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Visioning a Transit City: Citizen Participation and Transit Planning in Quito, Ecuador

by

Julie Catherine Gamble

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

City and Regional Planning

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Global Metropolitan Studies

in the Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Spring 2015

Visioning a Transit City: Citizen Participation and Transit Planning in Quito, Ecuador

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by

Julie Catherine Gamble

Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in City and Regional Planning

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Ananya Roy, Chair

This study investigates the intersections of local democratic experimentation and transit planning in Quito, Ecuador between 1972-2015 to better understand how transit planning outcomes take shape. It shows that while current national transformation promotes a participatory democracy and a desired future of different economic and social realities, this has resulted in alternative logics that take place through transit planning.

Within this context, on the one hand, I reveal that when transit planning institutions apply institutional practices of citizen participation these engagements not only fail to incorporate concepts of justice or equity, at the same time, they are also deeply entrenched by social, political, and cultural meaning that provoke new possibilities. On the other hand, I show how transit planning occurs through the performance of different transit visions. I trace transit visions to understand how transit planning outcomes emerge through the repetition of social relations.

My investigation treats transit planning as an unstable object of analysis in order to reveal the ensemble of visible and invisible dynamics behind transit outcomes. I show that transit decisions are made between a variety of positions that are not just shaped by traditional tools of prediction and behavior. Instead, I use four guiding transit visions: (1) unstable (2) mayors (3) institutions and (4) infrastructures to indicate how transit planning is accomplished through reiteration. I triangulate multiple sources—social media, archives, participant observation, interviews and two survey instruments—to write about transit planning from an ethnographic point of view to comprehend how transit outcomes are done. The study documents how these visions coalesce through the experiences of public transit users. I subsequently analyze data gathered from urban cyclists, who are at the margins of transit infrastructure, to provoke new ways of researching and analyzing transit problems.

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Introduction: A Manifesto for Transit changes and possibilities in Quito

About the situation for female urban cyclists and urban mobility in Quito:

As women who represent Carishina en Bici and cycle daily in the city of Quito, we would like to retell what we see, what we live and what we perceive. We know that our vision does not include all of the angles that are wrapped up in the complex and oftentimes conflictive subject that is urban mobility in this city, but we also know that our experience in cycling in the streets is part of this reality and we consider it a very important part of this debate that continues. Moreover, we consider it even more important that our position as women dealing with this issue needs to be heard... that this action to pedal in Quito affects both men and women; it is not just an issue for men.

What happens when we cycle?

Daily sexual violence; we are conscious that this does not happen because we are cyclists; we are simply victims because we are women. When we leave the house we know that it will happen; because it is something that will always happen, every day. Sexual aggression is something that we know will happen when we leave the house; and inclusively, some of women experience it in their homes. There are all forms of aggression; from the comments and sexual innuendos that occur as we pass by, the whistling, to be stared at by men in a morbid manner. Sometimes some forms of aggression are more serious; to have been followed by cars; to be groped when we cycle. Cycling at night is a risk; not just because we are cyclists, but also because we are women.

Aggression in open traffic, to go from one street without any biking signing and marking is undoubtedly a distinct experience when one uses a bike lane. And, yes, we use them! We do it because we have the right to use them as roads from Monday-Sunday, at whatever time of day. Just like drivers and pedestrians, we need to move around to accomplish our activities, or simply because we want to go out, and, as it turns out, we are just like the other urban cyclists that live from Monday to Friday on the streets; not just on Sunday during the ciclopaseo. Moreover, we find ourselves dispersed throughout the city, which happens to be impossible to move around only by using the existing bike lanes. To go into open traffic we must be alert, looking both ways, paying attention to be traffic lights, intersections, fixed bus stops, as well as bus stops, taxis, and cars with unfixed stops, pedestrians, flighty pedestrians, potholes, and drivers that daily violate traffic laws.

*Despite all of this, it turns out that it is very common for us to be victims of irresponsible and disrespectful drivers that seemingly understand that their automobiles are spaces of privilege because they have more right to move around than the rest of us, where many of them are not conscious of the fact that every bicycle is a person, a life. This is where the real discussion is at; we are not talking about the risks that accompany using a bicycle, we are talking about the risks that we as cyclists expose our lives to. We know that not all drivers are irresponsible, we also know that not all cyclists move around in a secure and responsible manner; but we know that out of principle after pedestrians, cyclists are the most vulnerable on the streets. It is for this reason that it is absurd to victimize drivers, the chaotic traffic inside the city of Quito does not occur because of the excessive bike lanes, or even the disturbances from cyclists. The chaotic traffic in the city of Quito occurs because of the excessive amount of cars, the city does not have enough space for the amount of cars that exist. **THERE IS NOT ANY MORE SPACE FOR CARS.** However, there is space in the empty seats of the many drivers that prefer to drive along, and in the bike lanes where cyclists are a myth.*

To pedal in the bike lane; although many drivers think that the city is inundated in bike lanes, we do not think so. It turns out that it is almost impossible to complete full a daily trip using a bike lane because the ones that exist are limited, and it is for this reason that we share the streets with motorized vehicles. Sometimes cycling in bike lanes provides safety, but at others, to use the bike lanes with the current designs puts us in risky situations and at times makes us invade the spaces meant for pedestrians. As urban cyclists, we have almost all had a bad experience circulating in the bike lanes; the disrespect using them in many sectors is almost quotidian.

Just like pedestrians and drivers feel affected by the road construction, we want to let you know that we share your experience, now that the bike lanes that are often criticized are used as permanent parking spaces for the public sector, and the storage spaces construction materials, many pedestrians also now understand that the bike lanes are an extension of the sidewalks, just like bike lanes that have suddenly appeared and then disappeared; in some sections the bike lanes are painted and then erased and then

repainted.

And so, since so many things occur for us Carishinas, you must ask: Why do you continue to cycle? Because we believe that the bicycle is an inclusive tool; since it does not have restrictions.

- *Because we understand that the bicycle is a site for struggle; through which we demand and exercise our right to circulate freely and safely through the streets.*
- *Because through the cycling we become closer; to the street, to people, to the realities outside of our own (and many times our individuality). The bicycle allows us to be human, act in solidarity and conscious that our social reality is a reality that pertains to all of us.*
- *Because we know that the bicycle generates change; we are conscious that our efforts to cycle will not erase all of the environmental damage in the world, but we are also conscious of the fact that through the bicycle we have made many changes to our lifestyles, and we have translated these changes into daily spaces, and we know that this is the way real changes are made.*
- *Because we simply know that through the act of cycling other forms of mobility exist, and thus, other forms of living amongst other people also exists.*
- *We do not pretend to think that the bicycle is the only form of transportation that exists; we understand that it is outside of the reality of many individuals; we know that for many the idea of cycling in Quito is still far-fetched. From this perspective, we invite you to cycle and when you drive to remember that we are also on the streets.¹*

Textbox 0.1. Manifesto Bicycle Collective Carishina en Bici, Translated by Julie Gamble

In July 2013, the feminist bicycle collective, Carishina en Bici, or “Bad Housewives who Cycle,” wrote this story as a narrative, describing the conflictive situation that exists for women and for all cyclists in the city of Quito, Ecuador. Carishina en Bici is a women’s bicycle collective in Quito and is an inclusive group that is horizontally run and operates as on a volunteer-basis. It includes mainly a group of 10 women that organize events, but is accepting of all women of different age, race, and socio-economic backgrounds. Politically, the group is rather radical and does not work with the Municipality of Quito. The women bands together over issues like transportation, but predominately the group’s activities are concerned with educating women to cycle in Quito. This manifesto exposes the current clashes between the influence of identity, transit user behavior, and the existing bicycle infrastructure in this Andean city. It is a manifesto that comes from a group of women who are concerned about the status of women’s rights and transportation justice in Quito. Yet, it is decidedly not just a story about cycling: it is a vision for an alternative possibility for transit planning in Quito.

Carishinas take their ideas of what transit should be – for instance as an inclusive tool – and teach women to bike safely through the streets of Quito using games, costumes and races that require knowing the city, rather than simply how quick cyclists can pedal. They see the bicycle as a terrain for struggle and political possibilities that are also fundamentally questions of citizenship. In 2008, President Rafael Correa altered the definition of citizenship by constitutionally changing the meaning to include participatory mechanisms in public process, or in short, to create a participatory democracy. The new constitution is profoundly different in that it aspires to create an alternative development model through policies that promote social justice and a desired future of different economic, social and political realities.

Correa’s emphasis on bike planning at the national level suggests that it is a tool to unite citizens through both democracy and nature. He demonstrates democratic citizenship through la *Revolución Ciudadana*, which is a political campaign that attempts to connect all citizens

¹ Translated from Spanish, Julie Gamble.

through shared experiences of all “people” as one entity (de la Torre 2013, 38). One such example of this was seen in his political campaign commercial in February 2013, where he rode his sleek, environmentally-friendly bicycle across the Andean countryside, connecting all different races and ethnicities through Ecuador’s many topographies.² Citizens, because of the new constitution, have the ability to recognize nature within their framework of citizenship rights. By riding around on the bicycle outside in the country, this reframes the conversation of citizenship to an alternative relationship that is defined by the human body and the natural environment. A citizen’s right to defend and define his/her natural territory is under the new Constitution. This is distinct and does not consider an urban “natural” environment as defined by the Law of the Metropolitan District of Quito.³ They have the right to defend their ecosystems and the state has the responsibility of recognizing these rights.

In contrast, Carishinas recognize that cycling is not an inclusive tool for everyone, and therefore it cannot be an exercise in citizenship for everyone. Their manifesto reveals how transit planning in Quito is inculcated with decisions about citizenship and national transformation. Carishinas question the order of the streets, suggesting that street space is people space, and not just for the car. Behind this statement, entrenched ideas surface about the relationship of citizenship to the “natural” environment in Quito. For them, the bicycle accounts for less greenhouse gas emissions and the ability to move freely around in urban space. Yet, this manifesto is then also decidedly a struggle to be closer to “nature” in Quito. Claims by this group demonstrate how ideas around transit in Quito must be unpacked. Currently, cars congest the Andean city and transit authorities are seeking to build a sustainable urban transit model. At the local level, transit planners are defining sustainability as a way to cut down on the carbon footprint of the city through densification and coordinated land-use and transit decisions. These two principles drive formulations of “best practices” in transit planning. In Quito, the sustainable urban transit model focuses on bicycle infrastructure, the BiciQ, and an underground metro rail, the MetroQ. These interventions respond to competing international policies on sustainable transit practices and national goals of nature. Carishinas learned about transit planning by moving on the streets of Quito by foot, bus, and car—not just by bike. The knowledge that they divulge does not fit into a planning process neatly defined by the municipality or state. This knowledge also does not match the empirical and conceptual knowledge practices that inform a rational transit planning process, thought, policy, or paradigm. The goals set forward in the Carishina en Bici’s manifesto establish the possibilities for using transportation interventions as a tool for social change.

Therefore, the principal argument of this dissertation is that transit planning is best thought of as a performance of transit visions. I argue that this creates the possibility to imagine how different visions from multiple actors demonstrate what is at stake in transit planning decisions. First, I define vision as a metaphor for multiple situated viewpoints (Haraway, 1988, p.581). This means that there are multiple perspectives of what transit can come to mean, depending on the position of power. For example, Carishinas en Bici, are women who cycle and

² Visit <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0fZgCG2N5KM> to view the campaign commercial.

³ For Rights of Nature, visit articles, 71, 72, 73, 74. They discuss how nature is an integral part of the structure and function of the state. Article 71 explicitly states “all persons, communities, peoples and nations can call upon public authorities to enforce rights of nature. To enforce and interpret these rights”. Therefore, in the very constitution, it reduces all people to one entity and simultaneously demonstrates that the state has the ability to decide what these rights of nature are, and thus what the environment is, and what is good for it.

are at the margins of transit planning interventions because I argue that they articulate a clear case that cars take up too much urban space. I argue that visions of transit planning are concurrently entrenched with social, political and cultural meaning, and also engender new possibilities for public transit infrastructure.

Then, I use the term “performance” to indicate two specific dimensions of my work. First, I treated my ethnography as an experiment (Fortun 2012, 453), wherein each account can be seen as a process in the making—the ethnography is written through my encounters with different transit visions. Second, I use the term “performance” because in this dissertation I aim to demonstrate that transit planning is accomplished through the reiteration of these stylized visions (Butler 1988, 519). I seek to look at the mundane ways in which social and political agents of transit planning are constituted through representation, language, and action. For example, a line I heard repeated through my interviews was “everyone knows about urban mobility.” This is a statement that reinterprets what urban mobility is in relationship to transit planning—that is, the constitutive acts of transit planning are based on social understandings of moving around the city. The statement shows that transit planning is an unstable object, constantly doing and re-doing itself through the repetition of different visions. Citizens perform some of these visions, while mayors or technocrats perform others. These visions are not equivalent and do not intersect; rather, transit planning is done through the repetition of different transit visions from a multitude of actors. Therefore, in this dissertation, I unpack political, institutional, and infrastructural visions that coalesce through transit planning. Each vision is representative of an ensemble of intersections: it shows both how transit decisions are inculcated with social and political meaning, and also how transit planning creates generative possibilities. For instance, the manifesto by Carishina en Bici demonstrates a formulation of citizenship. On the one hand, democratic citizenship is performed because they are Ecuadorean women and are exercising their right to manifest over a resource that is urban “nature,” whereas, on the other hand, Carishinas enact their citizenship by cycling because they are concerned with the impact of cars on urban space. Either way, these are representative of the ways in which transit visions have to be unpacked to demonstrate how people arrive at viewing, defining, and solving a transit problem. In other words, there are different formulations and ways of performing transit planning and, consequently, there is a multitude of ways to interpret the outcomes.

In this chapter, I trace how transit planning has been predominately shaped by scientific knowledge. I define scientific knowledge as quantitative indicators that transit planners use to make decisions. In Quito, transit planning oscillates between two specific modes of thought: a paradigmatic planning process that focuses on moving people from point A to point B, and a transitioning framework dominated by the automobile, to one of sustainable mobility (Banister 2008, 74–75). This paradigmatic thought shapes how transit policies accumulate and impact urban form (Low and Astle 2009, 48), which result in different visions of a transit city: one that is shaped by the automobile and another by public transit. Therefore, this investigation contributes directly to the fields of transportation studies, infrastructural studies, and studies of democracy and participation. It uses a diverse set of methods that combines experimental ethnography (Fortun 2012; Marcus 2013), mobility studies (Jirón 2008; Latham 2003), and transit planning (Richardson, Anthony, Ampt, and Meyburg, Arnim 1995). I argue that the transit planning process is better thought of as a performance in order to view how multiple visions can work together in shaping public transit outcomes.

In Latin America, the field of transit planning is dominated by a developmental practice (Gakenheimer 1999), which has only been shaped by the perspective of the transit

planner (Ardila, Arturo 2004) or measured through indicators of equity (Vasconcellos 2001). Consequently, incoherent processes of transit-led urbanization have shaped Latin American cities in recent times. On the one hand, Latin American cities are witnessing sensational transit solutions (Álvarez Rivadulla and Bocarejo 2014; Brand and Dávila 2011), while on the other hand, a car-dependent life-style has flourished (Borsdorf and Hidalgo 2008; Guerra 2014b; Zegras 2010).

I intervene directly in the field of transit studies by presenting transit planning in Quito from multiple-situated positions (Haraway 1988, 587) and demonstrating how these positions intersect with political, social, and cultural change. Throughout this dissertation, I treat transit planning as an unstable object, culminating with one example of how to analyze transit planning data. I use photo-diary data from urban cyclists starting from strong objectivity to understand the experiences and ways of improving bicycle infrastructure in Quito (Harding 1995, 341–348). I investigate two specific transit-planning interventions, the BiciQ and MetroQ, to elucidate how transit planning comes to take place because of multiple visions.

National change provoked by processes of decentralization and democratization has catalyzed alternative logics and meanings, such as participatory democracy, but do not address all publics or practices and thus take on different characterizations in transit planning. Furthermore, wide-sweeping processes of decentralization and democratization have placed greater importance on the role of mayors in Latin American cities (Dávila 2009; Gilbert 2006; Myers and Dietz 2002). Therefore, I look into and historicize the important role of a strong mayor in the context of transit planning in Quito. I argue and reveal that the political position of the mayor is central to how transit planning is *done*. I also focus on the process of transit planning as a performance of different transit visions to represent various actors involved in and what is at stake in transit planning in Quito.

Consequently, I contribute directly to the burgeoning field of local democratic experimentation (Baiocchi 2005; Goldfrank 2011; Wampler 2007) while Latin American cities experience waves of democratization that has instigated new participatory approaches to planning (Caldeira and Holston 2014). While limited critical work accounts for the role of participatory urban planning, my ethnographic work at the interstices of citizen participation and transit institutions reveals that transit planning continues to be accomplished through principles perceived as scientific knowledge. Institutional citizen participation mechanisms make it difficult to implement or interpret notions of “social justice” or “transit equity.” I expose how citizens work within and outside of the confines of institutionalized citizen participation mechanisms such as participatory planning meetings or a participatory budget.

Finally, this investigation intervenes on the politics of participation in Latin American cities by approaching the question of transit and participation from the perspective of what possibilities arise out of public transit infrastructure (Easterling 2014; Larkin 2008; Simone 2010). I show the intersectionality of transit outcomes: visible and invisible dynamics manifest through public transit infrastructure. I specifically display how the Metro rail and BiciQ in Quito are symbolic of national transformation and activate debates on differentiated citizenship (Holston 2008, 197). I concentrate on the spatial strategies (Certeau 1988; Lefebvre 2004) of urban cyclists in Quito to underscore how citizens use transit planning as a terrain for social action. I reveal that they do this by making claims, repurposing, and using the public transit infrastructures that exist.

Next, I turn to Chapter 1 to discuss the current political climate in Quito and Ecuador. The chapter goes on to discuss the regional context of trends in Latin America with respect to

both participation and transit planning. Further, it goes on to discuss what transit planning is in the context of the Global North and Latin America. Consequently, it concludes with a discussion on Quito, the scope of its transit planning and institutions, and lays out the major arguments and framework of the dissertation.

Chapter 1: A Puzzle: Transit Planning

1.1 Transit planning coming undone in Quito

In the beginning, this dissertation project set out to understand how Quito's unconstructed megaproject, the underground Metro rail, came to exist. The project was a development priority put in place by the municipal government and supported by the national government. The Metro accounts for a top-down decision-making process during Ecuador's transition to a participatory democracy. In 2008, President Rafael Correa amended Ecuador's constitution. The transformations to the constitution marked a new administrative, fiscal, and political decentralization and democratization era in Ecuador.

Ecuador, like many countries in Latin America, has undergone processes of decentralization that have drastically transformed the role of local governments in the areas of economic development, infrastructural development, and policy decision-making (Van Cott 2008; Falletti 2010). But the effects of decentralization are actively debated. Political accountability in developing countries can impact the reception of better local information and be affected by corruption or captured by interest groups (Bardhan 2002). Empirical evidence for decentralized delivery of public services demonstrates differing outcomes. Yet, in 'developing countries', there is a misinformation between local needs, delivery costs, etc. Therefore this can lead to a gap between a "commitment of resources at a central level and delivery of services at the local level" (Bardhan 2002, 193). Thus, the extent of the capture at the local level of goods and services through decentralization initiatives depends on variety of factors such as the extent of social and economic inequality, historic tendencies of political participation, voter information and regular elections, transparency in local decision-making process, media attention, etc. (Bardhan 2002, 194). In short, the impact of decentralization must come with an evaluation of the structures of power and the dispersion of adequate information at local levels.

In Ecuador, it is suggested that decentralization has resulted in 'technocratic populism,' where state bureaucrats are considered trusted intellectuals that impart a socially and economically distributive agenda that forward the state's interests, which according to political scientist Carlos de la Torre, is that of *all citizens* or those previously excluded such as the indigenous and non-political elites (de la Torre 2013, 38–39). The National Planning and Development Secretariat (SENPLADES) carries different agendas through the country's new 'post-neoliberal' development plan, Plan del Buenvivir (PNVB), or Plan for Living Well. Intellectual bureaucrats in SENPLADES impart an alternative development plan that has not yet been executed through invoking theories on economic solidarity, nature, and post-colonial theory (de la Torre 2013, 38). However, PNVB has been criticized as a redistributive and authoritarian project that has allowed higher social spending and ambitious infrastructural projects through a reliance on resource extraction (Acosta and Martinez 2009; de la Torre 2013).

As a result, Correa uses the Metro as one of his emblematic infrastructural projects at the national level through the political campaign 'La Revolución Ciudadana,' or the Citizens' Revolution. This campaign is representative of a general civil society that attempts not to favor special interests groups and purports an economic development plan that is post-neoliberal and socially redistributive (Conaghan 2011). La Revolución has largely been criticized as a 'plebiscitary' political platform to mobilize public opinion and electoral support (Kennemore and Weeks 2011; Torre and Conaghan 2009). Infrastructural change comes at a time when La Revolución is democratizing Ecuador and altering the public sphere. Correa's government controls newspapers, radio stations and two TV channels because the President strongly believes

that information is a *public* good. Political scientist Carlos de la Torre would label this as “colonizing the public sphere”(de la Torre 2013, 42). This is done in order to prevent civil society from dissenting against the state.

Prior to 2008, citizens unraveled the political systems, ousting six presidents in the span of a decade before Correa took office (Becker 2011; Colloredo-Mansfeld 2009). Correa’s regime has been accused of taming indigenous social movements(Becker 2011, 48–49) and other subaltern organizations. The indigenous social movements under the umbrella organization, Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), are evidenced to be one of the strongest indigenous movement organizations in Latin American (Cott 2007; Yashar 2005). Yet, literature indicates that the state has attempted to control these marginalized ethnic groups through the participatory policy paradigm of ‘ethnodevelopment’, which consists of subsidies, structuring, and some control of the indigenous sector by focusing on identity and self-management (Chartock 2013, 53–55).

In the case of Ecuador, indigenous social movements have gone from being strong to weaker social movements under Correa. For example, Correa’s coopts the voice of indigenous people through public appearance and confines their participation in public dissent by limiting travel when there is a large march planned. In other words, “...the government offers limited symbolic recognition and some targeted redistribution that disciplines indigenous peoples and separates ‘permitted Indians’ from recalcitrant ones” (Martínez Novo 2014, 121). However, there is not a clear element of attention to race and ethnicity in Quito because of a history rooted in changing interpretations of *mestizaje*. For example, the term *mestizo* was applied to all citizens in the national context through the census in 1950 as a way to bring Indigenous peoples into dominant Ecuadorean society(Clark 1998, 186–188). But it has been documented that in the case of middle-class Indians, race/ethnicity was a self-demarcated distinction between *mestizo* and white through acts of discrimination that do not denote cultural change(de La Torre 1999). This seemingly changed in 1998 with the introduction of the Plurinational state. The Plurinational state starts with the concept of difference in that there are multiple nations underneath one nation state(Becker 2011, 52–53). However, Correa’s rhetoric continues to neutralize marginalized citizens. He does so through concepts like interculturality, which asserts connections and similarities between citizens; Correa himself both accepts and rejects an indigenous identity(Martínez Novo 2014, 112–113). Therefore, this is why it is difficult to discuss race and ethnic relations in Quito, where the ambiguity of ethnic and racial relations is present at both the national and local levels. In Ecuador, territorial differentiation is demarcated by the distribution of *mestizo* population, and in order for marginalized groups or any type of interest group to petition the State; it must be done through the divisions already provided by the state (Martínez Novo 2014, 114).

As a result, Correa’s ability to silence social movements and popular dissent is supported by the existence of both local and national mechanisms of citizen participation. In Latin America, participatory institutions have been studied at the local level by closely following experiments in participation (Baiochi 2005; Goldfrank 2011; Wampler 2007) and at the national context to decipher the institutional character of participatory policy-making (Mayka 2013). La Revolución is also his platform through which he seeks to install radical forms of democracy that complicate the relationship between city and state. Simultaneous to La Revolución, the 2008 Constitution gave parameters for how deliberative democracy works in Ecuador.⁴ In this regard,

⁴ See Chapter 4 for complete articles

Ecuador is similar to other Latin American countries that focus less on large national development plans, and dedicate more support to local, strategic planning. In Ecuador, PNVB achieves this through focusing on administrative zones and strategic planning circuits, which all have specific mechanisms for public participation in the planning process.⁵ As a result, PNVB redefines how local municipalities like Quito work to achieve citizen participation in public process through mechanisms like the participatory budget, participatory meetings, and citizen oversight groups.⁶ Participatory processes are flawed in that they state promises redistribution with the expectation of uncritical support, and as a result, are retrenching a multicultural and developmental agenda. In Ecuador, technocrats and agents of the state are trained in the rhetoric of participatory institutions, but many government officials and technocrats are middle-class intellectuals that lack a background in grassroots politics (de la Torre 2013; Martínez Novo 2014)

As such, the idea of an urbanism tied to spatial configurations of race/ethnicity is therefore difficult to decipher in Quito. Quito is separated by social differentiation (Carrión 1987). The city is not experiencing an enclave urbanism produced through race and ethnic relations because it is still a part of citizens' national identities (Belote and Belote 1984). Instead, Quito is marked by a class geography (Kingman 2006) that is superimposed by a contemporary political-administrative zone system. Quito's territorial unit is decentralized to the Metropolitan district level established in 1993 and represented as one canton that is divided into 32 urban parishes (or municipal zones) in 2008. These parishes are organized according to *cabildos*, which are for political and administrative purposes, since 2001. This territorial composition in Quito corresponds to the organization as recognized by the Constitution and State: parishes, cantons and provinces (Republic of Ecuador 2008, 158). Moreover, in Quito the political party climate aligns well with the State. The mayor at the time, Dr. Augusto Barrera was also a part of the same political party, Alianza País. This is a situation all too familiar in many Latin American cities, in an era of democratization, and fiscal and political decentralization, many mayors happen have the same political party affiliation as the national president (Myers and Dietz 2002). Quito has been an autonomous district (DMQ) since 1993⁷ and has run a participatory governance system since 2006.⁸

Thus, my research question formed in the context of Quito around the dynamic between how local and national policies that define how citizen participation shape transit infrastructural development, and therefore, planning. This research project looks into transit infrastructural planning in Quito in the context of this transforming environment. The MetroQ is one such project that symbolizes the targeted and radical democratic trends that Correa boasts, but embraces a particular agenda of rebuilding a nation built on ideas of progress, development and modernity without needing citizen input. Correa has spoken about Quito's Metro as progress and part of the Revolución on his weekly citizens' address, *Enlace Ciudadano*. The MetroQ is emblematic of many complex processes.⁹ The Metro blurs the lines between municipal and state authority. The project would not be possible without the economic and political support of the

⁵ SENPLADES works as the national coordinating body of development through strategic administrative zones that have smaller circuits. Quito is the 9th administrative zone and only encompasses the Metropolitan District of Quito.

⁶ See Chapter 4 for complete structure of participatory governance in Quito

⁷ See Chapter 3 for more information on impacts of 1993 Municipal District law on transit.

⁸ City Ordinance 213 in 2006 under Mayor Paco Moncayo created the city's first participatory governance system. See Chapter 4 for complete details on Quito's participatory governance system.

⁹ Enlace Ciudadano, dates for discussion on the Metro include 355, 402 and 410.

central government—Correa has promised to subsidize fifty percent of the total project construction costs.¹⁰

Furthermore, Municipal institutions like the Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Metro de Quito (EPMMDQ), the entity in charge of planning Quito's metro, encourage infrastructural projects, and purport images of consent or input. Moreover, this also comes through in the recent bicycle infrastructure installed by the Secretariat for Urban Mobility (SUM). Municipal and National governments demonstrate ideas of nature and progress through both a national master bike plan and cost-free municipal public bike system, the BiciQ. It is also seen directly as a political tool, as discussed in the 2013 electoral campaign of Correa on the bicycle. Today one can see him seldom riding around Ecuador, uniting the country through the collective experience of cycling.¹¹ Thus, bicycling infrastructure in Quito is critical to understanding the ways public transit illustrates social and cultural changes. Therefore next, I turn to discuss my two key analytical frameworks that I use throughout this dissertation, transit studies in Latin America, local democratic experimentation and practices, and transit planning.

1.2 Latin American Regional Trends: Transit Studies and Studies of Democracy

In this section I discuss the literature that looks more broadly at the impact of transit planning and local democratic experimentation in Latin America. This is necessary because it indicates the tensions between the two fields, which I explore in this investigation. My investigation looks beyond transit interventions that are uniquely defined participation as an institutionalized public process, or something that can be measured with an indicator. In chapter 4, I show how transit planners engage with and enact citizen participation policies, but continue to plan according to expert-driven, or technical, knowledge. Consequently, I expose how the limitations of citizen participation generate alternative practices by citizens who directly intervene in transit planning. Then, in chapter 5, I continue to represent the multiplicity of public transit outcomes by showing how survey instruments disclose contrasting meanings of infrastructure. I divide this section into two inter-related sections as a way to comprehend the general impacts of transit planning in Latin American cities, and, how states and societies have reacted.

1.2.1 Trends and Impacts from Transit Development

The literature that I review highlights the changing role of transit interventions on urban form. It looks at how a dominant car culture persists while sustainable transit projects proliferate. Thereby, I suggest that this occurs because transit projects continue to be envisioned from a top-down transit planning paradigmatic approach, despite the calls to equity (Vasconcellos 2001) and participation (Delmelle and Casas 2012). My investigation will intervene in these debates by forwarding an analysis that centers on the perspectives of public transit users. It looks at the possibilities that can occur when people use public transit (Easterling 2014, 127), as opposed to considering it within a technocratic, linear framework. In chapter 5, I use intercept survey and photo-diary data to demonstrate the differences amongst users in public transit, and how meaning depends on both objectivity and subjectivity. In contrast to transit studies that use indicators for equity and participation, I present an analysis of photo-diary cyclist data from

¹⁰ Reported in Financial Package powerpoint my interview with Financial team, and also widely published on the Metro's website and Ecuadorian newspapers.

¹¹ Electoral Campaign commercial entitled: "Bicicleta" during February 2013.

standpoint theory(Harding 1995) to elucidate how transit studies can shape research starting from the margins.

In Latin America, urban planning practices have gone from grandiose modernist experiments (Holston 1989, 41) to diverse-use large urban development projects(Ortiz Arcineagas, Catalina 2012, 181). Regional superstar cities like Bogotá have focused on civic behavior and sustainable transportation as a root to solving urban problems(Gilbert 2006). In Medellín, known for its success with “social urbanism”, public and private institutions concentrated on a combination of spectacular libraries, aerial cars, and museums as a way to regenerate and connect marginalized areas socially and spatially(Brand and Dávila 2011). Some cities like these in Latin America have focused on diverse-use plans that are formed around interventions in urban mobility.

Diverse in use and targeted plans that feature sustainable urban mobility undergirds these formulations of urban development. A few Colombian cities have become branded or fetishized for transportation successes like the cable car (Álvarez Rivadulla and Bocarejo 2014). Furthermore, the profusion of bicycle infrastructure networks has begun to connect cities like Bogotá(Cervero et al. 2009). These results are often cited as favorable in Latin American cities, which currently lead global best practices in sustainable transportation (Embarq 2010). These policies circulate as a litany of transnational practices, as opposed to a place-based contextual approach(Roy 2011b; Roy 2011a). Yet, despite the attention to social inclusion that these plans seemingly have, I argue that transportation networks continue in Quito to be planned according to a logic that forwards modernist infrastructural determinism(Graham and Marvin 2002, 91).

Even with emphasis on equity and participation in transit planning, top-down interventions continue to dominate how Latin American cities approach transit. This means that cities continue to experience privatization and degradation of public space that decreases the quality of urban social life (Borja 2011; Caldeira 2012a). Unequal access to public transit is a grave problem in Latin American cities and next to this, a car-oriented culture continues to prosper in Latin America cities like Santiago de Chile (Borsdorf and Hidalgo 2008; Zegras 2010) and Mexico City(Guerra 2014b). Moreover, the recent work of urban planner Erik Guerra demonstrated the inequitable effects the construction of a new metro line B simultaneous to suburbanization in Mexico City(Guerra 2014a, 105–114).

However, it is equally important to highlight the role of small-scale providers that creates a parallel market for transit to urban peripheries in the absence of state intervention. For example, in the case of Latin American cities (Gómez-Ibáñez and Meyer 1997, 23–24), research indicated that it was most common for states to create exclusive long-term franchise agreements for specific routes to small-scale bus providers. Santiago de Chile had one of the world’s largest unregulated bus fleets in the 1980s until it switched over to competitive tendering due to large amounts of microbus and taxibus fleets in 1991 (Gómez-Ibáñez and Meyer 1997, 27). There is a complex relationship between bus providers, bus operators, users and the government. Market-based options for public transit are often the best practice to reach underserved urban areas in the presence of weak institutions, pressure for states to keep tariffs low, and low state subsidies (Cervero 2005; Vasconcellos 2001).

Another component to this form of growth requires seeing the city as a site for large-scale, top-down interventions. Megaprojects operate along the same logic as transit that connects the city and continue to be a strategy for urban development that is questionably democratic (Lehrer and Laidley 2008, 795–798). They are complex investments that facilitate land use and

private development, which have significantly impacted the social and public lives of cities. The fortified enclave in Sao Paulo is probably the most well known form of exclusive enclave urbanism that results in the privatization of urban space (Caldeira 2000, 256–259). Mega-Housing designs on the fringes of Santiago de Chile (Borsdorf and Hidalgo 2008) and the airport in Texoco, DF Mexico City (Flores Dewey and Davis 2013), are examples of urban megaprojects that have resulted in resistance and adversarial outcomes. Large urban projects are complex and require the regulation and coordination of various actors and institutions across levels of government. As such, the work of Brenner and Theodore (2004) further supports this insight to this Latin American phenomenon, suggesting that the neoliberal nation state facilitates large urban projects while promoting decentralized forms of governance.

Therefore, these dynamics illustrate the complex and contradictory interactions of transit interventions in Latin American cities. My research indicates that they need to be studied from a multi-method approach that incorporates different ways of seeing the effects and affects of transit planning. In my study, I triangulate ethnographic, transit intercept survey, and photo-diary methods to investigate the differences and experiences that occur through transit in Quito. In chapter 5, I draw out the multiplicity in transit planning by unpacking how infrastructural outcomes initiate debates on citizenship (Holston 2008, 15–17) and governmental control (Collier 2011; Joyce 2003). I consider within my analysis of intercept survey data how the results indicate contradictions to national transformation and how citizens make claims to public transit infrastructure. Next, I turn to some of the ways institutions and social actors have responded to the growing and changing development of transit across Latin American cities.

1.2.2 Local Democratic Experimentation and Democratic Practice in Latin American Cities

The impact of transit planning in Latin America cannot be studied without the context of substantive political and demographic changes in cities. Democratic innovation has transpired across the Andean region, reformulating the manner in which political decision-making at municipal levels takes place (Van Cott 2008). States are going through a process of democratization and therefore it gives aperture for deliberation and decision-making power to citizens through strategic planning and participatory techniques at the municipal level (Campbell 2003). As such, my research fits into larger debates on local participatory institutions in Ecuador and Latin America. My dissertation uniquely looks at the intersections of transit planning and participatory mechanisms through an analysis of a double-bind. A double-bind presents the opportunity to see how institutions put parameters on citizen participation and the ways social actors respond (Fortun and Fortun 2005, 47).

In this regard, states and municipalities have participatory institutions that deepen democracy through civic engagement and participatory mechanisms (Fung and Abers 2003; Goldfrank 2011). Participatory institutions were created as a way to include the voices of those underrepresented in the government (Nylen 2003; Wampler 2008a) and therefore as a result, include more representation to assuage inequality (Fung 2006). One clear example of this hybrid formulation is the case of water-resource management in Brazil, wherein NGOs partnered with the state for distribution (R. N. Abers and Keck 2009). Participatory experiments have spearheaded planning practices like the participatory budget in Porto Alegre that had the objective of small neighborhood level improvements (Baicocchi 2005). I investigate participatory urban governance and transit institutions at different institutional arrangements than those discussed in participatory literature such as neighborhood governance councils in Chicago, habitat conservation planning in the U.S., participatory budget in Brazil, or panchayat reform in

West Bengal (Fung and Wright 2001, 5). I show that in an era of participatory citizenship, transit planning institutions have difficulty implementing ideas of social justice—despite national mandates, or regional trends on transit equity. I look at three different institutional arrangements of citizen participation in Quito that includes: (1) participatory planning meetings through administrative zones, (2) citizen oversight groups as mandated by decentralized territorial zones, and (3) city-wide commissions.

My work looks specifically at the role of transit planning when much of critical literature in Latin America focuses on citizen participation is on participatory budgeting (Abers 2000; Baiocchi 2005; Wampler 2007) or participatory urban planning at the municipal level (Caldeira and Holston 2014). In particular, scholarly work on participatory budgeting has emphasized either how civil society has transformed without much attention to how citizens or institutions pursue their own interests. Participatory budgeting has concentrated on contentious politics that activate citizen participation (Baiocchi, Heller, and Silva 2011; Wampler 2007; Wampler 2008a). In my investigation, I disrupt this by illustrating that transit institutions pursue their own interests by reiterating scientific knowledge that confirms a decision taken without citizen input. Ethnographic work in Sao Paulo on participatory urban planning elucidates how with the institutionalization of democratic procedures it becomes difficult to implement notions of social justice (T. Caldeira and Holston 2014, 5). My work contributes to urban participatory planning in that it demonstrates how transit institutions communicate scientific knowledge to citizens, therefore leading to problems in applying either social justice or equity. In participatory meetings, transit planners respond to new knowledge with further technocratic information or “looping” (Bowker and Star 2000; Gorm Hansen 2011).¹² I also look at how these institutional parameters of citizen participation as opportunities for people to interpret their meanings, and generate alternative discourses, movements and actions.

Furthermore, academic work on participatory budgeting in Brazil has focused on the role of strong mayoral support in order to achieve better participatory outcomes, but fails to consider the historical legacy of mayoral domination at the urban level (Wampler 2008, 66–67) (Wampler, 2008, p.66-67). My work in chapter 3 explicitly historicizes and investigates the role of mayoral leadership in transit planning. It shows how mayors put authority into their own hands with regard to transit outcomes, and rely on a technical expert. These findings also elucidate how transit outcomes intersect with practices of global transit development, social movements, and national transformation. The role of mayors has been emphasized either in pursuit of participatory budgeting (Goldfrank 2007; Wampler 2008) or as a leader to a paradigm change in urban planning (Barber 2014; Dávila 2009; Gilbert 2006; Myers and Dietz 2002). My work contributes to this growing body of literature as the mayors I interview discuss how their leadership is a form of representative democracy, but do not delegate authority to citizens until institutional citizen participation mechanisms are put in place.

¹² The dissertation by Birgitte Gorm Hansen goes into detail on what looping is and provides a comprehensive overview. See pages, 38, 44, and Chapter 3. Discussed in detail in Hacking (2006) and Bowker and Starr (2000) looping is a concept used in Science and Technology Studies (STS) to reveal that particular kinds of social relationships have to have necessary conditions in order to exist. In other words, in order for a type of social relationship to exist, certain ideas, concepts or constructs have to be reiterated through performance. In STS, the field uses the concept of ‘looping effect’ to describe how scientific practice is being repeated to produce particular new kinds of scientific phenomenon. I do not intend to use it in this manner. Instead, I use it to point out how transit planners reuse and reiterate statistical and technical representations as a way to communicate, and thus reproduces incoherent discourses.

Therefore, despite the recent turn in sensational experiments in participation, it cannot only be measured according to institutional policy-making, and state and local planning processes. The role of social movements has always been a fundamental part of how urban change occurs in Latin American cities. The study of social movements in Latin America looks at not just one type of conflict; instead, the analysis must draw on a combination of socio-political movements that includes anti-imperial/anti-colonialist, class, and national integration (Touraine 1985). Later on, Alberto Melucci includes the social identity of individuals as a product of collective action and constituted new conflicts in the 1980s (Melucci 1980, 218). The study of social movements in Latin America is endless, and there is no one single definition. However, social movement studies subsequently looked at the intersectionality of race, class, and gender with issues concerned with the environment and rights (Escobar 1992, 82). In the case of Ecuador, in the country's indigenous movements provide examples of relationships between groups such as the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), the Pachakutik political movement (Becker 2011b). In the 1990s, Ecuador's indigenous movement Pachakutik was intersectional in that it bred an alliance of poor indigenous communities with white middle class activists (Becker 2010). Indigenous movements have largely used identity to align disparate indigenous groups into one movement (Whitten 2003; Zamosc 1994) and have concentrated on fights over land and resources (Sawyer 2004).

At an urban level it was through scholarship espoused by Borja (Borja 1975), Castells (Castells 1983) (1972), Lefebvre (Lefebvre 1970), and Lojkin (1977) that a trend was seen to urban social movements in the 1970-80s. In a classic definition, urban social movements are characterized by collective responses capable of producing qualitative changes to urban systems that are in contradiction to dominant social interests (Castells 1983, 278). In Latin America, this was later expanded and treated through different themes such as territory, sectoral, demand-oriented, urban uprisings and regional/national movements (Henry, Etienne 1985). In Henry's analysis, he deciphered and investigated the role of urban social movements and their responses to transit fare hikes seen in Quito around the "Guerra de cuatro reales" (Henry, Etienne 1985, 132-33), which started with student movements. Later on specifically around transit, transportation operators staged a nation-wide strike with the implementation of Quito's first public transit line (Chauvin 2007, 145-168). I argue this is similar to the same transit fare protests seen across many Latin American cities. In this sense, it is imperative to view urban social movements as collective struggles that rise out of a particular accumulation in an urban area (Pansters 1986). This definition went on to inspire a large and wide variety of case study analysis of collective action and political strategies of urban social movements in Latin American cities.¹³ Throughout my fieldwork in Quito, I saw and gathered evidence that urban social movements were largely tied to student movements in Quito, and today Correa has quashed these student group movements in Ecuador (Welcome 2013, 112-131). Finally, neighborhood councils and popular mobilization were documented as urban alternatives to place demands on the state (Borja 1981) but today in Ecuador municipal councils are a normative phenomenon.

Popular protest is now resurfacing through transit demands in cities like Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, Bogotá, and Rio de Janeiro and expressed through institutions like *Ciudades en Movimiento* (Borja 2011). Despite these two visions of success across Latin American cities, at this moment there is a clear disjunction between the right to move around in a city and the

¹³ A large list of case studies of social movements available in Panster 1986. For a selection of themes see Eckstein, 1990, Carrión et al, 1982; Schneider, 1991; Caldeira, 2000, Roberts, Bryan and Alejandro Portes (2006); Bruhn, Kathleen (2009).

development of transit infrastructure. Anthropologist Teresa Caldeira's conceptualizes moving around as new practices of circulation in the city, which includes practices such as skate boarding, motorcycling, etc.(2012, 386). Thus, I believe it is imperative to reflect on the history of urban social movements in Latin American cities as tactics and strategies for how citizens respond to dominant discourses.

As a result, public space serves as the mechanism for the expression, preservation and representation of citizens in Latin American democracy(Avritzer 2009; Caldeira 2000; Caldeira 2012a; Holston 2008; Irazábal 2008). Henri Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city has profoundly impacted the knowledge production about how citizens intervene and make the city. For example, this is seen directly in the formal adoption of the Right to the City Statute at the national level in Brazil (Caldeira and Holston 2014; Friendly 2013). This action has paved the way for urban residents in cities across Latin America to legally participate in collective-decision making on urban issues and to make claims to social justice. My study contemplates how citizens interact through visioning public transit as public space, and looks into the plurality of actors that work across this terrain. Thus, thinking conceptually of the city as public space is the way in which democratic citizenship is tested(Borja 2011).

While the debates on citizenship in Latin America are vast, this project concentrates on urban citizenship because of its unique attention to scale and identity. Citizenship should be substantive and affirm affiliation to the nation-state; it should not be a legal category that confirms formulations of inequality(Holston 2008; Postero 2007). Urban citizenship suggests that subaltern groups once marginalized by the modern nation state through conventional formulations of citizenship are seeking their rights at the level of the city(Holston 2008, 15–17). In Sao Paulo, those living on the urban peripheries achieved their rights to the city by seeking infrastructural upgrades (Caldeira 2000; Holston 2008). Disability in Cuenca, Ecuador, is another way in which citizens with an identity have fought for rights that are outside of the nation-state, and instead concentrated their demands within a framework of globalization (Rattray 2013).

It is in this way that practices of the subaltern have resurfaced as an important articulation of citizenship. Through spatial tactics (Certeau 1988, 95–96), uses of urban space allow people to make the city their own and practice democracy in everyday life. It is important to consider the alternative practices by citizens as expressions of not just participation, but of democracy. One such example of this is the practices of graffiti of the subaltern in Sao Paulo (Caldeira 2012b). In my work, I use travel-photo diaries (Jirón, 2008; Latham 2003; Martínez and Andrea 2010) as a way to uncover the experiences or spatial tactics of people that cycle in the city. Similarly, I captured the perspectives of citizens in transit terminals using an intercept survey(Richardson, Anthony, Ampt, and Meyburg, Arnim 1995). I do not use the information generated from this large-scale survey to predict behavior, but rather to uncover perspectives and priorities about public transit from citizens.

As a result, these two fields orient my analysis in two specific ways. First, the impacts of transit development across Latin American cities indicate that it sits wedged between ideas of sustainability and equity, but simultaneously continue to be dominated by the automobile. Democratization and the dynamic ways of participating in the city have a rich history in Latin America. As such, my study speaks and resonates to these ongoing debates on how to conceive and investigate the role of the citizen, and how this can be folded into shape transit priorities. My study focuses on the experiences of public transit users, which are spatial practices of how people move day to day (Jirón 2008). It deals with an uncertain terrain of social outcomes due to regional trends in transit planning. I look at perspectives from citizens in Quito, but also how

those operate next to mayors and transit planning institutions. Next I turn to discuss what transit planning is in the North American and Latin American contexts. I do this in order to demonstrate the paradigmatic approaches to the field, and in turn, how my work on situated knowledge can disrupt approaches to transit planning.

1.3 What is Transit Planning?

The field of transportation planning has its origins tied to urban planning in the context of North America and Europe, whereas in Latin America it has dealt with transportation interventions according to political leadership and institutions. My aim in this section is to concentrate on the planning models that have been adapted into transportation planning.

First, I review the literature that dominates how a transit-planning paradigm is thought of in the context of the Global North and South. I do this to document the ontology of transit planning paradigmatic thought, and thus how my study departs from these perspectives. My decision to label it a performance indicates that there are multiple moving parts that I label “visions” of transit planning that are not all tied to a specific policy, paradigm, or set of practices—rather they coalesce through reiteration. This is my major contribution to this set of literature. In doing so, each chapter presents the movement of transit planning through one particular vision in order to demonstrate that transit planning carries political and social meaning and is entrenched with notions of development, citizenship, democracy, etc.

Then, I move to explain how transit policy in Latin America is developmental and what exact studies have been done that look into transit planning. Sustainable urban transit is the current paradigmatic thought and approach that cities in Latin America take. Subsequently, I briefly define what transit equity and justice are in the field of transit planning and how it has been approached in Latin America (Vasconcellos 2001). I do this to define the parameters of the field of inquiry and depict how transit-planning scholars study social justice (Deakin 2007). Finally, because processes of participation currently drive transit planners, I review literature that I will draw on in my analysis that establishes the relationship between citizen participation and scientific knowledge.

My work contributes to this field in that it looks at how transit institutions in Quito enact citizen participation policies, and how social actors respond. In chapter 4, I specifically demonstrate and argue that transit planners have become arbiters of democratic practice, and work with participatory institutions to divert citizen concerns. Further, I show how citizen participation mechanisms make it difficult to implement ideas like equity or social justice that are defined in Latin American transit studies through indicators. Scientific knowledge proliferates and limits how the field of transit studies conceptualizes notions like equity and justice. As a result, in chapter 5, I seek to disrupt how transit studies rely on scientific knowledge and conduct an analysis of urban cyclist data through strong objectivity. In doing so, I draw on Feminist Science and Technology Studies.

Essential to these debates, I clarify key terms that in the field of transportation. Transit planning can be defined as evaluation, assessment, design and siting of transport networks and facilities (Litman 2013). In this research project, I confine transit planning to government provided infrastructure and administrated services that includes Quito’s public transit network: a metro, the bus rapid transit trunk-feeder networks, and bicycle infrastructure. This definition does not include small-scale operators such as private bus companies, or paratransit services that are out of the public transit network. Urban mobility, defined from the perspective of the transportation planner, is moving of people and things from point A to point B, and is defined in

relationship to congestion in urban areas (Gakenheimer 1999, 673). Finally, accessibility, can best be defined as the “intensity of the possibility of interaction” (Hansen 1959, 75) and has many ways of being measured, though I do not go into detail in this debate.

1.3.1 Dominant Frameworks of Transit Planning in North America and Europe

I begin with transportation in the North American context to capture how transportation has always been a technical issue based on scientific and technical rationale. My investigation aims to dislodge the concept of a paradigmatic process and seeks to elucidate how the role of history and mayors matters when creating transit policy at the municipal level. This section reviews the dominant changes in paradigmatic thought in the field of transit planning. The three main areas include instrumental rational planning that focuses on auto-centric solutions, the sustainability paradigm, and communicative rationale or rationality. My work is different in that it looks at transit planning as a reiteration of transit visions that when taken together perform transit planning.

Transportation planning is conceptualized in planning mainly as a technical domain for engineers and experts. Urban planning and transportation planning have mainly operated and been studied in separate fields of research. Transportation planning and policy paradigms were historically represented through logit models and congestion pricing schemes (Wachs 1985). This research agenda demonstrated that transportation planning and policy largely remained as a ‘rational approach’ spearheaded by the expertise shaped of planners, local government, engineers and other technicians. This perspective relies on instrumental rationality, which has historical roots in the field of urban planning. It has a linear approach to decision-making based on a specific set of knowledge presented by an expert. In transportation planning this means and “includes data and theory which help us understand travel, forecasting methods that estimate future conditions, evaluation techniques that match anticipated system performance to estimated needs, and technological skills that help us use material resources safely, efficiently and economically” (Wachs 1985, 522). In other words, expert-led decision-making solved planning problems through expert produced scientific values and language.

Transit scholar Martin Wachs’ and shortly thereafter, Gakenheimer’s (Gakenheimer 1989) research agenda, were both innovative because they questioned the rational comprehensive paradigm. They also increased attention to the role of institutions and decision-making, highlighting the political processes associated with transportation planning. Previously, the rational comprehensive paradigm was a general *de facto* planning and decision-making model. This model has eight steps and relies on the official role of an expert to optimize and solve a problem based on a predetermined solution through a sequence of knowledge communicated to a broader audience or group. The role of the planner or expert is to frame a single bounded problem that relies on data and models as forms of inquiry (Churchman 1972; Linstone 1984).

Transportation research reveals that this prominent paradigm is couched in knowledge that supports transportation decision-making in favor of automobile solutions and highway construction (Meyer and Miller 2001; Wachs 2004). As a result, transportation planning necessitated a paradigmatic shift. Mainly, it called for a change in the manner the information is presented and how stakeholders are actively involved in the decision-making process. This is more commonly labeled the urban mobility paradigm which includes the following principles: making the best use of technology, travel costs that reflect actual costs of travel, linking land-use development to transit, and clearly targeted information to the public to garner acceptability of the project (Banister 2008, 78–79).

Changing a planning paradigm necessitates a reflection on how transit policies shape a city. Transportation systems in a city have an impact on urban form. The transit-planning paradigm needed to reflect development and growth patterns. In many ways public transport systems are socio-technical systems that are path dependent: they accumulate ideas, problems and solutions that depend on plans, policies and institutions (Arthur, William Bryan, Ausubel, J.H, and Herman, R. 1988; Low and Astle 2009a; Low, Gleeson, and Rush 2005). Public transport systems require flexible planning in order to adapt new ideas over time (Gifford 1994). Path dependency in the public transport sector has mainly been to demonstrate the evolution of “car system.” Policies and institutions (Gifford 1994), intervention and economic risk explain changes in the transport sector (Ramjerdi and Fearnley 2014). Such changes rely on how the vehicle has been widely adopted and impact urban form. This also has also determined how road planning institutions have strengthened and public transport institutions have weakened (Low and Astle, 2009, p. 48). Path dependence as it relates to the transport sector demonstrates how institutional structures adapt to change and resist transformation. Therefore, conceptualizing a new transit-planning paradigm is dependent both on urban development, what policies encourage a particular form of growth, and what decision-making apparatus is behind the process. For example, in order to have compact cities, this also means that transportation solutions cannot be auto-centric. Transit planners had to transfer to multi-modal transportation efforts, considering urban mobility and accessibility (Litman 2013, 21–22). They also began to adapt to a sustainable mobility paradigm that considers different realities that addresses the complexities of urban growth, transportation development and climate change. Such a juxtaposition between transit planning paradigms is one element that explains the contradictions seen in Latin American cities today: sustainable transit projects that promote “citizen participation,” “equity,” or “social justice,” and continue to grow with an auto-dependent culture (Guerra 2014b; Zegras 2010).

Furthermore, the transit planning and policy field eventually connects to other planning issues (Wachs 2004). The field of transportation turned to a new model developed by urban planning theorists communicative rational to comprehend how to involve public acceptance into the planning process. Transportation planning transformed from a model previously led by experts conveying technical information through language to receive stakeholders’ consent, to a dynamic and political process that resulted in collective action (Willson 2001). Debates on the ‘communicative turn’ in planning theory argue for the role of the planner as the mediator in the public process, encourage citizen participation for policy-making, the importance of institutional change, and challenges the rationality of quantitative data as the only indicator for planning, and more specifically infrastructure planning (Healey 2003; Innes and Booher 2010). In chapter 4, I will demonstrate how it is difficult with institutional citizen participation practices for transit planners to change the way they take in community concerns.

Transportation and urban planners believe that knowledge produced from the communicative model can serve to transform the vertical nature of how institutions handle transportation planning. However, my work demonstrates through an analysis between transit institutions and participatory planning instances, transit planners respond to community feedback by providing more scientific knowledge. New knowledge gathered during these meetings does not necessitate a change in the orientation of a transit-planning domain. I go into detail on this argument in Chapter 4. Furthermore, I try to approach transit studies research from the perspective of situated knowledge. This is different in that it does not rely on community feedback or try to measure notions of equity through an indicator. Next, I turn to view how this type of paradigm has traveled and influenced the field historically in Latin America.

1.3.2 Transit Planning as Developmental Practice and Perspectives from Latin America

My work seeks to display how transit planning as a developmental practice is a crucial component to how transit decisions and planning occur in Quito today. This is one of the double-movements that my analysis on mayors brings up. I suggest in this section that transportation policies that travel have the tendency to disregard local politics. My work seeks to look into the role of mayors over time in Quito to not only demonstrate how they regarded the role of citizen participation, and also, how they developed a critical relationship with the technical transit planner. The only work on transportation policy that looks into the context of local politics relates to transportation megaprojects. The influence of mayors has demonstrated a symbiotic relationship between the mayor and business community, in the context of North American cities such as Boston (Altshuler and Luberoff 2003, 66). Therefore, in this section I attempt to uncover the trajectory of transit planning as a developmental practice by discussing critical actors, perspectives and policy trends. I argue that these are embedded in the political visions that I historicize and investigate in Chapter 3. Simultaneously, I discuss some of the origins of transit thought in Latin America. I do this to bring up the tension between the two.

In 1987, geographer Frans Schuurman published the article “The importance of public transport as a basic service in Latin American cities—*the view from below*” as a way to draw attention to the everyday conditions of low-income groups that live on the urban periphery (Schuurman 1987). The article accentuates that urban transport debates of the developing world are generally written about from the perspective of a technical nature and the supply-side of transport by western consultants. This is how he termed and classified transit as developmental. Key to urban development was the construction of roads and mass technical systems. Meanwhile, in 1984 in Quito, architect Mario Vasconez and renowned Chilean transportation scholar Oscar Figueroa conducted the first urban mobility study in Quito established important factors to consider within planning transportation: family structure, socio-economic status, type of housing, cost of journey, time etc. (Vasconez, Mario, Etienne, Henry, and Figueroa, Oscar 1985). This study considered historical, social, political and spatial restraints on everyday mobility, and included recommendations for planning mass transit. It was a sociological study that included factors such as family and social economic status and its impact on everyday travel. This resulted in a two-volume series strictly on the political, social, and spatial organization of transportation and urban networks in Latin America (Henry and Figueroa 1985), published after an international conference on urban mobility in 1984 in Quito, Ecuador. It was in this study that transit scholars in Latin America perhaps imagined the field not as a practice of development.

In 1999 transportation scholar Ralph Gakenheimer from MIT established the urban mobility agenda and surveyed the urban mobility situation for the developing world (Gakenheimer 1999). Despite the ongoing work in Latin America and across the globe, this article reported the condition of urban mobility and it instantly became a developmental problem—a problem to be solved with the technical rational from the developed world. It was no longer just the transportation infrastructure investments by the World Bank or technocratic and political-economic perspectives on transport policy in a developmental context (Davis 2010; Davis 1989). Authors in the Global North when writing about transportation planning wrote about urban transit in a developmental context. In general, transportation technocrats from the Global North saw transportation solutions through applying the specific technocratic policies that would inherently improve economic and social development (Dimitriou and Gakenheimer 2011;

Gakenheimer 1999). I concentrate on the perspective of transportation planners with technical solutions to accentuate the similarities with the planning research and debates in the Global North.

Today, transit planning continues to be perceived from an ‘urban transport developing countries’ perspective defined by multilaterals. The World Bank (2013) and UN Habitat (UN Habitat 2013) produce reports on urban mobility and sustainable transit planning. World Mobility as a strategy is spear headed by the World Bank (Gwilliam 2002) and includes the impact of vehicles on air pollution in the Latin American region (Onursal 1997), and the demand of cars (Eduardo A. Vasconcellos 1997) on urban form (Crane 2000). Critical institutions at the regional and global level also includes the Inter-American Development Bank or CAF, the development bank of Latin America, which funds transit infrastructure across the region and conduct research projects on urban mobility. Topics include a wide range of thought and litany of policy suggestions that include topics like motorization, emissions, informal transport, metros and BRTs, conflicts between motorized and non-motorized transport, urban growth and urban goods movement, and sustainable mobility etc.

These practices are couched in between a planning paradigm that considers automobility and sustainability. Transit scholars all work directly with multi-laterals to publish recommendations on urban transport (Cervero, Robert, Suzuki, H., and Luchi, K. 2013; Dimitriou and Gakenheimer 2011; Gwilliam 2002). I suggest that main transit scholars and their approaches continue to dominate the transit planning practice in Latin America. Though it is important to point out that some transit scholars (Cervero 1997; Cervero and Golub 2007) have acknowledged that paratransit, or informal transit services, when coordinated correctly, can improve transit in cities and can be a more effective intervention than increased state intervention.

One such policy that this investigation is in conversation is with the currently popular paradigmatic thought of sustainable urban transit. It is one transit development policy that is imbricated with meaning and exists as a litany of practices that is a transnational model (Roy 2011b).¹⁴ It is based on the premise of improving transit systems to curb climate change, improve public health, and mitigate social disparities. These goals are consistent with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) on sustainable development. These basic concepts have sparked a radical priority shift in the field of transit planning (Deakin 2007). It has opened up new, endless, and imagined possibilities for transit research, planning techniques, urban development agendas, and community-oriented practices. This shift is seen in thought, practice, and action globally, but continues to present challenges in how it deals and defines equity or social justice. I suggest that research Institutes such as Embarq and the Institute for Transportation and Development Policy (ITDP) create global standards for best practices in sustainable transit through policy manuals on transport systems like Bus Rapid Transit (Embarq 2010) and, Public Bicycle Share (Institute for Transportation and Development Policy 2013). The non-profit organization Ville en Mouvement, funded by PSA Peugeot Citroen, also engages in global

¹⁴ Sustainable transit definitions are also defined at the global level through the European Union Council of Ministers of Transport: (1) Allows the basic access and development needs of individuals, companies and society to be met safely and in a manner consistent with human and ecosystem health, and promotes equity within and between successive generations. (2) Is Affordable, operates fairly and efficiently, offers a choice of transport mode, and supports a competitive economy, as well as balanced regional development. (3) Limits emissions and waste within the planet’s ability to absorb them, uses renewable resources at or below their rates of generation, and uses non-renewable resources at or below the rates of development of renewable substitutes, while minimizing the impact on the use of land and the generation of noise.

research through partnering with cities, academics, and private sector to create innovative urban mobility solutions across the globe. These sets of practices carry with them ideas of equity, accessibility, and social justice, but make it difficult to understand how to implement. I argue that this fundamentally is tied to how the research agenda of transit studies takes shape since transit planners continue to approach these questions by looking at indicators or projection models. Next, I go into greater detail on how it is applied in Latin American transit planning.

1.3.3 Transit Planning: From Scientific Knowledge to Strong Objectivity

In an age when public participation has transformed, or democratized, planning, planners believe it is fundamental to capture how citizens produce tacit and semiotic knowledge that influences outcomes. However, I argue that it can no longer be about just about how scientific knowledge, such as equity, shapes transit infrastructural outcomes. The only research that considers knowledge practices behind the transit planning process in Latin America is the well-known comparative study of Curitiba and Bogotá (Ardila, Arturo 2004). The study goes into detail about the different stakes involved and the role of mayors. Within other BRT studies, researchers and practitioners incorporate ‘qualitative’ factors in order to address the question of “social justice” from a technical perspective.

For example, behind the successful implementation of the BRT system, factors such as spatial equity and participatory planning process have surfaced (Delmelle and Casas, 2012). As a result transit equity is also a dominant concern with the application of concepts of sustainability. In the field of transit planning, transit equity is referred to the distribution of costs and benefits of transportation projects and “whether that distribution is considered fair and appropriate” (Litman, 2013, 3). There are multiple forms of transit equity and ways of determining the method of analysis. Eduardo Vasconcellos published and established the research agenda for studying and evaluating transit equity in Latin America and the developing world (2001). This agenda is based on an analysis of determinants such as income, age, gender, culture, race, and ethnicity, and their impact on travel. Yet, these interpretations are inevitably based on different aspects of social justice that can be conceived of in transit planning that address the equitable distribution of social assets in a social and spatial system (Harvey, 1973 ; Soja, 2010). My work considers the planning process as a performance of transit visions in order to disrupt how knowledge production is shaped. In contrast, I consider the perspective of multiple and situated viewpoints (Haraway 1988; Harding 1995). Transit planning is treated as an unstable object of analysis in order to see how it is done through the repetition of transit visions.

For transit studies, the way to see and measure sustainability in Latin America is deeply marked by the adoption of bus rapid transit and the concept of equity. I contend that transit planners must question how the process produces scientific knowledge in the urban environment by embracing debates on objectivity. In this section I review specifically literature that aids me to construct an analysis that considers multiple and situated viewpoints of transit research at the intersections of citizen participation. I argue that treating transit planning as an unstable object analysis reveals the tensions between issues of “social justice”, “equity” and “sustainability.” The dominant North American and European literature related to transit planning does not discuss the role of “community knowledge”. Thus, in this section I review how citizen and technical expertise has been studied in the urban planning field. Then, I summarize how I approach the question of knowledge production in transit studies from the perspective of Feminist Science and Technology Studies.

I suggest that through looking at the knowledge practices provoked from planning

processes around citizen participation, transit planners circumvent questions imbricated with meanings such as democracy or citizenship. In chapter 5, I look at how public transit infrastructure connects various and different geographies of Quito. Subsequently, I show the double-meanings of current public transit outcomes to demonstrate how transit planning is entrenched with meanings of citizenship, and also, can be studied starting from the margins of public transit users.

The field of planning has studied and argued for the importance of local, or community, knowledge for decades. The work of Forrester(1999) and Baum(1997) discuss the importance of community knowledge as narratives and storytelling that are revealed during the planning and public deliberation process. Planning scholar Judith Innes similarly exposes community knowledge as emancipatory knowledge that comes from the process of public deliberation(Innes and Booher 2010). But, Jason Coburn points out that these studies reveal the failure of the planning process and planning professionals to organize community knowledge in a way that demonstrates how this set of knowledge has technical and political insights(Corburn 2003, 422). Coburn's scholarship unveils how community knowledge is represented in the process of planning through experiential evidence. As a remedy, he offers a model of community knowledge based on the idea of co-production, or how situated knowledge making can occur when experts, such as planners, and local knowledge producers, such as community members, meet and make decisions on equal grounds(Corburn 2005).

Essentially, what drives this method of investigation is an approach that allows for communities to have ownership over information and the outcomes of that the research, of which will eventually lead to action and advocacy. In my research, I do not consider that photo-diary research will be emancipatory, or allow decision-making to be on equal grounds. My investigation treats transit planning as an unstable object of analysis. The research that I analyze at the end depicts one such way that transit studies can approach the question of equity or justice. Environmental justice analysis requires reconciliation between scientific positivism and phenomenological knowledge creation (Liu 2000). In other words, an environmental justice analysis requires both data-driven science and modeling balanced with local knowledge and historical data. The perspective of community knowledge does not disrupt or reveal the multiple ways in which planning is done. In my dissertation I do not suggest that my analysis of photo-diaries is equivalent to political visions or institutional visions. They are not on equal terms. Treating transit planning as an unstable object of analysis is the way to achieve this. Instead, I analyze photo-diaries to provoke transit studies to engage in new ways of researching transit. Each chapter builds up in order to gather the multiplicity of dynamics that come together in transit planning. Thus, in this dissertation, I look at knowledge practices in the transit planning field by treating the concept of transit planning as an unstable object of analysis before arriving at one way of conducting research in Chapter 5.

I have continued to discuss how transit planning starts at an understanding of scientific knowledge. Therefore, I now turn to demystify the production of scientific knowledge by relying on Feminist Science and Technology studies. In doing so, I start from Latour's main concept of viewing the social world as a laboratory gave rise to understand the production of scientific knowledge. This move was seminal for the ways in which research methods have inquired into the production of knowledge in a social setting. The knowledge production behind an experiment assumes a neutral ideal and therefore this idea has to be unsettled. The notion of objectivity perhaps best defined and mapped out:

“ is not a single idea, but rather a sprawling collection of assumption, attitudes, aspirations and antipathies. At best it is what philosopher W.B. Gallie has called an ‘essentially contested concept’ like ‘social justice’ or ‘leading a Christian life,’ the exact meaning of which will always be in dispute. (Novick 1988, p.1) (Harding 1995, 333)

Thus, inherent in the assumption of a research project or ‘experimentation’ in urban space is that it is widely recognized that knowledge, values, and interests shape research, rendering it difficult to maximize objectivity (Harding 1995). In Donna Haraway’s classic essay on *Situated Knowledges*, she evokes the use of *visions* as both a tool and metaphor to see the multiplicities in knowledge (Haraway 1988). This avoids viewing the production of knowledge within a binary relationship. As such, it is clear that the understanding of transit planning must exceed a binary relationship, that only produces scientific knowledge that accounts for the rationale or rationalities behind a transit planning outcome. If I see objectivity as trained knowledge, it requires shaping research that renders visible other forms of representation through multiple subjectivities. The difference between the subject and object of study is therefore a binary that may or may not be useful for transit infrastructure outcomes. Multiplicity in social sciences is used commonly to describe different perspectives on an object. I suggest that through the daily performance or stylized reiteration of transit visions that transit planning becomes *done*. In other words, planners need to look at how transit infrastructure outcomes are done through sociomaterial practices performed on a daily basis, and at different levels. This is what my dissertation takes on: multiple transit visions coalesce through performance. Each chapter is representative of one moving part of transit planning and come together to *do* transit planning. Thus, I view transit planning not just constituted by bodies and things; they are done through the active engagement of subjects and objects that must be undone in order to study it.

In this section, I have tried to uncover some of the original work that contributes to today’s transit agenda in Latin America. I argue that there is a tension between how transit planning dominant knowledge practices is couched between automobility and sustainability. This all occurs simultaneous to and influences the origins of urban mobility and transit studies in Latin America. My work seeks to dislodge this idea that there is a transit planning approach or model of what is ‘best fit’ for Quito, or any other Latin American city in a developmental context. However, my work does discuss the critical role that transit planning has as developmental practice in Quito’s transit history, which is reflected today. Third, I showed that notions of how to distribute justice are predominately contextualized in Latin America as both an issue of sustainability and equity, not knowledge practices or democracy. Finally, I aim to disrupt how transit planning is approached from scientific knowledge by showing how transit planning is done through the reiteration of transit visions. I treat transit planning as an unstable object of analysis until the end when these visions can coalesce in order to looking at transit research. Now, I turn to put Quito to unravel it by discussing how the Metro does not fit in to what people think about public transit in Quito.

1.4 Transit Planning, Actors and Institutions in Quito

Originally, this dissertation was about understanding what and how meaningful citizen participation policies shape transit planning. My main research question was *how do citizen participation policies shape transit infrastructure planning?* I wanted to understand how a top-down megaproject came to be in an era of democratization in Ecuador. The Metro followed regional trends on both megaproject construction and sustainability planning. Yet, to understand complex knot this, I had to comprehend the current public transit system, who plans it, and how the Metro would fit in.

Currently, BRT and private buses mainly characterize Quito's public transit system. It is both institutionally and physically complex. Quito's Trolebus system is a successful bus rapid transit (BRT) system in Latin America and built in the late 1980s-1990s to satisfy the transportation needs of the expanding city. But now, nearly 20 years later the Quito's BRT system moves 800,000 people a day and the Trolebus has slowly reached its operational capacity and places many of its users at risk on a daily basis.¹⁵ The Trolebus is Quito's first BRT line and is supplemented by two other trunk-feeder systems, Ecovia and MetrobusQ.¹⁶ In addition, the city has a system of feeder buses that are supplementary to BRT lines. Buses and a bicycle infrastructure system supported by a public bicycle system, the BiciQ, are the other modes of formal public transit. The Metro rail is set to build off of and integrate this existing framework. I provide a map for reference:



Figure 1.1 Map of Proposed Integrated Public Transit System in Quito.

Source Secretaría de Movilidad de Quito, 2011, map elaborated by Instituto de la Ciudad 2013.

Figure 1.1 is a plan that does not reflect the complexity the institutional arrangement of the BRTs and public transit. The Empresa Pública de Pasajeros de Quito (EMPTQ) is in charge of the Trolebus and Ecovia, whereas the MetrobusQ is currently run by a concessionary agreement between private bus companies. The future Metrorail is currently planned by the

¹⁵ Public Interview from Cristobal Buendía, Director of Observatorio Metropolitano de Movilidad on June 2, 2014 for Ecuavisa.

¹⁶ See Chapter 3 for more specifics on BRT lines.

Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Metro de Quito (EPMMDQ). The Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Movilidad y Obras Públicas (EPMMDQ) is in charge of construction of transit infrastructure. Bicycle planning occurs through a non-motorized unit under the Secretariat of Urban Mobility. This all comes together and responds to the Secretariat of Urban Mobility (SUM) at the Municipal government level.

However, simultaneous to understanding Quito's institutional representation of public transit system, I discovered while unpacking my research knot that it became imperative to talk to people on buses, taxi drivers, cyclists and pedestrians. I discovered that their main concerns were about security, traffic, and pollution and the future of urban mobility in the city. From all of these interpretations of what public transportation should look like, everyone had an opinion, insight or perspective. But, no one idea cohesively represented what public transportation should look like and what was the end goal. Was it to provide a public good? Was it supposed to democratize the city? Generate economic investment? Was it responding to both demographic change and social concerns? It seems that the very meaning of public transportation was inculcated with difference. It was a puzzle that needed to be treated as an unsettled object of analysis.

In a city where transportation lines work inefficiently, it seemed like the Metro a hard sell to citizens. Quiteños, or residents of Quito, continually move to the valleys and peripheries, like many cities, where land is cheaper and space is more available. As a consequence of suburbanization, citizens commuted into the urban core. The 2010 national census revealed negative population growth in the center of the city and a positive growth rate in the valleys and northern and southern extremities of the city (Instituto de la Ciudad, 2010). The below graph indicates the population growth in the city of Quito by administrative zone:

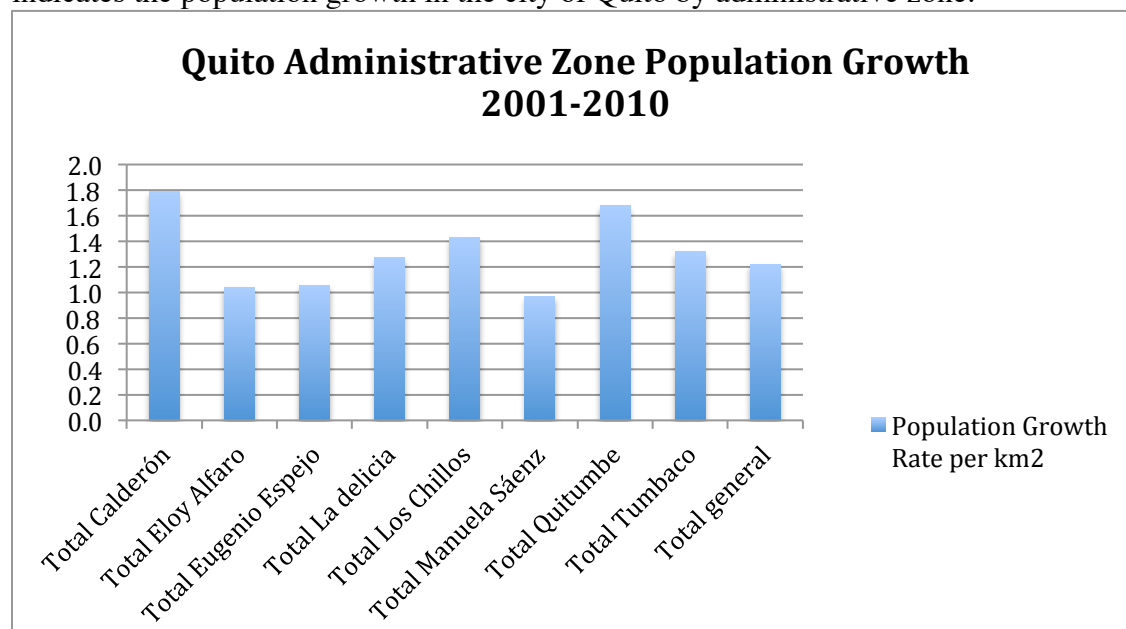


Figure 1.2. Population Growth of Quito 2001-2010 per square kilometer.

Data Source INEC, 2010 and Instituto de la Ciudad. Graph elaborated by Julie Gamble

Figure 1.2 indicates that the largest levels of growth in the city were Calderón and La Delicia in the extreme north of the city, Quitumbe in the far south, and the valleys Tumbaco and Los Chillos. As such, the outrageous capital cost for such a project that would never cover

accessibility for daily transit users seemed incongruent to the actual needs of citizens who had moved in the city according to its urban form. The user would bear the brunt of a new integrated and more expensive transit fare. Like many cities across Latin America, it is living the impact of a transit planning paradigm dominated by the automobile and thus has a overcrowded and disorganized public transit system.

The further I got into field work the more I realized that public transportation and fixing mobility problems in Quito could not be defined by one transit planning process. Rather, it was a dynamic, a constellation of transit visions in one way or another shaped by each other at some point in time. Public transportation means different things to people, and in many ways, a mass transit system is one way to solve mobility problems at a large-scale. As a result, a top-down decision-making process is perhaps the most appropriate way to provide a good to a large mass of people. But on the other hand, when extensive public transit exists, figuring out and improving what exists is always debated. In this vein, my study seeks to investigate a hybrid of participation practices that occur around public transit planning in Quito.

By focusing in on the transit planning process in two public transit projects, this study attempts to highlight the ways various actors collaborate that is outside of strict state-society relations. In particular, in Quito this is seen through heterogeneous groups that are dedicated to improving the quality of moving around in Quito like Biciacción, Asociación de Peatones, Ciclópolis, Quito Yo Me Apunto, and the Observatorio Ciudadano de la Movilidad. All of these groups have different actors like NGOs, volunteers, municipal workers, professors, activists, and transit experts. Therefore, I had to define public transit as a vision with a constantly changing horizon, where multiple actors of all backgrounds actively can shape and define what needs to be improved. As a result, the transit planning had to be thought of in an experimental way that can change the orientation of urban development. It was in this moment that I realized my position as an ethnographer in the field, but also as an activist and planner engaged actively in the improvement of public transit in Quito. I go into greater depth on my position as an ethnographer and field methods in Chapter 2. As such, I now turn to discuss my major argument and outline of each chapter.

1.5 Major Arguments and Dissertation Outline

This dissertation seeks to dislodge the concept of a transportation-planning paradigm in order to consider the process of transit planning as a terrain for social action. As I have discussed, transit planning paradigm is rooted in scientific thought that proposes a dominant framework. Transit planning is not a doctrine or constituted through a dominant framework. It is constituted through heterogeneous actors, interests, and agendas, shaped by political, economic, cultural, and social processes.

I argue that the transit planning process is best thought of a performance of transit visions. I place emphasis on the art of performance because I suggest that it is through the repetition of different visions that transit planning occurs.¹⁷ My ethnographic methods allowed me to treat transit planning as an experiment (Fortun 2012), and thus, created the space for the performance of different visions. In this way, each vision is inculcated multiple meanings. On the one hand, each vision is representative of the mundane positions in transit planning: mayors,

¹⁷ Performance as defined through Judith Butler (1988). Just as gender is constituted through the repetition of stylized acts, I use the concept of performance to discuss transit planning as constituted through the repetition of stylized visions.

institutions, and transit users. On the other hand, each vision carries a multiplicity; I show how each vision carries political, social and cultural meaning and has the opportunity to generate new possibilities.

In Chapter 2, I outline the methods I employed in this investigation. I did an ethnography that followed phases of *experimentation*, starting from my fieldwork. For the nature of the kind of field work it was imperative to view how each phase of my investigation opened up and was contingent upon the previous one. Then, I intervene on debates on transit planning by drawing attention to the fact that one coherent process is hardly definable in the field, let alone how actors are supposed to be involved. As a result, I clarify what transit planning is and then open up what a transit vision looks like. I draw upon ethnographic encounters to highlight how different transit planning logics function to specifically demonstrate that systems are conceived. I use interviews from municipal officials and alternative citizen transportation plans that I came across during my time in the field to demonstrate the multiple logics or activities that exist outside of and in conjunction to the main domain of municipal transit planning. This is important as a way to demonstrate that there are various transit visions happening at once, and in one way or another, influence and speak to one another.

In Chapter 3, I zoom in on a public forum that was held by a city council member in 2013 that hosted many of the former mayors of Quito. This event was imbricated with meaning as the former mayors discussed notions of democracy, citizen welfare, and transit solutions of the city. This complex knot was difficult to untangle because as these ideas circulated throughout the room, it was clear that each mayor was influenced by their terms as mayor and brought forward old ideas and put them into play again. Mayoral visions are crafted by a relationship with a technical expert, but are also engendered by global processes of transit development, political parties and citizen responses. This chapter takes a different perspective than that of path dependency in the transport sector (Low and Astle 2009). It argues that transit ideas take shape based on a series of expert-led decisions that is tied to the role of mayors. Therefore, it also intervenes in regional debates on the importance of strong mayors in participatory democracy (Goldfrank 2007; Wampler 2008) by indicating how mayors in Quito placed central authority on decision-making to international and local experts until the onset of institutional citizen participation mechanisms. Thereby, citizen participation was viewed as a social reaction up until this time. Moreover, this chapter also disrupts regional trends that place emphasis on the role of a strong mayor in urban development (Dávila 2009; McGuirk 2014; Myers and Dietz 2002) by historicizing the role of the mayor as it relates to planning processes in Quito. It also argues that current transit planning ideas, such as the MetroQ, can only take shape based on the circulation of past planning practices and notions that are embedded in the developmental practice of transit planning.

In this chapter, I use evidence gathered from interviews with former mayors and technical experts to demonstrate how transit ideas take shape. I use two main elements theory of and data that took place *alongside* the event to discuss how differing mayors have the capacity to dislocate, change, and start fresh the planning of the transport sector. The chapter begins by turning the very idea of a public forum into a series of how historic planning knowledge weighs in on current debates. I break down the public meeting and demonstrate how each mayor is in a position of conflict and uses his position of influence to articulate knowledge about public transit in today's Quito. From this perspective, it was much easier for the former mayors to talk to me openly. In their narratives, they took out maps, publications, and drew on top of existing maps of

the city to demonstrate the ways in which their visions of the city was a mixture of historic transit ideas, and new speculation, from a privileged point of view.

In Chapter 4, I take up the idea of citizen participation policies and how they are dealt within transit planning. This is done in order to analyze how modern institutions of the state have conceptualized and institutionalized citizen participation policies, and to understand their influence in producing substantive changes to how transit planning takes shape. I suggest that institutional visions are important for how transit planning is done, but are shaped by an ensemble of dynamics in this chapter. In Ecuador, citizen participation is performed through three distinct mechanisms that include (1) citizen oversight groups (2) participatory planning and (3) citizen commissions. I disrupt the debates on institutional arrangements of citizen participation (Fung and Wright 2001) by looking at these three different arrangements at the interstices of transit planning institutions. This analysis adds to the proliferating field of local democratic experimentation in Latin America that is dominated by the participatory budget (Baiocchi 2005; Wampler 2007) as well as by building on the work of less-critically studied participatory urban planning (Caldeira and Holston 2014). The major argument in this chapter is twofold. First, I argue that articulations of citizen participation create the possibility for new forms of knowledge and social processes to place demands on transit institutions. Second, I argue that transit institutions have used articulations of citizen participation to produce a technocratic feedback loop that espouses more scientific knowledge to citizens. Such a process highlights how institutional citizen participation makes it problematic to understand equity or social justice the way transit studies currently define it.

I do this by suggesting that the use of citizen participation policies creates a situation in transit planning that Anthropologist Kim Fortun labels “double-blind”, or, obligations that are related, are of equal value, and yet incongruent with one another (Fortun 2001, 13). I use this concept in order to build an analysis of citizen participation that is differential to that of transit equity (Vasconcellos 2001) or justice (Soja 2010). I demonstrate that a citizen participation policy, upheld by institutions and stakeholders, promotes new possibilities for ideals of community participation. These policies are enacted through various visions of citizen participation, which serve as vehicles for change. Various emergent groups responded to institutions through social action and the production of new forms of knowledge.

In Chapter 5, I shift my analysis to undertake the perspective of public transit users in Quito and how they are a part of how transit planning is done. In this section I intervene on debates that arise from infrastructural studies (Easterling 2014; Larkin 2008; Simone 2010) that look at the possibilities that arise with infrastructure. I label these infrastructural visions because I frame the chapter around two sets of data sources that I collected while in the field. I start from describing the spaces that public transit infrastructure connects because it is important to have an understanding of the social, cultural, economic and political dynamics that public transit infrastructure connects in Quito. Thereby, I take two sets of survey data that come from different instruments to look at the dispositions (Easterling 2014, 27) or generative possibilities, that arise from re-reading survey data. I rely on an intercept survey that I conducted to gather judgments as well as photo-diary and ethnographic evidence to illuminate how public transit infrastructure is currently inculcated with debates on differentiated citizenship (Holston 2008, 197) that are tied to a transforming nation. Finally, after having discussed the multiplicity in transit planning from chapter 2-5, I build up to and re-present photo-diary data that I gathered while in the field. I conduct an analysis that has relied on treating transit planning as an unstable object of analysis in order to comprehend the ways in which transit planning is performed. In this last section, I

analyze photo-diary data from the perspective of strong objectivity (Harding 1995). In doing so, I aim to reset the agenda for how transit planning can be studied, starting from the margins, by investigating how women cyclists in Quito experience public transit infrastructure.

Chapter 2: An Unsettling Move: Destabilizing Transit Planning through Ethnography

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the field of transit planning. I did this in order to establish certain criteria that turned into both a developmental practice and a way for Latin American cities to reinvent policy ideas that have surfaced. In this chapter, I lay out my methodological framework through the idea of experimentation. I do this establish how I transit planning as an unstable object, constantly shifting. This is how I came up with the idea that transit is shaped by different visions. I move from discussing my order of fieldwork, to then analyzing and writing about transit visions.

I open up a third space(Fischer 2003, 8) in order to write about transit planning, which I characterize as a model that allows for me to transform transit planning by discussing differently situated positions. Thus, I argue that transit planning is constituted by a performance of transit visions. Transit visions are differently situated positions of mayors, institutions, and infrastructures that intersect with multiple concerns with citizenship, equity, and justice. Through the reiteration of these transit visions, I argue that transit planning takes shape. Next, I now open up what this vision looks like. I treat transit planning as an unstable object of analysis in order to present the multiple and situated view points that produce a transit outcome. I then go on to look at two transit planning examples in Quito.

2.2 Experimenting with Fieldwork

2.2.1 Experimentation Phase I

Designing ethnography is about revealing and understanding discursive gaps and risks. Following the recent experimental trends in ethnographic research that come from the University of California's, Irvine's Center for Ethnography, I used ethnography to challenge and change the dominant existing order of transit planning. I designed my ethnography as an experiment that was constantly moving, based off of my expertise and shifting roles in the field between planner, activist, and researcher. This idea also follows recent trends in cycling research in anthropology that looks at the role of experimental ethnography in planning(Lugo 2013, 203).

Throughout my time in Quito, my role as a planner directed me, and most often allowed me to work in parallel to my research. Anthropologist George Marcus would label this as the idea of researcher and field as an experimental practice instead of a fixed interaction between the researcher and informant (Marcus 2013). The connections between the field and object of study occur through "recursivity" (Fortun 2001, 23), which means that contemporary ethnographers "move in circuits, assemblages or among relations—as working metaphors for defining the field—and they move situated discourses that accumulate out of the places around them with unusual configurations" (Marcus 2013, 201). The work of anthropologist Kim Fortun suggests, "Ethnography thus becomes creative, producing something that didn't exist before. Something beyond codified expert formulas" (Fortun 2012, 450). Thus, I define experimental ethnography as tracing the unpredictable trajectory of my object of analysis which is transit planning. I treat transit planning in this way to account for the multiplicity in transit decisions and outcomes. In this way, transit planning is done through the performance of stylized transit visions.

As a result, I allowed my ethnographic research to occur in stages, allowing the research to unfold while in the field. I placed myself within processes without control, replying as an activist, researcher, and a planner. My ethnographic research was divided mainly in two phases, with each feeding off the other. In the first phase, I relied on participant observation, semi-structured interviews and archival research. In the second phase, I relied on a combination of two survey instruments, participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

While I was in Quito, it became clear that my immediate task required engaging the cyclists who were reacting to the recently installed public bike share system, the BiciQ. Therefore, I did as any researcher would do: I hopped on my bike for the first time in Quito to attend various events organized by activist groups and NGOs during the week of urban mobility. On that day, I rode in a pack of bicyclists called a *bici-bus*, or bike-bus, that included the local non-profit, Biciacción and a handful of local activists who volunteered for the morning ride. The bici-bus was an effort designed between the municipality, Biciacción, and bicycle collectives to promote biking to work and school.

In Quito many think riding a bike is to play with danger, but over time it becomes about knowing the ins and outs of the city. It became about understanding the rhythms of traffic, circulating on certain streets with less pollution, and at rush hour sharing the dedicated bus lanes with the BRTs. This is how you move around Quito by bike. Over time and through my fieldwork, I began to understand that these few principles—timing, flexibility, and multimodality—are what urban residents do on a daily basis to survive, afford, and move efficiently from one point to another. These are the concerns of current and future transportation interventions of Quito. This observation does not come from the perspective of a planner. It comes from the social movements and alternative actors that are directly involved in transportation planning in Quito. In fact, this perspective is only highlighted by one of my first encounters with the city's former Secretary of urban mobility Oscar Pilar when he said: "*Everyone knows about urban mobility.*"¹⁸ Transit planning and public transportation infrastructure pulls together and is shaped by various perspectives in Quito.

My work with the cycling movement in Quito was intense. My daily interactions with Quito's urban cycling advocates introduced me to weekly commission meetings. These meetings were held every Wednesday evening at the *Centro de Arte Contemporaneo* in Quito that overlooked the historic center of the city. The meetings were held in a community space, which I attended to understand how cyclists worked together with pedestrians and interacted with the municipality. The commission was formed out of a series of encounters with the mayor of the time, Dr. Augusto Barrera, but, frustratingly, the meetings were fundamentally about how citizens could establish legitimacy with the municipality. I did not uncover how citizens were working directly with transit decision makers to identify the cycling infrastructure.

Simultaneous to attending these meetings, I worked with other cycling collectives that operated outside of the commission. When I worked with the feminist bicycle collective Carishina en Bici, I dedicated my time to helping women organize events, learning what women thought about feminism, and teaching women how to circulate on the bike in Quito. I also went on night rides with urban cyclists. They wanted to talk with me about my perspectives on the transit problems of Quito when I was cycling, participating and observing. My position was complex because these ethnographic encounters made it difficult to distinguish between

¹⁸ (O. Pilar, Interview, September 2, 2013)

participant observation and my work in the field as an empowered researcher, activist and planner.

Attending cycling activist events came to be a weekly, if not daily, practice. Going to protests was an unspoken commitment, and if I did not show up, then I lost credibility within the cycling movement. I also cycled daily to meetings, interviews, and events that were not strictly about the bicycle. I lived my fieldwork by my foot attached to the pedal of my bicycle. I became known for my activism in Quito so much that transit professionals could not tell if my research was about the bicycle or the Metro. For example, I usually carried a helmet with me up to interviews with the Metro. Just the presence of the helmet provoked a critical response from employees at EPMMDQ. The helmet was a symbol of refusal. I played with leaving my helmet at home at times, but realized it was a crucial aspect of how I engaged in and related to the investigation. My networks extended into social media via Facebook, Twitter, and the daily online newspapers. My work *in situ* was at participatory planning meetings, citizen activist collectives, in the archives, interviews, ostentatious publicity events for the Metro, and local conferences on the subject of urban mobility.

At this stage in my fieldwork, I had met institutions, both public and private, that had identified Quito's urban mobility challenges and thought of distinct ways of improving it. The politicians and city council members, out of solidarity, supported the decision to build the Metro. Yet, technical experts seemed to doubt the decision from technical perspectives and cyclists did not understand squandering the invisible assets that Quito had in the Metro. The problem was not about urban mobility per se; it was about how the transit problem was defined and by whom. To take this up, I knew I was going to have to figure out my own way to assess the urban mobility situation.

2.2.2 Experimentation Phase II

Relying on my training as an urban planner, I conducted fieldwork through two different stages and focused on two different survey instruments that include photo-diaries and an intercept survey to assess public perspectives on the urban mobility situation of Quito. This stage of my fieldwork began in February 2013 through my work with urban cycling activists, and ended in August 2013 with an intercept survey at inter-modal transportation stations in Quito. I look at this phase as a continuation of experimentation with transit planning as my unstable object of analysis in the field. I use these two divergent survey instruments as a way to get at issues that are not necessarily seen from the perspective of the mayor or transit planner. This phase of research became about figuring out, and experimenting with, how transit planning gets *done*. I tried to conceptualize new possibilities for how transit can get done in the future. As such, my goal was to learn how transit users defined their experiences on public transit, and then in turn, to continually draw out new connections between the assessments made by experts and politicians, and the articulations of 'non-experts'.

Oscillation between these two surveys became a central part of my work because I wanted to interpret the on-the-ground situation to determine the best transit planning intervention. For better or worse, I could not neglect my role as a planner in the field. For example, because I worked, interacted and socialized with the network of urban bicyclists in Quito, I was intimately aware of the participatory planning process that occurred around Quito's public bike share program, the BiciQ. It is for this reason that after six months of my fieldwork; I was able to develop an acute understanding of the individuals who were a part of the participatory planning process in Quito.

To embark on this part of my ethnography, I drew heavily from the work of Chilean Anthropologist Paola Jirón. Inspired by her work, I used the technique of time-space mapping. This technique originates from Swedish geographer Torsten Hagerstrand. He developed a time-space theory to better illustrate the connection between regional sciences and the “locational dimension of human activities” (Hägerstrand 1970, 9). Conceptually, this form of investigation describes an individual’s path, for example his life trajectory from birth to death, placing details on the constraining factors and inhibiting factors that are imposed by society. Thus, the experiments on time-space mapping become a manner to study how the daily life of an individual evolves and takes place in time and space. Time-space mapping becomes a useful tool for the visual representation of diagrams, maps, and patterns. The work of Jirón in Chile, uses time-space mapping to shadow individuals on their daily commutes (Jirón 2008; Jirón 2012). Thus, this technique was particularly useful for me because it allowed me to capture the daily patterns and perspectives of urban bicyclists both visually and textually.

Through the influence of Jirón and Latham’s work, I used time-space mapping in a participative manner. This work discusses giving diaries and a camera to individuals, which allowed him to get a rich description about what an individual does and how he moves on a daily basis (Latham 2003). In this way, the researcher minimizes control over how things are recorded. Therefore, I mimicked this method of investigation on a larger-scale because I wanted to understand the conditions urban bicyclists experienced on a daily basis, visualize these conditions through photos, and aggregate the origin-destination patterns of cyclists to reveal if they used the bicycle infrastructure in Quito.¹⁹ I did this to develop a rich data set that would allow me to visualize on a map if urban bicyclists used the bicycle infrastructure that they helped plan. Using my relationship with urban bicyclists and other cyclist groups, I asked 75 individuals in this network to write and photograph significant events of their travel during one workday and one weekend day. By the end of the study, I received 26 photo-diary journals that revealed rich data about the daily experiences of an urban bicyclist in Quito.

For this phase of my investigation, I also designed an intercept survey based on survey method design targeted for transport planning (Richardson, Anthony, Ampt, and Meyburg, Arnim 1995). The objective of this survey was to understand daily conditions, how transit services can be improved, and gauge overall reception of the future Metro rail. Here I was attempting to answer the following questions: Do Quiteños want this service? Is it something citizens will use? Thus, I designed my survey instrument to capture people who were on the move.²⁰ My survey took place while waiting for the bus. I limit my survey to network-insiders because most of my ethnographic encounters dealt with were middle and upper class perceptions and accounts of transit planning. Furthermore, as I discuss in chapter 3, paratransit services in Quito were regulated in 1996 and mainly operate under the purview of Quito’s transit planning institutions. The perspective of paratransit users is outside of the scope of this analysis and is left for future research concerns.

I designed my intercept survey to target areas where citizens circulate on a daily basis. It is for this reason that I chose two transportation terminals in the north of Quito, La Ofelia and Rio Coca, and in the South, Quitumbe and El Recreo. I justify these transportation nodes because they are in the nuclear core of Quito and serve as hubs through which citizens pass on a daily basis. According to the public company Empresa Metropolitana de Transporte de Pasajeros de Quito (EPMTPQ), these four terminals are outside of the *hypercenter* in Quito,

¹⁹ See appendix, Chapter 2 for format of photo-diary.

²⁰ See appendix, Chapter 2 for survey instrument

which is defined as the area between the Trolebus stops Villaflora in the south, to La Y, in the north. Most importantly, these four terminals are points of exchange where all people who use public transportation from the surrounding areas must pass through these areas.

Individuals recruited for the survey all ride public transportation. Individuals such as the elderly, disabled, and children were excluded because of possible vulnerabilities. Individuals recruited for the survey were men and women ages 20-50, a mix of low, middle and high-income groups. I recruited people who came through the transportation terminal or waited for a bus inside of the terminal. I selected people by random sampling. People that completed the survey did so on a volunteer basis. With the assistance of four women and written permission from the municipality, I conducted a survey pre-test was done to identify any potential issues with the survey. From this, we learned that it was quickest and easiest to read the questions ourselves and have the survey participants answer the questions as we filled out each questionnaire. This allowed for individuals to reflect on the question and also respond to questions in depth. Each questionnaire took precisely two minutes to complete. I treated the survey as incomplete and discarded if it was interrupted by variables such as, incoming buses or crowd pushing. In the end, I obtained 950 surveys, the results of which I will discuss in chapter 5.

The tactics that I used in my fieldwork were experimental, which was important to me as a research strategy. I realized early on that transit planning was increasingly dispersed, involving a wide variety of actors that all defined transit problems in a variety of ways. Thus, I devised my ethnographic research as experimental so as to comprehend the creative and improvisational ways in which transit problems are defined. Instead of looking at one process, or case, I chose constant movement between different developments in the public transit of Quito. I waded through material, observed and interviewed a wide spectrum of people, and captured the perspectives of a wide-variety of citizens.

2.3 Analysis:

What is transit planning and what drives the idea of a transit project? How is moving around the city conceived? How have citizen participation policies set a new tone for transit planning? How do citizen participation policies meaningfully impact transit decisions? How will the Metro provide meaningful transportation options for citizens? How and for whom has transit planning been a resource? How has the advocacy of people responding to transit injustices shaped what transit planning has become?

These questions have oriented my analysis of the Metro and guide me to understand how transit planning has emerged as a powerful and strategic tool for citizens to insert themselves into positions of power in urban development. They help me understand how a megaproject like the Metro is legitimized, and how the responses of people searching for better ways to move around has shaped what citizen participation has become. By focusing on differently situated positions of transit planning, I have tried to understand how a historical perspective of transit decisions is built into political processes, campaigns, policy and technocratic initiatives—and how citizen participation is not defined by a policy or process, but is a response to an inadequate social system. Transit planning initiatives in Quito were important beginning reference points. Since the Metro was still in its preliminary phase, my broadest commitment was to understand if and how citizen participation changed or tilted the power dynamics in transit planning in Quito. I begin writing with an excerpt from my field notes when reacting to the observations of the cyclists during the week of urban mobility in September 2012:

September 20, 2012

I can't help but think that the visibility of transportation change is the same as a cultural change. I am seeing that people talk about the metro and its invisibility. Citizens across the spectrum of gente I've talked to all seem to be unsupportive because of the lack of visibility. But, the active participation of the bike community forces the municipio to talk about the planning process of the metro. Maybe the metro is legitimized by the active participation of the bicycle community in Quito? This is how the BiciQ has come in and established a precedent to a participatory process, while the mega-project of the metro is largely invisible, but the proverbial giant elephant in the room. So, this is where I've made a leap. I want to study participatory circuits in Quito that largely legitimize mega-project interventions in the city. At a time when citizen participation laws are flourishing in the city, political decisions by technocrats are still made above citizen participation. As such, the municipality and planning is getting away with this contradiction through establishing cheaper, participatory placebos.

Textbox 2.1. Field notes September 20, 2012

These observations came as a critical response to my first encounter with cyclists in Quito. It seemed to me that to see how people responded to cycling infrastructural changes in Quito changed the orientation of what transit planning is, and now the municipality needed to use this momentum to garner public support for the Metro. To me, their presence made visible the daily indignities that people are exposed to by riding public transportation such as crowding, insecurity, and pollution. Their visible actions called into question the very nature of how transit solutions are conceived of and how they are sold as efficient ideas to the public. Cyclists in Quito were searching for their own solutions as opposed to relying on top-down initiatives—like the Metro—that did not seem to solve the issue of access or equity. The advocacy of people like urban cyclists has shaped what transit planning has become.

Transit planning is not an easily recognized thing. It is associated with engineers, politicians, bureaucrats and economists. These players put empirical and conceptual ideas into practice, which blend together and lead to the outcome of a bureaucratic transit proposal (Wachs 1985). Sometimes this proposal takes force through the assistance of certain mechanisms, like public process, political rhetoric and media, and results in an infrastructural intervention. A bound case-study analysis of the planning of a bus station in Aalborg demonstrated that the planning process is a power struggle amongst stakeholders (Flyvbjerg 1998). In Latin America, transit planning has been studied as a process that is defined by a window of risk and opportunities (Ardila, Arturo 2004). At other times, however, transit planning is the result of the advocacy of people responding to indignities like waiting, crowding, pollution and insecurity that come from riding public transportation (Soja 2010). People like activists, academics, and NGO workers establish a way to work around planning channels and determine what a transportation intervention should be. But these advocacy efforts repeat similar patterns of empirical and conceptual practices that inform top-down transit ideas. Oftentimes transit planning is accomplished by working with global experts. A transit decision like the Metro invokes a need to account for complex dynamics that requires to be both tracked and pulled apart because there are many ways to study it. I write about transit planning as an activist, planner and researcher. These three positions made me want to understand how people between these two systems—bureaucracy and advocacy—could shape a transit solution. Thus, using transit planning as a reference point was important in order to connect dispersed actors and differential practices.

I made two methodological decisions. First, my analysis emerges from my perspective, as a “counter-part” (Marcus 2000): a moderately empowered planner and activist in Quito, where I was motivated to understand how multiple perspectives influence transit planning in Quito. My interpretation is a co-production of a diverse set of narratives that expose the planning rationale and decisions that motivate a transportation intervention. Yet, in my fieldwork as a trained

planner, I also grew weary of the very planning decisions that I studied, so I also embarked on a citizen perspective survey to quantify and qualify the decisions made in support of the transit decisions in Quito. In the following chapters, I will also draw on in this analysis. Therefore, I had to remember the purpose of ethnography is to provide a cultural critique and imagine social alternatives that disrupt a dominant framework (Marcus 1995). This, of course, meant living in my field site of Quito, where my object of analysis was transit planning. My own advocacy and training as a planner became an object of analysis *in between* transit planning efforts that took place in Quito.

Therefore, I adopt and “write” about transit planning from the perspective of a *para-site*, which is different than many of the constructed narratives of planners that produce a perspective of “collaboration” (Healey 2003; Innes and Booher 2010), “resistance” (Sanyal 2005), or “what’s on the ground” (Flyvbjerg 1998). The position as a parasite invokes a way to untangle or untie the knots of ethnographic research (Marcus 2013). Parasites are social actors located between different forms of power and privilege and are sublimely aware of their own positionality. The purpose of a parasite is to conceptually explore a research project in order to interact with activities between the fieldwork project and outside or alongside it. As a counter-part, I was undeniably an expert-trained researcher and planner from UC Berkeley. Yet, in this case, I was also an incontrovertibly complicit activist in the cycling movement in Quito as well as a part of a consultancy to design bike lanes.

Therefore, I define my analysis from the position of a parasite because I disturbed the thinking, practices and institutions that come together under transit planning. I operated in between various scales of transit planning: former mayors and current political officials would talk to me because I was from UC Berkeley; technocrats and engineers would make sure I understood their technical perspective on transportation in Quito; academics wanted me to come up with ways of interpreting and analyzing their work; activists wanted me to join in and lead in the fight for transportation justice; and when I encountered people outside of these networks they always wanted to inform me of their perspective on Quito’s transit problems and solutions. I was thus in a place of privilege during my ethnography: I was in the middle of many paths that shape transit planning. To illustrate my position, I draw on the statement of anthropologist Paul Kockelman, which articulates the concept of parasite:

An object (action or sign) considered as a means to an end (or infrastructure considered as a path to a destination) is a second (or intermediary), but insofar as it implies (embodies or indexes) other ends it might be diverted to serve, or indeed implies any way it may fail to serve an end (whether original or diverted), it is a third (or mediator). The parasite is whatever inhabits such implications. That is, parasites reside in as much as off such systems, where their residence perturbs systems, pushing them off of old paths, and sometimes even pulling them onto new paths. Indeed, the possibility of going awry, or at least of being judged so, is arguably the essence of such processes. Focusing on codes or representations, there is unconsciousness (being unable to represent some particular object) and misrepresentation (representing something incorrectly or in a highly refracted fashion). Focusing on channels or conditioning, there is repression (stopping a cause from having its effect) and rechanneling (creating conditions for causes to have unusual or unintended effects) (2013, 39).

Recognizing myself as a parasite in the middle of the interpretation and analysis is the second methodological move that was necessary to writing this ethnography. I was in between the sign and the object of analysis of transit planning. The role of a parasite, as a result, allowed me to make moves between all of the positions I occupied. Viewing transit planning from these multiple situated viewpoints was necessary for me to understand how different logics collectively produce transit planning.

My privileged place as a parasite allowed me to witness some meetings and shaped the way people treated me. For example, I was always at the bicycle commission meetings as a researcher, but through my presence, people that came to the meetings required my participation. In what comes, I will discuss the cycling commission in full. But, as an illustrative example, this cycling Commission was composed of municipally appointed individuals, activists, NGOs, and representatives of various bicycle collectives. I went to these meetings recognizing this as a citizen participation structure put in place by the Municipality. It was a crucial mechanism that served to influence bicycle-planning decisions and worked directly with the Secretariat of Urban Mobility (SUM). From the perspective of a planner, I recognize groups like this are important, as they are representative of stakeholders and fulfill an obligation that transit planners look to for community involvement. This was my initial interest and perspective on the group. Yet over time, I was also required to participate as an activist. I documented meetings in Spanish and reproduced the meeting minutes for the cycling community's listserv. The meeting minutes served as a reflection of my interpretation of the meeting, served as participant observation notes, and were also translated into English later on for my purposes as a bicycle planner consultant and to write this dissertation. Thus, when I reflected in my notes from a meeting, it was both shaped as a trained researcher, but also, interpreted by my eyes as an activist, planner, American-Ecuadorean, and bi-lingual person. I am both Ecuadorean and American by birth and family, and grew up speaking both languages. It is in this sense that the parasite was useful and productive for me, since I operated in between various and also shaped paths. Not only did it allow me to play and be creative with my experimental fieldwork, but it gave me the space to have a critical perspective. My position as a parasite produces both similar and different understandings of transit planning in comparison to traditional transit planning studies.

Being a parasite was useful in these contexts because I was able to produce accounts about transit planning that are representative of many processes such as different practices of participation, divergent planning priorities, and citizen reactions. This captured the multiplicity of transit planning. Yet, as a parasite in this position I was then unable to witness and participate in closed session meetings, or work directly with people in places of privilege. My position as a bicycle activist automatically associated me with a certain critical perspective of the municipality. It is for this reason that I believe that I was unable to sit in on important meetings and only given snapshots of information through interviews. For example, when I first came to the offices of the Secretaría de Movilidad, I was offered an internship or an office as a way to view the daily happenings in the transit planning office.

But, over time I recognized that this was not the space that I needed to witness or participate in. I limited my interaction with the recognized municipal institutions to interviews, which are structured interactions, in order to simultaneously shape the paths of transit planning that I wanted to explore. I also had to account for how these very paths are not necessarily told or participated in by a planner. People from different institutions and municipal employees in many ways repeated the same accounts of transit planning—as if they had been given an official memo about what specifics to say on the Metro or the BiciQ. Yet, at the same time, my presence as an

activist made people from these institutions careful about what they said to me. Institutions expected me to have a critical perspective of transit planning because I was a known activist, technical expert, and researcher from UC Berkeley. It is in this way that there are certain limitations that come with producing ethnography from this perspective. However, it also demonstrates that through this type of an ethnographic analysis transit planning has never existed in a dominant paradigm: it is a sticky performance of different visions, that when presented alongside each other, provoke new understandings and ways of studying planning.

My decision to study particular groups, cases and processes of transit planning also narrowed in the ways in which I address gender, class and race in Quito. Cyclists, political officials, bureaucrats, technical experts, etc., shared commonalities: They were mainly middle-class and educated Quiteños searching for transit solutions to the city. I created rather privileged snapshots of network inside users that did not critically engage in how transit planners conceptualize class, race, gender, etc. Instead, I recognize that middle and upper class Quiteños drive my analysis, and their implicit understandings of different identities, class and difference shape their (and my) account(s) of transit planning. The individuals who shape this research exist within places of privilege that inherently mold the critical interviews, meetings, and observations. It is for this specific reason that this research project places parameters to the analysis around network insiders while recognizing the limitations inherent to such a methodology. It does not attend to network outsiders, or those who use informal means of transit in Quito. I take up the concept of a public transit user in my final chapter as a way to bring out how issues of class, race, gender, membership, etc. are all issues connected through and surface in transit infrastructure, which is the direct outcome of a transit planning process. Using my position as a woman researching transit planning from multiple perspectives, I attempt to produce an objective account of transit planning, but one therefore inherently rooted in research constructed by feminist standpoint theory, as discussed in Chapter 1.²¹

Next, I develop a model for how I will write this ethnography from this unconventional space as a parasite. Instead of focusing my account of transit planning from the position of the planner, I sought multiple positions to destabilize what transit planning was. I adopted the position of a parasite in order to recognize my social positions within the diverse institutions, organizations and bodies that push forward decisions in transit planning. Therefore, I had to ask myself: how does one account for the many logics that create transit planning? In my account I needed to do more than just describe through chapters in a dissertation the various positions of stakeholders in transit planning. Stakeholders are defined as: “groups of people who have a stake in decisions to be made by corporations, government agencies, or other organizational bodies within which decisions by a few people can affect many”(Fortun 2001, 10). The case-study work of Bent Flyvbjerg in Aalborg uses this model to demonstrate how different groups with different social positions have the ability to perceive and impact planning decisions. This model had merits because it showed that planning is an exercise in both democracy and power. It also helped illuminate how stakeholders and people within planning institutions are biased. However, what this model does not do is demonstrate how different paths such as the politician, planner, and activist work along side one another.

My concept in this text is to explain this discord from the perspective of a parasite in between these worlds. It is a performance because I see transit planning as a repetition of multiple visions of transit needs. I reassess what transit planning is by analyzing and explaining

²¹ My decision to use the idea of performance is rooted in how research is crafted in Feminist Science and Technology Studies, beginning with Donna Haraway and Sandra Harding

it through different contexts. The emergence of multiple positions and new subjects due to citizen participation seemingly challenges and displaces what transit planning is seen as. But, I demonstrate in this dissertation that it is shaped by multiple logics that occur simultaneously and are collectively produced. Politicians, planners and activists have always been or contributed to transit planning decisions in Quito. I indicate how the role of the citizen has always been present. Yet, transit planning has adopted a new dominant framework that makes citizens become more visible in the process. This framework does not necessarily include the expertise, accessibility, or priorities of the citizen.

Moreover, I had to answer—from this seemingly fluctuating and indiscernible paradox—*how* could transit planning take shape through ethnographic writing. As a result, I move analytically from the position of a parasite to write about transit planning from a third space that I label *visioning a transit city*. I open up this space to concretely write about the ways people vision public transportation in Quito from a multiply-situated perspective. This third space serves as a model to cut across, triangulate, and analyze the interconnections between public transportation, planning and alternative articulations of expertise in the city of Quito, Ecuador between 1975-2014. Anthropologist Michael Fischer defines third spaces as “terrains and topologies of analysis of cultural critique of ethical plateaus. They are dramaturgical processes, fields of action, and deep plays of reason and emotion...social action and constraints of overpowering social forces” (Fischer 2003, 2003). Visioning a Transit City is an “ethical plateau” I use as a model to write about different scenarios of transit planning in Quito.

Each chapter in this dissertation serves as one single way to read of transit planning or it could be read all together to demonstrate the linkages between thought, action, and framework. Each chapter collectively visions transit planning and builds off one another to demonstrate, when read together, how the dominant framework of transit planning is always unstable. It does not highlight one actor such as the planner, politician, NGO, or activist. Rather, each chapter operates as a terrain where various actors collectively display reason and action over transit decisions. Using the *Visioning a Transit City* model allows me to develop these new ideas and arguments, and is “functional of different sorts of participations that pursue a line of thinking in the field, often collaborative and collective in nature, that requires not only documentation...but also forms of elicitation, demonstration and accessibility to publics and readerships in process”(Marcus 2013, 203). This third space opened up the possibility to represent the various modes of knowledge about current transit planning efforts from the position of a parasite. In what follows, I write about two different transit-planning projects that are linked through this vision from my position as a parasite. I use ethnographic evidence to establish how this vision is two-fold. It involves destabilizing any notion of transit planning as a prescriptive process that is defined by a dominant paradigm. This is seen in both of my upcoming examples of the Metro and BiciQ. Then, this vision imagines how, in both scenarios, challenging the dominance of the automobile connects transit interventions.

2.4 Text: Visioning a Transit City

In this section I use ethnographic evidence to describe two contemporary visions of transit planning that I uncovered while in the field. I draw from the two transit interventions that I followed while in the field to develop my model. The purpose of these visions is to establish concretely what I mean by Visioning a Transit City: (1) viewing differently situated positions of what transit goals are in a city, (2) the transit planning process is seen as an unstable object and (3) incorporates new ways of seeing and understanding a transit problem. This

problem is not just defined by a technician, bureaucrat, or politician. Public transit users can define a transit planning process, and this includes actors such as citizens, activists, volunteers, and NGOs. I present two visions of the BiciQ and Metro that are distinct, but mutually linked because they confront the dominance of the auto in transit development. Quito's transit user profile is split between 30 percent that operate and use individual automobiles for transportation, and 70 percent that use public transit.²² The automobile dominates Quito's transit planning scheme because road construction controls the transportation budget and priority areas of the master transit plan.²³ Further, I define Quito's transit planning scheme as automobile dominant because of the specific decision to send people underground with the Metro. It bypasses the city by sending people under ground. The transit plan focuses on interventions in urban space by placing preference to the automobile, not people. Finally, throughout the dissertation, I refer to and write about non-elected actors in transit planning. I replace names so as to protect the identities of specific people. However, at times I refer directly to and quote directly from elected officials.

2.4.1 *Parallel Visions*

Quito's Metro is a project defined by many processes. It represents the desires for a modern and connected city, but it must also be categorized as an agent for cultural change. On the one hand, there is an image present that claims people will be able to bicycle and use public transport. These ideals are backed by broad categories of progress and modernization.²⁴ On the other hand, the Metro and BiciQ represent a new urban future for Quito. A city that provides public transit for its' citizens requires challenging the dominance of the automobile. Challenging this dominance, however, requires an alternative analysis that recognizes that the transit planning process itself does not have a prescriptive formula to follow in order to assure a successful transit project. Transit planning is an unstable terrain that changes with social action. In Quito, as in many cities in Latin America, multiple actors, agendas and changes to the modern city influence transportation interventions.

A proper analysis also requires submitting to the radical notion that studying transit planning is only possible through cultural change. Urban social movements and citizen participation policies in Latin America have aided the democratization of planning. I suggest this allows for citizen activist groups to remain highly organized in Quito. Transit planning happens with the critical assistance, *expertise* and involvement of these groups. Together, these elements have coalesced and I label this a transit vision. Quito is searching for a new transportation solution that is undergirded by political promises, environmental politics and the implications of globalization on transportation. Simultaneously, popular discourse suggests that it needs a new type of urban development that moves away from the vehicle towards public transportation. Thus two linked visions emerge:

²² Source from Municipality of Quito, 2011 survey on Urban Mobility, confirmed by my survey analysis. Survey participants were asked if they had a car and used it to move around

²³ Budget, Secretariat of Urban Mobility 2012, and updated presentations on the new integrated transportation plan that I observed in the field between 2012-2013.

²⁴ The Metro's campaign advertisements centers around slogans such as "the modern city" and "progress for Quito" and "the future is here."



Figure 2.1. Facebook image taken group Ciudad Para Todos

Figure 2.2. Twitter feed from Noticias de Quito taken December 6, 2012

Figure 2.1 is an image that circulated on the Facebook group page of a citizen's collective called "Quito, Yo Me Apunto", and the second, Figure 2.2 comes from a Twitter post that surfaced during an annual "Fiestas de Quito" parade, which celebrates the annual founder's day of Quito. The two images demonstrate the disjuncture that this dissertation discusses. The first image was posted by a citizen's collective, which is defined as an association of people who are interested in the improving the daily lives of Quiteños. This image originates from Ciudad Para Todos, from Guadalajara, Mexico; a citizen's collective that organizes around and advocates for concepts such as public space, accessibility, and sustainable transit. Quito's group, Quito Yo Me Apunto, is connected to this group virtually through Facebook. The second image is a flagship image of the Mayor's vision: a sustainable, smart and integrated transit system that depends on the bicycle and Metro rail. Barrera's vision circulated on Facebook, Twitter, and local media outlets.

Humanizing the city was the message behind both of these images. Images such as these demonstrate two mutually linked and mismatched visions. A different enactment of these visions is to link them through a third space that I label visioning a Transit City. Part of my daily participation as a parasite was to view the Facebook group pages and Tweets to check the postings. For instance, sometimes I posted to the group Quito Yo Me Apunto images of traffic violations to sanction and report the daily indignities I would witness while on bike.

The virtual connection is key to how these citizen action collectives' and municipal institutions communicate, reference one another, and work for social action. It also demonstrates that the various types of citizen associations or groups in Quito are still strong and organized. But, above all, it indicates that the virtual connection is an essential attribute to transit planning.

Thus, I write this ethnography through the understanding that transit planning in Quito is best understood as a performance of transit visions. By looking into these next two visions I present, the idea of a dominant paradigm begins to unravel. There are different means of arriving and enacting across this terrain of transit planning. In order to arrive at this understanding, I deconstruct the typical planning scenario that is currently underway in Quito. I do this as a reference point to understand how the Metro came about, and how it has become entangled,

postponed and undermined in the process itself. Then I delve into bicycle planning to demonstrate how citizen associations have infiltrated the process.

2.4.2 Deconstructing the Metro's Planning Process: *El Metro va porque va*

“Quito, no solo es la capital del Ecuador y el centro de la política, sino que lidera procesos de transformación y desarrollo del país. Cuando piensa en sí misma, al mismo tiempo, inevitablemente, piensa en el país.” –Augusto Barrera, government plan 2009.

In 2009, Dr. Augusto Barrera ran for mayor of Quito under President Rafael Correa's political party, Alianza País. Within his campaign platform he ran with the vision of constructing a Metro. Quito's most pressing urban problem is the traffic. The timeline for the project is on the home site of the Metro. I report the first and initial stages of planning:

- October 21, 2009: Metro Madrid was the consulting company that undertook the challenge and did a feasibility study for Quito's first urban rail line.
- March 3, 2010: The first stage of planning begins for Quito's first Metro line.
- March 25, 2010: Metro Madrid is selected as the technical consulting team to help plan Quito's Metro
- May 19, 2010: The public company, MetroQ, was founded as the business unit in charge of the construction, design and administration of the Metro
- September 15, 2010: Initial financial feasibility studies conducted for the Metro and Integrated System of Transportation in Quito
- October 25, 2010: Beginning of feasibility studies that include: mobility and travel demand, technical, financial, environmental impact, economic viability and institutional viability.
- March 8, 2011: Presentation on Results from Feasibility studies by Metro Madrid.
- June 22, 2011: Inter-institutional agreement to finance engineering studies for the Metro.
- June 28, 2011: Technical meetings with ALAMYS in Quito and first presentation on the complete Metro Quito project.
- June 29, 2011: First day of socialization of the project to technical engineers in Quito
- Remainder of 2011: Initial technical studies, financing meetings begin with multilateral banks.

Textbox 2.2. Summarized Planning process of Metro

Source: Participant observation of MetroQ website and events taken in Quito throughout in June 2011, and 2012-2013

This timeline appears to follow the logic of what a transit planning paradigm would be according to transit planning literature (Lungo, Mario 2002): a project idea is proposed, feasibility studies conducted, economic and financial modeling occur, and then the idea is approved and pitched to the public for acceptability. As a starting point, the dominant framework provided by the Metro in its initial stages does little for the imagination, and even less for the reality of the project. What is shown from these few milestones is that project planning occurs behind closed doors. For megaprojects, nowadays, because they are risky economically and politically, it is recommended that an outside unit or public-private partnership be in charge of the project (Flyvbjerg, Bruzelius, and Rothengatter 2003). In fact, in the case of Latin American cities, the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy (LILP) suggests that the basic components for pre-operational stages in executing a large urban project are: “establish a development/management company independent from the state and municipal administration; formulate the comprehensive project plan; elaborate on the marketing plan; design the program of buildings and infrastructure; define adequate fiscal and regulatory instruments; formulate the financing plan (cash flow); and design a monitoring system” (Lungo 2002). LILP is a US-run think tank that also focuses on the region of Latin America. LILP provides knowledge and guidance to decision-makers based on

academic research conducted and gathered. I put forward these very basic frameworks to postulate why and how the initial stages of the Metro appear to follow recommended guidelines. These guidelines are expert-driven and come from conceptual knowledge practices originating in the global north.

Categorizing planning stages is helpful for thinking about a frame of reference. Ordering provides a step-by-step guidance that allows the project to have sense and appear to be rational. All together, it creates a dominant framework for what should happen, how it should happen, and who the actors should be at the table. Thus what is seen is the combination of a few key elements in the first few stages of planning the Metro: (1) Political leaders (2) International think tank/global experts and (3) empirical studies. In the Metro, the political leadership was present as Dr. Barrera was mayor; Metro Madrid provided the international expertise and empirical documents, and the city was following the advice of LILP. It established a separate institutional entity outside of the municipality to be in charge of everything about project Metro. The dominant framework established by global experts, I suggest, is crucial as a starting point for thinking about the Metro and its' planning.

The project to be a straightforward smooth planning process, considering the narrative that MetroQ's website provides. However, it does not provide a clear picture of what is at stake in the project. It also does not reveal why this vision has come about at this time in Quito. Why is the Metro an appropriate solution for Quito? This automated timeline does not show where this vision of the Metro came from. Why is it the only idea proposed? Why is there a travel-demand study done after the idea of the Metro? Was there a popular vote around the idea? These are just a few questions that came up in the process of studying the Metro in the field. What the Metro timeline does not tell is the alternative realities that occur simultaneous and parallel to this dominant planning framework.

The Metro's planning stages has multiple layers and cannot be told from just one angle. A radical disjuncture surfaces between the vision of what the political leader, Augusto Barrera had, and the unclear needs of urban residents. When the proposal came about as a campaign promise in 2009,²⁵ Quito's Secretaría de Movilidad had not done the initial survey to determine the needs for citizens in Quito. The travel demand survey was initially conducted in 2011, after the fact.²⁶ These results were made available to the public in 2012. Where did the precedent for a Metro come from and how did it get approved so quickly? While the timeline of events occurred around the technical aspects of the Metro rather seamlessly, there was a contentious process that occurred behind closed doors prior to the unveiling of the project. Each of these steps came with careful coordination of both political and administrative institutions.

Critical to the planning of the Metro is the central government and the role of the EPMMDQ. The Metro cannot be constructed without the financial and political support of the President. Two executive decrees allow the Ministry of Finance and the National Secretariat for Planning and Development to support the project for the Metro.²⁷ These decrees delineate that the central government will provide fifty-percent of the financing for the proposed cost of the Metro.²⁸ This relationship is critical for the Municipality to secure international contracts, bids, and begin the construction of the Metro. Correa's support is demonstrated through moments of

²⁵ Political campaign platform in 2009 discussed an integrated smart mobility plan that was anchored by a metro rail.

²⁶ Urban mobility study conducted in 2011

²⁷ Decree No. 750 on April 28, 2011 published with supplement No.442 on May 6, 2011

²⁸ On December 7, 2014 Rafael Correa rejected the newly updated proposal for the Metro, and thus, the exact amount of financing and support from the central government is unknown.

public exposure, such as in his weekly countrywide address called *Enlace Ciudadano*.²⁹ As part of Correa's development plan *Buen Vivir*, the administration has invested into many infrastructural projects to connect the country.³⁰ The Metro is one such project that supports his political plans to develop the country.

The public company Empresa Publica MetroQ (EPMMDQ) is responsible for the comprehensive planning of the Metro. Municipal ordinance 237 approved on April 27, 2012, states that EPMMDQ's responsibilities include the construction, execution, planning and carrying out of feasibility studies, and administration of the MetroQ project. This ordinance also directs how EPMMDQ interacts with the municipality. One strategic and necessary interaction is the monthly meeting set up between key people in the municipality and EPMMDQ.

Sometimes at these closed meetings, EPMMDQ works directly with other municipal Secretariats, depending on the administrative task. There can also be strategic and extraordinary meetings held when necessary to address pressing topics. The role of the city council and closed sessions between specific key players is a critical component to the project's advancement. Decisions on the organic structure, annual operating budget and details to be presented in front of the city council are decided between strategic players: the Mayor and three city council members who are also members of the Comisión de Movilidad, the Secretariat of Mobility, and the head of General Planning of Quito, respectively. The administrative framework for the EPMMDQ delineates that monthly meetings are to be held between the President of the Directory, Mayor Augusto Barrera, general manager of MetroQ, the Secretary of Urban Mobility, and three city council members. According to internal documents, these meetings are strategic and meeting reports are kept at the General Administration archives of the municipality. Months later these meeting minutes are uploaded to MetroQ's website, as part of its legal responsibility of transparency.

Critical information and decisions are made during these meetings. For example, after reviewing several internal EPMMDQ documents, meetings subject matter was always around the unknown financing package of the MetroQ. An average meeting went as follows. I draw from a meeting that occurred on November 15, 2012. First, the quorum was established.³¹ In this particular meeting the following members in attendance included: Mayor Barrera, General Manager of EPMMDQ, Secretary of Urban Mobility, city councilman Jorge Alban, and the Secretary of General Planning. During this particular meeting, the meeting had three main points: (1) approve and review the European Investment Bank contract (2) reform the budget and (3) have a general update on the status of the activities of the project MetroQ.³² After reviewing many of these meeting minutes, in general the meetings nearly always consisted of discussing the budget and project advances. Decisions are kept to a minimum, but the main preoccupation that all parties have is where financing for the Metro will come from. Each meeting has different and creative financing options, since up until this point the funding has not been determined. For example, Quito's newest airport's future revenues were at one point proposed to help finance the Metro.³³ Although these meetings are taped, I was not granted access to recordings. In order to

²⁹ Enlace Ciudadano 355 had an appearance by Augusto Barrera wherein he gave an entire update and overview of the Project Metro to the country.

³⁰ See Section 1.2 of Chapter 1 for further discussion

³¹ I draw from internal documents on a specific meeting that occurred on November 15, 2012

³² Summarized from public information notes of EPMMDQ

³³ Summarized from public information notes of EPMMDQ and also interview with head financial manager of EPMMDQ at Metro offices September 2013.

receive access, one must write a formal letter to the mayor, and then under his approval, the General Archival department in the municipality may give access.

Creative financing is not the only type of decision that occurs behind closed doors in private meetings. But these decisions do not occur without debate. In fact, within the operational framework of the Metro, the city council must debate and approve these decisions. The fifteen-member city council originally approved the project for the Metro under ordinances 170 and 171 on December 30, 2011 as part of the updates to the Metropolitan District development and territorial plans. Though the vote was unanimous, throughout the four years of Barrera's administration, city council members did necessarily share this perspective. In a series of interviews with former city council members, I asked the following question: *How has the Metro been debated in city council meetings?* Of the fifteen council members, only eight would take an interview with me. I display the contrasting responses:

Dr. Beatriz Leon

The discussion about the metro, when it derives from individual political interest, oftentimes focuses on the cost and loses a variety of other perspectives, such as the need for a metro. In the city council, contrary to what may be said, there hasn't been that much of a discussion because in order to have a discussion there should be more information present. When one has information, such as the technical knowledge and multiple perspectives from technical experts, we as a council could have more profound political discussions. I feel that these discussions are not had. To me it seems that it is a proposal from the Mayor's administration, and very few people have wanted to debate it. They do so because they wanted him to win and are therefore behind the proposal without really deepening the debate. And for others, they want to use it as a political tool to make noise to the media without really deepening the discussion; they simply dedicate the debates to discussing the costs and financing. They forget about the rest.

Dennecey Trujillo

The complexity to understand the city all lies in its topography. Once there was a myth that said Quito is comprised of ravines and landfill. But, the actual engineering of the city is quite different. Engineering helped us understand that we live in a city that has tremors and a lot of seismic activity. As it turns out, through understanding engineering, these tremors were earthquakes. In Chile the day after the earthquake that measured above a 6.0 on the Richter scale, the metro was working. The engineering and technology exists to support these interventions, it is going to be 24 meters below ground. The other discussion that occurred was about costs. Economically speaking, the previous administration was not able to develop or manage mobility through collecting taxes or tolls. The city did not have the capacity to take out debt.

Eddy Sanchez (Member of the Comisión de Movilidad)

There have been specific workshops about the socialization from, the first study on all of the engineering of the Metro, to later, the technical explanations of the Metro. Effectively, we think we did an important and strong process of socialization because, as always with a megaproject, there will never be sufficient information. There are drawers full of documents that if you want to delve deeply into the subject you should review them. But if this is not your focus, or area of expertise, it becomes very difficult. For those of us who have been interested in the Metro, we have searched for the necessary information, and what is interesting is that there is an entire culture about the Metro. It is not an easy subject to tackle: it is a megaproject that looks to change the way we understand, from here on how, what it means to move around. When there are changes related to cultural patterns, it is always difficult. Some people will always be in opposition. But, we have to be supportive and be aware of the fact that a megaproject like this will change the life of the city.

Elizabeth Cabezas

Fundamentally, the municipality and this mayor, by constituting the public company, EPMMDQ, affirmed the decision about the Metro. The city council's most important role in this process has been to give authorization to the Mayor for this occurrence and give him the necessary financial reach to be able to finance the project like so. The project has been discussed, but, essentially, the Comisión de Movilidad and the EPMMDQ have fundamentally taken on the approvals, which are the two entities that have had the fundamental responsibility to do a detailed analysis. We, just like the city, have received the reports from Metro Madrid, which was the company directly chosen from an agreement. It was not a discussion of the city council if "we select a Metro Madrid, or Brazil or German, etc.", it was not a discussion that the city council had; it was a decision assumed by the Mayor that he later presented to us for our reference. The whole city council has approved the distinct actions that have

given way to the success of this project. There has not been any fundamental opposition to issues that are conceptually different to the objectives that this project proposes.

Marco Ponce:

Generally, we debate themes that are not relevant; the Metro project was approved by the city council. I did not vote in favor, and now only partial information regarding the Metro is discussed. We only discuss, if we ask for more money from here or there, or if we construct the station here or one block further down, or if we will begin to work on one of the stations, and if we approve to start working. But the person that carries out the approval from the city council, not fully, and only partially, is the mayor.

Manuel Bohroquez

Like any other parliamentary theme, I think that everyone is in favor of the Metro, but there are doubts that certain council members, who are not in favor of the project, have, which have only partially been addressed. If we decide to construct a metro, it should be about a long-term solution, not short-term. This is the problem that has occurred when benchmarks have been measured, despite how technical they may be; short-term technical goals may not be achieved. This is going to happen with the Metro, no matter how costly it becomes, in the long-term, a part, such as understanding the complete north and south, will be missing. We have wasted a lot of time and money.

Maria Sol Corral (Member of the Comisión de Movilidad)

I'd say of the fifteen of us that are councilmembers with the mayor, the fifteen of us are in favor of the Metro. We have always voted unanimously. We have received harsh criticism from various sectors of the city because the tunnels are not under construction. But, this occurred at the same time when the airport did not have direct access roads. In the mentality of the citizen, we have an airport without roads, we have stations without a Metro, and no tunnel under ground. The criticism is very harsh and normally, some of us as councilmembers try to address these issues from various perspectives like the budget, mobility, territory and land-use. We confront these issues once the Mayor has defended his project to the public. It has been a complicated time for us with respect to those two themes on mobility because the only thing that seems to matter to people is the time that they spend waiting a traffic light, how long it takes to get on a bus, and if someone bothers you or not, the security inside of the bus and if you can get from one point to another quickly. I think the only thing that matters to citizens, and technical experts, specialists and legislators should be here uniquely to solve their needs—that's why they pay us—and that is why we are representatives of the people and we should always be pushing and pressuring to get those objectives met.

Patricio Ubidia (President of the Comisión de Movilidad)

It was one of the proposals that we did initially in the campaign, when we first started the process, we thought it was vital to have a mass transportation system that can transport a large quantity of passengers. Thus, most importantly, it was something that was completely accepted, it was part of the Comisión de Movilidad. There has been complete support for the project. I think that it would be crazy for someone to be in opposition to a job of this magnitude, it would just be crazy. The city needs a transportation system at that level, and the support exists to carry out the project. There are some parts. First, we have the feasibility studies that were completed. This was debated in the city council and then, the levels below ground that would be necessary to construct a metro, and the studies for the route, where the Metro was going to traverse. Also, we debated where the stations were going to be, and the financial structure of the project, which is very important. We wanted to have the financial capacity to be able to build and not get stuck halfway through construction; we wanted to have enough financing to build the entire structure. These were all of the factors that we mostly debated in the city council. It has been a long process during these past four years. It has been a theme that has really been profoundly debated with the city council.

Fabricio Villamar

It is a campaign promise. It is a very expensive technical solution. They are pushing forward the idea that if this project weren't good, then the World Bank, the Development Bank of Latin America, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the European Development Bank wouldn't lend us the money. But, those are all investment banks and it is their main business to lend you money, as long as you can repay, it does not matter whether the project is good or bad, what is important is that you can repay. We are talking about the fact that Quito has the capacity to pay, not if the project is fantastic.

Textbox 2.3. City Councilmembers, August-October 2013

Source: Compiled Quotes from Semi-Structured Interviews

Dr. Beatriz Leon's thinking about the Metro concurs with several members that have reservations about the project. Her account of the debates were similar to many interviewed. The discussions are mainly about financial aspects of the project. This is supported by the internal documents that I gathered mainly from her office. I was only able to obtain these documents because I was a UC Berkeley graduate student researcher. In the pile of papers I found meeting minutes, ordinances, inter-office communications, and proposed budgets. Importantly, I highlight that no documentation in this package of papers had the technical documentation of the Metro. Instead just as the interviews indicate, the technical information was presented to the council from technical experts. In other words, they were presented in the media and open forums meant for civil society. City council members were lead to believe that if they wanted more information, then it must be researched by their own means.

These interviews all took place just before I left the field. What they envision is that the Metro is a project shaped by the interest of few and is a hotbed for contestation. Each respondent, unsurprisingly, gives a different perspective. Yet, what all agree on was that it was a political campaign promise envisioned by the Mayor. In general, they begin to protest and clearly question the project. For example, the second respondent, Dennecy Trujillo, does not give a direct response to the question. Instead, he gives a discussion of the changes in Quito as perceived topographically. He also demonstrates how myths take a different shape once empirical knowledge practices are put into the mix. His conclusion is that Quito has the possibility and is in the position to put itself into debt. Thus, he has no direct questioning of the implications for a Metro. His position coincides with several council members above who do not question what's at stake in the project. Rather, they view the project as inevitable—*el Metro va porque va*, or the metro is happening because its happening. This logic is somewhat questioned by others in this mix and repeats itself throughout interviews from other transit planners.³⁴

City council interviews are important because they illuminate how there is an implicit assumption that the Metro is not necessarily the correct transportation option for the city. Interviews underscore the idea that Quito has the capacity to speculate and accrue debt. These perspectives are also representative of how the planning process is sold in similar ways to both political officials and the public. The councilmembers do not necessarily have the expertise to drive the conversation, but are told that the process is transparent, as long as they search for the correct documentation. The blind faith in the project occurs from the top-down.

Thus far I have demonstrated that the Metro's transit planning becomes unsettled when questioned and provoked within the administrative arm of the process. I maintain that this is because there is a dominant framework that remains unquestioned. But, simultaneous to this, a separate and lateral vision is occurring. This vision is altering how transit planning takes shape by filtering through the administrative channels I have laid out. This vision begins to challenge the dominant framework I have begun to deconstruct. Next, I return to the citizen associations in Quito and the planning of Quito's public bicycle system, the BiciQ.

2.4.3 Infiltrating the Transit Planning Framework through Bicycle Share

Many individuals, organizations and institutions worked together to plan and execute the BiciQ. During an interview with one of the planners of the BiciQ who works for SUM, the interviewee discussed the original moments of the bike-share program. From an institutional perspective, the planning process stemmed from a decision made after the interviewee had

³⁴ Interviews of technical planners of transit in Quito. See Chapter 3.

attended an international conference on urban sustainable transportation in Mexico City. After that decision, the bike-planning unit carried out a series of dedicated actions that lead to the pilot study. It was the collision of these two events that instigated the BiciQ's planning. The Secretariat of Urban Mobility both wanted to bring international ideas of sustainable transit to Quito, and also, experiment with the ideas for bike planning in Quito that had years of capacity building and imagining. My interview went as follows:

- *The Directorates of Urban Mobility and Territorial planning published the Urban Mobility Master Plan 2009-2025, which put in the vision of bicycle infrastructure.*
- *Two bicycle planners from Quito went to the International Sustainable Urban transportation conference in Mexico City in 2012.*
- *The Secretary of Urban Mobility put bicycle planner in charge of planning the public bicycle system.*
- *Bike infrastructure construction began with local bicycle entrepreneur and owner of Construbicis*
- *Concurrent to bike infrastructure construction, a feasibility study was conducted to determine the demand for bicycling and where physical space existed to put twenty-five bike stations.*
- *Financial planning with what budget existed within the department of Urban Mobility and later with the support of the Mayor.*
- *Placement of twenty bicycle share stations to consider the results of the feasibility study and the existing transit infrastructure of Quito*
- *Secretariat of Urban mobility, Non-motorized unit continues to build bicycle lanes by contracting local activists and foundations to work together.*

Textbox 2.4. BiciQ and Bicycle infrastructure planning process

Source: Compiled through interview on October 16, 2013

This series of events could define the bike planning process, and carefully begins to show how big transit ideas become realities on the ground in Quito. It is a collusion of local activist and actors influenced by large ideas shaped by the Institute for Transportation Development Policy, ITDP. The shift was pronounced in that it took transit planning in a new direction, from planning with transit systems around automobility, to a people-oriented approach. The paradigm has transformed, placing people at the center of transit-oriented development. This paradigmatic shift seems to be occurring in Quito as the bicycle gains more attention and is perceived as increasing mobility options and also challenging the dominance of cars in transit planning.

On September 17, 2007, Quito's first Urban Mobility pact was reached between citizens, non-profits, and public and private institutions. This was a joint statement that agreed to improve the future of the city by focusing on upgrades to transit infrastructure and programming. But this moment did not come without conflict. Former activist and founder of Quito's first bicycle non-profit, *Biciacción*, Maria Guerra is perhaps one of the most notorious figureheads of the bicycle movement in Quito. As a prominent figure in the cycling culture in Quito, Guerra worked in activism between 1995 until roughly 2007, when Quito's first mobility pact was signed.

According to Guerra, the pact was an agreement that came out of years of struggle with and against the municipality. *Ciclistas Furiosos*, or Furious Cyclists, as they labeled themselves, previously took to the streets through very public advocacy work to define Quito's future as a green, livable city. These actions were supported through the non-profit organization, *Acción Ecológica*. They demanded more urban space and city funds to promote the massive use of the bicycle. Ten years of dedicated demonstrations on the street resulted in several bike planning initiatives in Quito. This included the following: (1) bike lanes designed through participation with international experts, (2) a weekly open streets event, *Ciclopaseo*, and (3) a pact with the municipal government. The impact of these events is evident in the innovative cycling policies that permeate the city, the cultural shift in transit users, and the increase in bicycle usage.

Previously (and perhaps still), the bicycle was seen as a mode of transportation for the bread-makers, security officers, and gardeners who woke up early to go to work. Today through the implementation of cycling infrastructure in Quito, businessmen and women are the visible faces of sustainable transit. Nevertheless, I argue that the success of bicycle planning would not be visible without situated collaborations between local and global actors. As such, I review three historic moments in Quito's cycling history to demonstrate how these planning efforts were achieved with the cycling movement.

2.4.3.1 *Ciclopaseo.*

The creation of Quito's Ciclopaseo relies on global knowledge and activist networks. In general, between 1995-2000, activist events drew visibility to cycling in the city. Biciacción was the first non-profit organization in Quito to draw attention to the dramatic changes that were occurring across Latin American cities. Bogotá's Sunday Ciclovía street enclosure program meant for recreational use arrived in Quito in 2000.³⁵ Quito's open streets event followed soon after Bogotá's model through the collaboration between Biciacción, which later became the non-profit foundation, Ciclópolis, and the municipality of Quito. Activist efforts combined with the leadership of the former Director of Planning, created the origins of Quito's formal cycling infrastructure. In the interview, several cycling activists noted that Daniel Cantu worked closely with them to plan the first bike lanes. The ciclopaseo drew awareness to physical activity and recreation in Quito and marked a new period in the city's transportation infrastructural history. This event today operates on a weekly basis by closing down between 8am-2pm every Sunday 26 kilometers of major avenues that run north to south. The event is run through a municipal contract between the municipality and Ciclópolis. It demonstrated how cultural shifts from a transit planning auto-dependent culture to a bicycle-friendly model are possible when cities *repurpose* infrastructure. This moment articulates how local actors materialize urban innovations that emerge out of global knowledge practices. In this first historic and situated moment, Quito's cycling history becomes visible.

2.4.3.2 *Ciclovías para Quito.*

The second series of events took place shortly after the inauguration of the Ciclopaseo. Biciacción spearheaded a bicycle planning event on February 13-14 2003 labeled "Ciclovías para Quito." The event was sponsored by ITDP, (no)vib-Holand, and the Institute for Ecological Studies of the Third World. The meeting's final report, "Making a City: A Citizen's Proposal", was a reflection of the two-day incubator for urban innovation. It brought together global and local experts through the facilitation of cycling activists. During the two-day seminar, participants debated, planned, and designed the future of cycling programming and infrastructure. The seminar included interactions and presentations from international experts including president and founder of ITDP, president and founder of Bogotá think tank Ciudad Humana, and a representative from ITDP in the United States. Meanwhile, two local experts presented on the glum situation of urban mobility and air quality in Quito. The event garnered local support by including the former head of territorial planning, and created an inter-institutional pact between the municipality, police and civil society for the creation of ciclovías. The introduction of this pact and the push for bicycle planning in Quito gained momentum, but took place through the strategic coordination of international and local experts and civil society.

³⁵ For an in-depth history of the origins of Quito's Ciclopaseo see FLACSO Thesis by Sofía Gordón Salvatierra

This is the second moment that cycling activists acted as urban innovators, bypassing the typical top-down approach traditionally practiced by the local municipality. This approach connects local activists to global leaders in transportation and develops a relationship that questions the transit de facto planning paradigm.

2.4.3.3 Plan Maestro de Movilidad.

Simultaneous to the formal pact, which was signed in 2007, Quito updated its master transportation plan to an urban mobility plan. The idea to include urban mobility in the title was to understand the social and economic dimensions of moving around in the city. This policy document was a strategic tool to incorporate bicycles formally into the transportation infrastructural network of Quito. This policy document was the product of former Mayor Paco Moncayo's efforts around citizen participation. City Ordinance 046, signed on December 26, 2000, established a citizen's committee on urban mobility the municipal scale. In essence, any citizen or urban resident of Quito could join. In this committee, members reached consensus on how and when to extend the bicycle lane network. These visions were placed in public record, and which therefore served to legitimate and make visible promises to cycling in Quito.

These three moments demonstrate the effect of years of organized efforts between citizen associations and the municipality in Quito. They take place through historic and situated occurrences made possible through coordinated and careful interactions between global and local activists and experts dedicated to cycling in the city. What these moments show is how people by-pass the municipality to interact directly with global experts. After this first step is accomplished, the municipality is then brought into the process. Such an entanglement elucidates the degree to which citizens and their social actions begin to drive planning discussions. Without these series of actions, bicycle share would not have been possible in Quito. Next, I take up the way in which the bicycle share system has changed the way planning is occurring in Quito.

2.4.4 Consultancy and Bike Planning

Ethnographic insights reveal what occurs in contemporary bicycle planning and programming in Quito. In June-August 2013, I worked as a bicycle planning consultant on two contracts set up between the Municipality of Quito Department of Urban Mobility and Ecuador's the Ministry of Transportation. I worked on these two contracts through a team of two consultant groups, Biciacción and a fellow transit planner. The consortium of individuals and groups all worked together on both contracts. I was a direct consultant to Biciacción and worked with the other groups. These groups were also present within Quito's ongoing bicycle movement. Over those three months, the two consultant groups planned bicycle lanes first throughout the south, and then throughout the extreme north and valleys of Quito. Teams were separated between design and field researchers. The team of field researchers took certain principles into consideration. In general the process was broken down into the following steps: (1) Decide on design use of bicycle for Quito (2) Conduct a Feasibility study (3) Come up with concept visions (4) Run a participatory planning bicycle meeting and (5) Work with architects to design bike lanes. One of the main responsibilities of this team of consultants was to follow two sources for bicycle planning, an ITDP report, and a document from the Dutch bicycle planning company Crow, which provides guidelines for how to build and design for bicycle traffic.

These two texts gave insight into strategy and development of bicycle lanes for Quito. But as an interlocutor, as a researcher, activist and planner, I noticed that contradictions flourished. The question within the design process addressed how the bicycle would have

minimal impact and leave ample space for the automobile. In other words, I did not see a paradigmatic shift, but one that privileges the automobile. The team of activists and consultants that I worked with conducted feasibility studies based on traffic flow, bicycle demand, and design principles that would allow bicycles to move safely in traffic and provide convenient, safe, and secure parking. In general, the bike lane is placed between the drive lane and the parking lane. The guiding principles behind bike planning in this study included direct and safe routes and a continuous and dedicated network with comfortable and attractive routes (Groot 2007). Such indicators informed the original blueprint plans that the team put together, but the second phase began shortly thereafter.

Within my field notes, I documented how researchers conducted fieldwork for the project. The research team tested out the experience of biking in areas of the city where bike lanes are possible. Cars would speed by at fast paces, buses would swerve in and out of lanes at all speeds, and traffic congestion was bumper to bumper. The former president of Biciacción tested the noise pollution at sectors in the south with his smart phone, demonstrating the decibels were enough to make a person uncomfortable. Inhaling smog from buses was unavoidable. When we talked to business owners about removing parking spaces, it was clear they were not interested. It was difficult to get a conversation started about how cyclists could move around safely if vehicles did not follow the speed limit. The experience of the cyclist included inhaling smog and biking defensively to survive.

At the same time, we worked with the administrative zones of Quito to conduct participatory planning meetings on bicycle use. In general, those who came to the meetings were fellow activists informed enough about the happenings of bicycle planning in Quito. Meetings were open to the public, but overwhelmingly attended by cycling activists who made it easy to show that the city wanted bike lanes. A diverse set of actors did not participate; rather, a special interest community shaped the discussion. Cycling activists in Quito not only dominated the feasibility studies and design of the bike lanes, but also were the only actors involved in the process. Reports on bicycle infrastructure planning and design proved how bicycle infrastructure only exists through the repurposing and sharing of existing streets. Below, is one proposal that came out of the report:

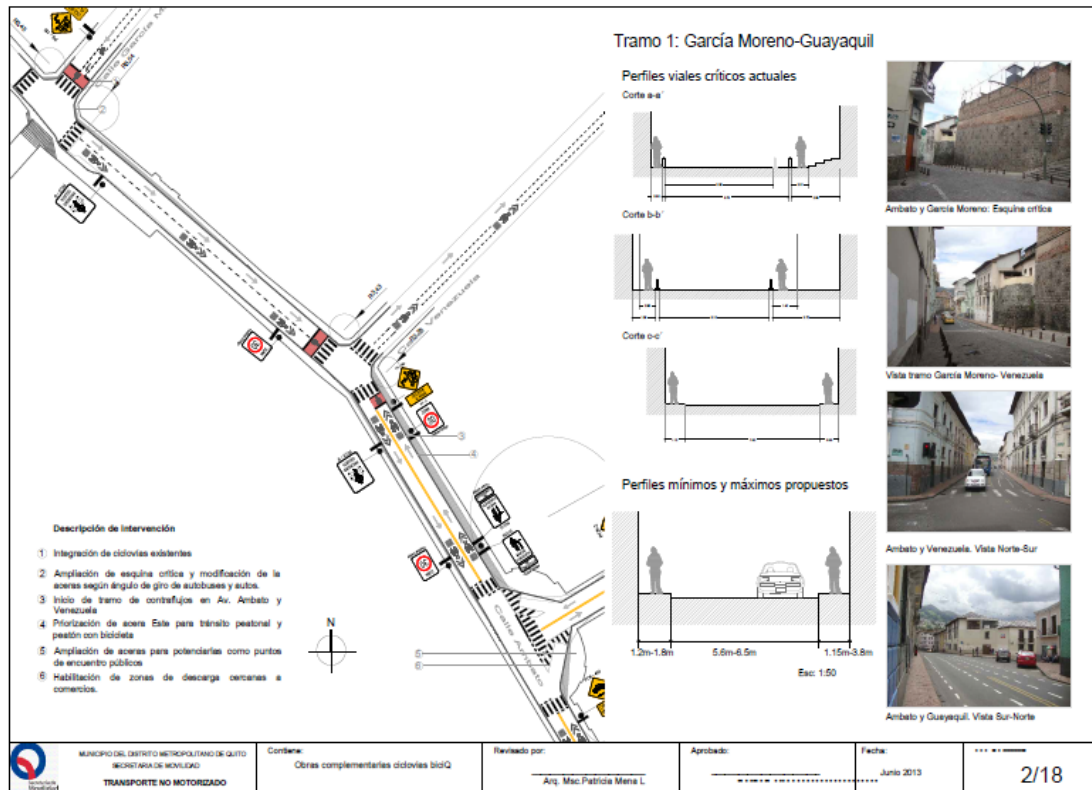


Figure 2.3. Graphic from my icycle consultant team

Source: final report turned in on October 26, 2013

Figure 2.3 demonstrates the current status of an urban street and sidewalk with the proposed modifications, including a bike lane. First it recommends integrating the existing bike lanes into the proposed streetscape. Then, pedestrians are given priority above all, with widened sidewalks. What is interesting in the configuration is that not much changes for the vehicle. The priority on paper is for the pedestrian, and then the cyclist who is *missing from the image*, and finally, the car. The car is center and present. The lane is reduced, but is not represented as sharing the lane with the bicycle, as the plans would suggest. This particular stretch of proposed bike lane is an improvement on what exists, without radically changing the space itself.

The moment behind the bicycle share instigated a change in priorities for Quito's department of urban mobility, at least on paper, and was directly supported by the biased efforts of cycling activists and professionals. But it did so based on one factor: improving on and repurposing the infrastructures that already existed. Space was and is being reallocated for the bicycle in Quito through the efforts of cycling advocates who push for their right to move around. Changes in the orientation of transit planning ideas are still under question. What is noticeable is the ways in which cycling activists penetrate the big ideas presented by global institutes, such as ITDP, and putting them into action through infrastructural realities. Today, in Quito's popular discourse on transportation it is impossible to discuss the notion of urban mobility without reference to the bicycle and BiciQ. As such, there is a cultural shift occurring in the city, led the big ideas of sustainable transit as they are adopted by cycling activists.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have laid out the framework for how I moved from experimentation in the field to undertaking the analysis and writing of this ethnography. By being a parasite, I have used this space of privilege to carefully capture and analyze observations, accounts, images, documents and interviews. As a result, I opened up a third space that works to link together the conceptual terrain of transit planning. Changing the way in which transit planning is defined, as a process to a performance of transit visions creates the opportunity to analyze the subject in a novel way. I label this third space visioning a transit city. This vision is comprised of two mutually linked planning accounts that I retell. The approach I take has a dual purpose. It is to demonstrate that a dominant transit-planning paradigm is present within the actions of institutions, technical experts and politicians, but that it slowly changes, decomposes and transforms over time and as a consequence of new opportunities and social action. Further, I use these two accounts to pinpoint the vision that they have in common: challenging the dominance of the automobile in the city. I argue that this is only possible through the concerted and organized efforts of citizen associations that infiltrate the planning process in order to humanize the city. In the coming chapters, transit planning can be read in parallel or separately.

I concentrated on the administrative angle of the Metro to show how the process and its dominant framework begin to unravel from the top-down. I drew attention to how the Metro's phantasmal existence relies on experts telling people that the technical documentation exists, but is outside of the expertise of many, thereby creating a loophole for the few key players behind the project. The technical information is out there—it is available on the website—but it is only presented to people. In response, city council members act as both citizens and politicians, demonstrating there are ways in which people can ask pointed questions that have technical merit.

Then, I retold another account from the bottom-up of the planning behind the bicycle share system in Quito. I started with a similar snap-shot of what the planning process is supposed to encapsulate. I demonstrated how this process occurred through the strategic role of citizen associations infiltrating the municipality's order. By revealing some of Quito's recent bicycle history, I was able to elucidate how citizen associations have preceded the role of bicycle planning in Quito. It is because of this strong and organized network of heterogeneous groups that any dominant paradigm in transit planning twists and transforms with social action. I not only viewed this from my position as an ethnographic researcher, but also through my direct involvement as a planning consultant on the project.

Together, these two tales will reemerge separately throughout the coming chapters and mutate along the way once new categories and variables of analysis are introduced. In the following chapter, I take a step back to show how anterior transit ideas, knowledge, and practices reformulate and impact present and future transit logic in Quito. I take on the challenge of deconstructing another way to envision a dominant framework for transit planning. I do this by historicizing the Metro project, demonstrating that it is dependent on not one single decision or path.

Chapter 3: A Metro: Rethinking of Critical Accounts of Transit Planning

3.1 Introduction

Quito: Forum on Ex-Mayors, a civil and democratic example

Last Wednesday Commissioner Fabricio Villamar organized “Quito, How are we doing?” The Chamber of Commerce, and the Foundation Konrad Adenauer supported the event and included the participation of four ex-Mayors of Quito: Sixto Durán Ballen, Rodrigo Paz, Roque Sevilla and Andrés Vallejo. Paco Moncayo was in absence, having excused himself from the event, but both Moncayo and Mayor Augusto Barrera called for future forums.

The dialogue of the event contained new ideas and also confronted important themes that impact Quito such as mobility, the deteriorating public life of the city, insecurity and violence, and environmental issues...Moreover, it was a healthy exercise of democracy.

With respect to mobility, three of the four ex-Mayors presented projects that were not in favor for the Metro for Quito, citing its high costs as a principal issue. Durán Ballen proclaimed he was in favor of the project, but in disagreement with the chosen route. Amongst the new other new proposals included an airbus system to transport passengers between the airport in Tababela and the city, as well as, other alternatives to confront Quito’s mobility problems such as, the concept of no-mobility, by avoiding daily trips to work, school and high schools through the improvement of internet connectivity for everyone.

Last Friday, Diario presented a summary of all of the interventions presented by the ex-Mayors. However, beyond the useful visions and initiatives presented, the ex-Mayors also demonstrated a positive political and civic example. In a country where former politicians hardly greet each other, there is an automatic language of dismissal that comes from those in power against groups and people that are under the false impression that everything begins with those that are today in power, it is significant when former Mayors come together with the weight of experiences to give their visions about the city in a respectful space meant for analysis and proposals. It is a civic and democratic exercise that should continue.

Textbox 3.1. Hoy Diario, Quito July 12 2013

On June 12, 2013 I walked into the hotel Dann Carlton in Quito. I was covered in the dust, dirt and smog of the city. I had just biked from the southern Trolebus station, El Recreo to get an approval for my intercept survey that I was to start two weeks later. They did not let me park my bike at the front of the building. Instead, I had to go behind the building to the underground garage parking lot. I then took the elevator upstairs to the conference suite, where I walked into a room full of reporters, activists, academics, and citizens. In this room, the fundamentals about the Metro were debated from the perspective of individuals in places of power, ex-Mayors of Quito. At the event, it was evident that all of those who held power in Quito at different times had critiques about this megaproject. There was tension in the room, as the former Mayors one by one gave their perspective on the Metro. All who were present, but one, agreed on one thing: the Metro is too large of a financial risk for Quito.

The ex-Mayors all had dissenting opinions, which in turn, generated alternative transportation visions that could be more politically and financially feasible for the city. Who is it for? What is the risk and at what cost? How will it improve urban mobility? Such questions emanate from critics in popular discourse. A challenge for society unfolds for the participants in the form. The role of Mayoral leadership is imperative for not just planning the Metro, for the

entire practice of transit planning. The visions of the former Mayors reflect the distinctive ways transportation decisions manifest in Quito's current transit landscape. This public event existed as the space where their own goals and political interests conceptually informed former Mayors.

In many ways public transport systems are socio-technical systems that are path dependent: they accumulate ideas, problems and solutions that depend on plans, policies and institutions (Arthur, William Bryan, Ausubel, J.H, and Herman, R. 1988; Low and Astle 2009; Low, Gleeson, and Rush 2005). Path dependency in the public transport sector has demonstrated the evolution of "car system," where policies and institutions, intervention and economic risk explain changes in the transport sector (Ramjerdi and Fearnley 2014). These elements contribute to a long line of what a transit city should look like (Cervero 1998). In the previous chapter, I dislocated the idea that a transit -planning paradigm exists as a dominant framework. I did this by presenting distinctive visions of transit goals that are unequal and operate laterally to one another. I argue that the role of Mayors is essential beyond one particular transit intervention. Rather, it comes from a series of decisions over time. These decisions demonstrate how the historical trajectory of Mayors have used their central authority to make decisions through the assistance of a technical planner, and intersect with issues related to global transit development, political parties, and citizen participation. This chapter traces how Mayors have used their authority to make decisions on urban public transit without pursuing the active role of citizens until the onset of State-mandated regulations. In this way, I aim to contribute to the burgeoning studies that investigate the role of a strong Mayor in local democracy (Goldfrank 2007; Goldfrank 2011; Wampler 2008).

Furthermore, rethinking transit decision-making to the Metro in Quito requires delving into how strong Mayors in Quito have made transit decisions over time. I argue that political visions are important because they shape the overall policy goals behind transit planning. For example, in this chapter I will demonstrate how road building is an essential aspect of the built environment in Quito, but remains so because of Mayoral agendas. This is similar to the path dependency argument in the transport sector, but must be approached from a political and historical lens for the Latin American context. I argue that transit planning relies on the decisions and history of strong Mayors as opposed to one policy or path. Cities in Latin America are recognized for the role of strong Mayors (Ward, and Gilbert, Alan 1996, 53–72). For example, the role of Colombian Mayors in cities like Bogotá (Gilbert 2006; Gilbert and Dávila, Julio D. 2002) are known for their central role to urban development through good governance while concurrently improving urban mobility. Because Mayors have been elected since 1988 in Colombia, they have been able to drastically shape the agendas of infrastructure and service delivery that has lead to changes in urban poverty, inequality, and violence (Dávila 2009) (Dávila, 2009). These changes are radical and influence regional trends in transit practices (McGuirk 2014).

I bring this set of literature together to trace the political thought of Mayors specifically as it relates to transit development. I do so in order to account for how people in places of privilege shape how transit planning is *done*, from the top-down, and draw out how transit policies change over time to impact the future of transit in Quito. I demonstrate how political visions accumulate over time, producing a symbiotic relationship between the Mayor and technical expert that continues to dominate how transit planning is practiced in Quito. Political visions in this chapter will provoke how political ideas shape transit outcomes that are also engendered by global transit practices and diverse practices of participation. Mayoral visions are

one way in which transit planning is performed: the reiteration of Mayoral decisions over time has lead to a top-down planning approach that spearheads how transit outcomes occur.

In doing so, I work back and forth between sources to demonstrate how the Metro rail project in Quito is tied to a historic process. I filter through documents and interviews from critical actors involved in transit decision-making in Quito to show that the Metro rail, as both a generator for social change, and a solution to urban mobility, has always been part of the transit visions. I critically engage with the ongoing disputes about the planning of Quito's Metro and the friction that this has caused in political and social spheres. This chapter embraces the complexity of elements that have gone into play in transit visions in Quito. Therefore, I use the following table to organize this chapter:

Mayor	Year	Political Party	Major Transit Vision
Sixto Durán Ballen	1970-1978	Social Christian Party	Metro rail (never completed)
Luis Andrade Nieto	1982-1984	Frente Radical Alfarista	Transit analysis (no project)
Rodrigo Paz Delgado	1988-1992	Popular Democracy	Trolebus- BRT line,
Jamil Mahuad	1992-1998	Popular Democracy	Trolebus- BRT line
Roque Sevilla	1998-2000	Popular Democracy	Trolebus – BRT line, and Ecovia, BRT line,
Paco Moncayo Gallegos	2000-2009	Democratic Left	Ecovia, BRT line, and MetrobusQ, BRT line
Andrés Vallejo Arcos	2009-2009	Democratic Left	Ecovia, BRT line and MetrobusQ, BRT line
Augusto Barrera Guarderas	2009-2014	Alianza País	BiciQ, bike-share system and MetroQ, underground metro rail (unconstructed)

Table 3.1. Mayors and Transit Visions

Referring to this table is important to guide the reader chronologically and to understand the political linkages. These relationships dictate the continuation of transit-planning projects. I use interviews and policy documents from the former Mayors to link these ideas to concepts and practices that were done throughout their time as Mayors. This failure, however, is largely tied to historical and planning knowledge practices.

My methodological approach remains grounded from the perspective of a counter-part because I was a researcher, activist and planner in the field. Because my ethnography is experimental, I use interviews with Mayors and technical experts to demonstrate that visions from the past are often reflected in the present. I use vignettes to account for the strong roles that anterior Mayors have in the future of transit visions in Quito. I support this with archival sources that confirm the accounts I present. I substitute the names of transit planners to protect their identities, but keep the names of elected officials. I follow the trajectory of Mayoral decision-making in Quito's transportation history because it offers the most privileged perspective on transportation decisions available in Quito. This chapter represents one slice, or vision, of how transit planning is achieved. I use this chapter as just one way of reading how transit planning gets done through a performance of transit visions. Mayors represent one privileged vision that in many ways dominates how people view transit. As such, throughout the chapter I will bring in, when possible, accounts from or different responses to the transit problems in Quito from the sources I was able to find.

Decisions made about public transit and the interventions executed are reproduced because of similar actors. I argue that the Metro must be considered within a broader framework of how transit planning is exercised; taking into consideration the multiple forms of knowledge that influence how public transit sector has developed over time. Beginning with Sixto Durán Ballen, I delve into the Mayors' perspectives to retell the history of transportation changes in Quito and shed light on the different transit visions from previous Mayors. Distinct puzzles emerge throughout this analysis such as the use of a survey instrument, expert, the role of the citizen, and international expertise.

3.2 Entangled Origins of Transit Planning

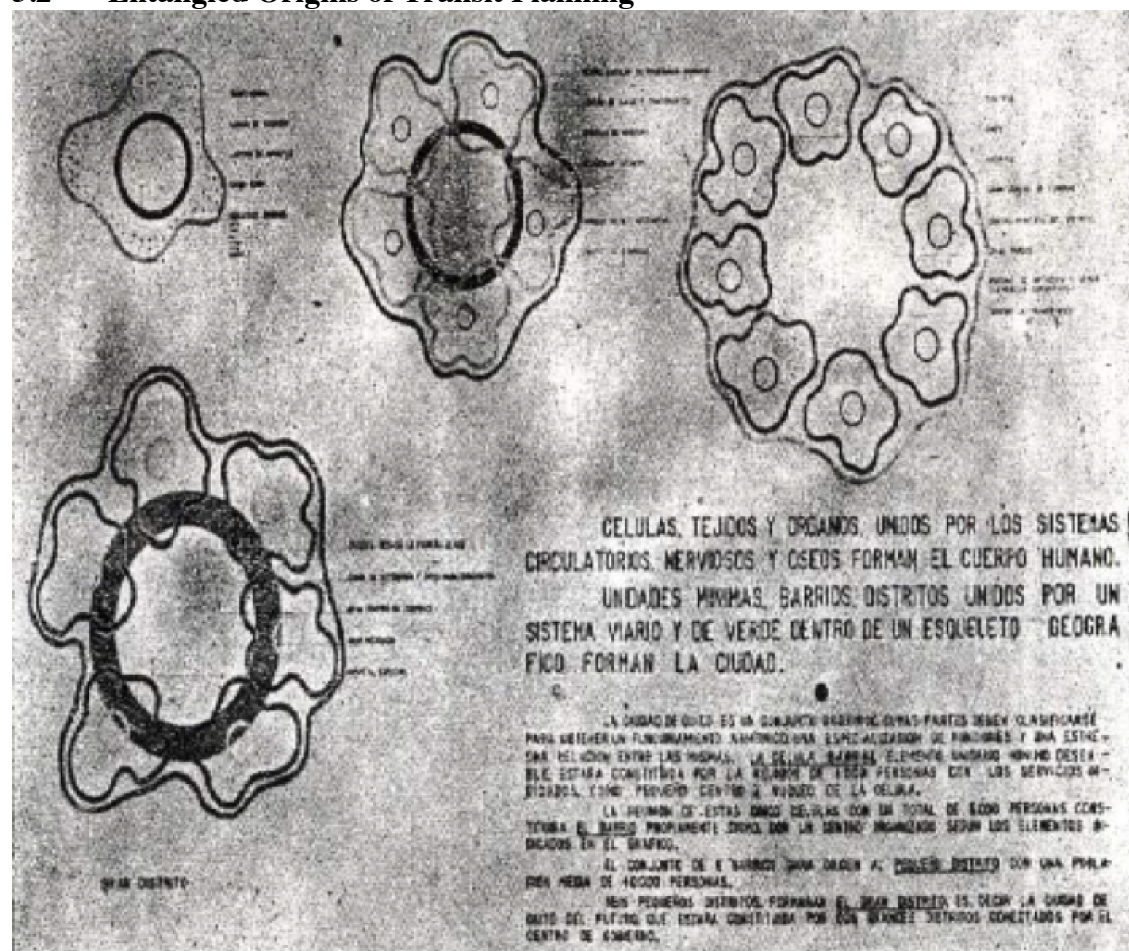


Figure 3.1. Municipality of Quito Plan Jones Ordioleza, 1940

A social-scientific inquiry of Figure 3.1: the city as a cohesive whole, each unit depends on one another for its function. Quito's first city plan is typically modernist. This image depicts the city as a metaphor. Each cell symbolizes a neighborhood united by a skeleton that is a road network, and inside of this network is the green space of the city. The cells are carefully stitched together with organs that represent systems of circulation like sewage instead of nerves. Taken together, it is a human body that has organically evolved. Quito's first master plan, *Plan Regulador*, or also known as Jones Ordioleza, is known as the first urban plan that attempts to regulate the city through the rationalization of space. It separates functions of the modern city

through land-use, road networks, cultural centers, public spaces, green spaces, sewage systems, etc.

Urban collective transportation in this moment operated according to a national framework. In 1963, Ecuador's first *ley de transporte terrestre*, or Surface Transit law, drastically altered the way in which Quito organized public transit. This law put two national organizations in charge of organizing public transit services, of which can still be seen today. It created three fundamental organizing structures: the Junta General de Tránsito, and the Dirección General de Tránsito that administered and controlled transportation from a national level. Subsequently, these two bodies were converted into the Consejo Nacional de Tránsito y Transporte Terrestres (CNTTT)(Chauvin, Juan Pablo 2007, 39). The CNTTT became responsible for keeping a fixed bus fare, controlling how buses operate in small and large cities in Ecuador. In other words, CNTTT at the national level worked to control the level of bus service and the legal role of private transportation bus companies, or transportistas. This national control did not allow Quito to administer public transit until the 1993, when it became a decentralized and autonomous district. This aspect is critical to understand as conflicts and the ability for Mayors to solve public transit is fundamentally a national problem until this occurs. It also is dominates how transit is discussed within the master city plans.

In the 1970s, Quito underwent massive construction of many roads that included building a central bus station, paving urban roads, construction of peripheral and new principal regional roads, and the widening of roads (Vásconez, Mario et al. 1997, 20–26). Implicit within this plan was the notion of the modern infrastructural ideal surfaces: massive street networks circulate people, goods, and services (Graham and Marvin 2002, 81). The first proposed roads network for Quito documents a co-dependence between the state and infrastructure through road construction. Little thought is given to the development of a road network and public transportation infrastructure.

Road networks massively expanded Quito and paved the way for the first update to Quito's master plan, with the document *Plan Director* in 1973-1993. This was the first municipal policy document that investigated how to deal with public transportation. It begins by referencing the Jones Ordioloza plans through notions of street networks, and speed. It also places precedence on three different transportation systems: the private car, the collective transit system (buses), and inter-provincial buses. This updated plan visualizes problems with transit in the city: the historic center has roads that are small and curvaceous and collective transportation has problems circulating and roads should be built on the sides of the city, outside of the urban core (Municipality of Quito 1973, 38–41).

The 1973 plan presents a summary of the Jones Ordioloza plan. Yet, the plan indicates that Quito was not growing in a radial pattern according to the city plan (Municipality of Quito 1973, 18). On the contrary, it was growing in a linear function, and transportation systems had to address this issue. Because of Quito's linear structure, it was unclear how to intervene other than with roads. This differs from other cities where public transport was possible, like Paris, because of its radio concentric circle mode. Consequently, the 1973-1993 plan had three proposed action points: create a general territorial plan; create a land-use plan considering spatial, social, and economic planning; and show how these plans to populations included in the Metropolitan area of Quito. It almost seems that the lay out had classical characteristics of transportation planning path dependence. The classical characteristics of transportation policy dependence includes three perspectives Low and Astle argue (Low and Astle 2009, 48): (1) the physical form of the city dependent on the form of transport (2) produces the adoption of the vehicle that favors low-

density environments, making auto-dependence and urban development co-dependent and thus jeopardizing public transport and (3) a public agency or institution determines the mode of urban mobility. Quito's primary form of transport was the auto or private buses because up to this point, development priority went to street networks, not public transportation. Public transportation was still controlled at the national level through CNTTT and allowed transportation companies to provide a minimal and at times poor level of service. I argue that this resulted in the favoritism of vehicles over public transport in the development of the city.

Another essential element in the plan is the connection between economic exchange in the city and the movement of people. The plan documents how the economic base of the city depends on the daily commutes that move through Quito at an interprovincial level. The analysis present in the plan captures the total buses that enter and leave Quito based on the daily trips in and out of the city for commerce and labor. For example, the route between the Quito and the canton Sangloquí, was one of the principal roadways investigated. It showed that 38.7 percent of the daily trips between 5-8pm happened on this thoroughfare with high speeds (Municipality of Quito 1973, 70). Thus, the plan reports that there are specific urban and inter-urban routes that are tied to the economic base of Quito. In the end, the analysis presents the facts and figures for specific thoroughfares of the city. Few connections exist between certain peripheries and parishes. This meant that certain areas of the city that were left outside of the economic base of the city. As a consequence, I suggest that the city begins to co-evolve with transportation networks based on the street network, and thus, risks the development of a public transportation system. Up until this point, public transportation and road development are small sections within the city plan. In what follows, I document the visions and perspectives of Mayors and experts that demonstrate the continued puzzle of public transportation. I demonstrate how over time, different policy documents outside of the land-use plan begin to undertake this challenge.

3.3 Transit Planning: From a Modernist Vision to a Social Problem with Multiple Responses

Question: What is your perspective on the newly proposed Metro?

Sixto Durán Ballen: *I went to Mayor Barrera and left him a copy of this and I said to him: "Mr. Mayor, I bring you this (copy of maps), I understand that, just like the Japanese and the Franco-Mexicans have determined that Quito needs a longitudinal line, which is better late than never, however you are going to do it, I propose to you"...We are talking about four years ago..." I suggest that you do the following: make the axis from the airport Tababela the second line. You will have to make the first line for the city. I do not dispute this. I suggest that, in parallel, that line number two begin above Universidad Central in an area called Miraflores, and that it run underground.*

Between 1970-1978, Sixto Durán Ballen took office during a time when Ecuadorean petro-revenues were at their highest. Therefore, a new wave of modernization came to the city. Inheriting this problem from the beginning, his major intervention included creating many thoroughfares throughout the city, and also, overpasses to deal with Quito's topographic challenges. Building roads and searching for a massive transportation solution for Quito summarize Sixto's main two functions with respect to transportation.³⁶ Trained as an architect from Columbia University, Sixto's vision for Quito came with technical training to think about

³⁶ (S. Durán Ballen, Interview September 10, 2013)

the city as a cohesive whole.³⁷ During his tenure as Mayor, there were other important facts that influenced his decision-making outside of the urban plans with respect to planning public transport. Sixto had other visions for transit plans outside of the master urban plan. Quito received many proposals from outside countries and consultants, which started with a vision in 1972 that proposed the first underground Metro rail:



Figure 3.2. Newspaper El Comercio, July 25, 1972

Source: (Caicedo, H 1972, 14)

Figure 3.2 is imperative for the future of public transit infrastructure in the city. It is the first public announcement for the Metro. The image represents an ordering to the city. The historic center is a space pedestrians and a place for the public life of the city to remain uninterrupted by motorized traffic. The checkered lines represent the motorized streets that will be sewn together through the city's first mass transit route. The dotted route illustrates how Quito can be connected from north to south, bypassing the historic center. But this was just the first image that proposed connecting Quito. During Sixto's tenure there were various proposals for mass transit. During my interview, he took out the maps that he had drawn and explained how various teams of international experts including Franco-Mexican, Israeli, and another unnamed sources proposed the transit landscape:

³⁷ (S. Durán Ballen, Interview September 10, 2013)

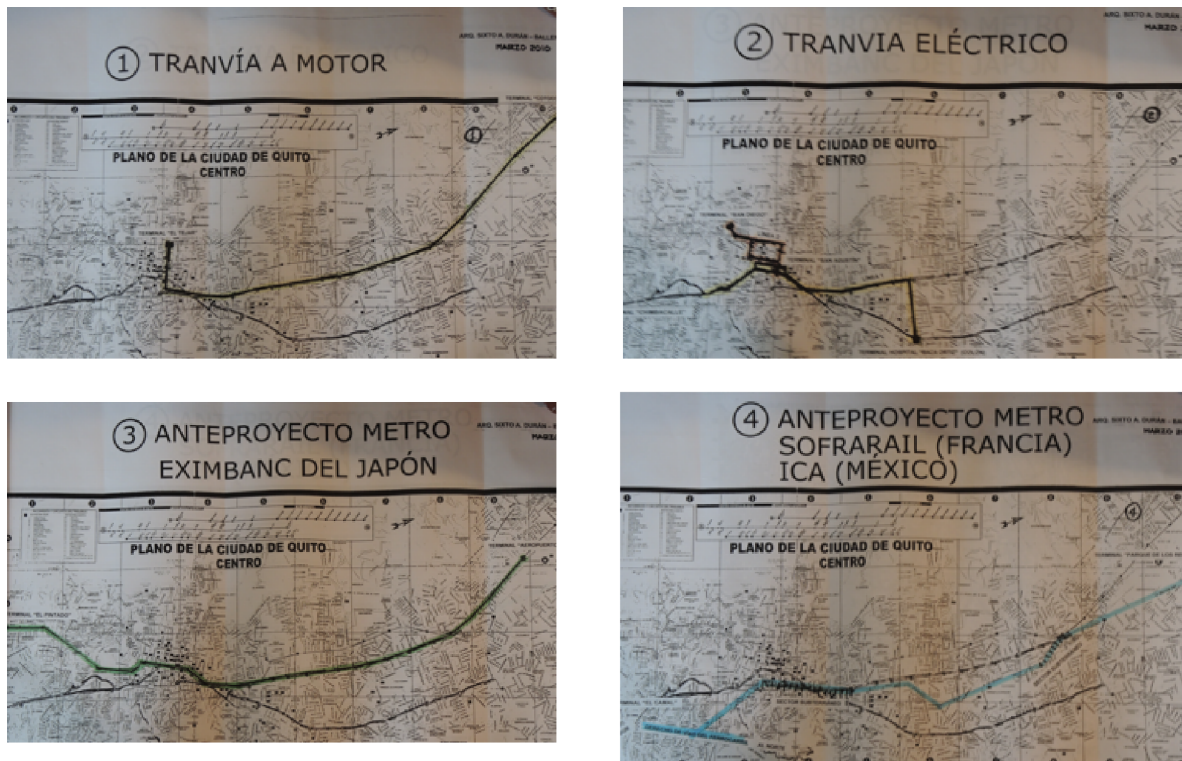


Figure 3.3. Transit lines drawn out by Sixto Durán Ballen

Source: Photos by Julie Gamble, September 10, 2013.

He noted the differences between them, but rationalized that they did not go forward because of the required planning process from the national government down to the local level.³⁸ For me, what was pivotal about Sixto's ideas on the city and the proposals that he had come down to a few basic assumptions, which will become the concepts that create a standard that road systems needed to be built alongside city development, over-powering the public transport sector. He also denotes the importance of international expertise and economic resources. He discussed the array of citizen needs in Quito at the time, as he was Mayor. Transit was a low priority because the city had to spend its resources elsewhere. Citizens were only represented through numbers and written ideas. The idea of using public transit, as a tool for economic growth and speculation is present, but it is not conceptualized as a basic need for citizens in the city. For instance, referring back to the land-use plan in 1973, social planning was completely separate from transit planning. The two were thought of in separate planning and policy realms. Moreover, the only policy document that depicted people using transit I found was the following picture from the Japanese Metro study:

³⁸ (S. Durán Ballen, Interview September 10, 2013)



Figure 3.4. Drawing of Metro

Source: Photo by Julie Gamble of Report on the Mass Transit System in Quito, Japan Transport Consultants, July 1974

Figure 3.4 depicts faceless passengers as a train passes by. To me, it captures the Municipality's ambivalence toward public transportation. It does not see it as a basic daily social and economic need for citizens. Up to this point, it is clear that a transparent agenda between the local government and the national government is unavailable. It seems easiest for Sixto to speculate an urban future through the promise of public transportation, but it is clear that the citizen remains a passive receiver of this public good in Quito.

However, citizens are not faceless representations on future public transit. Citizen participation is seen in the form of an urban social movement. In fact, in 1977, at the national level, the Consejo Supremo de Gobierno, revoked the gasoline tax that it had relied on during a decade economic growth and Sixto's term in the 1970s. Transit fares had maintained steady at 1 sucre, but as a consequence chauffeur and private transportation companies increased fares to 1 sucre, 40 cents (Figueroa, Oscar 1982, 10–11). This resulted in the famous “guerra de los 4 reales”, which was an important urban conflict seen between civil society and the state. Characterized as an urban social movement (Henry, Etienne 1985, 132–33), a rebellion formed between students during the last week of March and first week of April in 1978, and then later expanded to peripheral neighborhood organizations known as the Comités de Defensa Popular, eventually incorporating organized labor workers. The movement provoked the city to shut down, demanding better public transit services, but ultimately the dominant class interests quashed the rebellion. This occurred parallel to a national plan to restore democracy at the

national level. The Triunvirato Militar, or the Consejo Supremo de Gobierno, never revoked the fare increase(González, 2014).

Subsequent Mayors reiterate many of the themes that flourish during Sixto's time as Mayor, but his actions are representative of the origins of transit planning in Quito. Sixto demonstrates that a technical transportation vision for the city was tied to moving people and goods throughout the city, but linked the idea of transportation to an economic activity. An essential aspect of Sixto's vision came from viewing transportation infrastructure as a way to bring rational, efficient order to the city. It was also through documenting how the role of international development was an essential aspect to city change, as documented by the consultant reports I have presented.

Thus, the Metro's rationale dates back to 1972 and is dependent on international expertise. From this point forward, the Metro becomes an essential part of the ongoing transportation visions of Quito. The idea of a major transportation project is thus divorced from the reality on the ground in Quito related to the concerns of the urban social movement. These patterns continue between the next series of Mayors that at one point or another made decisions to intervene, or build roads in Quito. As a result, various policy sources demonstrate a traceable pattern between the co-dependence of transit and land use planning, and also the critical role of international expertise. These documents affirm how the municipality left the idea of public transportation infrastructure fall to the wayside until a decade later. In many ways, it is because of the confusing role between the CNTTT and the ability of the municipality of Quito to administer public transit that remains an unsolved dilemma. In the following section, I begin by laying a foundation for the different documents that begin to place order for the growing transit needs in Quito. The different documents I present are representative of a set of institutions, actors and instruments that measure, rationalize, and depend on one another for future transit planning decisions in Quito. There are multiple de facto transit visions of the city being instituted. Underlying all of this, I introduce another reason that the idea of mass public transport begins to transform: a symbiotic relationship with a technical expert.

3.4 Transit Assessments and the rise of local expertise

The interview with Sixto demonstrated that his Mayoral vision was trying to drive transit planning in Quito. But, what it did was put in place a large-scale vision of a metro that provoked a diverse set of problems such as the role of the central government, private transportation companies, the increased growth of private automobile use, and the role of citizens in Quito. Thus, it is difficult to separate transit planning decisions from entrenched urban problems.

Instead, transit planning in Quito can only be traced forward with the pivotal role of the Mayor. Social problems and critiques of the transit situation in Quito rise, but what becomes a central part in transit planning in this time is the critical role of technical experts. In this section, I primarily draw from planning documents and personal archives of transit planners. Citizens continue to be represented as numbers or statistics that receive a public good. Instead, they slowly filter in through numerous studies done outside of technical documents. I continue to present the information from the place of privilege of the Mayor when I was able. I was only able to meet with one of the Mayors, Luis Andrade, and then relied on interviews with transit planners. I present the table below as a reference point for the sources from which I pull this analysis.

Name of Expert Document	Year	Function	Actors
Plan Quito	1984	Master City Plan: assessment of transit problems in Quito including bus and automobile	Mayor Luis Andrade Nieto, Dirección de Planificación
Estudio de la Movilidad Urbana de los Sectores Populares de Quito	1985	First urban mobility study in Quito. Influences and defines transportation as a social problem.	Centro de Investigación CIUDAD, Mario Vasconez and Oscar Figueroa
Plan Operativo General de Transporte Para la Ciudad de Quito	1986	First Rationalized and assessment of public transit situation in Quito also uses international policy recommendations	Presidencia de la Republica, Unidad Ejecutora de Transporte Quito
Una Solucion al Transporte Urbano de Quito	1986	First Public Policy document for the public that proposes transit solutions for Quito	Presidencia de la Republica, Unidad Ejecutora de Transporte Quito
Proyecto Trolebus Para La Ciudad de Quito	1991	First comprehensive factability study for Quito, including transportation economic, environmental and social assessment	Unidad de Estudios de Transporte

Table 3.2 Table of Transit Planning Documents

This table establishes a chronology for the expert-driven knowledge that presented itself in the 1980s. I draw on these to support the interviews conducted between Mayors and technical experts into the early 1990s. In the late 1970s to early 1980s, Quito underwent a demographic change that resulted in an increase in private vehicle use (Figueroa, Oscar 1982, 11). The subsequent Mayor, Alvaro Pérez served as Quito's Mayor between 1978-1982, but his influence was dependent on his interim Mayor, Luis Andrade Nieto between 1982-1984. During Andrade's tenure as Mayor, he started Quito's first transit agency under the municipality's transportation company in 1983 called the Empresa Municipal de Transportes. This company was responsible for producing the first policy document that discussed Quito's transportation problems.

Soon after, Andrade, along with architect and technical planner Francisco Garcia, began to study this problem. Together, a first action plan and assessment transformed Quito's transportation history. During my coffee meetings with Andrade, he never talked about the technical aspects of the project. He always told me about the importance and role of Garcia. From these discussions it became evident that the close relationship that the Mayor had with the technical and transit planner was a central aspect of his visions.³⁹ This forged relationship between technical planner and Mayors becomes significant to the ways in which future transit decisions are crafted in Quito.

Garcia's first intervention in Quito was a park-and-ride bus route that floated between the sector of Quito, El Tejar, and the avenue Naciones Unidas. Six buses from England operated

³⁹ (L. Andrade, Interview, September 1, 2012)

between two parking lots.⁴⁰ No documentation existed for this proposal and came directly from Garcia's memory. The only technical documentation that exists I found months later; an analysis of the park-and-ride bus is limited to a paragraph in the first Trolebus analysis carried out by the transportation engineer and planner Marco. It indicates that in 1982, there was a pilot transportation plan that had six double-decker buses, which serviced the route between the park El Ejido and the airport.

In 1984, a transportation assessment similar to those in previous plans was included in the city plan, *Plan Quito*. In this plan, transportation was viewed similarly—it looked at the urban street network and the traffic generated to highlight areas of influence in Quito. At this time, this included the historic center and La Mariscal. It also noted the increase in private automobile use in the city and studied the circulation patterns of buses to determine the demand of various sectors of the city. The most important recommendation that came from this assessment was the city's need to create a master transportation plan

The Unidad Ejecutora de Transportes (UET) absorbed the municipality's previous company and embarked on the first studies that would later be Quito's first public transit line, the BRT line called the Trolebus. The operative plan delineates three important factors that forge a critical perspective on the way in which transit is imagined, studied, and proposed. These conclusions came out of three iterative conferences on International Congress for Transportation planning between 1980-1983. In these meetings, three basic needs were found: (1) to define state legislation in a clear way to benefit the public in transportation, (2) at the level of Latin America the role of the state is an imperative and clear cut way to improve decision-making to make the state's role less ambiguous, and (3) public transit is a right to the city and an obligation to the state (Municipality of Quito and Unidad Ejecutora de Transporte Quito 1986, 3). Thus, on the one hand, there is increased state attention to the problematic of public transportation, and on the other, an increased presence of international development. As a result, the ambiguous role of the state became present and also forwarded the notion that transportation is a fundamental right to the city.

To me, this operative plan established a relationship between the international developers, the state, and the citizen through proposing a transportation model for the city that connected the peripheries to the city in a direct manner. Citizen participation is not seen in action through this decade, but the idea of transit responding to social needs becomes a central concern. It also provided the municipality the first administrative map to organize public transportation. Prior to 1980, transportation development, such as urban growth patterns, was documented as *spontaneous* and *uncontrolled*. In this operative plan, it establishes the basic need for road infrastructure, mass transportation through dedicated bus lanes, the planning of east-west circulation rings, and minibuses for peripheral neighborhoods. Subsequently, Quito's first public policy document summarizes the technical plan in 1986 with a report "Una Solución al transporte urbano de Quito." In this report, it takes a proposed map and searches for the different options for Quito by using pictures and graphs taken from international sources such as the International Union of Public Transportation. In doing so, this report brings forward the notion of the Metro for a second time (Municipality of Quito and Unidad Ejecutora de Transporte Quito 1986). Yet, it shows that a Metro is not needed for Quito because the city's population demands do not meet the minimum requirements. What is remarkable about the policy document is the cover:

⁴⁰ (F. Garcia, Interview, October 12, 2012)



Figure 3.5. Unidad de Transporte, Cover Page, 1986.

Figure 3.5 indicates more cars than any other form of transportation. There is one picture of a bus where the only people are to be found. The cars represent a city that does not need a solution of mass transit quite yet. In turn, it posits other transportation alternatives that include the Trolebus and an airbus system. Subsequently, the city embarked on the first studies of the Trolebus, which is the city's first Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) line. This project was also proposed to the central government, but this first bid was unsuccessful because of the high costs associated with it. This failure might just have to do with the illustration that is above: a city meant for cars and not people. Another explanation, according to Garcia, was that the State's inability to finance transportation infrastructure had much to do with a national oil crisis. On March 5, 1987, Ecuador had a state of emergency because of an earthquake that impacted the Trans-Ecuadorean pipeline, causing socio-economic impacts (Schuster, R.L. and Egred, J. 1991). Despite the state of emergency, the city was able to purchase 40 buses that circulated along the central line corridor proposed for the Trolebus.

Yet, such an intervention was unfortunately not enough to keep up with the transit needs of Quito. Popular demand was mainly captured through the newspaper, or defined by the routes that were service lines operated by the transportistas.⁴¹ To verify this assertion from the perspective, I tried to interview several historic transportation companies. I was able to talk to the founder of one transportation company located in Cotocog. Cotocog was once an indigenous rural area located in the valley north east of Quito, but has not been engulfed by urbanization. During my interview with the company, they explained the manner in which they chose routes. The founder of this company said it was quite simple, they had to respond to the needs of the families and residents of the residents of Cotocog; they could not wait for the state or

⁴¹ (A. Francisco, Interview, October 12, 2012) (Transportistas Compania Conocot, Interview, March 19, 2013)

municipality to intervene.⁴² Furthermore, the research center, CIUDAD also began to intervene in Quito's transportation problems. One study conducted by Quito's urban research center, CIUDAD, also presented alternative factors from the perspective of transit demands of a peripheral sector in the south of the city, Conocot (Unda and García 1985).

In general, documentation and investigating civil society's role becomes present in the 1980s. For example, Quito's first urban mobility study that concentrated on transportation demands from popular sectors on the fringes of Ecuador. Quito's non-profit and research center CIUDAD conducted this analysis, which was led by a team of experts. These experts conducted a sociological study of the transit demands of Quito. They measured urban mobility needs by looking into the socio-economic structure of the families of Quito's residents (Vásconez, Mario, Etienne, Henry, and Figueroa, Oscar 1985). The document presents urban mobility as multi-dimensional activity that includes socioeconomic conditions of the family, other structural issues of the individual such as place of residence, work, wage, and labor conditions. Three key findings came out of the study. First, urban mobility was understood as a factor that could influence a person's socio-economic status. Second, urban mobility was seen as a type of investment for an individual's future employment. Third, urban mobility decisions taken from the family unit depended on age, gender, and educational facility (private vs. public)(Vásconez, Mario, Etienne, Henry, and Figueroa, Oscar 1985, 118–130). This study was published during an international conference held in Quito about Latin American researchers and public transportation. Next, I present is how different transit actors begin to present themselves in Quito.

Public transit persists to be a problem defined by economic growth for the city. As a result, the transportistas effectively assume their own form of transit planning that exists *along side* the transit planning that the municipality undertook. Various academic studies produced by non-governmental entities, such as CIUDAD, undertook the challenge to write about transportation problems in Quito. The research institute CIUDAD worked with individuals that the municipality's transit planning does not take into consideration. In other words, the research institute works with the populations that exist outside or off the map of the municipality's transit projections in order to understand the problem. As an influential study and perspective on Quito's transportation situation, it becomes clear that transportation solutions were a problem between state and civil society. During the terms of these two leaders, it became obvious that there was a built-in relationship between the Mayor and his technical advisor. I contend that this relationship becomes an essential aspect of the decision-making strategy behind transit. From this moment forward, the Mayors begin to intervene with mass transit solutions and is the main form of transit visioning that continues in Quito. It is clear that the role of the citizen, or the needs, begins to shift toward the forefront of transit visions. Further, the Mayoral leadership shifts and there rises a continuation in political party representation. The following Mayor, Rodrigo Paz, uses the transportation vision of the Trolebus as a critical component of his campaign.⁴³

⁴² (Transportistas Compania Conocot, Interview, March 19, 2013)

⁴³ (R. Paz, Interview, June 28, 2013)

3.5 Continuity in Transit Planning: Three Mayors, One Political Party and a Public Transit System

Question: What is your perspective on the Metro?

Rodrigo Paz: From my point of view, Quito's Metro is not necessary. It does not solve this large problem and moreover, it will create more problems just beginning with how it is designed. We, along with other technical experts, are going to propose different distinct possibilities. First, the cost is signaled to cost around 1500 million dollars, of which the central government, from what I understand is financing a high percentage of it and the municipality has to cover the rest. The municipality has projected the fare to be 0.45 USD, but according to our calculations and criteria, this is completely insufficient.

Mayor Rodrigo Paz served as Quito's Mayor between 1988-1992. As soon as Paz entered office, he conducted a citizen's demands survey to understand the city's most pressing problems. He noted that transportation was not the highest on the list of priorities. When Paz first assumed the role of Mayor, he was convinced he needed the city need an urban rail system, but it also needed to be studied.⁴⁴ During my interview with Paz, he reflected on his tenure as Mayor, depicting the conditions of the city and what it was like to begin to plan a transit system with the help of transit expert and Trolebus engineer Marco. From both perspectives, it surged as a need to address the demands of citizens. He confirms this:

*When Mr. Rodrigo Paz called me from the municipality in 1990, he said to me 'look, they have told me that you know about transportation', and so I said 'yes, some', and then Paz again said to me 'look I have these surveys from the city. People tell me that they are worried about insecurity, but what has not changed is the issue about transportation', he continued 'look I want you to come with me on a visit along with the President of the Republic and the Minister of Finances this Saturday because we have a project about a peripheral train.'*⁴⁵

The national government through CNTTT continued to administer urban public transit, but during Paz's term, he overall strengthened the role of EMT and sought alternative transportation solutions for Quito. This was the first time that Paz reached out to a technical expert that was outside of the existing EMT. While I was unable to find this survey instrument, it became clear that a political and technical vision were becoming intertwined. Previous Mayoral leaders relied on the role of technical documents, but much after taking office. Instead Paz's campaign and subsequent decisions relied on this citizen survey document. Indeed, Arias goes on to mention that this was a certain methodology about transportation defined as a political problem, and then solved by the technical expert

After this first meeting, Paz gave the engineer exactly 12 months to analyze and come up with the best solution for Quito. In the meantime, Paz intervened directly by introducing new, modern buses and overall improved the conditions, including bus stops, a subsidized fare, and a set bus schedule (Chauvin, Juan Pablo 2007, 42). The investigation took place through the creation of the Unidad de Estudios del Transporte and was also tasked with the first master transportation plan of Quito. Within this report, it is the first real basic needs assessment that was conducted for the city of Quito. It looks beyond the travel-demand survey model to also include

⁴⁴ (R. Paz, Interview, June 28, 2013)

⁴⁵(M. Almeida, Interview December 9, 2012)

technical, economic, social, financial and environmental characteristics to contemplate the best transit system for Quito (Municipality of Quito and Unidad de Estudios de Transporte 1991).

Therefore, it established that the transit decision needed to reflect a technical perspective and also serve the transit demands of the city by looking into the socio-economic characteristics of the city. For example, it looks into the role of modern and informal economic urban activity, land-use, and education levels in Quito. The report also proposed the Trolebus as a way to modernize and insert the city into a globally competitive city. The Trolebus was argued as the best alternative because of its low-cost, use of alternative energy, direct economic benefit to the city and country with an economic return of 29.82 percent, based on their calculations (Municipality of Quito and Unidad de Estudios de Transporte 1991, 67–68).

This was Quito's first designed and thought out transit line and system. Yet, in the eyes of Paz, he had the Chilean transit expert review the work before accepting this proposal. Both Marco and Paz confirmed this within their interviews. Thus, it became evident that an opinion from abroad was necessary for legitimizing any transit decision. I suggest that this is an essential element to the municipality's transit planning but continues to rely on global expertise. Despite these documents, Paz needed the verification of the Chilean Metro expert in order to advance with the Trolebus project. Another crucial aspect that surfaced from this report was the need for the state to relinquish control over urban public transport, granting municipal administrative control over the city's public transit future. The process for the city to become a Metropolitan district with administrative control over urban function began in 1990 under Paz and continued under the leadership of Mayor Jamil Mahuad. The report and final study on the transit problems of Quito is critical because it places attention on another transit system that is different than a Metro. Indeed, it upholds the perspective of the 1985 and 86 documents that argues against the Metro.

Finally, for Paz, he justified all of his interventions in Quito based on the citizen's survey that he conducted at the beginning of his term. For him, this survey was a way for him to directly involve citizens. In other words, technical documents and numbers established transit needs. It is in this way that it can be traced that transit indicators begin to evaluate how a transit project in Quito reaches citizens. But it was also reinforced with technical experts and a political image for the city named *Evaristo* and has since been a part of the social campaigns of the municipality.⁴⁶



Figure 3.6 Evaristo

Source: Metropolitan District of Quito

⁴⁶ (R. Paz, Interview, June 28, 2013)

Evaristo is similar to Quito's political images today, but has also become an important aspect of the citizen's culture tied to transit behavior. This comical figure was used as a cultural symbol that begins to socialize ways to use and act in public. Thus, it becomes a way of educating citizen about what public transit is and how it is used, instead of citizens envisioning their own ideas. But for Paz, it was equally important to build roads so that citizens saw that he was constructing access for all citizens. As such, it became an expectation, starting with Sixto, that in order for Mayor to be doing work, it needed to be seen through streets and overpasses. Since the Trolebus was still under close study and analysis, these two mechanisms were the ways in which the Mayor depicted progress and improvement to citizens. On a day-to-day basis, citizens did not see how Evaristo had such as the ties to global expertise and capital, or the technical justifications that came with transit decisions. These elements come together under the next Mayoral leadership.

By 1992, Jamil Mahuad had won victory and would become the next Mayor of Quito and future president of Ecuador. He held office for two terms between 1992-1998, before becoming President. The Trolebus during Mahuad's tenure went from being a rational plan, envisioned by previous administrations, to a reality and success. The vision to plan and execute the Trolebus was emblematic for Mahuad, but also was the first time that Quito's transit vision moved away from the Metro. Instead, the pertinent the role of political party, successive administrations, and long-term planning, become imperative to transit visions. While the role of citizen participation is not evident, it is during Mahuad's term that public transit, spearheaded by the municipal government surfaces in the city.

Because Marco continued between administrations, he observed the distinct change in Mahuad's political campaign, which relied heavily on the Trolebus.⁴⁷ At the time Mahuad assumed his role as Mayor, the Ecuadorean state also underwent a process of decentralization. On November 25, 1993 the President of the Republic of Ecuador ratified into law the *la ley de Régimen para el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito*, or Law of the Local Government for the Metropolitan District of Quito, and was published in the official registry on December 27, 1993 (Registro 345). The text did not change the geographic limits of the city or the limits of the urban cantons. However, it gave the city government jurisdiction to radically overhaul the municipality's administrative structure. Within this legislation, planning, regulation and control over public and private transportation became a municipal function.

Other important characteristics included aligning the public transit system with the road infrastructure and territorial plans of the city. This administrative plan also helped clarify the ways Quito ordered public transit, and separated the role of the state. The central government continued to work with three basic institutions, CNTTT and Consejo Provinciales, Dirección Nacional de Transito y la Policía Nacional, and the Comisión de transito de Guayas (operates uniquely for Guayaquil). Transit was a national project directly administered by the Ministerio de Obras Públicas (MOP) and the Ministerio de Energía y Minas was responsible for the production and selling of fossil fuels.⁴⁸ Indirectly, the national government at this time intervened also through the Consejos Provinciales with the road infrastructure, associations of transportation (such as taxis, school transit, etc.) and the transportistas (syndicated professional chauffeurs with private bus companies or cooperatives). As a result, it is evidenced that the administrative structure of the national and local governments needed a reordering.

⁴⁷ (M. Almeida, Interview, September 3, 2013)

⁴⁸ Internal municipal document, Japan. 1998. Retrieved on January 25, 2013.

Critical in this legislation, two articles remained for the role of the central government in transit. It stated that transit decisions should coincide with national public policies on transit, which were determined by the CNTTT. Also, the national police still enforced regulations put into place by the municipal government (Ley 46 (Registro Oficial 345, 27-XII-93). This administrative change allowed the transit plans and rationalization that Marco envisioned to set into place a series of many actions during Mahaud's two-term period. This transformation occurred simultaneous to a continued role of urban transportation conflicts that responded to national transportation administration concerns. In August 1992, in response to a fuel subsidy put in place by the national government, CNTTT did not raise transit fares, but instead renegotiated compensation with private transportation companies, the transportistas (Chauvin, 2007, 46). Though, in 1995 the central government through the action of Subsecretario de Gobierno al Congreso reformed the role of national institutions. It did this by amending the Ley de Tránsito y Transporte Terrestre. This generated confusion between public transit responsibility between the national and local context.

From the perspective of Marco, the city applied to receive complete administrative authority over territorial planning and transportation to be able to build the Trolebus. During my interviews with Marco, he discussed the project first of creating the law of transit. The first master transit plan, was built around the concept vision of the Trolebus. However, the municipality of Quito had complete control over administrative decisions of transportation. This came through by working to create a master plan for transportation modeled after the concept of the Trolebus, and also, the administrative rationalization of public transport. First, it recognized the new Metropolitan district plan and allowed the city to have authority over public transit. Second, it created a technical and planning unit called La Unidad de Planificación y Gestión del Transporte (UPGT) that was tasked with ordering Quito's public transit. Third, it aligned the road infrastructure with the master territorial plan. Much of what came out of the study that Arias completed under the Paz administration was set into motion. Finally, this occurred synchronous to the creation of the city's first Metropolitan Company, Empresa Metropolitana de Obras Públicas (EMOP), founded on May 2, 1994. EMOP was established as an independent and autonomous institution from the municipality with the purpose to construct infrastructure and find economic resources that finance public works projects for Quito, and most importantly, created the ability for to make contracts with the private sector.⁴⁹ In other words, EMOP was established to obtain the financing to build infrastructure, such as the Trolebus, in Quito.

The city's master plan proposed an integrated transportation system based on a trunk-feeder system. The Trolebus is a BRT system that was planned on a north-south dedicated bus lane on the avenue 10 de agosto between the stations in the north *La Y*, and in the south, *El Recreo*. It was completed in two major phases and started operation on December 17, 1995. The first phase, was the south station El Recreo-Esmeraldas, and then the second phase, was March-April 1996, North Esmeraldas-Colón-La_Y. This system functioned as a closed system and used electric buses: 113 large capacity articulated and 78 feeder conventional diesel buses. This was accompanied with reordering the conventional buses that were run by the transportistas. This included removing routes from 10 de agosto and reassigning traditional routes. Also, with the collaboration of the government of Japan, the city received 30 donated buses.

⁴⁹ Ordinance 3074 of DMQ established on May 2, 1994. Ordinance 002 in 1997 updates how and gives direction to the municipal code and how Empresas Metropolitanas can concession the use of public and private resources. Chapter 7 of the Municipal code of Quito gets into specifics.

As Quito's first large urban development project, the Trolebus did not come without conflict. Previous to the Trolebus' inauguration, there were transit strikes across the city (Chauvin 2007). Under the 1996-rationalization plan, buses were given new regulations such as maintenance requirements, buses had to be registered, and the municipality now controlled the design of bus routes. Smaller forms of paratransit such as *busetas and convis*, or small buses and taxi-jeeps, were essentially made obsolete in this master plan. In retaliation, *El Buserato* is perhaps the most famous strike, where private bus operators paralyzed the city. Transportistas, along with secondary transit operators like taxis, and forms of paratransit etc., went on strike and caused significant damage to the newly founded buses, bus lanes, and made the city chaotic for weeks (Araujo 1996).

Mahuad's time as Mayor was positive for Quito's transportation in a sense that it accomplished one major function: it rationalized the administrative function of transportation. Additionally, by giving rise to the role of the public sector in transportation it solidified the direct relationship that Quito's transportation development (both through administration, finance and expertise) with a global economy. In turn, what came through was not only a transportation decision that was tied to the work of previous administrations work, but also the model of a transportation planning model centered around the role of the Mayor and the global scale. Moreover, Quito became able to contract with public and private entities to execute public works projects through EMOP. Transportation was long seen and continues to be a problem of cities in "developing" countries, but from the position of the local government in Quito, its response to transportation cannot uniquely be tied to the international consultant or a multilateral bank. Mahuad's time as Mayor was seen as a successful model to achieve both administrative function and order, which is what catapulted him to win his presidency. Mahuad is associated with placing emphasis on the common welfare of citizens because he stood up to the national government and transportistas by placing Quito at the center of transit administration and creating the city's first municipally run transit line. It also was beneficial that he continued to work with the same technical expert from the previous administration and was affiliated to the same political party as Paz. Subsequently, Roque Sevilla took over office as Mayor when Mahuad assumed the role of presidency.

Question: What is your perspective on the Metro?

Roque Sevilla: My theory is that the Metro is a good solution in all parts of the world, but it is also one of the most costly ones. The cost should be if the technology is the best option in comparison to the cost-benefit of the project. Every time a new option presents itself and is attractive, I return to the idea that I have been proposing that all along, a funicular system. The whole system would function by cables that have different grades of complexity and efficiency. With local Ecuadorean technical experts we can build this because it is something that is very simple. I am building a teleferico with a national mechanic, some of those costs are very low but it has not been inaugurated yet. All of this has been built for more or less a million dollars and it can transport 30,000 people. If we can build this with 1.5 million dollars, I could cross from here to over there with two million dollars of investment. This is a ridiculous concept.

For Roque Sevilla, his perspective was on the dual role of continuity, long-term planning and the role of international expertise. His visions for the city came during a swift transition from city council member during Mahuad's administration, to Mayor, where he governed for two short and productive years between 1998-2000. With this transition, Sevilla was characterized as an innovator and an excellent urban manager. He also continued the third

major part of the master transit plan: integrate land-use and the urban plan with transit planning in the city plan. During his time as Mayor, his major transit interventions included changing out old buses for bus-tipos, that had a capacity to carry 80 passengers (Chauvín, 2007), the extension of the Trolebus line further south to Morán Valverde (Hildago and Graftieaux, 2007), and his emblematic project, the Ecovia. Most importantly, within his discussion at the public forum, he raised the project idea of aerial buses, like those that were researched and proposed in the 1985 public policy report on the public transit options evaluated by the EPT.⁵⁰ I argue that this idea articulates how the ideas of large urban projects reemerge to influence contemporary planning decisions. This was the idea that Sevilla espoused during the Mayor's debate, which I started the chapter with.

During my interview with Sevilla, he commented about the transportation plan that Paz put together. Sevilla demonstrated a keen understanding of Quito's urban geography in a way that the previous Mayors did not place attention to. He placed emphasis on the importance of linking land-use planning to transit, which was the innovation that the Curitiba BRT paradigm previously suggested. Sevilla was elected as a representative of the same political party as Mahuad, a popular democracy,⁵¹ but he was also one of the country's most active environmentalists. During my interview with him he could not separate the discussion of transportation infrastructure from the environmental degradation of Quito. His perspective of transit needs in Quito was limited as he just continued with the plans that Mahuad had put in place. Instead, he discussed other cities with successes such as Bogotá, Curitiba and Medellín, lamenting that Quito was not a part of these transport model successes because of the way in which financing occurred later. Indeed, he viewed himself to be part of a strategic vision of the city supported by the role of international finance as a strong component to transit development. When compared to the interview that I did with Paz, he placed most of his attention to the role of Chilean transit planning, and not that of Curitiba.

While the State had given Quito the administrative functionality to order transportation and plan long-term, by the withdrawal of the state during the 1980s-2000, this created the situation for Quito to rely on international expertise supported by international finance. Interestingly, the work of technical planners and previous Mayors depended on the expertise also shaped by cities like Santiago and Curitiba strategically. This type of vision is what set up Sevilla to successfully extend the line of the Trolebus to the south, reaching Morán Valverde, and also putting into action the planning and infrastructure of the Ecovia, Quito's second BRT line.

Accordingly, the Ecovia followed a similar construction path of the Trolebus but had a different technology because of the lack of time and resources. The Ecovia's basic design was to run north to south on the northeast side of the city between Morán Valverde and the new bus terminal that was completed in 2001 under Paco Moncayo, *Rio Coca* on the avenue 6 de diciembre. Major differences with the Trolebus include buses that were not electric, but diesel and the line working as a trunk-feeder system. The most significant difference with the Trolebus was its administrative function. Under a team of planning and technical consultants, the CGTM gave the concessions to seven different bus companies that operated on 6 de diciembre. In doing so, it allowed historic transportistas to administer and control the service of the Ecovia. The

⁵⁰ This refers to the entire proposal against the Metro at the event of ex-mayors that I started the chapter with.

⁵¹ (R. Sevilla, Interview, June 18, 2013)

planning team worked and created terms of reference for the new operator, Transoc, to run the Ecovía. This was in contrast to the municipally owned and operated Trolebus.⁵²

Sevilla stressed the importance of long-term planning and continued what had been done strategically in the past. For him, he noted the largest problem with the current situation of Quito had everything to do with politics that was divorced from thinking about a cohesive city model: the Trolebus had everything to do with the former political party between Paz, Mahuad and Sevilla, and when he lost the election, Moncayo's party, the *Izquierda Democrática* (ID), or Democratic Left, had to do away with all of the plans previously envisioned.⁵³ Therefore, for him there was a clear and distinctive transition after his exit. Not only had the government politically shifted, but the idea that the local government rejected the international financing from Spain was inconceivable. It was also a matter of the impact of the country's financial crisis that ended with such high rates of inflation that the currency switched to the US dollar in 2000. The municipality was able to build a new BRT line while extending the Trolebus, and administer public transit. This was accomplished through the reliance on and support of international finance with the absence of state resources.

From Sevilla it is clear that the origins of Quito's transit planning is dependent on Mayoral leadership, as they drove the conversation despite having the administrative capacity. Starting in 1972, Sixto Durán Ballen first proposed, the idea of a Metro. However, this was quickly displaced because of the critical role of CNTTT and transportistas. The lack of administrative capacity at the urban level did not allow Mayors to adequately represent citizens, or their transportation needs. As a consequence, I have traced the limited role of citizens throughout this section in order to demonstrate that citizens mainly engaged with national entities on urban transportation problems through diverse responses. This was largely due to the lack of administrative capacity of the municipal government. When the city became a decentralized unit, citizen needs were rescaled to an urban level, and thus, Mahuad responded by implementing and administering Quito's first public transit line. I argue that it is in this gesture that Quiteños transform from passive, faceless receivers of a future public good, who mobilize and respond to the state, to active stakeholders in a public asset.

Consequently, I elucidated and brought in municipal reports and studies conducted by other entities in the 1980s to highlight other discourses present in the city that challenge the role of central government. I have used evidence gathered from archives to suggest that the symbiotic relationship between the Mayor's vision and technical expertise is what establishes transit planning in Quito. I argue that this vision continues through today. Mayoral visions demonstrate that their knowledge of transit planning recombines, divides and loops back to each other, and is entanglement of ideas that are not just about political or technical rationalities associated with transit decisions.

Mayoral visions, guide transit outcomes but also provoke fundamental questions about the role of the state, international agencies, and citizens. As such, I have demonstrated so far in this chapter that large-scale public transit outcomes are not only dependent on a plan or policy—they are entrenched with agendas that dictate how transportation interventions perceive the role of the population in Quito. This is compounded by Quito's transformation to a decentralized and autonomous district, which facilitated the creation of the city's first Metropolitan Company, EMOP. This is significant because it facilitated public-private partnerships to form for the first time in Quito. Additionally, the absent but present role of the state allowed Mayors aperture to

⁵² (H. Nogues, Interview, March 4, 2013)

⁵³ (R. Sevilla, Interview, June 18, 2013)

seek the role of international expertise and finance. Next, I move to discuss how the role of the citizen comes forward through the development of more public transit in Quito.

3.6 Transit Planning as a Social Problem: Social Needs Matched with Citizen Input

Question: What is your perspective on newly proposed Metro?

Paco Moncayo: The Metro is not a feasible project. They constructed a Metro in Medellín, and it cost more than 3000 million dollars...it depends on the rationality of planning and the urban management or the narcissist that wants to say 'I built Quito's Metro'. To this day, I have not seen enough factability studies that clearly explains why it is going to be built, how much it will cost, how it will be financed, and how will it be subsidized because with an investment like this, it should imply a transit fare of \$2.00 USD, and in a country where we can't charge more than 0.25 USD, this means that the Municipality will have to pay for the transit fare for all Quiteños.⁵⁴

Former Mayor Paco Moncayo had a clear discourse that highlights how transit decisions depend on a number of different factors. Moncayo was in office between 2000-2009 for two terms as Quito's Mayor. Trained with a military career, his perspective on the city was order and efficiency within all realms. During his tenure he created the model of the city that ran off of public companies: the perfect mixture between the private and the public. When I interviewed him he discussed how he was elected during the Ecuadorean financial crisis, where not only the municipality was bankrupt, but also the dollarization caused Quito to be indebted in a way that it had not been in the past. Further, when Moncayo was elected, his election campaign was in complete contrast to Mahuad who was victorious through the transportation plan that Paz initiated.

There are two things that are very important to understanding Moncayo's perspective on urban transport. First, the public company dedicated to infrastructural construction in the city was created through city ordinance 55 on July 31, 2001. This ordinance established the Empresa Pública de Servicios y Administración de Transporte (EMSAT), which served as the administrative company autonomous from the municipality to administer public transportation. Later, this became the institutional model for several administrative areas such as solid waste, water, electricity, etc. This generated a new relationship between the public and private that was only witnessed through EMOP in Quito. EMSAT worked collaboratively with EMOP. At the time, Quito was the only Ecuadorean city that had the legal capacity to create public companies. In other words, because Quito was a decentralized and autonomous district, it had the ability to seek public-private partnerships to fund public works outside of the resources received from the state. It did this largely as a response to Ecuador's economic collapse in 2000. Yet, it also responded to the transforming role of the nation-state, accepting both globalization and decentralization within its framework for the development of Quito as a global city-region that was espoused in Moncayo's new territorial development plan (Metropolitan District of Quito 2004). As such, the relationships that had been previously built between local technical expertise and international consultants changed, and Quito's transit planning no longer was envisioned as a practice of developmentalism. This reordering of the municipality and the previous 'expert' relationships generated an opportunity for the imagination of new types of transportation interventions in Quito, but also created a gap between expert knowledge and what types of solutions were applied to Quito.

⁵⁴ (P. Moncayo, Interview, June 19, 2013)

Moncayo's administration focused on a number of different transit projects. This occurred as part of the territorial programming envisioned by the city's Strategic Plan, Quito Equinoccio. In this plan, the city had a democratic vision and followed a new institutional arrangement, a system of participatory governance established in 2000 under ordinance 046, as well as new political and administrative zones of Quito. In May 2002, a master transit plan was proposed to the citizens of Quito in order to respond to the system of participatory governance. As part of this master plan, it studied the mobility situation in Quito and proposed the same strategies from the 1996 master plan; improve the road network, enhance the integrated public transit network, organize public institutions, but also includes three new components, facilitate the capabilities of private operators, improve traffic management and integrate technology and the transit infrastructure.

This newer form of administering the city through participatory governance supported the ideas of sustainability and urban mobility and became a project derived from Quito's Strategic Plan. Under the program for urban mobility and accessibility, transit interventions also included bicycle infrastructure and improved public spaces for pedestrians in Quito. In this report, many BRT lines and other improved bus services are proposed. During Moncayo's first term, one of his first accomplishments was extending the loan period for the continued construction of the second phase of the Trolebus line with the national government through the Ministry of Finance and also the Institute of Official Credit through the bank of Spain through to November 2000.⁵⁵ He also continued the Ecovia project early in his term. In 2001, a new technical team under the Unidad de Operación formed to acquire buses for the Ecovia, which were subsequently concessioned to Transasoc on February 25, 2003. With the technical support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), a memorandum of understanding was drafted between Transasoc and the Municipality. In essence, Transasoc had to pay fixed monthly installments for using the buses, maintain the buses, give training to the bus drivers and maintain the infrastructure, meanwhile keeping the user's fare at 25 cents.⁵⁶ As a result, Transasoc administered and ran the Ecovia line until June 2005, when the municipality seized control due to maintenance, governance, and regulation issues.⁵⁷ Finally, in May 2004, EMT studied and investigated the new route, corridor Central Norte, Mira-Flores-Carcelén, which was the last BRT line constructed in Quito. This BRT line, also known as the Metro-Q, operates longitudinally between Qmandá and La Ofelia for 12.9 kilometers and is also a trunk-feeder system design. Similarly, to function, it followed the concessions model that was set in place with the Ecovia. On May 20, 2005, it signed a concessions contract with ten private companies that were historic concessionaries of the North Central route.

The Metro-Q was the flagship project of Moncayo during his first term, but simultaneous to this, mobility and accessibility programming moved forward. In parallel during his final term between July 12-September 23 2008, Moncayo's participatory governance scheme came into reality just as new constitutional amendments in Ecuador transformed the meaning of democratic citizenship in 2008. Constitutional amendments called for wide-sweeping changes, instilling radical forms of deliberative democracy from the top-down. Citizen participation in public process became part of a democratic and state developmental agenda that was spread through decentralized territories into different zones.⁵⁸ Since Quito was previously a decentralized and

⁵⁵ Internal municipal documents dated August 28, 2000. Retrieved on January 20, 2013.

⁵⁶ Municipality of Quito, EMT internal documents, 2003. Retrieved on January 22, 2013.

⁵⁷ (H. Nogues, Interview, March 4, 2013)

⁵⁸ Chapter 4 will go into detail on different institutional mechanisms of citizen participation.

administratively autonomous district, it had to readjust to constitutional amendments put in place by Correa. This meant that little changed territorially and administratively in Quito. Though Moncayo already had established a participatory governance system in 2001, he adapted to change by spearheading a participatory planning process on the urban mobility master plan.

The participatory planning elements included twenty-five forums, workshops and round-table discussions making the first institutional connection between citizens and transit planning in Quito. As a result, Quito's first Master Urban Mobility Plan 2009-2025 was released in 2008. Many elements of this plan are similar to the 2002 master plan, but project two new crucial components. First, the proposed bicycle infrastructure to promote sustainable urban development, and second, the re-entry of the Metro rail or light rail. This plan debuts the role of bicycles as a mode of transit in Quito, as the municipality had worked to improve pedestrian and bicycling in Quito since 2003. In fact, Moncayo lays claim to the proliferation of the bicyclist movement in Quito. He defined this change by referencing Bogotá's model that focuses on citizen participation and public space.⁵⁹ This is further substantiated with a new relationship that was fostered during the era of Moncayo with an architect and urbanist that was trained in land-use development.

Thus, what comes about is the idea that land-use and transportation integration is no longer simply a problem to be solved by the transportation engineer, but, in contrast, it becomes an issue about the plan for the city. Through the relationship between the architect and Moncayo, there is a type of efficiency instilled into city government through the public private partnerships created. Indeed Moncayo notes that urban mobility has to deal with the whole city, not the separation of road and public transit. Moncayo demonstrates a change: he suggests that to think about a city as a nuclear whole with moving parts requires delegating municipal function to public- private partnerships.

What is seen with Moncayo is a distinctive shift with not only the type of planning, but also what it means to vision a city through the eyes of transportation. During his era it is clear that bicycle and pedestrian rights are forwarded, but the idea of solving transportation problems through mass public transit and the BRT has shifted. The creation of a municipal government that relies on public-private partnerships allowed the city to partner with private resources for growth, and concurrently witnessed careful coordination of citizen participation. In other words, Moncayo established an institutional openness for citizens to respond to transportation injustices at the urban level in the context of neoliberal local governance (Guarneros-Meza and Geddes 2010). I argue, however, in this context, transit planning still continues to rely on a Mayoral vision that is contingent on a symbiotic relationship with a technical planner. What I have continued to show through Moncayo's leadership is a transit planning agenda with entrenched positions on a diverse way of addressing residents in Quito as well as responding to global trends in transit practices. Next, I demonstrate how this is brought into tension with contemporary transit planning visions in Quito.

3.7 A Transit Vision Returns: Arriving at the Metro (again)

Question: What is your perspective on the Metro

Andres Vallejo: The project of the Metro was studied in previous administrations and there was not one single technical recommendation that this should be the solution to Quito's problem because the cost of a metro is naturally difficult to finance; not only the construction, but also the

⁵⁹ (P. Moncayo, Interview, June 19, 2013)

functioning. It is a system that will need an enormous subsidy from the state. As it has been announced, it is impossible for that (the Metro) to function with a fare of 40 cents. What could happen is, what has happened in other occasions, when there is a lack of resources. The installations and equipment begin to deteriorate, becoming like a white elephant.

Mayor Andrés Vallejo was the transitional Mayor between January 2009 and July 2009. He was interim Mayor when Paco Moncayo recused himself to run for President. To begin, his perspective was straightforward: he was the Mayor for six months and as such, continued with the pre-existing plans. Vallejo also served in Moncayo's administration for both terms. Thus, his perspective when discussing the city echoed many of the plans that Moncayo had done: three BRT lines, noting the problems that existed with the transportistas, and improving the situation for bicyclists and pedestrians. He also directly supported the urban mobility master plan that was an inclusive process. For Vallejo, he spoke as a former politician with years of national and local experience. However, when I interviewed him after the forum, he brought up the idea of the light rail and metro rail, noting that these two options for the city had been considered for years. Thus, the idea of the Metro was present within his critiques of the Metro rail, demonstrating that the city did not have the financial capacity to build such a large urban project.

Instead, Vallejo spoke and noted the problems with the planning paradigm that has continued with road construction.⁶⁰ Such a perspective coincides with the fact that road construction and the network of Quito continues to expand. It is an important to critique the transit-planning model that has existed since Sixto. I point this out because it is evident that many ideas have continued to repeat and how the transit needs of the city continue to circulate. Because Vallejo was Mayor for such a short time, his perspectives reflected that of a citizen and not a political administrator. But, it is imperative to demonstrate how these ideas have looped throughout the history of Mayoral decision-making and relied on the expertise of one technical planner. This does not change overall in the next administration, when the idea for a Metro returns.

Dr. Augusto Barrera served as Mayor between 2009-2014, where he was first elected based off of a political platform that was reminiscent to Mahuad's. Within his government plan, he distinguished himself from other candidates by proposing a project for an underground metro rail. At this point, the idea for the Metro can be traced back to the leadership of Sixto Durán Ballén. Also important, Mayor Barrera carried the same political party affiliation with President Rafael Correa. Thus, the decision to return to the Metro has implications on both transit planning tied to a past symbiotic relationship between a technical experts, and, is symbolic of revolutionary change vis-à-vis infrastructure (de la Torre 2013, 35).

When I interviewed Barrera at the World Urban Forum in Medellín, he suggested in winning the election, he had the obligation to build a Metro. The idea, while not new, for him seemed to solve Quito's transit puzzle. In his government plan, one of the first items was to urgently make a decision about public transport in the city.⁶¹ He discussed the need to conduct a technical study that would support the political decision of proposed vision of a metro rail. The first mobility study for this project was presented by the consultancy Metro Madrid in 2010, after the elections. In his interview, he made it clear that there are four major components that he proposed and that Quito should follow. This includes (1) recognizing the link between land-use planning and transit infrastructure, (2) integrating the existing transit lines with the Metro, (3)

⁶⁰ (A. Vallejo, Interview, October 7, 2013)

⁶¹ (A. Barrera, Interview, April 6, 2014)

improving alternative transport such as the bike and pedestrian zones, and (4) connectivity, which refers to streets and thoroughfare upgrades. These four perspectives were also announced in his speech at the sustainable mobility conference that took place in Quito. It is also the first time in Quito's recent history that there is municipal finance and ability to indebt itself in a way that was previously impossible.

Furthermore, at this point, it is also imperative to reflect on the changing national structure on public companies. In 2009, President Correa created the Ley Orgánica de Empresas Públicas to legally establish administrative capacity to develop economic resources through public and private partnerships.⁶² This was done at a national level to guarantee the development of the social, economic, and productive sectors of the state. In other words, this is an important administrative shift for Quito. For example, EMOP transformed and became EPMMOP, standing for Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Movilidad y Obras Públicas according to ordinance 301, which was one of the first ordinances signed by Barrera. This meant that all of the public companies organized in Moncayo's term were reshuffled. On the one hand, mobility became a project of public works—not just transportation. And on the other hand, it realigned Quito's administrative structure to correspond to national changes. Moreover, this administrative change established the Empresa Pública de Metro de Quito (EPMMDQ); of which is responsible for the administration, construction and execution of entire Metro project.⁶³ Throughout his term, Barrera maintained a close relationship to the director of the Secretariat of Urban Mobility, Oscar Pilar, which is the technical expert and served as an advisor on all-important decisions on the Metro. SUM coordinates all public companies in charge of transit, EPMetroQ, EPMMOP, Empresa de Pasajeros de Quito (EPMTQ), and a few units affiliated to mobility such as vehicle and transit management, and public policy.

Barrera noted the mobility problems for Quito are very complex and political. According to the vision he proposed at the conference, his proposal demonstrated that the largest and most significant problem Quito faces is a cultural problem.⁶⁴ However, the technical and political response was the opposite. Meanwhile, Barrera explained that the mobility problems that Quito has are associated with the city's previous expansive and suburban growth. During my interview with him, he contended that the city needed to become compact and redensify the urban “hipercentro” and discussed the annual increase of cars in Quito is by 9 percent. As a result, of all of these statements, the Metro continues as an idea. The Metro is not just the representation of one megaproject that will catalyze a dense urban development in the hipercentro of the city, replacing the car. Interviews with his city council members verify this but also put into question

⁶² This follows article 315 of the 2008 Constitution stating: The State shall set up public companies for the management of strategic sectors, the provision of public services, the sustainable use of natural resources or public assets and the exercise of other economic activities. State enterprises shall be regulated and specifically monitored by the pertinent bodies, pursuant to the law. They shall operate as companies under public law, with legal status; financial, economic, administrative and management autonomy; high parameters of quality; and business, economic, social and environmental criteria. Surplus earnings may be allocated to investment and reinvestment in the same companies or their subsidiaries, whether related or associated, of a public nature, to levels that ensure the development thereof. Surplus revenues not invested or reinvested shall be transferred to the General State Budget. The law shall specify the share of state enterprises in mixed-economy companies where the State shall always have the majority shareholding, for participation in the management of the strategic sectors and the provision of public services

⁶³ Ordinance 237 signed on March 15, 2012 established EPMetroQ.

⁶⁴ Barrera's mobility presentation at Urban Mobility Conference at Centro de Exposiciones Parque Bicentenario September 2013.

the role of the Metro.⁶⁵ It is discussed in terms of its finance and its execution, but little debate took place about the merits or origins of the project. Instead, it is a strategic part dependent on symbiotic relationships between Mayors and a transit planner from the past. In the following chapter, I discuss in detail the way in which diverse responses from citizens get conceived in contemporary transit planning in Quito.

3.8 Conclusions

In conclusion, I have historicized the transit planning decisions in Quito from the visions of Mayors from Sixto Durán Ballen in 1970 to Dr. Augusto Barrera in 2014 to demonstrate how each Mayor had a different vision of the city. Each vision of the city engendered different transportation ideas, interventions and studies that accumulate and are performed by strong Mayors. As a result, I dislodged the path-dependency argument in order to empirically show that transit planning is better thought of as a performance of transit visions. In this case I have oriented this analysis from the place of privilege of Mayors in order to indicate how top-down transit planning is achieved through a symbiotic relationship. This directly adds to the literature that discusses the important role of strong Mayors in Latin American cities. This is just one reading of how transit planning gets *done*. Further, I have tried to demonstrate that this relationship is not a binary-dynamic, but rather, illuminates how transit planning is associated with diverse responses from citizens, global practices of development, and national transformation.

I began with the visions of Sixto Durán Ballen who saw public transit as key economic base for the city. Such a vision tried to take on issues of modernization and separated public transit into a problem that could only be solved with a large investment. Then, Andrade took an institutional direction as a way to handle the transit problems of Quito and became wrapped up with local technical experts. After Rodrigo Paz took over the planning, his vision verifies that local expertise had to be affirmed by global ideas of transit development. This is important for why Quito has never invested in a large-scale megaproject: the local technical expert in the end holds political power over the Mayor. It also shows that a transportation megaproject can only be built if it is aligned with the on the ground realities of transit planning.

Transit issues had to be defined as a social and cultural problem as much as a technical one. Thus, transit problems required cultural and social responses. I used multiple sources available that studied Quito's transit issue in the 1980s to underscore this idea. The imperative role of Marco Almeida changed the orientation of transit planning in Quito. I argue that the continuity of political party has shown that Marco Almeida was able to continue on in Quito and transform Quito's transportation landscape. Between Paz, Mahuad and Sevilla, Arias was able to complete a transportation plan that relied on an acute technical analysis that was backed by international development finance and global ideas of transit success. During these years they veered away from the concept of the Metro because the city was able to forward one continuous transit vision.

Simultaneously, under Mahuad, the transformation of Quito's legal framework created the opportunity for public transportation infrastructure to be a terrain for social change. Following the short term of Roque Sevilla, the actions and achievements of Paco Moncayo clarify the direction that Quito's transit visions pieced together. Moncayo not only invests in and completes Quito's last BRT line, but also does so through the active cooperation of citizens. Both Vallejo and Barrera continue on this perspective and rely on Moncayo's clearly detailed

⁶⁵ See chapter 4 on planning alternatives.

urban mobility plan to undertake the problem of transit in Quito. Thus, Barrera's vision and reiteration of the vision of the Metro is both linked to Sixto as well as Moncayo's efforts.

In the last vision about urban mobility that Barrera posits, it is clear for him, a cultural problem of transit exists in Quito. He began on defining the multiple dimensions of mobility, and characterized the problem as an issue of justice and distribution. I did not use quotes for Barrera because his perspective was clear, he was planning for a Metro. Instead, what I did was pull from his memory the series of actions that lead up to the Metro. I reflected on the previous positions, noting that only Sixto Durán Ballen, who was the first proponent of the Metro, is the only one that agreed. I have not analyzed the quotes that I presented because it was important to capture a transit planning history of Quito, and the various puzzles that arise out of this history. Mainly, the quotes have served as vignettes or transitions from one Mayor to another, or served as a bridge to demonstrate that these former Mayors have powerful positions about the subject of public transit. These strong positions are visions that also carried with them the same issues such as citizenship, global influences, and economic realities. For me, this move evidences that the Metro was a political decision that has taken years to arrive at. This Metro is part of a history that deals with actors, institutions, and visions that are not path-dependent; they transform, rebound and loop. And, with these visions, public transit continues to be redefined.

From the 1970s-1993, it is clear that urban social movements were the way in which citizens responded while transportation administration was still a state issue. In a national context, the state between after military authoritarian rule in the 1970s, between 1979-2006 is labeled as an unstable democracy that enabled a neoliberal model of development in Ecuador (Krupa 2013). Evidence of the instability is seen through the 13 presidents who served during this period and just 6 of these served between 1998-2006. Correspondingly, between 1993-2000 little unrest is documented from social responses because there is transfer of citizens manifesting to the state about transportation inefficiencies to an urban level. Mahuad and Sevilla through creating public transit lines in Quito established the first way in which transit infrastructure responded directly to urban citizens. Through the election of President Correa in 2006, Ecuador gained stability, which is when there is a new and heightened attention to democracy and development. This is reflected at the urban level through continued efforts to institutionalize citizen participation.

In this chapter I demonstrated that a transportation megaproject like the Metro is contingent upon the rich history of transit planning in Quito. This history is not one account of outcomes in Quito that establishes the political agenda behind transit planning. From the privileged perspective of the Mayor, I have tried to present an analysis that relies on a symbiotic relationship to a technical expert. I have established the grounds that demonstrate in the context of decentralization in Ecuador, at the urban level in Quito, Mayors respond to transportation needs through technical transit planning. I will continue to demonstrate how this model for transit planning continues by focusing on interactions between citizen participation and transit institutions in Correa's era of democratization in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Collusions and Collisions of Citizen Participation

Week of Sept. 17- 23, 2012

This week it is 'mobility week' and has probably been the most significant for me. Things have started to click for me. The week was intense and I biked nearly 30 KM a day. Quito is 2,000 meters above sea level and the topography is similar to the ups and downs of San Francisco. The week is split between an alternative mobility week agenda and an official one. The alternative one is posted online on blogs and Facebook. Bicycle collectives in Quito set the alternative agenda. Interestingly, the official agenda also set up a relationship between the municipality and bicycle activists and NGOs. The same people who established the alternative agenda were also contracted by the municipality to set the official agenda.

Monday, there was a nocturnal critical mass ride throughout the city. I took my bike and rode from my aunt's house to meet up for the critical mass. On the way over, I met a bicycle commuter who showed me the ins and outs of the fractured bike infrastructure. The interview and my following him were very interesting. He talked about the changes in the bicycle scene with the BiciQ and how he felt like the municipality was finally starting to listen to citizens' needs. He commutes every day between his house on the northernmost edge of the city to university. He described the BiciQ and bike network as an intervention by the city after years of activism and organizing by the bike community. Hearing the history from his perspective was very rich. Then, I reached the meet up point for the critical mass. Run by three collectives, Cicleadas el Rey, Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito and BiciFarron, we went on a bike ride all the way to the southernmost edge of the city. The bike ride was super interesting—volcanic rocks that were set up as acupuncture points in the city a long time ago. It is sort of like contemporary urban acupuncture practices. The ride established a couple of things that were clear: the active bike community, their understandings of citizen participation, and the importance of mobility to the city. The metro came up naturally in conversations, what they thought about it and how the bike was a better option to urban mobility issues in Quito.

Tuesday, there was another critical mass. We met up at plaza Foch, cleaned it up first, and then went on a bike ride. The Municipio ran this one and Ciclópolis and I learned that this bicycle group was once a lot more activist and has since turned into one that works more concretely with the Municipio.

Wednesday was the start of the BiciBus, a bus caravan that was set up by the municipality with the help of all the bike collectives. Basically there were 8 bicycle routes (4 from the north and 4 from the south, terminating or changing in the center) stops that pick up passengers along the way. The bike caravans were run by bicycle volunteers from the collectives and contracted by the Municipio. The idea was to incentivize people to bike commute to work and have students ride bikes to school. This program ran daily Wed-Fri during commute hours. I did this every day it ran. It was largely unsuccessful due to lack of planning and advertising. It also turns out that another bike collective, Biciacción has been doing this program with schools every year. The Municipio usurped their idea, implemented it without them, and then seemingly took all the credit for it. A newspaper article confirmed the program's "success".

Wednesday and Thursday was also a national forum on citizen participation and mobility. I attended and recorded this forum for two days. It was actively a conference and workshop between "civil society" which was actually the grassroots bike community with municipal workers. Many things were interesting about these two days. The room spatially was divided between "citizens" and the Municipio. Municipio consisted of workers from planning, mobility, and participatory planning secretariats. I have many notes, but in sum, the metro was mentioned in every session ran by the Municipio, whereas the grassroots panels were all on how the metro did not deal with public space and mobility—which were the concerns of the citizens. Of course, the meeting was only for a special invite list and was not at all participatory. What was the most interesting about the meeting was the way public space was talked about. The Municipio defined clearly public space as parks, sidewalks, building facades and plazas. The roads for cars are not public space. Contrastingly, bicycle activists defined the metro, roads, and sidewalks as public space, and as such deserved citizen input.

Textbox 4.1. Field notes week of Urban Mobility

4.1 Introduction

This excerpt from my field notes raises questions about the meaning of citizen participation. What is citizen participation: A social response and social action? An act that demonstrates state-society relations? An instrument of democratic institutional power? A measurement for equity and justice? The above field notes capture some of my first observations while in Quito. The juxtaposition between the municipality and the bicycle collectives is important and reflects the tensions of citizen participation in Quito. That week, I observed how the municipality used and accounted for citizen participation: the active involvement of certain groups who were willing to participate. The municipality supposedly fulfilled the obligation with the formulation of an agenda with bicycle collectives and the passing of a new city ordinance. However, citizen collectives responded negatively to the Municipality's ideas of what citizen participation means. They generated an alternative agenda, which was intended to attract key local actors in transit justice in Quito. My field notes reflect the actions that occur when an institution co-opts or works with social groups and organizations to fulfill citizen participation actions. In return, it elucidates how these same groups use their resources, knowledge, and efforts to intervene in Quito's transit problem.

In the previous chapters, I deconstructed the idea that transit planning follows a particular path, policy, or paradigm. I outlined key transformations in the transit planning history from the perspective of Quito's former mayors to capture how transit ideas of the past shape the realities of the present. This history demonstrates three vital dimensions of transit planning: how political visions triumph over technical rational, the ways transit planning institutions in Quito are historically shaped and bound by the mayor, and how the involvement of citizens remains an unsolved tension of this dissertation. In turn, I suggest that using these visions of a transit city can result in productive change for Quito. In this chapter, I address these issues in greater detail through a detailed analysis of institutional citizen participation mechanisms in action. This chapter demonstrates what happens when historic structures of transit planning collide with institutional visions of citizen participation. I use this chapter to demonstrate not only the institutional ways of visioning transit in an era of democratization, but also, to elucidate the new and old discourses that emerge from doing transit planning through the active involvement of citizens.

Citizen participation policies require institutions to perform. Citizen participation in transit planning simply cannot only be explained through equity analyses (Delmelle and Casas 2012; Vasconcellos 2001), accessibility indicators (Handy and Niemeier 1997), or evaluating through benefits and costs (Litman 2013; Taylor and Norton 2009). I argue that these ways of measuring what "social justice," "accessibility," or "equity" in the transit field relies on scientific knowledge do not capture the ensemble of dynamics that contribute to these categories. For example, it is difficult to tangibly measure how citizen participation mechanisms directly impact equity indicators. Furthermore, equity indicators depend on what type of distributional effect is under analysis. In short, in the transit sector, as I outlined in the Latin American region (see chapter 1), is still dominantly impacted and measured by statistical representations that cannot account for the diverse strategies or knowledge practices that citizens use to make claims to on public transit.

They are also isolated from regional trends on democratic experimentation. I argue that institutional citizen participation has problematized how transit planners implement or identify notions of equity or social justice. This chapter provides a thick description of varying

institutional arrangements of citizen participation mechanisms at the intersections of transit planning in Quito. I use ethnographic evidence to build a complex analysis that elucidates how transit planners work within the confines of state and locally defined mechanisms of participation. In doing so, I will contribute to the profusion of local democratic experiments across the region. Local governments across the Latin American region use participatory institutions to promote accountability and generate conditions for achieving social justice (Fung and Abers 2003; Goldfrank 2011; Wampler 2008a). The explosion of local democratic experiments across the region have resulted in diverse effects that account for a deepening in democracy, but do not necessarily generate meaningful involvement from citizens. There is substantial variation in outcomes that depend on strategies of government and citizen involvement. Local democratic experimentation in Latin America has been dominated by a critical study of the participatory budget (Abers 2003; Baiocchi 2005; Baiocchi, Heller, and Silva 2011; Gianpolo Baiocchi 2010; Goldfrank 2011) with less work being done on the role of participatory urban planning (Caldeira and Holston 2014; Holston and Caldeira 2005). Therefore, this work directly contributes to democratic studies that look at the institutional arrangements of citizen participation, and its role in urban planning. Similarly, I demonstrate how institutionalized citizen participation makes it difficult to apply ideas of equity or social justice, and how transit planners to measure these. Finally, I argue that transit planners in this position cannot account for the complex strategies and practices that citizens use to participate in the city or place claims to transit.

The degree to how participatory institutions in Ecuador have deepened democracy and what explains how they shape transit outcomes is unknown. Therefore, I begin by building on the work of political scientist, Carlos de la Torre who argues that citizen participation is mainly reduced to voting in Ecuador and practiced as a form of technocratic populism (2013, 28–29). Thereby, I define citizen participation as those formally recognized and institutionalized at the state and municipal level. At the state level, elite technocratic experts that work for the National Secretariat for Planning and Development (SENPLADES) back citizen participation policies. Technocratic elites at this institution espouse theories of post-colonial, post-neoliberal, and radical democracy. As such, I argue that transit planners have become technocratic elite at the local level because they follow and practice the forms of citizen participation as defined by SENPLADES. These forms of citizen participation superimpose on an existing system of participatory governance in Quito. I explore how varying state and locally defined forms of citizen participation connect below and throughout this chapter.

I begin by binding all of the citizen participation laws and policies through a legal-technocratic apparatus that guides citizen participation. This apparatus produces the limitations of how to synthesize citizen participation. State-defined citizen participation is important because it allows for new possibilities and interpretation. Moreover, transit planners also cannot account for transit “equity” and “justice.” As a result, I aim to connect these disperse or disparate ways of interpreting how citizens participate in transit outcomes by employing anthropologist Kim Fortun’s notion of the “double-bind.” Double-binds are obligations that are related, are of equal value, and yet are incongruent with one another (Fortun 2001, 13). Fortun’s concept explains how competing conversations “work against one another,” and subsequently, produce the possibility to see how other discourses surface. In short, a double-bind allows to see how citizen participation laws and policies are an incompatible with ideas of transit equity. I use this analytical position to show how the interstices of citizen participation and transit institutions produce alternative discourses.

I argue that the double-bind shows how transit planners act in an era of participatory democracy: they respond with an overwhelming amount of scientific knowledge practices that do not change how they engage with citizens. I show how transit planners complete the requirements established in the apparatus, but do not change their ways of *doing* transit planning. Top down scientific knowledge, as defined by transit planners, continues to drive and overwhelm the conversation during experiments in participation. In turn, the position of the double-bind reveals what discourses emerge because of exercises in participation. I demonstrate that the experiments in participation provoke new knowledge practices by citizens. These practices also allow different actors in Quito to place demands on transit through alternative practices that includes: new knowledge, social responses, and a burgeoning social movement. I argue that transit planners cannot account for the complex strategies and practices that citizens use to participate in the city or place claims to transit. For instance, the role of urban social movements (Castells 1983), insurgency (Holston 2008) and spatial strategies (Caldeira 2012) are important for how citizens place democratic claims to goods and services in Latin American cities. Thus, there are a number of ways to conceptualize citizen participation, which are possibilities that emerge through this analysis.

Citizen participation is a complex and multivalent concept that provokes social responses. I draw from a multitude of resources, such as social media, participant observation, archives, and direct action to account for this multi-situated perspective. I capture this perspective because I was privy to these processes as a parasite. In what follows, I first give an institutional framework for how citizen participation policies creates the double-bind. Then, I devote the rest of this chapter to how citizen participation collude and collide with practices of transit planning. I use three specific instances of institutional citizen participation to reveal how social groups have reacted to technocratic feedback.

4.2 The Double-Bind of Citizen Participation: Starting from a Legal-Technocratic Apparatus

A slow process of political and administrative decentralization in Ecuador has resulted in several competing and incoherent systems of citizen participation in Quito. I provide a summary of the important articles and legal framework of how citizen participation is currently conceived in Quito and Ecuador. An overview is critical to contemplate how citizen participation laws become an apparatus for technocrats to appeal to the public as experts.

Foucault in his 1977 interview uses the term “apparatus” (Foucault 1980) to mean “a heterogeneous set that includes virtually anything, linguistic and nonlinguistic, under the same heading: discourses, institutions, buildings, laws...the apparatus itself is the network that is established between these elements” that “appears at the intersection of power relations and relations of knowledge” (Agamben 2009, 2–3). There are several ways in which the field of urban studies and planning has used Foucault’s term apparatus, or *dispositif*, to interpret rules and norms that are applied in metropolitan spaces. Metropolitan spaces are best conceived as the product of two paradigms—a framework of exclusion and surveillance, and the articulation of disciplinary power that emerges through the subjectification of the individual, from which results in differentiating dispositions of technologies (Agamben 2007).

Scholars use apparatus to interpret relations or constellations of power that institutionalize, regulate, or govern specific elements in space. For example, anthropologist Paul Rainbow (1995) takes the concepts of modern urban planning as *dispositif*—instruments such as hygiene projects registered and socially ordered urban space. Similarly, historian Patrick Joyce

(2003) demonstrates how social mapping was used in Manchester to control and govern the city. The city is a laboratory for how to develop ideas about how governments discipline individuals. These readings of urban planning capture the disciplinarian aspects of apparatus for instilling order and control through the exercise of power. A spatial reading of *dispositif* looks at the generative possibilities (Huxley 2013; Osborne and Rose 2004), or dispositions (Easterling 2014). Foucault (1977) argues that possibilities emerge out of the “specific constellations between the said and unsaid, because space is only one element in ‘exercising a normalization authority’” (Pløger 2008, 54).

I use apparatus to combine all of the legal and technocratic elements available in Ecuador that are compatible with transit planning. This reading differs from previous work on apparatus in urban planning because I do not interpret spatial relations or how the citizen participation apparatus functions as a regulatory device. I use it to synthesize elements of transit equity and citizen participation in Ecuador and show the limitations of both elements. Thus after defining the apparatus, I use the notion of the double-bind to capture dynamics that occur outside of the bounded limitations of the apparatus. The double-bind articulates the generative discourses that arise when transit institutions use democratic experiments in citizen participation (Fortun 2001; Fortun and Fortun 2005). The double-bind is the analytical position between the two concepts of transit equity and local democratic experimentation that are incompatible. I argue that the position of the double-bind allows transit institutions new ways of visioning how transit planning can be done. The discourses that emerge from double-bind are instructive for institutions to envision how citizens can have a meaningful stake in transit outcomes.

The effects of analyzing citizen participation and transit planning institutions from a double-bind captures the ensemble of dynamics that emerge from how diverse actors and institutions perform transit planning in the name of “social justice” and “equity.” The double-bind shows how transit planners do transit planning in an era of participatory democracy. I produce an analysis that shows how various social actors respond through new knowledge, protest, and representation. First, I outline legal elements such as the norms of participatory democracy as defined by the 2008 Ecuadorean Constitution and the laws on citizen participation that define them at the urban level. I define technocratic as the municipal ordinances and regulations that put into text how technocrats, or in this case transit planners, are to interpret and put into practice citizen participation. I term scientific knowledge as the technical or scientific knowledge that transit planners, who are technocrats, espouse. Below I describe this through Constitutional definitions and move on to a table that lays out all of these elements. I begin with two Ecuadorean Constitutional articles that define what a citizen is, and how participation is conceived.

Article 6. All female and male Ecuadorians are citizens and shall enjoy the rights set forth in the Constitution.

Ecuadorian nationality is a political and legal bond between individuals and the state, without detriment to their belonging to any of the other indigenous nations that coexist in plurinational Ecuador.

Ecuadorian nationality is obtained by birth or naturalization and shall not be forfeited because of marriage or its dissolution or by acquiring another nationality.

Article 95. Citizens, individually and collectively, shall participate as leading players in decision making, planning and management of public affairs and in the people's monitoring of state institutions and society and their representatives in an ongoing process of building citizen power. Participation shall be governed by the principles of equality, autonomy, public deliberation, respect for differences, monitoring by the public, solidarity and interculturalism.

The participation of citizens in all matters of public interest is a right, which shall be exercised by means of mechanisms of representative, direct and community democracy.

Textbox 4.2. Ecuadorean Constitution 2008

These two above articles are important for how citizen participation occurs across different levels of government and territory. Citizen participation is an exercise in democracy. Ecuador established three mechanisms of democracy, which are 1) representative, 2) direct, and 3) focused on community.⁶⁶ Representative democracy is exercised by electoral voting for various representatives that work for the state government. Citizens elect representatives to carry out the functions of the state that include executive, legislative, judicial, electoral, transparency and social control. Citizen consultation serves as the way direct democracy is achieved. Citizens can call for a referendum before any normative competency with a petition that requires five-percent of the population. This five-percent is determined at the national level by the list of registered voters.⁶⁷ For example, in the recent case of the ecological reserve site Yasuní, citizens had to gather 5 percent of the national population support through signatures in order to achieve a national citizen consultation.⁶⁸ Finally, at the community organizing level—which is where the bulk of my analysis will take place—heterogeneous groups such as social groups, volunteer groups, NGOs, etc. can intervene through democratic practices of participation that include mechanisms such as: veedurias (citizen oversight groups), assemblies, observatories etc.⁶⁹ To complete the apparatus Table 4.1 below is organized chronologically for citizen participation laws, mechanisms, and references.

⁶⁶ See articles 100, 101, 102 and 103 for further information on the levels of participation in government.

⁶⁷ See articles 103 and 104 of the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution for further details on direct democracy, National Electoral Council and calling for a referendum.

⁶⁸ For more information on this political campaign see Yasunidos. <http://sitio.yasunidos.org/en/>

⁶⁹ See articles 96, 97, 98 and 99 of the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution for direct language of community organization and volunteer action.

Table 4.1. Legal and Technical Documents that describe Citizen Participation

Name of Document	Article Number	Year	Summary	Level of Government
Law of Metropolitan District of Quito	2.4	1992	Establishes precedent to integrate community of Quito and participate in the planning of projects.	Metropolitan District of Quito
Municipal Ordinance	046	2006	Establishes first citizen participation system of governance in Quito that details levels of participation. This includes mechanisms such as participatory budget and citizen participation units established at the administrative zone level in Quito.	Metropolitan District of Quito
Municipal Ordinance	177	2006	Regulates and establishes how participatory governance system will coordinate to work on road improvement projects in Quito	Metropolitan District of Quito
Municipal Ordinance	187	2006	Delineates the mechanisms for citizen participation and how it works with the city council, city council committees, participatory governance system, public accountability, and social control	Metropolitan District of Quito
Municipal Ordinance	198, 234	2007	Updates and amendments to ordinance 177	Metropolitan District of Quito
Constitution of Ecuador	207	2008	Establishes the Consejo Nacional de Participación Ciudadana y Control Social-- state entity responsible to put in place initiatives and mechanisms of citizen participation.	National
Constitution of Ecuador	208-210	2008	Defines the specific assignments and what attributes CPCCS has. These powers are a long list of categories of how CPCCS acts in the name of citizen participation to ensure transparency, anti-corruption, and promote democracy.	National
Constitution of Ecuador	275-277	2008	Establishes new national development plan, entitled Buen Vivir	National
Constitution of Ecuador	278	2008	To execute Buen Vivir, people and heterogeneous organizations are called on to participate in all phases of public management and local and national planning.	National
Constitution of Ecuador	279	2008	Calls for creation of a national system of decentralized participatory planning. The technical secretariat Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo (SENPLADES) is created to undertake this task.	National
Ley Organica de la Participación Ciudadana	1-4, 29, 50-57,60,62, 64, 65, 66	2009	Establishes meaning and guiding principles behind CPCCS that include equality, diversity, etc. Delineates mechanisms of citizen participation that include veedurias, access to information and public accountability.	National
Código Orgánico de Organización Territorial, Autonomías y Decentralización (COOTAD)	3, 29, 241-45, 295, 302-5, 311, 312, 332	2012	General guidelines for the functioning of administrative and decentralized zones (GAD) in Ecuador, and how citizen participation integrates into GAD.	National
Reglamento general de veedurias ciudadanas	2	2010/2014	Detailed information that shows how veedurias (citizen oversight groups) work, how citizens participate in them and what are the activities they can investigate.	National (applied differently at the local administrative level)
Código de Planificación y Finanzas Públicas (COPFP)	26, 28, 29, 37, 46, 47	2011	Details the framework for how the national system of participation is constituted, coordinated, functions and approves a development and territorial plan.	National (applied differently at the local administrative level)

Table 4.1 is an important reference point for my analysis of three instances of institutional citizen participation, as these formulations collide with transit planning in practice. The table summarizes the various policies and laws that put in place the logic to the legal-technocratic apparatus of citizen participation. Thus Table 4.1 also demonstrates two important principles that guide and organize this chapter. First, it refers to all of the institutional tools public officials, or agents of the state, use to enact a version of citizen participation. Second, it generates new opportunities and channels for citizens to react and provide knowledge for a public process. The use of the double-bind creates the possibility for new interpretations to emerge. It allows citizen participation and transit planning to become a “bound site” by legal and technocratic norms, producing possibilities for new interpretation.

Institutions define the type of knowledge that they want from the public, and this is often incoherent with the perspectives and actions of social actors. Citizen participation creates a precedent for how a plurality of groups interpret their meaning. In what follows, I show a variety of social responses to three different instances of institutional practices of citizen participation. Since my fieldwork depended on experimentation and adaptation, I triangulate a variety of sources, such as participant observation, emails, interviews, and, in particular, social media, to demonstrate how citizen participation re-emerges, but does not ultimately transform how knowledge practices inform transit planning. I first present an analysis on two participatory planning meetings around transit issues in Quito. Subsequently, I present other instances of citizen participation from the analytical position of the double-bind, highlighting the discourses that emerge from transit planners following the guidelines, or apparatus, of citizen participation.

First, I delve into Quito’s participatory governance system, illuminating the role of citywide commissions and participatory planning meetings. I look specifically at the interactions between citizen participation institutions at the administrative zonal level in Quito, and two transit institutions. These transit institutions have different institutional arrangements. I focus on EPMMDQ, the public company that is in charge of all construction, financing and administering of the Metro, and the bike planning unit that is housed under the Secretaría de Movilidad in the municipal government. I show what happens when transit institutions put themselves directly in charge of articulating citizen participation. I argue that when transit institutions perform citizen participation that this results in a scientific knowledge feedback loop. Subsequently, I illustrate that when it comes to transit planning, citizen participation collides in practice, producing lateral or alternative discourses that influence how transit planning is done in Quito. Finally, I look at the mechanism of a *veeduría*, or citizen oversight group, which is a state and municipally sanctioned endeavor for the vision of citizen participation. Both state and municipal institutions control *veedurías*. As a result, I look into urban residents in Quito concerned with transportation issues who either organized or applied to *veedurías*. The double-bind teaches institutions new ways of visioning and new ways of working with the confined bounds of citizen participation.

4.3 Participatory Governance in Quito

At this point I state that the very creation of the legal-technocratic apparatus generates the ability for people to use visions of citizen participation to achieve alternate outcomes. I now turn to the participatory governance system of Quito that was first created under former mayor Paco Moncayo. In this section, I discuss the formulation of this system, and then subsequently how this system defines what expectations of citizen participation mean. Previously, citizen participation was defined as a municipal endeavor through a participatory governance system I

look into thematic commissions on transit planning issues as a way to elucidate that citizen participation has new meaning after the 2008 Constitution. The responses from actors from these commissions indicate a way citizens insert themselves and react to transit planning processes in unexpected ways. I further demonstrate how administrative zone citizen participation units co-opt transit planning issues.

4.3.1 *System of Participatory Governance as Visions of Citizen Participation*

The participatory governance system, as it stood under former Mayor Paco Moncayo, was run mainly through a set of *cabildos*, or assemblies, established in each of the 8 administrative and territorial zones of Quito. This system coincided with the city development plan, *Plan Quito Siglo XXI*, or Quito's 21st Century Plan (Metropolitan District of Quito 2004). Its central organizing theme was social inclusion. This urban development plan was established at the time that Paco Moncayo was elected mayor in 2001. This plan was intended to instigate a new way of development for Quito that established how citizens can participate institutionally, and also, how Quito develops after the national economic crisis in 1999-2000. In particular, this development plan relies on public companies, or public-private partnerships, to administer public resources like water, electricity, waste, and transit. As a result, this plan documents how Quito grew as a global-city region. Thus, on the one hand, there is double meaning behind the development plan to include citizens in governance, and on the other hand, to change the municipal structure to run on public private partnerships.

Each *cabildo* worked at a zonal level with different community and neighborhood groups to achieve better outcomes for the city. Figure 4.1 below depicts how the administrative zones (AZ) are divided territorially in Quito. Each AZ has a citizen participation unit (CPU) that is dedicated to working on social inclusion at the zonal level.



Figure 4.1. Administrative Zones of Quito

Source: (Distrito Metropolitano de Quito 2001)

In 2001, the participation system concentrated efforts through planning, budgeting and monitoring. A city-level the government established thematic commissions, such as transportation, security, environment, waste etc., which citizens are free to join.⁷⁰ In 2014, each administrative zone has a CPU, where the principal function is to work with the AZ and the participatory budget. The participatory budget functions based on articulated citizen needs at the zonal level. Meetings are arranged between neighborhood groups to determine the needs of the community. Then the project is proposed to the city. In terms of the intersections between mobility issues at a zonal level, neighborhood projects may deal with small-scale street improvements.⁷¹

The focus of my analysis is not on the participatory budgeting process, though it is important to understand the principal task of the citizen participation units at the zonal level. In addition to these responsibilities, the CPU works with citywide interventions such as the BiciQ and Metro. Next, I discuss the interactions between actors involved in the transportation commissions and the municipality. I break this down according to transit project for clarity and continue to draw from interviews, field notes, emails, and social media. As a counterpart in the middle of these processes, I triangulate this information to discuss how institutions vision citizen participation and how citizens respond.

4.3.1.1 Administrative Zones, Citizen Participation, and the Metro

Since my central interest was to understand how CPUs work with a city-level project such as the Metro and BiciQ, I investigated how these worked in action on the ground by attending participatory planning meetings. I choose these specific transit processes to study because of their unique and complementary features. The MetroQ is a large-scale underground metro rail that is the flagship project for a new sustainable urban transit model, is exemplar of nation-building citizens' revolution, and is a transit decision that was made without citizen input. In contrast, the BiciQ has similar features: it is a municipally funded and run endeavor, is a flagship project for the sustainable urban transit project, is also exemplar of the nation-building citizens' revolution, and has been planned alongside the help and leadership of local and international bike activists and planners.

In addition, institutionally, these two projects have different arrangements. All functions related to the Metro are done through the public company, Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Metro de Quito (EPMMDQ) and the BiciQ is administered through the Secretaría de Movilidad (SUM) bike-planning unit (BPU). EPMMDQ is a public company and runs as an entity separate from the municipal government, but reports directly to SUM monthly. Monthly meetings require the presence of the mayor, at least two city council members, and a representative of SUM.⁷² The bike-planning unit, in contrast, runs in-house under SUM. BPU plans and administers the BiciQ and attending bicycle infrastructure. The Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Movilidad y Obras Publicas (EPMMDQ) is in charge of construction of the bike lanes.

It is difficult to capture a complete perspective of CPU involvement because the EPMMDQ only worked directly with two administrative zones: Eugenio Espejo, the Central

⁷⁰ According to Quito's slum report written by former planning director Diego Carrión (Carrión, Diego and Bermudez 2003)

⁷¹ (Janet, Interview, June 26, 2013)

⁷² See chapter 2 for in depth discussion on monthly meetings between EPMMDQ and the Municipal government of Quito.

North, and Eloy Alfaro, in the south.⁷³ The EPMMDQ worked with these two zones because of the ongoing construction around the two inter-modal transit terminals, El Labrador, in the central north, and La Magdalena, in the south. These two terminals are representative of the ongoing activities that the EPMMDQ was doing—the actual metro rail is not under active construction.

As such, AZ CPUs worked with EPMMDQ in order to ensure that the community was involved and that they knew about the construction. From my interviews with these two AZs, they worked with the MetroQ in two specific ways. The AZ CPUs were responsible for helping advertise and inform the AZ residents of informational meetings on the Metro and the ongoing construction activities. However, from the perspective of the AZ, little else was done on their behalf. Because the project Metro was run through the EPMMDQ, the CPU of EPMMDQ was in charge of coordinating all activities around citizen participation. This emerged from EPMMDQ's summaries about the participatory planning meetings. One set of participatory meetings was conducted throughout the summer and fall of 2012. I reveal one set of commentary in Table 4.2 from the recorded meeting minutes to capture the interaction between the AZ CPU, EPMMDQ and AZ residents:

⁷³ (Janet, Interview, June 26, 2013) (Steve, Interview, June 28, 2013)

Table 4.2. Records from Participatory Planning Meetings 2012

Source: Retrieved from EPMMDQ CPU

Public Process of Participation EIA and PMA. FIRST LINE OF METRO QUITO Public Assemblies Tables of Observations, Commentaries and Answers					
PLACE:	ADMINISTRACIÓN ZONAL NORTE EUGENIO ESPEJO				
DATE:	Wednesday, October 31, 2012				
TIME:	09H00				
NAME OF FACILITATOR:					
CONCERNS	Technical	Environmental	Social	Patrimony	Action Taken
1. Will the Metro supplement the current transportation system and is there a possibility that some transportation lines will be able to be expanded to further distances? Is there one more phase of the Metro? The people that go in the coaches, do they go sitting down or standing up? What is going to happen if a train or one of the machines fails halfway through a run?	X				Direct Response: Regarding the theme of public transit, the competent organism is the SUM. The Metro will convert to the vertebral column, but the SUM is in charge of organizing those themes between the bus lines and it has already been contemplated to restructure the same lines. The study that is being presented is of the first phase, although there are four other planned lines inside of the mass transit system to improve mobility. Direct Response: About the possibility that it can stop halfway through the run, all of the Metro system is automated with top technology. Therefore the possibility for this to occur is minimal. In the case of the Metro stopping in some place, there will be personnel trained to handle the situation.
2. In the same mobility proposal of the Metro, is it contemplated to have a system that reaches to Quito's new airport?	X				Direct Response: The possibility is not contemplated.
3. What types of amenities exist on the Metro and how many people will go standing up and sitting down in the coaches? When does the project start and are you going to assure security?			X		Direct Response: Like all Metros in the world, people ride standing up and sitting down. It is more important that the new system optimizes time of journey from one point to another. Effectively, we consider the technical norms of how many people will fit in a square meter. With regard to the theme about security, the system will have permanent vigilance through the permanent circulation of private security. And also, we have to incentivize this within the culture of the Metro, which has to do with the attitudes of citizens in order to improve security. The project initiates in December 2012.
4. Will the Metro system incentivize people to use this mode of transportation?	X				Direct Response: The Metro is aimed at people to use public transport.

This one set of commentaries reveals a question and response to a scenario in a public meeting. I use this as a reference to see how the community interacts at a participatory meeting. It is clear that residents are unsure of how they will use the system. For example, in the first question- response scenario (Q.1), it is categorized under a technical question. The reply is nothing that cannot be read from the EPMMDQ website about the project in detail. This is also represented in the response from the EPMMDQ CPU. Reflecting from previous chapters, this is a continued reference point for the project. Such a response is equivalent to how the EPMMDQ representative responded to the city council members seeking more information about the project.⁷⁴ The other questions subsequently were on social themes such as safety (Q.3), and the territorial reach of the Metro (Q.1, Q.2). These three subjects reveal more about the user's experience than the project itself. Residents are concerned with the improved experience of using public transit. This is not equal to a deliberative meeting meant to engage the public about a decision-making process. The exchange is a meeting where scientific knowledge is presented about a transit-planning project, and the responses are about spatial justice and security.

In this case, institutional citizen participation is better conceptualized as knowledge that does not intersect with citizen responses. This interaction generates a puzzle, and I argue explains why citizen participation practices do not address issues of social justice or the user's experience. The table also provides the reference for what transit planning institutions do next. The dominant discussion carried out in a planning meeting, like the one presented above, is a typical scenario for both transit planning and a technocratic process. The public is not actually included in the process; rather the dialogue present is one-sided.

The other meetings that I attended later on in the process were similar to this one above. They involved establishing a quorum by an outside facilitator, a PowerPoint about the project, and then a question and answer session. The second AZ CPU, when I asked about the Metro, they referred me to the offices of the Metro, and did not want to officially discuss the community outreach and work conducted within the AZ CPU. Community input and responses were recorded after each meeting. The meetings were not very interactive. They established a way for AZ residents to voice perspectives, but the response was grounded in knowledge from the official EPMMDQ senior transit planner (though this alternated depending on the meeting). In this case, the planner did not engage the resident that had questions about the user's experience. He gave the normative response: a brief technical explanation from a technical expert, and then referred the resident to the website for more documentation.

Social response is seen by the commentaries produced from the meetings. The question and commentary I present above is not necessarily equivalent to the expectations of the AZ CPU or the professionals involved in the project. The professionals see citizen participation as an informational obligatory gesture. In this case, the information provided is scientific knowledge that responds with published facts about the Metro. Obligation and information about the project does not equal or respond to the perspectives from residents. It also does not address issues such as the user's experience or the question of transit justice. The meetings do not uncover such themes, despite the participants who ask such questions. Thus, this instance of citizen participation demonstrates how the communication between the technocrat and the citizen is not equivalent. In the coming section, I will provide more analysis on the EPMMDQ CPU to reveal how this unit deals with this disparate dialogue. For now, I refocus my attention on bicycle

⁷⁴ See City Council Quotes in Chapter 2

infrastructure and the BiciQ from the perspective of working with the AZ CPUs because of the parallels with the Metro.

4.3.1.2 Administrative Zones, Citizen Participation and Bicycle Infrastructure

There are several phases to bicycle planning in Quito. I focus here on one critical example that I was able to follow while in the field. When I discuss bicycle infrastructure, I refer to the public bicycle system, and also the bike lanes of Quito. These two components go hand in hand, as many of the bike lanes were constructed when the BiciQ stations opened. I suggest that these processes are linked because they involve the same sets of actors, agendas, and methods.

In chapter 2, I discussed and historicized the relationship between bicycle collectives, citizen action, and the municipality's bike planning unit. I also revealed how I was a bicycle-planning consultant for Biciacción. During my time as a consultant, I worked with the team of activists, NGOs, architects, and transit planners to design the bike lanes for the south of Quito, and the extreme north and valleys. Part of job was to work directly with the administrative zones to coordinate participatory meetings. Coincidentally, we worked directly with the same two AZs, Eugenio Espejo and Eloy Alfaro.⁷⁵ My presence indicates what the double-bind does: the cyclist movement used the tools such as the Commission and the participatory governance system to insert themselves directly into bicycle planning in Quito.

As part of the consultant team, we first established contact with the AZ CPU, and then subsequently worked in two ways. First, we went and gave a presentation about the proposed bike lanes for Quito at both AZs. We did this in order to familiarize the AZ administration about the project. Second, we worked directly with each AZ CPU to create a participatory planning meeting with residents of each AZ. After establishing contact and coming to agreement with each AZ CPU, the AZ CPU delegated the task of contacting AZ residents for the meeting. Subsequently, a participatory meeting was held. The meetings occurred similarly to those of the Metro. An outside facilitator established quorum, the technical expert, in this case a consultant bike planner, gave a PowerPoint presentation about the project, and then there was a time for dissent, questions, and opinions.

The difference between these meetings is significant in two manners. First, the community members were targeted specifically to cyclists. This meant that, while other community members may have had the information, the meeting was directed specifically at cyclists, not residents at large. Thus, this created a biased and non-representative public meeting. Second, the meetings were more interactive, wherein cyclists engaged in participatory mapping activities. I reveal some of the strategies generated by the consulting team and then, the photos from the participatory mapping exercise. These types of situations are well documented and are a good representation of a biased public. This case falls under the classical problem of Habermasian moralistic planning roots that considers the public as a realm for deliberation (Fainstein 2005, 124–125). Often in planning meetings with the public is blind to gender, race, and ethnicity, (Yiftachel and Huxley 2000, 911) and does not reflect the power dynamics present (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002). This is further reflected in our final report about the participatory meeting⁷⁶:

⁷⁵ We worked with all of the AZ in the areas of influence for the project, which includes La Delicia, Los Chillos, Cumbaya-Tumbaco, and Quitumbe. I focus in on the same AZs as the Metro for brevity and comparison across intervention.

⁷⁶ Translated from Spanish by Julie Gamble. Final Project Report August 21, 2013.

Participatory Meeting:

– ***Introduction***

The above referenced studio was executed with respect to the consulting group's plans; through a participatory process, it is required to join community criteria with the technical information of the consulting team, and for that to allow certain actions to take place that support improving the street network of this area, and the mobility of the residents. This is achieved by placing emphasis on promoting bicycle use and creating conditions that offer security for those people that use the bicycle as a mode of transportation in the city.

– ***Objective***

To obtain information from the associations, organizations and other local groups (that have their base of operation in the south of the city) that are related to promoting the use of the bicycle in the sector as a mode of transportation, which will help determine the ideal routes to circulate on bicycle for the bike lanes in the South of the City and the Center-South connection of the city.

Textbox 4.3. Team Report on Bike lane Design

I wrote the above report during my time as a consultant and was complicit within this process. It is important to capture that the politics of a participatory meeting are always under scrutiny. Despite my training in community development and city planning, it was not up to me to invite residents. The AZ CPU was tasked with this. I was therefore not the planner in charge of convening the meeting, but instead acted as an outside consultant for the purposes of observing how the participatory process unfolded. Within the meeting, we, as the consulting team, answered questions with technical responses. The process was clearly controlled and the actors involved were selected. I continue to reveal how this becomes evident through the mapping exercise that we conducted at the same meeting through photos:



Figure 4.2. Participatory Planning Meeting Administrative Zone Eloy Alfaro

Source: Photos by Julie Gamble June 15, 2013

The report went on to discuss the alternative outcomes presented from the participatory mapping exercises. Figure 4.2 captures how the participants were given maps of their sector and asked to draw pictures of this. We completed a similar process when mapping and designing the

stations for the BiciQ in both the south and north.⁷⁷ The mapping exercise revealed that it creates the opportunity for the technical expert to receive citizen input on the design. Above in the pictures, the cycling activists were more concerned with what types of streets the bike lanes should go on for reasons of security at night, protection from vehicles, and air pollution. This perspective comes from the user's experience, not from technical training in transportation planning. In the end, the maps were collected and stored. The architect's drawings were used in the final designs, and did not include the input received from AZ residents and cyclists that attended the participatory meeting.

I reflect on this process as a consultant because I was there to witness and take part in it. I was in the middle of these processes as researcher, consultant, and bicycle activist. The other participatory processes conducted in this project were akin to the one I have described above. This perspective comes from working closely with the AZ CPUs, despite my intentions (and desires) to create a more inclusive meeting space. Communicative rational planning theory has been applied to transit planning (Wilson, 2006), but falls under the same set of problems that I have mentioned about the public realm. Instead, in this moment I illuminate the ways visions from various actors begin to come into existence. I argue that it is more productive to think about the encounter as a double-bind because it reveals how technical experts negate community input. In the next instance, I demonstrate how transit-planning institutions use a combination of citizen participation practices to follow the law. This shows how the double-bind reveals what transit planning institutions do in an era of participatory democracy; they respond with more scientific knowledge.

4.4 Transit Scientific Knowledge Feedback Loop

In this section, I analyze the municipal institutions in charge of the transit interventions and how they respond to articulations of citizen participation. I take the idea of "looping" from STS studies, in that scientific information is reiterated through different representations (Hacking 2006). I do not intend to argue that transit planners here have created a "looping effect" (Bowker and Star 2000), which would indicate through the repetition of concepts it produces a phenomenon. The Metro has not yet been constructed. I am not arguing that through the repetition of technocratic information that the Metro itself is coming to exist. Rather, I suggest that transit planners only communicate through the repetition of scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge in transit planning is incongruent to notions of equity or justice. As such, I conduct an analysis by investigating the EPMMDQ CPU. This entity is responsible for the institutional citizen participation practices from the municipal agency in charge of the Metro project. Then, I discuss the SUM's BPU to expose how these professionals use articulations of citizen participation.

I use a mixture of interviews and social media snapshots to reveal how information spreads. I also present information that upholds that transit institutions use new knowledge gathered from previous participatory planning meetings and respond with more scientific knowledge. This action I label as a scientific knowledge feedback loop. It is important to see the institutional perspectives because they are a direct representation of what happens when institutions respond to citizen commentaries. This does not change the approach that transit

⁷⁷ "Consultoría para fomentar el transporte no motorizado en el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito a través de la definición participativa de los sitios donde se establecerán las estaciones BiciQ en el Sur de la Ciudad" November 29, 2012.

planning takes. On the contrary, it means that institutions reply to citizens as a way to comply with the law. It does not generate meaningful involvement from the citizens. Rather, it is an institutional response with scientific knowledge that legitimizes a previously made decision for a transportation project.

4.4.1 Metro

EPMMDQ is responsible for the planning, design, construction, and administration of Quito's first underground metro rail. This public agency is a separate entity from the municipal government, but reports directly to the Secretariat of Urban Mobility (SUM), which oversees all transit agencies and urban mobility policy for the Metropolitan District of Quito (DMQ). Within this agency, there are two units that work collectively on the participatory planning and social campaign of the Metro: the social responsibility unit and the communications unit. These two units work together on community outreach on various levels. The role of this institution displays how the double-bind continues to present itself around transit planning.

When interviewing these units, they discussed the specific regulations that they comply with. They have a three-dimensional participatory strategy that departs from the Ecuadorian Constitution on citizen participation (Article 148)⁷⁸ and Quito's city ordinance 147 that establishes how participatory planning works at an administrative level.⁷⁹ My analysis relies on interviews and social media to illuminate the complicated way this CPU practices institutional citizen participation. In other words, EPMMDQ uses various articulations of citizen participation. As a consequence, I demonstrate how transit institutions work within the bounds of the legal-technocratic apparatus. They do not address the public, rather, just the knowledge that surfaces from the participatory planning meetings. The EPMMDQ responds with more scientific knowledge.

First, the social responsibility unit's approach uses the mechanisms that are outlined in citizen participation laws.⁸⁰ As previously established, there are three mechanisms available including social promotion, the participatory budget, and citizen action groups. The social responsibility unit subscribes to the Constitutional definition of citizen participation. It does social promotion of the Metro project through three mechanisms: (1) community outreach meetings organized in conjunction with the municipality, (2) an overall communication campaign that relies on social media and other media outlets, and (3) a rotating outdoor exhibit that is set up in public spaces of Quito. In the previous section, I documented how this works with the municipality through the AZ CPUs. Under the first strategy, the social unit and communications unit work with the administrative zones of Quito and their participatory planning department. These administrative zones of Quito are the local government branches. They are placed in charge of administrative and operational services at a sectorial level in Quito.

During my fieldwork, I witnessed several community outreach meetings that involved a PowerPoint presentation of the project, and finally, a question and answer component. These meetings took place with the collaboration of the two administrative zones Eloy Alfaro in the south, and Eugenio Espejo, in the north. I discussed the arrangement of these meetings above with both the MetroQ and BiciQ. AZ CPUs conducted community outreach through pre-existing participatory channels and social media contact through Facebook and Twitter.⁸¹ As a response to community concerns, the EPMMDQ CPU arranged community site visits, improved conditions for residents that

⁷⁸ Article 148 of the Constitution and Legislative article 64 promoted the Organic Law of Citizen Participation and Social control in 2008 and again in 2010. (Republic of Ecuador 2008)

⁷⁹ Ordinance 046 establishes Quito's participatory planning system (Distrito Metropolitano de Quito 2000).

⁸⁰ (Director of Social Responsibility Unit, Interview, 9/26/2013)

⁸¹ Interview Communications Unit, 9/27/2013 offices of EPMMDQ

were impacted from the construction of the Metro, and planned for a park.⁸² I present snapshots (Figure 4.3) from Facebook that documents the idea and completion of the park:



Figure 4.3. Design and completion of Park

Source: Facebook snapshots of MetroQ on November 12, 2013 and December 28, 2013

These Facebook screenshots demonstrate how the EPMMDQ CPU works. Initially, the participatory meetings functioned to provide information to the residents in Eloy Alfaro. As construction continued throughout 2013, the EPMMDQ CPU intervened with different activities in order to mitigate the construction inconveniences underway. As construction took place, a park was built overtime to satisfy the needs of residents. This action was then published on Facebook as a way to publicize what the EPMMDQ CPU had accomplished.

Similarly, to address the concerns about issues of safety and the experience, EPMMDQ CPU responded with the following Twitter feeds:

⁸² Interview, Outreach Coordinator, Social Responsibility Unit, EPMMDQ, 9/11/2013



Figure 4.4. Commercial Future Metro rail Quito

Source: Twitter Account Snapshots of EPMMDQ, September 27, 2013 and October 22, 2013

The above two Twitter feeds (Figure 4.4) represent the direct manner in which the Metro project concurrently establishes a connection with citizens through social promotion and also responds to the concerns of citizens that came from the participatory meetings. Because this all takes place through social media, it reflects the new digital methods planning processes are now privy to.

However, social media is problematic in that it occurs in a virtual space that further complicates any possible meaning of “public.” The Twitter feeds are possibly spaces that citizens can voice dissent, but this does not necessarily return to and address any dialogue of citizen perspectives. The Twitter feeds respond to the recorded commentaries that were revealed in the participatory meetings at the AZ CPUs. Responding to concerns does not imply that this becomes a central part of how the system is planned. I argue that institutions are responding to social change by using new public outlets such as Facebook and Twitter; it is not representative of an institutional practice that uses articulations of citizen participation.

Finally, the social responsibility and communications units conducted outreach through a traveling exposition of the Metro. This exposition was set up in strategic and public spaces throughout Quito during 2012-2013 as a way to also begin a process for citizens to receive information about the project. The rotating exhibit itself is a mixture of a small metro train car, technical, financial, and social information about the Metro. The EPMMDQ Communications unit

posted these events with the times, dates, and locations to Facebook and Twitter. I attended these and was able to witness to the *citizen participation* sign in sheets. The results of the efforts were published via Facebook and Twitter as well. I display one Facebook status below in Figure 4.5:



Figure 4.5. Metro Q Rotating Exhibit

Source: Screenshot of Facebook EPMMDQ feed February 4, 2013

This last image from the EPMMDQ came from among the dozens of photos and tweets about the Expo-Metro that took place across the city to inform citizens about the project. On the one hand, it is demonstrative of a citywide effort to capture the attention of citizens that are not represented in the participatory planning meetings I outlined above. However, on the other hand, it continues to represent how articulations of citizen participation equate to scientific knowledge relayed to a citizen.

All together, these three interventions fall under the first mechanism of how the Ecuadorian Constitution defines citizen participation through direct social promotion. These encounters of institutional citizen participation are not transformative and do not reorient the dominant plan or idea of the Metro. These practices do not take priority when it comes to the official envisioned plans for the Metro. Thus, what institutional citizen participation mechanisms do is elucidate how two unequal dialogues are present— one that is around rights and justice, and another that is around a top-down transit planning process that does not change the way transit planning occurs. Next, I demonstrate a similar effect with bicycle infrastructure.

4.4.2 Bicycle Infrastructure

The bicycle-planning unit operates under the Secretariat for Urban Mobility. Thus, this department, unlike the EPMMDQ, does not have its own participatory planning unit. Instead, it practices an alternative framework that in one way or another complied with articulations of citizen participation. Thus far, I have discussed in previous chapters how the SUM bicycle-planning unit (SUM BPU) ended up working with cycling advocates, NGOs, collectives, and other groups on bicycle infrastructure in Quito. This reoriented the way that bike planning happened: social actors required that the municipality respond to social needs. Consequently, SUM bike planners adapted to this change by constructing bike lanes and creating a public bike system.

In Chapter 2, I showed that both of these processes were accomplished through the active participation of the at-large cycling movement in Quito. They did this by bringing in outside, global experts to induce municipal responsibility with regard to bicycle planning. They also did this through direct consulting work—consulting groups like the one I worked with do not equate to citizen participation, but they do involve new actors, knowledge, and priorities in bike planning. My consulting group was comprised of social groups that wanted to improve bicycle infrastructure. Within this work agenda, it is clear that transit justice and equity are part of our planning perspective. However, in the previous section I demonstrated that this type of vision does not equate to producing inclusive or equitable planning meetings or processes. Thus visions of citizen participation are not about equity, they become about complying with an established legal and technical framework.

Transit users, like myself, became included in the transit planning process of the bicycle because of the instruments that became available to us. I will discuss this in the next section through the analytical position of the double-bind. However, in the same regard, the municipality ended up reusing these efforts in a new way through cooptation. As a result, I suggest that the new knowledge gathered from the cyclist movement was internalized and reappropriated; it is a technocratic tool of transit planning. In this case, the scientific knowledge feedback loop is seen in reverse. SUM technocrats use the new knowledge gathered from the cyclist movement and rebrand it to make it appear that they are responding to social needs.

At the beginning of this chapter, I demonstrated through my fieldnotes that the municipality often times co-opts what cycling activists do, rebrand it, and use the same concept to further the idea of citizen participation. I actively saw this in the bici-bus, which was first an idea of Biciacción. Later, SUM worked with Biciacción to produce this effort during urban mobility week. SUM produced a publication about the effort, while Biciacción executed the event. From the perspective of Biciacción, the bici-bus was poorly attended due to improper publicity. The following flyer was produced and circulated in the local newspaper:

necessary citizen participation through social promotion. Like the MetroQ, BiciQ has its own following through a Facebook and Twitter account. Messages, while not as often, engage citizens; these ideas mix together concepts such as improved mobility:



Figure 4.7 Bicycle Social Media

Source: Facebook Screenshot posted by Secretaría de Movilidad taken on 9/8/2013

Figure 4.8. Bicycle Social Media of Rain

Source: Facebook Screenshot posted by Secretaría de Movilidad BiciQ taken on 1/25/2013

Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8 provide examples that show how the bicycle can be a tool for social change in travel. The positive messages promote the concept of the bicycle as a way to not only be inclusive, but also adapt to the ever-changing terrain of public transit. The messages provide information and impulse the mass use of the bicycle, suggesting that this is possible through both daily habits and social change. It recommends that citizens break old paradigms, but does not reflect on how the institution has not done so. Therefore, the information about the bicycle and its daily use are promoted via these streams. The Municipality and SUM comply with citizen participation requirements through social promotion.

In this section, I have focused on how transit planners interact with citizen participation institutions and structures at the municipal level. I contend that transit planners are technocratic elites that act in the name of social justice or equity during Ecuador's transition to a participatory democracy. Yet, I also reveal that transit planners continue to operate under the same conditions that a dominant transit planning paradigm would: they communicate with scientific knowledge that has little to do with "justice" or "equity." Moreover, they respond to community concerns that are incompatible. I have demonstrated the limitations of transit planners when they enact democratic practice. Transit planners continue to operate under "business as usual" and have not reoriented how decision-making or transit outcomes fundamentally take place. Yet, I argue that these confines do not account for an ensemble of dynamics present. I concentrate on the incongruent conversations that present themselves with participatory institutions and transit equity/justice. These themes do not come together in practice in a participatory planning meeting. Thus, in what follows, I look at other instances of institutional citizen participation occurring in Quito and the generative possibilities that have resulted. Next, I move analytically to the position of the double-bind where I reveal the limitations of the technocratic-legal apparatus, expose other discourses that arise as a result.

4.4.3 Commissions

The participatory system described above came from the first city ordinance that pre-dates how the state dealt with citizen participation. I now turn to the social groups involved in the transportation commissions during the administrations of Paco Moncayo and Augusto Barrera. I look at their responses in order to demonstrate how social groups react to the ways institutions perceive citizen participation. The first group, Asociación de Peatones de Quito (APQ), reflects how social groups interpret working with the municipality under the first and second institutional set-up of citizen participation. The second group, the Cyclists Commission, worked specifically under the newer formulation of institutional citizen participation practices in Quito.

4.4.3.1 Transportation Commission and APQ

When interviewing individuals who were a part of the first transportation commission, I understood why it was very difficult task to achieve results. The former director of planning under Moncayo, Daniel Cantu discussed how each individual had a different story and, and goals that they to achieve. For example, non-governmental organizations (NGO) and advocacy groups such as Asociación de Peatones (APQ), Biciacción (BA), and Ciclópolis wanted to change the orientation of transit in the city through non-motorized transportation. Yet, each group had a different vision that could be used to achieve the end. Cantu's experience with these advocacy groups is important because it elucidates how the municipality to work directly with social groups. This relationship establishes a clear expectation for how social groups interacted and what they wanted to achieve through collaboration with the municipality. Each social actor has a specific way of viewing citizen participation. My interview with the Asociación de Peatones de Quito (APQ) articulates this very clearly:

APQ. That came from the previous administration, not this one. In this administration there isn't any participation or inclusion of citizens. In the previous Metropolitan City Council there were diverse groups and social collectives that represented diverse themes that went to city council commission meetings according to their interests. Today there isn't even an invitation for this possibility. I suppose going to talk to a city council person and asking for this favor, the person will let you go, but that is not participation. The authority should be in charge of inviting people to assist these types of meetings and in this administration that does not exist.

*APQ. Today, there is the Commission of Cyclists, which is the closest nexus between citizens and the municipality that exists. It seems to us that there is too much naivety in this commission. We have been part of many relationships with the municipality for almost ten-years, whereas this commission is totally new to this; they have existed for about 10 months. They say 'do not create problems, let's do a publicity campaign for cyclist's safety' and for about two weeks signs go up that say 'Respect the Cyclist', two people are dressed up as cars, and that's it. After those two weeks are up, the campaign finishes and that's how things are done.'*⁸⁴

The perspective of APQ comes from years of working with the municipality through themed commissions. It captures how citizens, when given the channels to participate, will actively do so. It also captures how particular groups form perspectives based on their knowledge. APQ is a pedestrian advocacy group known for its leftist and polarizing perspectives on mobility in Quito. It has a reputation for taking a strong stance against the municipality when necessary. Furthermore, the quotes articulate how one interpretation of institutional citizen

⁸⁴ (Asociación de Peatones, Interview, October 8, 2012). Translated from Spanish by Julie Gamble

participation serves as knowledge that is not easily replaced by a transition or change in technocratic practice.

This was further represented in the week of urban mobility in 2012, when they wrote a formal email denouncing the municipality's conference on citizen participation and rejected the invitation to present⁸⁵:

----- Mensaje reenviado -----
De: **Asociación de Peatones de Quito** <coordinacion@peatones.org>
Fecha: 18 de septiembre de 2012, 17:49
Asunto: Re: RV: Invitación Taller Participación Ciudadana y Espacio Público

Good Afternoon,

Greetings from the Association of Pedestrians of Quito, a group of professionals, researchers, and activists (not entrepreneurs, or volunteers), who since 2003, has advocated around the importance of placing restrictions on the use of private vehicles and recovering urban space for actors that are most vulnerable in mobility, pedestrians and cyclists.

Via this email, we want to excuse ourselves from the event that we have been invited to. Starting Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday we will be participating in a videoconference that was just confirmed this Tuesday morning. Starting on Wednesday we will join in with a few other member organizations, like ours, with the IFP (International Federation of Pedestrians) to participate in an event that will be transmitted from Sevilla, Spain. The purpose of our participation in the event is concerned with our character, Peatonman. They have asked us for the use of this character in educational campaigns in the European Union. In the past few days we have internally debated about our participation in this event that you have invited us to, this table about experiences. The lack of municipal efforts for the International Week of Mobility saddens us. In this respect, it to us it doesn't seem novel to create another forum around this theme that needs to be debated (the side walks of Quito). According to what we know, this has been being debated with several cyclist collectives in various meetings. Yet, as the only pedestrian group in Ecuador, we have not been invited.

Considering that, amongst many other things, APQ achieved placing a tax for parking on the sidewalks. And at the same time, we continued to work on the Mobility Commission with the City Council of Quito, and worked to activate citizens through a sticker campaign, which EMSAT then later copied, that allowed for the project about better use of public spaces, with the permanent monitoring of cranes. Since we were the only overseers, in the end, it is disconcerting to us that we are the only ones invited to debate about this ordinance on sidewalks, and similarly to other themes, we are invited to events to legitimize decisions that have already been taken, and that you all pretend to demonstrate it like "citizen participation".

Therefore, these are two reasons that we have excused ourselves from attending: our agenda, as advocates of international sustainable mobility, and our refusal to legitimize decisions, processes, events in the name of poor citizen participation and this ill-fated concept that has been left aside during this administration.

Thank you for your attention,
Asociación de Peatones de Quito
Orgullosos Peatones

Textbox 4.4. E-mail from Asociación de Peatones to Secretariat of Urban Mobility

Following this email, APQ's absence from the conference confirmed that they did not believe that Mayor Barrera's administration practiced citizen participation. Their interpretation was that social groups should be invited to participate directly with the elected officials and through the previously formed assemblies.

The assemblies established under Paco Moncayo had, however, dissolved by this point in 2012 while I was in the field. Citizen participation for them means going to and participating in city council commission meetings on urban mobility issues. Social groups like APQ equated citizen participation to their representation and input at meetings. Their position in these meetings was to discuss a pedestrian's point of view on urban mobility. This, however, was not

⁸⁵ E-mail translated from Spanish by Julie Gamble

consistent with the theory of how citizen participation practices became a technocratic process. At the time, APQ was the only pedestrian advocacy organization in Latin America, and as such, became involved in international discourses on pedestrian rights, and also was hired by SENPLADES to create municipal pedestrian plans for different decentralized territories in Ecuador. Furthermore, as a result of the 10 years of advocacy the group has established a reputation and was given a national public radio show during 2012. While APQ's involvement with institutionalized citizen participation is adversarial, their direct involvement generates different opportunities for the group to work at various levels. The double-bind demonstrates the limitations of APQ's work, but also elucidates the importance for looking at how the group became intimately involved in other manifestations. They represent a continued urban social movement (Castells 1983). Next, I turn to look more deeply into the responses of the Cyclists Commission to further this point.

4.4.3.2 Cyclists Commission

After urban mobility week in 2012, I spent the next year in the field attending weekly meetings with the Commission. I entered it at a time when their relationship with the municipality was tenuous. I participated in the bi-weekly Cyclists Commission meetings, observing, and at times directly intervening in the discussions. It was the clearest mechanism the Municipality had for encouraging citizen participation. Commission meetings were diverse. At times, the meeting consisted of several citizens that did not belong to any bicycle collective, and at other times, it was a room full of individuals that represented various collectives, NGOs, and the Municipality.⁸⁶

Initially, Barrera's administration set a clear agenda to improve urban cycling conditions after a fatality of an elite cyclist in May 2012.⁸⁷ Because of this accident, there were individuals who were elected as commission representatives and interacted directly with SUM. The Commission over time had a fading relationship with the municipality. It met weekly to determine the direction of the group. Their strategy was to either fight back and gain legitimacy as a group, or, let the municipality continue to co-opt their actions and ideas.⁸⁸ Therefore, the weekly meetings were mainly centered around two concepts—one that focused on gaining legitimacy and dialogue with the municipality, and another, that consisted of organizing a larger social movement on cycling in Quito. The municipality viewed the existence of the group as a mechanism to create visibility on citizen participation. These ideas are competing and incoherent.

The Commission also had difficulty deciding upon an internal decision-making structure, which made it difficult to reach consensus within the group on how to act. The weekly meeting minutes produced by a different person capture this perspective.⁸⁹ For example, meeting minutes reflected what various people said, and summarized the work of three different sub-committees. These subcommittees operated separately and had the following functions: (1) follow up on the goals outlined with the SUM,⁹⁰ (2) figure out ways to achieve legal legitimacy for the Commission, and (3) develop a decision-making structure that would continue to expand the

⁸⁶ Participant Observation notes, November 2012–June 2013

⁸⁷ Seven agreements published widely seen through national news (La Hora 2012)

⁸⁸ Participant Observation notes, November 2012

⁸⁹ Notes on weekly meeting minutes from Cyclists Commission that were circulated weekly two-days after the actual meeting.

⁹⁰ Goals between the cyclists and SUM mentioned later on in this chapter.

cycling movement around cycling advocacy in Quito.

In parallel to these efforts, throughout my year of observation, the commission worked best under moments of crisis. They conducted publicity campaigns for injured cyclists and fatalities, and when SUM called on them for their input. The evidence of their campaigns is best represented in informal ways. For example, emails sent to commission members and individual cycling activists were perhaps the most direct way the municipality engaged the Commission. In one instance, an individual that worked for SUM sent an email from his personal email calling for participation in one of Alianza País's events. On February 6, 2013, the event took place by officials riding bicycles to promote the new development plan Buen Vivir and its sustainable mobility practices in Quito.⁹¹

Another example comes from an instance when the Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Movilidad y Obras Públicas (EPMMOP) called on the Commission to discuss a cycling project in a new urban park called *Parque Bicentenario*, or Bicentennial Park.⁹² In this meeting, which EPMMOP labeled as *participatory*, they invited many Commission members and activists and required them to sign our names for the meeting registry. I joined as an activist, researcher, and member of the Commission at this meeting. The title of the meeting registry was participatory planning meeting for Parque Bicentenario. In this meeting, the director of the park said specifically, "*This meeting is for information, not participation.*"⁹³

Finally, in one of the Commission's last efforts under the Barrera administration, it did yet another advocacy campaign for respect of cyclists. This campaign occurred on March 13, 2013 in the historic center. A newspaper article in *El Comercio* publicized the event, but it was widely unattended. Only Commission members and a few volunteers attended the meeting. While the Commission wanted to send a message about improved safety, the municipality created public visibility around the notion of citizen participation.

The Commission fulfills the requirements established by city ordinance and national laws on citizen participation. Based on the evidence I present, I argue that satisfying these obligations was done through the cooptation of ideas, actions, and attendance of the Commission. This group represented a participatory assembly that formed out of institutional requirements. It also complied with the law and was advantageous for the municipal administration because it created visibility around the efforts put in place to improve public transit in Quito. The Cyclists Commission was a group ill fated because its' mission was not equivalent to the citizen participation pursuits of the municipality. It became clear through their actions and efforts that the group wanted to improve the safety for cyclists in the city.

Meanwhile, the widespread publicity established how SUM complies with citizen participation requirements. Currently, the Commission has dispersed and some members have gone on to organize a national bicycle social movement with activists and other bike enthusiasts in municipalities across Ecuador. Other bicycle collectives in Quito operate under different premises such as rural outings, down-hill, BMX, feminist bike races, partying in the streets, and then the monthly critical mass, etc. to name a few. Their actions and interactions are spatial practices that make claims to public space through different strategies and tactics (de Certeau, 1988). The time I spent with these groups merits future attention. In total in October 2014, there were precisely 14 different bicycle collectives still active in Quito. As a result, the urban bicycle movement in Quito remains present via different initiatives and through direct

⁹¹ See notes on email from former head of BPU on 4/2/2013

⁹² See participant observation notes on this meeting, took place in April 11, 2013.

⁹³ Audio recording of meeting held on April 11, 2013.

representation on social media like Facebook and Twitter.

I discussed my encounters with these groups for a few principle reasons. Ecuadorian institutions and social groups have to react and adapt to a transitioning system of citizen participation in Quito. Mayor Paco Moncayo established themed commissions that operated at a citywide level transformed into citizen assemblies under Barrera. The social groups that I discuss react to the ways the administrations perceived participation, not transit. Consequently, different social groups have ways of interpreting the purpose and meaning of citizen participation as it relates to transit planning. Commissions were a central component to Moncayo's system, whereas, in Barrera's system, the Commissions functioned more as a publicity tool. I argue that this results in a participatory process where the goal to achieve citizen participation in transit planning was cancelled out. The Commission, while not necessarily affective at the municipal level, is organized and continues to promote an agenda to improve cycling experiences for Ecuadorians. The double-bind allows seeing the limitations in detail, but also is important in order to recognize the opportunities that came from such boundaries. Next, I reveal the final citizen participation mechanism that I followed while in the field. This mechanism, a *veeduría*, or citizen oversight group, is distinct in that it responds to the national transformations that the 2008 Constitution established and also, the creation of a Citizen Participation Institution at the municipal level due to processes of decentralization. The national development plan, Buen Vivir, establishes that all territorial zones must have one citizen participation institution.

4.5 Veedurias

Veedurias are one of the principal mechanisms that are available for citizen oversight with regard to public affairs. They are also defined as a practice of direct democracy according to the Ecuadorian Constitution. Table 4.1 defines all of the institutional definitions and articles available on the subject of citizen participation from the national level and the municipal level in Quito. The Consejo de Participación Ciudadana y Control Social (CPCCS) was established by the Constitution in 2008 to put into action the exercise of institutional citizen participation. In 2010 CPCCS recognized the first set of by laws for how veedurias function through resolution No. 014-015-2010-CPCCS. This resolution defined the veeduría and how it functioned within the legal framework of the 2008 Constitution. Thereafter, in 2014, CPCCS updated the resolution to reflect the decentralized framework for each territorial unit as established through the national development plan, Buen Vivir. I write about veedurias following the 2014 regulations. I do this because DMQ remained the same territorial district, even after the decentralization process. The resolution 005-319-CPCCS-2014 written by CPCCS delineates the overall framework for a veeduría (Consejo de Participación Ciudadana y Control Social 2014). Though I have mentioned this above, I review key elements of this document in order to understand how a veeduría is formed, the purpose of the veeduría, and how it works:

- **Art. 6.** *Citizen oversight groups are constituted as mechanisms of social control that provide follow-up, vigilance and audit public management with objective to become acquainted with, informed, monitored, express opinion, present anterior observations before and after the execution, as well as, call for accountability and contribute to the improvement of the administration of what is public.*
- **Art. 7.** *Citizen oversight groups are not constituted as organisms or dependents of CPCCS, or other entities of the state. As such, no professional relationship exists between CPCCS or state and the members of the citizen oversight group. The exercise of citizen oversight group has civic, voluntary and pro-active characteristics.*
- **Art. 8.** *Citizen oversight groups are temporary agreements with a work plan and schedule for implementation, depending on the objective, scope, and level of complexity of the subject.*
- **Art 9.** *Conformation. Citizen oversight groups are to be comprised of a minimum of three natural persons with his/her own rights or in the representation of other social organizations. They can be constituted by:*
 - *A Citizen initiative, collective, or social organization, and*
 - *A call by CPCCS, an inquiry placed by an authority or public institution in virtue of legal mandate or regulation.*

Textbox 4.5 Articles on rules for Veedurias

Source: Reglamento general de Veedurias Ciudadanas

I highlight these articles from the resolution because it describes exactly what an oversight group is capable of doing in Ecuador. The veeduría is able to monitor public projects, plan, and oversee affairs through a process of legitimization of the state. However, it is not representative of the state. The resolution goes on to delineate: who can apply for a veeduría, when it is approved, how it can get access to institutional information for the investigation of a public affair, and how the oversight group can function, when, and how it presents the information found, and finally, when it is dissolved.⁹⁴ Effectively, a minimum of three Ecuadorian residents and/or citizens abroad may constitute a group, which can investigate a public affair. The group applies to gain status of an oversight group through the CPCCS entity in the territorial zone. In this case, residents in Quito can apply to create an oversight group through the CPCCS entity in Quito, called Quito Honesto, or Honest Quito. The application can be found online at the national CPCCS website, or picked up at the local representative office. Subsequently, the group goes through the application for institutional approval.

Approval means that the oversight group transforms into a practice of democracy. It opens institutional barriers to provide and retrieve public information, and attend to some administrative processes. Once approved, the group is then responsible for investigating affairs over public resources, territory, etc. over a period of time designated by CPCCS. This time period depends on the topic of investigation. The group is organized and communicates through a *Veedor/a*, who is in charge and coordinates with public officials, CPCCS, or other public entities. The oversight group is given a special training by CPCCS; they create a work plan, and go through an accreditation process. Over time, a final report is produced about the social issue. The report must be published on the CPCCS website after the information was turned in.

The resolution also outlines how a group can be restricted and terminated. Citizen Oversight groups are prohibited to use their status as a veeduría to use the obtained information for other purposes other than the defined task, use the group status for other purposes than the defined task, affiliate the group with political parties or movements or other special interests, and/or give or receive gifts in the name of the people that are part of the group. Groups can lose

⁹⁴ See pages 6-11 of resolution 005-319-CPCCS-2014 for exact text.

status if they do not complete the outlined task, exercise or abuse their status, provide false information to CPCCS, or a few others. CPCCS functions as institutional support for groups to carry out their defined task. Results from the inquiry cannot be published until after the social issue has been reported to CPCCS. CPCCS can terminate a group if it does not complete the task for which the group was created, if the project/contract/service/or process that is being investigated is suspended, the breach of norms established by law and the resolution, for non-compliance, for not presenting reports in the time established in the work plan, or expressed withdraw from the *veedores/as* communicated to CPCCS. I outline the basic regulations for how *veedurias* function because they are one of the main practices of citizen participation that puts citizens to work for institutions, but without a directly established relationship. *Veedurias* function as a governmentally-defined way for people to investigate social issues. Yet, this does not mean that these types of analyses, investigations, and inquiries do not take place without the approval of the state. *Veedurias* can function in any territory in Ecuador.⁹⁵

In what follows, I concentrate specifically on two attempts of *veedurias* in Quito related to transit planning. These attempted *veedurias* demonstrate the complexities with the legal-technocratic apparatus, and how they undermine any public process. For this analysis, I draw on a mixture of interviews and documents that captured how the process happened. First, I look at a *veeduría* that took place in Quito with the foundation, Observatorio Ciudadano de la Movilidad (OCM). For this, I draw upon both interviews with the OCM and documentation. I use data from OCM because I want to tell their story from their perspective as a response to institutionally defined practices of participation. Then, I discuss the Cyclists' Commission, and how they investigated, and ultimately decided against doing a *veeduría*. For this analysis I use participant observation, interviews, and my direct participation in these events as evidence. I suggest that this demonstrates how one discourse generates from the double-bind: citizens do not need the permission of the state to investigate a social problem.

4.5.1 Veeduría: Pico y Placa and its report.

In March 2010, OCM went through the process and was approved to be a *veeduría* by Quito Honesto. The group wanted to investigate the efficacy of a traffic mitigation program called Pico y Placa. Pico y Placa is a traffic regulation program that works in the Metropolitan District of Quito during peak traffic times from 7-9:30 in the morning and 16-19:30 in the afternoon. Restrictions depend on the last number of the vehicle license plate: for Monday 1 and 2, Tuesday, 3 and 4, and so forth until Friday, ending with 9 and 0. If license plates end with this number the vehicle number, the car cannot travel during the hours of regulation. If the vehicle is caught during these hours on the restricted day, then the vehicle is ticketed based on a sliding scale of penalty between 113-340 USD (Agencia Metropolitana de Tránsito 2015). In theory, the system is set up to control traffic and improve air pollution. OCM wanted to investigate the efficacy of this program. When interviewing the members of the *veeduría*, the members of OCM retold the step-by-step process that they underwent. One of the main problems that they encountered was receiving the information they requested from the municipality on Pico y Placa. This included data on air pollution, environmental indicators, traffic etc.

After completing the process, and gathering the information and updating Quito Honesto with all of the interim progress reports, President of OCM Cristobal Buendía was interviewed about the project. In the interview he stated that they had results from the project. In the

⁹⁵ *Veedurias* have been established across all administrative and development zones as defined by Buen Vivir.

newspaper article, the results were not published, but he did discuss how results determined that Pico y Placa was, in fact, ineffective at doing what the intervention set out to do: curb air pollution and improve traffic flow.

While the official results were not published at this point, the report eventually was released. The report indicated that neither traffic nor air pollution had improved.⁹⁶ I discuss this scenario from the perspective of OCM. Because of this incident, CPCCS terminated their status as a veeduría. (See Figure 4.9):



Figure 4.9. Letter from Quito Honesto terminating Veeduría status

Source: Cristobal Buendía, Observatorio Ciudadano de la Movilidad, 2013

⁹⁶ Full report goes into detail on how time of travel journey in Quito has increased because of Pico y Placa (Observatorio Ciudadano de Movilidad 2011)

The letter expresses that the group was terminated, with an explanation that states that it did not complete the necessary steps in the process of the *veeduría*. In a follow-up meeting, Buendía said that the group was terminated because it published the results in the media before CPCCS had an opportunity to review and publish it.⁹⁷ Following this letter of termination, OCM has since published the results widely, and they have also been referenced in many periodicals about the inefficacy of the Pico y Placa intervention.

This brief snapshot of this *veeduría* indicates that despite going through the legal and institutional requirements, the state deemed the information presented by OCM citizen inappropriate. It however, could not, and did not, stop a group of educated and technically trained citizens to produce technical information by engaging in an in-depth analysis and reporting on the results. The double-bind demonstrates how citizen participation and transit planning collided. This case illustrates the limits within a technocratically defined system of participation that resulted in the release of public information. In other words, new knowledge emerged about a social issue, which then contributed to wider struggles around transit equity in Quito. This is seen in newspaper articles that reference the report, as well as students that investigate urban problems in Quito like air pollution and transportation.⁹⁸ Next, I look at similar results that occurred with the Cyclists Commission in Quito.

4.5.2 Veeduría: Cyclist Commission and responses.

In the many meetings that I witnessed and participated in during my time in the field with the Commission, the processes that they went through to gain a legitimate and powerful status with the municipality were striking. One of the sub-groups within the Commission was tasked to investigate the process of *veeduría*. The Commission wanted to undertake an analysis and inventory on the status of bike lanes in Quito. It wanted to do this in order to follow-up on one the promises that Mayor Barrera made to them.⁹⁹ These mandates include: a social campaign for cyclist safety, a bicycle infrastructure plan, implementation of bike signs, create a *veeduría* to control transit in cases of accidents, execute projects specifically for cyclists, modify the legal structure for cyclist rights in Quito, and create a special commission that is representative of cyclists to meet with council members, the SUM, and the municipality. As a consequence, I followed this subgroup throughout this inquiry.

I accompanied the owner of the cyclist store *Cicleadas el Rey*, and member of the collective *Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito*, to meet with Quito Honesto, wherein they established what the group's process would be to apply for a *veeduría*. Since the Commission represented many social groups, it was first necessary to create a legal agreement between the various social groups. Subsequently, they could then apply to become a *veeduría*. After this interview and inquiry process, the sub-group reported back to the Commission at-large in a following weekly meeting.¹⁰⁰ The Commission debated on the subject and the proper vehicle to address their concerns. It was a subject of debate, but ultimately the Commission decided against it because the group as whole thought they did not need the state or municipality's approval to investigate a social issue.

⁹⁷ See notes for documentation from OCM that states Cristobal Biennia went on Radio Vision on January 12, 2011 with the results.

⁹⁸ Urbanist Fernando Carrión has referenced this report in *Hoy Diario* newspaper article on the Metro, and two Masters theses from Universidad Central Quito refer to this report as well.

⁹⁹ Refers to the list of 7 mandates by the municipality as promises to cyclists made in 2013.

¹⁰⁰ Centro de Arte Contemporaneo, October 2012.

This response came at a time when some members of the Commission, mainly through the work of a local cycling activist, Peter. He began to collect information on the status of the bike lanes in Quito. This meant going out on bike to see if all of the stations of the BiciQ and bike lanes were constructed as the printed maps suggested. Peter, through his own initiative, took the time to investigate this problem. He later mapped it using Internet software, Mapbox, to identify the existing BiciQ stations and connecting bike lanes.¹⁰¹ At this time, the municipality did not have this information and referenced it internally.¹⁰²

This second attempt at a *veeduría* demonstrates in many ways the inefficacy of the bounded apparatus of citizen participation, as it does not thwart citizens from investigating social problems on their own. In particular, the responses from the failed *veedurías* is that people who are motivated to study a social problem like public transport will do so, thus it generates an alternative discourse. This case also shows that *veedurías* can work as ways to instigate individual participation. It demonstrates how transit institutions can envision how to include people in the transit planning process that is outside of the legal-technocratic apparatus.

4.6 Conclusions

In this chapter I have relied on ethnographic methods to capture how institutional citizen participation formulates as it relates to transit planning. I organized the chapter through the concept of a double-bind as a way to observe the concurrent and unequal dialogues that are present with citizen participation mechanisms. To create the double-bind, I first outlined how the legal-technocratic apparatus of citizen participation is created and bound by definitions, laws, and policies of the state and municipality. Subsequently, I went into detail with two specific participatory planning meetings to indicate how transit planners enact democratic practice: they continue to use scientific knowledge to respond to community concerns. These concerns are not congruent to the information that transit planners espouse. Thus this action, I demonstrate the limitations of the legal-technocratic apparatus. By reviewing how transit institutions put the apparatus of citizen participation to function, I demonstrate that a scientific knowledge feedback loop emerges. I argue that this is why citizen participation and transit justice discourses do not and cannot intersect.

In the case of the Metro, people responded to the planning meetings with questions that were not necessarily technical. The questions were ultimately social, despite the evidence that registers it as technical. Looking at my experience, as a bicycle-planning consultant was useful in that it demonstrated how complicated the power dynamics are. I was only able to serve as a consultant because of the work that the cyclist movement had accomplished—it infiltrated the transit planning process by inserting new actors into the dominant framework. However, in the end despite our desires to create an inclusionary space and process, we had to work within the contours of citizen participation. Transit institutions reply to citizen participation as a technocratic process that requires a technocratic solution. They do not respond to questions of justice. As a result, what I have tried to emphasize in this chapter through ethnographic evidence is that transit institutions, when considering participatory planning and citizen participation should consider the possibilities that occur as a result of these articulations. Incorporating social movements, actors, and new knowledge into a transit vision is possible. Working within the contours and confines of citizen participation is challenging. Therefore, seeing what emerges

¹⁰¹ See webpage of maps and bicycle services in Quito made by the store Bixichuzo.

¹⁰² According to Peter who was the citizen who created his own maps online.

along side and in reaction to these confined spaces is as important for transit planning visions, decisions, and imagining new possibilities.

A double-bind presents itself when articulations citizen participation are practiced through Quito's system of participatory governance and *veedurias*. By delving deeply into the participatory governance system of Quito, I discovered how processes of decentralization have impacted how social actors interpret the meaning of citizen participation. As a result, the very tools that establish Commissions and participatory planning meetings were infiltrated with new actors and knowledge. Social groups like APQ and bicycle collectives move on to and produce different movements and initiatives. They re-present themselves in different work opportunities, or social organizing. Then, in the instance of the *veeduría*, I documented how two social groups understood and used the inquiry to achieve alternative discourses. I suggested that these alternative discourses and practices operated outside of the dominant transit planning discourse of the municipality. Thus, the *veeduría* functions in order to provoke new social questions.

In the end, citizens can actively organize, investigate, and respond to social problems, and act as their own agents of social justice and equity. I present the dynamics that occur *in situ* in Quito, in an era of participatory institutions and democratic experiments at the local level, that occur simultaneous to regional concerns on unknown meanings of transit equity or justice. I have not attempted to define either of these because it is not the focus of the chapter; instead I demonstrated an institutional vision. Therefore, this chapter is another representation of what happens when a transit vision is performed. In this case, I have woven together disparate dynamics to produce an analysis that captures the collisions and collusions of transit planning in an era of participatory democracy. Next, I take this concept a step further by looking into and revealing results captured on the experiences of transit users. I use the concept of a transit user as a social identifier to link a plurality of actors that take different forms of public transit. I suggest that targeting the experience of the transit user as the center point of analysis can change the orientation and better frame how large networks are conceptualized.

Chapter 5: Infrastructural Visions

5.1 Getting around Quito

When I first arrived in Quito in August 2012, one of my biggest frustrations in moving around the city was when I had to get directions. If you follow a map, the street numbers, when present, have multiple logics to them. The old Spanish Indies numbering system was superimposed by a newer numbering system in the 1990s under Jamil Mahuad. Rather than fully transitioning to the new system, many streets in Quito utilize both numbering systems, but running in opposite sequence; while some numbers run up, the others run down. I frequently got lost because I was used to moving around a city with numbers and street names. When I asked for directions, people would not even refer to street numbers and would instead direct me based on landmarks. “Go to the big arch, *El Ejido*, make a left, walk two minutes, and then you’ll find the McDonald’s. From the McDonald’s make a left and continue up. You’ll eventually find a large university on the right-hand side.” This is how I found myself at the Universidad Católica for the first time.

It was these challenges as a public transit user that led me to critique the layout of the bus routes and the functionality of their circulation patterns. In Quito, routes were not coherently mapped out; you have to know what street corner is in front of or behind the official bus stop to catch the right bus. Buses are labeled with names of destinations, such as *CCI*, *El Recreo*, and *Quito Sur*, or historical landmarks such as *El Ejido*, *Panecillo*, etc. However, to my dismay, using public transportation soon allowed me to understand the interconnections among difference spaces in the city. Destinations are points of reference for moving around Quito. The sectors of this fragmented city might be determined by a political administrative zone and territorial function such as school or government building, but when riding on transit, they function according to different understandings of the city.

The bus lines are just one way of knowing how to move around Quito. They allow for improvisation between places, revealing the visible and invisible dynamics that occur on public transit infrastructure. My experience was defined by my position as an outsider and planner trying to get from point A to point B in the city. This is what I would have expected given that transit studies teaches planners to think about transit infrastructure from the dilemmas associated with time efficiency or technocratic knowledge (Banister, 2008, p.74). It is not typically thought of as a social experience that connects diverse strategies of movement and geographies of the city. Public transit infrastructure is not static; it is a medium through which people and technical systems flow. Infrastructures occupy urban space and take away from what the public transit is actually doing (Easterling, 2014, pp. 27-28). To this day there is not a coherent or cohesive map of all of the public buses and private buses lines in Quito. The future Metro is a state and municipal political endeavor that ties Quito’s public transit to a global economy through global finance and expertise. It also places the Andean capital at the forefront of regional best practices of sustainable urban transit. Meanwhile, public transit buses in Quito are still operated by “transportistas,” which are collectively owned bus enterprises in Quito that have to meet municipally-imposed regulations to run bus lines. It is difficult to distinguish which buses are public and which are private.

In the previous chapter, I looked at the limitations and possibilities that arise from institutional visions of transit planning. I used the concept of apparatus to indicate how State-defined institutions of citizen participation put parameters on how recognized institutions *do*

transit planning. I turned to the notion of the double-bind to highlight how transit institutions continue to use technocratic knowledge to decide on transit outcomes despite citizen commentary. As a result, I showed how this interaction provoked alternative practices. The double-bind allowed for the possibility of seeing both sides of citizen participation: how institutions employ the concept, and how citizens react. In this chapter, I continue to concentrate on the generative opportunities that arise from public transit infrastructure. I do this by building on the field of infrastructural studies (Easterling 2014; Larkin 2008; Simone 2010). I triangulate intercept survey data, photo-diaries, and ethnographic evidence to show how public transit infrastructure is both a tool of control and site of interaction.

I write about two different transit visions that occur laterally. I begin by detailing a landscape of the places in between and that intersect in public transit infrastructure in Quito. Subsequently, I use data to show how public transit infrastructure in Quito is reflective of invisible dynamics that are defined by a transforming State and municipality. The possibilities that arise out of this are seen through how citizens, such as urban cyclists, perform everyday activities (Holston 2008, 15–18). This shows the invisible and visible dynamics that transit visions embody. Finally, I re-present photo-diary evidence from the perspective of standpoint theory (Harding 1995) to challenge how transit planners continue to use technocratic knowledge in transit research (Litman, Todd 2013, 22). Through this double-movement I suggest that the performance of transit visions accounts for how transit planning is accomplished. Transit planning is accomplished through the repetition of political, institutional, and infrastructural visions. Each transit vision on the one hand has entrenched political and social meaning, and on the other, provokes alternative practices.

5.2 Infrastructure space: Four Transit Terminals

In this section I give a detailed analysis that attempts to capture the complexities of public transit infrastructure in Quito. Infrastructures in their simplest form are categorical (Larkin 2013, 328). They are objects that begin as simple systems that build upon each other (Star 1999). They are physical networks that circulate and exchange people, goods, ideas, waste, water, energy, and finance. They are insufferably modern, existing as a site of capitalist expansion that reproduces unequal social relations in the city (Graham and Marvin 2002, 39–42). Public transit infrastructure connects the disperse lives of transit users that want to get to a social destination. Infrastructure spaces are a medium that makes things possible (Easterling 2014, 23–24). Infrastructures provide the opportunity for people and recognized urban institutions to create new possibilities. They represent a changing horizon to unlearn and reimagine urban life based off of cultural and aesthetic experiences (Chattopadhyay 2012, 39–44).

In this sense, public transit infrastructure, as well as the planning institutions, is shaped by “setting the parameters by which social life and cultural life is produced” (Larkin 2008, 5–6) and becomes a “vehicle through which diverse facets of urban life intersect...” (Simone 2010, 119). Each part of the city has different reference points. Therefore, the various forms of urban life that are produced because of transit infrastructure are impressively fragmented and do not align well with the Metro or BiciQ’s reach. As such, I build on Easterling’s notion of infrastructural space to cement an understanding that public transit infrastructure is a medium through which many things are connected:

Far from hidden, infrastructure is now the overt point of contact and access between us all—the rules of governing the space of everyday life. Picture the places where we live: the parking places, skyscrapers, turning radii, garages, street lights, driveways, airport lounges, highway exits...In the retinal afterglow is a soupy matrix of details and repeatable formulas that generate most of the space in the world—what we might call infrastructure space.(2014, 21–22)

I look at infrastructure space as a way to connect the various fragmented geographies and processes that public transit infrastructure connects. Public transit infrastructure provides a way to comprehend Quito through a different light. For example, infrastructure space allowed me to think about where buses would take me, and the interactions that took place on them and around them. It was in this way that the city is largely understood as a city of three different territories with three different logics. The administrative and political systems, as well as the street grids with transportation lines that connect them, are all part of different spaces and have different ways of doing things.

Riding around on bicycle in Quito disrupted my ability to capture a day-to-day ethnographic analysis of other forms of public transit. To better engage with the cultural politics of public transit I needed to engage with the multiple imaginaries of how people move around on buses and Quito's BRT systems. It was for this reason that I engaged in a larger intercept survey to account for perspectives on citizen participation and transit infrastructural outcomes. I argue that public transit infrastructure must begin with the very space that it occupies. I provide the following map for reference of where I conducted my survey:

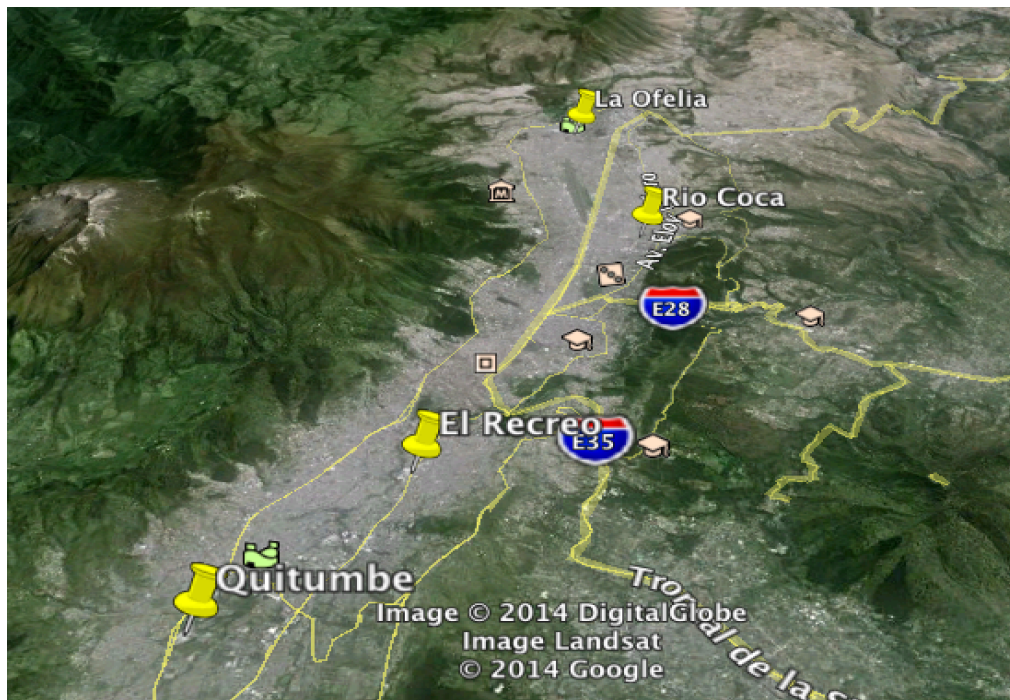


Figure 5.1 Bus Terminals for Intercept Survey in Quito

Source: (Google Earth 2014)

Figure 5.1 indicates the disperse locations within Quito where I conducted my survey. These four terminals connect variegated parts of Quito. My transportation survey starts from different reference points and connects the diverse infrastructure spaces in between them. I chose these four terminals because they are inter-modal stations, where people from the valleys and peripheries of Quito commute. I now use this section to provide ethnographic detail of each bus terminal—as well as the spaces in between—that support the intercept survey I conducted. The different transit terminals elucidate the various intersections that make the city work.

The results from the intercept survey were symbolic of the many fragmented cultures of transit I was trying to understand. One of the observations recorded from the survey provides judgments about standing. While waiting in the lines, there was the opportunity to document three observations from each participant. Participants reported on the theme *Irrespeto*. But within the recorded observations from surveys, *irrespeto* encompassed many judgments such as standing in line for too long, to the mutual disrespect between riders, to the poor training and conduct of the bus operators and facilities operators. In other words, *irrespeto* meant different things to different transit users, and also depended on the bus terminal. It seemed obvious to transit users that the buses needed to be upgraded, cleaned, and above all improved by the municipal administration. Transit users perceived their experience as daily disrespect and expressed this through their grievances over too few buses, lines that were too long and poor drainage. *Irrespeto* is one of the largest concerns for public transit in Quito. It is about the disrespect of the user. Table 5.1 below represents the observations that came from all 950 users at all four transportation terminals:

Table 5.1. Citizen Priorities of needs for improvement to Public Transit

Types of Responses, Priority #1	#	%	Types of Responses, Priority #2	#	%
no response	30	3.2%	no response	30	3.2%
Insecurity	165	17.6%	insecurity	165	17.6%
Disorganization	124	13.3%	disorganization	124	13.3%
too many people	60	6.4%	too many people	60	6.4%
Disrespect	59	6.3%	disrespect	59	6.3%
Slowness	23	2.5%	slowness	23	2.5%
fast speed	5	0.5%	fast speed	5	0.5%
more buses	161	17.2%	more buses	161	17.2%
Schedules	38	4.1%	schedules	38	4.1%
Control	11	1.2%	control	11	1.2%
Traffic	81	8.7%	traffic	81	8.7%
poor status of infrastructure	44	4.7%	poor status of infrastructure	44	4.7%
Crowding	50	5.3%	crowding	50	5.3%
Cleanliness	2	0.2%	cleanliness	2	0.2%
Pollution	8	0.9%	pollution	8	0.9%
bad service	30	3.2%	bad service	30	3.2%
Congestion	28	3.0%	congestion	28	3.0%
Poor education/culture	4	0.4%	Poor education/culture	4	0.4%
no opinion	3	0.3%	no opinion	3	0.3%
Accidents	9	1.0%	accidents	9	1.0%

Source: Julie Gamble, Intercept Survey, June 2013

My intention was not to do a stock or analysis of the ways in which people observed what was wrong with, or what needed improvements in, the public transit system of Quito. Rather, my first intent was to discover simply who had heard about the metro rail, MetroQ, which was to be built. What I uncovered was that people did not want to talk about that. For example, at the station, El Recreo, people wanted to talk about what was wrong with their experience as a transit user. At another station, such as La Ofelia, for example, people were more interested in discussing increased travel time. *Irrespeto* was at the top of their list, and across differed stations addressing this issue was also the priority of many (Table 5.1). Despite the municipality's presence at the station, people felt disrespected, crowded and that the terminal was disorganized. *Irrespeto* in my observation notes meant one thing at El Recreo, and another further south at the southernmost terminal, Quitumbe. Yet, BRT lines connected them all.

The results from the different terminals, when aggregated are representative of judgments from transit users across the city. It is important to remember that despite their locational difference, they are connected to each other through transit lines. For instance, the Trolebus was the first mass transit line municipally planned in the city. It was a trunk-feeder system designed to move users north and south along a major axis, Avenida 10 de Agosto. It connects the major areas of the city from north to south. *La Y, Naciones Unidas, La Carolina, La Mariscal, El Ejido,*

La Alameda, Plaza Grande, Chimbacalle, Villaflora, El Recreo, La Solanda, Moran Valverde, and *Quitumbe* are just some of the principal stops along the Trolebus' route. They are interlinked and connected by stops along a transit line, but have entirely different logics to them.

La Plaza Grande is home to the presidential palace and municipal government. Tourists, municipal employees, women and men of all ages, as well as youth populate the historic plaza. The men that sit in the Plaza on a daily basis are elderly and retired and for the most part have always sat there.¹⁰³ It is a place for social gathering, just as it was in its pre-existing condition when the Spanish placed order to the city. Today, the government is there, it is a silent power that regulates through an architectural presence in the name of public interest.¹⁰⁴ What are more interesting are the visibly illicit processes that occur. Three blocks over, one will find prostitution corners in directions to both the north and south. The young boys that sit in the historic plaza are there to shine the shoes of the tourists, but secretly belong to a larger organized group. The area is regarded as a historic site of UNESCO, but has also been investigated for its urban policies that have cleared indigenous beggars and informal vendors from the streets. Furthermore, the Plaza Grande is guarded by three different sets of police: national, municipal, and tourist.¹⁰⁵ These are multiple ways to read the Plaza Grande and its surroundings. It has its own administrative zone and has participatory processes that are divergent to those that I discussed in chapter 4. The community presence is fragmented around the various municipal markets, the *other* transportation hub, La Marin, and community alarm systems.

La Marin is Quito's oldest bus terminal that is next to the former inter-provincial bus terminal, Qumandá. Before the Trolebus, La Marín was the central urban bus terminal in Quito. Contrary to the Secretaría de Movilidad's (SUM) planning efforts, it still is the busiest terminal. The inter-municipal buses that come in from the valleys, Tumbaco and Los Chillos, connect here. There are two separate platforms that different buses reach. During the mornings when I ran my intercept survey, I would meet up with my survey team there because it was the easiest and most central place to gather. From my observations, Quito's busiest time of transit begins at 6:00 a.m. in La Marin. Youth transfer to go to school, but are often seen lurking in and around the station. Women street vendors are there to sell hot coffee, *fritada* (fried pork), and other street foods. Men sell anything from newspapers to umbrellas, depending on the weather. Men, women, and children hop on and off buses to sell gum, candy, English learning CDs, etc. People also transfer there. Buses from the valleys arrive there, masses of people run from one bus platform to another. Two BRTs, the MetrobusQ and the Ecovia, pass through the first platform. The second platform is for the intra-city buses. Planners and politicians describe it as complete chaos, despite the numerous times that the city has intervened and regulated it.¹⁰⁶ The first platform connects almost directly up the hill to the Plaza Grande. It is by and large a place where

¹⁰³ Fernando Carrión Mena Arq.. "Los imaginarios urbanos fundacionales de Quito" *revista Q* 12. De una ciudad violenta para las mujeres a una segura (2011): 60-65.

¹⁰⁴ This is a common argument seen in modernist architecture. See "The Modernist City" (1989 by James Holston. Or, seen in Chapter 2 of "Fin de Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture" (1980) by Carl Schorske for discussion on Vienna's Ringstrasse.

¹⁰⁵ Geographer Kate Swanson (2007) uses Neil Smith's concept of "Urban Revanchism"—that is using urban regeneration to cleanse certain urban areas of the poor—to discuss the cleansing of Quito's Centro Histórico.

¹⁰⁶ Most recent upgrade under Barrera Administration in 2010. The upgrades were aesthetic but did nothing to change the logic to the place.

there is a vibrant market place, but is predominately known for lack of security, robberies, and petty crime.¹⁰⁷

Perceived in this way, despite it moving more people in the city, it is not on the map for the future Metro rail. Instead, the Metro will run further uphill through the historic plaza San Francisco. The Metro will not run there because, according to transit planners and politicians, it is too risky because of the topography. La Marin is located in a ravine in the Centro Historico that is seismically unsafe. However, I would argue that it is the perception of crime that makes this an area unattractive for the tourist or elites. La Marin, despite the government's presence, continues to be an unruly area with economic a vibrant economic and social life. I did not conduct my intercept survey there because it took 2 minutes to complete. People moved too quickly to catch them to complete it, whereas at the official other transfer terminals, I was able to take advantage of the long lines and survey people during their wait.

In another example, to get off and walk around Plaza Grande is a different experience than walking around in Villaflora. Villaflora is the last stop that is within the *hypercentro* of Quito, which is defined as the zone with the most daily trips traveled, and continues north until La Y. The zones of high employment and productive economies also define the *hypercentro*. I did not choose this stop in my survey because it was not an official transfer point. Though, it was difficult not to see this spot as a point of confluence, given what happens around Villaflora. There is a micro-economy of nearly 80 businesses around the area called *Cinco Esquinas*, or five corners, that runs between the streets just a few blocks away from the Trolebus stop. *Cinco Esquinas* is particular in that it is hard to get to via anything but bus, walking or bike. It is best for pedestrians and foot traffic because it is difficult to park around the area. It is folded between the streets, *Juan del Alcázar*, from North to South, and the transversal streets are *Pedro Cepero* and *Diego Garcia*. I display a map to orient the location:

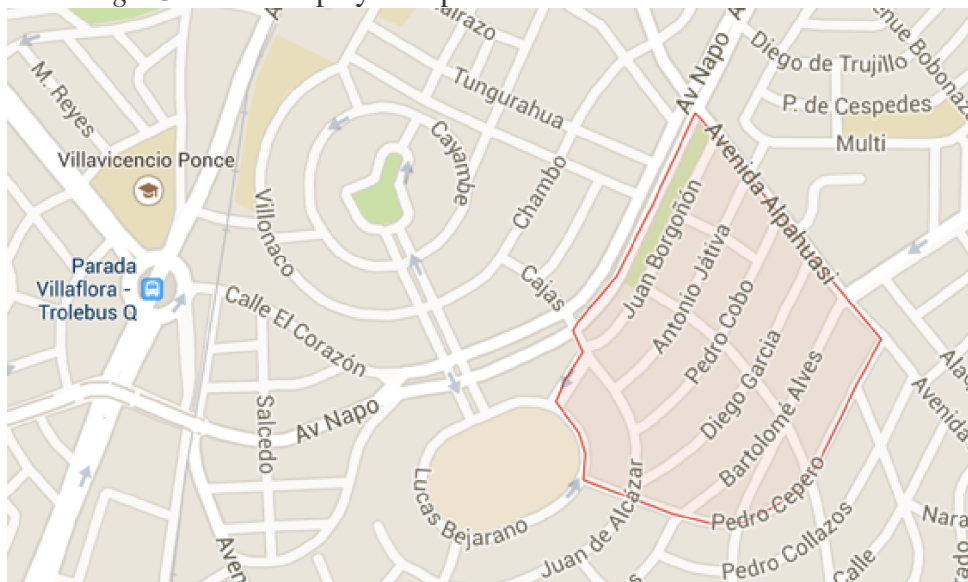


Figure 5.2 Google Map of Cinco Esquinas

Source: Google Maps

¹⁰⁷ Drugs, Alcohol, Prostitution and Illegal vendors make La Marin a dangerous place. Most recently, defined in Ecuadorian newspaper (Diario Hoy 2012)

The red sector highlighted above in Figure 5.2 indicates where there is the union of these 5 corners. It is closest walking distance to the Trolebus stop, Villaflora. What this map does not show is that it has 80 local businesses between food and other commercial sites. It is home to some of the best *morocho*, or a spiced hot milk drink with corn, in Quito called Super Morocho.¹⁰⁸ The street food stands operate at night. The local food industry is an agglomerated urban economy that makes this part of the city move according to a different rhythm. This cluster moves according to the food industry. When locating it on Google maps, it becomes obvious to the eye why it is difficult for vehicular traffic to move through the zone. City officials cannot create a parking scheme for the area, and instead, local and self-proclaimed parking attendants informally charge for watching parked cars. I suggest that this local economy reveals how well it has worked for forty years, when the cluster first formed through neighborhood action. Therefore, by describing these different geographies of the city, I argue that riding on a transit line demonstrates how transit links these different local economies. Villaflora is an important economic agglomeration for the south of Quito, and also disrupts any notion that a car is needed to define a productive area or a place where lots of people work.

Meanwhile, in the same administrative zone further south, El Recreo is where the municipality is present but invisible. The Trolebus has a major transfer terminal at El Recreo, the Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Transporte de Pasajeros¹⁰⁹ (EPMTPQ), and a bus servicing station are all next to or within the hub. This station is an official transfer terminal between the feeder buses, Ecovia, and the Trolebus. When I was conducting my intercept survey in this station, it was quite organized and possibly the most regulated, safe and efficient terminal in my experience. Vendors were limited to the official stands within the terminal. Some women sold small items such as candy and gum on the outside of the terminal, where buses run by transportistas ran, but were not allowed inside of the terminal. It was cleaner because there was a janitorial staff present that cleaned and physical barriers between the terminal and the outside.

People seemed to be less disgruntled. During rush hour, people wait in lines segregated by gender. But, despite all of the orderliness, my presence there, along with the women surveyors, generated attention. Women, in particular, were eager to take my survey. They were interested in safety and increasing the level of respect inside of bus terminals. Quitumbe was the next terminal where I conducted my survey. This transportation terminal is at the southernmost tip of Quito's administrative and political jurisdiction. This area has a special territorial plan that has been slowly developed up over the past 20 years and has included actions like taking land back from land traffickers, building up public schools and housing, and the creation of community development facilities. In 2008, under the administration of Andres Vallejo, Quitumbe opened up as a transfer terminal for Quito's BRTs, and inter-provincial buses that travel south from Quito. The Trolebus, Ecovia and MetrobusQ all reach this terminal. It is a modern terminal with an employment center, market, banks, and information center. At the information center, there was a stand that offered information about the MetroQ. Transit users here were calmer. The atmosphere was more serene, even during rush hours. There was logic to the terminal that was similar to that of El Recreo, but there was more space. Overall, the impression that users gave us was that it was more organized, had better service, but functioned mainly as a spot of transition. People did not wait around in the station. They ran from one point to another. No social life was completely obvious like in La Marin or El Recreo such as economic exchange or a point where people met to talk, but also people waited less. Many of the

¹⁰⁸ Special article on Cinco Esquinas(Diario Hoy 2004)

¹⁰⁹ Public Metropolitan Company for Passenger Transport of Quito

photos that I took while conducting the survey were of people running. Despite all of the facilities available at the terminal, people loitered less. The administrative and economic services were not immediately accessible at the transfer point between BRTs thus; there was less action inside because they were inside of the larger terminal itself. The larger terminal Quitumbe, with all of the services it provided, decentralized and dispersed the possibilities for people to loiter inside the station. The actions of the municipality brought order to the terminal.

It was the complete opposite experience at Ofelia. This terminal sits at the extreme north-west point of the city. It also operates as both an interprovincial bus terminal and BRT transfer point for the trunk-feeder MetrobusQ system. Buses arrive from the extremely populated northern peripheries Calderon and Carcelen. The terminal is not as clean as Quitumbe and El Recreo, indicating that perhaps this is the first sign that the municipality's presence does not lurk in the background. Instead, it is loosely controlled by a handful of security guards hired from a private firm. People feel insecure and safety is a large concern. These security guards were put in place to monitor and combat petty crime and theft that was occurring within the terminal. The mornings that I went with my team to run the survey were tough. The survey team encountered short tempers, harassment, and crowding.

During one morning, I was able to interview the head of security at the station. He discussed his presence, what types of criminal behavior he had to deal with, and his weak confidence in the municipality. He recalled many instances when he called the ambulance or police and it took them a very long time to show up. These types of observations made me realize how different of a place this terminal was. Perhaps it was the lack of the regulations or institutional weakness that produced insecurity and chaos. The history of the MetrobusQ can account for some of the disorganization and uncertainty. The BRT line is run by a concessionary agreement between a few Transportista companies. Thus, the MetrobusQ and the stops along that line are not under complete administrative and political authority of the municipal government.

Ofelia is an intersection where, public and private institutions clash, and authoritative domain seems unclear. The interior design is confusing and users in turn do not use it the way it was intended. People went around the turnstiles in part of the station because there was no one there to monitor them and they could also just walk around. They bypass the turnstiles to run to wait in the long and precarious lines for the MetrobusQ. The security guards' main task is to try to maintain the lines and keep men out of jumping into the women's lines. The bus drivers on the MetrobusQ also drive faster than the Ecovia or Trolebus. The recorded observations from this terminal demonstrated that one of the largest concerns was the disorganization, insecurity, and disorganization at this terminal. It seemed to encompass all of the observations that I made during my time there.

At Rio Coca, the last terminal where we collected surveys, the atmosphere was distinct. It was a smaller terminal as it served as a transfer point for the trunk-feeder system strictly for the Ecovia. The Ecovia, like the Trolebus, is municipally run, thus there was a certain amount of stability found within the confines of the station. There were fences that clearly marked the station. The maps and physical design lay out was comprehensible in that people could easily walk from one bus to another. The facility management was clearly around, as the terminal was swept and kept clean. In fact, it felt sterile in comparison to the other terminals. One set of commentaries that arose often throughout the survey gathering at Rio Coca was that many users owned cars. The traffic on the outside of Rio Coca was distinct to the others. Traffic did not circulate as quickly because it did not appear as controlled on the outside. It seemed that

many users were dropped off, or were using public transit because of Pico y Placa. Some users had to use public transit because he/she could not use the car on that specific day. The wait in the lines was also less intense. People did not have to run as much or as far. On average, the men and women that pass through this terminal commute around 1 hour.. It connects with the city by car, bus or now even the BiciQ has a station there. But, it does not have a formal or informal market in it. The municipal institution, EMPTQ keeps it under control, and the places of employment around there are distinct: it is close to a University, larger companies, and a mall. It is in the northern end of the city and connected to the areas where predominately middle and upper class Quiteños frequent.

The differences in the terminals and the users were not reflected in the survey I conducted. The users on the one hand, overwhelmingly reported that public transportation services were good, and felt that they were a part of decision-making. But, when asked before this question in the survey, it was clearly documented that they had grievances and needs that were not met. Each station had a different culture and type of organizing logic that I have tried to represent as a person in between these worlds. In the case of the terminals in the south, it was evidenced that an urban economy is not necessarily accounted for within the dominant framework of transit planning because it is rather disconnected from the car. Then, in turn, it is clear to evaluate the status and role of institutions within terminals, and how this is expressed spatially and materially. In the cases of El Recreo and Quitumbe, the invisible presence of the municipal institution EPMTP made the stations more efficient or logical, but it did not account for the ways in which the facilities and services could be improved, or how this equated to the respect of the user. This was similar at Rio Coca but the sense of what the municipality did at this small terminal was abstract. Ofelia is intensely disparate but remains largely as the most overcrowded terminal where rules are not enforced. Thus, there is a particular characterization of this station that is the result of a lack of action by the municipality. The possibilities to enhance these places might work best if the users' perspectives are accounted for.

Further, I went into detail to elucidate the subtleties of each terminal to demonstrate how they are infrastructure spaces in that they are different than what transit planners, institutions and the municipal administration assume them to be and what intersects through them. These terminals in the distinct geographies of the city have the distinct ability to organize urban life, and thus, should be thought of as a social complex that is full of potentials. It is a place of intersection, not just of transfer. It is in this regard that the idea of disposition comes into play. Each transportation terminal as a disposition, it has a purpose, but in reality there are many other happenings that occur around that actually define them. Next, I discuss how public transit users take advantage of these potentialities by usurping and repurposing the existing infrastructures and their institutional meanings. As a result, I begin to display some of the profiles of public transit users and their experiences.

5.3 Dispositions: Surveys and their Unintended Meanings

Numbers and tables are part of a strategy that Quito's transit institutions employ to convey information and their priorities to the public. While numbers may present quantitative indicators pertaining to different modes of travel, they do not represent the lived experiences of people. In this section I build and work with theories that includes Keller Easterling's notion of disposition that highlights the opportunities that can come out of infrastructure spaces (2014, 145–147) to convey how it is possible to see opportunities that come out of revisioning survey results that planners use to explain social dynamics. I bring in supporting ethnographic accounts

of how survey data reveals entrenched realities of what infrastructural development comes to mean in Quito and Ecuador. I present a collection of images, graphs, statistics, texts, and maps. The majority of this material is focused on my time in the field between August 2012-October 2013. I begin with survey data, as that is what planners typically collect to socially map and define social relations. This survey data is a reflection of both my intercept survey and an urban mobility survey conducted by the Secretaría de Movilidad de Quito. I also bring in photo-diary data that I gathered in the field with urban cyclists. I use the diaries and weave in ethnographic accounts as a way to highlight the improvisational and creative space that an experimental ethnography allows.

Currently, Quito's urban mobility challenges are a result of automobile congestion. I suggest that Quito's transit planning approach continues to be automobile dominant. Paratransit is not the focus in this analysis as I focused on network inside users that are accounted for by the municipality. As such, I present these two tables that I believe define Quito's transit culture:

Vehicles/Capita Per Macrozone Metropolitan District of Quito

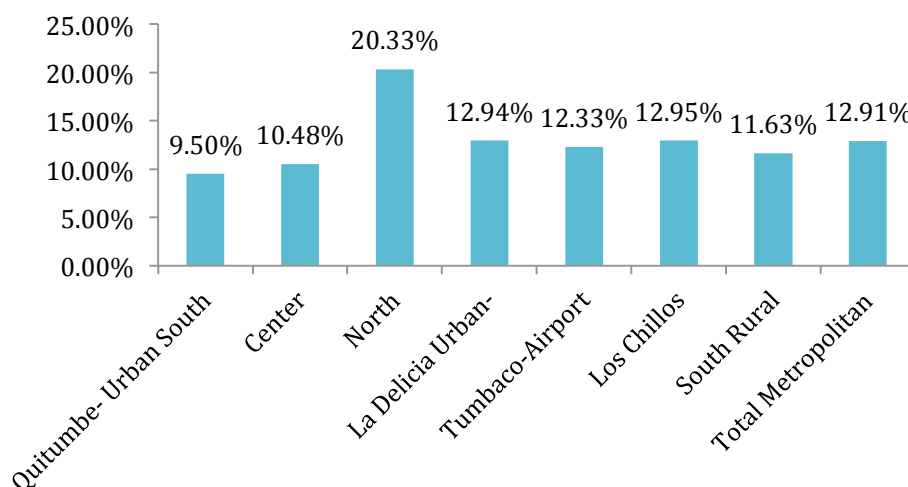


Figure 5.3. Vehicles/Capita Macrozone of Quito.

Source: Instituto de la Ciudad, DMQ, Secretariat of Urban Mobility Survey 2011

Table 27: Motorized trips taken on work days according to mode of public or private transit				
Motorized Mobility		Trips		
Public	General Use	2,230,584	84.8%	61.9%
	School and Business	398,474	15.2%	11.1%
	Total	2,629,058	100.0%	73.3%
Private	Auto	833,279	85.5%	23.1%
	Taxi	141,271	14.5%	3.9%
	Total	974,550	100.0%	27.0%
Total		3,603,609		100.0%

Figure 5.4 Motorized Trips DMQ

Source: Metro Design Report by Metro Madrid 2012, Data Source Secretariat of Mobility, 2011

It is difficult not to see how transit has been defined by the presence of street networks and the automobile. Quito's manner to define its transit user profile is best summarized by the figures that I present above. According to the Secretaría de Movilidad and Quito's Municipally urban research center Instituto de la Ciudad, the culture of transit is clearly defined by those who use a car (Figure 5.4). The city's annual car growth is 9.2% (INEC 2010) and traffic congestion is currently one of Quito's largest urban problems. Figure 5.4 demonstrates the amount of registered vehicles per macro-zone of Quito. With a total of 289,177 cars registered, it is no surprise that the north (20.33%) has the most vehicles per capita, given that this is where the defined hypercenter, or zone of the city with the most daily trips occur. Today, this situation has created one of Quito's most pressing problems. Cars compete for space on the roads with buses, which participate in the *Guerra del centavo*, or penny war, – as they race through the city fighting to pick up the most characters.

Figure 5.4 builds on the first definition of a transit planning culture, which I label as automobile dominant. It goes on to break down the profile of the public transit user according to the city's latest travel-demand study. This report was conducted with the help of the consulting company, Metro Madrid. The report deconstructs the transit profile by two modes of distinction: mecanizado and no-mecanizado, or motorized and non-motorized, and also as public and private. The original sources on these graphics are from DMQ's mobility study conducted in 2011. I take the first and second figure directly from the reports released by Instituto de la Ciudad and Metro Madrid, respectively, because it demonstrates the way institutions work together to generate numbers. These numbers work with and against each other to depict how institutions create categories for transit users. Each institution has a way of *visioning*, breaking down numbers, and has a propensity to define what transit planning is and who its' users are.

Transit institutions create categories to make predictions about people and their behaviors, thus allowing data to reflect specific experiences that fail to capture the lived experience of using public transit. Examples above indicate that they labeled people in the categories public, and private, motorized and non-motorized. These are the modes of transit people take; they do not illustrate who actually takes them. Therefore, the categories are further refined to discuss the users: general public, school and companies, taxi and private vehicle. Users are represented, not as people or actors, but as collected objects or parts that are polarized between these categories.

In order to move from planning public transit to reconceiving how numbers represent alternative meanings, I begin by borrowing the term “dispositions” from architect Keller Easterling (2014) to discuss the cultures of transit consumption that arise from transit infrastructure. A disposition “usually describes an unfolding relationship between potentials. It describes a tendency or property in either beings or objects...” (Easterling 2014, 147). Thus, I argue that transit-planning institutions have their “dispositions”; they create existing relationships, such as public/private, motorized/non-motorized, which are the ways these institutions vision dominant cultures of transit consumption. Yet, between these categories, there is a way to view how these dominant narratives create other opportunities of visioning. The dispositions create the potential for various cultures of transit consumption to work with and against these dominant narratives. As such, I ran an intercept survey at existing transportation terminals across the city in order to collect and rely on my own data about transit users. My intercept survey reveals dominant information about users that I do not rely on from the Municipality’s urban mobility survey. I begin with one graph:

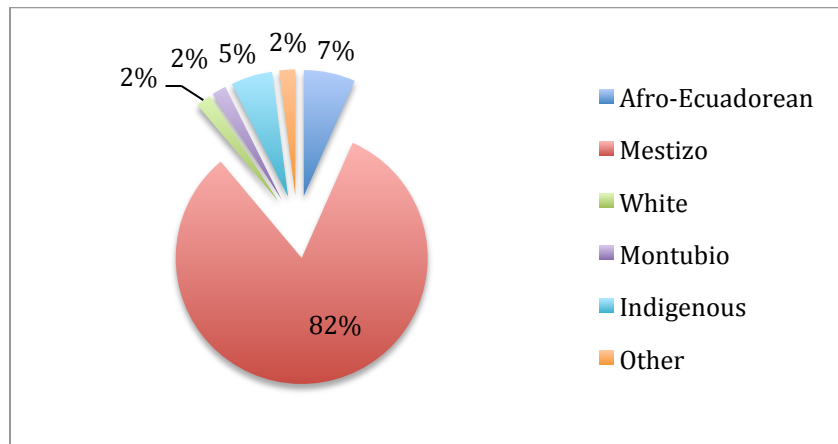


Figure 5.5 Racial and Ethnic Profile of Transit Users

Source: June 2013, Intercept Survey by Julie Gamble

Breaking down people by numbers is an easy way to establish what the types of users profiles are. The ethnic breakdown in Quito is interesting. It also reveals the deeper challenges between the way in which people in Ecuador identify ethnically and racially. The ambiguity of how people relate to this concept is buried in historic and contemporary challenges of *mestizaje*. For example, the term *mestizo* was applied to all citizens at the national level in the 1950s to unite indigenous groups with an Ecuadorian national society (Clark 1998). In the 2010 national census, Ecuadoreans were allowed to self-identify, resulting in a loss of nearly fifty percent of the Afro-Ecuadorean population because many switched and identified with being Montubio.

Such a reflection is often not seen in a typical reading of a transit survey. As discussed in the previous chapter, surveys in the field urban planning have been used as a tool to dominate, categorize, and construct a certain social reality that controls how bodies move in urban space (Foucault, Michel 1980; Joyce 2003; Pløger 2008). I suggest that these two graphs are indicative of my attempt as a planner to capture judgments from citizens that use public transit. I wanted to see if there was a disparity of use between transit stations or if there was an influence of ethnicity and race across the urban geographies of Quito. My survey demonstrated that a racial and/or ethnic geography of Quito is impossible to decipher from the representation that I display.

The relationship that unfolded was between Quito's racial and ethnic geography and a history of misrepresentation and self-identification. Under the 2008 constitution, Ecuador is depicted as a plurinational and starts from the idea of difference. However, today, Correa uses the term interculturality to attempt to assert connections between citizens underneath one nation State (Martínez Novo 2014, 113). Consequently self-identification is a problem in how Ecuadorians assert identities since the 1950s. But, it does make it possible to determine how municipal and State driven pursuits on infrastructural development are entrenched in questions about citizenship.

Infrastructural development in Quito mimic similar trends that Correa boasts through the Citizens' Revolution. As I discussed and depicted in chapter 1, Correa uses infrastructure development as a tool for nation building entrenched with ideas on progress, democratic citizenship, and a future culture. The 2008 Constitution established a model of substantive citizenship (Holston 2008, 17–22) that reconceives democracy, as well as engendering a culture of participation that can attend to the struggles of once marginalized citizens. Consequently, one such reading of infrastructural development is to see it as a manner to provide connectivity to previously marginalized groups, and also control citizens. The use of transit infrastructural development in Quito is one way to further this mission: the local government is working to administer a public good and meanwhile teaching citizens about a new culture of respect around transit. I provide two snap shots of a cultural video by the local newspaper, *El Comercio*, that articulates this argument:

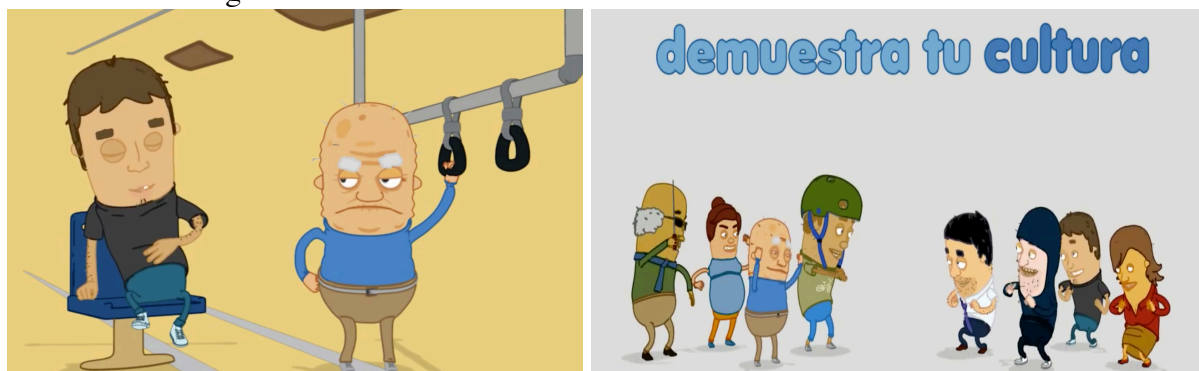


Figure 5.6 Screen Shots of *Compórtate a la Altura. Behave Well.*

Source: (El Comercio 2013)

The two images are screenshots of a 4-minute video produced by *El Comercio*, where it uses examples of Quiteños who misbehave in public spaces and do actions like graffiti walls and behave inappropriately.¹¹⁰ The short video was a way to promote a new culture around transit and also ways of behaving in public space. In other words, the local government seeks to control how citizens participate in the city. Thus, on the one hand, Quito's municipal works to build new public transit infrastructure, and on the other, tries to govern and teach citizens about culture. Yet, this type of a message is not necessarily what comes to mind when I asked urban residents in Quito about the new Metro project through the intercept survey:

¹¹⁰ For a complete showing of the video, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bDSt000ml4g>

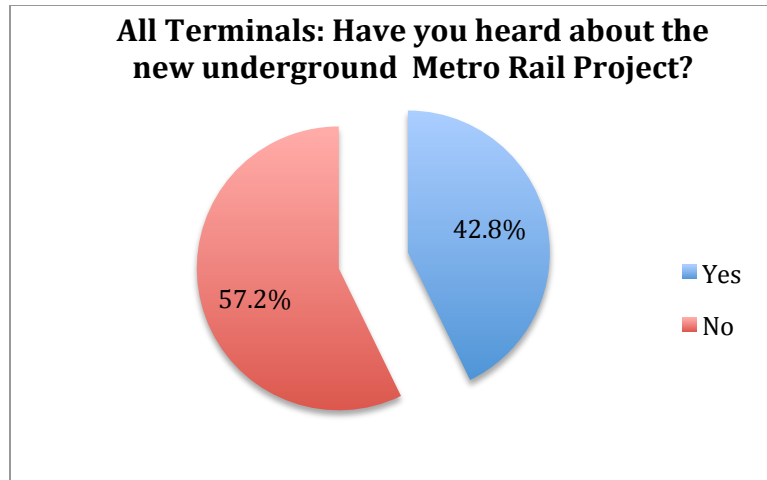


Figure 5.7. Results from Survey Question on Metro

Source: Julie Gamble, Intercept Survey, June 2013

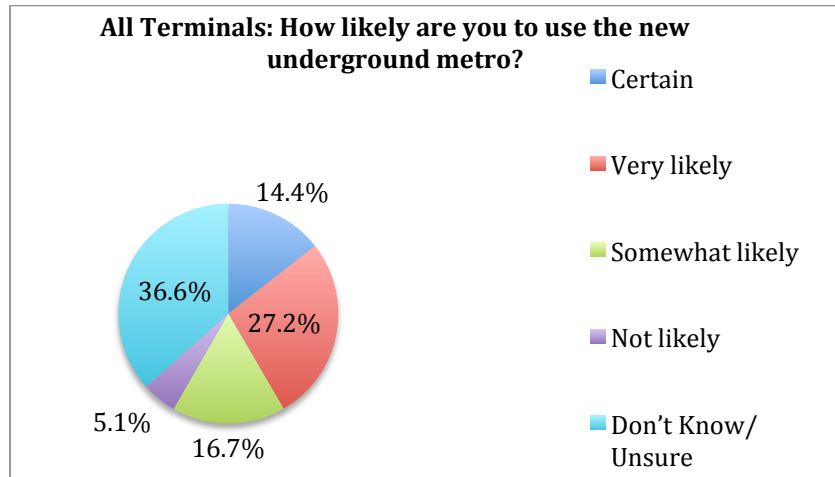


Figure 5.8. Results from Survey Question on use of Metro

Source: Julie Gamble, Intercept Survey, June 2013

Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.8 demonstrate that urban residents in Quito know about the infrastructural change that will occur in Quito. These graphs represent aggregated information about the people's judgments on the future Metro, but what was not clear is how so many people in different stations related to the survey. They are aware that the national government and local governments are supportive of the project and thus they are too. Urban residents see it as part of the Citizens' Revolution—advertisements blasted about the future Metro always have two messages attached to them: Avanzamos Patria and Ciudad del Futuro. In the previous chapter, residents demonstrated that they were unsure of the Metro's trajectory, but it was evident that the project has enough support at both the national and local level to continue. Yet, what I came to realize through the results of my survey is that public transit ideas, participatory processes, and information to the public depended on the territory in the city. The transit survey allowed me to see how each terminal had slightly different responses.

Public transportation takes one to different territories, spaces and logics of the city that are not coherent upon sight. The city of Quito is highly fragmented; some will refer to it as three

cities in one. It is a chorizo with the volcano Pichincha towering to the west and the hills hugging it to the east.¹¹¹ The north is dominated by upper-class and elites and is coherently planned, whereas, the center is made up of popular classes and government officials and is still organized according to law of the Spanish Indies, and the south is dedicated to lower-classes and is sprawled out behind the shoulders of the statue of the Virgin *Panecillo* that overlooks the center and north. These urban imaginaries are a part of three different urban grids. They each have their own way of understanding that might be different than one another. They use different political and administrative processes that are linked to one another through an administrative zone system. The participatory processes that I discussed in the previous chapter occur differently—the Metro and BiciQ are not the same planning process, and their participatory processes are divergent in the North and South. Thus, what it means is that the administrative and political systems are not necessarily stable and recognizable. Therefore, the results generated were unstable and unrepresentative of what transit concerns actually dominated the minds of Quiteños. The survey I conducted was the generative possibility to see the ensemble of dynamics that influence the very meaning of public transit as well as the entrenched social relations that make up who consume it.

The transit survey produced results that were not reflective of the on the ground dynamics at the national or local level. For example, Correa's attempted pursuit to quell social movements and unite people under one marginalized identity are both reflected in battles over public goods and space at the urban scale. I alluded to this in the previous chapter by arguing that transit planners who impart democratic practice have silenced citizen response in Quito by coopting cyclists initiatives or by avoiding citizen commentary. Yet, I also indicated that through the very enactment of institutional citizen participation, planners generate new opportunities for citizens to speak back, create alternative discourses, and new knowledge. Thus, while citizen participation is used as a decentralizing tool to silence social movements (de la Torre 2013, 36–39), the idea of public space and how citizens participate in the city is sparked around the delivery of a public good.

For Correa, the renewal of public space and the delivery of public goods is paramount to his nation-building agenda. This has resulted in a colonizing of the public sphere, where newspapers have been silenced for dissent and public space takes on meaning of nationhood (de la Torre 2013, 42–44). The auto-dominant paradigm that I began with has invoked a resurgence of people searching for a better urban future. These missions, while divergent, carry with them differentiated meanings of citizenship. Bike lanes, for example, are meant to segregate cyclists from other forms of traffic to provide safety and space for circulation. This action therefore differentiates how citizens move around the street. On the one hand, cyclists are considered marginal, and on the other, it generates the possibility for them to participate in the city through diverse strategies. In Quito, like many places around the capital city, as well as other cities in the world that have bike lanes, the bicycle infrastructure is incoherent. If you ask an institution why it placed a bike lane on a particular street the answers will be similar to those that we followed in my consultancy: to provide direct, efficient, safe and aesthetically appealing alternatives for cyclists.

But, what these principles do to bike planning do is fragment and segregate the public street. It forces cyclists to think they must circulate within these spaces. Moreover, and perhaps the most daunting, is that institutions create the perception that to move around safely, a bike

¹¹¹ Jose. Interview, 12/2009

lane must be provided. Creating a bike lane is easier, safer and more convenient than calming traffic through reduced speed limits or more speed bumps. One result is that cyclists interpret this by simply using the public streets just like any other form of transport. Another response is to simply create bike lanes that are not institutionally approved with the correct color, and have not gone through the bureaucratic and political process. The images below are of a group of cyclists that wanted to extend the bike lane to the south of the city.

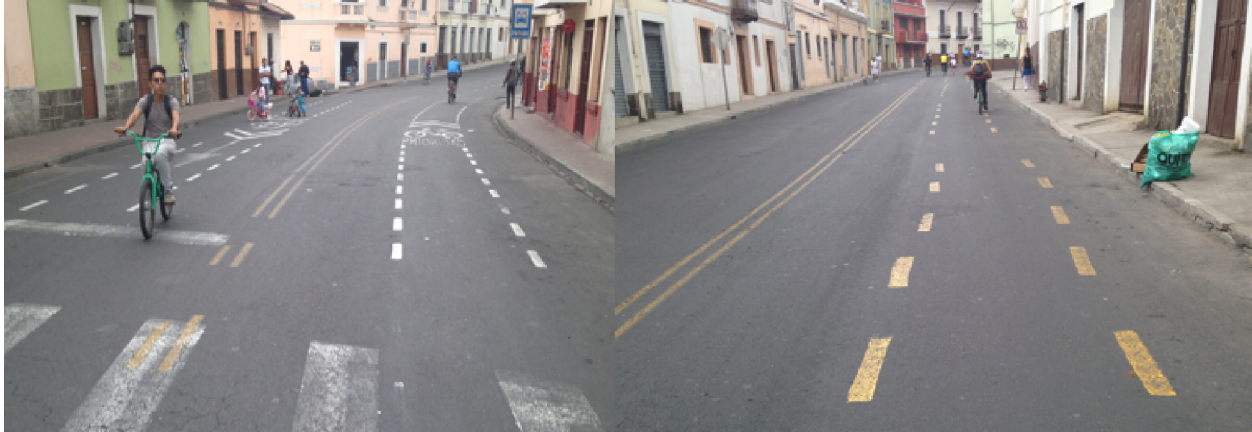


Figure 5.9. Connection Center-South Bike lanes in Quito

Source: Images taken by Julie Gamble, September 12, 2014

The images demonstrate how the municipality gave an alternative meaning to the street through providing a backdrop of paint that somehow means security and priority for a cyclist. In 2013, the municipality was supposed to extend this bike lane into the south of the city. Fed up with the situation, cyclists gathered and painted their own bike lane into the south in the summer of 2014. Institutions create meaning to infrastructure, and users of these infrastructures can build on them as well. What these images demonstrate, in actuality, is that the experiences of moving around on this street were fragmented due to the incoherence of the bike lane; it stops in the middle of the street. The experiences of these frustrated cyclists allowed them to use the infrastructure that was put in place to generate a new outcome. Painting their bike lane was an expression of citizenship: by painting the street they highlighted their claim to public space. Cyclists used their marginal status to challenge the existing norms of the street. This performance was a practice in participation and also a direct message to transit planners, as well as the municipal and national

Moreover, my field notes reflected how bicycle collectives in Quito perform their citizenship through demonstrations – infiltrating the bike-planning process – and simply moving around (Holston 2008, 15–17). I reveal this through my fieldnotes during my first few months while in Quito:

November 2012

I met with several urban bicycle collectives and am continuing to attend the urban bicycle commission's weekly meetings. In particular, this has functioned as a way to understand how grassroots activists have and are interacting with the municipality. This is the form of participation that I believe the municipality is using to fulfill notions of citizenship participation.

The urban bicycle commission continues to malfunction and oscillate between trying to come to a consensus on what needs to be done next for their community, what's the proper decision-making mechanism for the group, and how they want to form legitimacy. I attend this meeting weekly, and it is in the same place as it was in September. It is a battle toward legitimacy and taking advantage of their reputation.

Some collectives and activists are not actively participating in this commission because of its reputation for being this way. As such, I followed up with several activist groups to see what they are doing and what their opinions on mobility, transportation and the metro are. My favorite group though is the Carishinas en Bici. They are a feminist activist group that had a lot of really interesting things to say about mobility, women in public space, and how women participate. I have since been following them with their events and two other collectives that do not participate in the commission. They have bicycling schools, activist events, and critical masses. This is their way of influencing policy. This was said of the several groups that I interviewed.

Collectives are not one form of participation and are not a coherent front of citizenship: Carishina en Bici and the other bicycle collectives demonstrate the fragmented nature of participation and the role of the municipality.

Textbox 5.1 Field Notes on Bicycle Commission

In Quito there were 14 collectives that I actively followed. Each collective had a different night of the week where they would go on night rides, play games, go on educational or historical tours, etc. Sometimes they worked with each other – for instance, through the commission – and at other times, they actively did not work with any group that was associated with the municipality. For many activists, such as the members of Andando en Bici Carajo, working with the municipality was equivalent to working against the greater goals of cyclists' movement in Quito because SUM BPU was known to coopt the ideas, visions, and actions of urban cyclists.

In contrast to the national level, at the municipal scale public transit is being fought over as a right to a public good of Quito and is therefore a terrain for social action. Because Quito's transit planning culture has been shaped by the automobile.. Social groups have exercised their right to manifest and demand better services. Previously, this resulted in two larger urban movements around transit justice in Quito, one led by citizens (Etienne, pp.132-135,1985) and another by transportistas (Chauvín, pp.79-92, 2007). At present, cycling collectives classify their demands through citizenship. I provide some examples below:



Figure 5.10 Social Campaign by Andando en Bici Carajo (ABC)

Source: (Andando en Bici Carajo 2013)



Figure 5.11 Photo of Bicycle Protest

Source: Julie Gamble, April 19, 2013



Figure 5.12 Carishinas en Bici in the Newspaper

Source: (Diario Hoy 2013)

Bicycle collectives in Quito perform their citizenship through demonstrations, moving around in the streets, playing games, working in bike mechanic studios, teaching at biking schools, and wearing costumes. These images demonstrate this myriad of strategies and approaches to urban claims making. Cyclists demand the same status of citizenship as those of car-users. They employ spatial tactics and strategies that generate visibility around a culture for bicycling—these tactics demonstrate how different collectives may not challenge the dominant automobile paradigm, but through their daily performance, they resist cars. They do not allow the streets to restrict their freedom to move around. Rather, they repurpose the existing infrastructures that are established to control as a way to articulate their democratic rights and participate in the city. These are thus different exercises in citizenship. Therefore, this is also a direct way to engage with the transit planning institutions that are responsible for the streets and how people and things circulate on them.

Throughout this dissertation I have documented how different visions account for transit outcomes. From the perspective of mayors, I delineated how road-building is vital to city-building and winning elections. Road construction allowed mayors to work with technical planners to improve connectivity, but not necessarily engage in working with transportistas. Therefore, cyclists use public spaces of the city, or the streets, as a way to directly engage in national debates on public space, and also, how the city understands practices of participation. The performing of citizenship by moving on the streets is one such example. I further elucidate this argument in the map below:

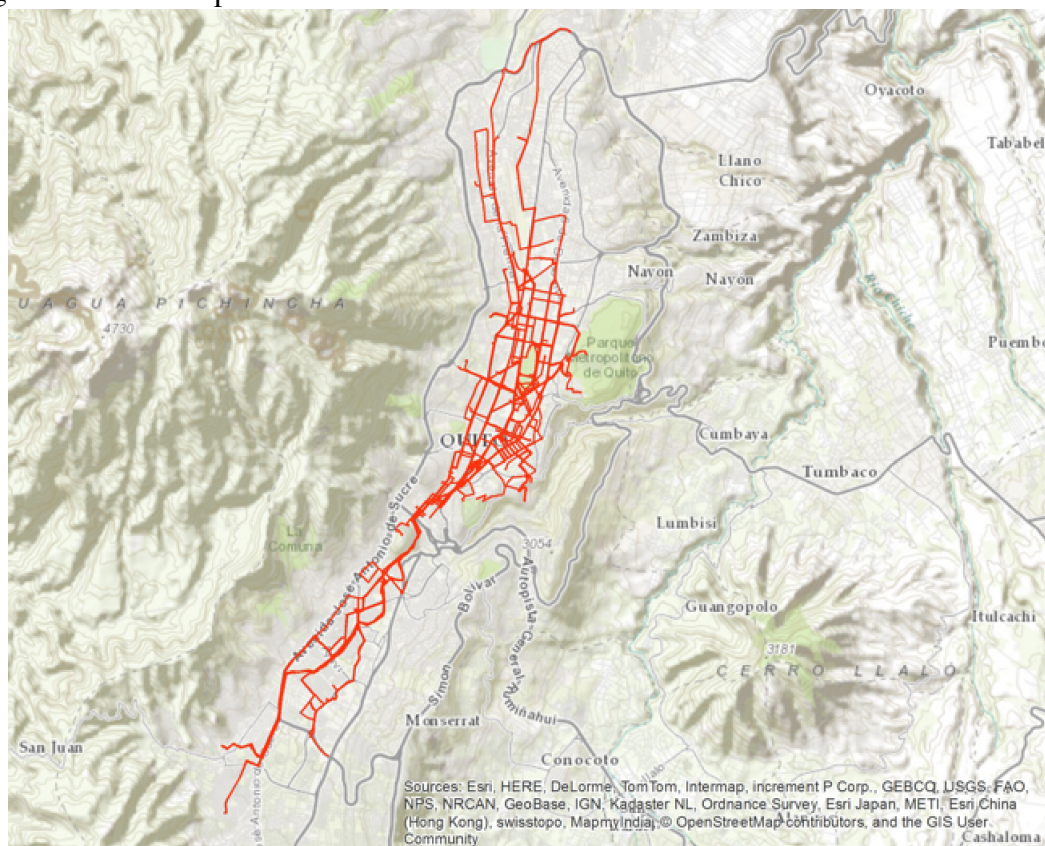


Figure 5.13. Map of Cyclists Travel Journeys in Quito

Source: Participants of Photo-Diary Journal, Conducted by Julie Gamble February-April 2013. Map Elaborated by Bernard Snizek, October 2014

This map represents the Metropolitan District of Quito. The red lines present hardly change the meaning, until I reveal that it is the collective effort of participatory photo-journals that show the circulation patterns of 26 cyclists. This is the second disposition that unfolded as a result of my survey experimentations in Quito. The map now means much more. The city runs north to south in the valley of the Andean mountains, valleys run to the east, and the volcano Pichincha runs to the west. In between this area, it is the nuclear core of Quito. It is divided territorially by land-use, economically by different economic agglomerations, and politically by different administrative zone.

I embarked on this participatory photo-diary experiment because it was important for me to see how cyclists were using the bicycle infrastructure and facilities that the Secretariat of Urban Mobility (SUM) had built up. I began the photo-diary experiment with a series of meetings with urban cyclists to discuss the possibility of doing participatory research. Subsequently, I dispersed 70 disposable cameras and diaries to urban cyclists to document their experiences for two months. Thus, the infrastructure presented the opportunity for individuals to collectively produce an analysis of the realities that cyclists face. The planners behind this network defined what is and what is not a bike lane, and thus, cyclists responded with the realities of what using these bike lanes are like. The bike lanes are an existing platform for safety and segregation, but what the above maps indicates is that they are possibly just as dangerous and confusing. But, it is in this regard cyclists are actively present and organized in Quito. It becomes the opportunity for new actors to intervene in the planning process, as opposed to it simply being a top-down municipally driven endeavor.

The map that shows the networks are not just representative of the current level of street connectivity in Quito; the red lines are demonstrative of the aggregated circulation patterns of cyclists that I worked with while in the field. It represents the opportunity to study, investigate and improve the bicycle infrastructure in Quito to match the current ways urban cyclists use the streets. It is the potential to improve upon the infrastructure that exists through better design. These lines are distributed on the present street work on Quito. A closer look at the map generated online would not be different than many of the images of the city I have thus far presented. This is a direct way in which I used a survey instrument to not only account for and spatially locate route choice of cyclists, but also, show how their circulation patterns are a direct representation of citizenship. They use the public streets of the city to move around—not just the bike lanes that connect relatively small portions of the city.

Photo-diaries captured potentials that the static survey I conducted at transportation terminals are not capable of revealing. I used them to reveal how urban cycling activists choose how to move around Quito, and also, how their observations textually reveal how the experience of moving around is an important strategy to participation in Quito. De Certeau suggests that moving around is a spatial practice and allows for alternative urban realities (Certeau 1988, 91–96). Lefebvre's concept of rhythm analysis suggests that through the analysis of rhythms of everyday life, such as the movement of bodies, media, music, etc. allow for a reconceptualization of time and space, and thus the shape of the city (Edensor 2010). As such, I used this survey method to account for the multiple ways of reading movement and how it creates time-space geographies of the city. The photo-diaries capture the lived experiences of cyclists in Quito that cannot be observed through an intercept survey. For instance, I present an excerpt of some of the observations that cyclists wrote about in their diaries below that reveal the potential to improve on the streets of Quito:

“April 5, 2013. A car made a left turn and did not realize that I was coming in the bike lane, so I followed and stopped the car to inform him of what happened. **But, he stopped got out of the car and insulted me.** So, I said to him calmly to just pay attention before turning because the right of way is given to the person going straight.”

“This is my route to work from my house (Monday to Friday). I leave at 7:30 and go to the office. The route begins on an uphill then there is a flat, then downhill, and then flat again. Places visited include: house, Parque la Carolina and the Ministry of Education. Streets taken: Antonio Sierra, Iberia, Toledo, Madrid, Isabel La Catolica, Cordero, 12 de Octubre, and Coruña. **The majority of the route I use a lane because it seems the safest. Moreover, the two streets that I take that do have bike lanes on my route (Isabel La Catolica and Cordero) always have cars parked in them.** Points of conflict include the roundabout at Plaza Artigas and the left hand turn that I take from Coruña to La Republica because of the speed of the cars.”

“March 18, 2013. At 8:30 I leave to go to the house without a car to balance my use with the bike. To get to my work, I leave from the Vicentina, taking streets: Madrid, Colon, 10 de Agosto, Juan Pablo Saenz. I get to my office at 9:30 for my desk work. I am trying out my new mountain bike, thanks! **The cars do not respect bicyclists, and even worse pedestrians. It is faster to bike places. I was scared of fast cars on 10 de agosto. The fact that i used to not bike had to do with me not wanting to arrive sweaty to a meeting. There are many potholes in the streets.** “

“February 25, 2013. I take the bus down to the Plaza de Toros from my house to take the BiciQ to Banco Pichincha and my office on Av. Amazonas. I take the biciQ because there is way **too much congestion/traffic. On Ave. Amazonas and Isla Floreana there are cars parked on the sidewalk. There is very little space between cars and bicyclists, and makes it difficult to circulate on bike. Buses honk and bicyclists to get out of the street. Today there weren't any bikes available at the BiciQ station.**”

“March 4, 2013. At 17:30 I go to the bike store, ecobike to buy a helmet. My streets to get there include, Azkunaga, Brasil, America, Amazonas. At 18:30, I buy a new wheel at Ecobike, then go to the mall at Naciones Unidas and Amazonas, arriving at 19:00. At 19:30, I leave the CCI (mall) to go home. **The sidewalks are in poor condition. On bike I take the bike lane to America, and then take the Metrobus segregated lane because under normal conditions there is a ton f traffic.** On the Av. Naciones Unidas, the sidewalks are closed because of the underground cables they are putting in. **In general the street is in bad shape with a lot of potholes.**”

“January 31, 2013. **The sewer holes are uncovered. Cars honk at me. They honk really a lot between the uphill on Venezuela and the Basilica. There is a ton of pollution.** Cars run traffic lights principally at the intersections of Chillogallo, Mascota y Pintado and Mariana de Jesus.”

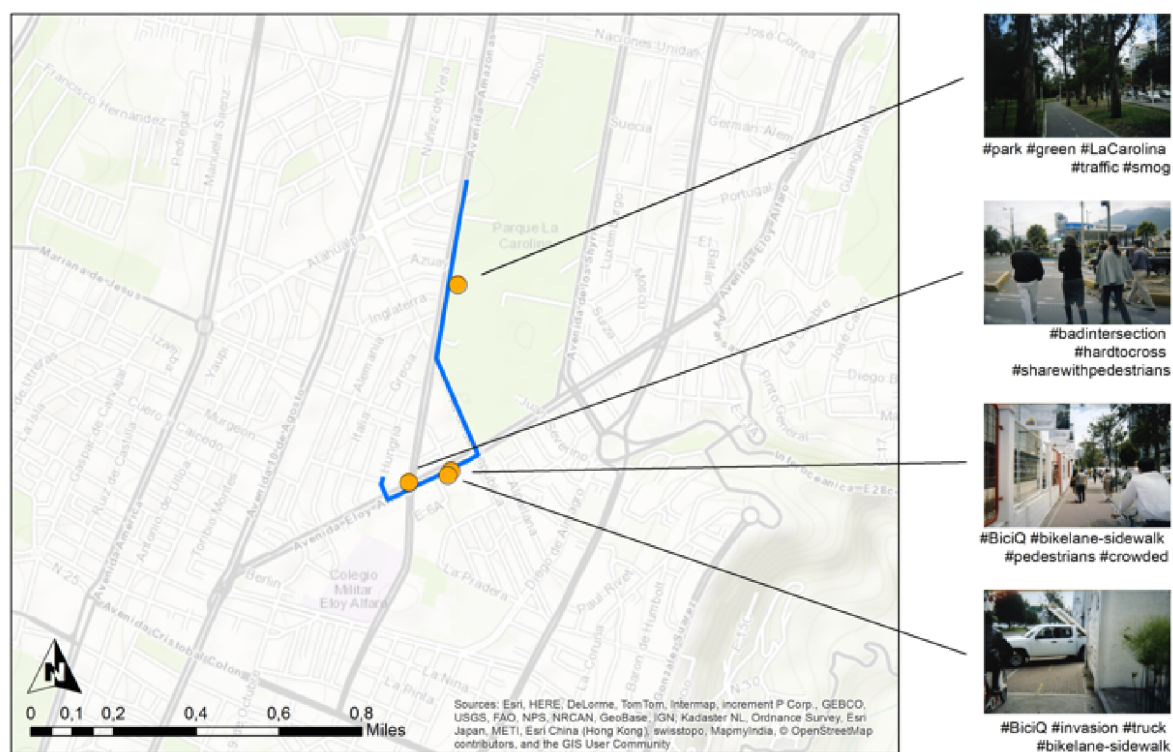
“March 14 2013. The route was from my house to La Carolina on bike. **The streets getting there are in poor conditions. On the streets around the park it says: priority for cyclists between 04:30-630. And what about rest of the time?** The bike lane on Japon is in bad shape. it is too narrow and at the intersections cars do not pay attention to you crossing The traffic light at the bike lane at Gaspar de Villarroel is really **too short and people usually run it.**”

Textbox 5.2. Various Diary Entries from Photo-Diary Journals

Source: Various Cyclist Participants, Survey Conducted by Julie Gamble February-April 2013

I suggest by looking at them as experiences of citizens, it generates a way to vision the potentials to improve public transit. This perspective forwards that seeks to improve the experiences of various publics by attending to punctual needs. Experiences on public transit are different, but can be aggregated to look the same. There are multiple meanings and understandings of this definition that depend on user, place, etc. In the 26 photo-diaries, when reading and comprehending the journal entries of their daily experiences, common themes

revealed themselves through their words. These excerpts of diary entries elucidate that cyclists are worried about disrespect, insecurity, disorganization and poor infrastructural conditions. The entries depict an arduous trip taken on the public streets and bicycle infrastructure that is experienced in many different ways. For example, for some the work journey is fraught with disrespect, which is qualified as people honking and people invading bike lanes. For others, it is about insecurity that is represented in terms of the perception of crime, the relationship with the built environment, and other forms of vehicular traffic. The bike lanes appear disorganized because of poor signage that results in cars parking in the bike lanes, potholes, and invasions in general. If the bike lanes were coherently designed and organized, there might be more attention placed to them. The photo diaries also demonstrate that cyclists in many ways act just like cars—they use the same public spaces, which are the streets of Quito to circulate in. I zoom in on an image that takes into account the photographed experiences of cyclists:



Cyclists' Experiences in Quito, Ecuador

Julie Gamble & Bernhard Snizek, 2014

Figure 5.14. One Trajectory of a Cyclist's travel journey and photos

Source: Participant of Photo-Diary Journal, Conducted by Julie Gamble February-April 2013. Map Elaborated by Bernhard Snizek, October 2014

This small GIS map is a hybrid of various results that presented themselves in the photo-journals. The blue line is just one dominant trajectory that many cyclists took. Unsurprisingly, it is around one of the major public parks of Quito, La Carolina. In this park there is a bike lane that runs around the perimeter, and there are also two BiciQ stations. The blue line also crosses onto a sidewalk that has the dual purpose of a sidewalk and bike lane. The yellow dots are representative of experiential photos that cyclists took while on the go. They mainly demonstrate the realities of what the cyclists experience. Trucks cross into the sidewalk-bike

lanes, some of the intersections are difficult to cross, and smog is a consistent reality for the cyclists. Such experiences are the realities that are repeated through observations, words and pictures in the participatory diaries that I received.

In this section I have triangulated intercept survey and photo-diary evidence with ethnographic encounters to reveal the potentialities that can arise from this type of data collection. The intercept survey allowed me to see how transit institutions conceptualize, document and present an aggregated perception of citizens that ride public transit in Quito. Photo-diary data documented how surveys reveal a wide variety of social dynamics from governing through infrastructure to differentiated meanings of citizenship. Consequently, I turned to the diverse strategies that citizens employ to challenge national and urban infrastructural development. These strategies were revealed through ethnographic data and further supported through the collection of photo-diary evidence. The photo-diaries accounted for data that reveals the diverse ways in which people move around, but also, how the very ways in which they move around become an expression of citizenship. Next, I go further into an analysis of the photo-diary data in order to present a way in which transit planners can reorient their approach to transit planning, starting from the perspective of a cyclist. I do this to urge transit planners to take into consideration some of the social and political meanings that public transit comes to represent.

5.4 Experiential Experiments in Transit Planning from the Margins

In the previous section I used a variety of accounts that revealed the multiple meanings of participation and how infrastructural development in Quito is representative of larger national transformation. I argued and used three types of data to show that urban transit infrastructure represents differentiated citizenship. Ethnographic accounts that I gathered in the field supported how categorizing transit users through a survey often misses the ways in which public transit has entrenched meanings. Furthermore, I used photo-diary data to depict how the lived experiences reveal a different way to read the strategies urban citizens use to move around in Quito. In this way, I argued that the photo-diaries revealed diverse spatial, photographic and textual expressions of citizenship. Now, I move to show more information that the photo-diaries uncovered. I suggest that the photo-diaries are a powerful tool for capturing and also representing how transit planners can consider the social and political dimensions that transit outcomes engender. These two surveys that I used while in the field formed part of my research tools that I used in my experimental ethnography. The use of experimentation allowed me flexibility to pursue various lines of investigation to uncover not just the entrenched meanings of transit planning, but also, the way in which research shapes the multiple ways of reading transit outcomes. In this regard, I move back to reconceptualize how I present the photo-diary data I collectively gathered. The representation of data always has multiple meanings and I have tried to capture a multiple situated viewpoint of transit planning throughout this dissertation. I have argued the importance of reading transit planning and its outcomes from multiple situated view points. As such, I now refocus on how the photo-diary data can account for an expression of citizenship on the one hand, and a tool for intervening in transit outcomes on the other. For this, I return to the concept of gender and my intercept survey and then discuss the importance of experience by moving back to the photo-diaries.

At the time of my survey it seemed important that I gather information on gender as a way to comprehend the identifying markers of people that take transit. It is important to know

how long people commute, and, I also wanted to know if women had a longer commute on average. I present a graph that came from my survey:

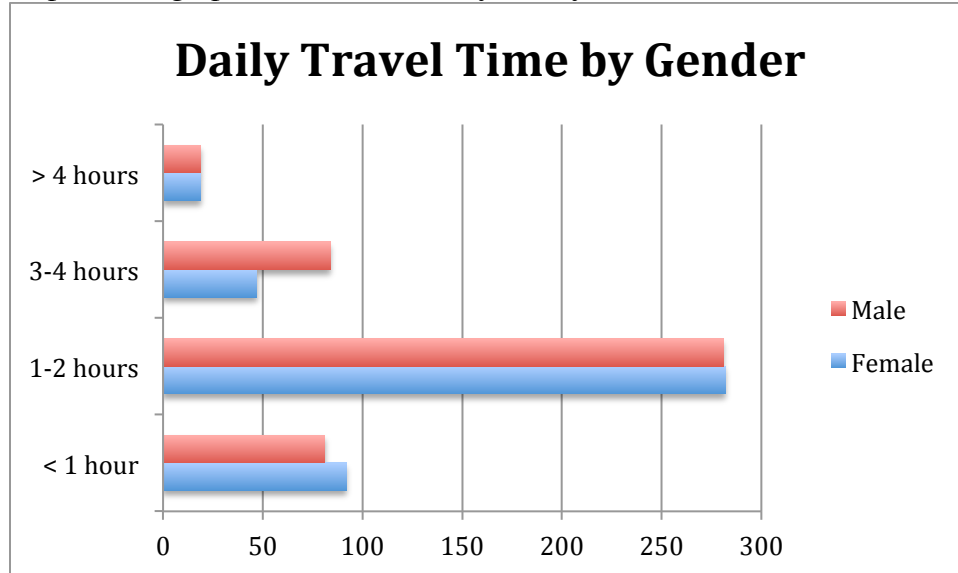


Figure 5.15. Daily Travel times by Gender

Source: Julie Gamble, Intercept Survey, June 2013

Figure 5.15 demonstrates that men and women commute on transit for the same amount of time. Based on this separation, it was interesting to see that there was not much variation, or what I anticipated. As a transit planner looking at this graph, it would be a priority to improve travel times. However if you look at the graph and think about it as the daily practices of these people as public, or people coming together on transit, the graph changes meaning. These bars are the collective representation of citizens that arrive at four transportation terminals every day in Quito. They have the daily practice of taking public transit to get to a social destination, but it is also about projecting a way to using public transit that is based on experience. The ways, in which this happens on a daily basis, depends on the station, timing rhythm and a variety of social factors that influence travel behavior. For example, my field notes documented how women at El Recreo were separated by line and bus cabin, and enjoyed the wait because it was a social experience between workers with similar jobs. My notes further revealed that at Ofelia, women wanted to see complete buses (not just cabins) dedicated to women to avoid men cutting into their lines at the terminal. Finally my observations at Rio Coca suggested that women wanted improved wait times, and at Quitumbe women wanted improved connections between their homes and the feeder buses, before even arriving at the terminal.

The statistical representation that came from my survey reveals little about the gendered dynamics of why, how or what motivates women and men to take particular modes of transit. Let alone it does not account for the experiences of women or men, and account for difference. As such, I move back to the bicycle photo-diaries in order to represent the multiple ways of moving around. Instead of relying on data that reveals judgments about users who ride public transit, I argue that the bicycle diaries captured experiential data. If transit infrastructure is a terrain for social action where citizens can express rights, I argue that it must also be read to impact how transit outcomes are *done*. In this way, I am accounting for the multiple situated visions that can influence how transit planning is done.

Throughout this dissertation, I have presented this ethnography as experimentation in order to capture the creative, improvisational, and at times playful way in which studying transit infrastructure and planning is possible. In Chapter 1, I showed that social and scientific experimentation carries a long line of inquiry shaped by different forms of knowledge. One of my findings in the institutionalized participation process was that technical knowledge continues to present itself in the transit planning process despite the new channels that exist for citizen participation. As such, I now turn to think about the very ways in which researchers think of the procedures to study and produce knowledge that influences transit outcomes. For this, I return to the importance of situated knowledge. I invoke Harding's systematic research procedure that starts with standpoint theory for how to maximize objectivity, now that we deem subjects and objects interlinked through sociomaterial practices. I argue that this process can challenge the dominance of technical knowledge in transit planning and therefore can intervene on how research is conducted on transit, and also, how it is represented.

Foundational features of a standpoint research proposal begin by looking at what it is not—it goes beyond looking at difference and starts with what forms of social relations constitute a conceptual framework. For Harding, she constitutes standpoint theory to include "...in contrast to empiricist epistemologies, begin from the recognition of social inequality; their models of society are conflict models, in contrast to the consensus model of liberal political philosophy assumed by empiricists" (1995, 341). She proposes in order to do this, start from the margins of a social order. In doing so, start off from research locations that we have a limited understanding of. The diaries similarly captured identity that shaped how and where people who use bicycle traveled. Quito began constructing bike lanes in 2006 and implemented a public bike-share program starting in August 2012. Instead of relying on information collected by municipal bike planners, I report on the experiences of both women and men in Quito who cycle to guide us in understanding what streets, conditions, and places cyclists go. I commence with the two following word clouds of women (Figure 5.16) and men (Figure 5.17). These word clouds demonstrate the most frequent words that surfaced in the daily experiences of the 26 cyclists (13 women and 13 men).

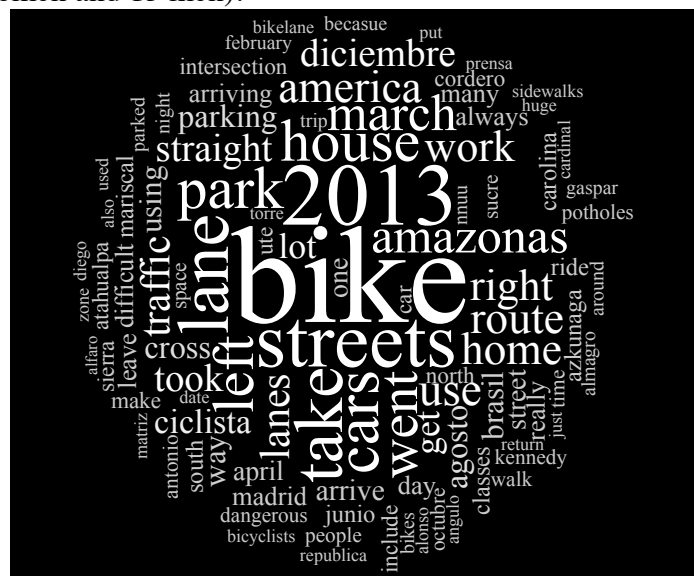


Figure 5.16 Women Cyclist experiences

Source: Elaborated by Julie Gamble, Results of Photo-Diary Journal, February-April 2013



Source: Elaborated by Julie Gamble, Results of Photo-Diary Journal, February-April 2013

I use these two word clouds to get a textual representation of the street names, conditions and places that women and men cyclists go and what they do. I do this first before spatially locating the circulation patterns in order to begin from the perspective that these cyclists use streets in Quito, and they go to places and use their bike, just as any person uses transit to get to a social location. Starting from this perspective allows for me to properly animate from the ground up how to best capture and analyze the accounts of women and men cyclists in Quito. It reveals the social relations that these cyclists engage in on a daily basis. The largest words and that are also in the middle came up most frequently in the journals. The word clouds work to represent the most frequently used words starting from the inside and out.

In the women's figure the word cloud represents the word frequency captured in the diaries. Besides both the words bike and street and 2013, it reveals street names that women are more prone to taking. This includes major streets Amazonas, América, 6 de Diciembre (Ecovia BRT lane), and 10 de Agosto. But, the word cloud also goes on to describe the other streets that women cyclists use in Quito: Brasil, Madrid, Azkunaga, 5 de Junio, Atahualpa, Luis Cordero, Antonio Sierra, 12 de Octubre, Kennedy, Mariscal Sucre, Diego de Almagro, NNUU, Gaspar de Villaroel, Alonso de Angulo, Cardinal de la Torre, La Prensa, La República, and Eloy Alfaro. I list these streets because they are major streets in Quito. They are not small side streets, and only some of them have bike lanes. Then, it exemplifies the major actions that women do: they use the streets, lanes, take, use, park, left, right, straight and ride familiar routes. The conditions that these women face are cars, crossing, parked cars, difficulties with traffic, potholes and construction. They go to places like the university (PUCE, UTE, etc.), work, home, shopping and specific areas in the city like the Mariscal and the urban park, La Carolina.

Similarly, for the men, the three major words that came out were, 2013, bike, the daily action of “take” and the major street thoroughfare of Amazonas. The places they go are similar to those of women: they go home, to work, university (FLACSO, PUCE, UTE), and specific places in Quito like Plaza de los Torros, parks like La Carolina and Itchimbia, shopping malls (CCI, Quicentro), etc. They describe specific zones and neighborhoods in Quito like La Floresta,

La Gasca, Carcelén, Vicentina, Chillogallo, the Centro, and Solanda. They go to social destinations using the bicycle. The streets that surface from the text are 5 de Junio, Mariscal Sucre, Diego de Almagro, 10 de Agosto, Japón, Atahualpa, Luis Cordero, Teniente Ortiz, La Prensa, 6 de Diciembre, Mariana Jesus, Alpallana, América, Brasil, Hungaria, 12 de Octubre, Juan Pablo Saenz, Venezuela, Eloy Alfaro, Real Audencia, Benjamín, Benajmin Carrión, Colon, Madrid, Vancouver and Rodrigo Chavez. The conditions that they described were stop, parking, space, bike lanes, smog, pollution, rain, cars, traffic, construction, dangerous, difficult, etc.

The essential conclusions that come out these word clouds animates the differences in cycling experiences in Quito between genders. Just from listing these streets, it elucidates a gap between the streets that women and men take. Women take more principal streets and go to fewer places. Men move around Quito more than women do on bike. They go to more social destinations and areas of the city. Men also use more descriptions to capture the conditions of biking in Quito and also, use more side streets. Therefore, what the words animate is the fact that men are more comfortable biking around Quito. Yet, what they do have in common is the fact that they take many different streets and deal with various conditions.

No Essential Bike Lane

I started out the analysis by focusing in on the words modeled to represent the lived experiences of both women and men that cycle. The point was to not only interpret some of their daily actions, but also comprehend the streets that they take, and if there is any gendered difference between the two. This starting point, we learn that essentialized categories define peoples lives, or in other words, that “each of us has a determinate social location in the matrix of social relations that is constituted by gender, class, race, sexuality and whatever other macro forces shape our particular part of the social order” (Harding, 1995, p. 344). Therefore, it is a reasonable next move to aggregate the circulation patterns of both women and men. I move to do this because I have previously deconstructed and represented the gender-laden observations above. It is next necessary to reveal, by building a spatial model that indicates how cyclists move in Quito. As such, I now map the patterns of all cyclists in the ‘experiment’ that still qualify as being at the margins of transit in Quito:

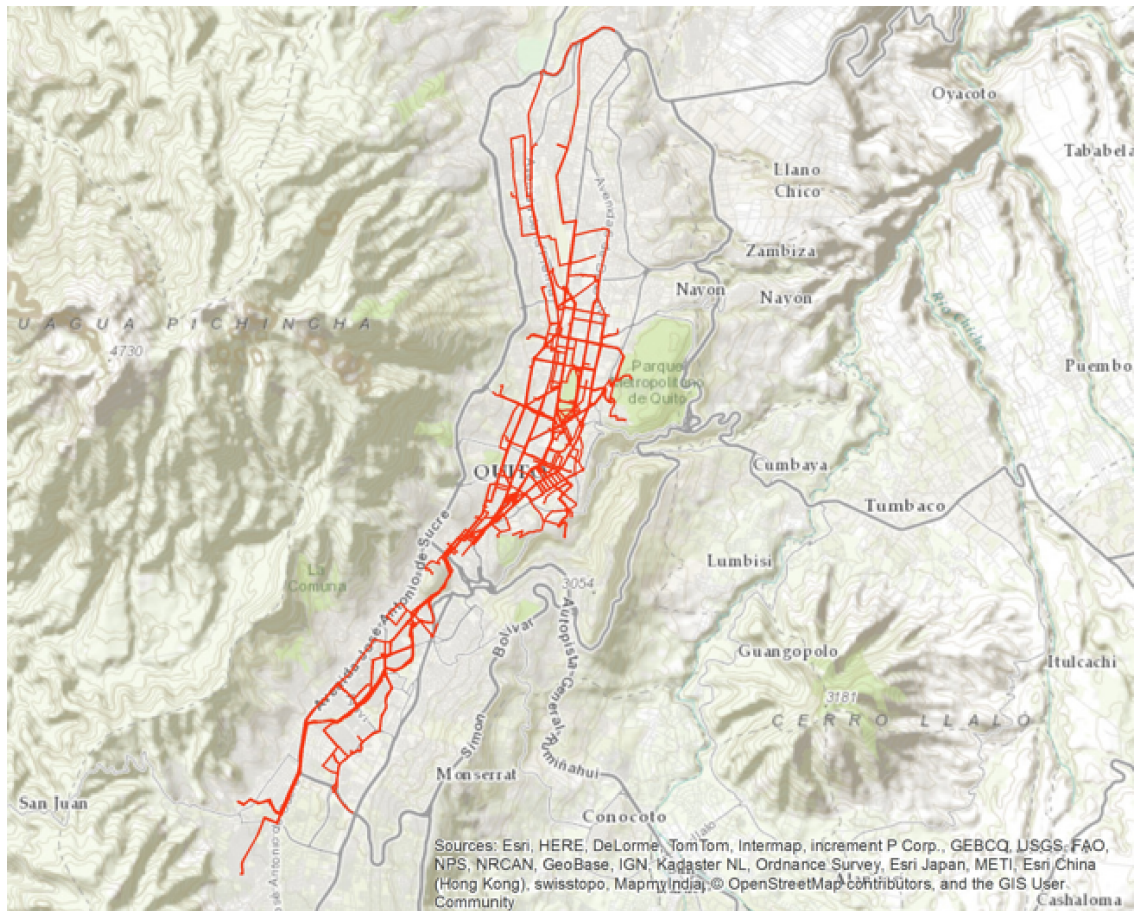


Figure 5.18 Map of Cyclists Travel Journeys in Quito

Source: Participants of Photo-Diary Journal, Conducted by Julie Gamble February-April 2013. Map Elaborated by Bernard Snizek, October 2014

Figure 5.18 demonstrates how I mapped all of the circulation patterns reported in the photo-diaries. I mapped each circulation (each cyclist had approximately eight) and mapped them on the streets of Quito, using the travel patterns participants reported on. I did this through a three step process: (1) Map patterns based on street names and destinations in Google Earth, (2) upload these files to an open-source street map (3) work with a geographer Bernhard Snizek to collaboratively build the red lines. The red lines in this open-source street map therefore is a spatial model of all of the circulation patterns, or reported street names and journeys, of the 26 women and men cyclists. What the birds eye view map indicates is that cyclists use the streets that exist to move around in Quito. It is important to realize, that no on essential bike lane exists. There are multiple ways of moving around the city on the infrastructures, or in this particular case, the Bus Rapid Transit lanes and public road network that exist. Before, by starting from the margins, we were able to view specifically the gendered patterns and differences, and also, how the lines above are not just a model about routes on streets, they are lived experiences that have a logic, frequency, and are active sites of engagement. Next, I move to reveal the planned and existing bicycle network in Quito.

Consciousness not determined by the Social Location of a Bike Lane

The determinate location of bike lanes in Quito is clear. There is a planned bicycle infrastructure network, and a supporting public bike-share system that is free for all citizens to use called the BiciQ. It allows for people who want to use the bicycle as a mode of transit to get around Quito. I provide a Google Maps image of the bike lanes and existing BiciQ stations below:

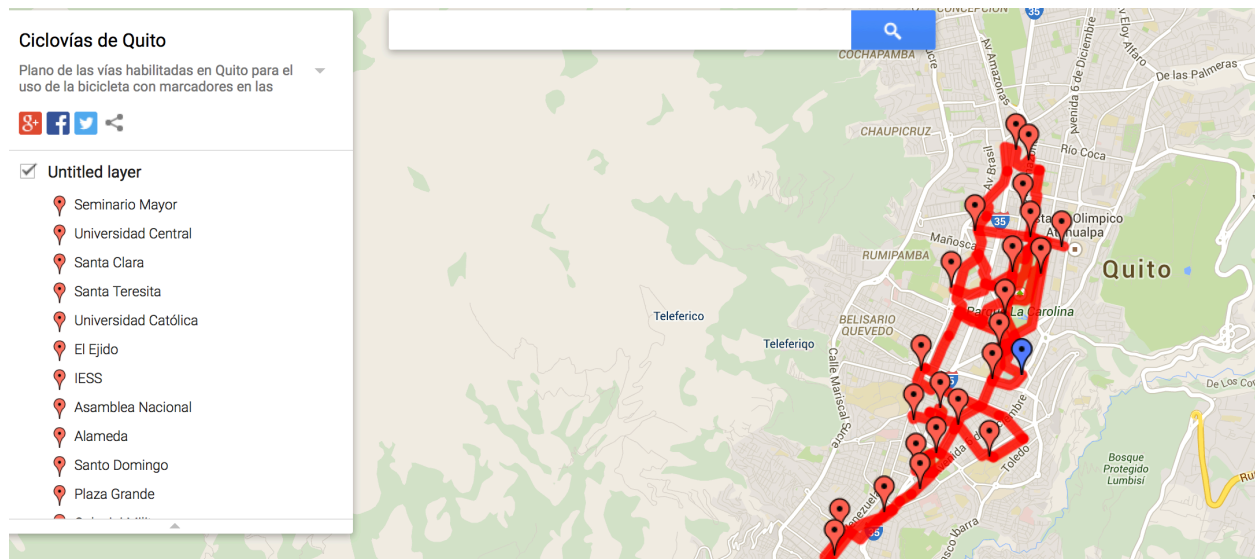


Figure 5.19 BiciQ Map and Bike lanes in Quito

Source: (Google Maps 2015)

Figure 5.19 was a screenshot I took of Google Maps when I unsuccessfully found a bike map of all of the existing bike lanes and BiciQ stations. An unidentified person sketched the bike lanes and uploaded them to Google Maps. It defines the social and spatial locations of the bike lanes and BiciQ stations in Quito. This zoomed-in image is only of the northern end of Quito. A few things become apparent within this analysis. First, bike lanes and the BiciQ are only available to for use in the geographical north and center of Quito—not in the south. The social, economic, and political landscape of Quito is distinct. The north is historically inhabited by the middle and upper-middle classes, while the center is a site for historic preservation (Swanson 2007) and has a shrinking population¹¹², and is where national and municipal political institutions are located. The southern part of the city, just beyond bike lane on 5 de Junio in the image above, is historically a suburbanized and unplanned part of the city inhabited by lower-income populations (Carrión 1987).¹¹³

Furthermore, just because a bike lane exists, it does not mean that other modes of transit are respectful of the bike network. The social location of bike lanes does not mean that cars and other transit services do not need to be conscious of cyclists at all times. From the previous map

¹¹² According to numbers elaborated by Instituto de la Ciudad shows a -2.9 percent decrease between 2001-2010 according to census data provided by (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censo 2010)

¹¹³ For a more in depth discussion on the urban geography of Quito, see (Capello 2011; Carrión 1987; Kingman 2006) to get an adequate description of the historical relationships that place meaning on different areas of Quito.

of the circulations, it is clear that cyclists use and share the streets, intersections and cross the city even using the BRT lanes. Let me expand by illustrating this point through photographs taken by cyclists in the ‘experiment.’



Figure 5.20 Photograph from Cyclist

Source: Participants of Photo-Diary Journal, Conducted by Julie Gamble February-April 2013

In Figure 5.20 indicates what both men and women described in their diaries. The avenue 6 de Diciembre is a major connecting thoroughfare in Quito that runs north to south. Two BRT lanes also separate it and cyclists use this dedicated bus lane because it is the safest and most coherent way to move from north to south and south to north on the eastern part of the city. There is no bike lane.



Figure 5.21 Photograph by Cyclist

Source: Participants of Photo-Diary Journal, Conducted by Julie Gamble February-April 2013

The photograph of the bike lane above (Figure 5.21) was taken on the street Luis Cordero by a cyclist who uses this bike lane daily on a trip to work. This photo is just one of the many that I received that depict the experiences of cyclists on this street in La Floresta, a neighborhood of Quito. This particular bike lane is situated next to a large and luxurious set of hotels, a major street, Isabel La Catolica, which is known for its waves of new restaurants and bars, and is located next to Quito's business towers – the “Twin Towers.” Yet, it is a daily ritual that I witnessed during my ethnographic experiment in Quito personally, but also repeated throughout the city. This type of a situation was reiterated in other photos taken by cyclists. Cars, and municipal enforcement entities, do not respect the social and spatial location of bike lanes. People park, do construction, sit, and at times, eat in bike lanes, despite the fact that they are designated bike lanes.



Figure 5.22 Photograph by Cyclist

Source: Participants of Photo-Diary Journal, Conducted by Julie Gamble February-April 2013

Finally, Figure 5.22 shows a rain-slicked street. Rain is abundant in Quito and this photograph represents the experience of a cyclist traveling from the south of the city, where there are no bike lanes, to the north. There are puddles, and abandoned streets, of which cyclists in the south have to traverse. Empty streets like this make cyclists feel unsafe to move through. Eplicachima is a historic connecting road between the south to the center of Quito. It looks abandoned and has graffiti depicts the type of social inequalities that exist for streets.

I have triangulated the accounts above, which is a spatial and photographic representation of the lived experiences of cyclists in Quito. The photos elucidate the experiences and social forces behind the planned bicycle infrastructure in Quito. It is in this way that I have tried to arrive at a research “experiment” that has adequately represented the lived experiences cyclists at the margins of public transit in Quito. The standpoint theory analysis I provide does not give us an ultimate truth of what bike lanes are used for, how and why they were planned, or what could be improved. Rather, my analysis is a powerful research model through which I have tried to maximize objectivity, as opposed to relaying empirical data about the conditions of and experiences in bike lanes. Through piecing together this patchwork of data, I have represented not only the social forces behind bike lanes in Quito, but also the lived experiences of cyclists.

5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have accounted for the dynamic opportunities that public infrastructure spaces in Quito contain. I presented the visible and invisible dynamics that circulate through public transit infrastructure. I supported this reading by triangulating intercept survey, photo-diary and ethnographic data from the perspective of a parasite. In doing so, I offered an alternative reading of the spaces of intersection and in between that public transit connects in Quito. Public transit infrastructure in Quito represents and contains possibilities. On the one hand, I showed how survey data reflects judgments about transit users and are also engendered by political, social, and cultural change in Ecuador. On the other, I highlighted how citizens in Quito use public infrastructure as a terrain for social action. Planners use survey data to reflect certain on-the-ground conditions, yet I indicated that citizens use the infrastructures that exist to make claims to the municipality and the State. The reiteration of this vision is one way to read how transit planning is accomplished.

Then, I wanted to re-address transit planners by challenging how technocratic knowledge is produced in transit studies. I directly provoke transit planners to move from producing technocratic knowledge to producing situated knowledge. This requires rethinking the research agenda and approach to studying transit systems. By offering an alternative reading of the photo-diaries, I have relied on feminist science and technology studies to present data from urban cyclists at the margins of urban mobility in Quito. Transit planning is best thought of as a performance of transit visions. The repetition of political, institutional, and infrastructural transit visions account for how transit planning comes to take place. I end with an analysis that generates new possibilities of transit visions.

Conclusion: Transit Visions and Infrastructural Possibilities

In this text I have tried to illustrate how multiple and situated viewpoints become meaningful in transit planning during the process of creating a new Ecuadorean state. I unpacked the process of transit planning historically, institutionally, and *in situ* to demonstrate how the visible and invisible dynamics of transit planning matter. I have taken mundane positions such as that of strong mayors, transit institutions, and public transit users to indicate how an ensemble of social relations fuses together through transit planning. I have looked at several differently situated slices of transit planning to indicate how they have all happened. This type of an analysis was important because it reveals how transit planning is done and is in contrast to a neatly defined process. It is more than just moving people from point A to point B, or just thinking about the question of sustainability (Banister, 2008). Moving around the city is inculcated with opportunities to analyze and interpret global, national, and local processes.

The 2008 Constitution provoked new possibilities tied to a Plurinational state (Postero, 2007). It not only concretized a new type of deliberative democracy for the state; it also generated new possibilities for transit infrastructure to impact the daily lives of Ecuadorean citizens. Transit infrastructure is a critical component to nation building in an era of participatory democracy in Ecuador, but it also represents a horizon for generative change. Thus, the planning process behind transit infrastructure in Ecuador raises questions about substantive citizenship; citizens have the opportunity to intervene and quash or avert inequalities produced by the state. I argue that public transit infrastructure can promise connectivity that will lead to new possibilities for citizens to test the limits of democracy and citizenship.

Public transit infrastructure is an important contact point that citizens have with an absent present state. Ecuadorean authorities have the capacity to be present through the day to day construction of space, and also invisible, allowing the spaces that infrastructures inhabit to develop through its absence (Colloredo-Mansfeld 2009, 17). Transit infrastructure represents everyday forms of governmental control (Collier 2011; Joyce 2003) and a daily place where social and cultural lives intersect (Larkin 2008, 5–6). State and municipally recognized institutions have opened new channels to interact with citizens (Baiocchi, Heller, and Silva 2011; Goldfrank 2011) and thus new processes oriented around justice and equity have emerged (Caldeira and Holston 2014). Yet, this type of application of social justice is incompatible with the way in which transit studies have measured equity (Vasconcellos 2001) or how participatory planning can shape the transit planning process (Willson 2001). It is for this reason that my analysis had to begin at the interstices of a citizen participation and transit infrastructure. The practice of transit planning cannot rely on behavioral models, statistical representation, and experimentations in an urban laboratory.

It is a creative process that has no control; that is performative and merits improvisation in urban space. Citizens assert claims to urban space through voting, institutionalized channels, social movements, collective action, or just by moving around the city. Just as citizen participation is not—and never has been—uniquely tied to institutional practice, transit infrastructures represent the opportunities for citizens to assert some type of control over the urban environment. Thus, the transit planning process must be treated just the same. It is an unstable object and subject that merits attention to study through improvisation, starting in the very public spaces that transit planners and engineers have constructed.

Transit Planning as Performance

Just as my fieldwork was done through improvisation, moving between objects and actors involved in transit planning in Quito, I wrote my dissertation with the same dedication. I cannot tell a unique story about a megaproject and its impact on urban development—but I dedicated my dissertation to looking at the complex and interrelated processes that build up historically, institutionally, and in contemporary public transit in Quito. Through the daily repetition on getting on my bike while in the field, transit planning became a dynamic and unstable object I was able to pursue. Thus, I had to write a dissertation that reflected the intersectionality that transit infrastructure in Quito comes to represent. Transit planning is done through the stylized repetition of different visions—not just a policy or planning process.

First, I traced the planning trajectory of two sustainable transit projects in Quito, the proposed underground metro rail, MetroQ, and the public bike-share system, the BiciQ. This was done in order to deconstruct the transit planning process, and open it up to see a variety of social relations. These social relations demonstrate the interactions not only between different political officials and planners at the city level, but also, how urban social movements slowly filter into the formal transit planning process. These two transit projects, while different on scale, come to represent the real challenges faced in transit in Quito spatially, institutionally, and politically. By problematizing the traditional transit planning process, competing visions and processes emerge.

Once establishing the importance of transit planning Quito, and the multiple ways of reading it, I moved to construct the history of transit planning in Quito from the perspective of mayors. Quito's mayors have a particularly salient role in the development of the city's transportation landscape, both before and after decentralization. It focused on this place of privilege because it establishes an order of how municipal institutions engage with citizens. It argued that public transit in Quito is not established through a long-term policy plan, but rather through a symbiotic relationship with transit planners. Further, I showed that this symbiotic relationship is the dominant mode of producing the formal transit infrastructure network. Such a move sets the stage for key ideas and actors to resurface and reiterate similar projects over time. Transit planning interventions that take place in Quito today occur through the similar patterns tied to global practices of transportation, political parties, and technical expert knowledge practices. Above all, it establishes how citizens transform from being inactive receivers of a public good, to active participants in public process.

Subsequently, I investigated the role of transit institutions after wide-sweeping changes have occurred because of decentralization and democratization in Ecuador. It focused on the role of two key institutions at the urban level, EPMMDQ, the entity responsible for the administration, construction and management of the Metro, and SUM's bike planning unit, in charge of bike infrastructure planning and the BiciQ. It established the legal and technocratic framework that binds institutions like EPMMDQ and SUM to put in place public participation. On the one hand, such a move democratizes the transit planning process. As such, this chapter argued that technocrats, not publically elected officials, are the arbiters of democratic practice. On the other hand, this chapter elucidates that even in the presence of participation mechanisms, like other state institutional practices, transit planning outcomes rely on technical knowledge and not community concerns. Citizen perspectives and visions do not reorient the planning process. As a result, it demonstrates the tensions between democratic practice and technical knowledge,

and simultaneously presents evidence, revealing how a plurality of actors, institutions, and urban social movements respond with alternative practices.

Finally, I presented evidence collected through two divergent survey mechanisms to capture on the ground realities and possibilities of public transit in Quito. I did so to present the perspective of public transit users. This is alternative to the statistical representation of the profiles of users that transit planners normally present. Instead, it uses the concept of infrastructural space in order to connect disparate economic and social geographies of the city, as well as understand the implications of political-administrative difference in the city through riding transit. Looking at the survey results also demonstrated how public transit infrastructure space becomes the testing ground for how citizens express citizenship. The survey observations resulted in a disposition: it produced divergent results from the survey's expectations. Instead it documented observations and brief accounts of the priorities that network inside users would like to see improved. Finally, it builds up to the concept of experience in order to present accounts on what it is like to cycle at the margins of a city dominated by the automobile. By ending with the experience of cyclists at the margins of transportation, I sought to uncover what those vulnerable seek for an alternative agenda for transportation in Quito.

Roads are Public Space



Figure 6.1 Illustration by ITDP Mexico

The image above comes from the Institute for Transportation and Development Policy (ITDP) and best summarizes the experiences that I take away from my dissertation and what type of studies I seek to continue investigating. I ended the dissertation purposefully by using data that I gathered in the field through collaboration with urban cyclists. There are limitations that surface from this type of ethnographic work in terms of replicability. My study has prominently served as a clear message that any transit planning process is performative and improvisational—it is not just up to the planner to look for different angles. It is not a process that can be neatly unpacked to solve questions of travel demand. Through this intention I recognize the limits of my work, as it is a study that is dedicated to the city of Quito. But, readers and researchers alike can take away the meaning in some of the results, such as where transit planners can learn to use different forms of knowledge in the planning process. Or, how leaders need to listen to and look

for multiple forms of participation that are not just expressed through voting or public commentary.

My position as an urban cyclist circulating through Quito daily gave me the experience to know that it has the potential to radically alter the landscape of a city that is meant for the privileged use of automobiles. This experience for example, made me acutely aware of the situation of cyclists in many American cities as I sit here from San Diego, CA completing my dissertation; it is a daily reality that faces cities in the global north and south. I analyzed the results I gathered with cyclists in Quito, starting from the margins. I set up one way to read how future transit studies can be shaped. My aim is to call on transit planners to engage in studies that impede on the spaces created for individual automobile use. My desire is to start from how the public streets are divided, how they are disproportionately financed, and make it uncomfortable for individuals to circulate in private cars, just as it is uncomfortable for us as cyclists to do so. For me, this means future research on transit in Quito, starting from the valleys where informal modes of transit proliferate along side the continued expansion of highway

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Appendix:

1. Activity Diary Survey Instrument #1

<u>Day:</u>		<u>Date:</u>				
Time of start	Activity	Details of Travel (describe each stage of any journey)	Location: Home	Location: Elsewhere (describe)	Names of Streets traveled on during journey	Time of Finish

Observations (describe significant events, incidents, conditions of infrastructure, signs, opinions etc.):

Mental Map of One Route used on one Journey:

2. Activity Intercept Survey Instrument #2

Transportation in Quito

Please answer the questions to the best of your ability below. For inquiries on the survey, please contact jcgamble@berkeley.edu or cellular: 0979089675. Approval number and CPHS and contact them.

1. Gender: ☐ M ☐ F
2. Age: _____
3. Race/Ethnicity (Check all that apply): ☐ Indigenous ☐ Afro-Ecuadorean ☐ Mestizo ☐ Montubio ☐ Blanco ☐ Otro
4. What is your household size? _____
5. What is your occupation? _____
6. What is your education level: ☐ Sin Estudios ☐ Primaria incompleta ☐ Primaria Completa ☐ Secundaria incompleta ☐ Secundaria Completa ☐ Hasta 3 años de educación superior ☐ 4 o más años de educación superior (sin post grado) ☐ Post grado
7. Do you receive the housing bonus? ☐ Yes ☐ No
8. Do you use public transportation? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- What form (Check all that apply)? ☐ Trolley Bus ☐ Ecovia ☐ Metrobus ☐ BiciQ ☐ Bus
NO OPINION.
9. How often do you use public transportation?
☐ Daily (2-3 times) ☐ 3 times/week ☐ Less than 3 times/week ☐ Never
10. Do you own or lease a car? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If so how often do you use your car per week? _____
11. Do you walk or bike to certain locations? _____ Walk (Yes/No) _____ Bike (Yes/No)
12. What conditions would you like to see improve in the public transportation system in Quito?
☐ Insecurity ☐ Express Services ☐ Bike Lanes ☐ Integrated Fare
13. In your opinion, what do you feel is needs improvements need to be made to public transportation in Quito?
i) _____ ii) _____ iii) _____
14. Are you aware that an underground metro is being built? ☐ Yes ☐ No
15. How likely are you to use the new underground metro?
☐ Certain ☐ Very likely ☐ Somewhat likely ☐ Not likely ☐ Don't Know/Unsure
16. Within the last year, how many times has the city of Quito informed you on the new underground Metro?
☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 ☐ 8 ☐ 9 ☐ 10 ☐ more than 10
- What ways have you heard about (TV, radio, internet, newspaper)? _____
17. How well do you think the city of Quito keeps you informed on transportation related decisions?
☐ An Excellent job ☐ A Good Job ☐ A Fair Job ☐ A Poor Job ☐ Don't know/Not Sure
18. How much do you agree with this statement: "I believe that the Municipality of Quito is open to receiving community input in transportation."
☐ Very Much Agree ☐ Somewhat Agree ☐ Neither Agree nor Disagree ☐ Somewhat Disagree ☐ Very Much disagree ☐ Don't know/Not Sure
19. How much do you agree with this statement: "I believe that the Municipality of Quito is willing to consult and participate in decision-making processes with citizens."

☐ Very Much Agree ☐ Somewhat Agree ☐ Neither Agree nor Disagree ☐ Somewhat Disagree ☐ Very Much disagree ☐ Don't know/Not Sure