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**Self-organization and urban cycling in Quito: the role and influence of civil society in
alternative mobility policies and planning**

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Summary

Self-organized groups promoting urban cycling in Quito have a trajectory of more than 10 years for demanding their rights but also proposing a new model of mobility. Their original motivations were centered on an environmental perspective however, it has moved to a wider notion of how cities should be. The number of organizations working for alternative mobility has increased during the past years as well as their strategies to influence policies and planning. Some of the groups have become NGOs while others remain or were born as community-based initiatives. The emergence of the organizations demonstrates citizens' awareness of their role and rights as political actors that can shape urban development. In fact, their participation in some decision-making processes, as well as their activities, have had an important impact in changing from a transport to a mobility paradigm, the implementation of projects for urban cycling, and the positioning of their demands and needs in the public agenda.

Mobility is a political option that defines the way a city is shaped as well as people's lifestyles. Therefore, mobility plays a major role in everyday life because it determines the ease of access for citizens and use of urban facilities. In a context of rapid urbanization where cities are characterized for its fragmentation and inequalities, the hegemonic mobility pattern based on private transport affects people's right to the city. With the expansion of the cities people's needs to commute increased while the transport-oriented policies that prioritize road infrastructure have encouraged the use of the private car Miralles-Guasch & Cebollada (2003).

This is an unsustainable model that treats people's right to the city. Therefore, mobility management requires innovative approaches and decision-making cannot no longer be government-centred. In Quito, civil society has assumed a significant role by demanding, influencing and proposing alternative mobility solutions. These organizations that have a reactive but at the same time proactive character, represent a new phenomenon that innovates on citizens' participation mechanisms as well as a challenge to local government include them in the decision-making process. In this context, this research identifies the demands, goals and strategies of self-organized groups for influencing the definition of alternative mobility policies and planning. The analysis is based on the complexity theories of cities, with emphasis on self-organization, and the right to the city theories by understanding mobility in a relational way and the potential and right of citizens to shape the city.

Keywords

Self-organization – Quito – Sustainable Mobility – Urban Cycling – Policies – Planning

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Shaping the city is a task that cannot be done individually. Therefore, this work oriented to contribute to urban management, could not had been done without of the support of all the people that joined to some extend to make it possible.

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Foreword

The increasing mobility problems in Quito, in particular because of the excessive number and use private vehicles, and low quality of public transport, have led to question what can be done to change the situation. At the same time, the work done by common citizens that have chosen to commute by bike and promote its use and benefits, have demonstrated the power of organized community to reshape the city and be part of the decisions with a proactive attitude. The experience of living in a bicycle-friendly country and the use of the bike every day and for every kind of needs, evidence a mobility model that encourage non-motorized transport means can work if is properly planned and integrated with other modes. Those facts have inspired the author of this work to analyse what is happening with non-motorized mobility in Quito and how and why self-organized groups have influenced the definition and application of alternative mobility policies and planning in the city.

Abbreviations

ABC	<i>Andando en Bici Carajo</i>
BRT	Bus rapid transit
COOTAD	<i>Código Orgánico de Ordenamiento Territorial, Autonomía y Descentralización</i> Decentralization, Autonomy and Land Use Code
CORPAIRE	<i>Corporación para el Mejoramiento del Aire de Quito</i> Corporation Air Improvement in Quito
DMQ	<i>Distrito Metropolitano de Quito</i> Metropolitan District of Quito
EMMOP	<i>Empresa Metropolitana de Movilidad y Obras Públicas</i> Mobility and Public Works Metropolitan Enterprise
EPMMOP	<i>Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Movilidad y Obras Públicas</i> Mobility and Public Works Public Metropolitan Enterprise
ICT	Information and communications technology
IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development
INEC	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos</i> National Statistics and Census Institute
INEN	<i>Instituto Nacional de Normalización</i> National Normalization Institute
PMM	<i>Plan Maestro de Movilidad para el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito 2009-2025</i> Mobility Master Plan for the Metropolitan District of Quito 2009-2025
PMT	<i>Plan Maestro de Transporte para el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito</i> Transport Master Plan for the Metropolitan District of Quito
SENPLADES	<i>Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo</i> Ecuador National Development and Planning Secretariat
STHV	<i>Secretaría de Territorio, Hábitat y Vivienda</i> Territory, Habitat and Dwelling Secretariat
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Cities face several challenges in order to guarantee life quality and social integration for their inhabitants. One of them is to create sustainable mobility alternatives that facilitate urban commuting and accessibility from a social, cultural, economic, environmental and political point of view. An appropriate mobility system can then contribute to build a human-friendly city, designed for people to live in and overcome social differences. However, mobility cannot be managed through a top-down approach because of the complex nature of cities. Therefore, it is relevant to think about mobility through an innovative perspective that also includes citizens in the policy-making process since envisioning and building the city as a livable place is not only a task of the government, but a citizen's right too.

1.1. Background

In the present context of rapid urbanization where the hegemonic mobility model is based on a private motorized transportation, mobility issues become a shared problem worldwide (Miralles-Guasch & Cebollada, 2003). Commuting in cities has become more difficult and less efficient, while travel time, fossil fuel dependency and environmental impacts increase. Moreover, urban life has become more stressful, aggressive, and less healthy because of the excessive use and number of private vehicles. Therefore, one of the challenges local governments have is to develop sustainable mobility models centered on people instead of merely motorized transportation and road infrastructure.

Mobility (no transportation), is considered as a public good which means according to (Batley 1996), that it has a collective character and it is non-excludable and non-rival. Therefore, people's right to move in an efficient way should not be denied in spite of their capacity to pay (equitable for all) and there should not be competition in consumption. However, under the conventional approach based on transport oriented policies, private motorized transport have been favored. The amount of cars have not only reduced the efficiency of public transport, but also have left no space for non-motorized transport. Thus, accessibility and alternatives to move well as the efficiency and effectiveness in commuting has reduced. As a result, the right to mobility and the right to choose the preferred mode of transport has been denied.

Mobility is related directly to the use of public spaces by pedestrians, cars, buses or other kind of transport means. In fact, it is in public spaces where mobility happens and has to be managed in an integrated way and not individually and isolated (Banister, 2008). This link between mobility and public spaces is part of the right of the city since it is part of the experience of living in a city and therefore influences people's everyday life. However, the relationship between these elements goes beyond a functional bond¹. The way local government manages and plans mobility reflects the means by which the cities express social differences, conflicts, priorities, as well as other necessities (Miralles-Guasch & Cebollada, 2003). In fact, the trends in growth of cities can be projected from mobility characteristics since transportation systems (or the lack of them) shape the city.

¹ According to Jan Gehl (2009), public spaces had three different kinds of uses (necessary, optional and social ones). In the case of mobility, spaces like roads, sidewalks, bridges, highways, among others, are also part of the public spaces although are usually recognized as necessary places because of the physical function they have.

Need for commuting was higher in cities that were designed in the context of a functionalist model. This outcome resulted from suburbs consolidating, with low-density patterns of dispersion, intense specialization of urban areas, and design of streets for predominantly vehicle circulation (Miralles-Guash & Cebollada, 2003, Nel.lo, 2014). This has led to “fragmented and uneven cities where public space has a connectivity role instead of a socialization role because motorized transport imposes its velocity” (Miralles-Guash & Cebollada, 2003, p. 8).

The increasing number of cars, lack of attention to public transportation and the absence of policies to promote alternative ways of transportation, have filled streets of the cities with more cars that can be handled. Montezuma identifies that cyclists, pedestrians and disabled are the most vulnerable actors in Latin-American cities. Their rights to mobility and public spaces are limited and the lack of urban facilities, legislation, education, and protection are an evidence of this (Montezuma, 2009). This unsustainable model demands a sustainable mobility approach to improve the livability conditions, the efficiency of commuting, and the promotion of road coexistence.

In order to deal with this situation, a shift from a transport centered perspective to one focused on mobility is required. It implies considering accessibility² as a priority rather than only transport and demands integrating mobility planning with the land use and development plans that includes citizens. This cannot be carried out only by government since a diversity of stakeholders are involved. Therefore, as Miralles-Guash and Cebollada (2003) assert, mobility management should include the participation of people in the decision-making process. At the same time, it means changing the conventional policies top-down approach and understanding cities as complex systems.

However, the involvement of civil society in the decision-making process usually is motivated by citizens’ demands when undesirable situations arise or when the government fails. In the context of urban mobility, citizens have organized to claim for an alternative mobility model³. Their demands are based on the conquest of public space, the rethinking the model of a city and the provision of solutions to everyday commuting challenges. The emergence of these groups reflects the self-organization characteristics of complex systems like cities and the city as the product of the interaction between urban agents (Boonstra, 2011).

1.2. Problem statement

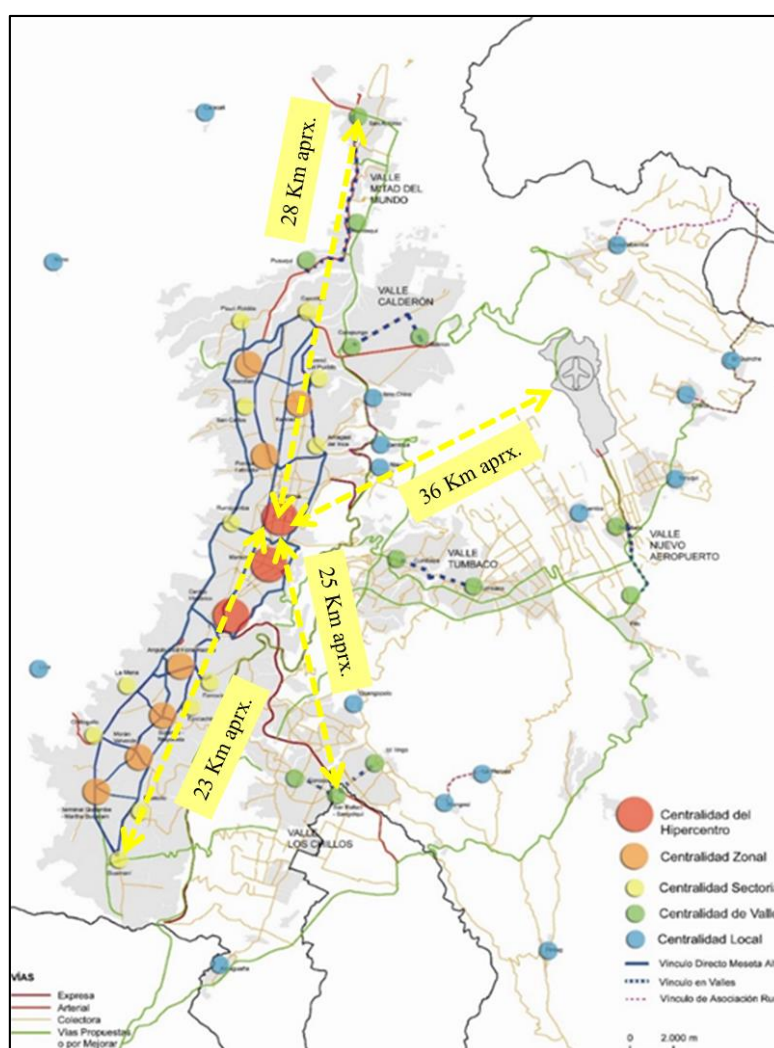
The statistics described below, is valid for all over world, and Latin-America is not an exception. In the particular case of Quito, citizens have organized themselves in order to demand and propose changes. Quito is the capital of Ecuador and the second largest city with an annual growth rate of 1.7%, and an estimated population of 2,456,938 inhabitants by 2015 (INEC, 2010, DMQ, 2012b). Located at 2.800 m.a.s.l, Quito is a metropolitan area of 4.235,2 km² crossed by the Equator line (DMQ, 2012a). The urban sprawl has an elongated shape in north-south direction and is surrounded on west by the Pichincha volcano, and at the east by valleys and two municipalities in a conurbation (DMQ, 2012b). These characteristics demand

² Accessibility allows people to exercise their right to the city although in some places it is limited and can be achievable only by private motorized transportation (Miralles-Guash and Cebollada, 2003).

³ For the purpose of this thesis, alternative mobility refers to other transportation modes rather than motorized private vehicles.

high level of commuting from all the sides of the city to the center (hypocenter) that concentrates urban facilities and the labor market.

Image 1: Quito Metropolitan District Centralities Model



Source: STHV, 2012, distance Google maps

The city of Quito has been facing problems of mobility for many years. One of the explanations for this is the change in people's commuting behavior. Although 73% of commuting is carried out by public transportation, this share is decreasing by 1.4% per year (Instituto de la Ciudad, 2014). Moreover, the number of vehicles is increasing at the annual rate of 9.2%, which is 4 times the population growth rate, an additional 50.000 units⁴ per year, and a pronounced shift from public to private transport (Instituto de la Ciudad, 2014).

The situation is characterized by an increasing congestion especially in the central part of the city and also on the roads that connect the valleys. In addition, the city has environmental problems that include noise pollution and bad air quality due to fossil fuel consuming vehicles that are responsible for the majority of CO₂ emissions in the city (DMQ, 2012b, p. 61).

⁴Ten years ago, the number of vehicles was a little less than the half of the number today. In fact, by 2011, Quito had 470.000 vehicles (DQM, 2012b, p. 58). Moreover, the average was 15 car per each 100 people, meaning out of 10 persons 1.5 have a car (Instituto de la Ciudad, 2012, p. 1).

Moreover the increment of private vehicle affects road safety in particular because of transit accidents which is the main cause of violent deaths (DMQ, 2012b, p. 16). Besides, the misuse of public spaces is common since cars use those areas for parking without any respect for pedestrian space (DMQ, 2012b, p. 61).

The land use patterns have also influenced the problem of transportation. The central district is losing residents because of its lack of attractiveness as a residential area and the high prices of land use. As the urban frontier is expanding on both sides, a dormitory city is being created. As a result, people need to move to consolidated areas where all services and facilities are located, the consequences are the growth of inequalities and conurbation processes (DMQ, 2012b, p. 57).

1.3. Research Objective

The objective of this research is to provide insights about the influence of self-organization in the definition and application of policies and planning for alternative mobility to contribute to knowledge about civil society's role in shaping the city.

1.4. Provisional Research Question

Which are the claims, goals and strategies of self-organized groups that promote urban cycling in the city of Quito, to influence the definition and application of mobility policies and planning.

1.5. Significance of the Study

In Quito, during the past years, a significant number of self-organized groups have appeared. In Quito, during the past years, a significant number of self-organized groups have appeared and positioned to promote and demand the inclusion of urban cycling in the mobility management. These groups are pioneers in the Ecuadorian context together with other groups in Latin-American. Therefore, this study contributes to understand the role they have assumed in the policy-making and planning processes that has led Quito to be the leading city in Ecuador in implementing some cycling tracks and a public bikesharing system.

The emergence of these civil society groups have been the object of previous academic research. In fact, we can track the first research back to 2009 with Alexandra Velasco's work related to the impact evaluation of the Ciclopaseo (Bicycle Path)⁵. In addition, some authors have approached this phenomena describing those groups as new urban social movement (Noroña, 2009, Gordón, 2011), as part of vulnerable groups (Gordón, 2011), and from the perspective of urban cultures based on alternative lifestyles (Proaño, 2012). However, the significance of this study lies in its emphasis on understanding and analyzing the links between the groups and local government adding valuable information for the management of participatory processes that will lead to the success of mobility policies.

⁵ The Ciclopaseo consist of a 30 km route of free-car streets organized every Sunday for the exclusive use of cyclists, pedestrian, runners, and skaters, connecting the north and south of the city.

1.6. Scope and Limitations

This thesis stresses on the interaction between self-organized groups and the local government in Quito which had led to changes in the mobility policies and planning as a result of the “right to the city” being exercised. Therefore, it does not include the links between the groups and the city, neither the relationship with other actors of the mobility system like car driver or public transport users and drivers. Moreover, while the interviews were conducted with the majority of the groups that promote urban cycling in Quito, it was not possible to talk to any representative from the group “El Sur en Bici”, which is a limitation of the research since it represents cyclists from the south of the city. In addition, it is important to mention by the time the research was done, a new mayor assumed the office, thus, it was not possible to include information and a discussion about the visions this administration has for non-motorized mobility.

The thesis is structured in five chapters. The first chapter discusses the importance of mobility for urban shaping and Quito’s mobility problematic in order to understand the context where self-organized groups that promote urban cycling were born. The second chapter presents the literature review of the theories used to analyze this case from the perspective of self-organization, complex cities, urban planning and policy-making, the right to the city, and sustainable mobility with a conceptual framework for the research. Chapter three explains the methodology used for approaching the phenomena, including the methods used for collecting and analyzing the information, as well as the variables and indicators. Further, chapter 4 presents the findings of the research, with emphasis on the origins of self-organized initiatives, their claims, motivations and strategies, their relationship with local government, and the impacts of their involvement. Finally, chapter 5 presents conclusions of the thesis, proposals for further research, and lessons learnt from this work.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Cities are complex systems characterized for their self-organization, dynamism and non-linearity meaning multi-level structures. These features make its management a challenge, but at the same time offer a wide range of options for its governance. Therefore, achieving the right to the city as the right to “change ourselves by changing the city”, requires an unconventional in urban policy and planning (Harvey, 2008, p. 23). Since self-organization is one of the properties of complex systems, the literature review provides the theories to analyze the influence of the groups that promote urban cycling in Quito in the context of the mobility policy-making process and their right to the city.

The following chapter argues self-organization in complex systems to analyze later on, the initiatives in favor of alternative mobility in Quito. Besides, it explores a non-conventional participatory approach for policy-making and urban planning linked to self-organizations role. Moreover, the literature review sets civil society organizations in the right to the city framework to evidence how those groups have assumed and active position in shaping urban development on the basis of non-motorized transport. In addition, a brief discussion about the sustainable mobility paradigm is presented in order to frame the demands of self-organized groups one of the new approaches to manage mobility in urban areas.

2.1. Self-organization and the city

According to complexity theories, the city is a complex system with endless and continues movement and interaction between its parts –urban agents- which at the same time are complex systems in themselves (Boonstra, 2011, Portugali, 2012). However, the city as a whole is more than the sum of its parts which cannot be understood separately because are the result of interactions (Wagenaar, 2007, p. 23). Precisely, the intensity of these interactions is more important than the number of parts since these can lead to unpredictable outcomes and changes in the system (Wagenaar, 2007). In addition, the infinite number of interactions makes cities non-linear and co-evolutionary systems meaning permanent change.

The continuous dynamism of cities leads to the rise of unforeseen spontaneous initiatives -self-organization- understood as a way to manage complex realities and solve issues. As a result, systems like cities are self-organized systems with “self-organizing subsystems operating at the same time”, related in a relational way (Boonstra, 2011, p. 111). According to Boonstra (2011, p. 110) “the city is a reciprocal product of the initiatives of actors, influenced by personal/individual motives (caused by their environment), interacting with spatial developments that are in their turn product of collective actions”.

2.2. Self-organization in Complex Systems

One of the features of complex systems is its self-organization understood as the capacity of producing itself in interaction with the environment. This implies a continuous relation between actors which can only be possible in open systems with no linear cause-effect relationships (Fuchs, 2006). The dynamics of urban systems and their interactions cause the emergence of self-organization. This occur in order to transform the urban area through the generation of new system behavior and the evolution of interaction between actors (Van Meerkerk et al, 2012).

Concepts of self-organization have been developed by a variety of authors. Some of them (Swyngedouw and F. Moulaert, 2010, Boonstra, 2011, Bakker et al, 2012) use concepts like bottom-up, grass-roots or citizens initiatives, local social innovation, and community-based to refer in some extent to self-organized practices. Self-organization is the outcome of the permanent emergence of novelty in complex systems, which is produced by a multitude of non-linear interactions (Meerkerk & Boonstra, 2012).

According to Boonstra (2011, p. 99,-100) self-organization refers to “initiatives for spatial intervention that originate in civil society itself, via autonomous community-based networks of citizens, outside government control”. Those initiatives are spontaneously organized usually by groups of people that share common interests or needs as a way to solve issues or as a reaction to social exclusion conditions (Moulaert, 2010, p. 5). Self-organization is born in empowered civil society as collaborative action to influence urban development by participating in developing the “urban fabric” (Boonstra, 2011). It might involve the provision of “public goods or services” at street, neighborhood or town level (Bakker et al, 2012, p. 397).

Regarding the spontaneous nature of self-organization, Ismael (2010) mentions these systems are composed by autonomous subsystems that achieve coordinated activity without supervision or central control, following their own dynamics and acting together. It means independence from government and self-management, which does not exclude the possibility of arrangements with other stakeholders including the government (Bakker et al, 2012, Moulaert et al. 2010). These practices are based on citizens motivation thus, its collective character means “the aims and ways of action are defined by people” (Bakker et al, 2012, p. 397). The objectives of self-organization are: to satisfy human needs, to increase and enable access rights, enhancing human capabilities and empowering people, to change social relationships and power structures (Moulaert et al. 2010, p. 219, 220).

The relevance of self-organization relies on its capacity to transform urban environment from the bottom, where the problems take place. In fact, self-organized initiatives are made of “street-level experts” that “have a ready understanding of the complexity of the issues that affect them, although they do not use the analytical lingua franca of the academic experts or policy consultants to describe what is wrong” (Wagenaar, 2007, p. 26). The awareness of the issues, plus the local knowledge about what happens, constitutes a positive insight to develop innovative proposals. However, besides solving problems, these initiatives also promote new kinds of relationships between urban stakeholders and strengthen democratic processes as well as management capacities and social organization.

Self-organization occurs in different communities and spatial scale. Nevertheless, “neighborhoods have been the privileged spatial foci of territorial development strategies based on social innovation” (Moulaert, 2010, p. 11). However, it does not mean that self-organization cannot have a broader spatial scope since it depends on the type of problems, needs and strategies used by people. Therefore, this approach is local but not limited to one location since the initiatives go beyond their immediate space because of the spatial articulation they require (Moulaert, 2010). In addition, the emphasis on local level as the space for economic, political and social action is the result of globalization processes that put aside national level as the space for intervention (Moulaert, 2010).

2.2.1. Self-organization in practice

As we mentioned before self-organized initiatives are oriented to transform urban development. In fact, as Moulaert et al. (2010) asserted, they look for achieving long-lasting effects and engender broader political-economic transformations. In order to do so, their socio-political strategy is “to scaling up” by articulating themselves with other processes, institutions and social capabilities in different spatial scales to transcend their place-specificity and success by following these objectives (Moulaert et al. 2010, p. 226):

- i. “To diffuse their innovative practices and activities “elsewhere” in order to get recognition”.
- ii. “To organize wider mobilization around social, cultural and political issues”.
- iii. “To seek synergies among economic, social and political resources”.
- iv. “To move regional and national civil society organizations towards lobbying for more appropriate multilevel governance systems”.
- v. “To exert pressure on state institutions to force political transformations or more modestly, policy changes”.

In addition to these objectives, Moulaert et al. (2010, p. 231) state civil society activists usually behave according to the next views:

1. “Seek out the cracks and shapes in state governance relations and be prepared to widen and shape them”.
2. “Build networks with others pursuing similar agendas, operating in the same city, to enlarge the “scalar reach” of activists’ initiatives”.
3. “Maintain a continuously critical perspective when asked to join up with state and civil society”.
4. “Demand resources from state agencies with as much spending autonomy and the freedom to fail as well as to success”.
5. “Emphasize the importance of respect from state actors for the capacities and values of citizens and their organizations”.
6. “Recognize that state actors can learn new attitudes and practices”.

According to Meerkerk & Boonstra (2012) the implementation of concrete initiatives from self-organized groups is difficult because it requires connection with institutional stakeholders. However, actors usually need to be involved not only from the formal authority but also from civil society itself and citizens. These kind of relations are called “vital relationships” and imply the creation of networks where actors have a positive independency with other stakeholders by exchanging “vision, meaning, interests, information and knowledge” (Sullivan & Skelcher, 2002, Healey, 2006 in Meerkerk & Boonstra, 2012, p. 4). Those relationships “lead to collaboration and trust between interdependent actors and subsequently to more legitimate and effective policy outputs” (Meerkerk & Boonstra, 2012, p. 4).

2.2.2. Self-organization, Urban Planning and Policy-making: A non-conventional participatory approach

In a context of rapid urbanization, crisis, and failure of the welfare state, the conventional government-centered approach has been criticized because “governments simply cannot act on their own any longer” (Boonstra, 2011, p. 101, Wagenaar, 2007). The complexity of cities is one of the reasons for this policy failure because of the limited scope of the conventional “hierarchical-instrumental policy making” (Wagenaar, 2007, p. 22). Under this conditions,

self-organization offers a new potential for understanding urban policies and planning as a multiple and relational process between different actors - state, market and civil society (Boonstra, 2011). In this context, social innovation has re-emerged as a mean “to fight social exclusion and improve quality of life” under the figure of self-organized initiatives (Moulaert, 2010, p. 4).

Wagenaar (2007) poses that complexity is not something to be reduced or eliminated for it can be an asset rather than an obstacle. Therefore, although complexity cannot be controlled, it can be understood to gain insights of how to deal with it. The understanding of complexity relies on recognizing that social reality is open and its elements are connected, not fixed. Hence, planning should be understood not as a guide but as an outcome from the interactions between subsystems and their self-organized principles, and the system (Boonstra, 2011, p. 117,118).

The relation between Complexity Theories of Cities and planning can be understood in three aspects. The first one is the non-linearity characteristic which states “the planned action of a single person might have a much stronger and significant impact on the urban landscape than the plans of architects and official planners” (Portugali, 2012, p. 129). The second one is the dual complexity of cities as self-organized systems where “each urban agent is a planner at a certain scale and planning is a basic cognitive capability of humans” (Portugali, 2012, p. 129). The third aspect is built by the other two, and states the city is the result of the interaction between agents and planning as an “external force action on the system” (Portugali, 2012, p. 129). As a result, “cities come into being out of the interaction between many agents and their plans” (Portugali, 2012, 129).

Portugali (2012) places self-organized planning as a way of bottom-up or local planning in contrast with top-down or global planning. According with this author the first one is executed by non-professionals by using their innate capability of planning, while the second one is professional and city planners-leading. Moreover, Complexity theories of Cities do not identify a qualitative difference between large-scale and small-scale planning. Therefore, the planning system should not discriminate between large-scale official planners and small-scale unofficial planners (Portugali, 2012, p. 135).

Including self-organization as a comprehensive and empirical-based perspective means a shift from an inside-out to an outside-in approach for planning and policy making. Moreover, it is required to recognize planners are not in a neutral position and they are not the only player but one of the players (Boonstra, 2012). It means the analysis cannot be based only on individual elements and need to take into account the fact that planners/observers are also part of the world they observe (Gerrits, 2012).

Complexity is also present in the decision-making process despite the attempts from public sector to simplify it. However, the complexity of this procedures reflects the way the real world works, and as we mentioned before, it should be considered. In fact, “complexity is self-propelling: it generates more complexity in an unstoppable way” (Gerrits, 2012, p. 17). Complexity is out of peoples’ control and choice because its self-generation means it is ontological for social reality (Gerrits, 2012, p. 20). Therefore, once something is finished, the circumstances have changed, and a new action is required which increases complexity each time.

According to Gerrits (2012, p. 25), “public decision-making takes place essentially because a number of people aim to change a situation that they deemed unfavorable into a more favorable one without actually being in any position to individually impose their decisions on the collective”. However, this interaction is a complex process that involves a large number of actors in interdependent relations (Klijn & Koppenjan 2007). Consequently, policy can only be realized on the basis of co-operation which is not something spontaneous and usually requires facilitation and an adequate management (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2007). In fact, Klijn and Koppenjan (2007, p. 6) stated decision-making implies a “series of interactions” (“games”) where each actor has a position, a strategy, a specific perceptions of the problems and specific resources.

In addition, the administration and implementation of decisions, policies, projects, and programs is usually affected by external events and features that are not under control. These situations are different according to the context so, “there is no perfect way to achieve faultless and uncompromised decision-making” (Gerrits, 2012, p. 13). In fact, the author states “decision-making is like punching clouds: considerable energy is put into the punching but the cloud goes its own way regardless of the punches” (Gerrits, 2012, p. 13). However, a bottom-up approach, based on self-organized initiatives might lead to innovative mechanisms that deal with decision-making processes focused on what people are actually doing and asking for.

The impact of self-organized initiatives go beyond their relationship with urban policies and planning. In fact, according to Moulaert (2010) small-community rooted initiatives are essential for social change and can have more effects over city development than official programs because they include and mobilize a higher diversity of actors. Therefore, self-organization can lead to improvements without government involvement. However, since communities are the enablers of citizenship rights in social life, citizenship should be understood broader by including both, rights and responsibilities (Moulaert, 2010).

Actually, “communities are considered as the concrete life-experience settings, where citizenship rights are fought for, where mobilizations against social exclusion are initiated and staged, and where new political rights are defined” (Moulaert, 2010, p. 4). Furthermore, self-organization as a way of social innovation links concrete (down-to-earth, bottom-up) initiatives but also demands necessary transformations in governance (Nussbaumer and Moulaert in Moulaert, 2010, p. 7).

In summary, urban policies and planning can be understood as a cluster of initiatives and visions resulting from a multi-stakeholder process oriented to deal with urban problems and shape the city. It implies a particular understanding of the cities and an outside-in and bottom-up non-linear process that recognizes people’s potential as planners (Boonstra, 2011, Portugali, 2012, Cochrane, 2007).

2.2.3. The relation between government and self-organized groups: Participation

If the city is understood as a complex system, the policies and planning decision-making process and its implementation cannot be performed under the traditional hierarchical participatory approach centered on government leadership. In fact, this model has been broadly criticized for being oriented to strengthen public policy rather than democratic relationships and for its top-down and static approach (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). In this context, the inclusion of self-organization in the decision-making process cannot be carry out under the

conventional participatory trajectories because they are government-driven. Actually, under this perspective the goals are defined by government which is not compatible with self-organization which is based on citizens' aims, ideas, and motivations.

Borja & Muxi (2000, p. 73) states "politics is not reduced to the space of institutions, political parties and elections [...] it is the space of citizenship participation that demand and propose". Therefore, in this space civil society learn to transcend their particular interests to the common interest (Borja & Muxi, 2000, Wagenaar, 2007). According to Wagenaar (2007, p. 27) "citizen participation in public decision-making thus has intrinsic value" because it strengthens the democratic process through citizenship".

Overcoming the conventional perspective of participation requires understanding self-organization not like an incident but a structuring element that is not based on "grand ideas" but in needs from society itself with broad influence in urban development (Boonstra, 2011). This openness to multiplicity and diversity implies a "multi-way set of interactions among governmental parties, citizens or businesses and other actors who together produce outcomes" (Boonstra, 2011, Meerkerk & Boonstra, 2012, p. 2). Moreover, it recognizes that people can initiate the participatory process and not only the government (Boonstra, 2011).

There are many spaces and mechanisms for participation. According to Borja & Muxi (2000) it can be performed through "information, debate, and negotiation" but also by developing mechanisms of cooperation, co-implementation and joint management with civil society (Borja & Muxi, 2000, p. 72). In fact, citizens' initiatives can be a particular mode of collaborative governance with the public sector, that does not end with "pure" activism but leads to "blended social action" (Bakker et al. 2012). Although this has been used "to reduce the size of the state", it also has increased "the role of an organic civil society" (Bakker et al, 2012, p. 396). The arguments in favor to involve citizens, and in particular self-organized initiatives in spatial planning according to Boonstra (2011, p. 101) are:

- To improve social conditions by empowering people which promote social cohesion, integration and trust.
- To stimulate accountability for the spatial conditions of certain areas through the development of the sense of belongingness and the commitment to create a better environment and take care of interventions.
- To generate savings in the short run and enhance economic robustness in the long run.
- To bring government and citizens together to match citizen priorities with policies.

Participation implies a relation between government and self-organized groups that usually tends to be tense, but can also result in co-operative fruition (Moulaert et al. 2010, p. 222). However, in order for this to happen, changes in governance mechanisms are required as well as policy frameworks that recognize and work towards socially integrative practices. Moreover, to transcend from a hostile relationship characterized for top-down and institutionalized policy-making approaches, the acknowledgement of new actors is necessary with their negotiation capability, and the development of new types of agreement based on partnerships (Moulaert et al. 2010).

However, it is important to consider that participation can be vulnerable. First, to the lack of interest from the citizens which sometimes can be triggered by the need of specialized

knowledge. Second, to the considerable amount of time and energy that is required and the fact the added value is unclear and unproved (Wagennar, 2007).

In the relationship of government and civil society, the state can act as a barrier, but also can facilitate and regulate social innovation (Moulaert, 2010, p. 4). Therefore, the role of planners and the government itself is not only to solve problems, but to facilitate this process of self-guidance (Lindblom in Boonstra, 2011, p. 113). For example, facilitation can stimulate or discourage participation regarding the management of resources available, like time and civil skills; influencing motivations; developing responsiveness and flexibility in the daily interactions and procedures with empathy, enthusiasm and commitment attitudes; and invoking social networks by linking initiators with other actors (Bakker et al, 2012, p. 408-410).

Civil society initiatives tend to be more innovative and creative than the ones that originated in the state or the market. However, once the initiatives are “captured by the state, their innovative dynamics generally weaken, as they fall prey to the public-managerial logic in the bureaucratic apparatuses” (Moulaert et al. 2010, p. 225). Government not only tries to control this kind of initiatives, but also incorporates them into their programs which usually reduce their creative energy (Moulaert et al. 2010).

The challenge is to balance co-operation and oppositional tactics since initiatives are in a dialectic relationship between integration and autonomy. In fact, the authors state that successful initiatives keep certain distance with the state although they can have respectful collaborative arrangements (Moulaert et al. 2010, p. 229). This means “grassroots organizations look for autonomy and at the same time, engagement from the state” (Mitlin, 2008, p. 352). However, the initiatives functioning at a “certain distance of the state” demand a “well-functioning [and] state-regulated” political system (Moulaert, 2010, p. 6, 7).

Self-organization framed in the Complexity Theories of Cities and the need for an innovative approach to policy-making and planning will be used to understand how citizens have related to local government to produce changes for alternative mobility. The concept of *self-organization* used for this work relies on the work of the authors discussed in this section. Thus, self-organization is understood as the spontaneous initiatives from independent civil society oriented to transform urban mobility by promoting urban cycling as a right and as an alternative transportation mean. In addition, the ideas presented about the importance and challenges of self-organization and participation will be used to analyze how the participatory spaces worked and debate about the role of civil society in the mobility scenario.

2.3. Self-organization and the right to the city

Self-organized initiatives as it was described before, involves people’s demands and actions for satisfying needs and solving issues that are not solved by the formal authority. In this context, self-organization works as a mechanism from civil society to exercise “the right to city” both by envisioning the type of city people want to live in and challenging the status quo by taking concrete actions. In order to explain what was mentioned before, the theoretical background and scope of the right to the city will be discuss next, as well as the way it is linked to urban mobility.

2.3.1. What is “the right to the city”?

The concept “the right to the city” was used for the first time in 1968 by Henri Lefebvre in the book “Le Droit à la ville”. Nowadays, this concept remains relevant and is object of an intense debate between many authors. Some of them have worked with this concept to analyze a diversity of urban phenomena from gentrification, housing, public space, and exclusion. Meanwhile others have discussed its legal implications and others have argued for its political repercussions for democracy (Attoh, 2011). However, according to Attoh (2011, p. 675) the original concept is “useful both in reframing urban politics and in counteracting such policies”⁶. After Lefebvre publications, one of the most relevant author who worked around this concept is David Harvey who sets the question about whose right and whose city do we demand when we talk about the right to the city.

Harvey (2008) mentioned conventional rights do not challenge hegemonic logic, therefore, another approach is needed and can be found in the right to the city because this term interrogates what kind of city is being created. It implies questioning the “kind of social ties, relationships to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire” (Harvey, 2008, p. 23). Moreover, for Harvey the right to the city framework implies people’s right to take action and remake themselves in the cities. To do so, the author understands the cities as the “world man created” to live in.

“The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access to urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is moreover a common rather than an individual right [...]. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights” (Harvey, 2008, p. 23).

The collective character of the right to the city mentioned by Harvey means that although this concept “embrace individual rights [it] is not defined by these” (Brown, 2010). As a result, the right to the city is “not a singular right, but a set of rights” and it is not an individual but a collective right (Attoh, 2011, p. 675). In regard to who has the right to the city, many authors argue that this is implicit. However, some scholars mention specific target groups regarding the specific rights involved in the right to the city. Those authors refer to people who live in the city, with a particular emphasis in the deprived and the discontent and the way they experience the city (Attoh, 2011).

For Harvey (2008, p. 28) “the right to the city had to mean the right to command the whole urban process” for “a right is a kind of social relation that distributes powers and liabilities between people (Holston, 2010, p. 6). Brown mentions that according to Lefebvre, the notion of the right to the city “manifests itself as a superior form of rights” (Lefebvre in Brown, 2010, p. 342). This right includes the right to participation and appropriation. The first one means the right to access to decisions that shape urban space, meaning the possibility to influence the decision-making process of policies and planning (Mitchell in Brown, 2010). Meanwhile, the second one involves “the right to success, occupy and use urban space and to create new space that meets people’s needs” (Brown, 2010, p. 324).

⁶ However, this practical focus on rights, according to Attoh (2011) have produced a lack of discussion about the rights themselves.

The right to the city has the potential of bringing together the demands and aspirations of many urban actors and link different kinds of demands under an unitary framework (Mayer, 2009, Attoh, 2011). Actually, under this concept it is possible “to unify the struggles of various marginalized groups” because it implies “solidarity across political struggles, while at the same time focuses its attention on the most basic condition of survivability” (Mitchell and Heynen in Attoh, 2011, p. 675, 678). Therefore, although social movements have specific struggles the right to the city acts as a “working slogan and political ideal” that set features in common between organizations (Harvey in Mayer, 2009).

2.3.2. The right to the city in the context of self-organization and urban social movements

The interest for the right to the city has increased in recent years and has gone beyond the academic to reach activists (Attoh, 2012). Nowadays, the right to the city works like a slogan between activists as a claim and a banner (Mayer, 2009). In fact, for those groups the right to the city “has become a live wire material practice” based not only in a moral claim but in a building on perspective (Mayer, 2009). Those demands are based on unsatisfied needs, unresolved issues and social exclusion processes materialized on a low quality urban life. In this context, urban social movements are placed as self-organized initiatives oriented to reshape the city (Harvey, 2008).

According to Mayer (2009) the changes provoked since the 60s by a worldwide urbanization process, have influence contemporary urban movements. In fact, new movements have emerged which do not have the same motivations and demands nor the same strategies of conventional ones. In addition, they moved from the productive to the reproductive sphere and in some countries it is clear they shift activism from the factory to the neighborhoods (Mayer, 2009, p. 364). Also, middle-class-based social movements have come onto the scene; likewise new forms of cooperative relationships with the government have been developed in some cases (Mayer, 2009, p. 364).

Cities have the features to contain social movements because their density, size and diversity trigger social organization and demands (Uitermark et al., 2012). However, Uitermark et al. (2012) have a critical perspective of current social movements. For these authors, social movements “do not call for the “right to the city or an urban revolution” although they are rooted in urban life (Uitermark et al., 2012, p. 2548). In fact, for them, although space may be crucial in the way social movements “organize and voice their demands, it is not usually at the very core of their discourse” (Uitermark et al., 2012, p. 2548). Although the authors mention the city as an incubator for social movements, they see the city as a space that allows people to get together and as a scenario more than the motivation for the emergence of social movements (Uitermark et al., 2012).

Although the discussion about urban social movements is still not resolved, Fuchs (2006) states social movements are a form of self-organization. In fact, they are dynamic, complex and interconnected systems, “based on the permanent emergence and reproduction of their self-created protest practices and structures” (Fuchs, 2006, p. 134). Moreover, according to Fuchs (2006), by understanding social movements as self-organized systems it is possible to recognize their political implications because this approach is linked to participation, co-operation, solidarity responsibility and a critical perspective of society (Fuchs, 2006, p. 134).

The notion of social self-organization describes social movements as interactive systems that permanently react to societal phenomena and problems by proactively producing and reproducing protest practices and protest structures (Fuchs, 2006). The political role and claims of self-organized initiatives might turn them into social movements. According to Fuchs (2006), social movements exhibit self-organized characteristics like collective action, dissatisfaction, reactivity and proactivity, mobilizing and demobilizing structures. However, it cannot be said all self-organized groups are social movements. In order to be so, civil society initiatives need to transcend their immediate and particular interests and reach favorable opinion about their demands and proposals.

2.3.3. The right to the city and participation in policy making

Understanding cities as complex systems implies understanding the need for a new paradigm in policy-making. Cities cannot be planned and envisioned from a static and linear perspective anymore because complexity means diversity that must be handled and used proactively instead of being denied and neglected. In this context self-organization plays a structuring role in shaping the city and has the power to include that diversity that might not fit in the institutional logic of local government.

According to Fuchs (2006, p. 123), self-organization stresses “the importance of participation and grassroots democracy”. Participation can be achieved through the appropriation of the city which means the exercise of the right to the city (Harvey, 2008). However, this involves more than just demanding changes. It also includes civil society use of city resources and its spaces, their inclusion in the planning process, and their everyday actions and interventions. But at the same time, according to Attoh (2011, p. 678) the right to the city also implies “our democratic right to make the law and your civil right to break the law”. Therefore, participation is a tool so citizens can assume a critical role to question what is being done and the way it is done, and at the same time a proactive and constructive role in reinventing social processes.

Participation is also regulated to some extent in complex systems in particular by the state. However, control and regulation must not be understood negatively and should not be considered as the only attribution local state have regarding civil society initiatives. In fact, government must consider self-organization as a valid and innovative mechanism of participation to claim for the right to the city. Participation involves sharing information, debating and negotiating (Borja & Muxi, 2000). However, it also requires the formal authority to assume a facilitation role, to develop cooperative relationships in the implementation and management of solutions, and respect the autonomy of the initiatives (Borja & Muxi, 2000, Boonstra, 2011). Moreover, not all the self-organized groups establish relationships with the local government and not all the initiatives should be institutionalized since there is the risk of losing the original idea and objective, and affecting its effectiveness.

Self-organized initiatives are parts of a system named city, and at the same time are interconnected subsystems. Therefore, planning processes and outcomes should reflect and include this connections and the connection with the whole of the city which can be carried out only on the basis of participatory processes. Thus the right to the city implies “a right of urban citizens to engage the urban planning process in non-trivial ways” (McCann in Attoh, 2011, p. 1). This means the structuring role of participation and the legitimacy of self-organization in the planning process.

The importance of the right to the city in the context of this thesis, relies on the fact self-organization is a mechanism “to claim and exercise what Lefebvre called the right to the city” (Moulaert et al. 2010, p. 220). In fact, self-organized initiatives demonstrates people assume their right to the city by adopting an active role and mobilizing their demands to shape the city differently. For them, the right to the city works for them as “a working slogan and a political ideal” that implies a shift in their claims from needs to rights assuming a political role (Harvey in Attoh, 2011, p. 677). Moreover, the right to the city explains why the organizations that promote urban cycling in Quito are involved in policy making demanding a different a broader understanding and mechanisms for civil society participation. Besides, this concept has the potential to explain why cyclists’ claims are based on their commuting choice.

2.4. Mobility in the frame of the right to the city

The right to the city also includes participating in urban activities and using city facilities. It can only be exercised “if there is adequate access for individuals to the whole urban territory” (Miralles-Guasch & Cebollada, 2003, p. 14). Although many urban issues have been analyzed framed on the right to the city, little has been said about urban mobility and transport. In fact, it has been understood as something implicit to assert the right to the city (Attah, 2012).

Mobility vision and management implies a political approach about the model of city proposed and the type of lifestyles promoted (Miralles-Guasch & Cebollada, 2003). According to Borja and Muxi (2010), mobility and accessibility are a condition for a democratic city. In fact, social differentiation in the modes of commuting leads to segregation and exclusionary practices because of an uneven distribution and access to urban facilities and urban functions. Therefore, when different modes of transport are available and accessibility is guaranteed, citizens’ rights can be exercised through mobility.

Urban transport and mobility policies are absent from the right to the city literature in spite of its importance in “laying claim to urban space” and offering conditions to access, participate and shape urban life (Attah, 2012). In fact, policies regarding this matter set the conditions to mitigate social exclusion and enforce people’s capacity to access to opportunities within given distance or travel time (Attah, 2012). Urban mobility shapes the terms under which people can assert their right to the city as “a claim right over the production and use of urban space” (Attah, 2012, p. 11). Therefore, mobility policies impact on the physical configuration of the urban space and its use.

The right to mobility is derived from the right to the city framework, and is also mentioned in the Declaration of Human Rights, article 13⁷. As a specific right it has a complementary character since it is a precondition for other rights to function because of its articulation to everyday life and socio-economic conditions (Leguizamon, 2011). From a pragmatic perspective, the right to mobility is included in the World Charter for the Right to the City (International Alliance of Inhabitants, 2005, p. 2).

The World Charter on the Right of the City is a document oriented to find consensus between different actors to define guidelines for “policies to guarantee sustainable just and democratic

⁷ **Article 13** (UN Assembly, 1948):

- (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
- (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

cities” (Mayer, 2009, p. 368). The article XIII of this declaration establishes the right to public transportation and urban mobility based on accessibility conditions, public transport, the need of specific target-groups, the stimuli to non-pollution vehicles, foot traffic, among others. However, mobility cannot be seen only as a local government task, therefore, article III mentions people’s right to participate in urban planning and management, recognizing the role of civil society initiatives in the urban development (International Alliance of Inhabitants, 2005).

Borja and Muxi in the book *Public space, City and Citizenship* (2000), define the right to mobility and accessibility as a citizen and urban right over the territorial base of the city. According to this statement, the right of easy mobility should be universal and not limited to those who own private vehicles. Moreover, it includes equal accessibility conditions to the centralities and for every zone of the urban area and for everyone. Besides, the right to mobility implies the recognition of the need for differentiated mobility options based on the heterogeneous commuting demands (Borja & Muxi, 2000, p. 78).

The right to mobility is framed in the notion of the cities as the spaces for the people and not for the cars as the right to circulate and access to the city. Under this perspective, “sustainable mobility is a strategy to improve life quality through the equitable distribution of the public space between the motorized and non-motorized means of transport” (Gordón, 2011, p. 29).

2.4.1. Understanding mobility and its relationship with urban planning and policies

Mobility in the city context, refers to commuting in urban areas and includes moving people and goods from one place to another. At the same time, it involves a variety of motorized and non-motorized means of transport, in order to connect people with the city (Leguizamo 2010, Soler 2011). Moreover, it includes the spaces and facilities where commuting takes place and the different actors involved, pedestrians, cyclists, motorcyclists, public-transport users, private-vehicle users. In contrast with a vision centered on transportation which focus on displacement by external means, the mobility approach puts the citizen and its dynamics in the center of the policies instead of vehicles and the commuting itself. This broader perspective recognizes people’s socio-economic and spatial characteristics.

To understand mobility it is necessary to discuss about accessibility which refers to the ease with which individuals can overcome the distance between two places and thus exercise their right as citizens (Miralles-Guash & Cebollada, 2003, p. 14). Moreover, accessibility implies more and better possibilities of interaction (Pinzón in Noroña, 2009). Accessibility conditions influence the level of social exclusion since it involves the access to opportunities (Miralles-Guash & Cebollada, 2003). In fact, according to Fotel (2006), mobility has become a contributing factor of social stratification. Therefore, accessibility and thus mobility imply a political option that might promote or limit the possibility people have to exercise their right to the city and other human rights. In fact, an inclusive mobility system can help to overcome social differences since it connects people and places, includes citizens in urban life, and enhances livability in cities.

Mobility can be managed from a sustainable perspective when both the economic, social demands are satisfied efficiently and effectively, and when environmental impacts are minimized (European Union, 2013). Sustainable mobility implies a shift from the conventional

transport approach which focuses on infrastructure interventions oriented to traffic solution, increasing commuting speed, and minimizing traveling costs (Mataix, 2010, Banister, 2008). This change requires to “move away from a ‘transport bias’ in urban mobility planning, towards a focus on the human right to equitable access to opportunities” (United Nations, 2013, p. 1). Another characteristic of sustainable mobility is its connection with urban fabric and land management. In fact, urban development in terms of expansion of the urban borders affect the needs for traveling and increase the need for all kind of infrastructure.

According to Williams the definition used by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development is useful to understand sustainable mobility. This explanation lies on the Brundtland definition of sustainable development, published in 1987 by the United Nations and said “sustainable mobility can be understood as the “mobility that meets the needs of society to move freely, gain access, communicate, trade and establish relationships without sacrificing other essential human or ecological requirements today or in the future” (World Business Council for Sustainable Development in Williams, 2007, p. 1).

Sustainable mobility goes beyond transport policies because it is based on people needs and reasons to move and not on the movement itself. In fact, under this paradigm people move because they have a specific object, like going to work, study, meet friends, shopping, and leisure, among others. This is called “derived demand” and helps to understand people move in order to interact. However, authors like Banister (2008) call for overcoming the vision of derived demand when including leisure activities as traveling by a wish and not only as a need.

In this context, what matters in sustainable mobility is people’s attitudes and behavior and their accessibility to the city. The implication of this is that modes of transport like buses, cars, bikes, are only “means to achieve these ends” (United Nations, 2013, p. 226). As a result, sustainable mobility involves the “optimal use of all transport modes”, demand oriented measures and the reduction in the need to travel (European Union, 2013, p. 3; United Nations, 2013).

According to Banister (2008) the sustainable mobility approach balance the social dimension with the physical dimensions of transport in contrast to the convention transport policies approach that privileged and encourage the use of the private car. As a result, there are substantial differences in planning for transport and planning for sustainable mobility which are better explained in the next chart:

Image 2: Contrasting approaches to transport planning

The conventional approach— transport planning and engineering	An alternative approach—sustainable mobility
Physical dimensions	Social dimensions
Mobility	Accessibility
Traffic focus, particularly on the car	People focus, either in (or on) a vehicle or on foot
Large in scale	Local in scale
Street as a road	Street as a space
Motorised transport	All modes of transport often in a hierarchy with pedestrian and cyclist at the top and car users at the bottom
Forecasting traffic	Visioning on cities
Modelling approaches	Scenario development and modelling
Economic evaluation	Multicriteria analysis to take account of environmental and social concerns
Travel as a derived demand	Travel as a valued activity as well as a derived demand
Demand based	Management based
Speeding up traffic	Slowing movement down
Travel time minimisation	Reasonable travel times and travel time reliability
Segregation of people and traffic	Integration of people and traffic

Source: Banister, 2008, adaptation from Marshall 2001

The linkages between mobility policies in the context of urban policy and planning are related to the impact commuting modes have on people's everyday life and the way urban fabric is shaped. Under an integral perspective of mobility, all modes of transport must be taken into account. Those can be classified according to Soler (2011) in mechanic mobility and organic mobility. The first one is related to the use of machines while the second one to commuting by non-mechanic means also called human-powered means. An efficient mobility system is characterized for including a variety of integrated options to move (intermodality). However, non-motorized transport has usually been neglected in the transport oriented planning. In this context, the demands for alternative modes of transportation rather than the private vehicle is arising in the public agenda. The bicycle fits in the sustainable mobility paradigm as a human-powered mode for transport that is one of more efficient ones. This perspective locates pedestrians and cyclists at the top of the pyramid and cars at the end, establishing a transport hierarchy which prioritize people over vehicles (Banister, 2008).

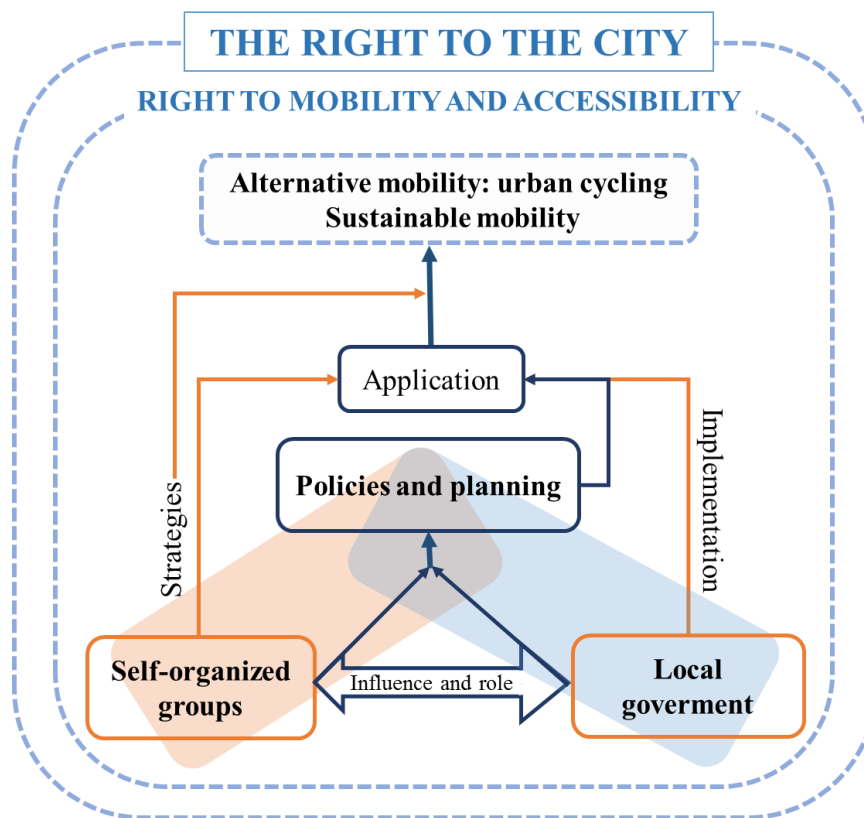
The term alternative mobility is usually associated with public transportation, bicycling or walking as a mean to achieve social and spatial justice and respect for the freedom of choice for transportation (Morhayim, 2012). The egalitarian character of alternative modes of transport contrast with the selective character of modes like private vehicles which is not accessible for the majority. One of the arguments in favor of commuting by non-motorized means of transport (cycling and walking) is its universality and democratic character, independently of the social background and conditions of the users (Miralles-Guash & Cebollada, 2003). Also, it encourage social interaction and can pacify urban environment by stimulating changes in transport culture, and traffic conditions, for contributing to livability in cities. Moreover, the investment required for promoting and facilitating urban cycling is

minimal in relation with motorized transport. However, low priority for this alternative is given in government agendas (Morhayim, 2012).

2.5. Conceptual framework

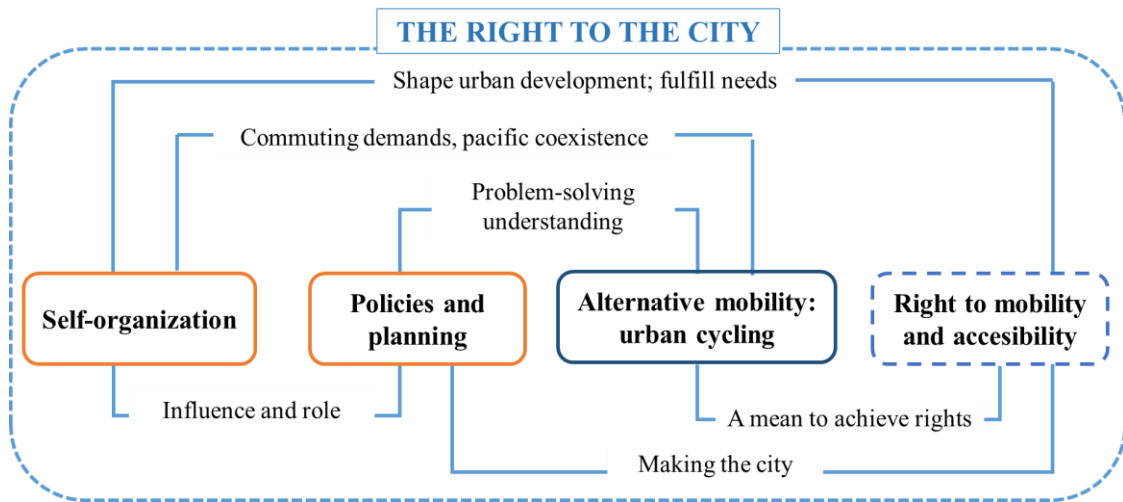
On the basis of the theories explained before, the conceptual framework explains the relationship between the concepts used to address how self-organized groups that promote urban cycling have influenced alternative mobility policies and planning. The figure below start with the right to the city as the frame to understand the emergence of self-organized groups on the scheme of the right to mobility and accessibility. This implies the right to access to the urban facilities and opportunities but at the same time understand sustainable mobility as a mechanism to remake the cities (Harvey, 2008).

Image 3: Conceptual Framework



The definition and application of alternative mobility policies and planning oriented to guarantee the right to mobility by exercising the right to the city, cannot be done only by the local government as we can see in the box. In fact, alternative mobility policies and planning emerged in Quito because of the relationship between those groups and the local government. However, although that relationship has two-ways as we can see in the narrow, the influence of civil society and the active role they have assumed, has played a major influence in the decision-making process by demanding participation. In addition, self-organized groups have developed strategies to influence the definition of policies and planning, but at the same time to support the implementation of the plans which is usually managed by the local government.

Image 4: Links between the concepts



Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

This chapter presents the methodology used to answer the research question. The investigation was done under a qualitative approach based on a case study of some Quito's self-organized urban cycling groups: Biciacción, Ciclopólís, Carishina en Bici, Andando en Bici Carajo, and Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito. The case study facilitates a detailed understanding of a complex situation in its own context and examine real-life situations from a multi-perspective. The emphasis is on the interaction between the actors, which are the key elements to understanding the influence of these groups on mobility policy and planning. At the same time, a case study design was used since there was no intent to control the situation because what was important was the situation itself with its particular characteristics.

The importance of using a case study as a strategy relied on the fact that the situation selected is a particular instance case in the Ecuadorian context where civil society gained a leading role in mobility management. Therefore, the complexity of this scenario required an in depth approach that can be provide by a *deviant case study technique*. The case study had a *single embedded* design since it was required to approach many sub-units of analysis (more than one self-organized group and different local government units) to identify trends regarding the participation and influence of the civil society initiatives.

The research strategy was based on the assumption that self-organized initiatives have influenced to some extend the mobility policies and planning in Quito by including in the public agenda urban cycling. Moreover, we assumed that their influence was positive since the municipality has included some actions oriented to this kind of transportation in the Mobility Master Plan and has actually implemented some projects.

3.1. Revised research question(s)

How do self-organized urban cycling groups influence the definition and application of alternative mobility policies and planning in the city of Quito?

3.1.1. Sub-questions

1. Which are the origins, features, motivations and claims of self-organized initiatives to promote, demand and support urban cycling as alternative mobility mean in Quito?
2. Which strategies are being used by self-organized groups to influence local government mobility policies and planning and mobility behavior patterns?
3. How do self-organized groups participate in the mobility decision-making process in Quito and how do they relate to local government?
4. Which are the main impacts and contributions of self-organization to the definition and application of alternative mobility in Quito?

3.2. Operationalization: Variables, Indicators

The operationalization was based on the concepts mentioned above as well as in their specific dimensions. The variables identified explored in depth the scope of the concept, while the indicators focuses on concrete data that needed to be collected. However, it is important to

mention not every indicator was used for the same unit of analysis, meaning some of them apply only for the self-organized groups or the local government, while others apply to both.

Table 1: Operationalization, variables and indicators

CONCEPT	DIMENSION	VARIABLES	INDICATOR
Self-organized initiatives promoting urban cycling	Civil society	Motivations	Motto and discourses of the organizations Problems/needs that encourage the creation of the organization
		Objectives	Mission and vision of the organizations
		Internal Organization	Type of organization Characteristics of the organizations Type of decision-making process and management Members of the organization Funding sources
		Network	Members of the network Position of the organization in the network
	Promotion of urban cycling to stimulate changes	Values	Shared values between stakeholders (discourses) Common values mentioned in newspapers articles
		Strategies	Activities, campaigns and projects Communication channels
Alternative mobility policies and planning	Process of definition of policies and planning design	Participation	Diversity of stakeholders involved in the process Role of the stakeholders Negotiation potential of each stakeholder Actions proposed by the different stakeholders Institutionalized spaces for participation Non-institutionalized spaces for participation Milestones
		Influence	Changes in Development and mobility plans from different periods Percentage of mobility investment used for cycling modes during the last years Number of newspaper and TV coverage regarding cycling activities in the period 2009-2014 (public opinion)
		Outcomes	Participatory formal instruments that include alternative mobility Formal partnerships and agreements between stakeholders
	Application process	Physical interventions	Infrastructure implemented according to the plan Cycling tracks km built per year Cycling parking spots in the city Number of bikes and users of the public-share bicycle system and its length
		Behavior oriented interventions	Communication strategies Activities implemented from the organization to support the application of policies and planning Number of trips executed by bike in the last years

3.3. Data collection methods

The data collections methods selected included semi-structured interviews and secondary data analysis. These techniques were useful in carrying out rigorous research about the particularities of this case. The interviews generated primary data regarding the role of the groups in the mobility scenario, while the secondary data analysis was useful in corroborating actors' answers to reconstruct the policy and planning process. Both methods were based on qualitative information. However, some indicators were based on quantitative information provided by the actors as secondary data.

3.3.1. Semi-structured interview

Since the focus of the thesis is to understand the influence of self-organized groups in the definition and application of alternative mobility policies and planning, the semi-structured interview is the adequate method to generate in depth information about the role of these groups in this process with its open question design. The advantage of this technique is that it emphasizes stakeholders' perspectives, behavior, and opinions. At the same time, the semi-structured interview it is useful to rebuild the way the policy making processes was managed. Moreover, this technique is used when new or specific knowledge is required from the respondents, which is the case of this thesis based on the increasing role of civil society in shaping the city. In addition, this technique provides an interactive research process which match with the framework of the city as a complex system. Moreover, it is useful to recognize the dynamics of the policy-making process and the emergence of demands and interest for urban cycling.

This method was applied for both, the local government and the self-organized groups with specific questionnaires for each case. The selection of the interviewees from the municipality was based on key informants who work or worked at the departments responsible for the mobility management. It included former authorities and/or technicians with relevant knowledge and experience in this area. The interviews for self-organized groups was implemented with informants from the NGOs and the community based organizations, with a particular emphasis to the people with a long trajectory in the organization and in a relevant position held in it.

3.3.2. Secondary data analysis

This method was useful to analyze pre-existing data with an in-depth focus on a specific aspect of the analysis. For the purposes of the thesis it was used as a supplementary analysis to confirm the information given by the actors and as an evidence of the influence of self-organized initiatives. The secondary data analysis was also helpful to identify policy streams by rebuilding the policies and planning process on the basis of information records.

The documents analyzed were based on primary sources. In fact, official documents from the municipality for different periods were used. Moreover, information from the official web pages and social networks of the municipality and the self-organized groups were also analyzed. Likewise, documents containing statistical data and additional information provided by stakeholders were also studied. In addition, some secondary sources were used. In particular, newspaper articles from the last years were analyzed to identify public opinion about urban cycling and self-organized initiatives, as well as their visibility on the public sphere. Moreover,

those sources were useful to gain information about the relationships between local government and civil society, and the policy-making process.

3.4. Sample size and selection

A non-probability sample was used to define the informants for the interviewees. However, the dynamics of the phenomena demanded approaching more than one group of stakeholders, as was mentioned before, it included local government and the self-organized groups. Those groups are not homogeneous and their mechanisms of approaching are different. In particular, for self-organized initiatives, the interviews were executed by groups legally registered as NGOs, as well as representatives from community base organizations. It was possible to speak with activists and former activists which gave us a perspective about the evolution of their groups as well as their internal conflicts. Some of the interviewees were also researchers and professionals in the field of mobility which enriched the discussion.

In the case of local government, the interviews were conducted specifically by staff of the municipality under the Mobility Secretariat and the Mobility Commission. The number of interviews conducted were 14 as presented in the list that follows:

Table 2: List of interviews conducted

#	Name	Organization	Position/role
1	Daniela Borja	Carishina en Bici	Activist
2	Sofia Gordon	Carishina en Bici	Activist and researcher
	Patricia Vásquez	Carishina en Bici	Activist
3	Patricio Ubidia	Municipality	Former president of the Mobility Commission and Counselor
4	Carlos Páez	Municipality	Former Mobility Secretary
5	Galo Cárdenas	Biciacción	Biciacción President
6	Jaime López	Municipality	Former responsible of non-motorized transport in the Mobility Secretariat
7	Andrés Montalvo	Biciacción/ Ciclópolis	Former activist
8	Diego Puente	Ciclópolis	Executive President
9	Julie Gamble	Independent	PHD researcher
10	Cristian Medrano	Andando en Bici Carajo	Activist
11	Zavier Escobar	Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito	Activist
12	Alvaro Gúzman	Independent	Activist and PHD researcher
13	Alexandra Velasco	Biciacción/ Ciclópolis	Former activist and former Municipality employee
14	Mashol Rosero	Independent	Activist and organizer of the Bike Fair

The quality and content of the interviews with key informants received more attention than having a statistically representative number of respondents. Therefore, the sample size was determined while conducting the research until saturation of information was reached. In the

case of secondary data analysis, the sample size was not relevant. The criteria for selecting the documents used is described in detail in the section Data analysis methods.

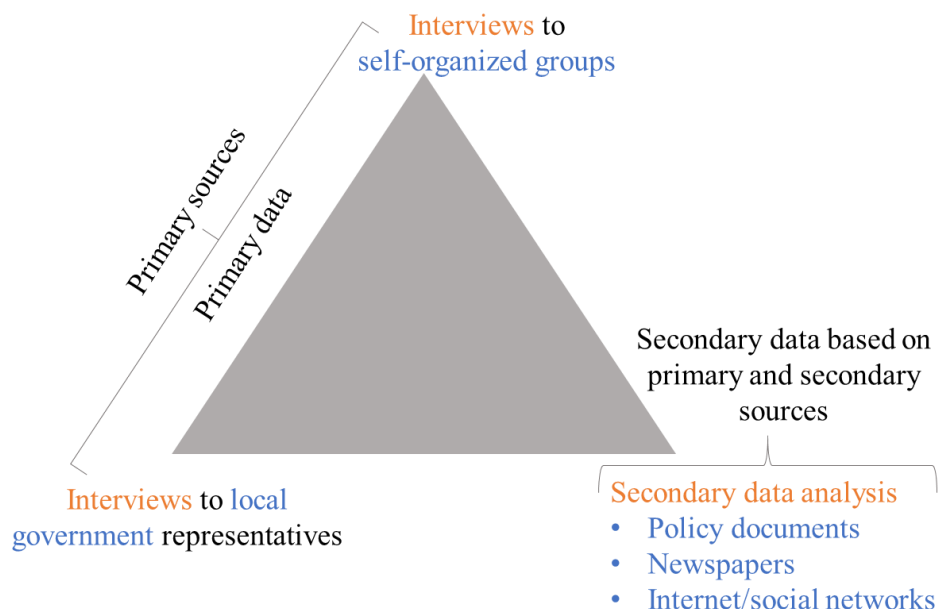
3.5. Validity and reliability

With respect to the feasibility of conducting the research, we assumed the openness and willingness to collaborate by in the field of work by self-organized groups and municipality. Fortunately, many interviewees agreed to talk openly and some of them sent additional information. Since the validity and reliability depend on the qualification and relevance of the informants, as well on the access to information, the collaboration of the people allowed reliable research to be carried out. The persons interviewed from the Municipality occupied key positions. Moreover, the representativeness from the different kind of self-organized groups was fulfilled. However, it was not possible to talk to someone from the organization of the cyclist from the south of the city.

3.6. Data analysis methods

The information collected with the interviews plus the analysis of secondary data were triangulated in order to supplement and contrast the sources. This was useful to rebuild the decision-making process and identify trends. However, since relationships between stakeholders cannot be understood from a linear perspective, the triangulation helped to recognize the complexity of interactions in cities. Moreover, the analysis of the data was based on an analytical approach instead of a descriptive one. The focus of the analysis relied on the relationships between the diverse actors as well as the outputs and outcomes of it. An impact chain model was used to understand the influence of self-organized groups.

Image 5: Triangulation of methods and sources



The interviews were conducted in Spanish, recorded, and transcribed in order to code them in the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti 7.1.7. The codes were designed according to the

indicators proposed in section 3.10. Regarding the secondary data analysis, a brief summary of the bibliography is presented next:

- One bachelor and three master thesis.
- Books about: Sustainable Mobility in Quito and the workshop “Bikeways for Quito”.
- National laws and local ordinances.
- National Development Plan 2013-2017.
- Land Use Plan 2012-2022 and Development Plan 2012-2022.
- Transport Master Plan 2002 and Mobility Master Plan 2009-2015.
- Municipality reports of participatory meetings.
- Accountability report of former major Augusto Barrera.
- Newspapers articles.
- Information from the web and social networks, in particular about self-organized groups.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

The policy-making process for urban mobility in the city of Quito has a trajectory of a top-down approach centered on transport policies. At the same time, mobility problems in the city have increased, demanding innovative mechanisms to solve them. In a context, dominated by the private vehicle, self-organized groups emerged in order to demand the inclusion of alternative mobility modes and rethinking the way the city is being shaped. Their claims are based on the existence of a participatory legal framework and the exercise of their right to the city, calling for a closer relationship with the municipality. The link between both actors and the complexity of the city mean the policy-making process cannot be executed only by the local government but the citizens too.

Self-organized groups promoting urban cycling in Quito have for more than ten years demanded an alternative mobility model organized from bottom to top. During this period their discourses, strategies and organization have evolved. At the same time, their involvement with the Municipality has had ups and downs but this has led them to make some important changes and initiatives. This thesis explores this process with emphasis on the relationship between the local government and self-organized groups and the role they assumed as cyclists but at the same time as active citizens.

This chapter argues that some dimensions of civil society influence policies of mobility and the planning process. Firstly, a brief description of the evolution of transportation in Quito is presented in order to understand how it has been managed. Secondly, the origins, features, motivations and claims of self-organized groups will be explained to get to know them in depth. Thirdly, some decision-making processes will be discussed to make evident how self-organized groups have negotiated with the local government. Fourthly, the strategies used to influence mobility policies and planning will be analyzed to understand the mechanisms used to produce these changes. Finally, the main impacts and contributions of self-organization to the alternative mobility in Quito are presented.

In order to analyze how self-organized groups that promote urban cycling have influenced the definition and application of alternative mobility policies and planning in Quito, research was carried out that is based on thirteen semi-structured interviews and document analysis. Although there are many groups working on this topic, research was executed on five organizations: Biciacción, Ciclópolis, Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito, Carishina en Bici and Andando en Bici Carajo. In addition, some former activists, scholars and people who work or worked for the Mobility Secretariat in the Municipality participated in the research also participated.

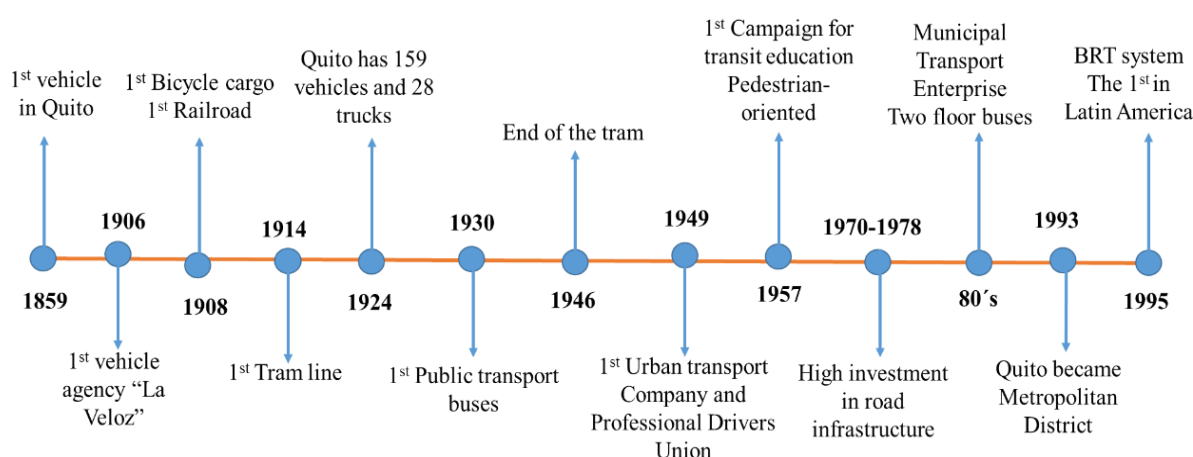
4.1. Background: from transport management to sustainable mobility management

The concept of mobility in Quito, was initially understood from a transportation perspective centered on motorized transport. The process of policy-making, planning and management, was in the hands of the local authority and the central government, and non-motorized modes were not considerate. In past years, a shift from transportation management to sustainable

mobility management is evident, as well as a more participatory approach in the definition of policies and planning. In order to understand those changes, first it is important to contextualize how the history of transportation in Quito and its management.

In Ecuador, municipal and metropolitan governments have a full mandate for managing transit and transportation based on the 2008 Constitution and the Decentralization, Autonomy and Land Use Code of 2008 (COOTAD). However, Quito assumed this challenge when it was declared Metropolitan District in 1993 (Chauvín in Gordón, 2011). Before that year, the management of transportation (by that time the notion of mobility was absent), was characterized by overlapped institutions from different levels of government (Gordón, 2011).

Image 6: Transportation in Quito: milestones



Prepared by the author (Source: Gordón, 2011, EPQ, 2014)

The evolution of mobility in Quito has been influenced by the implementation of some transportation systems like the train, the tram and later on the BRT systems. Although the bicycle arrived in the city in 1908 with the shipping of the first cargo of 3.000 bicycles for the post service, they were put aside because of prioritizing motorized vehicles (Biciacción in Gordón, 2011). At the same time, when the first buses appeared, public transportation was not understood as a public good, therefore, the provision of the service was managed by the private sector (Jurado Noboa in Velasco, 2011, Gordón, 2011).

Image 7: PMT cover



Source: DMQ, 2002

The first formal planning instrument for urban commuting in Quito was a transportation plan executed in 1991 in order to organize public transportation and implement the BRT system. After this first attempt, in 1998, the Plan for the Rationalization of Transportation in Quito is presented to “modernize the public transport system” (Gordón, 2011). Later, the Transport Master Plan 2002-2022 was executed with still a strong focus on motorized commuting, with components like public transport, traffic management, roads, regulations and the institutional framework.

In the PMT 2002-2022, mobility is mentioned in relation to the efficiency and ease in road circulation, and the more important mean of transport is public transport. Although the plan mentions

the need to prioritize the most vulnerable actors, including pedestrians, cyclist are not mentioned as vulnerable actors and only one intervention is planned for them. In fact, only one project includes creating bikeways in one part of the city with the possibility of extending the network to some parks, demonstrating a recreational vision of cycling. By 2009 the Mobility Master Plan 2009-2025 was presented as an updated version of the PMT⁸.

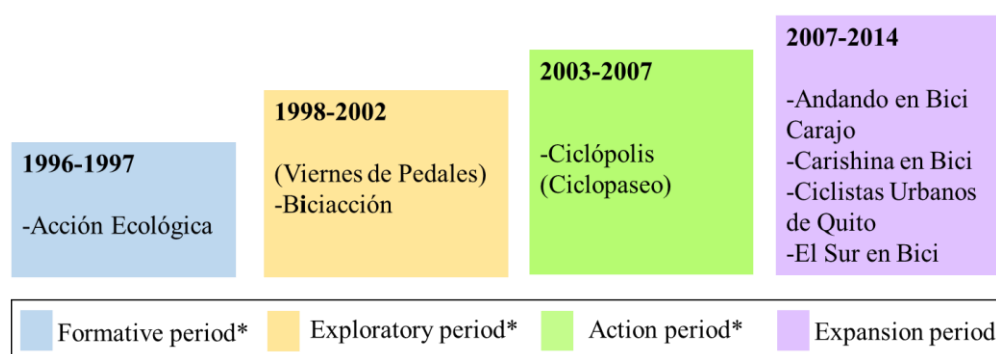
4.2. Self-Organized Groups Promoting Urban Cycling

4.2.1. Origin of the organizations

The origins of self-organized groups date back in 1996 when young people who belonged to Acción Ecológica an environmental oriented NGO organized themselves to propose urban cycling as a transport alternative. They organized “protest rides” that took place the last Friday of each month (Velasco, 2005). Their work continued and between 1998 and 2002 with activities like the “Viernes de Pedales”⁹ (Friday Pedaling Day) and the first massive cycling ride to the historical area of the city in 2001. With the objective of promoting the coexistence between different transport modes as well as the reduction of environmental pollution contamination by the end of 2002, they decided to create Biciacción, the first NGO to promote urban cycling (Noroña, 2009, Gordón, 2011).

In the period 2003-2008, the workshop “Ciclovías para Quito” (Ciudad, 2003), was organized by civil society organizations with the support of national and international research centers. One result of this event was the idea of implementing the integrated recreational cycling routes and the creation of an inter-institutional committee to have oversight of transportation and public spaces in Quito. On April 2003, the first Ciclopaseo was organized by Biciacción and one of the first bikeways was built in the south if the city by the community. During 2004, 2005 and 2007, the Ciclopaseo positioned itself and gained support. In 2007, Ciclópolis was created after the division of Biciacción. This is an NGO that assumed the management of Ciclopaseo that demanded for citizens’ the formulation of policies (Proaño, 2012). In 2008, Andando en Bici Carajo (ABC) is created as an insurgent militancy organization that understood the as a tool that produces changes (interview Medrano, 2014).

Image 8: Self-organized groups development



*Prepared by the author (*Periods according to Noroña (2009))*

⁸For a border description of the plan see 4.3.1).

⁹ The critical mass (CM), originated in San Francisco, 1992, consists of blocking vehicles with a mass of bikes.

After the emergence of the groups mentioned above, other organizations as well as independent activist have appeared. However, they are not NGOs, but community-based groups some of them interested in working with the local authority and others no. One of them is Carishina¹⁰ en Bici, created in 2010 as a women-oriented organization that works on the basis of volunteer work and focus on encouraging women of all ages, socioeconomic class level and background to use the bike (interviews Borja 2014, Gordón, 2014 Vasquez, 2014). In the same year, the group Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito appeared with a strong focus on the right to use the bike and civil society participation in mobility problem-solving (web page of the organization). In 2011, El Sur en Bici was created in the south of the city (that is the reason for its name) as a grass-root organization that promotes community integration through the use of the bike and at the same time demands cyclists rights (Proaño, 2012).

Image 9: Carishina en Bici manifest



Source: Carishina en Bici, 2014

Although some of the groups and its members do not recognize themselves as a part of a social movement, some authors mention that they act as if they were a movement. (Gordón, 2011, Noroña, 2009, Proaño, 2012). Self-organized groups are action-oriented, have political demands and a critical perspective and are grass-root based although some of them are institutionalized. The emergence of organizations that promote urban cycling has been analyzed from the environmental social movements and the urban cultures perspective. According to Noroña (2009, p. 14), social movements today are based on “cultural rights that defend particular attributes which generate a universal sense to their fight”. Meanwhile, Proaño (2012) approaches self-organized groups from the perspective of urban cultures, identity, and public spaces.

Noroña (2009) mentions social movements are based on collective actions oriented to a specific objective. Although in the case of Quito, the author poses the question if it is possible to talk about an urban cyclists’ movement, she mentions that individual initiatives become an organizational proposal. This happened because of an active process to transform reality on the basis of the way people commute. In fact, Noroña (2009) says although they are in a formative process and present internal struggles, those groups are action-oriented, have a process of continuity and a collective base which make them a social movement in spite of the fact that some of them do not recognize themselves this way.

From the perspective of urban cultures, those groups represent a particular middle-class life style linked to everyday habits that shape people’s identity. As a result, they represent a cultural and political practice based on a new form of living by using the city and approaching its people (Proaño, 2012). This culture is also visible in the everyday life with the graffiti as urban art expressions of their political attitude and their dream of a city Proaño (2012). Besides, they are also present in virtual space through social networks. Moreover, for the members of those groups, cycling is an integration activity, both in the city and with people who share common interests creating links of friendship between its members.

¹⁰ “Carishina” is a Quichua to refer to woman that do man activities and do not do things a woman is “supposed to do” like house chores (Gordón, 2011).






4.2.2. Main features of self-organized groups

According to Morhayim (2012-2013, p. 5) “bicyclists comprise a marginalized public in respect to access to streets [...] however, they are not always part of a marginalized population based on ethnicity, gender or income”. For this author, “bicycling is a lifestyle choice rather than an economic necessity” (Morhayim, 2012-2013, p. 6). For cyclists it is more than a mode of transport, but an extension of their identity¹¹, beliefs and core values (Morhayim, 2012-2013, p. 9). This identity is shared putting them together to form a community of like-minded people. (Morhayim, 2012-2013). Being part of these groups affirm their identity.

According to (Nel-lo, 2014, p. 28), Quito “has a large number of cycling organizations in comparison with the city’s number of cyclists”. In fact, the city has self-organized groups related to the use of the bike not only for urban transport, but also for sports and competitions. Urban cycling groups are characterized by their heterogeneity expressed in their ideology, way of working and establishing relationships with other actors (Noroña, 2009).

As it was mentioned before, Biciacción and Ciclópolis were the first self-organized groups promoting urban cycling. Biciacción started from activism and became a NGO partially because of the Ciclopaseo, while Ciclópolis was born directly as a foundation from the division of the members of Biciacción and later on assumed the management of the Ciclopaseo. Those groups have evolved from activism to institutionalization as a mechanism to strengthen their negotiation capacity with the authority. Nowadays, those groups are the most visible ones and having the longest trajectory, although other groups have also emerged¹².

Table 3: Organizations

Name of the group		Year	Type of organization	Internal organization	Political orientation
	Biciacción	2003	Formal-NGO	Vertical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperation with the Municipality • Interested in working for mobility policies and planning
	Ciclópolis	2007	Formal-NGO	Vertical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperation with the Municipality • Interested in working for mobility policies and planning
	Andando en Bici Carjo	2008	Informal, Community-based	Horizontal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moderately interested in participating
	Carishina en Bici	2010	Informal, Community-based	Horizontal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No interested in local government support
	Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito	2010	Informal, Community-based	Horizontal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interested in working with local government for mobility policies and planning

Source: interviews Biciacción, Ciclópolis, ABC, Carishina en Bici, Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito

Two types of groups can be identifies according to their organizational structure. The formal ones which usually correspond to institutionalized organizations like NGOs, foundations, clubs

¹¹ A significant number of urban cyclists are also sport cyclists.

¹² After civil society groups appeared, some economic initiatives related to bikes were created by activists or cyclists in general. This is explained by their need to have stable incomes and turn their political ideology in their way of living, but also because of the increasing demand for bicycles and its derivatives.

(having a legal status), and the informal which represent community-based groups called “colectivos”. Regarding the creation of formal groups, Diego Puente (2014) from Ciclópolis on the interview mentioned the objective of becoming and NGO is to “make the organization more proactive [...], and not only logistical and operational but institutional and political for the administration of the city and for planning further.”

The community-based groups are less institutionalized and more activism oriented, and are based on their identity as cyclists. In addition, in the informal groups, there are also social networks activists that have not developed an organizational structure but work from the virtual space¹³. Non -formal groups also exist as organizations in favor of the use of the bike that are oriented to sports cycling or its recreational use, although some of its members can also be urban cyclists. An explanation of the main organizations is given below:

Image 10: Self-organized groups promoting urban cycling according to their type of organizational structure



Source: social networks and interviews to Biciacción, Ciclópolis, ABC, Carishina en Bici, Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito (* The interviews did not include representatives from El Sur en Bici)

As it was mentioned before, self-organizing groups promoting urban cycling were created by young people, and even today their members are predominantly young. Usually the organizations work with volunteers, except for the ones that are NGOs that might hire permanent or temporary employees to work on their projects. In regard to internal management of the organizations, it varies according to the type of entity. In the case of the formal groups, the relationship between the members is more vertical with few people empowered to make decisions. However, the interviewees mentioned that it was not difficult to communicate ideas and contribute to projects. In the informal organizations, the management is horizontal and depend on the available time of their members.

According to Noroña (2009), formal groups usually tend to work cooperatively with local governments both in the policy-making process and by managing projects or consultancies for

¹³ Although an exhaustive research was done to identify all the groups that exists by 2014 (more than twenty social networks groups were identified), there might be some groups that are not included.

which they receive funds. In the case of informal groups, some of them are interested in working with the local authority especially in social participation processes and decision making, while others are not interested in working with them because they want to keep their autonomy¹⁴. In fact, they may finance their projects, by developing self-financing activities or looking for sponsors in small businesses. Therefore their interest in negotiating or participating with local government varies according to the organizations' specific interest in an area where members are available to participate. As a result, those groups that are more independent of local government and do not look for working directly with them. However, they demand institutionalized actions to facilitate urban cycling.

In the case of cyclists acting as self-organized groups, they must balance their role as activists and their personal and professional life. In fact, some of them have made a living by promoting urban cycling. This is the case for members of NGOs since this form of activism implies full-time commitment. There are other cyclists with professional backgrounds that do not belong to any organization, but are interested in mobility, pursue similar objectives and therefore are committed. In the case of the community-based groups, some of them are critical about earning money from their activism.

The characteristics mentioned above make these social movement heterogeneous. According to Noroña (2009), this has weakened the movement and reduced their capacity to influence and negotiate with the authority. From this perspective, diversity disperses the collective actions and decreases their visibility. However, on the basis of the field work for this thesis, the problem relies more on the tension between the groups than on the diversity itself. In fact, many critics about the way some organizations work were mentioned during the interviews, in particular regarding the use of the bicycle for political purposes. As some of the interviewees stated, the result of those conflicts, make the movement is a diffused movement with dispersed actions that reduces its effectiveness.

4.2.3. Activities

Self-organized groups try to influence mobility policies and planning not only by assuming a role in the decision making-process, but also by changing mobility patterns of people in their everyday life. In fact, the activism of these groups have a strong focus on activities directed to citizens and to other members of the cycling community. Those actions look to make cyclists visible, creating awareness, proving that Quito is a city for bikes, and creating a demand for urban cycling facilities to demonstrate the need and usefulness for non-motorized mobility policies. This expresses people's empowerment in their role as agents that can make a change from the bottom to top, but at the same time to make evidence the need for coordinated actions with the local government in a dialectical relationship.

¹⁴ The groups ABC and Carishina en Bici prefer not to establish a relationship with the local government in order to maintain the independence and critical role.

Image 11: Type of activities organized by self-organized groups

a) Bike training and promotion of its use

To teach people how to ride the bike and gain confidence in using it. Those projects might include training in mechanical skills, road safety, how to make yourself visible in the traffic, among others. This training is oriented to different targets groups. For example, Carishina en Bici focuses on teaching women from all ages how to ride with the project Fairy godmother on bike (Hadas Madrinas en Bici), while other groups work with children and teenagers, or with public institutions to go to work by bike.

b) Recreational activities

Oriented to the members of the groups, cyclists and the community in order to strengthen the links between people, encourage the use of the bike, and show the proper use of the bike in urban and no urban contexts. Moreover, those activities look for developing a different relationship with the environment in the nature or in city, and integrate people. Include competitions like the women alley cat and the Jesús del Gran Pedal, as well as the Ciclopaseo. Also, there are night rides, bike polo, heritage rides, among others.

c) Make urban cycling visible and create awareness

Those activities look for promoting road coexistence, gaining respect for cyclist, inform about their rights and the benefits of cycling, and demand punishment and actions when unfortunate events happened. The activities include communicational campaigns in particular by internet, bike fairs, strikes, ghosts bikes and rides in the memory of a death cyclist killed by a vehicle, and the critical mass rides.

Source: social networks and interviews to Biciacción, Ciclópolis, ABC, Carishina en Bici, Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito

The activities mentioned above can be for free, paid by the participants, financed with contributions of the members of the organizations or by self-funding actions of the groups, and financed by sponsors, international agencies, the ministries, or by the Municipality. The self-management of the organizations express what Bakker (2012) said about the people deciding the “aims and ways” the groups are going to work. On the other hand, when an unfortunate event occurs, the self-organized groups’ join to implement collective actions to call attention to the need of exclusive cycling lines, road coexistence, and sanctions.

Image 12: Example of a ghost bike in memory of a deceased cyclist



Source: author's photographs

The communication channels to transmit their ideas, projects, events, critiques, and proposals, are based on the use of social networks and internet. In fact, pages like Facebook and Twitter are their main platforms to promote their activities, recruit people for their cause and encourage discussions. Since the access to conventional media is restricted because of the amount of money resources that is implied, they do not don't use the traditional communication channels, although they promote some events to the media to gain coverage. As a result, these groups make one-to-one communication a priority. In addition, the ease offered by social networks and the increasing presence of the local government on those pages, encourage communication between the groups and the Municipality.

Image 15: Poster of the Heritage Rides by Biciacción



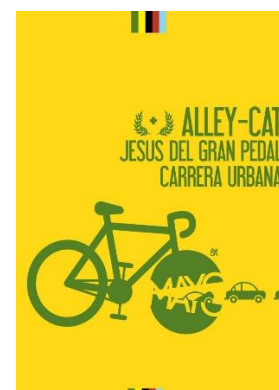
Source: Biciacción

Image 14: Poster of biking workshops for woman and children by Ciclopólis



Source: Ciclopólis

Image 13: Poster of the Urban Alley-cat by Andando en Bici Carajo



Source: ABC

The activities mentioned above are directed to a diversity of target groups of different ages, gender and socio-economic background. This is a strategy to express that the bicycle can be universal and used by anyone. In addition, they help to form new cyclists and potential users of the facilities implemented by the Municipality and strengthen the application of the policies. At the same time, the demands and the awareness actions are directed to maintaining the critical role of civil society in demanding a new model of city and alternative mobility options. As a political exercise, these actions look for “bringing citizenship closer to people” through the experience of living the public space (Velasco, 2011, p. 4).

Although the majority of activities are directed to citizens and the cycling community, the implementation of these actions contribute to the success of the alternative mobility policies and planning. For example, teaching people how to ride a bike and gain confidence in urban cycling helps to “put cyclists on the street”. As a result, the number of cyclists increases as well as the use of the cycling infrastructure and the bikesharing system. This supports policies expressing peoples’ willingness to be part on alternative modes of transportation, strengthen the cycling culture, and create favorable public opinion.

4.2.4. Motivations and claims

Cycling is more than physical exercise, it is a political exercise.
Andando en Bici Carajo, ABC

Self-organization for promoting urban cycling emerged spontaneously in civil society in regards to the problems of the environmental impacts of private vehicles, the over use of public space by cars, a non-human city, and the lack of alternatives for transportation which denies people’s freedom of choice. These initiatives were not addressed at the neighborhood level, but rather at the city level since the need for a new mobility paradigm involves all the urban territory. However, their demands have gone beyond mobility and today these demands include a city which is more human, healthy and democratic. However, self-organization groups are not looking for ruling the city but for having a space.

In this scenario, these groups not only request spatial and physical interventions that facilitate urban cycling, but also look for changes in the commuting behavior of the citizens and a sustainable vision of mobility from the Municipality. In addition, they recognize peoples’ right and obligation to shape the city, by assuming an active role. This reflects what Moulaert (2010) said about the objectives of self-organization about satisfying needs, increase access to rights, empower people, and change social relationships and power structures.

The identity associated to the use of the bike, is related to the motivation people have to be part of the groups. In fact, Daniela Borja (2014) in the interview explained this by saying:

“I enter to Carishina because I wanted to feel free, I walk before pedaling and I felt that the bike was much faster, required less effort, I was losing the fear to ride in the city and found it extremely practical to transport me. This feeling of freedom and independence is important. I think that's the first thing that motivates you”.

The demands of self-organized groups were born in a context of crisis or urban mobility in the city. The growing number of private vehicles that leave no space for other transport modes plus a paradigm centered on transportation which prioritize the physical interventions for motorized vehicles and the lack of attention to public transportation, called them to action. At the beginning, the self-organized initiatives were not related to policy-making nor to the need of implementing special infrastructure for cyclists, but to make visible that the bike as another actor of mobility.

The first's years the groups had a confrontational attitude (they wanted to “bother” traffic¹⁵) with car drivers and the local authority in particular with the critical mass of bikes that stopped the flow of traffic. The groups decided to change this approach in order to reach citizens and authorities and the Ciclopaseo was the most significant mechanism to achieve this. There are differences between the motivations that emerged of the first groups and the most recent groups. As a result, the emergence of new groups have also contributed to diversifying the dialogue and developing a conciliatory attitude, which does not necessarily mean forgetting the critical perspective, which Escobar (interview 2014) from organization Ciclistas Urbanos de Quito mentions:

“We are consensus-oriented unlike other groups who have a vision you could say, only about cyclists. We have the view of pedestrians. We know that we will not fight against cars or car drivers. We are not in a fight against cars, but rather we believe our struggle is to create better living spaces, where the city is a space for everyone”.

The demands for designated bikeways and specific policies for non-motorized transportation later became strengthened by professionals who contributed to an increment of technical knowledge of the organization, its members, as well as their links to local government. Those demands are based on the fact, that “the lack of infrastructure for alternative mobility essentially creates limitations on the freedom to choose and have access to public space; thus marginalizing people in their choice of lifestyles” (Morhayim, 2012, p. 6).

At the same time that the discourse of self-organized groups evolved, the number and heterogeneity of groups increased. First, the motto was centered on the basis of political ecology regarding the awareness of the impact of the excessive use of motorized vehicles on the urban environment and oil fuel dependency for transportation in particular by Biciacción the first NGO (Noroña, 2009). Then, the right to use the bike as a means of transportation, the demand of road coexistence between different transportation modes as well as the respect for the cyclists was included in their discourse. The concern expressed was also on the excessive use of urban space by vehicles and the increasing rate of road accidents.

The discourse of these groups for demanding and convincing people of the need and utility of urban cycling, is a critique of the unsustainable mobility model operating in the city, as well as being proactive for proposing the bicycle as an alternative. The advantages¹⁶ of this mode of transportation for individuals, for the environment, and for society, in addition to the right of people to choose their mobility, substantiate their arguments. Moreover, their demands for cycling infrastructure is also accompanied by the requirement of clean air, and physically active and healthy lifestyles (Nel-lo, 2014). Later on, a pro-pedestrian discourse was also included in their demands after working with groups that promote these objectives. This has led to some extent, to make an alliance to join forces between these two actors.

¹⁵ According to Morhayim (2012, p. 3). The critical mass is “spatial unique way” that bicyclists use to “negotiate its urban needs in the public sphere with motorists and the local government and create their counterspaces”.

¹⁶ According to the interviewees, the bicycle is a highly efficient transportation means because of its low cost and maintenance and the fact the characteristics of its use make it accessible to a wider range of people. Almost everyone no matter the age, gender, economic situation can use it. Moreover, it has low energy consumption and does not produce smog which means low environmental impacts. It occupies less space than vehicles, reduces traffic and encourages road coexistence promoting a non-violent city. In addition, the construction of cycling tracks, parking, among others, contribute to urban design and the promotion of a more human culture. Also, biking encourage social interaction between citizens and with the city, and brings mental and physical health benefits.

The participation of members of these groups in international events also influence their discourse (Gordón, 2011). This led to a vision centered on sustainable mobility and the link of mobility with life quality, land uses, public spaces, and human cities (Gordón, 2011). Thus, urban cycling is seen as an element that not only contributes to mobility, especially for short distances, but also improves livability, reduces social-economic differences, generates socialization, integrates spaces, and brings the city close to the citizens.

Proaño (2012) mentions the bicycle as a symbol and a tool to build another kind of city on the basis of more sustainable life styles, inclusionary practices and better livability conditions. Moreover, the bike enclose a series of social battles because it is a means, a tool and a space to demand gender equality, environment care, critique of capitalism, more equity in social classes, priority for the pedestrian, and public space use among others (Noroña, 2009, Morhayim, 2012-2013). According to Medrano (interview 2014):

“The struggle of the bike, is the fight to transgress the system, the system of social classes, meaning, the bike today is no longer reserved only for the poor, is no longer reserved only for the marginalized. The bike is a tool and a use of public domain for that many sectors of society that leads to use it, then that's breaking social classes”.

Although this do not challenge directly the hegemonic logic in political terms as Harvey (2008) mentions, it challenges the hegemonic logic of mobility management and participatory processes.

4.2.5. Urban cyclists network

Self-organized groups are part of an extended social network in the local, national and international context. Although there is no a formal urban cycling network for Quito, and in Ecuador the network is in the process of development, there is collaborative action in some activities between the groups. Moreover, there have been some attempts to unify and create a cyclists network. In fact, interviewees from the different organizations, mentioned the need to bring people together, by not only including urban cyclists, but also sport cyclists and people who use the bike for a living. As we can see, self-organization works coordinately as Ismael (2010) said, without supervision or central control. In fact, this can be one of the reasons the attempts for creating a formal spaces between the groups has not work because of the conventional way those spaces have been designed. However, it also means an opportunity to develop innovative mechanisms or coordination according to self-organization characteristics.

The relationship between the groups is not harmonic all the time (an example is the division of Biciacción in 2007). There are political disagreements and critics from the members of the groups regarding the way the other organizations work and as well as their political position. Some of them assert some people have a clientelistic relationship with local government, while others criticize the fact that some groups do not want to be involved with the authority and are not assuming a political role¹⁷. Moreover, there is tension between the groups regarding the representativeness of some organizations that participate in events or decision-making

¹⁷ It is important to mention that assuming a political role does not necessarily mean working, negotiating, criticizing or presenting proposals to the local government.

processes since there are no official representatives of the movement. As a result, the lack of leadership or collective leadership is evident.

Although the cycling community is not homogeneous, certain circumstances proved they are related to other groups with similar objectives. For example, in unfortunate events when a cyclist dies or has an accident, all the groups mobilize to demand actions and to make visible the event that occurred. Moreover, members of other groups might collaborate as volunteers for activities from other groups like urban competitions. At the same time, they participate in activities from other organizations or refer people to them. In addition, they have built a support network for cyclists which is something that does not happen with any other mobility actor. This demonstrates self-organization is an interactive system that reacts in different levels but at the same time reproduce protest structures (Fuchs, 2006).

The urban cyclist network is also evident in knowledge-sharing initiatives not only about technical information, but also by learning political strategies to communicate their demands. A clear example is the activity “Viernes de Pedales” a critical mass ride that was learned from the Chilean group “Furiosos ciclistas de Chile” (Angry cyclists of Chile). This activity that originated in the first years of the movement and although did not have too many participants, helped to consolidate the groups and to create links with other countries. The international network not only includes civil society organizations that promote urban cycling but at the same time research institutes, international cooperation entities, and other professional bodies. These links have helped the organizations to gain knowledge and learn from successful experiences.

4.3.The Decision-Making Process for Mobility Policies and Planning: Self-Organization and Local Government

The participation of self-organized groups in the mobility policy-making process can be tracked back to the period of Paco Moncayo who governed from 2000-2009. According to Noroña (2009) the social context of this period and the pro-citizen participation orientation of his government was particularly suitable to the involvement of the first self-organized groups. Although the plan executed in 2002 was a Transport Master Plan and cycling was not included, it recognized the role of citizens’ participation in the planning and management process.

By 2002-2003 the idea about sustainable mobility in the Municipality discourse started with the work of a non-governmental corporation that received funds from the Municipality. The entity called CORPAIRE was the responsible for the air quality in the city and realized its contamination was caused primarily by motorized vehicles. At the same time Biciacción was created as well as another group promoting the rights of pedestrians. In 2009, the Mobility Secretariat was created to manage and coordinate this area together with the Mobility and Public Works Metropolitan Enterprise (EMMOP, later EPMOP) (Gordón, 2011).

4.3.1. Participatory spaces: milestones

The relationship between the local government and self-organized groups promoting urban cycling was consolidated in 2003 during the period of Paco Moncayo. After his administration the groups worked with the Mayor Augusto Barrera who governed until April 2014. The research is limited to the participatory processes that took place during this period, although

self-organization emerged in the middle of the 90's. The reason for this is that civil society initiatives gained wider public recognition and came in the politic agenda with the project of the Ciclopaseo that started in 2003.

The participation of civil society in the process of policy-making and planning is determined by their involvement in specific projects or conjectures. As a result, even though local government conducted meetings and workshops with civil society, they do not share permanent participatory spaces. Moreover, in practical terms the possibility of having more space for dialogue is also limited by the size and the importance given to the department for non-motorize transport in the Mobility Secretariat. The decision-making process are not perfect, but as Sofía Gordón (2014) mentioned on the interview:

“Many of the things that have been implemented even though they are not perfect are already steps, small signs of interest in working on it. Our dream is the existence of political willingness to change things and tidying the organization of transport including the bicycle as alternative transportation”.

The policy making and planning process has been a multi-stakeholder negotiation process involving a diversity of participants from civil society and from different departments and entities of the Municipality. Each participatory process has included different stakeholders. Some of them remain, in particular those coming from organizations with more experience and reputation, but other new participants are also included according to the topic to be discussed. In fact, it is possible to track self-organized groups participating in some specific decision-making processes that led to accomplishments for urban cycling. These include:

a) Ciclopaseo 2003

This self-organized group was able to position itself in the public agenda as a result of the Ciclopaseo project. It was initiated on April 27, 2003 in a route of 10 km with around 4.000 participants as a result of a strong media campaign (Puente, 2012). This proposal was first presented in the workshop “Ciclovías para Quito” which was organized with the support of the Municipality, a research center called “Ciudad”, Biciacción, Acción Ecológica and the Foundation “Ciudad Humana” from Bogotá. This is the first “formal” approach between the local government and the self-organized groups and was called by civil society. They invited experts from other countries and presented successful experiences to convince the Municipality.

The initiative was born in civil society on the basis of the experience from Bogota and was proposed to the Municipality which accepted subject to the condition of a significant number of participants. According to Gordón (2011) this initiative originated in the opportune political context because it was the pre-electoral campaign period and the mayor was looking to increase his acceptance for his reelection. Noroña (2009) mentions that the process was subject to a constant denial. The Municipality had doubts from the very beginning. Proof of this situation were the tests of smaller recreational cycling routes in other parts of the City by the groups, before implementing the Ciclopaseo of 10 km. These smaller routes later were connected to form the Ciclopaseo (Noroña, 2009). Although these initiatives were not implemented by the

Municipality, this local government was thinking about mobility and the environment and identified Biciacción as a strategic partner¹⁸.

Image 16: A Description of the Ciclopaseo



Source: laciudadvida.org, 2009



Source: viviendoenlatierra.com, 2010

According to the literature and the information provided by interviewees, the Ciclopaseo marked a milestone for a before and after for urban cycling in Quito because:

- Urban cycling became part of the public and political agenda.
- The myth of Quito as a non-cycling city due to its topography was broken.
- Media paid attention to self-organized initiatives and urban cycling.
- The city gained a recreational activity by the appropriation of public spaces.
- The north and the south of the city were connected. People can explore Quito.

The success of this activity was explained by Diego Puente (2014) interview:

[With the Ciclopaseo] “people lived and experienced the bicycle in firsthand, which explain the boom of the bike, massively people approached to the bike because it was not the same telling people ride 20 laps in the park that come and use the streets because it also proposes and promotes a different use of public space”.

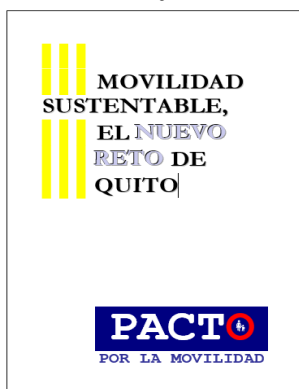
This first activity influenced the means of how to approach the dialogue process between citizens and the Municipality. The Ciclopaseo brought civil society closer to the public sector and opened a space for dialogue and cooperative action. At the same time, the groups were required to develop new skills and an institutionalized structure which led them to become into NGO as a mechanism to strengthening their negotiation capacity. As a result, it helped them to succeed in scaling-up, by diffusing their practices and gaining recognition, organizing larger mobilizations, and exerting pressure on institutions for making changes in mobility policies, among others (Moulaert et al. 2010).

¹⁸ At the beginning this activity was organized by Biciacción which became an NGO in order to be able to coordinate with local government. With the division of this organization in 2007, the new NGO, became responsible for maintaining Ciclopaseo. Despite its success, the challenge today is how to transcend the use of the bicycle from a recreational use to massive means of transportation.

At the beginning of this process many entities from the Municipality were involved and only one from civil society. This led to a multi-sectorial process in particular for financing the initiative. As a result, the funds came from different departments of the Municipality like Quito Cultura, Vida para Quito, the Drinking Water Enterprise, and from the National Police (Norona, 2009).

b) The Mobility Pact 2007

**Image 17:
Mobility Pact**



Source: DMQ, 2007

The Mobility Pact was signed on September 17 of 2007 by public, private and civil society actors¹⁹. As is acknowledged in the document, it was drafted by the Municipality and had the support of the organization “Quito para Todos”. However, other sources mention that this organization had the idea (PNUMA-FLACSO, 2011, interview Ubidia, 2014). The elaboration of the document implied a dialogue process that introduced the discussion about the sustainable mobility of the city in a formal manner. One of the objectives was to come to an agreement about the “fundamental concepts that should guide the formulation of policies, the planning design process, and the implementation of projects for mobility in the Metropolitan District of Quito” (DMQ, 2007, p. 3).

The Pact looked for a broader understanding of the problems of mobility in Quito by promoting an agreement between actors to build a new model for the city. Moreover, it demands a change in the approach to reforming policies from a conventional infrastructure objective to an integral vision of mobility. In this document, the cyclists are recognized as vulnerable actors that require specific actions. Moreover, the pact recognizes many of the demands of self-organized groups as a new hierarchy in the use of public spaces and modes of transport by prioritizing pedestrian and cyclists, the need for retrieving public spaces from private vehicles, and the promotion of non-motorized modes of transport. The role of social participation is also included in the Mobility Pact, in particular for the decision-making processes and the need for developing consensus between the actors.

According to Gordón (2011) the creation of the Mobility Pact demonstrates the influences of civil society organizations in the vision and plans the local government have. In fact, this author argues that some of the text included in this document were part of the working plan of the strategies of the Municipality. Moreover, in 2008²⁰, the first bikeway in Quito was executed by the Municipality for transit and not only for recreational use. The construction of this bikeway evidence the political will for taking actions. In addition to the Pact, other activities organized in cooperation with the Municipality include “A Day without Using the Car”, and the “Mobility Week” which were implemented between 2005-2009.

¹⁹ The Pact was also signed by other civil society organizations, and ministries, broadcasters, public entities, the provincial government, the Quito’s Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of transportations companies, among others (Gordón, 2011).

²⁰ However, the first project for bikeways was designed in 1999 (Gordón, 2011).

c) The Mobility Master Plan 2009-2025

Image 18: PMM Cover

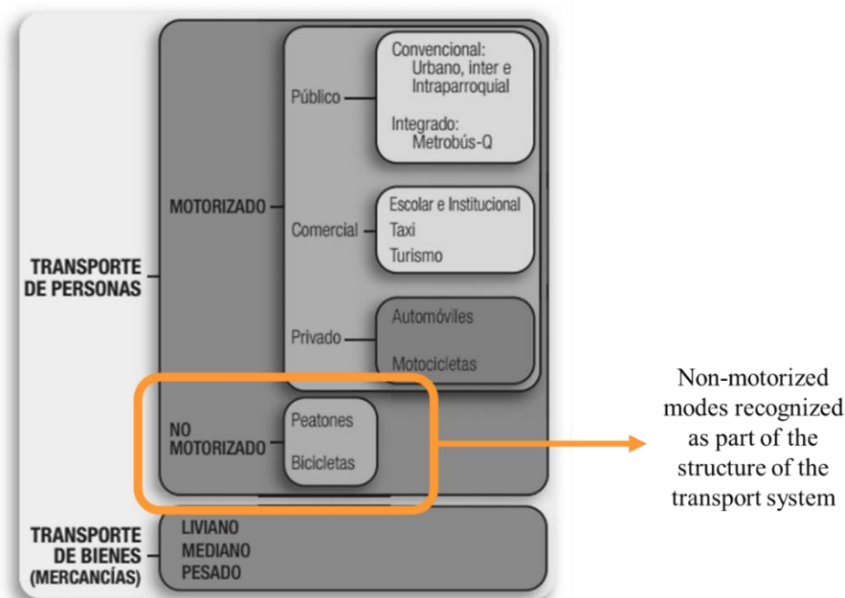


The principles of the Mobility Pact were included in the Mobility Master Plan (PMM) 2009-2025. It is no longer called “the transportation plan” and it recognizes non-motorized transportation and cyclist as actors. The PMM is the updated version of the PMT (Transportation Master Plan). Although the PMT and the PMM were executed by same mayor, Paco Moncayo Gallegos, who governed for two electoral periods, it demonstrates a shift in the paradigm. This is evident by elements like understating mobility as part of human development, linking it to land uses, reducing demand for the commuting, including vulnerable actors, recognizing other modes of transportation, and focuses on accessibility and people instead of infrastructure and traffic.

The PMM 2009-2025 includes a new component, the participatory management of the Metropolitan Mobility Systems. In fact, civil society participation is seen not only as a mean but as a goal itself. The planning process for the PMM was executed by including citizens’ participation in several workshops. Moreover, the plan includes citizen oversight by the creation of a Citizen Mobility Management Committee. Moreover, it modifies the public transportation component by including non-motorized transportation, in particular cyclists as new actors who are on the top of the mobility hierarchy after pedestrians.

Source: DMQ, 2009

Image 19: Structure of the transport system according to the PMM 2009-2025

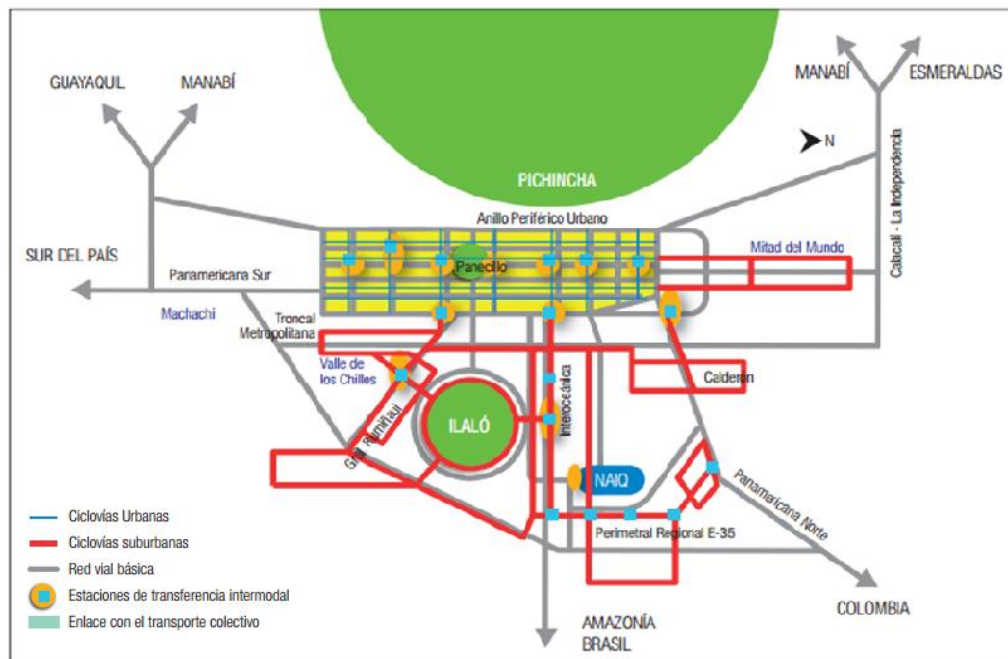


Source: PMM 2009-2025, 2009

The Plan recognizes non-motorized transportation as part of the Metropolitan Mobility System in particular for short distance journeys. The global strategic measures, includes the promotion of non-motorized transportation and the implementation of facilities for those modes, in order

to reduce the use of private cars and consolidate this mode of transportation. The Plan includes the principle of freedom to choose the preferred transport mode. The new infrastructure required should be connected to the Metropolitan Bikeways Network. The estimated money amount required for cycling infrastructure and programs was US \$ 78 million dollars (DMQ, 2009). One of the goals established in the PMM is to increase journey by bike to 3% by 2017, and to 5% by 2025 (DMQ, 2009, p.83).

Image 20: The Conceptual Non-motorized Transportation scheme in the PMM 2009-2025



Source: PMM 2009-2025, 2009

d) The Cyclists Commission 2012

After the death of another cyclist in 2012, the Municipality called a meeting to create a Commission. This group was composed of representatives from different organizations that are in favor of urban cycling, sport cycling, pedestrians, specialists, counselors, citizens and the delegate from the mayor who was the Secretary of Mobility. The main agreements signed in April 30 of 2012 according to the minute of the meeting (Mobility Secretariat, 2012) are listed below:

- Implement an awareness and education campaign against hostile attitudes on the road.
- Design a plan for the extension and improvement of the bikeway network.
- Implement an emergency plan for cycling training.
- Create an oversight group for monitoring police control over transit and the legal processes required for accidents involving cyclists.
- Implementation of specific projects for cyclists.

- Put into effect two regulations. One for road safety, another one for declaring safety-zones the existing bikeways and the “chaquiñan²¹”.
- Create a permanent Commission formed by the Municipality, the Mobility Secretariat, counselors, and cyclists.

According to the interviewees, the Commission is one of the few formal and permanent participatory spaces. The way it worked was by organizing meetings to discuss the progress of the agreements and the implementation of projects. In order to facilitate dialogue, it worked with representatives of the different sectors rather than in a big assembly. According to the interviews realized for this research, the Commission worked more than one year with recurrent meetings. At the beginning these were organized more often but later on its frequency was reduced. In addition, on verification of the minutes of the meetings, some of counselors stopped attending the reunions.

Based on research, one of the reasons mentioned for the failure of this space was its origin in an unfortunate incident that somehow was linked to specific pressures of the media and the political agenda. This demonstrates that social participation does not work as a sustained process. As a result, it was necessary that something unfortunate happen to make the demands more visible. Moreover, the amount of time it demanded from citizens also influenced their willingness to participate. In fact, some of the representatives who have professional activities to fulfill have this limitation, which affects the continuity of the meetings. Another of the problems was the cyclists “movement” does not have official representatives and the cohesion between the groups is weak. As a result, the participation of some members of civil society might not be representative.

During this space of time, the Municipality presented some projects like an awareness communication campaign which was reviewed by cyclists and later on removed because its contents gave a wrong message. Moreover, a proposal to include road coexistent contents in the curriculum of driving schools has not yet been implemented. Other topics discussed were bike parking, bike transportation in public buses, bikeways signaling, cycling circuits, the bike sharing system, and the implementation of bikeways.

e) Bikeways and the bikesharing system “BiciQ” 2012-2014

The process for implementing the bike sharing project was also another space of participation that somehow was related to the Commission presented below. Some workshops were organized by the Municipality to socialize the project and get feedback. However, the groups wanted to have an integral involvement in all the project, from the conceptualization to the definition and decision-making of the routes for the bikeways, the communication campaign and the inauguration. In the opinion of the interviewees, this approach was top-down approach, although some people participated in the decision-making process.

²¹ The Chaquiñan is a quichua name for small roads, but in this case referred to a specific route Quito has in the valley of Tumbaco for cycling.

Image 21: BiciQ station



Source: La hora, 2012

Image 22: BiciQ user



Source: ecuadoraldia.com.ec, 2014

The implementation of the first phase of BiciQ in 2012, required the construction of new cycling trails to connect with stations. Some representatives of the groups (but not from all the organizations) participated in working meetings to review progress. The Municipality presented a proposal and the citizen organizations reacted with their comments. However, the interviewees mentioned that several disagreements on how this process was managed and the routes chosen in the northern part of the city. In the case of the bikeways for the southern part, was different because the second phase, was still not implemented. The group that represented that area had direct participation in the field work for defining the route. Although the PMM mentioned a gradual process for implementing cycling tracks, this process was executed six months before the end of the government period.

As bikeways were built, a controversy erupted since car, bus and taxi drivers, neighbors, and the shopkeepers close to the area where parking plots were removed, complained about the route²². One of the reasons for the conflicts caused by the implementation of the bikeways is the process did not include all the stakeholders involved.

This demonstrates that the lack of a multi-sectorial perspective since only organizations of civil society were taken into account and not citizens affected by the policies were not taken into account. In addition, the context of the time when the project was implemented it was influenced by an electoral campaign characterized by tension between the candidates and the pressure of the media. This led to conflicts with the residents and with some cyclists that disagreed with the way the process and decisions were executed. As a result, the relationship between the local government and the self-organized groups was affected because of the critiques from one side to the technical design of the routes and from the other because of the lack of support.

Image 23: Bikeway in the Ulloa Street



Source: www.andes.info.ec, 2013

²² This controversy erupted when the new authority assumed the government, because routes were reviewed and some sections were eliminated.

Image 24: Quito bikeways map



Source: author's photographs

The project BiciQ and the bikeways were designed and implementing on the basis of a top-down approach. Although participation was included, its management was more directed at supporting interventions that built a proposal. However, those initiatives express a shift in the vision of mobility for the city because materialize policies and evidence self-organization contributed to the Municipal task of solving mobility issues.

Additionally, there are informal spaces like social networks like Facebook and Twitter that facilitate the direct interaction with the authority, in particular to communicate specific demands make complaints. According to one interviewees, the “access to the authorities is much simpler now, and people know how to reach the authority which was more complicated before” (Montalvo, 2014).

Besides those formal participatory spaces, there are non-institutionalized spaces which do not necessarily imply interaction with the local government. These spaces were built by the community around the activities organized by citizens and other cyclists. Besides, these spaces had been present at the same time that the milestones described below and demonstrate “each urban agent is a planner at a certain scale” because urban development is shaped (including policies) by positioning and promoting urban cycling (Portugali, 2012, p.129).

4.3.2. The tension between local government and self-organization

The relationship between civil society and local government is characterized by their different interests. The Municipality is caught between achieving political legitimacy, political revenues, and solving problems to improve life quality. Meanwhile, self-organized groups are looking for changing the mobility vision, exercising their right to the city from their commuting choice and participating in the definition of policies and planning, and promoting the use of the bike from bottom.

The negotiation potential of each stakeholder is different, as well as their interests and motivation for participation. However, they both need each other to fulfil their goals and make changes, which leads to the need for public decision-making (Gerrits, 2012). Yet, the willingness to make those changes and the direction it takes, are influenced by the position each actor occupies in the process. The negotiation potential is distributed in terms of who has

the economic sources, who had the idea, who have the technical capacities and the experience-base knowledge, who has legitimate support for the decision, and who can support the application of the plan to guarantee its success. Moreover, the understanding about how and who should conduct the process and which is the role of each actor, determines the way participation is assumed.

The management model followed by the Municipality, according to Julie Gamble (2014), is based on public-private partnerships. This means that the local government does not implement the projects itself, but hires external professionals to execute it. In fact, the NGOs that promote urban cycling, are some of the main contractors of the Municipality because of their experience in promoting urban cycling and technical knowledge and skills. Moreover, by hiring them, it is a mechanism to legitimize the policies and planning. This might be confused with participation because it is used as a way to integrate citizens in the processes. However, it might distort the organizations' objectives and can lead to tension between groups since they might compete for funding. This makes a difference in the mechanisms the organizations use to promote their demands and their interest in negotiating with the local government.

Another factor involved in this problematic, is the meaning of participation. Working on the, the qualitative difference between the government period of Paco Moncayo 2000-2009 and Augusto Barrera 2009-2014 was mentioned many times. The activists mentioned being more satisfied with the openness they had in the period of Moncayo than with Barrera. However, according to Gordón (2009) the support from the Municipality is usually linked to particular persons and not to the institution in general. Nevertheless, they identify specific persons in Barrera's administration that were easy-going and supportive. As a result, the role of the persons who are working in the area makes a difference for them as well as the level of trust between their counterparts.

Moreover, according to the interviewees management of participation is another factor that affects their relationship with the Municipality. In many occasions participation is reduced to socialization meetings where the plans and projects are presented and really few changes can be made by the citizens. Those process are more informative meetings than decision-making meetings, and work as a mechanism to control participation because limits the influence of citizens. In addition, the legitimization of the decisions taken is another element that cause tension because signing the attendance records to a meeting is misinterpreted as approving the projects or the decisions.

Based on research, the invitation for discussions meetings are usually executed by the local government. This has also caused tension between the organizations since some groups are included and others are not. Moreover, the representativeness of the meetings is questioned. However, once they are invited, not all the groups are always present, which also makes the continuity of processes difficult, limits the legitimacy of the decisions taken, and reduce their influence. Still, the fact that invitations do not respond to a permanent process adapted to the everyday actions of the local government, this limits the possibilities for the activists to assist, since the persons who do not work for the NGOs have to work and cannot attend during working hours. Moreover, when the invitation for the meetings is too frequent, activist loose interest in participating.

The death of many cyclists in Quito caused by motorized vehicles, and the increasing number of accidents of bike users and athletes have motivated a dialogue between local government and their organizations. However, this approach is criticized by groups because they respond to specific conjunctures and a political agenda. As a result, crisis situations trigger the creation of dialogue spaces, both, inside the movement and with the authority.

Image 25: Awareness campaign



“How many cyclists have to die before you change your attitude? **Source:** Ciclópolis, 2013

Another point of tension is the use of projects for political purposes inside the movement and from the Municipality. Some interviewees mentioned the bicycle is being used as a political platform and not for a real interest of promoting a new vision for mobility. This claim evidence the differences between the logics of each actor, and the importance of achieve agreements in the negotiation process for collaborative actions.

In addition, self-organized groups demand that their initiatives must be promoted as civil society ideas. They claim that not everything needs to be institutionalized because local government cannot do everything and civil society has a role with citizens and not only with the authority. Therefore, according to Bakker (2012) citizens initiatives must be understood as a mode of collaborative governance. For the citizens, institutionalizing their ideas involves a risk because according to Boonstra (2011) and Attoh (2012) the initiative can lose its original objective and effectiveness. In fact, for some groups, institutionalizing their activities with local government mean a mechanism of control. As a result, they demand a facilitation role from local movement as a way to promote citizens initiatives instead of assuming them, but at the same time they claim for building the vision of the city together.

Noroña (2009) mentions that the Municipality of Quito has a paternalistic attitude towards organizations. According to her, it means the formal authority recognizes that self-organized groups have the “youth and energy to implement projects, but are handled with shades of naivete” (Noroña, 2009, p. 118).

The heterogeneity of the groups make it complicated to reach agreements with all the groups. Moreover, since there are not official representatives²³ of the movement the negotiation processes demands reaching a consensus with all the groups. This is affected by the different levels of participation (some groups or persons participate more than others, others are not interested in being involved) and the interest in obtaining funding for their projects. Therefore, the need for establishing partnership with the local government have led to the division of groups. This also shows the difficulty of groups having a critical opinion of local government work and at the same time working with them. Nevertheless, this heterogeneity has reduced the possibility of negotiating with the authority because their influence and pressure is limited (Noroña, 2009). Meanwhile, the groups demand direct communication channels and permanent

²³ The first create to create a formal space that joined cyclists was in 2009 with the proposal of the “Urban Cyclists Coalition” but the initiative did not transcend. Nowadays, with the beginning of a new administration on May 2014, a new attempt is made to create a space to group all the organizations interested. The strategies already implemented includes approaching the new authorities, using ICT to facilitate communication between the groups, and convoke to the Bike users Assembly.

participatory spaces, at the same time, they recognize that they need to work together to have more influence and avoid dispersion of their efforts.

The relationship between local government and self-organization requires an innovative mechanisms for approaching each other on the basis of a bottom-up planning and diversity. This cannot be executed if participation is reduced to elections and socialization processes instead of joint planning. Since the Municipality assumes political risks for example when making a controversial decision like eliminating parking spaces to build bikeways, they require public support from the organizations that have to legitimize their actions. This cannot be achieved if self-organization is not understood as a structuring element that reflects people's needs as a key actor for the success of policies (Boonstra, 2011).

In summary, although there are not permanent participatory spaces to work with the Municipality, the groups have been part of this process to some extent by their decisions and the definition of their policies. On the basis of the milestone presented below, planning cannot be executed from a top-down approach and as something fixed and static. In order to be successful, in political, economic and social terms, planning must be the result of the interactions between stakeholders²⁴ and negotiation processes with the subsystems that are sensitive to conjectures.

4.4. Influencing Mobility Policies and Planning: Strategies

Although cycling is itself a strategy of doing politics on the basis of everyday life "by showcasing an alternative use on the streets", self-organized groups have developed a wide range of mechanisms to achieve their objectives (Morhayim, 2012, p. 2). As a result, the groups negotiate their right to alternative mobility both, on the streets as "bicyclists [that] appropriate urban streets that are usually occupied by motor vehicles"²⁵ (Morhayim, 2012, p. 13). Those strategies have evolved from individual initiatives to collective proposals and from confrontational attitudes to dialogue actions (Noroña, 2009).

Regarding the question about if civil society has influence mobility policies and planning Sofía Gordón (2014) mentioned in the interview:

"Yes, I think it was influenced significantly. If there had not been organizations that pressure for a change in mobility in Quito in general, not only for the bikes, but for everything that is sustainable mobility [...] the many activities that are now operating in the city and that are no longer a novelty [won't be there]".

The strategies used look to shape the city by scaling-up from the community level to the local movement level and the public opinion level. In order to influence local government mobility policies and planning and mobility behavior patterns, the groups have used the following strategies that reflect what Moulaert et al. (2010) have affirmed about successful self-organized initiatives (see chapter 2):

²⁴ It is important to considerate the market also exerts pressure in the definition of the mobility policies, in particular regarding the use of private vehicles because of economic interests. Therefore, the policies to promote non-motorized transportation are sensitive to mobility policies in general.

²⁵ As Morhayim (2012-2013, p. 13) mention, "the extent to which citizens have the right to the city is defined by the social production of and control over public spaces".

- Positioning the bike as an alternative transport mode in the public and political agenda.
- Develop and promote city vision around sustainable mobility, human cities and the appropriation of public spaces.
- Create awareness about mobility problems and the advantages of the use of the bike.
- Make cyclists visible and recognized as actors of mobility system.
- Construction of the urban cyclist imaginary.
- Locate the figure of the cyclist as a respected and well valued actor.
- Institutionalize the organizations in order to facilitate their collaboration and negotiation potential with the local government.
- Extend their political influence “beyond immediate bicycling matters” (Morhayim, 2012, p. 9). For example environmental groups ask for their support.
- Increase public support for the use of the bike.
- Try to consolidate an entity that represents the cycling community.
- Develop “vital relationships” (Meerkerk & Boonstra, 2012) by creating a new network at local, national and international level.
- Creating demand for cycling facilities by increasing the number of cyclists (“put cyclists on the streets”).
- Strengthen their technical knowledge about sustainable mobility but at the same time contribute on the basis of their experience as everyday cyclists.
- Generate proposals and projects for mobility management based on civil society initiatives and by promoting the co-management between local government and citizens.

The decision to institutionalize the organizations (Biciacción, Ciclópolis) was born from the need to create an institutional structure to approach the authority successfully and to make the organization transcend from depending on individual leaderships (Noroña, 2009). According to some respondents, the institutionalization was the “obvious” next step of social organizations and a sign of their maturity. Moreover, it allowed the groups to be able to receive funds to finance their projects and pay for the operation. As a result, volunteers started working as employees, while activists dedicated their full time to their job, and professionalization and training about sustainable mobility in urban cycling was strengthened. Moreover, development of technical capacities and gaining knowledge is a strategy that reinforced their demands and allows them to move on from an ideological discourse to a more technical one (Noroña, 2009).

The development of collaborative planning between the groups and with the government is motivated by achieving a more efficient management, political legitimacy, added value to place-making (or planning implementation) and build shared knowledge and understanding (Healey, 1998). The existence of formal partnerships between self-organized groups or independent activists and the Municipality for initiatives like the Ciclopaseo, biking schools, the Bike Fair, consulting jobs, BiciQ, and others, shows the strategies used by civil society have been effective since they have positioned themselves as strategic partners. Moreover, some of the organizations have also collaborated with other local governments and ministries.

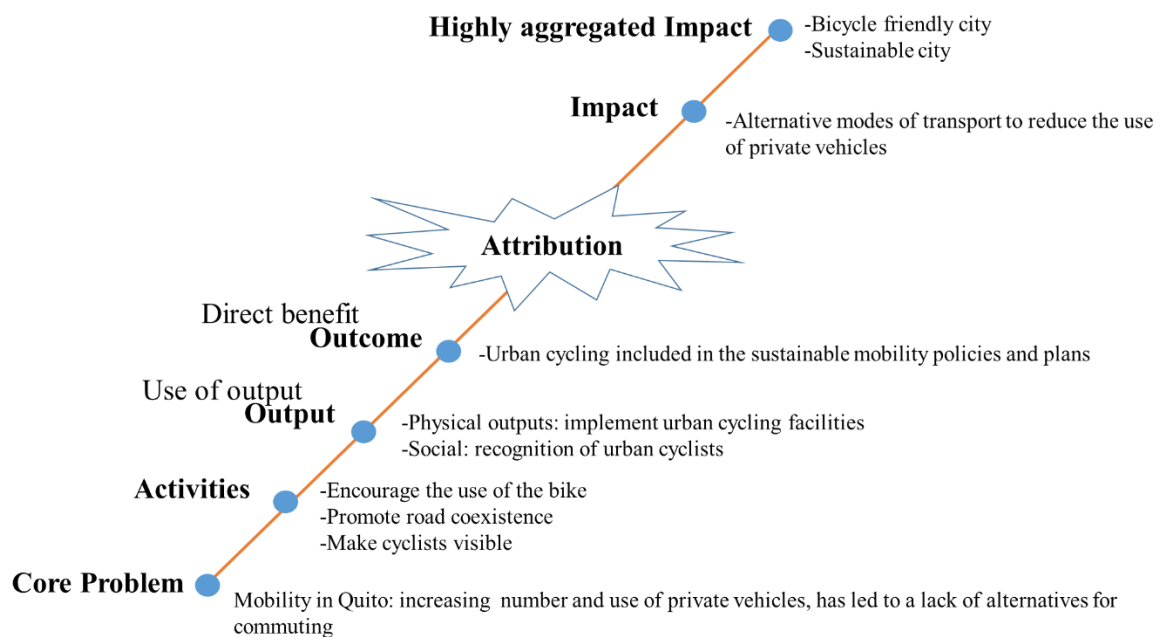
The strategies used by self-organized groups are directed to both local government and to citizens. In the first case they are committed to influence policies and planning by setting the relevance of urban cycling as a right and as an option for mobility and for shaping the city differently. In the second case, the strategies look for changing mobility behavior patterns, by

creating awareness, and respect for cyclists, but also encouraging people to use the bike for transportation. The implementation of cooperation agreements and join management, is, according to Borja and Muxi (2000), another mechanism of participation besides negotiation, debate and socialization.

4.5. Impacts and Contributions of Self-Organization

The effects of self-organization regarding the mobility problems of the city, can be explained because of some changes that include physical interventions, behavior oriented interventions, modifications to the legal framework, and setting the topic in the public agenda. Although some of them are directly implemented by the Municipality, these initiatives were promoted by self-organized groups. According to the interviewees, the achievement for urban cycling would not have been possible without citizen involvement. However, for some people more could have been done considering the time (more than 10 years) that people have been working on it.

Image 26: Impact chain analyses of the influence of self-organized groups

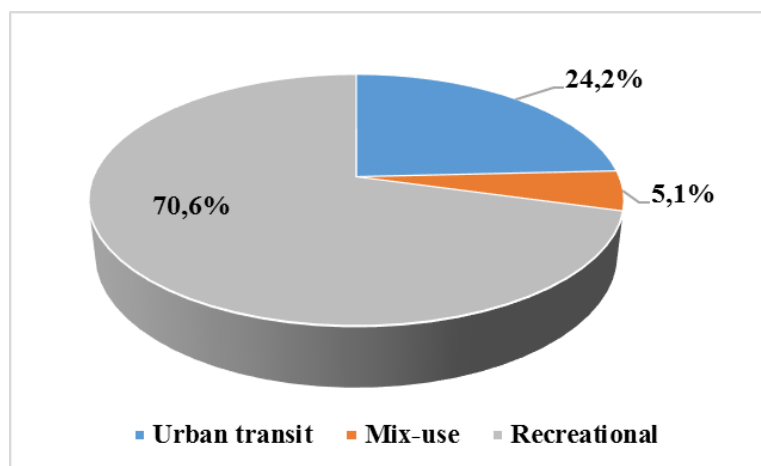


a) Physical interventions

Although those interventions are the most visible ones and had to be executed by the local government because of the amount of money they required, they are the result of the negotiation process with the groups. Although those interventions are seen by some people as the final goal, cycling infrastructure is a mean to achieve a new model of mobility but it is not a solution in itself. Those actions might not work if they are not accompanied by behavior-oriented interventions, changes in the legal framework, and an integral perspective in the mobility policies.

One of the most noticeable physical interventions for urban cycling in Quito is the construction of bikeways. According to the accountability report of the former mayor Augusto Barrera (2013), Quito has 168.97 km of cycling tracks including bikeways for recreational use:

Image 27: Bikeways per type



Source: Barrera, 2013

The implementation of bikeways started in 1996 and the initial focus was the recreational use of the bike. As a result, the majority (70.6%) of the tracks are for this purpose and are located in parks and natural areas inside and outside of the city. In 2004, one year after the first Ciclopaseo, the implementation of urban transit (24.2%) and mix-use (5.1%) bikeways started. The majority of the tracks are built in the periods 2006-2008 and 2012-2013, the second one coincides with the opening year of the bikesharing system.

Table 4: Bikeways Km per type

Type	Percentage	Km
Urban transit	24.2%	40.96
Mix-use	5.1%	8.68
Recreational	70.6%	119.33
Total		168.97

Source: Barrera, 2013

Table 5: Year of implementation of urban transit and mix-use bikeways

Year	Mix-use	Urban transit	Total
2004	-	1.14	1.14
2005	2.17	1.09	3.26
2006-2008	4.68	10.24	14.92
2009	-	1.39	1.39
2010	1.83	-	1.83
2011	-	0.47	0.47
2012-2013	-	26.63	26.63
Total	8.68	40.96	49.64

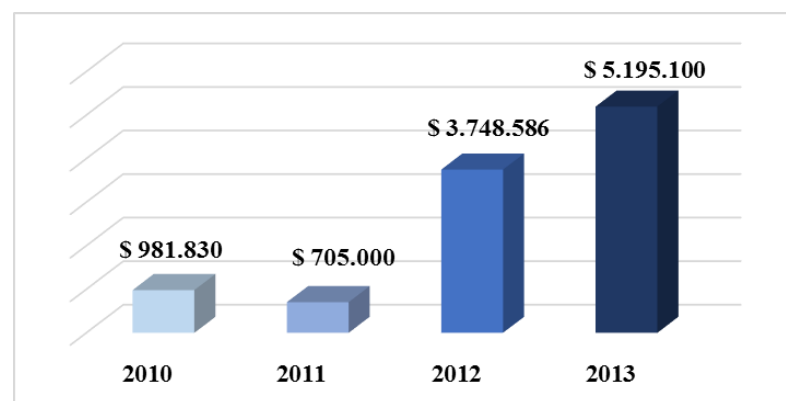
Source: Barrera, 2013²⁶

²⁶ According to the accountability report of Barrera, 2014, the Km of bikeways is 173.04.

Regarding parking spaces for bikes, the city has 99 points around the city with a capacity for 949 bikes (Barrera, 2014). Besides, the public bikesharing system, BiciQ, started in August 2012 with 425 bicycles and 25 stations in the center-north of the city with projection to extend its network to the south. Now, it has 9.228 users registered of which 3.376 already are users with ID (Barrera, 2013). Until February 2014, the total number of times used the bikes of the system was 350.000 (Barrera 2014).

The investment for non-motorized mobility has increased considerably and by 2013 it amounted to \$ 10.630.516 (Barrera, 2013). Although not all of this money is directed to physical interventions, a significant part of the money is spent on infrastructure. The graph demonstrates the increasing concern for providing safety conditions for urban cycling which is one of the demands of self-organized groups. However, if this value is compared with the motorized transport interventions, there is a significant difference.

Image 28: Investment in non-motorized mobility



Source: Barrera, 2013

b) Behavior-oriented interventions

Physical and behavior-oriented interventions are complementary. The first type facilitates circulation, while the second one “put cyclists on the street”, creating awareness and respect, and promoting road coexistence. The interventions oriented to changing e peoples´ commuting habits are not only executed by the Municipality. In fact, self-organized groups have an important role by interacting directly with citizens when implementing their own activities.

- The Ciclopaseo have been extended for six hours every Sunday of the month, the route has 30km (compared with the 10km at its beginning), and the number of participants have increased to 50.000 in 2009 (Puente, 2012). The Municipality invests US \$ 270 000 on an annual basis (Barrera, 2013).
- Activities like the bike fair (organized every 2 years), riding bicycle schools, bike taxis, and bike buses have been implemented with the support of the Municipality (Barrera, 2014). Some of them were initiated by civil society. In addition, other activities are implemented by the organizations with by their own funding. In the words of one of the interviewees:

[The success of BiciQ] “is not only because bikes exist but also because people can ride bicycles and believe it is the best mean they can use in the city, much of this is what we have been discussing over all these years” (Cárdenas, 2014).

An example about the incidence of self-organized groups implementing behavior-oriented actions is that Biciacción during 2013 which trained 4.000 students in the benefits of the bike, the use of the Urban Cycling Manual, and how to ride a bicycle (Cárdenas, 2014).

- Elimination of the payment for using the bikesharing system to incentive the preference for this mode of transportation.
- The myth about Quito as a non-cycling city because of its topography has been changed.

Regarding the use of the bike, the survey executed for the implementation of the Metro Train in Quito, stated that by 2011, 13,206 journeys per day were executed by bike in the city. This represents 1.98% of non-motorized trips and the 0.31% of the total number of journeys (MetroQ, 2012, p. 41). Today, according to the accountability report of the former mayor, the number of journeys executed per day by bike are between 25.000 and 30.000 which represent over 200% increase (Barrera, 2014, p.31)

c) Legal framework

The inclusion of cycling for transportation, was included on the Constitution in 2008 after the work and lobby of self-organized groups. As a result, article 415 states that non-motorized transportation must be promoted by the implementation of cycling tracks. Moreover, the Land Transport, Traffic and Road Safety Law of 2008 recognizes the right of the cyclists in article 204, and promotes mentions the retrieval of public spaces for pedestrians and non-motorized transport. In addition, the law regulates the implementation of parking for bicycles in transportation facilities. Furthermore, it mentions the mandatory implementation of cycling tracks in the new roads projects, with no less than 2 meters of width. Further, the law establish cyclists' right to exclusive bikeways, preferential right of way or circulation, among others.

At local government level, in 2008, the Ordinance 268 was created to promote non-motorized transport. Moreover, this document declare the Ciclopaseo as a permanent activity. Regarding the standardization of bikeways signaling, the Ecuadorian Normalization Institute (INEN) approved in November 2013, the technical regulation which facilitates the implementation of cycling tracks.

d) Setting the topic in the public agenda and policies

In the National Development Plan 2013-2017 (The “Good Living Plan”), the Objective 3, mentions the need for a sustainable mobility paradigm as one of the mechanisms to improve the quality of life of people (SENPLADES, 2013). In particular, clause 3.12 mentions as a policy framework the promotion of the use of non-motorized transportation modes and the respect for cyclists.

The inclusion of alternative mobility policies in official documents is evident since the Development Plan of 2000-2020 (review 2006-2010). In this document it is recognized that urban cycling is an alternative to reduce pollution and improve the quality of life. Therefore,

the Plan establishes the need of implementing permanent bikeways (DMQ, 2006, p.52). In the case of the Metropolitan Development Plan 2012-2022, urban cycling is part of a boarder vision of mobility for the city. In this document mobility is a transversal axis to structure “Quito as a city of rights and the right to the city” by having a sustainable, efficient and universal mobility (DMQ, p. 10, 2012b). The objective is to connect the district with mobility and transportation systems, emphasizing public transportation and the improvement of the physical conditions for non-motorized transportation (DMQ, 2012b).

The City of Quito’s Land use Plan for 2012-2022 articulates urban expansion and land uses to a new mobility model centered on compacting and densifying the city approaching urban facilities to reduce the need and time for commuting (DMQ, 2012a). Developing favorable condition for non-motorized transportation is one of the mechanisms to promote sustainability, but also connectivity and accessibility for the most vulnerable actors (DMQ, 2012a).

The interaction between local government and self-organized groups have influenced the vision about mobility. Some of the concepts mentioned by self-organized groups are now part of the policy documents and are in the discourse of public officials. In fact, during the interviews (Paéz, 2014, Ubidia, 2014, López, 2014), the next phrases, similar to the ones mentioned by activists, were mentioned several times: mobility means moving people without vehicles, building a more human city and promoting road coexistence, cyclists are also mobility actors, it is necessary to retrieve public spaces that are dominated by cars, among others.

In order to evidence how relevant is urban cycling in the public agenda, in particular for the media, the number of articles publish in one of the most important newspapers of the city were counted. This exercise took into account 76 reports and opinion articles from El Comercio, published between 2009 and the 1st of August 2014. The analysis demonstrate the topic is recurrent in the media both, for informative purposes and for its debate. In fact, in the opinion articles that are included mentioned critics and support for some of the physical interventions. This demonstrates that people are discussing alternative mobility, beyond if it is in favor or against it, this demonstrates that the topic is part of the public agenda.

According to what has been mentioned in this work, the difficulty of implementing and succeeding with alternative mobility policies depends not only on the technical work but also on the participator process behind. Therefore, as Banister (2008, p.76) states it is necessary to involve people, so “public acceptability can be raised to levels that will encourage support and engagement in actions to promote sustainable mobility”. In this context, the relationship between civil society and local government is fundamental, both for defining the policies and plans, and to develop cooperative implementation processes.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and lessons learned

Self-organized groups that promote urban cycling in Quito emerged in a context of increasing mobility problems aggravated by the excessive number of private vehicles and the saturation of public transport. For more than 10 years these organizations have made urban cycling part of their identity and at the same time a political claim. They demand a sustainable mobility model based in the use of the bike as an alternative transportation mode. The work the organizations have done to change mobility vision, has led to changes in the commuting behavior, the policies approach and the implementation of projects. In fact, the number of journeys done by bike have increased, the planning documents include specific actions for non-motorized transport, and a bikesharing system and bikeways have been built.

The role of self-organization in influencing mobility policies in this particular case, demonstrates how civil society can contribute to urban development assuming a critical and a proactive position. The findings of the research provided insights about the need for a bottom-up approach for policy making based on peoples' experiences on urban cycling and visions about the city (Moulaert, 2010). Moreover, it stressed the importance of the role of local government as facilitator of citizens' initiatives but at the same time the need for developing plans together.

In the context of the city as a complex system, self-organization proves reality permanently produces novelty (Fuchs, 2006), in this case around the proposals for mobility solutions. The initiatives of the groups that promote urban cycling in Quito has generated new relationships with the local government, that far from been harmonic, have contributed to strength democratic processes and build their right to the city (Attoh, 2001, Wagennar, 2007).

5.1. Conclusions

5.1.1. Self-organization and the right to the city

The organizations that promote urban cycling in Quito are self-organized groups that were born spontaneously on the community level in a group of young people concerned about environmental and mobility issues (Moulaert et al. 2010; Boonstra & Boelens 2011; Bakker et al. 2012). Moulaert (2010) mentions self-organization emerged when people share interests and needs. In the case of Quito, the members of the groups share their identity as cyclists and their claims for their right to commute by bike and shape urban development. Self-organized initiatives are community actions oriented to transform reality by changing mobility patterns, and promoting the appropriation of public spaces and road coexistence. For the groups, the bike is a political tool used to claim their right to the freedom of choice regarding their commuting mode and their right to change the city (Harvey, 2008).

Quito has many organizations that promote urban cycling. However, those groups are heterogeneous in the political approach they have and the way they work. Two of them are NGOs that are full-time dedicated to this cause, while the other groups are community-based organizations that work with volunteers according to their availability of time, and social networks activists. The informal groups are self-managed, but at the same time they have developed strategic agreements with the local government and other groups (Bakker et al. 2012; Moulaert et al. 2010). As a result, understand planning and policy-making as a "multiple

and relational process” (Boonstra, 2011) that according to (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2007) requires facilitation and cooperation.

5.1.2. Strategies to influence policies and planning

In order to influence mobility policies and planning, self-organized groups have made urban cycling visible in the public and political agenda by creating awareness about its importance and rights. This was done by positioning the figure of the cyclist in the urban imaginary and at the same time as one of the actors of the mobility system. The strategies used include changing their initial confrontational attitude to one oriented to build consensus and work in a collaborative way. As a result, the organizations could approach citizens and the local authorities and gain public acceptance.

The institutionalization of some community-based groups by becoming NGOs, and the emergence of new organizations, strengthen the movement and increase their negotiation capacity and their technical knowledge. However, the conflicts between the groups have reduced their influence and their negotiation potential. The organizations are aware of this, therefore they are trying once again to join the groups to create a group that be able to represent the community. Moreover, they are conscious they need to strengthen their technical capacities to increase their influence and contributions.

In order to succeed in scaling-up, the organizations have diffused their claims and vision for the city by organizing innovative practices (Moulaert et al. 2010). Some of them include recreational activities oriented to citizens to enjoy the use of the bike and gaining confidence, while others include bike training and promotion of its use for urban transportation. Moreover, they have organized activities to make cyclists visible and create awareness of their right. According to Moulaert et al. (2010) this way the organization gain recognition and support.

5.1.3. Self-organized groups in the mobility decision-making process

The participation of civil society in the process of policy-making and planning is marked by their involvement in specific projects or conjectures. There are not permanent formal participatory spaces with the local government, but this entity had have the openness to discuss in some extend the actions and projects with civil society. The existence of those spaces is usually linked to particular persons and not to the institution in general, therefore, civil society demand to institutionalize a participatory bottom-up approach for the decision-making process. In addition, they claim their right to be involved from the beginning of the working agenda, to the design of the proposals and to the approval of the projects. Moreover, they are also interested in being part of mobility policies in general, since those affected them directly and reflect the vision the Municipality has for the city.

The influence of self-organized groups in the mobility policies and planning has been achieved after many negotiation process with the Municipality. Some of them born as initiatives of civil society while others from the local government. In addition, both actors have developed cooperative links for implementing projects and consultancy jobs in particular with the NGOs and other professionals. However, the tension between the actors is evident when negotiating projects or policies because of the different logics they have. While local government look for political legitimacy, political revenues and problem-solving, self-organized groups want to

reshape urban development envisioning a new model of city based on the bike and exercising their rights.

Self-organized groups not only look for influencing the decision-making process of the municipality. They also participate in urban shaping by using the bike every day and by implementing activities oriented to encourage changes in people's behavior. Those activities support Municipality policies since it creates demand for alternative mobility solutions, positions urban cycling, and builds favorable opinion from the bottom. As a result, policies and planning are not enough for promoting urban cycling, therefore, the role of civil society must be recognized beyond the decision-making process to behavior-change processes. This means not everything must be done by the Municipality because as Moulaert (2010) said, grass-root initiatives are essential for social change because they can mobilize more people than institutionalized programs. As a result, self-organized groups claim local government must recognize civil society also has a role that should not be coopted by the institution (Boonstra & Boelens 2011; Attah 2012).

5.1.4. Alternative Mobility Policies and Planning: Impacts and Contributions

Self-organized initiatives have led to a change in the mobility policy approach by introducing the concept of sustainable mobility on the basis of alternative mobility modes. Civil society has influenced mobility policies and planning for more than 10 years, but its incidence has increased in the last years. The impacts of their work are evident in some physical interventions like bikeways and the bikesharing system "BiciQ. Moreover, some behavior-oriented projects like the Ciclopaseo and bike schools are implemented to "put cyclists in the streets". In addition, the impacts of their influence are also visible on changes on the legal framework, with the inclusion of specific articles regarding urban cycling and cyclists' rights, on the national and local laws. Besides, this topic is on the public agenda and in the policies instruments, in particular in the Mobility Master Plan 2009-2025.

Self-organized groups contribute to alternative mobility policies by creating awareness, making cyclists visible, sharing knowledge, with their experiences, and by mobilizing people. Besides, since self-organization emerged where the problems take place, their everyday experience as urban cyclists made them "street-level experts" because they know the better routes, the problems, the conflictive and unsafety areas (Wagennar, 2007). The emphasis is on including an empirical-based perspective, that is something missing in public servants who have the technical expertise but are not cyclists (Boonstra, 2012).

5.1.5. In summary

Urban cycling implies more than an alternative mobility approach based on a more efficient, environmental friendly and inclusionary commuting. It also reflects the wish and demands of a different model of city grounded in the use of public spaces with cycling as an ownership mechanism. Although the bicycle is not the only answer to solve mobility problems it is one of the solutions because it combines economic, environmental and societal goals. In the case of Quito, the inclusion of alternative mobility visions as an option to solve mobility challenges, was encouraged by citizens.

Self-organized groups aggregate political demands of people with concerns about the development model of the city and proactive citizens. Moreover, the initiatives born around the

use of the bicycle have helped to mobilize institutional support to citizens' initiatives and include citizens in policy-making. It also has empowered civil society by understanding their right to the city is something they exercise every day, and local government is there for them. In fact, according to one of the interviewees, "citizens have the right and the obligation to permeate public decisions based on collective interests" (Montalvo, 2014). Their participation is a structuring element of policies and planning because is grounded on people's needs (Boonstra, 2012).

5.2. Lessons learned and recommendations

The emergence of self-organization promoting urban cycling is part of Latina America's contemporary development. According to the interviewees, countries like Chile and Mexico are the pioneering as well as Ecuador which case was introduced in this thesis. The research done about groups that promote urban cycling in Quito is recent. However, this phenomena has been analyzed from the urban social movements and the urban cultures perspective, and on the context of mobility management. The emphasis of these works were on how did the groups originated and how do they built their identity and activities. Therefore, the relevance of this thesis relies on the fact it adds information about how the relationship between self-organized groups and the government had led to changes in the mobility policies and planning and which are those changes. Moreover, the emphasis over the policy-making processes and the strategies used to positioning the bicycle as an alternative mode of transport, express the relevance of the role of civil society in shaping urban development.

5.2.1. Suggestion for further research

Further research regarding the impacts of the activities done by self-organized groups to change people commuting behavior is suggested in order to gain insights about their relationship with the potential users of the bike. In addition, analyzing the relationships between urban cyclists and other modes of transport and actors of the mobility system, like the private vehicles owners and public transport users, is suggested to generate an integral view of policies oriented to favor non-motorized transport and mobility in general. Besides, alternative mobility must be understood integrated to the mobility system in order to offer efficient solution to commuting demands. Therefore, additional research on how to promote intermodality of transportation modes by including the bicycle will be useful for a broader understanding of the scope of the bike as a solution to mobility problems.

5.2.2. Lessons learned

On the basis of the research, some lessons can be learnt to improve civil society participation in the definition and application of policies and planning and to strengthen the role of local government role as facilitator of citizens' initiatives.

Self-organized groups' participation should not be attached to specific projects or conjectures. Therefore, it is necessary to have permanent participatory spaces. The meetings according to the respondents' suggestions, should be planned and called in advance with a specific agenda build together by the organizations and the local government. Those spaces, should be based on some basic agreements between the actors involved in mobility issues (not only urban cyclists). In operational terms, the non-motorized unit from the Mobility Secretariat should be reinforced in human resources in order to being able of sustain permanent dialogue spaces with

the community. In addition, the law establish some participatory mechanisms like the “empty chair” as well as oversighting and accountability processes which should be implemented.

Moreover, it is required to implement innovative spaces for participation, meaning going beyond the figure of assemblies, workshops, and including ICTs. In addition, a two-ways participation should be implemented, meaning the groups do not have always to be waiting for the Municipality to call them to talk, but they should have direct access to request meetings and discussion spaces. As Boonstra (2012) said, people can initiate participation processes, not only the government. Further, citizens access to local government, does not only involve the Mobility Secretariat, but also the Mobility Commission formed by counselors, and the Mobility and Public Works Metropolitan Enterprise.

Socialization processes should be redesigned since sometimes those spaces are reduced to share information and not making decisions. Therefore, the participation should be understood beyond a formal requirement for projects approval. As a result, self-organized groups should be involved since the beginning of the projects. Moreover, other actors, in particular the ones affected by projects, in the policy-making and planning processes.

Conducting communication campaigns oriented to highlighting the benefits of the bike and its usefulness for the citizens is fundamental to create awareness and encourage people to use it. However, this should be a sustained and long term job designed with the self-organized groups that are closer to people and integrated to their activities. Moreover, since some conflicts with the pedestrians have come up after the implementation of cycling tracks on the sidewalks, it is necessary to strengthen actions oriented to promote road coexistence and diffuse recommendations for urban cycling, as well as improve the technical analysis for the implementation of bikeways.

The need for building consensus beyond the particular positions of the groups is also a key element to increase their influence. Self-organizations need to join forces and look for some mechanisms of shared representativeness in order to facilitate their relationship with the Municipality. Moreover, it is important to understand the diversity of the groups as an advantage and not as a disadvantage since each organization can contribute in different ways. In addition, the groups can invest in technical training in order to be able to present and discuss also other kind of proposals integrating their experience.

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Annex 1: Interview Guide for the Self-Organized Groups

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon, thank you for your time for this interview. My name is Elisa Puga and I am conducting research for my master thesis in urban management and development, regarding the role of civil society groups in the definition and application of alternative mobility policies and planning. The objective is to understand how these groups are influencing the decision-making process regarding mobility and which are their demands and strategies to do so.

It is important to mention the information collected in this interview will be used exclusively for academic purposes. The interview will last one hour and with your permission it will be recorded in order to be able to analyze the information later.

About the interviewee

1. Could you please tell me a little bit about you?
 - 1.1. Which is your professional background?
 - 1.2. How many years have you been part of this organization?
 - 1.3. Which is your role in the organization?

About the organization

2. How did the organization originate?
 - 2.1. Which were the motivations?
 - 2.2. Which problems did you identify?
 - 2.3. Where there events that triggered the creation of the organization or initiatives?
3. Which are the objectives of the organization?
 - 3.1. Which are the demands and goals?
4. How does the organization work?
 - 4.1. Who are the members? Founding members
 - 4.2. Can anyone can be a member? Is there a formal membership process?
 - 4.3. How are the decisions made? (vertical, horizontal)
 - 4.4. How did you finance your work?
5. Is the organization part of an extended civil society network? How can you describe it?
 - 5.1. It is a local, national or international network?
 - 5.2. Can you name other organizations from the network?
 - 5.3. How is the relationship with others? How do you work together? Is there support?
 - 5.4. Is someone leading the network?

About promoting urban cycling

6. What is urban cycling for your organization? How do you define it?
 - 6.1. Which benefits do you believe urban cycling has?

7. How can you describe the situation of mobility in Quito and how urban cycling fits here?
8. Which strategies do you use to promote urban cycling? Activities, campaigns, projects.
 - 8.1. To which target groups are your actions oriented? Citizens (children, teenagers, young adults, adults, elderly, woman, working people), media, local government.
 - 8.2. Which is the area of intervention? A part of the city, the city, the country
 - 8.3. How do you manage the communication process? Which channels do you use?
 - 8.4. Describe the strategies oriented to citizens. How do they work?
 - 8.5. Describe the strategies to approach municipality and influence the decisions

About the policies and planning process

9. What do you know about the mobility master plan executed by the municipality
 - 9.1. What do you know about cycling on it?
 - 9.2. Were you part of the process for defining this plan? How?
 - 9.3. Which proposals did you present?
 - 9.4. Were these proposals included? Which ones?
10. How has been the relationship been with the Municipality?
 - 10.1. How and when the relationship with the municipality start?
 - 10.2. With which departments are you related to?
 - 10.3. Are you part of any formal participatory space created by the municipality?
 - 10.4. How does it work (how is the invitation, when, where, is it permanent)?
 - 10.5. Can you say participation is facilitated by municipality and how?
 - 10.6. How do you negotiate with them? Which kind of strategies do you use?
 - 10.7. Do you believe your demands and proposals are taken into account? Why?
 - 10.8. How do you collaborate with municipality? Do you have partnerships? Which?
11. If there are no formal participatory spaces how do you manage to communicate the municipality your demands?
12. Which do you think is the role of your organization in the policies and planning process?

About the policies and plans application process

13. Do you believe organizations like yours influence the success of policies and planning?
14. What outcomes resulted from their influence?
 - 14.1. Infrastructure implemented like bikeways and the public-shared cycling system.
 - 14.2. Changes on policies and the way the budget is spent.
 - 14.3. Citizens' support and organizations positioning.
 - 14.4. Urban cycling as a “trendy” topic, public agenda.

Information request

15. Is it possible to have access to documents and statistics related to the topic?
 - 15.1. About the relationship with the municipality
 - 15.2. Statistics about the amount of money invested in motorized transport versus non-motorized transport investment, number of users of bikes.

Annex 2: Interview Guide for Local Government Informants

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon, thank you for your time for this interview. My name is Elisa Puga and I am conducting research for my master thesis in urban management and development, regarding the role of self-organized groups in the definition and application of alternative mobility policies and planning. The objective is to understand how these groups are influencing the decision-making process regarding mobility and which are their demands and strategies to do so.

It is important to mention the information collected in this interview will be used exclusively for academic purposes. The interview will last one hour and with your permission it will be recorded in order to be able to analyze the information later.

About the interviewee

1. Could you please tell me a little bit about you?
 - 1.1. Which is your professional background?
 - 1.2. How many years have you been part of this organization?
 - 1.3. Which is your role in the organization?

About the organization

2. Which is the vision of your institution for managing Quito's mobility problems?
 - 2.1. Is urban cycling part of this vision?
 - 2.2. How is this understood?

Policies and planning process

3. How does the Municipality include social participation for the policies and planning process?
 - 3.1. Are there some formal spaces? Which ones?
 - 3.2. How do they work? Period of time, place, who is leading.
 - 3.3. Who has access to these spaces? How? Stakeholders.
4. Have you heard about self-organized groups like Ciclopólis, Biciacción, Carishina en Bici, Andando en Bici Carajo?
 - 4.1. What do you know about them?
 - 4.2. Have you worked with them?
 - 4.3. How has the relationship been?
5. Were they part of the process for elaborating the mobility master plan?
 - 5.1. When did it start?
 - 5.2. How did they collaborate?
 - 5.3. Which kind of proposal were presented by self-organized groups?
 - 5.4. Were these included? How?
6. How does urban cycling fit on the mobility master plan?

Urban cycling

7. Which strategies are used by the municipality to promote urban cycling?
 - 7.1. Infrastructure interventions
 - 7.2. Behavior oriented interventions
8. Are self-organized groups involved in these strategies? How?
 - 8.1. Do you have partnerships with self-organized groups?
9. Which changes in the last years do you identify regarding the use of bicycle as a transport mean?
10. What has been done to promote urban cycling and implementing cycling facilities?
11. Do you believe self-organized groups have influenced mobility policies and planning? How? Which has been their role?

Information request

12. Is it possible to have access to the reports of the participatory meetings and the agreements executed during those meetings?
13. Regarding statistical data can you provide this information?
 - 13.1. How much money resources have you spent on cycling initiatives?
 - 13.2. Cycling tracks km built per year.
 - 13.3. Cycling parking spots in the city.
 - 13.4. Number of bikes and users of the public-share bicycle system and its length.
 - 13.5. The percentage of bicycle users compared to users of other modes (mode split).