Urban Movements and Planning:
An analysis of Bicycle Advocacy Organizations in Quito-Ecuador

Candidate No. 54525

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Abstract

This work critically analyses the influence of urban movements in urban policy. Due to the apparent success of bicycle advocacy organizations in effecting the urban policy agenda of Quito-Ecuador, the document examines the evolution of these groups and their strategies over time. Drawing on a genealogy of these movements and on a narrative enquiry, the study explores how participating in urban politics impacts their members. Ultimately, the study finds out that considering the evolution (re-creation) of ‘political subjects’ provides rich understanding regarding to urban movements’ strategies and organizational forms, which might contribute to complement structural analysis of urban movements and therefore to the way they are becoming critical actors in urban planning.
Acknowledgements

Despite not being an urban cyclist myself, close relatives and friends have enjoyed a long-time passion for bicycles, which raised my attention towards a series of events that as years passed by became an apparent phenomenon, there seemed to be ‘bicycle boom’ in Quito-Ecuador. Analysing how urban cycling had become so relevant and its implications in terms of urban policy appealed me as an urban planning student. I thank all the professors in the Department of Geography that heard patiently my initial thoughts and helped me moulding my research. My academic supervisor was truly supportive, and after hearing some background information encouraged me to approach the topic focusing on ‘personal stories’ of the members of the bicycle advocacy organizations, which allowed the possibility of making a critical genealogy. I would particularly like to thank all the interviewees who shared not only insights but also personal and sometimes even delicate experiences of their lives; their openness and willingness to participate is the essence of the story and therefore the core of this work. A final note of thanks to my family and friends for their unconditional support.
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1. INTRODUCTION

In 2003, the Metropolitan Cultural Centre of Quito-Ecuador hosted an ambitious two-day seminar to discuss alternative mobility: Ciclovías para Quito [Cycling paths for Quito] (Diario HOY, 2003). The initiative sought to create a space of dialogue for discussing the transport and environmental problems of the city and aimed at proposing a bicycling-path scheme and an implementation plan (CIUDAD, 2003). Although the profile of the event recalled any other academic debate, the occasion marked a milestone as it implied the beginning of an era in which bicycle advocacy organizations [BAO] would play a leading role in influencing urban life and ultimately urban policy undertaken by the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito [DMQ]. Despite there had been protest and bicycle activism during the 90s, it was from this occasion onwards that these groups would pose actual influence in urban policy in the city, either by collaborative practices or by opposition and critique.

In planning theory, the revival of ‘place making’- in which urban design prioritizes people, social encounter and enjoyment of spaces (Jacobs, 1961)- has raised interest in active and sustainable means of transports. In this context, cycling and walking have gained relevance. While urban policy actively promotes these alternatives in some cities, in others, political pressure from citizens’ organizations is “crucial to getting all forms of sustainable transport onto policy agendas” (Sagaris, 2007, p.276). More so in Latin American cities, were transport infrastructure concentrates around automobiles and in which nowadays deeply transforming land-use regulations and public transport systems are being discussed and therefore represent an opportunity for new schemes.

Critics of ‘blueprint planning’ and more complex political configurations for local governance, due to globalization and the ‘rescaling of State’ (Brenner, 2004), have resulted in the turn towards ‘collaborative practices’ (Healey, 1997), which highlight the relevance of taking into account community based groups and social organizations. But the role of citizen organizations has often been ‘romanticized’, neglecting the fact that activists and advocacy organizations might cause more effective participation in planning (Mayer, 2003). Little attention has been given to activism and mobilization in planning, usually concentrated in squatting and resistance strategies against development projects. Moreover, Bicycle Advocacy Organizations [BAOs] have usually been treated as any other citizen organization,
which has overlooked the features of activism they present, as in many countries they derived from environmentalism. Thus, nowadays, when planning practice is highly influenced by governance arrangements, incorporating the analysis of advocacy organisations in the urban planning discussion becomes relevant.

Literature about social movements, in which activist and advocacy groups have been studied, faces a domination of structural approaches for explanation, focusing on the organizations’ structure and the causes for success and failure, while little has been said about the members of those movements. Involvement in a social process and in urban politics effects perceptions, and provides relevant experiences that affect activists, changing them, and causing what Rutland (2012) calls ‘the re-creation of the political subjects’. Thus, directing attention to them might contribute to a richer understanding of advocacy organisations and therefore to their effect in urban planning.

This paper provides an analysis of the BAOs in Quito-Ecuador, an adequate study case because as other groups around the world they derived from environmental activism. Moreover, they seem to have had a profound effect on urban planning. Additionally, given existent groups result from fragmentation of others provides the possibility for a critical genealogy in which changes in organizational forms can be related to ‘re-creation’ of political subjects.

In chapter two, I will make a review of academic literature on planning and urban social movements and explain how these are linked to the research questions posed. The third chapter will explain the narrative inquiry approach for research and the methods used. In the fourth chapter, I will describe the research setting. The fifth chapter will contain the critical genealogy based on narrative analysis. The final chapter will present conclusion that may drawn from this study.
2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, a brief overview of academic literature is presented as justification for the analysis of BAOs in Quito. The first section explains the ‘communicative turn’ in planning. The second section discusses critiques and shortcomings of this planning tradition, and identifies activists and advocacy organizations as a ‘blind spot’ in this realm. The third section reviews urban movements literature, highlighting the need for emphasis on urban movements’ members. The final section summarises the review, and leads to the research questions.

2.1. The road to participation, dialogue and collaborative planning

The notion of participation is a legacy from ancient Greek times and has been developed in the domain of political philosophy. Comparatively, the relation between participation and planning theory is less consolidated and rather incipient. Only in recent decades planning has exhibited recognition of the need of citizen participation in the decision-making process, and of a re-conception of planning towards a multi-disciplinary field in which political aspects play a dominant influence (Hall and Tewdwr-Jones, 2011). From the 60s onwards, contributions from other academic fields and political and economic circumstances challenged ‘blueprint planning’ and its efficacy, deriving in the emergence of a diffused array of streams of thought (Stiftel, 2000), all of which incorporated in various ways the notion of public participation.

Synoptic planning transcended the rational approach, by incorporating public participation in the form of ‘consultation’ (Hall, 1992). However, consultation assumes homogeneity in society and therefore a unique public interest, so that “participation is only required to validate and legitimise the goals of planning” (Lane 2005, p. 290).

Later on, came the ‘radical social transformation’ (Lane, 2005) models. Davidoff’s ‘advocacy planning’ approach refused the idea of a unique public interest and promoted public participation. In fact, its aim was ensuring equal representation of citizens in the planning process. The model focused on including low-income groups as ‘advocate planners’ so that their interest were considered for decision making (Berke, 2002; Stiftel, 2000), provided the underlying principle that there was
“profound inequality of bargaining power between groups” (Mazziotti, 1982 cited in Lane 2005, p. 293).

The ‘transactive planning’ approach proposed by Friedman in 1973 had put participation and dialogue in the forefront. It considered planning as a dialectical process, where learning and interaction are central (Friedman, 2011). “Participation and empowerment, according to this concept of planning, become goals to be attained rather than methods to be used” (Lane 2005, p. 293).

Likewise, Forester took over Habermas’ ideas of political philosophy and proposed a ‘communicative planning’ theory as a respond to confronting needs and interests. Participation of different stakeholders was considered the core of a mediated dialogue process in which planners could guide citizens towards a community-based planning (Stieftel, 2000). Moreover, like Friedman, he paid special attention to social learning, and described it as a mechanism for consensus building.

Finally, Healey incorporated Giddens’ idea of active work of participants in governance processes, and linked it with communicative planning theory (Healey, 2003). She developed a ‘collaborative planning’ theory, which, as she describes, is not only a decision-making process, rather a governance mechanism in which dialogue, debate and discourse are present (Healey 1996, 1997 cited in Lane, 2005). Healey does not mention the idea of knowledge per se, but she believes interaction leads to understanding and consensus. Participation in this model is fully embedded with the way planning is conceived, so that without participation there is no planning (Lane, 2005).

2.2. Criticisms

Despite the momentum collaborative planning theories have gained over the years, they have also raised a lot of scrutiny, not so much because of their purposes but because of their tenets’ applicability in the every time more complex governance contexts of Western economies, and for the misconception about community organizations, civil society, and social capital possibilities of contributing to ‘communicative planning’. Consequently, activists and advocacy organisations can be identified as a ‘blind spot’ that requires further comprehension.
2.2.1. ‘Communicative planning’ under Neo-Liberalist Politics

While all the above-mentioned models emerged based on the shortcomings of the rational paradigm, they implicitly reinforced the idea of planning as a beneficial activity. In the 70s and 80s, however, a contrasting neo-Marxist approach emerged, not against ‘communicative planning’ but against planning in general. Lefebvre (1969) and Harvey (2008) critiqued the frantic advancement of capitalism and its consequences (Lane, 2005; Hall and Tewdwr-Jones 2011). Planning and urban politics, they argued, were connected through capitalist, “planning, therefore, ultimately serves the capitalist state” (Davies 1982 in Lane 2005, p.294). Similarly, Bengs “believes that communicative planning theorists consciously or unintentionally support the neo-liberal transformation of society” (Sager 2005, p.6).

On the contrary, Allmendinger considers ‘communicative planning’ an attempt to restore the relevance of planning under neo-liberalism, while Taylor and Sager think planners face a dilemma due to the incompatibility of interests between both, and consequently also with New Public Management promoted by neoliberalism (Sager, 2005).

Flyvbjerg (2000), on the other hand, critiques ‘collaborative planning’ through Foucault's idea of power as an underlying force in human relations and questions Habermas' notion of communicative rationality. His ideas have been echoed by Brand and Gaffikin (2007), who question ‘the willingness of the powerful’ to participate in dialogue.

2.2.2. The disappointing side of promising notions

Other appraisals of the ‘communicative planning’ approach revolve around the concepts of social capital, civil society and community organizations, all of which have been related to it, through the notion of public participation. Controversy arises from the assessment of the way these have been defined and utilized, for enhancing the benefits of the ‘communicative planning’ approach. According to its opponents there is a ‘romanticized’ view (Campbell, 2005; Mayer 2003), which overshadows potential shortcomings and difficulties associated both with the definition behind those concepts, and with the forms for realizing them.

Civil Society
Problems with the notion of ‘civil society’ arise from ‘the second coming’ of the term to scholarship which denotes a sphere detached from both state and economy, a division usually associated to the assumption that market and state operate against civil society (Storper, 1998). This definition of civil society as the ‘weak’ side that need to be given a voice is problematic because it does not distinguish ‘contents’ (Abu-Lughod, 1998) and encompasses all sorts of social organizations, despite the heterogeneity among them (Low, 2006). In fact, Goonewardena and Rankin (2004) argue this new definition usually serves organizations that operate in favour of neo-liberal economic interests, and that celebrates an idea of ‘self help’ which instead of nourishing participation in decision-making, has reinforced the weakened position of planning in a globalized political context, contrary to the spirit the concept was originally coined for.

**Community Organizations**

According to Campbell (2005), despite planning’s intrinsic relation to ‘communities’, their nature is not fully understood. He argues that creativity and willingness to collaborate are usual features related to communities, while practice unveils a ‘darker side’. Wilson (2005) supports this idea, describing how community organizations may be dominated by a few representatives, who draw on ‘bullying tactics’ to coerce potential opposition; and how participation may be widely present in discourse but restricted to elect ‘representatives’ in reality.

Baum (2005) describes the logic under which communities operate and argues that even when trying to act ‘purposefully’, they might end going against public interest, more so, when their members have little formal education. Robinson, Shaw and Davidson (2005) also question communities' knowledge, challenging the common idea that communities know better and illustrating how they tend to focus on what concerns them most, disregarding the whole range of problems, and how solutions should be channelled properly.

**Social Capital**

Closely related to community organizations and community-based planning is the concept of social capital, or more specifically the redefinition of the concept made by Robert Putnam in 1967. According to its contesters, the concept has been idealized
for different reasons. First, analysing social capital and democratic participation in a causality relation, assumes ‘networks, reciprocity and trustworthiness’ have the actual capacity of increasing civic engagement, deriving in the interest of promoting it (Mayer, 2003). Second, according to DeFilippis (2001) treating communities as actors is defective, given they are the outcome from complex relationships. Therefore, thinking that communities can and should be shaped, by adjusting their level of ‘social capital’, disregards the potential negative effects that may result from power-embedded social interaction in a certain network. And finally, “by highlighting the positive, democracy- and efficiency-enhancing consequences of civil society networks, this conception of social capital has become attractive for policy-makers searching for non-economic (low-cost) solution to social problems” (Mayer 2003, p. 113).

**The blind spot: advocacy organisations**

The wide acceptance of Putnam’s ideas by practitioners, governments and the World Bank implies that the voluntary associations mentioned by him, are the ones that have been related to enhanced civic engagement; and the ones partnerships are usually established with. Mayer (2003), however, exposes Foley and Edwards’ argument that activist and political organizations, excluded from Putnam’s analysis, because of their nature, are the type of voluntary associations that trigger more effectively active participation and civic engagement, instead of neighbourhood associations, church and others listed by Putnam. She identifies this ‘blind point’, and argues that: “reading of community-base development activism suggested by the social capital perspective facilitates our understanding of its institutional innovations and its potential” (Mayer 2003, p. 117).

In this sense, it can be concluded that more attention needs to be paid to political organizations embedded in the so-called civil society, whose activism and advocacy practices apparently could be more influential in urban planning practices than other groups and might imply more democratic decision-making processes. The following section presents academic literature insights for the study of these groups.
2.3. Urban Social Movements

Activism and advocacy organisations have been studied through theories of collective action and social movements [SMs]. This section briefly reviews literature of this kind. The first section revises literature on ‘urban social movements’, which is the urban trajectory of academia about SMs. In the second section, the traditionally socio-political approach to SMs is presented, highlighting some concepts used as framework of analysis in this paper.

2.3.1. The Urban Perspective

The term ‘urban social movements’ [USMs] has been analysed from an interdisciplinary perspective and finds its origin when Manuel Castells first used it in the 70s in reference to groups, whose actions contributed to urban social change (Rabrenovic, 2009). Moreover, they have been considered in the ‘new social movements’ category (Fainstein and Hirst, 1995; Miller, 2006; and Novy and Colomb, 2012), a label used for “collective action not defined by (or centred on) relations between capital and labour, which had been at the core of ‘old’ social movements” (Novy and Colomb 2012, pp.3-4).

Despite Castells’ (1977) initial definition of USMs as capable of producing radical change in power relations, in The City and the Grassroots, he changes their scope to grassroots mobilization and demands that manage only to transform urban structure around three themes: collective consumption, defence of cultural and social identity of a place and political struggles in order to achieve control of local government (Castells 1983 cited in Miller, 2006 and Novy and Colomb, 2012).

According to Pickvance (2003), Castells’ influence derived in a trajectory of academic literature on ‘social movements’, detached from sociology traditional approach, and highly focused on urban studies. He argues that this independent evolution brought the benefits of conceiving ‘urban social movement’ in terms of their effects, in relation to political power, and considering the political context they operated in; something ‘social movements’ theories, at the time, were not focused on (Ibid).

Despite Castells’ relevance, USMs have been redefined according to economic and political context (Novy and Colomb, 2012). Mayer (2009) makes a review in this sense, and identifies some major changes. First, a shift from unified mobilization
against urban structure (caused by capitalism) to fragmented mobilization against particular neo-liberal redevelopment projects. Second, labour class, youth and migrants do not dominate the mobilization scene anymore; now it includes middle-class groups advocating for their particular interests. Third, from opposition against state as a whole, local governments are now to some extent less antagonist to urban movements, as they also reclaim certain competences national governments have detached them from.

Moreover, in recent times, the urban perspective has been connected to ‘the right to the city literature’, influenced by Lefebvre’s (1969) idea that changing urban life can change people, and free them from imposed patterns capitalism and urbanization provoke. However, this association has been problematic as it misinterprets the claims of certain groups and downplays their demands limiting them to the city, when Lefebvre’s critique revolves around the system as whole (Uitermark et. al, 2012), therefore falling in what has been called the ‘local trap’ (Purcell, 2006).

2.3.2. The socio-political perspective

The term ‘social movements’ first defined protests in France during the 18th century, while the current use of the term involves “all groups outside the mainstream of the political system” (Marsh, 1998) and its study has been primarily in the sociology realm, although in recent times it has converged with other disciplines. Scholarship in social movements provides several relevant contributions for the purpose of this study, which are briefly presented here.

Resource Mobilization

This theory focuses on the structure of social movements organizations [SMOs]. Its main contribution is describing them as purposeful and organized (McCarthy and Zald, 1977), in contrast with their previous characterization as irrational, random and chaotic action (Marshall, 1998; and Caniglia and Carmin, 2005). It also explores organizations as the basis for mobilization; how organizational forms may shape mobilization and how these may change over time (Staggenborg, 1988 and Michels, 1962 cited in Caniglia and Carmin, 2005).

Political Process Theory
This theory, developed by Tarrow in 1983, introduces political power to the analysis of SMs (Pickvance, 2003), and shifts attention from structure and process towards explaining success and failure of mobilization in reference to external factors, particularly opportunity to access the political process. According to Caniglia and Carmin (2005), the legacy of the ‘political process’ theory relies in two aspects: “the relationship between SMOs and their external environments” (p.204) and “the presence and impact of relation among organisations, both as networks and coalitions” (p. 205).

**Frames**

Goffman (1974) coined the term ‘frame’ in reference to a way of defining a view, of making an interpretation of the world. According to Snow and Benford (1988) USMs construct frames for taking part in a movement, as they claim mobilization occurs as the result of ‘frame-alignment’. For doing so, they go through three stages: ‘diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing’, which mean acknowledging –individually and collectively- what the problem is, how it should be solved and why. This idea of ‘framing’, has therefore been of huge significance in the ‘cultural-cognitive’ approach for studying USMs, as the process of framing is associated with creating an identity.

**Networks**

The idea of networks has been to some extent intrinsic to USMs studies. However, approaches to how to deal with them and what incidence they have in mobilization is constantly changing. Behind the notion of networks, is the idea of ‘social ties’ for which Della Porta (1988), Kriesi (1993), McAdam and Paulsen (1993) have provided explanations regarding the difference of formal and informal ties; and Granovetter (1973) has argued the importance of ‘weak ties’. More recently, Passy and Giugni (2001) proposed a distinction between ‘structural function’ and ‘socialization function’ of networks, through which they argue the intensity and commitment of participants in USMs may be explained.
USMs and the City

The concern about power and the external environment of an organization has been a convergence point between the urban and the socio-political perspective. Based on DelaPorta and Diani, Nicholls (2008) argues cities are crucial for mobilization as they enable both ‘formal’ and ‘informal ties’.

Other authors, on the other hand, point out the negative features of the city in relation to USMs. “Saunders (1979) and Castells (1983) concluded that mobilizations beginning in cities tend to fragment and have great difficulty in shifting scale and linking up to broader (non-urban) social movements. Likewise, David Harvey's (2001) use of the concept of ‘militant particularism’ warns that urban-based mobilizations are susceptible to being directed away” (Uitermark 2012, p. 4).

Uitermark et al. (2012) also make their own case assessing the city as a place of duality. It provides the ‘relational conduits’ that enable mobilization, while at the same time it is a place of control and contention, because of its characteristics – density, size and diversity- and given that it is the source of advancement in technologies of control and policing.

Institutionalization and Co-optation

Prujit (2003) illustrates the concepts of institutionalization through the cases of New York and Amsterdam squatting movements. According to him institutionalization implies making a movement stable and predictable through channeling its action to a framework of laws and rules, which usually happens through alliances and agreements with State. Co-optation, on the other hand, is a situation in which the problem to be solved is re conceptualized in such a way that the government can address it easily, so that the movements’ aims may be considered achieved.

SMs in Latin America- ‘Distances from State’

Davis (1999) provides a theoretical framework for studying SMs in Latin America, considering differences in terms of state-formation in relation to Europe and the U.S. She thus argues analysis has to take into account the fact that citizens may be distanced from state in four dimensions: “geographic, institutional, cultural, and in
terms of class” (p.603), which may result in differences in terms of political opportunities of accessing State and influencing urban policy.

‘Political subjects’

Rutland (2012) critiques most theories of SMs for neglecting the importance of the ‘political subjects’ as they implicitly assume that participants will respond mechanically to a structure or environment. He thus argues notions of ‘networks’ and ‘frames’ should be used in combination with Dubet’s idea of political subject as the result of contingent circumstances and complex social relations.

This idea is also supported by Martin et. al (2007), who analyse the role of individuals in creating change. According to them, individuals have the possibility of doing activism in everyday life, which they consider the first step towards mobilization and social change.

2.4. Conclusions and Research Questions

Critiques in literature about the communicative turn in planning suggest advocacy organizations pose influence in urban policy design and delivery. Urban social movements literature, has provided many structural approaches for studying them, which focus on the rise of the movements, incentives for taking part, and the structure and features of social movements organizations. Nevertheless, little seems to be offered for analyzing the evolution of organizations and the approaches developed have neglected the analysis of SMOs’ members. Recent contributions, based on concepts such as ‘frames’ and ‘networks’ allow focusing on members, and open the possibility of studying their transformation as ‘political subjects’. It seems that less structural approaches are necessary in order to understand ‘political subjects’.
Based on those conclusions, in this paper, I will study how urban movements influence urban policy change, based on the evolution ‘political subjects’ experiences as a result of participating in a movement. Drawing from the case of Quito, two research questions will be analyzed:

1. How did participating in the Bicycle Advocacy Movement impact their members?
2. How can that effect contribute to explain their influence in urban policy of the city over time?
3. METHODOLOGY

For answering the research questions, narrative enquiry is used in order to create a critical genealogy of the BAOs. This methodology is explained in this chapter, through four sections. First, narrative enquiry is briefly introduced. The second section describes the thematic analysis approach. In the third section the data and collection procedures are presented. Finally, I describe how data has been analyzed.

3.1. Introduction to Narrative Enquiry

Narrative enquiry is a relatively new qualitative research approach, both in social sciences and more so in human geography. Despite the term ‘narrative enquiry’ is usually not explicitly defined (Giovannoli, n.d.), it could be accurately described as follows:

“It involves the collection and development of stories, either as a form of data collection or as a means of structuring a research project. Informants often speak in a story form during the interviews, and as the researcher, listening and attempting to understand; we hear their ‘stories’. The research method can be described as narrative when data collection, interpretation and writing are considered a ‘meaning-making’; process with similar characteristics to stories (Gudmundsdottie 1996, p.295). Narrative inquiry can involve reflective autobiography, life story, or the inclusion of excerpts from participant’s stories to illustrate a theme developed by the researcher. A narrative approach to inquiry is most appropriate when the researcher is interest in portraying intensely personal account of human experience. Narratives allow voice-to the researcher, the participants and to cultural groups- and in this sense they can have the ability to develop a decidedly political and powerful edge.” (Gray 1998 cited in McGraw-Hill, 2009, p.19)

The narrative enquiry approach was chosen, insofar the research question is trying to understand how participating in urban movements has impacted their members, their actions and their strategies. Focusing attention on narratives offers an understanding of “the effects in social interaction that other modes of communication do not” (Riessman 2008, p.7). In the case of urban movements, stories’ potentiality of mobilizing people.
3.2. Thematic Analysis

According to Riessman’s (2008) classification of narrative analysis, this work can be categorized as ‘thematic analysis’ as its main focus lies on ‘what’ is said instead of the forms of saying it, nor the reasons for that. For the purpose of this study, the episodes and the experiences told in the narrative contributed to reaching an answer for the questions posed, based on theoretical concepts used for interpretation.

3.3. Data and collection method

The critical genealogy of the BAOs in Quito is made based on primary and secondary sources of information.

Secondary Sources

A set of information was pulled together from:

1. Official websites and Facebook profiles of the BAOs
2. Newspaper articles collected through the online news archive ‘EXPLORED’
3. Documents provided by the BAOs
4. Articles and studies found online

Primary Sources

Based on secondary data, key actors in the BAM movement were identified and contacted. Fieldwork included 9 unstructured and extensive interviews, which lasted between 1 and 3 hours and were conducted in Spanish (See Appendix A1 for the list of interviews). The position adopted as interviewer was ‘traveler’ —according to Kvale’s (1996) classification—, which implies “journeying through the other’s landscape gathering stories to retell”.

3.4. Analysis Method

For narrative inquiry, interviews were transcribed literally and without omitting expressions or interruptions.
For the narrative analysis, Lieblich’s et. al (1998) hybrid matrix was used as reference. So, each narrative was analysed according to the holistic-content perspective, which “uses the complete life story of the individual and focuses on the content of the story” (Giovannoli n.d., p. 36). Thus, there was no coding sheet. Data was triangulated between narratives and in comparison with my fieldwork journal and background information.

Then, following Riesmann’s (2008) recommendation, selected portions were extracted to build a critical genealogy about the BAOs and their members, so that ‘their parts in the whole story become clear” (Polkinghorne, 1988 cited in Giovannoli, n.d.) and the events described were interpreted through theory. The obtained genealogy is, therefore, an ‘explanatory narrative report’ (Ibid).

3.5. Cautions

Despite only fragments of the stories are presented in the genealogy, the method should not be confused with the ‘grounded theory’ research approach, because the analysis unit remained ‘case-centred’ (Riessman, 2008). Given this narrative research is explanatory, no generalizable laws for predicting outcomes of urban movement are aimed.

This paper, intends to verify, through the example of Quito, whether focussing attention on political subjects and exploring their personal experiences provides meaningful information regarding the evolution of the advocacy organizations that take part in an urban movement. The events occurred and their outcomes are treated as context specific.

Finally, given the research setting is my hometown and the story was to some extent familiar to me, I acknowledge potential source of bias, which I tried to be particularly mindful about. Not being a cyclist myself and not having any previous direct involvement with the groups, interviewees’ stories do not present major tensions with my own narrative.

However, objectivity is not goal in this narrative research project, especially when doing a critical genealogy, for which the lens of an urban planning student is used for interpretation and assessment.
In this chapter, the research setting is described. First, general information about Quito is presented, and then a brief description of the political climate is done.

4.1. General Information

Quito is located on a plateau on the Eastern slopes of the Pichincha volcano in the Andes Mountains, at an elevation of 2,850 meters above sea level. Given its geographic complexity, the urban area of the city has expanded in an elongated shape (the black surface in Figure 1), encompassing approximately 50km from north to south and only 4km from east to west, for a total of 1,6 million people (INEC, 2010).

Figure 1- Digital Terrain Model of Quito

Source: DMQ
Edition: The author
The city follows a typical monocentric land use model. The economic boom due to oil exploitation in the 1970s consolidated the status of Quito as an administrative and financial centre, and shifted the economic activity core from the colonial centre to the north, where the Central Business District [CBD] is now located (Vallejo, 2008 cited in Gordón, 2011). Both centres and the space in-between them have merged into what the Municipality of Quito calls hipercentro [Hyper-Centre], depicted in colour blue and purple in Figure 2.

**Figure 2- Market Value of Land of Urban Land in Quito (2000)**

![Figure 2- Market Value of Land of Urban Land in Quito (2000)](image)

Source: DMQ

During the 1970-1978 period, the construction of major road infrastructure projects was undertaken (Gordón, 2011), which, combined with increased car -ownership due to the economic favourable situation, consolidated an auto-mobility-focused urban model. In fact, despite major public transport infrastructure endeavours of the
1990s, car ownership has doubled from approximately 200,000 units in 1999 to 415,000 units in 2009, which in turn represents 35% of the 4.7 millions journeys done daily in the city (DMQ, 2010).

From the 1.6 million daily journeys in private automobiles, 43.8% are ‘from’ or ‘to’ the Hyper-Centre, causing higher intensity of use in its roads and therefore creating congestion (Ibid.) Figure 3 depicts the intensity of congestion, where roads in red denote higher rates of volume of cars in comparison with road capacity. It is evident that most roads in the Hyper-Centre of the city are intensely congested.

**Figure 3- Traffic and Congestion in Quito (2008-2025)**

![Traffic and Congestion](image)

Source: DMQ
Edition: The author

### 4.2. Political Context

Ecuador experienced a ‘Neo-Liberal’ reform during the 80s and 90s, which included austerity measures and reduction of the size of the government apparatus. In 1999, the country experienced a deep financial crisis, due to the lack regulation, which caused the lost of the national currency and the adoption of the US dollars as
currency (Acosta, 2004). Population were absolutely impoverished, and the neo-liberal policy recommendations had been proved as ineffective and pernicious.

Given the context, the notion of ‘human sustainable development’ was reasonably incorporated in the political proposal of mayor Paco Moncayo, and within a local development framework (DMQ, 2004). Moreover, the proposal pursued effective decentralization- beyond service provision- in order to become an actual local government (Ibid). This administration believed in participation, civic engagement to take advantage of social capital and co-governance schemes – i.e. agreements and partnerships- for undertaking programmes and projects (Carrion, 2001). Furthermore, considering the bureaucratic structure of the local authority, it pursued efficiency through the creation of public corporations in order to execute programmes and develop projects.

After two consecutive periods of Paco Moncayo as mayor, in 2009, Augusto Barrera was elected as the result of his popularity for previous experience in the City Council and due to the powerful credentials that being the candidate of the political movement of President Rafael Correa elected in 2006, provided. The political proposal of Correa included reconstituting State at all levels, establishing regulations to economy, and creating national policies in all respects. The same spirit guided Augusto Barrera, so his promises included eliminating corporations for municipal projects and co-governance schemes, for considering them discretionary and a form of promoting ‘clientelism’.

With respect to transport, public space and development, the current Development Plan includes a new model of human mobility, which encompasses motorized transport, alternative transport, road security and territorial planning (DMQ, 2010). Through it, innovative solutions to traffic and congestion have been offered, which the authority claims would go beyond building new roads. An underground line has been promised as the axis of a new integrated mobility system, which would supposedly articulate human mobility, alternative means of transport and public transport. However, none of this has been done yet.
5. ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the experiences of BAOs in Quito will be analyzed. First, I present an overview of the BAM in Quito. Second, I do a critical genealogy of the BAM, based on narrative analysis and using theory for interpretation.

5.1. Overview of BAM in Quito

In order to understand the evolution of the movement and its impact in relation to urban policy, a brief introduction of actors and facts needs to be done. Further details and explanation are presented in the following section. As depicted in Figure 4, all organizations in the movement derived from fragmentation and merging between existing groups, a process that may be summarised in six points:

1. The BAM in Quito derived from ecological activism, like in many other places around the world (Furness, 2010).
2. From Acción Ecológica [AE], an ecological NGO, derived Biciacción- the first BAO. This organization achieved a collaborative relationship with the local authority.
3. After a crisis among members, Biciacción was fragmented and some former members created Ciclópolis. Existing projects were split between the two organizations and both remained close to the local authority.
4. Former members of both organizations then created Andando en Bici Carajo [ABC], an organization without formal structure and whose position is highly critical of both the DMQ and the two other organizations.
5. Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito, is an informal network between some BAOS and other associations\(^1\) created in 2011 for dialogue and discussion.
6. A former member of Biciacción created in 2012 Quito, Yo me Apunto, as a virtual space for citizen dialogue.

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\(^1\) Related to sports cycling
Each organization has developed its own strategies and activities, and holds different opinions regarding how to relate with the local authority. In that sense, Table 1 summarises the year each organization was founded in, the most relevant activities they have engaged with\(^3\) and how the relation with DMQ has been for each activity.

---

Table 1- BAOs Activities related to Urban Planning

\(^2\) Two other organizations could arguably be considered part of the BAM, but have not been included because although they use the bicycle for the claims, one advocates for genre equality and the other promotes cycling as a sport. Thus, they have been considered beyond the reach of this study.

\(^3\) The list exposes only activities related to urban planning. Educational, recreational and touristic activities are not detailed and have been encompassed under the term ‘other projects’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>RELEVANT ACTIVITIES</th>
<th>RELATION WITH DMQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1992</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acciòn ecologica</td>
<td>Summer Camps</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protests</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Viernes de Pedal [Friday Outings]</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seminar “Ciclovias para Quito”</td>
<td>Participation and Support from DMQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ciclopaseo [Sunday outings]</td>
<td>Partnership and Funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other self-financed projects</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2001</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biciaciòn</td>
<td>AFTER 2007 FRAGMENTATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bicipaseos Patrimoniales [outings to heritage sites]</td>
<td>Funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ciclo-Q [Permanent Cycling Path]</td>
<td>DMQ Project - Biciacción was consulted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other projects</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Petition Delivery for New Transit Law⁴</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciclopolis</td>
<td>Ciclopaseo</td>
<td>Support and Funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ciclo-Q [Permanent Cycling Path]</td>
<td>DMQ Project - Ciclopólis collaborated with Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other projects</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proposal Delivery for Transit Law</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2007</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2008</strong></td>
<td>Web Blog</td>
<td>Confrontation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴ The petition was delivered to the legislative authority at the national level, so no relation with DMQ was necessary. In spite of it, these have been listed as they portray attempts of reaching the policy level.
COLECTIVO QUITO PARA TODOS

2008
Radio Pedal' [radio programme] | Aired by Municipal Radio
Other projects | -
Dia sin Auto | -
Protests | -
Petitions for Urban Policy | Consultation, Debate and Agreement
Convivencia Vial [educational campaign] | DMQ project supported by the group

2011
Facebook discussion | -

Source: Various
Elaboration: The author

5.2. Critical Genealogy

Background information provided in the previous section was presented so that actors, facts and activities in the story of the movement were easily identified. In this section, the narratives of the interviewees have been critically analysed in order to reconstruct the story and discuss the issues exposed in the research questions. Following Huxley's (2010) historical perspective when problematizing planning, I will approach this story critically in order to avoid taking for granted the role of BAOs.

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5 In this section, only quotations are explicitly referenced, since the rest of facts have been constructed from information triangulation among various sources.
**Framing Process**

BAOs in Quito emerged from a NGO created in 1987 in response to Ecuador’s intensive oil exploitation and because of external environmental justice movements (*Acción Ecológica*, 2012). For condemning consumerism, AE decided to raise awareness regarding the increase in the number of cars and pollution. Summer camps were organized as a recruiting strategy, in which young volunteers were indoctrinated with environmental issues (Gordón, 2011).

Alexandra Velasco [AV] and Diego Puente [DP] took part in those camps and later became founders of a BAO. From their stories about this period, there are two relevant aspects to highlight. On one side, the ratification that pre-existing networks may derive in the creation of new social movements, as relations between individuals with common interests usually reinforce those interests and take them to next level (Rutland, 2012). On the other side, their tales evidence clearly all three ‘framing tasks’ identified by Snow and Benford (1988):

“It was a political formation regarding environmental law; ecological debt and environmental history of Latin America […] The bicycle questions the whole economic model, it’s subversive as it questions access to a resource called ‘public space’ until then legitimized only for the automobile […] At the time, debate around bicycle claimed cities should be with minimum number of cars, so, if possible, cars needed to be expelled or eliminated” (AV, personal communication, July 16, 2012).

Through Alexandra’s narrative, convergence with AE’s ecologist principles becomes evident, and as on Snow and Benford’s argument, the presence of a ‘frame-alignment’ such as Alexandra’ is what triggers mobilization.

This period in *Acción Ecológica* was characterized by confrontation. Young volunteers would go out on streets and participate in protests against pollution, claim respect from car drivers and condemn the system. About these, Diego also recalls how influencing that was for raising his interest in bicycle advocacy.

“It was a struggle against the car. I don’t regret having that position… well, now things are different; it’s no longer fighting against anything, but rather for something, in this case, the bicycle. But back then, there was this idea of
identifying the problem... the situation was delicate... there was a fight with bus drivers; we felt their hostility towards us.... As if they said 'don't invade our space!', and that exacerbated the situation... so yes, there were times in which we broke their driving mirrors... there was confrontation” (DP, personal communication, July 9, 2012).

Diego’s experience illustrates all tasks of the framing process (Snow and Bedford, 1988). In his case, it is interesting to notice how contingent circumstances contributed. The diagnostic part was inherited from Acción Ecológica’s indoctrination, while the prognostic and motivational framings were constructed based on his experiences on street.

Taking inspiration from San Francisco’s Critical Mass and from Los Furiosos Ciclistas de Chile, these youngsters organized ‘Viernes De Pedales’ [cycling outing on Fridays]. This external influence can also be considered as ‘motivational frame’ (Snow and Bedford, 1988); and according to Passy and Giugni (2001), provides information about the potentiality their contribution could have in a movement, both as individual and as an advocacy organization, which contributed to their decision of shifting to bicycle advocacy.

**Social Ties and New Networks**

In 2001, the young volunteers decided to form Biciacción, a group with no formal organization structure. The decision was made, because, until then, they relied on AE for funding, and the ONG was not particularly interested in having an area of work in the urban sphere. The importance of ‘weak ties’ for accessing new networks (Granovetter, 1973) gained particular importance for Biciacción, as it aided moving towards bicycle advocacy and contributed to the movement’s consolidation.

*Biciacción* sought support for organizing a cycling outing in commemoration of ‘The Day of Community Sport’ in September 2001. Based on connections they had done with Ligas Barriales [neighbourhood associations for sports], while working in AE, they managed to attract between 1.500 to 3.000 people. Moreover, for this activity, they also received support from DMQ. The level of attendance was a determinant factor for gaining respect from the local authority. Here, ‘weak ties’ with Ligas Barriales - organisations arguably dissimilar to *Biciacción* - offered the possibility of bridging and getting access to local government (Nicholls, 2008).
In February 2003, *Biciacción* got support of DMQ, for organizing the seminar ‘Ciclovías para Quito’, thanks to the backing of DMQ’s Planning Director, Diego Carrion [DC]. From his narrative, it is evident that he shares similar cultural frames with *Biciacción* and facilitated socialization between DMQ and *Biciacción*. As Passy and Giugni (2001, p. 129) argue, the “higher a network's cultural and ideological affinity with a movement, the deeper the socialization of prospective participants”. In fact, DMQ created ‘Ciclopaseo’, a programme in which certain streets in the city were closed during several hours the last Sunday of every month for a cycling space to be enabled there, but instead of operating the project, delegated it to *Biciacción*.

“*Diego Carrion gave us the opportunity of talking to the Mayor. I went biking with him one day, and got the opportunity to tell him all our ideas […] I thought ‘Ciclopaseo’ was going to be operated by the Secretary of Sports, but he said ‘Nooo! We can’t let the project be operated from inside the municipality… that would kill it! That is when I found out…. Wow! Working with them, instead of against them, is so much better… there, right there!’* (DP, personal communication, July 7, 2012)

With this delegation, *Biciacción* reached the highest degree in the participation ladder of Arnstein (1969), in which citizens actually gain control. *Biciacción* ‘success’ could be explained by Davis’ (1999) theoretical framework. In examining SMs in Latin America, she concludes that greater democracy is gained by alliance with State, instead of fighting and resistance, which Diego realized in the moment described in the quote above. According to Davis’ theory, in doing so ‘institutional distance’ between State and citizens is reduced.

From the perspective of DMQ, something to examine is whether this approximation was really a case of empowering citizenship or whether it was only ‘cooperation by necessity’ (Nicholls, 2008). The latter term was used by Nicholls to depict situations in which actors seek association to address a problem they cannot face themselves. In the case of Quito, it seems DMQ found this co-governance arrangement convenient insofar it allowed the possibility of to avoid bureaucracy. In that sense, it could be considered as a case of ‘cooperation by necessity’.

However, drawing on Healey’s argument of ‘communicative planning’ not only as a decision-making process but also as a governance mechanism, DMQ decision could
be considered advancement in this way. Diego Carrion’s deposition (DC, personal communication, July 10, 2012) supports this idea. According to him, the administration of Paco Moncayo had gotten elected because of a conceptual proposal that included bicycles, and as the administration meets this group, it encounters the possibility of getting citizens involved and of potentiating social capital towards reaching co-governance.

For execution of the project, Biciacción received funding from DMQ and the group became a formal institution. As the programme successfully expanded, so did the frequency of the outings, the length of the route it encompassed and the funding (Diario HOY, 2003-2005). Consequently, they stopped being volunteers and started operating according to defined processes, a step all interviewees considered necessary at the time, although the spirit of the organization changed.

In fact, theoretical approaches tend to be sceptical about the benefits of institutionalization. Prujit (2003) describes it as a form of integration local authorities use to displace disruptive actions, but the BAM in was not confrontational anymore. Castells (1983) considers institutionalization as a removal of identity, which for Biciacción, might be a real possibility, given the events that occurred next. Biciacción published a free bulletin, which reached people in decision-making positions. New networks and sponsorship from private companies arose and their speech changed as well. Fighting cars was no longer in agenda. Promoting integration of cars and bikes, as part for the realization of ‘the right to the city’, was the new prognostic frame. This claim of the ‘right to the city’ represents a claim for recognition of cyclist’ right to equal access to public state. In that sense it responds to a particular interest within the ‘local’ (Purcell, 2008), and is not used in the wider sense Lefebvre used it.

Re-creation of ‘political subjects’

In 2004, came a period of crisis insight Biciacción as a result of two converging factors. On one hand, members of the organizations started having differing visions. On the other side, there was a crisis between Alexandra and Diego –married to each other until then-. This affected the working environment and the relations between all members of the group.

Cristian Medrano [CM] had joined Biciacción that year, for a particular project, and explains how awful the situation was at this moment of conflict:
"I found an organization that was breaking apart... and all for personal interests... for domestic fights... thus my wanting to quit... I think at the end this crisis only showed that the organization did not have a good birth, a good genesis... it did not emerge for the love to cycling but as a tool for achieving other goals" (CM, personal communication, July 17, 2012).

Other members disagree with his statement, but do describe the situation moved to a point of fighting for personal interests, of taking the situation to the personal side. After a long period and big efforts- including organizational counselling- the situation reached an end point. An agreement was made between all members; they split and divided the projects. AV explains:

"It was impossible to continue working together. ‘Ciclopaseo’ stopped being a project of Biciacción... that and the ‘Clasica de Cantuña’, the first urban downhill competition of the city. Both relevant projects of Biciacción! [...] But the agreement was a way of saying: ‘Take all that in exchange for your resignation!’" (AV, personal communication, July 16, 2012)

After the split, Alexandra remained in Biciacción, as its Executive President. Diego, on the other side, founded a new organization called Ciclópolis. The rest of the members were given the choice to decide the organization they wanted to belong to.

Cristian remained related with both organizations, but eventually had disagreements with both. With Biciacción, because of ‘Viernes de Pedales’; he wanted to reinstall the project but according to San Francisco’s Critical Mass spirit of anonymity and self-organizing, while Biciacción claimed it should show the name of the organization that was financially supporting it. They never reached agreement, the project was not reinstalled and he quit Biciacción and created Andando en Bici Carajo [ABC] with other former members. Simultaneously, he had started working with Ciclópolis, but got disappointed because he thought it was creating a platform for Diego’s political interests. So he quit also and started condemning the actions of both organizations through ABC’s website.

Tilly’s theory (1978) of the evolution of SMs, from emergence to decline, does not provide accurate explanation of this critical moment. For him decline results either one of these: success, failure, repression, control or co-optation. The first three do
not seem to be the case. Co-optation could be a hypothesis, in the sense, that interviewees report discontent with the direction Biciacción was taking at the time. But according to the depositions, that was not really the reason for the split. ‘Framing’ and ‘networks’, on the other hand, reflect to some extent the change in individual perceptions, but do not account for the triggers for the transformation of the people involved, at least not on their own. Here, collecting their narratives and piecing together their justifications for their acts and decisions, provides accurate explanation of the evolution of the BAM, as Rutland’s (2012) argument suggests.

Moreover, according to Rutland interest should be on the transformation of members of a movement, which in Quito gets illustrated in the after-fragmentation period. Biciacción shifted its attention towards educational projects and started criticizing DMQ actions, because Alexandra considered previously they focused too much attention to ‘Ciclopaseo’ and forgot about other mechanisms of influencing public policy for reaching a new vision of mobility and sustainable means of transportation.

Under Diego’s guidance, Ciclópolis was created with strong formal structure and remained close to DMQ through ‘collaborative practices’. DMQ and Ciclópolis worked together for including cycling paths in parks and later constructing Ciclo-Q, the first permanent cycling path on streets and across the city. Ciclópolis contributed to the design, providing cyclists’ perception of place and space. In that sense it could be considered advancement towards place-making in Healey’s sense. Though, its success may be questioned, as citizens haven’t massively used it and as the other organizations considered it poorly designed in terms of cyclists’ usual journeys.

Likewise, Cristian’s bad experience with institutionalized organizations motivated him and other former members to create a group, under no formal organization and in which no visible leader would exist. Moreover, he claims that the organization does not pursue funding for considering it pernicious and therefore finances its activities through collective effort of people attending the activities.

The narratives of the three BAOs’ leaders, accurately account for the change in individual’s perceptions and the changes in their framings. Contrary to ‘resources mobilization’ and ‘political opportunity’ theory, it was neither lack of resources nor changes in political opportunities what triggered changes in them as political subjects and the consequently defragmentation. Moreover, emotions and personal conflicts played a huge role here. But not in the sense Lacey (2005) argues about the role of
emotions. She argues networks are created motivated by the need of connectedness. Here it was quite the opposite, the network split for lack of connectedness.

**The limits of participation**

In 2009, a new DMQ administration was to be elected and both Alexandra and Diego participated in the primary elections for Council Members candidates of Alianza País. None of them won, but once again this personal experience effected the BAM configuration.

Alexandra left Biciacción for the primaries, and was later appointed as Director of Sports in DMQ. Since then, Biciacción left the political scene and focuses its attention in operating its projects with various sources of funding as verified by the deposition of Alexandra’s successor Mario Muñoz (personal communication, July 16, 2012).

Diego stayed in Ciclópolis but recently decided to quit as Director, because under the new DMQ administration his image raises antipathy in many people. So Belen Cuesta was appointed as new Director. As Davis (1999) explains, the lack of ‘social ties’ with a political group increases institutional distance. In fact, Ciclópolis had a hard time convincing DMQ to keep the agreement for the operation of ‘Ciclopaseo’. DMQ wanted to operate the project directly, or appoint a new operator through public contest instead of directly appointing Ciclópolis. Moreover, members of Ciclópolis argue that Alexandra’s presence in the municipality contributed to weaken their relation with DMQ.

DMQ current administration has invited all BAOs for discussing different subjects but none of them assess this positively, for considering neither a governance mechanism (Healey 1997), nor a ‘dialectic’ (Friedman, 2011) or ‘mediated dialogue’ (Forester, 1999) process. They feel their opinion is either neglected (DP, personal communication, July 9, 2012) or their ideas are grabbed and then executed by DMQ on itself (CM, personal communication, July 17, 2012). Cristian goes further and accuses DMQ of co-optation.

On behalf of DMQ, there are two explanations. Alexandra (personal communication, July 16, 2012) described her disappointing experiences working inside DMQ and
claims that inside the administration, there are struggles for power and lack of leadership of the Mayor, who, according to her, does not provide effective guidance and holds a speech publicly, but operate in response of pressures of real-state and other economic powerful groups in practice. Based on her deposition instead of co-optation the situation could be considered a ratification of ‘communicative planning’ opponents’ argument of planning serving the interests of neo-liberalism.

However, hearing Carlos Páez’s deposition [CP], Secretary of Mobility, it seem the problem revolves around the role assigned to BAOs and the way of conceiving participation.

“Government has to serve public interest and guarantee people’s welfare; sometimes for that alliances are necessary, so I don’t demonize citizen organizations… but we are not obligated to fund every initiative they have […] The role of social movements has to be revised and socially discussed. Citizen organizations used to fight neo-liberal governments that privatized and acted against social interests so that social movements mobilized in order to make a problem visible. They aimed to reach policy level, and now they have… This government has incorporated social demands in the policy agenda […] so they should reconsidered their position” (CP, personal communication, July 13, 2012)

He explains DMQ’s ideology rather detached from neo-liberalism. However, DMQ’s conception of participation does not seem to reconcile with ‘communicative planning’ either. He describes the role of BAOs as the triggers of social demands, but not as co-governing actors and considers representative democracy has entitled DMQ the power to make the final decisions regarding policy and implementation. In that sense, here ‘political opportunity’ theory provides explanation for the weaken position of BAOs since the DMQ new administration is in office.

Regarding to co-optation, Carlos explains that DMQ considers citizens’ opinion goes beyond BAOs and believes the trajectory of the existing BAOs has derive in a ‘darker site’ similar to Campbell’s (2005) description of community organizations. According to him, each group thinks it has absolute incumbent power and legitimacy both in decision-making and in the right to execute projects related to bicycle advocacy.
This lack of propinquity seems to have caused the creation of Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito, a ‘network’ in which Ciclópolis and Biciacción participate along other sports cycling organizations for proposal-creation, which seems to have obtained better response from DMQ. It protested after the death of a young biker and claimed for road security for bikers. DMQ agree to ensure that, through certain regulations, and launched the campaign ‘Convivencia Vial’ for raising awareness. In fact, this new BAO should be categorized as ‘coalition’ as its emergence could be explained through Hathaway and Meyer’s (1993) argument that coalitions get formed when members believe that acting together may be beneficial.
6. CONCLUSION

In my thesis, I use the planning and social movement literatures to examine the Bicycle Advocacy Movement in Quito Ecuador. In this final chapter, I review the results and discuss implications for urban movements literature and for planning.

The first research question was to assess whether relying on personal stories provided information on how participating in a social movement effects its members and causes a ‘re-creation’ of themselves as a political subjects.

In Quito, focusing on the members of BAOs was crucial to understand the crisis between 2007-2008. Common approaches for the study of SMs provided inaccurate or partial explanation for the resulting fragmentation. Dubet’s argument of a contingent and context-specific response of the participants in the movement was verified to be true when collecting stories form different members. Each of them had been affected differently by the situation, each had a different interpretation of both the BAM and the moment of conflict, and each shifted her individual perceptions differently. So, despite they shared frames at the beginning of the BAM, and despite having gone through the same process, they evolved into different ‘political subjects’.

The information obtained about members of the BAOs made it clear why each new organization emerged, as Rutland (2012) suggested. Instead of being a tactical response of a trial-and-error exercise, it resulted from shift in individual perceptions and from the changes in relations among them, which may be explained through the concept of ‘frames’, ‘networks’ and ‘distances from State’ when focus lies on subjects.

The second research question derived from the first, and pursued examining how by focusing attention on the re-creation of political subjects contributed to the understanding of urban movements influence over urban policy.

As portrayed by BAOs in Quito, understanding personal experiences accounted why despite having great political access to DMQ until 2008, no greater achievements were reached in terms of influencing urban policy, which provides information contrary of what ‘political opportunity’ theory would have predicted. Furthermore, although ‘political opportunity’ might account for the lack of success in recent years
through the argument of less political access, understanding the members of the BAOs provides the reasons behind it. Their ‘re-creation’ as political subjects explains the lack of kinship with DMQ current administration. In this sense, focus on political subjects explained differences in influence over urban planning and Rabrenovic’s (2009) argument that less structural approaches should be undertaken, as complementary, for obtaining richer understanding of USMs, gets validated and opens a new path for USMs literature.

In terms of planning theory, understanding USMs and their members provides information about their potentiality of realizing promises associated with ‘communicative planning’ tenets.

Contrary to Mayer’s (2003) argument, although advocacy organizations might result more influential for urban planning through mobilization, this may not imply more democratic decision-making. The example of Quito shows how certain organizations may have greater access to policy makers and how due to personal conflicts, instead of pursuing a ‘dialectic’ process for discussion and mutual learning as ‘communicative planning’ expects from participation, they might be seeking a power position in relation to other groups. Thus, USMs – as community organizations and civil society- entail a complexity of actors and circumstances that make it risky to generalize their kindness (Abu-Lughod, 1998).

In conclusion, if planning intends to realize the ‘communicative’ ideal, it does not only have to fight being torn by neo-liberalism (Harvey, Allmendinger and Bengs), but also has to be careful of which citizens’ is it serving and for whose cities is it planning.
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OTHERS


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https://www.facebook.com/CiclistasUrbanosUIO

CICLÓPOLIS
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https://www.facebook.com/pages/cicl%C3%B3Polis/182676750614

QUITO YO ME APUNTO
https://www.facebook.com/groups/quitoyomeapunto/
## A.1. List of Interviews

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<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
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| Diego Puente      | Ciclópolis                    | Activist in Acción Ecológica  
Former President of Biciacción  
Director of Ciclópolis          | 9 July 2012 |
| Diego Carrión     | Municipality of Quito         | Former Director of Planning                                              | 10 July 2012 |
| Belén Cuesta      | Ciclópolis                    | Current Director of Ciclópolis                                           | 10 July 2012 |
| David Almeida     | Ciclópolis                    | Former Member of Biciacción  
Current Member of Ciclópolis                                                | 10 July 2012 |
| Carlos Páez       | Municipality of Quito         | Current Secretary of Mobility                                             | 13 July 2012 |
| Alexandra Velasco | -                             | Activist in Acción Ecológica  
Former Member/President of Biciacción  
Director of Sports in DMQ         | 16 July 2012 |
| Mario Muñoz       | Biciacción                    | Former member of Biciacción                                              | 16 July 2012 |
| Cristian Medrano  | Andando en Bici Carajo        | Former member of Biciacción  
Former member of Ciclópolis  
Current member of Ciclópolis | 17 July 2012 |
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<td><strong>Enrique Jacoby</strong></td>
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A.2. Information Sheet and Consent Form

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

The purpose of this sheet is to provide participants with information about the research they are going to collaborate with.

____________________, student of London School of Economics in London, United Kingdom, undertakes the present investigation.

The purpose of this research project is to analyse the role of urban movement in urban planning. Drawing on the example of Bicycle Advocacy Organization in Quito-Ecuador, a narrative inquiry will be made in order to study the transformation of ‘political subjects’ and achieve richer understanding or urban movements and their influence in urban policy agenda.

If you accept to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer question in an extensive interview, whose content will be recorded, so that the researcher can transcribe later on your ideas.

Participation is absolutely optional. The information gathered will be confidential and will no be used for any other purpose aside this research project. Once the research Project ends, the recordings and transcription will be destroyed.
CONSENT FORM

The purpose of this sheet is to provide participants with information about the research they are going to collaborate with.

Therefore, there are several aspects for your information:

- The interview will be recorded and later on transcribed. It won’t be anonymous, given the nature of the research, but information will be handled confidentially, which for the purpose of this study means only the research will have access to it.
- The researcher will make all efforts for keeping your words in context and if necessary (and if you agree) might contact you later on in case there is need of clarification.
- If during the interview, at any time, you feel uncomfortable, you can chose to stop or cancel the interview.
- The recordings and the transcriptions will be used only for academic purposes, according to this research project’s aim.
- At no point, will the information of your interview be used with people outside the researcher and her supervisor.

If you agree, please proceed to sign the following declaration of consent.

I accept, voluntarily, to participate in this research, after having read the information sheet and the consent form. I am aware of its nature and understand that no efforts will be avoided in keeping confidentiality of the information provided by me. Therefore I consent the use of the information provided in the interview for the academic purposes previously mentioned.

Date:

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Name                  Signature