationist practice of *dérive*, Pomerantz described CM as having the capacity to provide a distinctly surreal experience with the participant engaging the urban environment in an entirely new, sometimes startling, and enlightening way (J. Pomerantz, Personal Interview, August 2, 2011). If Pomerantz is correct, perhaps this is a factor in why such a significant number of survey respondents claim that CM has impacted the way they view and value the streets as public space (CM-P2, question 15, CM-P2, question 17). Likewise, in the vein of Rebar's (2009) tactical urbanism, a CM participant may be employing the space of the city's streets in a way so unlike her usual understanding of those streets, that the self-reinforcing spell of the *habitus/doxa* dynamic is successfully broken within her consciousness.

A number of respondents and interviewees, as well as myself as a participant-observer, described CM as engendering experiences of empowerment, liberation, and joy.

Connecting the two principle research questions of this project, it appears these experiences of empowerment, liberation, and joy are often closely connected to the carnivalesque, ludic, and anarchistic elements of the CM as well as CM's location in the unique public space of the urban streets.

Conclusions and Implications

Three major conclusions stand out from the findings in this project. First, the findings indicate that Critical Mass is a political event that is about play at least as much as it is about protest and an event that engages both politically motivated and non-politically motivated participants. Secondly, CM's carnivalesque and anarchistic aspects contribute to the creation of a liberating, empowering, joyful, and cooperative environment that draws participants and creates an overall smoothly functioning event, despite its lack of formal leadership or structure. Finally, CM's relationship to and use of public space creates a synergistic dynamic that appears to enhance its impact and success. I shall briefly discuss each of these conclusions in turn.

An early hypothesis that helped guide this project was the idea that CM was, in part, an important protest movement that regularly involved a number of people who were not, in fact, consciously protesting and who were not only motivated by politics to participate. Based on this study's finding, this indeed appears to be the case, which indicates a rather important feature of CM that distinguishes it from traditional forms of protest such as rallies, marches, picketing, etc. The fact that Critical Mass is a ludic event that draws some participants simply seeking fun, will not come as a surprise to its participants, but it does counter a frequent assertion from critics that CM participants are only interested in creating traffic jams and frustrating motorists.

Scholars who have studied CM assume that CM is potentially political (Ferrell, 2001; Furness, 2006) and this project's survey findings show that most participants believe the event is at least, in part, political. Yet when asked to apply the protest/play dichotomy to CM as an event, respondents as a group said it was more about play than protest. Likewise, when asked to apply the protest/play dichotomy to their own motivation, they said they were more motivated by play than by protest. While respondents did not appear to be in general agreement on exactly what CM is and what it stands for, respondents were in near unanimous agreement that CM is "fun." A number of interviewees also indicated that play was either the primary, or at least a significant factor in their participation. In some cases a respondent said his/her motivation to participate in CM was 100% play and 0% protest. While this group comprised a small minority, their presence in the sample is significant, because it provides evidence for an important conclusion of the study that CM engages participants who are not politically motivated.

CM's ability to engage non-activists through its ludic elements may be an important piece in understanding CM's overall success and sustainability and may have larger implications. Activists and organizers looking to build sustainable movements may benefit from looking to CM's model with its successful combination of play and protest. CM's play and protest combination is not likely solely responsible for CM's success, but it appears to be a significant factor.

Another conclusion that emerges from the data is that CM's carnivalesque and anarchistic aspects appear to contribute to a liberating, empowering, joyful, and cooperative environment and a mostly-smoothly functioning event that observers view positively and that attracts participation. This appears to be the case despite—or perhaps,

because of—CM's lack of rules or formal structure. To review how the study brought us to this conclusion, let's look at its two key notions: first, that CM has a positive environment and functions well, and secondly, that this is due, in part, to the event's carnivalesque and anarchistic elements.

Many of the findings in this project show CM to have a liberating, empowering, joyful, and cooperative environment and to be an event that functions smoothly on the whole. A number of interviewees and respondents claimed that CM engendered feelings of liberation, and empowerment and cited these as reasons for participating. The survey data showed that most participants believed CM to be fun and playful, and my participant-observations uncovered ample instances of what could be described as collective joy. The data shows that CM does have its occasional conflicts, yet on the whole, most participants and observers do not consider it overly confrontational and my participant-observations support this. The majority of interviewed and surveyed respondents had overall positive perceptions of the event, as well. Participant respondents and interviewees described CM as an event marked by its mostly efficient self-organizing and self-policing. Again, my participant-observations corroborate this.

The environment and function of CM appear to be closely linked with the event's carnivalesque and anarchistic elements. Interviewees and respondents said they felt empowered by CM's upending of the everyday car/bike power dynamic in the streets. Interviewees and respondents also talked about the appeal of CM as a carnivalesque party/festival engendering joy and freedom. My participant-observations also revealed a scene with many carnivalesque elements that seemed to not only express the joy and freedom of participants, but appeared to bring joy, excitement, and a sense of welcome to

observers as well. The data also shows that CM as a model of non-ideological, anarchistic practice in autonomy, and self-organization, functions well to make the event cooperative and sustainable. Interviewees and respondents described CM's capacity to police itself and to empower independent thinking and action. My participant-observations revealed instances of well functioning self-policing and the success of unspoken consensus decision-making. Also, interview, survey, and participant-observation data all indicate an event that invites broad participation because of its openness to a range of political expression from the overtly political to the apolitical.

CM's carnivalesque and anarchistic elements appear central to its function, its impacts on participants and observers, and to its ability to invite broad and sustained participation. Again, activists and organizers may benefit from looking to CM's form and function for a successful model in movement building. Scholars have suggested that carnivalesque tactics can be uniquely effective in social-political activism. This data offers further support for this notion. The findings also indicate that a non-ideological, anarchistic model can be effective for creating successful events and sustainable movements. With the recent emergence of the Occupy movement and the debate over the effectiveness of its model and the direction it should take in the future, the CM model as explored and discussed in this research project, may prove helpful to the discussion.

A third significant conclusion from this project is that CM's relationship to public space creates a seemingly synergistic dynamic that enhances the event's impact, appeal, and success. Public space is essentially *where everything comes together* for CM, in both metaphorically and literally. For CM, public space appears to serve in any or all of these roles and functions: as political objective, as venue for performance and creative

expression, as venue for play and collective joy, as venue for political expression, as space of resistance, as space for ritual, as space for community, as space for prefigurative politics, as space for recruitment, as space for liberation and empowerment, and as space and as means for shift in consciousness. The relationship between CM and public space is one of give and take. While public space functions in all the mentioned roles, CM provides needed content (of people, play, creative and political expression, etc.) for public space to fulfill its potential. Again, Whyte (1988) lamented the rapid trend towards public spaces devoid of “controversy, soap boxing, passing of leaflets, impromptu entertaining, or eccentric behavior” (p. 208). The findings of this project demonstrate that CM restores all these things to public space. Together, CM and public space create an event with popular appeal and potent impact.

Interview and survey findings show that some participants come to CM with strong opinions about the meaning and importance of public space, even believing it to be a fundamental human right. For some activist participants, their primary motivation to engage in CM is to reclaim public space. Yet for others, the findings indicate, it was through participation in CM that they came to care more about public space and public space issues. In fact, respondents as a group said overwhelmingly that CM had influenced their opinions on public space. The data appears to indicate that even those who came to CM with conscious thoughts and opinions on public space had their views and values of public space impacted further. As one first-time participant put it, CM is “a sort of public-education moment” (L. DeGuzman, personal account, August 26, 2011).

The findings suggest that the streets have unique capacities as public space, allowing CM to flow randomly to anywhere and everywhere in the city. Survey data

indicates that through CM, participants learn more about transportation routes and more about their community in general. The streets as public space provide a roving stage for carnivalesque performance and creative expression, and the streets also regularly provide new and fresh audiences, whose enthusiastic and appreciative reactions create a positive feedback loop, making CM more enjoyable and rewarding for participants. The findings indicate that CM also provides a welcome space for a broad range of political expression, the exchange of ideas, social interaction, and the meeting of strangers. Interview, survey, and participant-observation data provide evidence that CM functions like *dérive* and *détournement*, allowing people to experience public space in new ways and creating shifts in consciousness in terms of how people view the meaning and function of the streets and public space. The findings give strong indication that all these factors contribute to CM's appeal and help explain its success.

The data from this project appears to support the notion that public space activism is unique. The bold act of reclaiming and/or repurposing public space, even if primarily just for play or festival, may have a special impact on both the doers and observers. The success of Critical Mass as well as Park(ing) Day and other insurgent public space activities support this notion. Again, with the current mass takeovers of high-profile public and quasi-public spaces from Cairo to California, the question of how activism and public space interact could not be more relevant or timely. Critical Mass is an event that is both in and *about* public space that has proven successful in a number of ways. Activists and organizers would do well to look at the model CM represents as a unique, non-ideological combination of play, anarchy, carnival, mobility and politics—all coming together to reclaim and celebrate public space.

Recommendations for Further Study

I have a few recommendations for further study. First, this study's findings hinted at some rather valuable conclusions about observer perceptions of CM, but more data may be necessary before we deem the evidence conclusive. Secondly, a study of Critical Mass participants over time, beginning with their first rides could be particularly enlightening. Other inquiries that might prove fruitful include a study that directly compares and contrasts CM with a more traditional mode of protest, studying how participants came to participate in CM, and interviewing/surveying individuals who founded Critical Mass events in different cities.

A valuable conclusion that emerged from the findings was that, despite CM's controversial reputation, most pedestrian observers appeared to have positive opinions about the event. I did not, however, see it fit to include this among the formal conclusions of the thesis due to limited observer data. Still, the data triangulation of interviews, surveys, and participant-observations produced consistent results indicating that most observers held positive views of CM. Yet, a more reliable and conclusive study of CM observers would require a larger sample and one that included automobile drivers and passengers. It would also benefit from more-in-depth interviews with observers. All of these improvements, incidentally, would require a team of researchers rather than a lone participant-observer and interviewer, as was the case with this study. In San Francisco at least, the mainstream media narrative does not generally portray CM in a positive light, yet its proponents insist the negative portrayals are frequently inaccurate. A study that could more conclusively determine how observers actually view CM would be particularly valuable.

One of the most compelling pieces of data produced by this study was the written account by a participant following her first-ever ride in CM (Appendix D). The accounts of first-time riders can reveal a great deal about the visceral and consciousness-shifting impacts that CM appears to frequently have upon participants. Additionally, a study that continued to follow these riders over time, would have the potential to reveal if and how CM influences an individual's opinions, political views, and views of public space. Do some participants, who are initially motivated only by play to participate in CM, develop more complex views over time about the event and/or its political impact? A long-term study of CM participants would be truly valuable in assessing CM's impact upon participants.

Finally, a number of other potential inquiries could further the understanding of critical mass as public space activism and a model for change movements in general. First, a scientifically conducted poll of CM's demographic breakdown would provide reliable information on CM's actual diversity of participation. Second, learning how participants come to be engaged in CM (through friends or via the internet, etc.) would increase our understanding of how the movement proliferates. Surveys and interviews with participants from multiple cities could be particularly informative in understanding CM as public space activism on an international level. Likewise surveys and interviews with founders of CM events in multiple cities could be very revealing about the mechanism of CM's global proliferation. Lastly, a comparative analysis of CM with another social-political movement, with more traditional tactics and structure, could provide valuable findings about the advantages and disadvantages of CM as an effective tool for activism.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Subject Bill of Rights and Consent Forms

Letter Granting IRBPHS Application Waiver Request

Research Subjects Bill of Rights

Informed Consent Form For On Location Interviews
With Event Participants And Observers

Informed Consent Form For Organizers/Founders

Verbal Consent Script:
Consent to be a Research Subject

From: Peggy Takahashi <takahaship@usfca.edu>
Subject: IRBPHS application 11-070
Date: June 30, 2011 10:00:19 AM PDT
To: jblue@usfca.edu
Cc: irbphs <irbphs@usfca.edu>
▶ 1 Attachment, 636 KB

Dear John,

My name is Peggy Takahashi and I have been assigned your IRBPHS application to review.

Based on your "Request for waiver . . ." section, I am inclined to agree and grant your waiver request. Please be advised that this waiver will not apply to minors.

Would you please revise your consent forms to include a statement on confidentiality of your data. Please specify how you will maintain confidentiality of your records (stored in locked file cabinet, etc.) as you did on your application. For interviews w/ known subjects, how will you maintain their confidentiality? Please refer to p. 18 of the attached IRB manual.

You can send the revised consent materials to me via e-mail. So that the IRBPHS office gets a copy as well, please hit "reply all". If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to ask me.

Thanks,

Peggy



[irbManual.pdf \(636 KB\)](#)

RESEARCH SUBJECTS' BILL OF RIGHTS

The rights below are the rights of every person who is asked to be in a research study. As a research subject, I have the following rights:

Research subjects can expect:

- To be told the extent to which confidentiality of records identifying the subject will be maintained and of the possibility that specified individuals, internal and external regulatory agencies, or study sponsors may inspect information in the medical record specifically related to participation in the clinical trial.
- To be told of any benefits that may reasonably be expected from the research.
- To be told of any reasonably foreseeable discomforts or risks.
- To be told of appropriate alternative procedures or courses of treatment that might be of benefit to the subject.
- To be told of the procedures to be followed during the course of participation, especially those that are experimental in nature.
- To be told that they may refuse to participate (participation is voluntary), and that declining to participate will not compromise access to services and will not result in penalty or loss of benefits to which the subject is otherwise entitled.
- To be told about compensation and medical treatment if research related injury occurs and where further information may be obtained when participating in research involving more than minimal risk.
- To be told whom to contact for answers to pertinent questions about the research, about the research subjects' rights and whom to contact in the event of a research-related injury to the subject.
- To be told of anticipated circumstances under which the investigator without regard to the subject's consent may terminate the subject's participation.
- To be told of any additional costs to the subject that may result from participation in the research.
- To be told of the consequences of a subjects' decision to withdraw from the research and procedures for orderly termination of participation by the subject.
- To be told that significant new findings developed during the course of the research that may relate to the subject's willingness to continue participation will be provided to the subject.
- To be told the approximate number of subjects involved in the study.
- To be told what the study is trying to find out;
- To be told what will happen to me and whether any of the procedures, drugs, or devices are different from what would be used in standard practice;
- To be told about the frequent and/or important risks, side effects, or discomforts of the things that will happen to me for research purposes;
- To be told if I can expect any benefit from participating, and, if so, what the benefit might be;
- To be told of the other choices I have and how they may be better or worse than being in the stud
- To be allowed to ask any questions concerning the study both before agreeing to be involved and during the course of the study;
- To be told what sort of medical or psychological treatment is available if any complications arise;
- To refuse to participate at all or to change my mind about participation after the

study is started; if I were to make such a decision, it will not affect my right to receive the care or privileges I would receive if I were not in the study;

- To receive a copy of the signed and dated consent form; and
- To be free of pressure when considering whether I wish to agree to be in the study.

If I have other questions, I should ask the researcher or the research assistant. In addition, I may contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS), which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS by calling (415) 422-6091, by electronic mail at IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to USF IRBPHS, Counseling Psychology Department, Education Building, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1071.

References: JCAHO and Research Regulatory Bodies

(1) To be told what the study is trying to find out; (2) To be told what will happen to me and whether any of the procedures, drugs, or devices are different from what would be used in standard practice; (3) To be told about the frequent and/or important risks, side effects, or discomforts of the things that will happen to me for research purposes; (4) To be told if I can expect any benefit from participating, and, if so, what the benefit might be; (5) To be told of the other choices I have and how they may be better or worse than being in the study; (6) To be allowed to ask any questions concerning the study both before agreeing to be involved and during the course of the study; (7) To be told what sort of medical or psychological treatment is available if any complications arise; (8) To refuse to participate at all or to change my mind about participation after the study is started; if I were to make such a decision, it will not affect my right to receive the care or privileges I would receive if I were not in the study; (9) To receive a copy of the signed and dated consent form; and (10) To be free of pressure when considering whether I wish to agree to be in the study.

If I have other questions, I should ask the researcher or the research assistant. In addition, I may contact the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS), which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS by calling (415) 422-6091, by electronic mail at IRBPHS@usfca.edu or by writing to USF IRBPHS, Counseling Psychology Department, Education Building, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1071.

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO
**INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR ON LOCATION
 INTERVIEWS WITH EVENT PARTICIPANTS AND
 OBSERVERS**

CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Purpose and Background:

Andy Blue, graduate student at the University of San Francisco, is studying Critical Mass, Park(ing) Day, and Sidewalks are for People Day for his master's thesis. He intends to learn more about how these movements and events grow and become self-sustaining. He intends to learn about what motivates people to participate in these events and the impact these events have upon participants and observers. I am being asked to participate because I am a organizer and/or participant and/or observer of one or all of these events.

Procedures:

If I agree to be a participant in this study, the following will happen:

1. If I chose, I will answer optional questions that provide basic information about me, including age, gender, race, etc.
2. I will participate in an interview about my participation in Critical Mass, Park(ing) Day, and Sidewalks are for People Day.
3. I may also, if I chose, complete an optional survey with questions about Critical Mass, Park(ing) Day, and Sidewalks are for People Day.

Risks and/or Discomforts:

1. It is possible, though not anticipated, that I may not feel comfortable answering all the questions in the interview or on the survey. I am free to decline to answer any questions I do not wish to answer or to stop participation at any time.
2. Study records will be kept as confidential as possible. No individual identities will be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. Study information will be coded and kept in locked files at all times. Only Mr. Blue will have access to the files.
3. Participation in research may mean a loss of confidentiality. The interview will be anonymous unless I wish to provide contact information for follow-up questions. I will only be quoted with permission. If I provide my identity and contact information there is a possibility of loss of confidentiality. However, every precaution will be taken to maintain confidentiality of the information gathered. No individual identities will be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. Data will be coded and stored in password-protected files on Mr. Blue's computer or in a locked file cabinet. Only Mr. Blue will have access to the files.

4. The interview may be brief (30 minutes) or longer (an hour or more), depending on the conversation. I am free to end the interview at anytime, for any reason.

Benefits:

There will be no direct benefit to me from participating in this study. The anticipated benefit of this study is a better understanding of how decentralized social/ecological movements grow and sustain themselves.

Costs/Financial Considerations:

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Questions:

I have talked to Ms. Blue about this study and have had my questions answered. If I have further questions about the study, I may call him at (415) 533-4694. If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first talk with Mr. Blue. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Counseling Psychology Department, Education Building, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1071.

Consent:

I have been given a copy of the “Research Subject’s Bill of Rights” and I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep. PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to be in this study, or to withdraw from it at any point. My decision as to whether or not to participate in this study will have no influence on my present or future status as a student or employee at USF. My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

Subject’s Signature _____

Date of Signature _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent _____

Date of signature _____

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR ORGANIZERS/FOUNDERS

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Purpose and Background:

Andy Blue, graduate student at the University of San Francisco, is studying Critical Mass, Park(ing) Day, and Sidewalks are for People Day for his master's thesis. He intends to learn more about how these movements and events grow and become self-sustaining. He intends to learn about what motivates people to participate in these events and the impact these events have upon participants and observers. I am being asked to participate because I am a organizer and/or founder of one or all of these events.

Procedures:

If I agree to be a participant in this study, the following will happen:

1. If I chose, I will answer optional questions that provide basic information about me, including age, gender, race, etc.
2. I will participate in an interview about my participation in Critical Mass, Park(ing) Day, and Sidewalks are for People Day.
3. I may also, if I chose, complete an optional survey with questions about Critical Mass, Park(ing) Day, and Sidewalks are for People Day.
4. Unless I specify otherwise, my statements, ideas, and opinions about critical mass will be considered "on the record" and may be quoted or paraphrased with attribution to my name in Mr. Blue's thesis and/or in other published or unpublished written works.

Risks and/or Discomforts:

1. It is possible, though not anticipated, that I may not feel comfortable answering all the questions in the interview or on the survey. I am free to decline to answer any questions I do not wish to answer or to stop participation at any time.
2. My participation may mean a loss of confidentiality. Study records will be kept as confidential as possible. Every precaution will be taken to maintain confidentiality of the information gathered. Data will be coded and stored in password-protected files on Mr. Blue's computer or in a locked file cabinet. Only Mr. Blue will have access to the files.
3. The interview may be brief (30 minutes) or longer (an hour or more), depending on the conversation. I am free to end the interview at anytime, for any reason.

Benefits:

There will be no direct benefit to me from participating in this study. The anticipated benefit of this study is a better understanding of how decentralized social/ecological

movements grow and sustain themselves.

Costs/Financial Considerations:

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Questions:

I have talked to Ms. Blue about this study and have had my questions answered. If I have further questions about the study, I may call him at (415) 533-4694. If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first talk with Mr. Blue. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Counseling Psychology Department, Education Building, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1071.

Consent:

I have been given a copy of the “Research Subject’s Bill of Rights” and I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep. PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to be in this study, or to withdraw from it at any point. My decision as to whether or not to participate in this study will have no influence on my present or future status as a student or employee at USF. My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this study.

Subject’s Signature _____

Date of Signature _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent _____

Date of signature _____

VERBAL CONSENT SCRIPT

CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Purpose and Background:

Hello, my name is Andy Blue, and I am a graduate student at the University of San Francisco. I am studying Critical Mass, Park(ing) Day, and Sidewalks are for People Day for my master's thesis. I am attempting to learn more about how these movements and events grow and become self-sustaining. I am hoping to learn what motivates people to participate in these events and the impact these events have upon participants and observers. I am requesting an interview with you as _____ [an organizer and/or participant and/or observer] of one or all of these events.

Procedures:

If you agree to be a participant in this study, the following will happen:

1. If you chose, you may answer some optional questions, providing basic information about yourself, including age, gender, race.
2. You will participate in an anonymous interview about why you chose to participate in _____ [name of event] your opinions of _____ [name of event]; how you think this event impacts your life and the community; etc.
3. If you choose you may also complete a survey with questions similar to those in the interview.

Risks and/or Discomforts:

1. It is possible, though not anticipated, that you may not feel comfortable answering all the questions. You are free to decline to answer any question and/or to stop participation at any time.
2. Your participation in research will be anonymous.
3. The interview will be anonymous unless I wish to provide contact information for follow-up questions. In the event that I provide my identity, participation may mean a loss of confidentiality. Study records will be kept as confidential as possible. No individual identities will be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. Every precaution will be taken to maintain confidentiality of the information gathered. Data will be coded and stored in password-protected files on Mr. Blue's computer or in a locked file cabinet. Only Mr. Blue will have access to the files.

Benefits:

There will be no direct benefit to you for participating in this study. The anticipated benefit of this study is a better understanding of how positive social/ecological movements grow and sustain themselves and in turn help create healthier societies and/or environment.

Costs/Financial Considerations:

There will be no financial costs to you as a result of taking part in this study.

Questions:

If you have further questions about the study, you may contact me at (415) 533-4694. If for some reason you do not wish to contact me but still have questions about the study, you may contact the IRBPHS at the University of San Francisco, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. You may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Counseling Psychology Department, Education Building, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1071.

Consent:

If you a like, you are welcome to a copy of the “Research Subject’s Bill of Rights” and you may have a copy of a consent form to keep, including all the aforementioned contact information, etc. if you like. Your PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. You are free to decline to be in this study, or to withdraw from it at any point. Thank you so much.

Andy Blue
Master’s Candidate
Master of Arts in International Studies
University of San Francisco

APPENDIX B: Survey Questions

Survey CM-P1 (Critical Mass Participants 1)

Survey CM-P2 (Critical Mass Participants 2)

Survey CM-O (Critical Mass Observers)

Survey CM-P1 (CM Participant On-Site)

Thank you for your participation in this survey

This is a survey for anyone who participates in Critical Mass. This survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional, but please answer as many questions as you are able. Additional comments will be deeply appreciated. I apologize that the survey is only available in English.

The information gathered in this survey is for a graduate study project that seeks to learn more about decentralized movements that happen in public spaces. You are encouraged to pass this survey along to anyone who participates in Critical Mass.

Please contact Andy at andy.blue [at] yahoo.com if you have any questions or comments about this survey or the research project. The results of this survey will publicly available.

Thank you so much for your participation!

1. What is your age?

Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.

Age

2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

City/Town:

Country:

3. Race/ethnicity

4. Gender identity

5. Occupation

6. What is your approximate annual income in USD?

- less than \$20,000
- \$20,000 - \$30,000
- \$30,000 - \$50,000
- \$50,000 - \$75,000
- \$75,000 - \$100,000
- \$100,000 +

Survey CM-P1 (CM Participant On-Site)

7. This is your **FIRST TIME** riding in Critical Mass?

- yes
- no

8. On average, how often do you participate in Critical Mass?

- Monthly
- 7 to 12 times per year
- 1 to 6 times per year
- fewer times than once per year

9. For approximately how many years have you been riding in Critical Mass?

10. Primarily, why do you ride in Critical Mass?

- for fun/entertainment/ social activity
- for political purposes
- both
- Other (please specify)

11. Critical Mass is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Comments

Survey CM-P1 (CM Participant On-Site)

12. Critical Mass is fun.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Comments

13. Critical Mass serves as political protest. (If strongly agree or agree, what issues does CM address?)

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

What issue does CM address? Additional comments?

14. Critical Mass has had what you consider to be a positive impact on your behavior/habits. (For example: you now ride your bike more often in your day to day life due, at least in part, to your experience(s) with Critical Mass.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Care to elaborate?

Survey CM-P1 (CM Participant On-Site)

15. Critical Mass has affected the way you view and/or value the streets as public space.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Please explain.

16. Critical Mass has impacted your personal thinking/viewpoint on certain issues (transportation, bike safety, energy policies, etc.)? If strongly agree or agree, what issues?

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Other (please specify)

17. Overall, Critical Mass has a positive impact on this city as a whole.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Care to elaborate?

Survey CM-P1 (CM Participant On-Site)

18. Overall, observers in general, along the route on Critical Mass rides, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Care to elaborate?

19. Overall, motorists along a Critical Mass route, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Care to elaborate?

20. Critical Mass is often considered to be part play/celebration and part protest. In your opinion, what percentage is CM protest and what percentage play/celebration? (Your combined percentages should total 100 or less.)

CM is ____% protest.

CM is ____% play/celebration/social activity..

Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.

21. CM overall: what percentage protest vs play

protest

play

Survey CM-P1 (CM Participant On-Site)

22. As an individual, what percentage of your motivation to participate in Critical Mass comes from a desire to play/celebrate and/or to make a statement through protest?

The desire to PLAY/CELEBRATE accounts for approximately _____% of my motivation to participate in CM. The desire to make a statement through PROTEST accounts for approximately _____% of my motivation to participate in CM.

Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.

Other (please specify)

Survey CM-P2 (CM Participant Online)

Thank you for your participation in this survey

This is a survey for anyone who participates in Critical Mass. This survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional, but please answer as many questions as you are able.

CONSENT TO BE A RESEARCH SUBJECT

Purpose and Background:

Andy Blue, graduate student at the University of San Francisco, is studying Critical Mass for his master's thesis. He intends to learn more about how this movement and event grows and becomes self-sustaining. He intends to learn about what motivates people to participate in Critical Mass and the impact this event has upon participants and observers. I am being asked to participate because I am a participant in Critical Mass

Procedures:

If I agree to be a participant in this study, the following will happen:

1. If I chose, I will answer optional questions that provide basic information about me, including age, gender, race, etc.
2. I will participate in a survey about Critical Mass

Risks and/or Discomforts:

1. It is possible, though not anticipated, that I may not feel comfortable answering all the questions in the interview or on the survey. I am free to decline to answer any questions I do not wish to answer or to stop participation at any time.
2. Study records will be kept as confidential as possible. No individual identities will be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. Study information will be coded and kept in password protected files. Only Mr. Blue will have access to the files.
3. Participation in research may mean a loss of confidentiality. The survey is completely anonymous. If I provide my identity and contact information there is a possibility of loss of confidentiality. However, every precaution will be taken to maintain confidentiality of the information gathered. No individual identities will be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study. Data will be coded and stored in password-protected files on Mr. Blue's computer.
4. The survey will take approximately 5-15 minutes to complete.

Benefits:

There will be no direct benefit to me from participating in this study. The anticipated benefit of this study is a better understanding of how decentralized social/ecological movements grow and sustain themselves.

Costs/Financial Considerations:

There will be no financial costs to me as a result of taking part in this study.

Questions:

I have talked to Ms. Blue about this study and have had my questions answered. If I have further questions about the study, I may call him at (415) 533-4694. If I have any questions or comments about participation in this study, I should first talk with Mr. Blue. If for some reason I do not wish to do this, I may contact the IRBPHS, which is concerned with protection of volunteers in research projects. I may reach the IRBPHS office by calling (415) 422-6091 and leaving a voicemail message, by e-mailing IRBPHS@usfca.edu, or by writing to the IRBPHS, Counseling Psychology Department, Education Building, University of San Francisco, 2130 Fulton Street, San Francisco, CA 94117-1071.

Consent:

I have been given a copy of the "Research Subject's Bill of Rights" and I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep. PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to be in this study, or to withdraw from it at any point. My decision as to whether or not to participate in this study will have no influence on my present or future status as a student or employee at USF. By answering the questions in this survey I agree to participate in this study.

Survey CM-P2 (CM Participant Online)

1. What is your age?

Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.

Age

2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

City/Town:

Country:

3. Where do you reside?

City/Town:

State:

ZIP:

Country:

4. Race/ethnicity

5. Gender identity

6. Occupation

7. What is your approximate annual income in USD?

- less than \$20,000
- \$20,000 - \$35,000
- \$35,000 - \$50,000
- \$50,000 - \$75,000
- \$75,000 - \$100,000
- \$100,000 +

8. On average, how frequently do you participate in Critical Mass?

- Monthly
- 6 to 11 times per year
- 1 to 6 times per year
- Fewer times that once per year

9. For approximately how many years have you been riding in Critical Mass?

Survey CM-P2 (CM Participant Online)

10. Why do you ride in Critical Mass? Select all that apply.

- fun/entertainment
- social activity
- political expression
- Other (please specify)

11. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Critical Mass is fun.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Comments

12. Critical Mass is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Comments

Survey CM-P2 (CM Participant Online)

13. Critical Mass serves as political expression/protest.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

14. If you answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the above question, what political/social issues do you think Critical Mass addresses?

15. Critical Mass has had a positive impact on your life/behavior/habits.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Care to elaborate?

16. If you answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the above question, for what positive impacts is Critical Mass, at least in part, responsible? Select all that apply. (Credit to the San Jose Bike Party survey for many of the items listed below!).

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> You purchased a bicycle. | <input type="checkbox"/> You have become a more confident urban bicyclist. | <input type="checkbox"/> You drive a car less often. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> You have learned more about your community. | <input type="checkbox"/> You have become more civically/politically involved. | <input type="checkbox"/> You have learned more about local bicycling routes. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> You ride your bike more often for recreation. | <input type="checkbox"/> You ride your bike more often for transportation. | <input type="checkbox"/> You have joined a bicycle advocacy organization. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> You have made new friends. | <input type="checkbox"/> You are more physically fit. | |

Other (please specify)

Survey CM-P2 (CM Participant Online)

17. Critical Mass has affected the way you view and/or value the streets as public space.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Please explain.

18. Has Critical Mass impacted your personal viewpoint on any of the following or other issues? Select all that apply.

- transportation
- bike safety
- energy policy
- public space issues

Other (please specify)

19. If you selected any of the above choices, please explain how your viewpoint(s) on any issues have changed, evolved, etc.

20. Overall, Critical Mass has a positive impact on the city/town where you participate.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Care to elaborate?

Survey CM-P2 (CM Participant Online)

21. Overall, chance observers along the route on Critical Mass rides, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Care to elaborate?

22. Overall, motorists along a Critical Mass route, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Care to elaborate?

23. Critical Mass is often considered to be part play/celebration/social activity and part protest. In your opinion, what percentage is CM protest and what percentage play/celebration/social activity? (Your combined percentages should total 100 or less.)

CM is ____% protest.

CM is ____% play/celebration/social activity..

Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.

Survey CM-P2 (CM Participant Online)

24. As an individual, what percentage of your motivation to participate in Critical Mass comes from a desire to play/celebrate/socialize and/or to make a statement through protest?

The desire to PLAY/CELEBRATE accounts for approximately _____% of my motivation to participate in CM. The desire to make a statement through PROTEST accounts for approximately _____% of my motivation to participate in CM.

Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.

25. Please share any further comments you care to make about your motivations to participate in Critical Mass, your opinions about it's effectiveness, it's value for you personally or the larger community, etc.

Thanks so much again for your participation. Contact Andy at [andy.blue \[at\] yahoo.com](mailto:andy.blue@yahoo.com) if you have any questions or comments about this survey or the larger research project.

Event Observer Survey

This is an anonymous survey for a graduate research project on this and other events. Thank you for your participation.

Have you ever participated in this event?

Yes No

Have you ever witnessed this event before today?

Yes No

Overall, the tone and impact of this event is _____.

- very positive
- somewhat positive
- not sure
- somewhat negative
- very negative

This event is confrontational.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

This event is good for San Francisco.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

I am interested in participating in this event in the future.

- strongly agree
- agree
- not sure
- disagree
- strongly disagree

This event appears to be primarily _____.

- a protest
- a festive social activity
- both of the above
- other _____

If you have any questions or would like to share further comments about this event for Andy's research project tear this off and save. Thanks again!

jablue@usfca.edu

APPENDIX C: Survey Results

Survey CM-P1 (Critical Mass Participants 1)

Survey CM-P2 (Critical Mass Participants 2)

Survey CM-O (Critical Mass Observers)

Survey CM-O with Participants Filtered from Sample

1. What is your age? Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.

	Response Average	Response Total	Response Count
Age	27.53	881	32
	answered question		32
	skipped question		1

2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

	Response Percent	Response Count	
City/Town:	100.0%	27	
Country:	100.0%	27	
	answered question		27
	skipped question		6

3. Race/ethnicity

	Response Count	
	31	
	answered question	31
	skipped question	2







4. Gender identity

	Response Count
	33
answered question	33
skipped question	0

5. Occupation

	Response Count
	29
answered question	29
skipped question	4

6. What is your approximate annual income in USD?

		Response Percent	Response Count
less than \$20,000		43.5%	10
\$20,000 - \$30,000		21.7%	5
\$30,000 - \$50,000		13.0%	3
\$50,000 - \$75,000		4.3%	1
\$75,000 - \$100,000		4.3%	1
\$100,000 +		13.0%	3
	answered question		23
	skipped question		10










7. This is your FIRST TIME riding in Critical Mass?

		Response Percent	Response Count
yes		48.5%	16
no		51.5%	17
answered question			33
skipped question			0





8. On average, how often do you participate in Critical Mass?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Monthly		25.0%	5
7 to 12 times per year		10.0%	2
1 to 6 times per year		40.0%	8
fewer times than once per year		25.0%	5
answered question			20
skipped question			13





9. For approximately how many years have you been riding in Critical Mass?

		Response Percent	Response Count
less than one year		6.3%	1
1		31.3%	5
2		12.5%	2
3		18.8%	3
4		6.3%	1
5		6.3%	1
6		6.3%	1
7		6.3%	1
8		0.0%	0
9		0.0%	0
10		6.3%	1
11		0.0%	0
12		0.0%	0
13		0.0%	0
14		0.0%	0
15		0.0%	0
16		0.0%	0
17		0.0%	0
18		0.0%	0
19		0.0%	0
answered question			16
skipped question			17




10. Primarily, why do you ride in Critical Mass?

		Response Percent	Response Count
for fun/entertainment/ social activity		46.7%	14
for political purposes		3.3%	1
both		40.0%	12
Other (please specify)		30.0%	9
		answered question	30
		skipped question	3

11. Critical Mass is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		32.3%	10
agree		35.5%	11
not sure		22.6%	7
disagree		9.7%	3
strongly disagree		0.0%	0
		Comments	4
		answered question	31
		skipped question	2

12. Critical Mass is fun.






		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		40.6%	13
agree		53.1%	17
not sure		6.3%	2
disagree		0.0%	0
strongly disagree		0.0%	0

Comments 3

answered question 32

skipped question 1

13. Critical Mass serves as political protest. (If strongly agree or agree, what issues does CM address?)






		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		14.3%	4
agree		42.9%	12
not sure		35.7%	10
disagree		3.6%	1
strongly disagree		3.6%	1

What issue does CM address? Additional comments? 13






answered question 28

skipped question 5



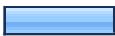


14. Critical Mass has had what you consider to be a positive impact on your behavior/habits. (For example: you now ride your bike more often in your day to day life due, at least in part, to your experience(s) with Critical Mass.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		3.6%	1
agree		53.6%	15
not sure		32.1%	9
disagree		7.1%	2
strongly disagree		3.6%	1
	Care to elaborate?		6
	answered question		28
	skipped question		5




15. Critical Mass has affected the way you view and/or value the streets as public space.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		25.8%	8
agree		45.2%	14
not sure		22.6%	7
disagree		3.2%	1
strongly disagree		3.2%	1
	Please explain.		6
	answered question		31
	skipped question		2





16. Critical Mass has impacted your personal thinking/viewpoint on certain issues (transportation, bike safety, energy policies, etc.)? If strongly agree or agree, what issues?

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		29.0%	9
agree		45.2%	14
not sure		16.1%	5
disagree		6.5%	2
strongly disagree		3.2%	1
	Other (please specify)		11
answered question			31
skipped question			2






17. Overall, Critical Mass has a positive impact on this city as a whole.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		46.7%	14
agree		43.3%	13
not sure		10.0%	3
disagree		0.0%	0
strongly disagree		0.0%	0
	Care to elaborate?		6
answered question			30
skipped question			3

18. Overall, observers in general, along the route on Critical Mass rides, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		22.6%	7
agree		25.8%	8
not sure		41.9%	13
disagree		9.7%	3
strongly disagree		0.0%	0
	Care to elaborate?		10
	answered question		31
	skipped question		2

19. Overall, motorists along a Critical Mass route, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		14.3%	4
agree		17.9%	5
not sure		39.3%	11
disagree		17.9%	5
strongly disagree		10.7%	3
	Care to elaborate?		5
	answered question		28
	skipped question		5

20. Critical Mass is often considered to be part play/celebration and part protest. In your opinion

CM is _____% protest.

	0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35
Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	9.5% (2)	0.0% (0)	9.5% (2)	4.8% (1)	9.5% (2)	0.0% (0)

CM is _____% play/celebration/social activity..

	0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35
Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	4.5% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)

21. As an individual, what percentage of your motivation to participate in Critical Mass comes from

The desire to **PLAY/CELEBRATE** accounts for approximately _____% of my motivation to participate in CM.

	5	0	10	15	20	25
Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	3.7% (1)	3.7% (1)

The desire to make a statement through **PROTEST** accounts for approximately _____% of my motivation to participate

	0	5	10	15	20	25
Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.	4.3% (1)	0.0% (0)	26.1% (6)	0.0% (0)	13.0% (3)	4.3% (1)

22. POST SURVEY ANALYSIS: QUESTION 20 RESPONSES ORGANIZED BY RESEARCHER

	Response Average	Response Total	Response Count
protest	34.95	734	21
play	65.05	1,366	21
answered question			21
skipped question			12

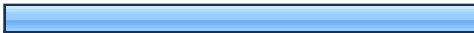

23. POST SURVEY ANALYSIS: QUESTION 21 RESPONSES ORGANIZED BY RESEARCHER

	Response Average	Response Total	Response Count
play	74.85	2,021	27
protest	25.15	679	27
answered question			27
skipped question			6

24. POST SURVEY: COLLECTION OF ADDITIONAL COMMENTS BY RESPONDENTS

	Response Count
	2
answered question	2
skipped question	31

25. POST SURVEY: Survey collected in July or August 2011?

		Response Percent	Response Count
July		71.0%	22
August		29.0%	9
		answered question	31
		skipped question	2

26. POST SURVEY: RESEARCHER'S NOTES

		Response Count
		20
		answered question
		20
		skipped question
		13

27. POST SURVEY: QUESTION 3 RESPONSES GROUPED INTO COMMONLY USED CATAGORIES BY RESEARCHER

		Response Percent	Response Count
decline to state or skipped question		6.1%	2
White		39.4%	13
Black or African-American		9.1%	3
American Indian or Alaskan Native		0.0%	0
Asian		15.2%	5
Latino		15.2%	5
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander		6.1%	2
From multiple races		9.1%	3
answered question			33
skipped question			0

28. POST SURVEY: QUESTION 4 RESPONSES ORGANIZED BY RESEARCHER

		Response Percent	Response Count
Male		53.3%	16
Female		46.7%	14
Other (please specify)			2
answered question			30
skipped question			3

Q1. What is your age?**Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.**

1	30	Dec 10, 2011 4:14 PM
2	35	Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM
3	25	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
4	25	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
5	23	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
6	25	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
7	25	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
8	44	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
9	25	Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM
10	24	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
11	25	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
12	27	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
13	29	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
14	18	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
15	18	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
16	19	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
17	19	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
18	23	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
19	34	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
20	29	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
21	22	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
22	28	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
23	31	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
24	30	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
25	29	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
26	36	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
27	41	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM

Q1. What is your age?**Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.**

28	27	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
29	19	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
30	42	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
31	23	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
32	31	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

1

City/Town: San Francisco Dec 10, 2011 4:14 PM

Country: USA Dec 10, 2011 4:14 PM

2

City/Town: San Francisco Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM

Country: USA Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM

3

City/Town: Oakland Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM

Country: USA Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM

4

City/Town: Los Angeles Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM

Country: USA Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM

5

City/Town: San Francisco Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM

Country: USA Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM

6

City/Town: London Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM

Country: UK Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM

7

City/Town: San Francisco Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM

Country: USA Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM

8

City/Town: San Francisco Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM

Country: USA Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM

9

City/Town: San Francisco Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM

Country: USA Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM

10

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

City/Town:	Houston	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
11		
City/Town:	Hayward, CA	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
12		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
13		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
14		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
15		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
16		
City/Town:	Oakland	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
17		
City/Town:	San Diego	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
18		
City/Town:	New York City	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
19		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
	20	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
	21	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
	22	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM
	23	
City/Town:	San Jose	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
	24	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
	25	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
	26	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
	27	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM
Country:	USA	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q3. Race/ethnicity

1	White	Dec 10, 2011 4:14 PM
2	White (French)	Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM
3	Mexican	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
4	white	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
5	Thai	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
6	African	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
7	Asian	Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM
8	White	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
9	Caucasian	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
10	White	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
11	Hispanic	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
12	mutt	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
13	Caucasion/ Filipino	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
14	French, Filipino, Native American	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
15	Asian	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
16	Indian	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
17	Black	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
18	mixed	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
19	Indian	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
20	Hispanic	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
21	White/Jewish	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
22	White	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
23	White	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
24	White	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
25	White	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM
26	Hispanic	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
27	Latino	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM

Q3. Race/ethnicity

28	Hawaiian-Filipino American	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
29	European	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
30	White	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
31	African ancestry	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q4. Gender identity

1	Male	Dec 10, 2011 4:14 PM
2	Female	Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM
3	androgynous	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
4	Female	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
5	Male	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
6	male	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
7	Male	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
8	Female	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
9	Male	Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM
10	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
11	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
12	Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
13	Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
14	male	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
15	Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
16	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
17	Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
18	Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
19	Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
20	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
21	Woman	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
22	Lesbian Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
23	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
24	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
25	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
26	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
27	Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM

Q4. Gender identity

28	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
29	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
30	Male	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
31	Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
32	Female	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
33	subjective	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q5. Occupation

1	Advocate	Dec 10, 2011 4:14 PM
2	Engineer	Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM
3	Student (PhD)	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
4	Student	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
5	student	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
6	Student	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
7	Teacher	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
8	Student	Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM
9	Non-profit Development	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
10	Work at Design + Build Firm	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
11	Massage Therapist	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
12	Teacher / Sm. Business Owner	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
13	Private Nanny	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
14	Student	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
15	Student	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
16	Medical Student	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
17	cust svc	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
18	Funemployed / teacher / community service / student / farmer	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
19	Student	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
20	student	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
21	Freelance	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
22	FINANCE	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
23	unemployed	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
24	Student	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
25	Student	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
26	director-marketing-research	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
27	none	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q5. Occupation

28	teacher	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
29	student	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q10. Primarily, why do you ride in Critical Mass?

1	to participate in a thriving social movement	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
2	to leisurely explore the city	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
3	to reclaim what has been taken by the corporate car culture	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
4	explore SF	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
5	acknowledge bikers	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
6	to piss off pedestrians and drivers	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
7	Experience	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
8	Widen my perspective of the ride from a cyclist point of view vs. car driver	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
9	bond with other cyclists	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q11. Critical Mass is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.

1	it depends where and in what season. CMLA was very very crowded the past month + very few women!!!	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
2	(In Houston) not sure here	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
3	Not so bad, kind a depends where. every city's different. always white majority but more or less and not always the "dominant" culture	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
4	not enough people of color	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q12. Critical Mass is fun.

1	although _____ at times disappointing	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
2	its freedom!	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM

Q12. Critical Mass is fun.

3	except when it's the same thing everytime	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
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Q13. Critical Mass serves as political protest. (If strongly agree or agree, what issues does CM address?)

1	I live my life as protest, constructive protest. taking away steps from oppressive systems.	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
2	I agree in the ____ that I'm here to protest. Issues = paralyze a city with bikes _____ chang order of teh control of cars energy _____.	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
3	share the road wi/ bikes etc. awareness	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
4	corporate car culture access to public spaces. the streets are always forgotten when talking about public spaces	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
5	No idea	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
6	bicycling advocacy / fight for more bike access / _____ / parking	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
7	protest against cars!	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
8	rights to the road, human-power + shutting down "normal" systems	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
9	public space, transportation and whatever issue gets tacked on by the news.	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
10	just the awareness of shared space with cyclists and drivers	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
11	innercity car traffic	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
12	I'm neutral on this. people ride for different reasons. it's not explicitly political.	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
13	I'm not at liver to speak fo all participants	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q14. Critical Mass has had what you consider to be a positive impact on your behavior/habits. (For example: you now ride your bike more often in your day to day life due, at least in part, to your experience(s) with Critical Mass.

1	learn to ride on streets by doing / watching	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
2	i have always ride my bike in switzerland!	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
3	i ride every day	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
4	getting out and riding	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
5	interesting to ride on streets without cars - populated areas that have too many cars	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
6	I ride more to prepare for the hills in SF	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q15. Critical Mass has affected the way you view and/or value the streets as public space.

1	I would agree if a I take as reference my way to be affected by the demonstrations I went to.	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
2	Taken by type, the street is the largest type of public space and its mostly dedicated to cars!!! We need changes	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
3	it's less about bicycles to me + more about the "gray area" of legality format (at least in NYC) it pushes the envelope	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
4	it's shaped space -- through SF is wonderful with its efforts to create more bike lanes throughout the city	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
5	My person opinion is that cars should not be allowed _____ CM helps to show the option of transport	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
6	It definitely makes you reconsider what streets are for who they are for.	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q16. Critical Mass has impacted your personal thinking/viewpoint on certain issues (transportation, bike safety, energy policies, etc.)? If strongly agree or agree, what issues?

1	not as much as riding solo or small group	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
2	big mix of every issue, sorry! :)	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
3	bicycling as an everyday mode of transportation	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
4	People need to stand up for their rights + safety	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
5	bikes for transportation are great	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
6	bike safety, transportation	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
7	all the obvious ways	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
8	That a car is not really necessary	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
9	greater mode of transportation and bike safety	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
10	the issue of oil and how we can find options plus fight the high pollution rate in the bigger cities	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
11	bike safety, biking infrastructure bike lanes, laws regarding bikes	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q17. Overall, Critical Mass has a positive impact on this city as a whole.

1	it brings bike transportation and classism and ecological struggle into a new light	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
2	gets people on bikes	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
3	I suppose, its my first CM in SF!	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
4	(in Houston)	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
5	In NYC I think it embarassed the city into being probike	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
6	not fair to suppress other people for personal gain of views	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q18. Overall, observers in general, along the route on Critical Mass rides, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

1	unless you know other riders	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
2	When people look at you and laugh & clap I suppose they think it is positive!	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
3	except for the drivers stuck in traffic	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
4	although response is mixed, most people cheer	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
5	people complain	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
6	about 50/50	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
7	everyone has their own opinions	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
8	tourists seem to love it. residents understand it. "bridge and tunnel" residents may not have an open mind because they just want to get out of the city and back home but can't sometimes	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
9	People in SF are supportive	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
10	some appear support while others look pissed	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q19. Overall, motorists along a Critical Mass route, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

1	There are some who believe in diversity and some who don't. the intention is to evolve the motorists in a real way.	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
2	some do. most don't.	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
3	Some do, some don't.	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
4	they (mostly) hate us But who cares?	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
5	I don't interact with the motorists to have a good idea about what they think	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q21. As an individual, what percentage of your motivation to participate in Critical Mass comes from a desire to play/celebrate and/or to make a statement through protest?

1	I'm a peaceful person by nature! :)	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
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Q22. POST SURVEY ANALYSIS: QUESTION 20 RESPONSES ORGANIZED BY RESEARCHER

protest		
1	25	Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM
2	25	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
3	50	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
4	20	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
5	20	Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM
6	20	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
7	20	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
8	40	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
9	30	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
10	30	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
11	20	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
12	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
13	60	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
14	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
15	10	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
16	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
17	25	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
18	80	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM
19	9	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
20	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
21	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
play		
1	75	Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM
2	75	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
3	50	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
4	80	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM

Q22. POST SURVEY ANALYSIS: QUESTION 20 RESPONSES ORGANIZED BY RESEARCHER

5	80	Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM
6	80	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
7	80	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
8	60	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
9	70	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
10	70	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
11	80	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
12	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
13	40	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
14	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
15	90	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
16	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
17	75	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
18	20	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM
19	91	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
20	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
21	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q23. POST SURVEY ANALYSIS: QUESTION 21 RESPONSES ORGANIZED BY RESEARCHER

play		
1	95	Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM
2	50	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
3	95	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
4	70	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
5	90	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
6	90	Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM
7	90	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
8	100	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
9	90	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
10	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
11	100	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
12	70	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
13	100	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
14	20	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
15	100	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
16	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
17	40	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
18	75	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
19	90	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
20	100	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
21	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
22	80	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM
23	91	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
24	80	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
25	25	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
26	80	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q23. POST SURVEY ANALYSIS: QUESTION 21 RESPONSES ORGANIZED BY RESEARCHER

27	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM
protest		
1	5	Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM
2	50	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
3	5	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
4	30	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM
5	10	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
6	10	Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM
7	10	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
8	0	Nov 26, 2011 10:59 AM
9	10	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
10	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
11	0	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
12	30	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
13	0	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
14	80	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
15	0	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
16	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:52 AM
17	60	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
18	25	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
19	10	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
20	0	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
21	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
22	20	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM
23	9	Nov 26, 2011 10:47 AM
24	20	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
25	75	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q23. POST SURVEY ANALYSIS: QUESTION 21 RESPONSES ORGANIZED BY RESEARCHER

26	20	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
27	50	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q24. POST SURVEY: COLLECTION OF ADDITIONAL COMMENTS BY RESPONDENTS

1	they are the same to me	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
2	raf.schultz@gmail.com Rafael Shultz Student from Switzerland thesis on reclaiming public space	Nov 26, 2011 11:02 AM

Q26. POST SURVEY: RESEARCHER'S NOTES

1	White, yes. But not American.	Nov 26, 2011 11:04 AM
2	look at sheet for further answers. kinda new-agey but sincere.	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
3	Another first timer! I'm thinking that alot of first times come early because unlike experienced riders, they don't realize how late the rise always leaves. so getting samples before the ride gets too high a percentage of first time riders.	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
4	She's of african descent and she "strongly agrees" that CM is diverse. Why are so many people first time riders? This is a very interesting issue, i must say. Joel thinks this makes it a "tourist event" but perhaps it means it's one of the GREAT outreach / missionary tools of the modern world. it draws SO MANY tourists and first timers with no advertising or anything at all.	Nov 26, 2011 11:01 AM
5	another not white participant who thinks it's diverse. thinks CM is mostly fun but motivation is even more about fun than how they view CM as a whole.	Nov 26, 2011 11:00 AM
6	rides in HOUSTON Critical Mass. she is latino and STRONGLY agrees that houston CM is diverse.	Nov 26, 2011 10:58 AM
7	first timer. sooooooo many people on any given ride are first timers. this is something that grows and sustains itself tremendously. fascinating that Joel Pomerantz would view this as somehow a weakness. to me it's an extraordinary strength.	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
8	very interesting. he thinks CM is 30 play 70 protest, but EXACTLY flips the numbers when describing his own motivation. also, interesting that a tri-racial person again STRONGLY agrees that CM is diverse	Nov 26, 2011 10:57 AM
9	pretty much everyone thinks CM is diverse	Nov 26, 2011 10:56 AM
10	Love this one. A South Asian woman who strongly agrees that CM is diverse. A first timer who thinks CM has had positive impacts on her and and the community. who rides 80% for fun.	Nov 26, 2011 10:54 AM
11	someone who's in it for the protest.	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
12	A latina lesbian who strongly agrees that CM is diverse.	Nov 26, 2011 10:51 AM
13	I love this. thinks it's 50/50 protest politics but is personally 75/25 on his own motivation. interesting to compare his notions of impact and observer reactions as he rides it in NYC instead of SF, there are some differences.	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
14	here's an example of someone who has no doubt that CM is protest and yet straight up says they do it for fun. i'm sorry but this is some RARE shit. CM is straight up recreation for loads of people. what else is comparable to this?	Nov 26, 2011 10:50 AM
15	thinks it's 50/50 but he's 100 percent in it for the fun. This shit is awesome!	Nov 26, 2011 10:49 AM
16	another example of the exact flip in terms of protest vs. fun. VERY interesting trend!!	Nov 26, 2011 10:48 AM
17	This is a GREAT survey with lots of interesting comments. another person of color who thinks CM is diverse	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM

Q26. POST SURVEY: RESEARCHER'S NOTES

18	This may be the only person so far who rides more for protest than recreation. GLAD to know this person actually exists because it make the alternative more interesting, the alternative is not just a given.	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
19	this is a great survey. she says CM DEFINITELY made her rethink the meaning of public space. she's the white person who says CM isn't diverse enough. the only way to know if CM is really diverse or not is to do a head count. but overall people, particulalry people of color seem to think it's diverse!	Nov 26, 2011 10:46 AM
20	another person of color who think CM is diverse.	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM

Q28. POST SURVEY: QUESTION 4 RESPONSES ORGANIZED BY RESEARCHER

1	androgynous	Nov 26, 2011 11:03 AM
2	subjective	Nov 26, 2011 10:45 AM





1. What is your age? Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.

	Response Average	Response Total	Response Count
Age	33.91	3,052	90
	answered question		90
	skipped question		0

2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

	Response Percent	Response Count	
City/Town:	100.0%	90	
Country:	95.6%	86	
	answered question		90
	skipped question		0

3. Where do you reside?

		Response Percent	Response Count
City/Town:		98.9%	88
State:		70.8%	63
ZIP:		76.4%	68
Country:		93.3%	83
		answered question	89
		skipped question	1

4. Race/ethnicity

		Response Count
		85
		answered question
		85
		skipped question
		5







5. Gender identity

		Response Count
		90
		answered question
		90
		skipped question
		0





6. Occupation

	Response Count
	84
answered question	84
skipped question	6

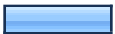

















7. What is your approximate annual income in USD?

		Response Percent	Response Count
less than \$20,000		35.6%	32
\$20,000 - \$35,000		18.9%	17
\$35,000 - \$50,000		13.3%	12
\$50,000 - \$75,000		16.7%	15
\$75,000 - \$100,000		10.0%	9
\$100,000 +		5.6%	5
	answered question		90
	skipped question		0





8. On average, how frequently do you participate in Critical Mass?

		Response Percent	Response Count
Monthly		27.0%	24
6 to 11 times per year		28.1%	25
1 to 6 times per year		37.1%	33
Fewer times that once per year		7.9%	7
answered question			89
skipped question			1





9. For approximately how many years have you been riding in Critical Mass?

		Response Percent	Response Count
less than one year		15.9%	14
1		12.5%	11
2		17.0%	15
3		11.4%	10
4		8.0%	7
5		2.3%	2
6		2.3%	2
7		4.5%	4
8		1.1%	1
9		1.1%	1
10		8.0%	7
11		0.0%	0
12		2.3%	2
13		1.1%	1
14		1.1%	1
15		3.4%	3
16		0.0%	0
17		1.1%	1
18		1.1%	1
19		5.7%	5
answered question			88
skipped question			2




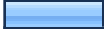

10. Why do you ride in Critical Mass? Select all that apply.

		Response Percent	Response Count
fun/entertainment		82.2%	74
social activity		81.1%	73
political expression		74.4%	67
Other (please specify)		20.0%	18
		answered question	90
		skipped question	0






11. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Critical Mass is fun.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		55.6%	50
agree		37.8%	34
not sure		3.3%	3
disagree		3.3%	3
strongly disagree		0.0%	0
		Comments	12
		answered question	90
		skipped question	0

12. Critical Mass is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		27.8%	25
agree		36.7%	33
not sure		17.8%	16
disagree		14.4%	13
strongly disagree		3.3%	3
	Comments		22
answered question			90
skipped question			0

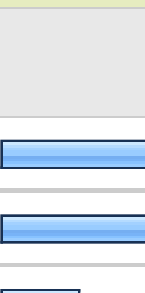
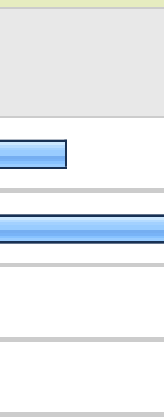
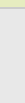

13. Critical Mass serves as political expression/protest.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		26.7%	24
agree		57.8%	52
not sure		8.9%	8
disagree		3.3%	3
strongly disagree		3.3%	3
answered question			90
skipped question			0












14. If you answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the above question, what political/social issues do you think Critical Mass addresses?

	Response Count
	72
answered question	72
skipped question	18

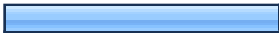




15. Critical Mass has had a positive impact on your life/behavior/habits.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		33.3%	30
agree		48.9%	44
not sure		11.1%	10
disagree		6.7%	6
strongly disagree		0.0%	0
	Care to elaborate?		30
	answered question		90
	skipped question		0

16. If you answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the above question, for what positive impacts is Critical Mass, at least in part, responsible? Select all that apply. (Credit to the San Jose Bike Party survey for many of the items listed below!).

		Response Percent	Response Count
You have learned more about local bicycling routes.		61.3%	49
You have become a more confident urban bicyclist.		58.8%	47
You ride your bike more often for transportation.		47.5%	38
You ride your bike more often for recreation.		41.3%	33
You have learned more about your community.		55.0%	44
You purchased a bicycle.		15.0%	12
You have made new friends.		72.5%	58
You have joined a bicycle advocacy organization.		42.5%	34
You have become more civically/politically involved.		47.5%	38
You drive a car less often.		30.0%	24
You are more physically fit.		46.3%	37
	Other (please specify)		7
		answered question	80
		skipped question	10





17. Critical Mass has affected the way you view and/or value the streets as public space.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		41.1%	37
agree		44.4%	40
not sure		8.9%	8
disagree		4.4%	4
strongly disagree		1.1%	1

Please explain. 25

answered question	90
skipped question	0

18. Has Critical Mass impacted your personal viewpoint on any of the following or other issues? Select all that apply.

		Response Percent	Response Count
transportation		71.8%	56
bike safety		76.9%	60
energy policy		39.7%	31
public space issues		80.8%	63





Other (please specify) 3

answered question	78
skipped question	12

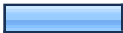




19. If you selected any of the above choices, please explain how your viewpoint(s) on any issues have changed, evolved, etc.

	Response Count
	38
answered question	38
skipped question	52






20. Overall, Critical Mass has a positive impact on the city/town where you participate.

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		31.5%	28
agree		48.3%	43
not sure		13.5%	12
disagree		6.7%	6
strongly disagree		0.0%	0
	Care to elaborate?		32
	answered question		89
	skipped question		1

21. Overall, chance observers along the route on Critical Mass rides, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		17.2%	15
agree		60.9%	53
not sure		12.6%	11
disagree		5.7%	5
strongly disagree		3.4%	3
	Care to elaborate?		32
	answered question		87
	skipped question		3

22. Overall, motorists along a Critical Mass route, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		2.3%	2
agree		14.8%	13
not sure		29.5%	26
disagree		37.5%	33
strongly disagree		15.9%	14
	Care to elaborate?		30
	answered question		88
	skipped question		2

23. Critical Mass is often considered to be part play/celebration/social activity and part protest and what percentage play/celebration/social activity? (Your combined percentages sh

CM is ____% protest.

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60
Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.	1.1% (1)	6.9% (6)	10.3% (9)	27.6% (24)	9.2% (8)	28.7% (25)	5.7% (5)

CM is ____% play/celebration/social activity..

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60
Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.	1.1% (1)	0.0% (0)	3.4% (3)	3.4% (3)	5.7% (5)	28.7% (25)	9.2% (8)

24. As an individual, what percentage of your motivation to participate in Critical Mass comes to make a statement through protest?

The desire to **PLAY/CELEBRATE** accounts for approximately ____% of my motivation to participate in CM.

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60
Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.	1.1% (1)	6.9% (6)	3.4% (3)	6.9% (6)	8.0% (7)	17.2% (15)	9.2% (8)

The desire to make a statement through **PROTEST** accounts for approximately ____% of my motivation to participate

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60
Select percentages. The combined percentages should total 100 or less.	5.7% (5)	11.5% (10)	9.2% (8)	17.2% (15)	9.2% (8)	17.2% (15)	9.2% (8)

25. Please share any further comments you care to make about your motivations to participate in Critical Mass, your opinions about it's effectiveness, it's value for you personally or the larger community, etc. Thanks so much again for your participation. Contact Andy at andy.blue [at] yahoo.com if you have any questions or comments about this survey or the larger research project.

	Response Count
	30
answered question	30
skipped question	60

Q1. What is your age?**Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.**

1	48	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM
2	33	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM
3	33	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
4	17	Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM
5	37	Dec 10, 2011 11:21 AM
6	29	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
7	43	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM
8	31	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
9	18	Oct 30, 2011 2:21 PM
10	24	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
11	35	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
12	14	Oct 28, 2011 1:41 AM
13	39	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
14	22	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
15	23	Oct 15, 2011 9:07 AM
16	26	Oct 12, 2011 11:39 PM
17	29	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
18	22	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
19	42	Sep 26, 2011 4:41 AM
20	28	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
21	38	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
22	27	Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM
23	34	Sep 21, 2011 10:44 AM
24	51	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
25	38	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
26	30	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
27	43	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM

Q1. What is your age?**Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.**

28	50	Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM
29	21	Sep 16, 2011 3:10 AM
30	54	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
31	42	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
32	22	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
33	30	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
34	25	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
35	30	Sep 13, 2011 12:57 PM
36	42	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
37	39	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
38	52	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
39	35	Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM
40	57	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
41	34	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM
42	38	Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM
43	25	Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM
44	28	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
45	26	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
46	26	Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM
47	62	Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM
48	19	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
49	37	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
50	27	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
51	36	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
52	30	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
53	30	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
54	25	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM

Q1. What is your age?**Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.**

55	25	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
56	45	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
57	30	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
58	25	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
59	42	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
60	27	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
61	33	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
62	36	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
63	35	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
64	48	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
65	23	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
66	28	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
67	49	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
68	52	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
69	30	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
70	38	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
71	30	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
72	45	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
73	28	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
74	27	Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM
75	61	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
76	19	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
77	63	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
78	31	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
79	26	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
80	29	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
81	32	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM

Q1. What is your age?**Note: this survey is completely anonymous and all questions are optional.**

82	38	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
83	46	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
84	40	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
85	26	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
86	26	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
87	27	Sep 7, 2011 1:12 PM
88	29	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
89	42	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
90	25	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

1

City/Town: cleveland Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM

Country: united states Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM

2

City/Town: san francisco Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM

Country: usa Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM

3

City/Town: Chicago Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM

Country: IL Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM

4

City/Town: San Francisco Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM

5

City/Town: Berlin Dec 10, 2011 11:21 AM

Country: Germany Dec 10, 2011 11:21 AM

6

City/Town: San Francisco Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM

Country: US Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM

7

City/Town: San Francisco Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM

Country: United States Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM

8

City/Town: New York City Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM

Country: United States Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM

9

City/Town: san diego Oct 30, 2011 2:21 PM

Country: sandiego Oct 30, 2011 2:21 PM

10

City/Town: San Francisco Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

Country:	United States	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
	11	
City/Town:	new york	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
Country:	United States	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
	12	
City/Town:	daylesford	Oct 28, 2011 1:41 AM
Country:	australia	Oct 28, 2011 1:41 AM
	13	
City/Town:	San Francisco, CA	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
Country:	USA	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
	14	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
Country:	usa	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
	15	
City/Town:	dublin	Oct 15, 2011 9:07 AM
Country:	ireland	Oct 15, 2011 9:07 AM
	16	
City/Town:	Nitra	Oct 12, 2011 11:39 PM
Country:	Slovakia	Oct 12, 2011 11:39 PM
	17	
City/Town:	Bologna	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
Country:	Italy	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
	18	
City/Town:	Miami, fl	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
	19	
City/Town:	Dortmund	Sep 26, 2011 4:41 AM
Country:	Germany	Sep 26, 2011 4:41 AM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

20		
City/Town:	Rome	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
Country:	Italy	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
21		
City/Town:	Jerusalem	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
Country:	Israel	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
22		
City/Town:	Nitra	Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM
Country:	Slovakia	Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM
23		
City/Town:	Ankara city	Sep 21, 2011 10:44 AM
24		
City/Town:	San Frantastic	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
25		
City/Town:	Jerusalem	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
Country:	Israel	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
26		
City/Town:	Cleveland, OH	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
27		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
Country:	CA	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
28		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM
29		
City/Town:	Ankara	Sep 16, 2011 3:10 AM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

Country:	Türkiye	Sep 16, 2011 3:10 AM
	30	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
	31	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
	32	
City/Town:	Hamburg	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
Country:	Germany	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
	33	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
	34	
City/Town:	guadalajara	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
Country:	mexico	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
	35	
City/Town:	Hamburg	Sep 13, 2011 12:57 PM
Country:	Germany	Sep 13, 2011 12:57 PM
	36	
City/Town:	dortmund	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
Country:	germany	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
	37	
City/Town:	Orlando	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
Country:	Florida	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
	38	
City/Town:	San Francisco, CA	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

39

City/Town: Székesfehérvár Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM

Country: Hungary Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM

40

City/Town: Baton Rouge Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM

Country: USA Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM

41

City/Town: Istanbul Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM

Country: Turkey Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM

42

City/Town: Oslo Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM

Country: Norway Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM

43

City/Town: Nitra, Prague Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM

Country: Slovakia, Czech Republic Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM

44

City/Town: New York Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM

Country: USA Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM

45

City/Town: nitra Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM

Country: slovakia Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM

46

City/Town: Nitra Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM

Country: Slovakia Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM

47

City/Town: Richmond Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM

Country: usa Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM

48

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

City/Town:	New York	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
49		
City/Town:	Daylesford	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
Country:	Australia	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
50		
City/Town:	New York City	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
51		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
52		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
Country:	United States	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
53		
City/Town:	New York	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
54		
City/Town:	san francisco	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
Country:	usa	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
55		
City/Town:	Cairo	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
Country:	Egypt	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
56		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
Country:	United States	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
57		
City/Town:	Chicago	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
	58	
City/Town:	chicago	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
Country:	usa	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
	59	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
	60	
City/Town:	Los Angeles	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
	61	
City/Town:	san francisco	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
Country:	san francisco	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
	62	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
	63	
City/Town:	SF	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
	64	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
Country:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
	65	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
	66	
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

67

City/Town: San Francisco Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM

Country: US Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM

68

City/Town: San Francisco Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM

Country: San Francisco Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM

69

City/Town: New York City Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM

Country: USA Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM

70

City/Town: San Francisco Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM

Country: United States Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM

71

City/Town: Boston, MA Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM

Country: USA Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM

72

City/Town: San Francisco Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM

Country: United States Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM

73

City/Town: Boston Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM

Country: USA Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM

74

City/Town: San Francisco Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM

Country: USA Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM

75

City/Town: san francisco, ca Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM

Country: usa Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM

76

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
77		
City/Town:	san francisco	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
Country:	US	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
78		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
79		
City/Town:	san francisco	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
Country:	usa	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
80		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
Country:	US	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
81		
City/Town:	SF	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
Country:	usa	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
82		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
Country:	United States	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
83		
City/Town:	Córdoba	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
Country:	Spain	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
84		
City/Town:	SF	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
85		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM

Q2. Where do you usually ride in Critical Mass?

86

City/Town: San Francisco Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM

Country: United States Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM

87

City/Town: bochum, dortmund Sep 7, 2011 1:12 PM

Country: germany Sep 7, 2011 1:12 PM

88

City/Town: san francisco Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM

Country: usa Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM

89

City/Town: San Francisco Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM

Country: USA Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM

90

City/Town: city Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q3. Where do you reside?

1

City/Town:	eastlake	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM
State:	OH	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM
ZIP:	44095	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM
Country:	united syayes	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM

2

City/Town:	san francisco	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM
State:	CA	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM
ZIP:	94110	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM
Country:	usa	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM

3

City/Town:	Chicago	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
State:	IL	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
ZIP:	60647	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
Country:	USA	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM

4

City/Town:	San Francisco	Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM
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5

City/Town:	Berlin	Dec 10, 2011 11:21 AM
Country:	Germany	Dec 10, 2011 11:21 AM

6

City/Town:	San Francisco	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
State:	CA	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
ZIP:	94117	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
Country:	US	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM

7

City/Town:	San Francisco	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM
State:	CA	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM

Q3. Where do you reside?

ZIP:	94103	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM
Country:	United States	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM
8		
City/Town:	New York City	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
State:	CA	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
9		
City/Town:	sandiego	Oct 30, 2011 2:21 PM
State:	CA	Oct 30, 2011 2:21 PM
ZIP:	91950	Oct 30, 2011 2:21 PM
10		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
State:	CA	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
ZIP:	94117	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
Country:	United States	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
11		
City/Town:	Jersey City	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
State:	NJ	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
ZIP:	07302	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
Country:	United States	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
12		
City/Town:	daylesford	Oct 28, 2011 1:41 AM
Country:	australia	Oct 28, 2011 1:41 AM
13		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
State:	CA	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
ZIP:	94109	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
Country:	USA	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
14		

Q3. Where do you reside?

City/Town:	San Francisco	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
State:	CA	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
ZIP:	94122	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
Country:	usa	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
15		
City/Town:	dublin	Oct 15, 2011 9:07 AM
Country:	ireland	Oct 15, 2011 9:07 AM
16		
City/Town:	Nitra	Oct 12, 2011 11:39 PM
Country:	Slovakia	Oct 12, 2011 11:39 PM
17		
City/Town:	San Lazzaro di savena	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
ZIP:	Bologna	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
Country:	Italy	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
18		
City/Town:	Miami	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
State:	FL	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
ZIP:	33130	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
19		
City/Town:	Unna	Sep 26, 2011 4:41 AM
ZIP:	59423	Sep 26, 2011 4:41 AM
Country:	Deutschland	Sep 26, 2011 4:41 AM
20		
City/Town:	Rome	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
Country:	Italy	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
21		
City/Town:	Jerusalem	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
Country:	Israel	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM

Q3. Where do you reside?

22

City/Town: Opava Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM

Country: Slovakia Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM

23

City/Town: Ankara Sep 21, 2011 10:44 AM

Country: Turkey Sep 21, 2011 10:44 AM

24

City/Town: San Frantastic Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM

State: CA Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM

Country: USA Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM

25

City/Town: Jerusalem Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM

Country: Israel Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM

26

City/Town: Cleveland Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM

State: OH Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM

ZIP: 44109 Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM

Country: USA Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM

27

City/Town: San Francisco Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM

State: CA Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM

ZIP: 94110 Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM

28

City/Town: San Francisco Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM

State: CA Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM

ZIP: 94115 Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM

Country: USA Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM

29

Q3. Where do you reside?

City/Town:	Ankara	Sep 16, 2011 3:10 AM
Country:	TR	Sep 16, 2011 3:10 AM
30		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
State:	CA	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
ZIP:	94110	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
31		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
State:	CA	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
ZIP:	94114	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
32		
City/Town:	Wedel	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
ZIP:	22880	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
Country:	Germany	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
33		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
State:	CA	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
ZIP:	94110	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
34		
City/Town:	zapopan	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
ZIP:	45140	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
Country:	mexico	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
35		
City/Town:	Hamburg	Sep 13, 2011 12:57 PM
Country:	Germany	Sep 13, 2011 12:57 PM

Q3. Where do you reside?

36

City/Town:	dortmund	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
ZIP:	44145	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
Country:	germany	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM

37

City/Town:	Orlando	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
State:	FL	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
ZIP:	32803	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM

38

City/Town:	San Francisco,	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
State:	CA	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
ZIP:	94110	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
Country:	usa	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM

39

City/Town:	Baton Rouge	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
State:	LA	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
ZIP:	70802	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM

40

City/Town:	Istanbul	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM
Country:	Turkey	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM

41

City/Town:	Oslo	Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM
ZIP:	0172	Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM
Country:	Norway	Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM

42

City/Town:	Prague	Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM
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Q3. Where do you reside?

Country:	Czech Republic	Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM
	43	
City/Town:	New York City	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
State:	NY	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
ZIP:	11355	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
Country:	usa	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
	44	
City/Town:	nitra	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
Country:	slovakia	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
	45	
City/Town:	Nitra	Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM
ZIP:	98401	Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM
Country:	Slovakia	Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM
	46	
State:	VA	Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM
Country:	usa	Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM
	47	
City/Town:	Asheville	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
State:	NC	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
ZIP:	28815	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
	48	
City/Town:	Daylesford	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
ZIP:	3460	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
Country:	Australia	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
	49	
City/Town:	New York	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
State:	NY	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM

Q3. Where do you reside?

ZIP:	10009	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
50		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
State:	CA	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
ZIP:	94110	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
51		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
State:	CA	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
ZIP:	94117	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
Country:	United States	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
52		
City/Town:	Astoria	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
State:	NY	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
ZIP:	11103	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
53		
City/Town:	sf	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
State:	CA	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
ZIP:	94121	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
Country:	usa	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
54		
City/Town:	Cairo	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
Country:	Egypt	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
55		
City/Town:	SAN FRANCISCO	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
State:	CA	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM

Q3. Where do you reside?

ZIP:	94103	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
Country:	United States	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
56		
City/Town:	Chicago	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
State:	IL	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
ZIP:	60647	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
57		
City/Town:	chicago	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
State:	IL	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
ZIP:	60640	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
Country:	usa	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
58		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
State:	CA	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
ZIP:	94103	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
59		
City/Town:	Oakland	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
State:	CA	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
ZIP:	94611	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
60		
City/Town:	philadelphia	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
State:	PA	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
ZIP:	19104	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
Country:	usa	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
61		

Q3. Where do you reside?

City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
State:	CA	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
ZIP:	94117	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
Country:	USA	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
62		
City/Town:	SF	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
63		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
ZIP:	94124	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
64		
City/Town:	Daly City	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
ZIP:	94014	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
65		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
ZIP:	94103	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
66		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
ZIP:	94114	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
Country:	US	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM

Q3. Where do you reside?

67

City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
ZIP:	94121	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM

68

City/Town:	Brooklyn	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
State:	NY	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
ZIP:	11216	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM

69

City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
ZIP:	94115	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
Country:	United States	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM

70

City/Town:	Boston	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
State:	MA	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
ZIP:	02135	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM

71

City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
ZIP:	94107	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
Country:	United States	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM

72

City/Town:	Boston	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
State:	MA	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM

Q3. Where do you reside?

ZIP:	02135	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
73		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM
ZIP:	94102	Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM
74		
City/Town:	oakland	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
ZIP:	94610	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
Country:	usa	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
75		
City/Town:	Pleasanton	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
ZIP:	94588	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
76		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
ZIP:	94117	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
Country:	US	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
77		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
ZIP:	94103	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
78		

Q3. Where do you reside?

City/Town:	san francisco	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
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State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
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ZIP:	94110	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
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Country:	usa	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
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79

City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
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State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
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ZIP:	94103	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
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Country:	US	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
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80

City/Town:	SF	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
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State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
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ZIP:	94110	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
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Country:	usa	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
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81

City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
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State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
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ZIP:	94103	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
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Country:	United States	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
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82

City/Town:	Córdoba	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
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Country:	Spain	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
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83

City/Town:	SF	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
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State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
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ZIP:	94116	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
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Country:	U\$@	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
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84

Q3. Where do you reside?

City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
ZIP:	94110	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
85		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
ZIP:	94107	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
Country:	United States	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
86		
City/Town:	bochum	Sep 7, 2011 1:12 PM
ZIP:	44866	Sep 7, 2011 1:12 PM
Country:	germany, european union	Sep 7, 2011 1:12 PM
87		
City/Town:	oakland	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
ZIP:	94601	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
Country:	usa	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
88		
City/Town:	San Francisco	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
State:	CA	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
ZIP:	94110	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
Country:	USA	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
89		
City/Town:	city	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM
State:	CA	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM
ZIP:	94118	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q4. Race/ethnicity

1	Hungarian American	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM
2	white	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM
3	Hispanic	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
4	white	Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM
5	german	Dec 10, 2011 11:21 AM
6	White	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
7	White	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM
8	White/Jewish	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
9	mexican american	Oct 30, 2011 2:21 PM
10	white	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
11	white	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
12	Chinese American	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
13	latino	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
14	white	Oct 15, 2011 9:07 AM
15	european	Oct 12, 2011 11:39 PM
16	Caucasic	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
17	Hispanic	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
18	German	Sep 26, 2011 4:41 AM
19	white caucasian	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
20	Semite/Jew	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
21	hungarian	Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM
22	Turkish	Sep 21, 2011 10:44 AM
23	whitey	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
24	Jewish	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
25	White	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
26	white	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
27	Middle Eastern	Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM

Q4. Race/ethnicity

28	Türk	Sep 16, 2011 3:10 AM
29	White	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
30	White	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
31	german	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
32	caucasian	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
33	mexicano	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
34	german	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
35	white	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
36	white	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
37	Hungarian	Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM
38	Caucasian	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
39	Norwegian- Caucasian	Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM
40	White / Slovak	Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM
41	white	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
42	slovak	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
43	Slovak	Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM
44	white	Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM
45	White	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
46	White	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
47	white	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
48	Caucasian	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
49	White	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
50	white/irish	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
51	Arab	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
52	white	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
53	White	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
54	white	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM

Q4. Race/ethnicity

55	White	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
56	Multi-Ethnic (Chilean/Jewish Lithuanian Descent)	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
57	white	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
58	Asian	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
59	white	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
60	Irish/American	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
61	Asian American	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
62	White	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
63	White	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
64	White	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
65	White/Latino	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
66	White	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
67	White	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
68	White	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
69	White	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
70	White	Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM
71	white	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
72	Asian - Korean	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
73	white	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
74	white	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
75	caucasian	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
76	White	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
77	s. asian/indian	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
78	White	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
79	mixed	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
80	White	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
81	White	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM

Q4. Race/ethnicity

82	white	Sep 7, 2011 1:12 PM
83	white	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
84	Caucasian	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
85	Asian	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q5. Gender identity

1	male	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM
2	female	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM
3	Male	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
4	Male	Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM
5	male	Dec 10, 2011 11:21 AM
6	Female	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
7	Male	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM
8	male	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
9	female	Oct 30, 2011 2:21 PM
10	female	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
11	female	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
12	female	Oct 28, 2011 1:41 AM
13	Male	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
14	male	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
15	male	Oct 15, 2011 9:07 AM
16	female	Oct 12, 2011 11:39 PM
17	Queer	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
18	Female	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
19	male	Sep 26, 2011 4:41 AM
20	female	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
21	Male	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
22	man	Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM
23	Male	Sep 21, 2011 10:44 AM
24	boy	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
25	Female	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
26	Male	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
27	female	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM

Q5. Gender identity

28	Male	Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM
29	Male	Sep 16, 2011 3:10 AM
30	Male	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
31	Male	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
32	male	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
33	male	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
34	male	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
35	male	Sep 13, 2011 12:57 PM
36	male	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
37	male	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
38	mail	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
39	Female	Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM
40	Male	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
41	Male	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM
42	Male	Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM
43	Female	Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM
44	male	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
45	female	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
46	Male	Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM
47	male	Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM
48	Male	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
49	Female	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
50	Male	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
51	male	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
52	Male	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
53	Male	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
54	male	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM

Q5. Gender identity

55	woman	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
56	male	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
57	Female	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
58	female	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
59	Male	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
60	FEMALE	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
61	female	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
62	Male	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
63	female	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
64	man	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
65	Male	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
66	Male	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
67	Mald	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
68	Female	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
69	Male, I guess	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
70	Male	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
71	Female	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
72	Male	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
73	Queer	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
74	Male	Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM
75	male	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
76	Male	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
77	M	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
78	male	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
79	female	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
80	Male	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
81	male	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM

Q5. Gender identity

82	female	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
83	Male	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
84	male, trans-bro	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
85	Male	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
86	Female	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
87	female	Sep 7, 2011 1:12 PM
88	male	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
89	M	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
90	Female	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q6. Occupation

1	graphic designer	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM
2	designer	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM
3	Data Analyst	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
4	Student; cancer research technician	Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM
5	bike messenger	Dec 10, 2011 11:21 AM
6	Product designer	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
7	Student	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM
8	student	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
9	WORK FOR THE CITY OF SANDIEGO	Oct 30, 2011 2:21 PM
10	student	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
11	city planner	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
12	student	Oct 28, 2011 1:41 AM
13	Tech/finance	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
14	BoH & FoH for La Boulange Cafe	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
15	many of many hats + kayak instructor	Oct 15, 2011 9:07 AM
16	Employe	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
17	Student	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
18	tourism/translation	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
19	Physician	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
20	research associate	Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM
21	Academic	Sep 21, 2011 10:44 AM
22	farm worker/bike messenger	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
23	City Planner	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
24	scientist	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
25	Educator	Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM
26	Writer, desktop publishing, historian, teacher	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
27	Unemployed	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM

Q6. Occupation

28	Student	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
29	engineer	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
30	student	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
31	it-service	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
32	rockstar	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
33	public health/HIV reasearch assistant	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
34	Adminisrator	Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM
35	Photo archivist	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
36	Graduate Student	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM
37	TV-Director	Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM
38	student	Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM
39	data analyst	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
40	student	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
41	PhD Student	Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM
42	retired engineer	Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM
43	Student	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
44	Writer	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
45	Engineer	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
46	computer engineer	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
47	Stagehand	Sep 8, 2011 6:57 PM
48	bike mech	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
49	student	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
50	activist	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
51	Non-profit fundraising and communications	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
52	musician	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
53	Journalist	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
54	non-profit	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM

Q6. Occupation

55	editor	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
56	Sales/Marketing	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
57	union organizer	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
58	artist /Laborer	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
59	Americorps	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
60	Community Organizer	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
61	Nonprofit fundraising	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
62	freelance writer, campaign manager, organizer, sales at REI	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
63	Artist Freelance Production & Design	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
64	Municipal Employee	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
65	Self Employed ASL Interpreter	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
66	Software	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
67	Therapist	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
68	Accountant	Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM
69	computer nerd	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
70	Student/Music Producer/DJ	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
71	video producer	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
72	marketing	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
73	environmental analyst	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
74	Customer Service/Tech Support	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
75	social worker	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
76	jerk	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
77	Civil Servant	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
78	bike trucker	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
79	Software engineer	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
80	journalist	Sep 7, 2011 1:16 PM
81	student	Sep 7, 2011 1:12 PM

Q6. Occupation

82	transportation	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
83	Programmer	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
84	Nonprofit	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q10. Why do you ride in Critical Mass? Select all that apply.

1	Networking	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
2	aesthetic expression	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
3	to promote bike transportation in the city	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
4	neighborhood development, build bike community	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
5	in the beginning (20 yrs ago) for a feeling of reassurance & comoderie and to find my fellow cyclists	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
6	to feel a surreal sense of safety in what is usually danger	Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM
7	Traffic problems, green earth	Sep 16, 2011 3:10 AM
8	To draw drivers' attention on riders. hoping that they drive more carefully further on	Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM
9	Joy	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
10	Inspiration	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
11	To show NY-ers that the streets are for everyone.	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
12	To promote the human right to genital integrity	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
13	I found out about it on www.facebook.com/cairobike	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
14	to feel safe and powerful on my bike	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
15	Raise awareness among motorists about bikes. Earned media attention for the cause.	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
16	To make the streets safer for bikes and pedestrians for the duration of the mass	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
17	We need safer streets	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
18	reinvention of public space	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM

**Q11. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
Critical Mass is fun.**

1	except when it's the same thing every time.	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
2	The Mass was even more fun in the past.	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
3	It used to be the best fun in town! It is now de-politicized and devoid of thought, banter, and conversation. It used to be thoughtfully autonomous, now it is at the mercy of hammerheads and idiots. no longer fun.	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
4	Depends on the particulars of a ride. Some are too aggressive for me, or people are agitated.	Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM
5	it really is fun!	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
6	the rebel attitude is negative and not fun	Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM
7	Less fun over the years.	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
8	It is when it's not overly politically focused	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
9	Too much testosterone certainly takes away from the fun, as I have a hard time with the belligerence of the corking.	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
10	most of the time	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
11	halloween is fun. yelling and blocking traffic just stresses me out and the leaders of the pack who ride up crazy hills.. atleast pedestrians and car drivers enjoy the costumes on halloween. the music system is nice. people doing wheelies, tricks makes it look fun. art bikes are fun.	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
12	When there were fewer people around 8 years ago, I found CM extremely fun. On more recent rides, in the last 3 or so years, I find that there are too many people to ride at a fun pace, and that the ride is dangerous in several ways. I have seen plenty of stupid cyclists crashing into others at CM, angry motorists driving through crowds, and motorcycle cop escorts grazing stragglers. I prefer not to fall when I ride and to go a leisurely pace. I get that all time without CM.	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM

Q12. Critical Mass is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.

1	not so bad. kinda depends where. every city's different. always white majority but more or less and not always "the dominant culture."	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
2	Tends to attract upper-middle class, secular, intellectuals, 20-40 agegroup	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
3	Over the years, there's been plenty of queer folk, along with all the hets, and plenty of women usually take part. However, to my knowledge and observation, The Mass has been predominately a young-white-male pastime, esp in terms of its (mis)leadership. However, and in spite of this trend in (mis)leadership, it must be pointed out that very few filthy-rich-bastard, ruling-class types participate, at all.	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
4	It is increasingly diverse as cycling becomes more common and more acceptable. In the past, people who were already in a low-status position in society would not place themselves even lower by riding a bike. The only people who did place themselves in that low-status position were white people, primarily men, who have status to burn and who will never be taken for criminals or troublemakers, no matter how untrue that might be. Today, bikes are fashionable and seen as powerful, so it's less of a step "down." Diversity of cyclists is increasing.	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
5	would love to see more female participants as well as more children and more above 50.	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
6	I live in Oslo, Norway. I have never seen a colored guy ride in our Critical mass.	Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM
7	should be diverse	Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM
8	everyone can join	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
9	It's pretty white and hipster.	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
10	Not gender or age diverse.	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
11	Mass is mostly white and usually male.	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
12	Tends to be male-dominated, but certainly a more diverse experience for any individual participating than she or he might have otherwise.	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
13	Mostly white, not as representative of larger society.	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
14	Depending on when the college kids are around. We have more ethnic and racial diversity in the fall and spring.	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
15	It used to be more diverse. I think police beat people of color away.	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
16	We have large student base in boston which makes it very diverse	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
17	mostly young white male	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
18	gender and sexual orientation YES race, class, ethnicity NOT SO MUCH	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
19	depends on who you talk to i guess.	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM

Q12. Critical Mass is diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.

20	fairly diverse compared other bike events, perhaps not as diverse as it could be	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
21	Participants seem to skew white male.	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
22	In terms of race, the majority of the participants are white and Asian. Mostly men. In terms of age, majority of participants are between 20-30. I would like to see a more queer following and more diversity in race. I'm not sure if there is diversity in class, but my assumption is that it's mixed.	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q14. If you answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the above question, what political/social issues do you think Critical Mass addresses?

1	Despite the intention of trying to make the City a more bike friendly environment. Critical masses lack of consideration for non-bike riders makes for a very poor argument for its case. Sure it's fun to block off traffic, but the last one I went to "the mass" blocked an ambulance from getting through and jeered at the ambulance when it finally pushed through the mass of bikers. (North and California 2010) Also the amount of drunk riders also makes it for a crazy experience and having been in both the pedestrian and being a driver around the mass I kind of wish there was more thought put into where these rides take place. Really you going to drag 100's of drunk riders down Western Ave during rush hour on a Friday? Are you stupid??? What political point are you trying to drive? That people who choose bikes as transportation are idiots and should be banned from riding on major streets. If so then you are getting your message across loud and clear. Get better organized , kick out the boozier organizers and respect others and you will have a better political platform.	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
2	People often use it to address the war on oil and the need to make cars less of a priority in San Francisco.	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
3	car culture, fuel policies, use of public space	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM
4	public space, transportation, and whatever issue gets tacked on from the news.	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
5	Environment issues, vehicle and traffic issues	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
6	Climate Change	Oct 28, 2011 9:01 AM
7	cyclist have equal rights on the road as well as vehicles	Oct 28, 2011 1:41 AM
8	public space	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
9	At a political stand point: we really don't need to rely on fossil fuels to get around a city (especially a city like sf) nor do we need to make "newer" cars every year just so we can scrap the old "has-beens". Its a complete waste of money. Social stand point: the US is just getting more and more obese and lazy, critical mass serves as a proactive way to get up and go riding!!	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
10	give more right to the cyclist..in a way to built the cyclo paths	Oct 12, 2011 11:39 PM
11	Cm express against the power of petroleum companies, that rule the global economy,	Oct 2, 2011 11:54 AM
12	Sharing the road	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
13	traffic chaos and domination of streets by cars instead of pedestrians and cyclists. global oil market and governments which base our future in a false promise. use-and-throw-away culture which creates garbage and generations who can't do anything by themselves, like bike mechanics.	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
14	Green mainly	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
15	environment urbanism traffic	Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM
16	I think ecological policy, transportation policy and city government...	Sep 21, 2011 10:44 AM

Q14. If you answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the above question, what political/social issues do you think Critical Mass addresses?

17	1) decommodification of social space/interaction 2) counter-hegemonic public behavior re: the current (sociopolitically) dysfunctional, economically wasteful, and exceedingly violent transport system	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
18	Sustainable transportation. Promotion of bike culture and infrastructure	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
19	neighborhood development, building of a local bicycle community	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
20	Transportation infrastructure, environmental concerns, automobile dominance	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
21	Public space usage Transportation and urban planning policy 2nd class citizenship of bicyclists	Sep 16, 2011 7:56 AM
22	the absence of public space (in general), the domination of the car and oil industries, the lack of adequate space to ride bicycles as an everyday transportation choice, repudiation of war and empire	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
23	CM addresses the lack of adequate bicycle infrastructure in society, and also the outrageous biases and dangerous sense of entitlement among motorists	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
24	Bikes are not pedestrians on wheels	Sep 15, 2011 5:05 AM
25	- protection of the environment - respect for alternative transportation - respect for minorities - sense of community, people realize their combined power	Sep 14, 2011 9:07 PM
26	not have bike lines	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
27	more rights/secure space for cyclists etc.	Sep 13, 2011 12:57 PM
28	sustainable transportation in urban area	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
29	reclaiming tthe commons / public space; saner transit policy and bicycle rights	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
30	We are equal on roads, noone has right of way just because ot their race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc.	Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM
31	It should address climate change, sustainable cities and degrowth. i am not sure how well all the participants are informed on these issues.	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM
32	Environmental responsibility, alternative urban thinking	Sep 12, 2011 10:18 AM
33	spatial planning, traffic planning	Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM
34	pointing at a group of cyclist that are part of traffic, adresses sustainable mobility and alternative, eco and safe solutions	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
35	local politic	Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM
36	unclear. I want biks and bicycling noticed and accommodated, but rebel and protest attitude is not a good stance.	Sep 11, 2011 11:23 AM
37	It has been pigeon holed into a political expression... sadly.	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM

Q14. If you answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the above question, what political/social issues do you think Critical Mass addresses?

38	It challenges the car-centric values of our culture and attempts to address the imbalances these values foster.	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
39	Cyclists are willing to claim streets	Sep 8, 2011 10:36 PM
40	It varies based on what issues are important to riders. For myself, I ride to promote the human right to genital integrity and to end the genital mutilation of children regardless of gender.	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
41	sharing the road	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
42	environmental friendly transportation, promotion of women rights in Egypt, gender issues awareness, women are often harassed by men when they ride a bike in Cairo, women rights, health	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
43	bicycle rights	Sep 8, 2011 11:00 AM
44	It addresses the rights of cyclists and access to the roads.	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
45	all bikers should be recognized by drivers and pedestrians and that we can all get along!	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
46	The need to share the road and move away from over-dependence on the automobile.	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
47	In Los Angeles where I lived up until about a year ago, it was a political statement because cars rule the city. Using bikes as political expression was a way to inform drivers that there are other forms of transportation that aren't harmful.	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
48	the idea that our physical environment is dominated by machines that kill people and destroy the environment with emissions	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
49	Critical Mass used to be a form of political expression when it started and during early years. Times have changed and I'm not convinced that Critical Mass still serves the same political purpose.	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
50	that bicycles don't have good safe access to the roads. And cars are destroying our cities.	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
51	insistence on needs of a wiser mode of transportation, by the use of solidarity. freedom of choice.	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
52	CM shows that public space is for everyone. It brings cyclists together in a temporary community. It advocates for better bicycle infrastructure by showing our presence. It's a safe way to introduce new riders onto the streets and show how fun it is.	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
53	It's no longer an effective political statement.	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
54	Galvanizes public attention for cycling as an every day activity. Enough is enough in terms of ceding all social capital to the automobile industry.	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM

Q14. If you answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the above question, what political/social issues do you think Critical Mass addresses?

55	I rode in CM in NYC just prior to the Republican National Convention in 2004. That was definitely a protest -- and lots of people were arrested, including my sister. What was CM protesting? The choice of NYC as the location of the GOP convention and the criminal administration of George W. Bush itself, and the energy-intensive and planet-ruing American lifestyle that Dick Cheney and George H.W. Bush have called 'non-negotiable.' It was a protest against the whole shabang.	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
56	Safe streets for non-motorists, freedom to assemble, freedom to speak, public space issues, freedom to associate with others in a non-commercial, non-hierarchical space	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
57	The power dynamic of "Cars/driver own the road and everyone else is in the way". And the fact that no one is aware of the laws(stereotype).	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
58	Public space autonomy, First Amendment, environment.	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
59	enviromental concerns, health issues, bringing together communities	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
60	Reminds motorists that the roads are not solely for them.	Sep 7, 2011 5:06 PM
61	bicycle awareness	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
62	Critical Mass is a good way to simply express the viability of mass bike rides throughout the city and the need to push more inter-city car commuters to bikes. Also, more political awareness for bikers, such as rights.	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
63	urban planning, transportation planning, environmental responsibility	Sep 7, 2011 3:01 PM
64	inequality for the roads	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
65	the need for more bicycle infrastructure and reducing our society's dependence on the automobile.	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
66	The feeling drivers have that they own the road.	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
67	i'd prefer better cheaper/efficient transportaiton over trying to make ppl ride bicycles.	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
68	I think CM is a protest for some and just a ride for others. Is likely intended to advocate for cycling as transportation and to protest the lack of cycling infrastructure. I don't find it effective however, as it often incites ire in motorists. I ride everyday always, and find that to be a more effective statement than CM.	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
69	Sustainable mobility	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
70	I think some people TRY to use it for that end, but not sure of any real effectiveness.	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
71	The power of individuals coming together to reclaim space generally allocated to a protected group, automobile operators.	Sep 7, 2011 12:58 PM
72	Transportation issues (bike friendly streets) and environmental issues.	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q15. Critical Mass has had a positive impact on your life/behavior/habits.

1	It's a lot of fun and a great stress reliever.	Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM
2	It made me a more confident rider when I first moved to the city. I don't ride in CM as frequently now because I grew tired of how the group usually just destroys traffic along Market Street. There are other places to ride...	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
3	Makes me feel less alone while I'm riding to school and work the next week	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
4	i was over weight, now i'm losing all those extra pounds. I use my bike on a day to day basis (i.e. going to school, work, getting groceries) It has made me more aware of how much people waste on gas just to get around.	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
5	I look forward to the last Friday of every month!	Sep 27, 2011 11:02 AM
6	I met people (ciclofficine popolari) who are politically engaged and willing to teach how to adjust my bike, I started to use my bike daily and saw already health benefits, I introduced a lot of my friends into same habits.	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
7	Take 3 year old son on child-seat on bike	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
8	Most of my new friends I have met through participation in Cleveland Critical Mass	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
9	We founded a bikekitchen in the context of our critical mass rides. weekly meeting with bike garage and vegan kitchen.	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
10	been both a wonderful espression and sustainer of progressive community	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
11	Since we ride bike we spent less on petrol. Since we go to school and work on bike, not by bus, we can sleep 20 minutes longer. :) When I walk I give way to bicycles more carefully.	Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM
12	I was the initiator of CM in our small town (4,000 people). Every month I put up posters and update our Facebook page and I have been interviewed on various radio stations. I grew up loving bikes, but attempting to create a bike culture in our town has made me more passionate about bike riding and bike culture and the bike as a political tool for change. CM has had a positive impact on my life as I have seen more and more people riding bikes since our first ride and now we even have a bike shop in town!	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
13	the amount of people you meet, the awareness it brings to bikers, a community of people that have a lot of the same interests	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
14	I haven't gone on a ride for over a year but when I did go it was invigorating.	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
15	it makes me feel ok about running red lights which is more dangerous	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
16	Still a good reminder of what happens when hundreds of bicyclists take over the streets.	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
17	I commute via bike.	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
18	CM is a great place for me to de-stress after a month of receiving road rage or near misses with motorists. It's free therapy!	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM

Q15. Critical Mass has had a positive impact on your life/behavior/habits.

19	I met my boyfriend at CritMass	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
20	I rarely participate, so hard to answer that one. I enjoy the special occasion CM's, such as Halloween, but don't much participate in it otherwise. However, I used to teach. I once showed my high school students part of a documentary on CM. These SF students had never heard of this event. I told them, "This is your town, and it's your party. You can participate." (They were graduating seniors.) And I want them to. I want to hook kids into this alternative way of being on the planet, and I want to hook them into transportation consciousness as it relates to the health of the total planet.	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
21	It was enlightening because I saw that it was not as adversarial as it was accused by a small but loud sector of society.	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
22	1: social event to attend 2: new friends 3: feeling the power taken back for a short time from the drivers	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
23	It made me know I could just step up and do things.	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
24	not sure should read 'not really'	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
25	i like riding with my friends. i did chat it up with a few people over the years who are friends. i like the group ride aspect.	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
26	I already cycled and thought CM was fun but then had bad experiences that made me not want to ride it. I still ride and dont really think CM has had any impact on whether or when I cycle.	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
27	Push me to ride	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
28	I got to meet a lot of people in Norway, India, France and Laos through CM, some of whom i am still in touch with	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
29	Social life, yes!	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM
30	I think it has made me see the importance in making large public statements and the impact it can have. Change does happen through a mass movement and there is power in numbers.	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q16. If you answered "agree" or "strongly agree" to the above question, for what positive impacts is Critical Mass, at least in part, responsible? Select all that apply. (Credit to the San Jose Bike Party survey for many of the items listed below!).

1	learned more about police behavior and tactics-- a good thing for other times and places!	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
2	Met old friends after a long time	Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM
3	I sold my car just after our first CM ride. I didn't sell it because of CM, but CM certainly helped remind me how wonderful bikes and bike culture are compared to all the negatives of car culture.	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
4	I met my boyfriend at CritMass	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
5	Please see my above remark about teaching.	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
6	Met my wife!	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
7	i was already doing all this stuff before critical mass came along. i don't really go anymore. i'll go halloween. that's pretty much it.	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM

Q17. Critical Mass has affected the way you view and/or value the streets as public space.

1	I think everything is satisfactory the way it is. People should bike more, but I don't think the traffic laws need reforming.	Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM
2	It's easy to miss neighborhoods if you don't travel through them regularly for school or work. CM usually ensures that you see a street you've never been on before, or at least never biked on before (for better or for worse).	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
3	it's less about the bicycles to me and more about the gray area of legality format. at least in NYC. it pushes the envelope.	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
4	I see more of the city than I would have and notice how streets are set up for bicyclists and pedestrians	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
5	just because im not encased in 30 tons of steel doesn't mean i shouldn't be allowed on the streets. They belong to everyone (especially cyclists.)	Oct 15, 2011 8:19 PM
6	Streets should be places where kids play and adults socialize, where citizens organize protest walks, where people cure for plants, where you go to take some air, without the stress of roaring and honking cars racing and parked everywhere.	Sep 23, 2011 4:02 AM
7	20 years ago, urban life was slightly different and urban parks were relatively dangerous places I wouldn't go to, like most women. CM allowed me to go to parks safely, and changed my view of public space to one that could potentially be safe and welcoming, not menacing. Today, American cities are rapidly gentrifying and one GOOD thing about that (among mostly bad things) is that public spaces ARE indeed safer.	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
8	CM pulls back the curtain and shows what life would be like if our society were not ordered only to facilitate private automobile traffic	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
9	reclaim the streets. what's more to say about it?	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
10	I knew this before:)	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
11	The streets are for everyone!	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
12	I learned a lot about bicycle culture, it helped me to ge more confident, I am proud to be a women now	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
13	when I first rode it was when I was just getting into cycling. I saw the city (of Los Angeles) in a different way.	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
14	riding in a group feels safe, when i ride alone shows stark contrast in how unsafe our streets are for non-motorized transportation	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
15	born into a city,where the streets are always there and someone else's,,,,claimed by polluting autos, and dangerous.....now there are bike lanes.....who's streets?Our streets!	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
16	It shows another world were we can move people faster, greener and healthier.	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
17	In general, we do not question the supremacy of the car. Rules of the road favor the car over cyclists and pedestrians, but here comes CM, challenging that	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM

Q17. Critical Mass has affected the way you view and/or value the streets as public space.

premise. CM forces itself to have precedence and challenges people's notions about what is right versus established habit.

18	Whose streets? Our streets!	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
19	It allows me to not feel alone. In Boston there is a strong separation of types of bikers, less during the mass.	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
20	Whose streets? Our streets!	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
21	We are traffic too	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
22	I value the two hours a month that I can ride in my city without worrying about cars, in places typically unsafe where I would not normally ride.	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
23	riding with cars, not CM, has changed how I view and value the streets as public space.	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
24	as opposed to advocating for more communal use of public space, CM has shown that we can just roll up and take it	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
25	It has helped me understand that public space needs to be reclaimed by residents, by people who want to change it for the better. We need to utilize public space for different things to show people in power that this is our city too.	Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q18. Has Critical Mass impacted your personal viewpoint on any of the following or other issues? Select all that apply.

1	It's a bit tricky since I did a lot of writing about Critical Mass, which in turn helped to "define" it for a lot of people, so I guess I'm partially responsible for injecting these issues into the experience from the beginning...	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
2	Urban planning and transportation infrastructure, enforcement (police bias against cyclists and in favor of motorists)	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
3	The rights of those accused/arrested/beaten/framed by police.	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM

Q19. If you selected any of the above choices, please explain how your viewpoint(s) on any issues have changed, evolved, etc.

1	Riding in CM made me realize that it is a poor way to lobby for bike improvements. Bike Party, which obeys traffic laws, is more effective. Being in the mass made me feel safer, but also made me more aware of how I move when I bike alone.	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
2	Have come to see the car as unsustainable. See the importance of bike safety. Think people need to get out of their cars and bike more. Critical mass has helped me see that biking as a primary form of transportation is not just desirable but entirely possible.	Dec 10, 2011 10:32 AM
3	Extend bike lanes, bikes need to stop for pedestrians and wear helmets!	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
4	by using the public spaces you can see clearer the functionality of the spaces. The pros and cons of these spaces	Sep 23, 2011 1:32 AM
5	see 18	Sep 15, 2011 9:18 PM
6	Seeing is believing. We don't have to surrender 100% of our shared public roadways to private motorists--and indeed, there are good reasons not to do so: pollution, traffic injuries/deaths, obesity, anomie	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
7	equality in public space	Sep 14, 2011 11:23 AM
8	found out i'm not the only one feeling/thinking like that	Sep 13, 2011 12:57 PM
9	Look at bicycling in Europe, the US is way behind in terms of alternate transportation. IE City rental bikes	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
10	increased consciousness of the need to reclaim public space in broader ways. Some of the negative aggro aspects of CM made me a more conscious and polite rider	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
11	Transportation - it is clear to me that most local Massers don't ride very often and seldom consider the bicycle a means of transportation rather than a means of having fun. Bike safety - as above, those who do not ride often really need to learn how to ride safely. CM is not, in my opinion, the place to try and teach bike handling skills, traffic safety, and other related subjects.	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
12	transportation, energy and a different urban fabric were things I already had in mind, but simple things like safety drew more attention as i met more avid urban cyclists, some with horror stories.	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM
13	I am postgraduate student in landscape design, always been a walker, but once I had bought a bike, my knowledge and interest on transportation issues has increased.	Sep 12, 2011 9:54 AM
14	I always like cycling, but now I realize how important it is and how much cycling really does to make a difference.	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
15	bikers are not that safe, transportation - it is the most effective way of transport in the city in peek hours, public space should be more concerned at people, different scale has to be used in designing	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM

Q19. If you selected any of the above choices, please explain how your viewpoint(s) on any issues have changed, evolved, etc.

16	I interest more in community.	Sep 11, 2011 12:56 PM
17	Talking to people and learning from them!	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
18	CM has made me more passionate about all of the above issues, and more confident to stand up for what I believe. I have found CM to be very empowering.	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
19	People have a human right to exist. The ability to have and utilize public space is important because without public spaces, people cease to have the right to exist.	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
20	I try to avoid going by car as it pollutes the air in Cairo, pollution has severe impact on health, cycling is sportive and fun	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
21	As a cyclist, it changes how I view my access to/right to the roads.	Sep 8, 2011 10:53 AM
22	By seizing space, bicyclists are making a stand to keep that space.	Sep 8, 2011 10:34 AM
23	Cyclists need public space and safe spaces.	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
24	made me realize how unsafe I usually feel on my bike. You can't ride in Critical Mass and not think about who has right to the road.	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
25	I'm more aware now that,streets are public domain. They've been ceded over to autos for so long that many have forgotten that they are for civic flow which includes pedestrians and cycles.	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
26	I started reading SF Streetsblog more often and adopted politics in favor for public space, livable streets and increased bike/ped infrastructure.	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
27	We need to open up public space to non motorized use. Or if motorized then non-privatized use of roads and urban space. Regarding cycling as an every day activity we need one thing only: separated infrastructure with aohysical barrier btwn cars and non motorized public. Charge more for parking. Turn parking into cycle tracks.	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
28	I had already committed myself to the car-free existence. However, CM and the community of bicyclists and alternative transportation advocates that I have met through CM and other activities have helped me to refine my attitudes about these issues.	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
29	More aware of the practical applications of the above issues to daily life.	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
30	I see them all more clearly and demand progress.	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
31	Space in boston is limited and it seems the bigger vehicles own the roads. It is very unsafe for inexperienced, shakey, or asshole cyclists	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
32	need for more bike infrastructure	Sep 7, 2011 2:27 PM
33	I've realized I'm not alone in my desire to get around solely by bicycle, and there are others who also work for more safe bike routes.	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
34	bike visibility is always good. it's good to take the streets in large numbers. but	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM

Q19. If you selected any of the above choices, please explain how your viewpoint(s) on any issues have changed, evolved, etc.

this is not orange county or the suburbs so does it even matter in SF. it's a party i guess.

35 due to some of the things I have seen at CM and other group rides that attract amateur riders, I prefer not to expose myself to the risks of riding in such a large group. Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM

36 Tyranny of the car is not right Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM

37 I have seen a lot of unsafe, problematic cycling at CM, though I continue to see it ideally, as a safe place to get one's practice in a safe space and even critique each other for riding in an unsafe manner i.e. bombing hills in tight formation Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM

38 Transportation needs of the city need to incorporate biker needs. I often feel unsafe biking, so this was a way to show cars that they need to care about biker safety. We need to ride our bikes more, especially in SF where things are relatively close to one another via bike. Public space is a way to articulate a concern and create change on a larger scale. Sep 1, 2011 1:23 PM

Q20. Overall, Critical Mass has a positive impact on the city/town where you participate.

1	It makes people mad.	Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM
2	Many people are vehemently against CM. In fact, at an SFMTA meeting yesterday, one taxi driver told the SFMTA board that they should focus on eradicating CM.	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
3	IN NYC i think it embarassed the city into being pro bike.	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
4	We're working on it, but so far our "critical mass" has yet to reach a critical mass.	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
5	Cleveland has grown from a max of	Sep 16, 2011 10:16 AM
6	San Francisco would not have the bike infrastructure, culture, and political support it has for biking without the monthly presence of thousands of cyclists.	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
7	The pampered motorists who feel they deserve 100% of all public roadways hate CM, but most everyone else is transfixed when we pass by--and cyclists learn what it would be like to be able to ride around the city without the constant gnawing fear that a reckless motorist will suddenly kill us as we are pedaling	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
8	apart from the bikekitchen an bike polo group condensed and is now operating completely independent from the CM and from the velokitchen. we started a movement.	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
9	increased action for the commons and has been the 'direct action' edge making space for more liberal, transit and bike-friendly policy changes	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
10	Despite the ire it engenders in some drivers, CM in BRLA has made drivers more aware of the fact that there are bicyclists in town not just drivers. Overall, the impact has been positive.	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
11	still too small here to be noticeable as other than a fun color of metropolitan life.	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM
12	I hope so it will change something	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
13	As I said before, people don't appreciate it. It is seen as a nuisance and as unproductive thanks to propaganda against the ride	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
14	It has turned the NYPD against ALL cyclists in the city.	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
15	Critical Mass brings the community together and adds to the cultural flair of San Francisco.	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
16	As a cyclist yes. But talk to a driver who had traffic stopped do to us riding and it was probably a negative impact.	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
17	created solidarity	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
18	together with the bike coalition critical mass has been putting bicycle issues in the news and mobilizing bicyclists to fight back.	Sep 7, 2011 11:55 PM
19	the police first were hostile and now they are tolerant ,and many now see they personal power to choose to cycle and had a dynamic growth in cycling.	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM

Q20. Overall, Critical Mass has a positive impact on the city/town where you participate.

20	I've heard anecdotally that CM is the reason we enjoy the amount of bike infrastructure we have today.	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
21	At this point, in SF, it's become an annoyance mostly - in my opinion - because there are too many that naively think that it still serves a political purpose.	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
22	Thru civil disobedience. Pisses many people off. That's fine for one evening per month. I have to deal with idiot drivers comfortably parked illegally in my bike lanes everywhere I ride. Or drivers failing to yield to cyclists. And still others failing to LOOK for anything other than another car. Separated infrastructure is the answer.	Sep 7, 2011 9:23 PM
23	I want to see more San Francisco high school students (older ones where liability would be less of an issue) begin to get involved in CM as a positive alternative to all the things that young people could be doing that are dangerous.	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
24	But New York City officials will never admit that the ride changed the city. They have successfully co-opted the movement.	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
25	It is a movement that was important but the larger community has picked up on it and is succeeding at the goals.	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
26	Drivers 90% hate CM, we do get beeps of approval. Tourists, and other bikers have a better response.	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
27	Most people love it. People scream and take pictures and we try and get people to join in when we see them on bicycles. There are some cars who freak out and ride through the mass hitting my friends... (July 2011 mass in Boston)	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
28	as a bicyclist yes as a driver no	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
29	It brings the bicyclist community together and helps spread political awareness. However, a negative is that CM can cause dissent among motorists.	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
30	Creates conflict that can often be antagonistic. The cyclist can get group-think and aren't reasonable about sharing the road.	Sep 7, 2011 2:46 PM
31	i like the tourists who get to see the large bike mob. i don't know what the locals actually think though. and cops -don't they get over time pay to escort the bikers or something?	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
32	overtime, yes CM has had a positive impact. it used to be much more important to have solidarity and protest the status quo. Today, though the variables are so different that CM does not serve its original purposes. Still, I think the overall impact is positive and support its existence although I dont usually choose to participate.	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM

Q21. Overall, chance observers along the route on Critical Mass rides, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

1	lot's of cheering , shout outs, and clapping	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM
2	See above with political points.	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
3	Some are amused but most are displeased.	Dec 10, 2011 11:23 AM
4	They are usually excited to see lots of happy bicyclists and the smiles we share.	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
5	about 50/50	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
6	Among other things, it's a 'crazy' story for tourists to take back home in their cameras-- and, perhaps, 'infect' another town with CM fever!	Sep 19, 2011 6:20 PM
7	people are curious, sometimes they cheer, overall people (not in cars) react positively.	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
8	we re not allowed to carry flags of other signs. bystanders often don't understand what is going on. it is difficult to convey a message when conveying a message transforms you into a demonstration that hast to be registered beforehand with the authorities.	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
9	on the whole (everybody loves a [street] party) though some aggro behaviour by individual riders has mitigated some of that good feeling, at tiems.... though the community tends to self-police well	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
10	They see it's a great fun and how coherent we are - they might join the next Critical Mass, or the next day.	Sep 13, 2011 12:42 AM
11	We usually receive a lot of positive comments as we pass people on the street. Drivers are a different story.	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
12	pedestrians who seem not to drive all the time do, drivers mostly don't.	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM
13	mostly the observersers are clapping hands	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
14	The NYPD and media have demonised critical mass so much that it is always viewed as a nuisance.	Sep 9, 2011 9:01 AM
15	some hate it some love it.	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
16	pedestrians yes, cars, mostly no	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
17	mostly smiles except for pedestrians trying to cross the street	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
18	I believe observers' reactions to Critical Mass are mixed between amusement and frustration.	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
19	now there is cheering and encouragement....in the beginning there was jeers and violence.	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
20	Pedestrians usually find it amusing and fun.	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
21	For the most part they do indeed seem amused by the event, though I have	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM

Q21. Overall, chance observers along the route on Critical Mass rides, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

encountered a few people who get pretty steamed, especially cab drivers who have been blocked. Also, I was once on a bus that was blocked by CM. The bus driver was totally cool about being blocked, but I was a little annoyed.

22	Pedestrians who are not inconvenienced love it.	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
23	They are often taking pictures, or asking what its all about.	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
24	Not all, but most. (I can't see inside all the cars, though.)	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
25	see above	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
26	again peds generally enjoy cm	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
27	Bystanders usually are positive about the ride because it demonstrates an unique way of expression which many observers don't see everyday. It is a "moving" protest in a sense. Also, a huge mass riding throughout the city's streets, which are normally occupied by cars, is an awesome sight.	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
28	Most folks wave and smile, drivers and pedestrians alike.	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
29	the drivers maybe not. the pedestrians seem positive. tourists too.	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
30	feedback is usually extremely positive except for those people in two thousand pound (or more!) motorized steel vehicles that get really pissed.	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
31	most often we get thumbs up, cheers. very notable exceptions tend to be more memorable, but most people seem to get it, or at least think that it looks funny rather than threatening	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM
32	Generally people wave and cheer and clap, I'd say for 100 smiles, youll see one annoyed person.	Sep 7, 2011 1:06 PM

Q22. Overall, motorists along a Critical Mass route, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

1	it disrupts muni commuters, there are lots of aggressive cyclists that spit at cars, seems like it would do more to piss people off that are not involved in the ride, but stuck in car traffic. i've almost been run over by angry drivers while blocking intersections, yelled at by folks in taxis... i'm not sure that is a positive thing	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM
2	See above.	Dec 10, 2011 11:38 AM
3	I'd hardly say getting flipped the bird is positive. Usually they are annoyed that they have to sit in gridlock--I would be too. I'd say CM is a bit too disruptive, especially to Muni. Obviously, there's usually at least one super agro motorist who tries to start a fight or at least shouts at individual cyclists.	Dec 10, 2011 10:57 AM
4	they (mostly) hate us, but who cares?	Nov 18, 2011 10:59 AM
5	Some of them honk for fun and high five us through their windows	Oct 28, 2011 10:29 AM
6	Cars behind us do not like us. Cars honk, cut us off, etc. Cars that are not impacted by us (eg coming in opposite direction) are usually positive.	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
7	Motorists who will sit in idle traffic behind other motorists for hours and hours in silence will suddenly become loud, threatening, and sometimes violent when sitting for three minutes as CM passes by. This exposes their hypocrisy, double-standards, biases, and sense of entitlement	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
8	some smile and wave, some are annoyed.	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
9	As above, some drivers see CM as nothing but an impediment to getting home even though we are one of the most congested cities in the US and, therefore, already hindered by all the motor traffic.	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
10	traffic is god, time is money.	Sep 12, 2011 12:27 PM
11	We get a lot of cars that are pro crit mass, but in general there are more cars that don't understand it.	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
12	mainly taxidrivars are going mad from cyclists, but some of other people -drivers like it	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
13	Sometimes we get cheered on, sometimes we get yelled and honked at to hurry the hell up.	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM
14	people blame us for traffic issues. Motorists feel that critical mass ruins there commute or drive.	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
15	mostly...	Sep 8, 2011 10:43 AM
16	majority of them are irritated. But some honk in solidarity.	Sep 8, 2011 10:15 AM
17	Most motorist view Critical Mass as a nuisance.	Sep 8, 2011 7:34 AM
18	there are some angered but they realize it's a common monthly pattern and accept the cultural expression.	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
19	A few motorists support it, but most are at best annoyed and at worst hostile.	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM

Q22. Overall, motorists along a Critical Mass route, view Critical Mass to be a positive activity?

20	Are you kidding? They are frustrated as hell. But as the mantra goes, cars get the city for the rest of the month, CM asks to have them for just two hours.	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
21	They are sad cause they are trapped in a box and they hate our freedom.	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
22	Generally drivers in this city are nasty and unhappy. They care only about getting to the next red light as fast as possible so any disruption will only make them more irate.	Sep 7, 2011 5:49 PM
23	Some clearly don't, but I don't know what the majority thinks.	Sep 7, 2011 5:42 PM
24	"if you had a bike you would be passing yourself right now" Said to many cars stuck in traffic regardless of the bikes or not	Sep 7, 2011 5:13 PM
25	most motorist do not like cm	Sep 7, 2011 3:57 PM
26	Generally speaking, motorists will see CM to be a minor-moderate inconvenience due to the nature of a huge group of bikers in a lane (Blocking, time constraints, etc).	Sep 7, 2011 3:16 PM
27	a small minority of drivers become extremely impatient.	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
28	it's a mixed bag. those that are vocal are either happy or angry. and the quiet ones don't know what they are feeling.	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM
29	there are some chill motorists that cheer for CM, but who cares when someone else is driving their fucking car through the crowd?	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
30	some positive, some negative reactions. CM riders could be better about encouraging drivers to join in rather than being confrontational at the outset	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM

Q25. Please share any further comments you care to make about your motivations to participate in Critical Mass, your opinions about it's effectiveness, it's value for you personally or the larger community, etc.

Thanks so much again for your participation. Contact Andy at [andy.blue \[at\] yahoo.com](mailto:andy.blue@yahoo.com) ...

1	hope the numbers increase	Dec 10, 2011 2:42 PM
2	i think it is fun to ride in a large group, but i have been turned off by the aggressive behavior of a small group of folks at critical mass. i feel like circling cars and kicking them, spitting at them, yelling at drivers, etc doesn't do much to bridge the divide between cyclists and drivers so i haven't really been participating lately. i also feel bad for the folks using muni who get stuck in the gridlock while trying to get home/work/plans on a friday night. (my own personal reasons that i haven't really shared and would never expect others to give up their fun)	Dec 10, 2011 11:41 AM
3	I ride less now because the routes have been more stale. I appreciate the effort to have more planned routes to take the ride to more novel neighborhoods. One ride a few years ago to near Daly City was a great experience.	Oct 27, 2011 11:50 PM
4	sorry i am sending it in late	Sep 23, 2011 3:24 AM
5	I wasn't sure how to answer the questions where you included the word "protest." To me, it has negative connotations. I see CM as a vehicle for positive promotion, not protest, so when I marked the % that is what I had in mind.	Sep 19, 2011 4:16 AM
6	It's more of a DEMONSTRATION than a protest.	Sep 16, 2011 8:23 AM
7	Fellow riders are very interesting people from all walks of life.	Sep 15, 2011 1:04 PM
8	velolove!	Sep 13, 2011 10:10 AM
9	thanks for continuing this event, its just needs to be more organized with a clearer msg here in Orlando.	Sep 13, 2011 8:18 AM
10	the percentage of personal play motivation has increased over the years as CM has become more established and the [local] issues better addressed	Sep 13, 2011 1:29 AM
11	CM is a valuable tool for bicycling visibility. It has the usual negative effects as well but Baton Rouge needs to raise awareness of the fact that bicycling is a transportation alternative. And, it's about the only time I see 90% of the riders. In that regard, CM is a good way to get people to ride the streets in a way that they are comfortable with.	Sep 12, 2011 2:18 PM
12	I joined crit mass a while after the RNC in NYC. I missed the thousand person rides. But I know crit mas made people take note of cyclists and NYC has had MAJOR pro cycling changes in the past few years. I ride because I want to keep that going and make my city even better.	Sep 11, 2011 4:13 PM
13	good idea to make a survey, would be interesting to see the results,if you have some, please contact us at nitra@criticalmass.sk good luck, its a really useful thing!	Sep 11, 2011 1:26 PM
14	NYC is post CM	Sep 10, 2011 12:32 PM
15	There is much to be said about the pleasure and political potency of riding two	Sep 10, 2011 12:18 AM

Q25. Please share any further comments you care to make about your motivations to participate in Critical Mass, your opinions about it's effectiveness, it's value for you personally or the larger community, etc.

Thanks so much again for your participation. Contact Andy at andy.blue [at] yahoo.com ...

(or more) abreast at bike speed down a street that is ordinarily used by cars. We end each month's ride at our local community garden, which is another commercial-free, pollution-free reclaiming of the commons. Every month I get what I call CM RSI from ringing my bike bell so much during CM rides. Thanks Andy!

16	I really appreciate the approach that the San Francisco Police Department takes with Critical Mass. They help to ensure safety and supervision of the event without major interference and without hampering the spontaneity of the ride. Their accommodating manner does not go unnoticed.	Sep 8, 2011 9:37 PM
17	Cm is awesome. The positives outway the negatives.	Sep 8, 2011 2:47 PM
18	Great survey! i found the link on www.facebook.com/cairobike , I will send it to some friends.	Sep 8, 2011 11:37 AM
19	thanks andy! i am interested in your results can you send to me when you are done, would be interesting to compare to a survey about bike party ~janel sterbentz	Sep 8, 2011 8:51 AM
20	thanks!	Sep 7, 2011 11:17 PM
21	I strongly believe that CM has NOT become irrelevant with the arrival of SF bike party. It has done a great job of nuturing the SF bike community to fight for better infrastructure, and will do so for our future.	Sep 7, 2011 9:43 PM
22	This survey relies too much on qualitative data and could benefit from more quantitative collection to be considered relevant. But thanks for the effort.	Sep 7, 2011 9:42 PM
23	Well, here's a motivation NOT to participate in CM -- it's far from where I live. I have to ride my big, heavy road bike down there, ride around for two hours, and then ride home -- I frequently peel off before the event is over.	Sep 7, 2011 9:16 PM
24	CM liberates the individual from danger, alienation, fear and dependence. These individual changes transform communities and societies. Participatory life is more fun than shopping!	Sep 7, 2011 8:50 PM
25	I think CM is great to try and help new riders to the area understand what it represents (fun & rights) but it is less important ideologically in this city because the SFBC has now a large enough base to make CM less necessary as based on the original intent.	Sep 7, 2011 7:32 PM
26	I've been 5/6 months now, and I've loved each time. I've brought friends each time, and they have also loved it.	Sep 7, 2011 2:22 PM
27	the play/protest dichotomy is kinda complex. no? how do CM riders communicate before a ride? when i think of protest- i think of a ride that is against iraq war, gulf war, etc. perhaps it is somber or vocal about these things with unison of messages. when you have certain riders who are in party mode and others who wanna protest, it becomes disjointed. then again if you mean 'protest' being the act of riding. then i guess the fun/party is a 'protest' ehh. i	Sep 7, 2011 1:57 PM


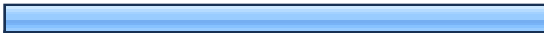
Q25. Please share any further comments you care to make about your motivations to participate in Critical Mass, your opinions about it's effectiveness, it's value for you personally or the larger community, etc.

Thanks so much again for your participation. Contact Andy at [andy.blue \[at\] yahoo.com](mailto:andy.blue@yahoo.com) ...



don't know.

28	CM is alright it is just not for me.	Sep 7, 2011 1:40 PM
29	Bike power	Sep 7, 2011 1:30 PM
30	Started CM in Trondheim, Norway's 1st CM, showed a film about it at the Social Forum in India, rode in CM's in Manhattan, NYC, Davis, CA, Paris, Oslo, London, Vientiane, Laos (unaffiliated), Berkeley, Oakland, but not too fond of experiences with the last two.	Sep 7, 2011 1:23 PM






1. Have you ever participated in this event?

		Response Percent	Response Count
yes		18.8%	6
no		81.3%	26
answered question			32
skipped question			0






2. have you ever witnessed this event before?

		Response Percent	Response Count
yes		68.8%	22
no		31.3%	10
answered question			32
skipped question			0

3. overall the tone and impact of this event is _____.

		Response Percent	Response Count
very positive		37.5%	12
somewhat positive		37.5%	12
not sure		15.6%	5
somewhat negative		3.1%	1
very negative		6.3%	2
answered question			32
skipped question			0

4. This event is confrontational?

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		3.1%	1
agree		21.9%	7
not sure		12.5%	4
disagree		31.3%	10
strongly disagree		31.3%	10
answered question			32
skipped question			0

5. i am interested in participating in this event in the future?

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		29.0%	9
agree		25.8%	8
not sure		9.7%	3
disagree		16.1%	5
strongly disagree		19.4%	6
answered question			31
skipped question			1

6. This event appears to be primarily_____.

		Response Percent	Response Count
a protest		6.5%	2
a festive social activity		35.5%	11
both of the above		58.1%	18
Other (please specify)			1
answered question			31
skipped question			1

7. Notes:

	Response Count
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	16
--	----

answered question	16
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16

skipped question	16
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16






1. Have you ever participated in this event?

		Response Percent	Response Count
yes		0.0%	0
no		100.0%	26
answered question			26
skipped question			0






2. have you ever witnessed this event before?

		Response Percent	Response Count
yes		61.5%	16
no		38.5%	10
answered question			26
skipped question			0






3. overall the tone and impact of this event is_____.

		Response Percent	Response Count
very positive		30.8%	8
somewhat positive		38.5%	10
not sure		19.2%	5
somewhat negative		3.8%	1
very negative		7.7%	2
answered question			26
skipped question			0




4. This event is confrontational?

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		3.8%	1
agree		26.9%	7
not sure		11.5%	3
disagree		26.9%	7
strongly disagree		30.8%	8
answered question			26
skipped question			0

5. i am interested in participating in this event in the future?

		Response Percent	Response Count
strongly agree		23.1%	6
agree		26.9%	7
not sure		7.7%	2
disagree		19.2%	5
strongly disagree		23.1%	6
answered question			26
skipped question			0

6. This event appears to be primarily_____.

		Response Percent	Response Count
a protest		8.0%	2
a festive social activity		40.0%	10
both of the above		52.0%	13
Other (please specify)			1
answered question			25
skipped question			1

7. Notes:

	Response Count
--	-------------------

	11
--	----

answered question	11
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11

skipped question	15
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15

Q6. This event appears to be primarily_____.

1	(blank)	Nov 26, 2011 12:27 PM
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Q7. Notes:

1	"their a little too high on their horses" SF Pennsylvania	Nov 26, 2011 12:26 PM
2	From customers at a cafe on the embarcadero	Nov 26, 2011 12:21 PM
3	East Bay	Nov 26, 2011 12:18 PM
4	people have the right to express themselves older latino guy in the mission disorganized, blocking traffic	Nov 26, 2011 12:17 PM
5	"people look happy" "music is loud" Phoenix AZ	Nov 26, 2011 12:16 PM
6	In front of Tres Agaves. From England "No naked people!" answered question tongue in cheek	Nov 26, 2011 12:15 PM
7	SF	Nov 26, 2011 12:13 PM
8	SF wife&kid	Nov 26, 2011 12:12 PM
9	SF	Nov 26, 2011 12:12 PM
10	gay castro santa fe new mexico	Nov 26, 2011 12:12 PM
11	Indiana!	Nov 26, 2011 12:08 PM

APPENDIX D: Personal Account of First CM Ride

Personal Account of First Critical Mass Ride

Lorraine DeGuzman
August 26, 2011
San Francisco, California

It's a cold San Francisco afternoon. My first time riding my bike in critical mass. It's a half an hour before the ride and everyone is gathering at Justin Herman Plaza by the embarcadero. It's sort of touristy, near the financial district and commercial hotels. The people gathering are quite diverse in race and age. It feels like high school to me. I see different cliques of people. You have the couples, the college students in their bright neon hats, acting crazy and excited, the group of cool asian guys, the artsy, music types, the veteran bikers, this group of nude men in their late 50s, early 60s. The ride starts with a loud yell from a few bikers with an entrance of one biker hauling a loud speaker playing party techno. I guess it's dub-step. There's hundreds of bikers, slowly gathering momentum, peddling so close to one another their tires scrape each other, slips, almost-falls, the speed builds and we're off. We start biking toward Market St. Which is pretty much, when it's not critical mass, a death sentence for bikers and pedestrians. Crazy cars swerving in and out of the streets, taking ownership of the road. The biker crowd were also international. A handful from other countries experiencing SF bike culture. It feels good to not feel scared to bike down market st. It felt liberating, empowering, sort of a public education moment--"hey everyone-respect everyone on the road--shared streets!" There are a few really angry bikers, yelling at a few cars, yelling at the police--it seems like it's a way for some bikers to take out a little steam. They are not alone now, with a group of bikers they feel more empowered I guess. It's fun to see people's reactions to this big group of bikers--some with crazy outfits, others with campaign signs, others with protest signs, others drinking beer and dancing to the music. It's a diverse group, but with one common interest--biking. Sometimes the bikes stop and circle an intersection for a few minutes, hollering in excitement, almost seems like a respite, acknowledgement of each other's presence and numbers. A mini party perhaps? There were different reactions from the crowd. Most people in cars thought it was funny, were surprised, took a lot of pictures. A handful of drivers slumped in frustration, others were more aggressive drivers that didn't stop for the bikers but kept driving into the crowd. However bikers were able to stop them. Conquered! A lot of surprised faces on the street. A few were curious about the crowd. Asking bikers "what's this?" Some smiling. Others questioning. From my perspective, I thought it was a fun event. Very visual experience. Power in numbers.

APPENDIX E: Observer Interviews Organized by Opinion of CM

OBSERVER INTERVIEWS ORGANIZED BY OVERALL OPINION OF CM

POSITIVE OPINION (22)

Observer 8 "I just think it's kind of nice. . . I've been stuck in traffic though so it's kind of nice to be walking today."

Observer 10 "Oh, it's wonderful."

Observer 28a

Observer 28b

Observer 40a "It's good. It breaks up the common, everyday reality. This is like something different."

Observer 41 "I think it's great. . . It looks like fun."

Observer 43 "love bikes. They rock. I biked to Iowa."

Observer 44 "I love it, i think it's great."

Observer 45 "I like it for the neighborhood. I really do. I think it's great for the air and it's great for the streets and the neighborhoods."

Observer 46a "Well, I think it's pretty cool."

Observer 46b "positive"

Observer 47 "Sure. You know what? Yeah, it seems fun"

Observer 48 "it's awesome"

Observer 49A "happy friday!"

Observer 50 "i think it's a good thing.""

Observer 54 "I think it's amazing"

Observer 57 "it's very cool"

Observer 59 "good thing, it's seems fun"

Observer 60A "Oh yeah, for local people it's a positive thing."

Observer 60B "it's fine"

Observer 76A "overall positive thing for SF "yes"

Observer 78 "So I would say it was positive because I'm sure those people got to see part of the city whatever was going on..."

NEGATIVE OPINION (6)

Observer 18 "Confrontational. . . it ends up screwing up traffic across the city, and they are not respectful of anybody else. They think that, you know, you are an asshole if you drive a car. . . you're not engendering any sort of positive will."

Observer 20a "I can't stand them."

Observer 20b "no"

Observer 21 "So, I think, they just piss people off."

Observer 40c "i think they're a little selfish."

Observer 70 "They are very confrontational. They are trying to piss people off and it turns people against their cause. I think that's a mistake."

MIXED OPINION (6)

Observer 19 "used to do Critical Mass in the late '90s and it was kind of cool. . . But you know, I have to go to work on Monday morning and meet one of these pissed-off drivers. It's not so cool."

Observer 42b " I fully support it but i think they're a little selfish"

Observer 46c "it varies"

Observer 58 "as long as the cars and the critical mass guys don't get involved with each other, everything's good." (medium support)

Observer 72 good but disorganized (medium support)

Observer 77 "They are fun. It's a lot of fun for everybody. But I think they should just take into consideration that when we are trying to protect them, that they just zoom on by us and go through the lights"

INTERVIEW DID NOT ADDRESS THE QUESTION (4)

Observer 7

Observer 40b

Observer 49B

Observer 57b