Inclusive urban mobility: participation, rights and decision-making in transport planning

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Inclusive urban mobility: participation, rights and decision-making in transport planning

Summary

The aim of this research is to combine theories of public participation and rights-based approaches to governance with discourses on social exclusion and transport disadvantage explored through a case study of a planned mass public transport system in a city adopting a rights-based approach to participatory governance. It does so by using a mixed-method case study approach, utilising qualitative research methods.

Quito in Ecuador provided the natural choice for the case study given its rights-based approach to participatory governance determined through the Constitution of 2008 and the Law of Citizen Participation (2010), and shortly after receiving the devolved responsibility for urban planning and transport, the city government took the decision to install a metro line in the city centre.

The research addressed three research questions. First, it examined the extent to which transport related social exclusion is intensified by existing practices of transport planning and operation. Second, it looked at the potential benefit of a rights-based approach to participatory governance. Third, it examined how a conceptualised understanding of transport-related social exclusion was able to describe the phenomenon as it exists in Quito, and through a framework devised from the literature to evaluate participatory activities, it considered both the activities of the city government in engaging the public, alongside the response received from citizens and civil society organisations. The research concluded that a rights-based approaches to participation in decision-making can address transport-related social exclusion and mobility challenges. Although Quito’s metro project fell into the ‘prepare-reveal-defend’ model of decision making, there were genuine attempts by the city government to initiate participation. Some initiatives took place after the decision was made, and others were overly complex i.e. the formulaic process of the ‘Offering of Accounts’. The research also determined that cultural change is required for residents to embrace a new open government, and that civil society organisations have a key role to play on fostering better participatory processes, and ultimately decision-making.
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Inclusive urban mobility: participation, rights and decision-making in transport planning

Chapter 1: Introduction

As cities in developing countries rapidly urbanise, existing transport systems fail to keep up with the growing population both in terms of the numbers of people but also the spatial expansion of the city exceeds the limits of the transport system. People and communities find it difficult to travel to the parts of the city that they need to in order to find work, education opportunities or meet up with networks. Without this access to education, jobs, healthcare, people and communities can face the risk of social exclusion, where the lack of inclusion in society hinders their quality of life, be that social, economic or environmental. For low-income communities, there can be negative consequences of new transport systems, particularly where systems are being retrofitted into rapidly expanding cities. In many situations, competition for land creates disbenefits for the urban poor; new infrastructure often involves relocation of low-income communities from sought after inner-city locations (Harvey, 2008), while pricing structure, routes and timetabling can be disproportionately exclusionary (CEPAL, 2004). The ability to move, ‘mobility’, is therefore key to any solution. Transport systems must evolve quickly as essential elements of development (Hilling 1996) allowing ‘citizens to access resources, goods and services and to participate in everyday activities’ (Levitas et al 2007).

Governments and public bodies of many urbanising cities are investing in public transport systems, for example, bus, light rail or metro systems in order to provide citizens with a solution to reduced mobility. These new public transport
systems constitute an important step towards resolving the problems of urban expansion and helping alleviate the disconnected nature of sprawl (Banick, 2010). Equipped with stations, exclusive lanes, and prepaid fare collection, bus rapid transport and metro systems can be more efficient than the loosely regulated private bus-based systems typical of most developing countries.

But how are transport systems designed and implemented? In a world where transport-related social exclusion exists and limited access to services and facilities within a city will limit a person’s life choice, how do governments take into account the need to improve access for their citizens in their decision making process. Current orthodox planning processes exclude certain societal groups, for example, poorer citizens (Solt, 2008), women (Verba et al 1997) and young people (Loader, 2007) who are less likely to engage in democratic politics. Reasons are many but include a feeling of government unresponsiveness, a disinterest in the issues raised and an inability to counter the political influence of higher income groups. Questions discussed in this thesis relate to how neoliberal concepts of public participation and rights-based approached to governance can impact on decisions on transport infrastructure investment?

1.1 Research aims

The aim of this research is to combine theories of public participation and rights-based approaches to governance with discourses on social exclusion and transport disadvantage explored through a case study of a planned mass public
transport system in a city adopting a rights-based approach to participatory governance.

The research focuses on the design and operation of mass transport systems in a developing country context to analyse the role of transport systems in addressing the needs of residents experiencing social exclusion. Rights-based approaches to participation in the public sphere have not yet been studied in the context of transport and mobility. This thesis therefore contributes to a collective understanding of the efficacy of rights-based approaches to public decision-making.

The title of this thesis is ‘Inclusive Urban Mobility: participation, rights and decision-making in transport planning’. Mobility is concerned with people’s ability to move and is shaped by two aspects, those relating to the individual (for example a person’s available time and money, or their levels of physical ability) and those relating to the extent and nature of the transport system (Hutton 2013). For reasons that will be explained in the literature review chapters, this thesis is mainly concerned with the collective impacts and the systemic response to mobility issues.

The research questions to be addressed in this research are as follows;

1. To what extent is social exclusion, particularly transport-related social exclusion, intensified by current approaches to providing mass transport systems in developing country cities?

2. What are rights-based approaches to participatory governance; and through what processes and mechanisms could they be applied to address mobility challenges?
3. Through a case study of Quito, a city adopting a rights-based approach to development, and with a planned mass public transport system:
   a. How can the understanding of transport-related social exclusion in developing country cities be advanced;
   b. To what extent can a rights-based approach to participatory governance influence the planning and operation of mass transport systems through strengthening participation, and
   c. To what extent can citizen-led debates embed rights-based approaches into participatory governance?

1.2 Thesis structure

The literature review begins by examining the phenomena of transport disadvantage; the point at which a lack of transport options limits a person’s ability to travel. The review then links the discourse of limited mobility with social exclusion, a wider concept focussed at both an individual and collective level. It examines the risk of social exclusion felt by particular social groups who share some personal characteristics (such as women, the elderly, those on low-incomes or people living in the same neighbourhood), and argues that transport-related social exclusion is an under-researched phenomenon, particularly in the context of a developing country. The first chapter of the literature review (Chapter 2) ends with a re-conceptualisation of transport-related social exclusion that is then tested in the research.

Chapter 3, the second part of the Literature Review discusses the policy approach that might be used to address the challenge of transport-related social exclusion as a collective issue impeding the social and economic
development of people, neighbourhoods and cities. It considers the current approach to transport planning based on demand and asks how an approach based on need may be shaped. Using examples of rights-based approaches from other sectors of public policy, it considers how a rights-based approach to decision-making on transport planning may operate.

Chapter 4 details the research design and justifies an inductive, case-study method. Using a case study with a rights-based approach to participation in public policy and an active mass public transport infrastructure project underway, this chapter details how a range of qualitative methods are used to triangulate the data.

Chapter 5 describes the case study city of Quito in Ecuador and its socio-political geography and its current transport system along with the mobility challenges faced, alongside analysis of the decision-making process for the metro project. Details of the Constitutional right to participate in public decisions and hold those in public office to account are examined.

Chapters 6 is the first of the three analytical chapters where data from the field work is analysed against the research questions. This chapter tests the model of transport-related social exclusion developed through the literature review in relation to people’s views of existing transport provision in Quito to advance an understanding of the issue in developing country cities.

Chapters 7 and 8 move on from this understanding of transport-related social exclusion to examine the rights-based approach to decision-making in Quito. Chapter 7 assesses the approach to consultation adopted by the government for the Quito Metro project against government objectives as described in the
Constitutional requirements, the law on Citizen Participation, and accepted good practice on consultation, in order to understand the extent to which a rights-based approach to governance can strengthen participation and influence decisions. Chapter 8 examines the effectiveness of citizen participation in the planning of the Quito Metro, and looks at grassroots processes for embedding a rights-based culture into city governance in order to understand the extent to which citizen-led debates can embed rights-based approaches to governance.

Chapter 9 is the final chapter bringing all the elements of research together into a cohesive discussion. It is the Chapter in which the research questions are addressed, and the implications of this research in adding to knowledge is explained.
Inclusive urban mobility: participation, rights and decision-making on transport infrastructure projects

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Transport disadvantage and Social exclusion.

2.1 Introduction to this chapter

This chapter examines the characteristics and consequences of transport disadvantage that can be found in many cities and explores the link between transport disadvantage and the broader issue of social exclusion. In response to the research questions, the chapter focuses on the problems and characteristics of mobility issues that could be addressed through transport system planning, governance, design and operation.

The literature review demonstrates that until recently transport disadvantage in the developing world has been an under-researched field of urban study (see Section 2.4). Recognition of this lack of research starts to shape the gap which this thesis addresses.

Therefore, this chapter focusses on the first research question posed in this research;

*To what extent is social exclusion, particularly transport-related social exclusion, intensified by current approaches to providing mass public transport systems in developing country cities?*

This chapter identifies the first research gap; much of the research to date has been focused on developed nations which, although there are some similarities, presented a challenge to this thesis with a case study from a developing
The specific challenge is that there are different mobility trends between the two situations, for example an over-reliance on the private car in developed nations as opposed to a predominance of public transport in developing nations. In addition, there are differing responses to the challenges with varying degrees of state involvement. For example, some city governments will invest in large public transport infrastructure while others will allow the market to find a solution.

After a discussion of transport disadvantage and transport-related social exclusion, two conceptualisations of transport-related social exclusion are critiqued, which begins to develop a framework through which transport planning decisions can be assessed.

2.2 **Mobility is unequal and leads to Transport Disadvantage**

The word ‘mobility’ is used in the literature in two different ways; firstly, to generally talk about movement, transport and mobility, and in these instances is used interchangeably with accessibility as a way of referring to the act of moving about. The other meaning of mobility specifically relates to a person’s ability to move, which is the meaning adopted in this thesis. People living within cities have unequal access to transport options; some have cars or bicycles, other do not have access to their own transport but live close to efficient public transport systems, while for others, walking remains the most everyday transport mode, because of where they live in relation to bus or train services, or the prohibitive cost.
The need to move can be seen as having the ‘purpose of bridging spatial gaps’ in distance, time and cost (White and Senior 1983; Cresswell and Merriman 2011, p.207). Reduced mobility can deny people the equality of opportunity to the activities of a city (Hine and Mitchell 2001). Miralles suggests that inequality of mobility represents a new form of social inequality (‘una nueva fuente de desigualdad’) (Miralles 2002 cited in Cebollada and Avellaneda 2008). Thus people with a greater capacity to choose transport modes will move more easily than those constrained by opportunity or choice, and will have more access to urban activities and opportunities (ibid). In contrast, people who because of their individual conditions have mobility restrictions will have more difficulties realising daily activities, which in many cases, will constrain their rights of a citizen.

**Transport systems** are ‘the means by which people and goods can be moved from the place where they are at the moment to another place where they will be at a greater advantage; goods can be sold at a higher price, people can get a better job, or live in the sort of house they prefer’ (Cresswell and Merriman 2011, p3).

**Mobility** is both a function of the person (for example, their age, physical and mental abilities) and the transport system itself (for example, the roads, the buses, the metro stations). Hutton defines mobility as a function of the personal characteristics of the individual and the extent and nature of a city’s transport system (see Hutton 2013). The predominant social benefit of transport systems is the role they play in increasing mobility and enabling access to a wide range of opportunities and activities (Kenyon et al. 2003; Lucas 2004). Martens (2006,
p.7) agrees stating that ‘access to efficient motorised transport systems is of 
key importance to fulfil the tasks that are expected from every ordinary citizen in 
contemporary society, such as work, study, or child care’.

‘Transport disadvantage’ is a term used by many scholars (e.g. Stanley et al. 
2010, Lucas 2012 and Attoh 2012), to define the point where lack of transport 
options limits a person’s ability to travel (their ‘mobility’). The concept is 
explored further in Sections 2.3 and 2.4.

Although urban residents in general have a range of transport opportunities 
compared to rural residents, there is much inequality between individuals 
(Cebollada and Avellaneda 2008). Personal factors, such as income level, age, 
gender and mental or physical capabilities determine the level of access and 
competence with which a person uses the various transport modes. 
Alternatively, inequality could stem from the design and operation of the 
transport system itself. This research examines how the design of a new 
transport system can hinder or improve such inequality.

One of the most acute, and most studied, consequences of poor access to 
transport is access to jobs and other facilities on offer in the city. Research has 
found that people without access to private transport are more likely to be 
limited in terms of access to employment and services, particularly as public 
transport becomes increasingly deregulated with an associated tendency to 
focus on high volume lucrative routes rather than parts of the city where there is 
a greater social need (Lucas 2009; Lucas and Currie 2012; MacKinnon and 
Shaw 2008). Blumenberg and Manville’s review of case studies in the United 
States suggests that those with access to private transport can travel the route
from home to work more easily than public transport users, even when their journey distance is longer. Their review also suggests that workers who rely on public transport can reach far fewer jobs than those who travel by car (Blumenberg and Manville 2004, p.188). However, many cities in developing countries have low car ownership rates in relation to developed countries.

Power’s study of slum-clearance projects in Britain and Europe found that the current patterns of dispersal and low density building encouraged the segregation of communities which disproportionately disadvantaged those without access to private transport (2012). Work on the social determinants of health include transport as one of the ten possible causal factors of poor health (Marmot, 2005). Generally, there is an agreement that disadvantaged individuals suffer the results of unequal mobility and tend to share unevenly higher costs and lower benefits (Pyrialakou et al. 2016)

In relation to factors of the individual, two main elements are commonly found in the literature, cost and time. An individual’s income in relation to the cost of transport will determine levels of access to different modes of transport. Transport surveys in the UK and the US over the past 30 years have consistently shown that it is the poorest within society who experience transport disadvantage. Household expenditure can pose the greatest burden on low-income families, who may spend nearly 40 per cent of their net income on transportation (with 10 per cent alone spent on the commute to work) (Social Exclusion Unit 2003). Dibben’s research in the UK shows that bus users ‘tend to be on a lower income’ than users of other modes (Dibben 2006, p.658).
A fear for personal safety is also an important limiting factor in relation to transport access, particularly for women (UN-Habitat 2013). Public transport systems can be the venues for verbal or physical assault, and as such the risk of suffering an attack can prevent some user groups from confidently using the system. Low or inaccurate perceptions of safety and the absence of a willingness to travel can also be a barrier to mobility; the SEU report from the UK suggested that ‘people on low incomes were found to be less willing to travel to access work than those on higher incomes’ (2003).

Travel time is a critical factor for travel decisions and research, again from the United States, showed the impact of not owning a private vehicle on employment opportunities. Using census data on welfare recipients and geographic data on job opportunities Bania et al. (1999), calculated that an unemployed city dweller could reach 12.8 per cent of job opportunities with a twenty-minute car commute, compared with less than 2 per cent of job opportunities for a 20-minute public transport commute\(^1\). The difference becomes even starker when the commute is increased to 30 minutes, with car drivers being able to access 40 per cent of job opportunities, as opposed to just 7 per cent for those reliant on public transport. Using similar data on welfare recipients in California, Cervero et al. (2002) similarly showed how car ownership significantly increases access to the labour market, and that people without jobs and reliant on public transport are less likely to gain employment. These findings, although estimated using models, highlight the problems faced by those without access to fast, efficient forms of transport. Being able to reach

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\(^1\) The definition of a job opportunity for this study took into account both the eligibility of welfare recipients to the job openings and their likely locations based on the locations of known industries.
places of work is clearly not the only activity that a person needs to do, but from these findings it is possible to extrapolate that the same individuals are likely to have difficulties reaching other destinations.

However, transport disadvantage does not simply equate to not owning a car and there is a body of literature on transport disadvantage as it relates to public transport, including problematic issues of frequency, cost, proximity and quality of services. Proximity to services is a major consideration; even though a journey’s origin and destination may not be far away, if neither location is connected by reliable or viable public transport, without a car, they are very difficult to reach (Foth et al. 2013). Factors such as the geographic location of bus stops and service frequency can also have a profound effect on life choices for those who rely on public transport (ibid).

2.3 Transport Disadvantage in Developed Countries

In the UK and the US, most research into transport disadvantage began as a response to reducing the welfare burden. Hodgson and Turner (2003 p268) criticised this economic focus on the grounds that the ‘discussion tends to equate social inclusion with integration into the job market or more widely an integration into a consumerist society of being able to purchase goods and services’. They argued that much of the focus of funding support from the UK Government’s Department for Transport had been limited to getting people into jobs, citing the example of the Urban Bus Challenge Fund, which encourages bidders to ‘consider the role new bus services can play in widening access to employment opportunities for people in urban areas, including linking disadvantaged communities to areas of employment growth’ (DfT, 2002 in
Hodgson & Turner 2003 p268). Hodgson and Turner argued that this focus on access to employment opportunities was only one dimension of social exclusion and excludes the important point of dealing with the ‘lock-out’ from decision-making processes (ibid). Therefore, there is a clear justification for this thesis looking at how better decisions could affect the socially excluded.

In the UK, Lucas argues that access to transport has a role in both creating and alleviating the ‘structural unemployment, ill-health, high crime rates and poor social integration’ that many of our towns and cities face (Lucas 2004, p1). Her work on developed nations has looked at car access and ownership, and the difficulties of households without car access in carrying out basic daily activities, both through a lack of alternative transport, or lack of affordable transport (relative to their income). Lucas was an advisor on a UK Government report which ‘helped to identify the inter-relationships between transport disadvantage and key areas of social policy concern’ (Lucas 2012 p105), which found that:

- Two out of five job seekers say that a lack of transport is a barrier to getting a job, (possessing a driver’s licence doubles the chance of securing a post)
- Nearly half of 16-18 year old students find their transport costs hard to meet
- Over a 12-month period, 1.4 million people missed, turned down or chose not to seek medical help because of transport problems
- 16 per cent of people without cars find access to supermarkets difficult, compared with 6 per cent of people with cars.
• 18 per cent of non-car owners find seeing friends and family difficult because of transport problems, compared with 8 per cent of people with access to a car.

• Children from households in the lowest socio-economic group are five times more likely to die in road accidents than those from the highest (SEU, 2003 p9).

Similar issues exist in Australia but tend to be located in suburban and rural areas, where distance is a major barrier to economic and social inclusion and not everyone has a car or can drive despite high levels of car ownership (Currie et al. 2009). Young people (Johnson et al. 2011), low-income households (Hurni, 2006) and aboriginal populations (Altman and Hinkson 2007) are known to experience difficulties in accessing work, education, shops and leisure and cultural activities. Driving cessation is a major concern for older Australians, particularly those living outside of city centres, since economic and social life tends to revolve around the car and cessation has been associated with a decline in travel and social activity in later life (Browning and Sims, 2007).

In the US, groups such as low-income communities, women and the elderly are affected by transport disadvantage, as well as specific ethnic groups. Clifton and Lucas (2004) found that African Americans are less likely to own and drive a car than their white counterparts, with 20 per cent of all African American households not having access to a car. The same is true for other ethnicities e.g.: American Indians, Hispanics, Pacific Islander, Asian and people of mixed race (Clifton and Lucas, 2004).
In the Canadian context, Paez et al. (2009) analysed Household Travel Surveys from Toronto and Montreal and showed that lower income households, particularly the elderly and those with disabilities, travel considerably less and over shorter distances and have less access to key services than the average Canadian population.

Gender is of course an important factor in mobility and relatively well-studied in the literature. For example, Cresswell and Uteng (2016) argue that gender is spatially produced with men and women moving at different speeds and to different places for different purposes, and note that, generally, more women than men use public transport; a fact that they say has escaped transport planners. Greed talks of how time-poor women are, mainly driven by the social norm of taking the children to school before getting to work themselves, while the male ‘bread winners’ simply drive to work and cannot be blamed for ‘cluttering up the roads’ (Greed 2015, p4). Taking this one stage further, Dobbs describes women, in her empirical study in the North East of England, as being ‘stuck in the slow lane’ with a lack of mobility confining them to family life and household chores or to part-time, low paid work on the margins of the labour market. She recognises an urgent need to improve the mobility choices for women in order to enhance their access to the labour market (Dobbs, 2007 p. 85).

These studies show that certain groups are more likely to be affected by poor transport options than others, such as young people, jobseekers, those without cars, low-income households, older populations and those living in rural areas.
2.4 Transport Disadvantage in Developing Countries

The limited literature on developing countries has also highlighted the transport inequalities that exist (Stanley and Lucas 2008, p37). This section explores research on mobility and transport disadvantage in a developing country context.

Although increasing car use is being observed (e.g. Low and O’Connor 2013) in many developing country cities there is still a high reliance on walking, for example almost two-thirds of the poor walk to work in Mumbai (Baker et al. 2005 in Baker 2008). A substantial number of people also rely on public transport, although fares can be high for those on low incomes. Conversely, low fares can lead to overcrowding and safety concerns, particularly for women.

The 2003 South African National Household Travel Survey found that the majority of poorer households also experience extremely poor access to private vehicles and public transport services. On average, only 26 per cent of the lowest income quintile households had access to a car, more than 75 per cent had no access to a train station and nearly 40 per cent did not have access to a bus service. Whilst the majority of the white population (83 per cent) hold a driving licence, only 10 per cent of the black population, and 21 per cent of coloureds (coloured is still an official racial classification within South Africa) and just over half of the Asian population (56 per cent) have a licence (Republic of South Africa National Household Travel Survey 2005 in Lucas 2011). As a result, the majority of black South Africans state difficulties, including cost, availability, waiting time and safety concerns, when trying to access work, education, healthcare, and social welfare assistance, or visit family members.
This study demonstrates that for many people transport is a basic need, but a frustrating one, in that often the cost of transport can mean that the majority of wages are spent on transport costs, driving the perception that they are ‘working for the transport’ (Lucas 2011, p1331).

Generally, mobility is severely constrained in sub-Saharan Africa due to a lack of transport infrastructure and some African studies focusing on rural transport issues have shown the inequality between male and female travellers. Village transport surveys in Ghana, Tanzania, and Zambia show that women spend nearly three times as long in transport activities compared with men (Malmberg-Calvo 1994 in Blackden and Wodon 2006). When considering the impact of income on mobility, Bryceson finds that the urban poor are disadvantaged in terms of frequency of travel, distance travelled, speed and cost compared to other socio-economic brackets because of their reliance on walking over other forms of transport (Bryceson et al. 2003).

More recently, research has been published relating to challenged mobilities in a Latin American context, particularly within a special edition of the Journal of Transport Geography in 2018. In that volume, Hernandez (2018) examined mobility in Montevideo, Uruguay and found it to be highly unequal, especially for jobs and education which are two crucial opportunities linked to individual wellbeing and social structure. He split the city into study areas corresponding to traffic zones, calculated the socioeconomic status for each area and then used proxies to assess the level of opportunities available in each city segment available within 29 minute journey on public transport. He notes that despite Montevideo’s almost universal coverage of public transport provision, peripheral
city segments where the most vulnerable citizens reside had the worst access to opportunities. This idea of urban form and peripherality is further discussed in section 2.7. Hernandez (2015) has also recently presented evidence of the impact of travel time on a family’s decision to access services for the children, for example health check-ups or prenatal care. In that study, he found that the poorer households had the highest travel times and often women had to travel whilst heavily pregnant or with a young child in tow, and that there was evidence of families choosing to visit a nearer service despite a poorer quality service and higher waiting times.

Similarly, Verlinghieri and Venturini (2018) found in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil ‘differential mobilities patterns in the city determine sharp differences across social groups’ (p. 128) and low income groups rely on walking, biking and buses, and in a city where the transport system is mainly designed for cars, they find it difficult to access cars. Commuting by private car takes an average of 34 minutes as opposed to 55 minutes for users of public transport.

From these studies, similar to those in developed countries, it can be seen that transport disadvantage affects certain social groups much more significantly than others.

2.5 Broader Consequences of Transport Disadvantage

A further important gap in much of the ‘transport disadvantage’ literature is consideration of any collective impacts of transport disadvantage. As Hine notes, poor transport services can compound the problem of living on a low income, particularly in peripheral locations (2003). Transport disadvantage at
an individual level can accumulate to affect whole communities or social groups, for example communities which are linked spatially because they live in the same neighbourhoods poorly served by bus routes, or particular strata of society, most obviously those who do not own a car, but also young people and women. Links can thus be made between individual transport disadvantage and a collective impact across neighbourhoods and communities.

This collective impact is important and has a greater resonance with urban management than the individual factors. It is here that this discussion moves beyond traditional transport studies and begins to resonate with the broader concept of mobilities. Urry (2007) talks of ‘network capital’ as the existence of networks through which people support each other upon which society is able to operate and function well. The ability to move, both in terms of an individual’s mobility and a collective mobility, is fundamental. He argues that this network capital is distributed unevenly across traditional social strata leading to variable opportunities to access goods, services, social networks and life chances, which results in the social exclusion of both individuals and whole communities (Urry 2007).

The area of most relevance to this thesis relates to structural factors affecting mobility, in particular how investment decisions are made, the options in terms of transport infrastructure, and importantly who is involved in those decisions, which is crucial in contexts of high levels of poverty and exclusion. As Coutras recognises, the transport policies applied in each city become important tools for integration and social cohesion, or conversely a powerful means of exclusion (Coutras 1993 in Cebollada and Avellaneda 2008).
Therefore, a lack of transport provision exacerbates the inequalities that are already evident among disadvantaged groups, including women, the elderly, people with disabilities and those on low-incomes, further reducing their life chances and in, extreme circumstances, may lead to social alienation, disengagement and undermine social cohesion (Clifton and Lucas 2004).

**Structural issues**

Structural factors affecting mobility are numerous and include;

- the availability, quality and physical accessibility of transport;
- the cost of transport;
- services located in inaccessible places;
- safety and security, traffic safety, fear of crime (SEU, 2003)

Safety and security appears as both an individual and structural issue recognising that, whether buildings and vehicles are actually locations for crime, there is also the perception of crime which a personal rather than a structural issue. Other factors such as the provision of toilets and baby changing facilities for mothers with young children have been highlighted by other authors (UN-Habitat 2013).

A UN-Habitat report on Urban Mobility agreed with many of these factors but added the constraint of city planning (UN-Habitat 2013, p.110) and the dimensions of politics and governance. Whether public transport systems are run entirely by government agencies or by the private sector will affect how they are planned and operated, as well as the political priority given to transport management and regulation. However, users will seldom distinguish between
whether the transport services are provided by a public body or a private business, and will concern themselves with what services are available to them. Most of the debate in the literature on structural barriers to mobility assumes a rather benign and neutral approach to transport provision which is unlikely to be the case in all national contexts and omits a discussion of governance of public transport, including the notion of party-political influence or politicians’ say in the decision-making process, plus the effect of privatisation of transport services, and the extent and operation of transport regulation. A critique of current decision-making practices is provided in Chapter 3.

Therefore, analysis of the literature suggests that the following structural factors are crucial to reduce transport disadvantage:

- Transport facilities, their location, routing and cost of services;
- Availability of services in relation to users, particularly low-income users;
- Socio-economic characteristics of the communities served
- Politics, governance and city planning, and the extent to which urban growth patterns can be effectively served by public transport.

In summary, this section has described factors that can limit a person’s mobility and introduced the term ‘transport disadvantage’ which some scholars use to describe a situation where an individual’s daily choices are affected by the transport options available to them. Cost and income are important factors, as are the availability and frequency of transport services nearby to either their origin or their destination. This section has also examined the collective consequences of transport disadvantage for a city as a whole, a group of
people, or a neighbourhood. This collective element is the focus of this thesis; the characteristics of the transport system that cause transport disadvantage, including a consideration of the political and governance arrangements that influence and control the planning and operation of transport systems.

**Economic impacts**

As well as the social impacts which are the focus of this thesis, one of the characteristics of transport disadvantage is the wider implications on the economy. Although not the main focus of the debates presented here, the following paragraphs provide further justification for the need to address social exclusion in transport systems provision.

As explained above, transport disadvantage is defined as the point at which a lack of transport options limits a person’s ability to travel. As a phenomenon, it arises from differences in the status, wealth, and geographical distribution of people and activities (Urry 2007). This inequality of transport opportunities is not a particularly new theme in the literature (Lucas 2012). By 1973, physical mobility was identified as a major contributor of social and economic inequality (Wachs and Kumagai 1973) and in the UK in the early 1980s, Banister and Hall asserted that ‘transport clearly had an important role to play in determining social outcomes for different sectors of modern society in terms of both the absence of adequate transport services and the impact of the transport system on individuals and communities’ (Banister and Hall 1981 in Lucas 2012, p.106). Thus the concept of transport disadvantage includes a link between the ability to move (i.e. the absence of a disadvantage) and the achievement of social
outcomes, and extends the debate from the level of the individual to apply to communities, neighbourhoods and social stratifications.

In a globalised economy, national, regional and international economies function on trade and travel, with a history of transport closely allied to urban development. White and Senior suggest that mobility of people and goods is a fundamental human activity and that transport has long been associated with economic growth (White and Senior 1983). Low and Connor agree stating that 'it is the mobility of goods in global supply chains that is the working face of globalisation' (2013, p.8). Both statements reinforce the links between transport and trade and the resulting economic impact of transport, although the political and capitalist systems found in many countries and may not be true in every context.

In many developing countries, basic transport infrastructure such as road and rail networks are an essential means of catalysing economic growth. More global economic development and activity has demanded many more transport links (Banister, 2011) and the quality of transport infrastructure has increasingly become an important factor in maintaining regional and national competitiveness as markets expand to operate on a more global level. However, at local scale, intra-city mobility also has a critical role to play in satisfying the consumption needs of local populations from food supply, to services and construction.

Foth et al. (2013, p.3) state that there is a need to ensure that all urban residents of working age can access jobs which ‘aids a regional economy and labour market’. As Blumenberg found in her 2002 study of barriers to
employment based on a California job readiness survey\(^2\), reliable transport leads to increased access to job opportunities, which results in higher earnings and increased employment stability (Blumenberg 2002). She argues that transport barriers are so limiting that any government-driven scheme to encourage welfare recipients to return to work would need to address transport factors. Although access to employment is not particularly a focus of this research, it explains why many studies on urban mobility focus on access to employment sites.

In addition to the common debate in the literature on transport's role in economic development and enabling the working population to access jobs (‘labour capital’), increasing labour force participation rates is important in urban economies as it can reduce the welfare burden (where such systems exist) and increase tax contributions. From a neoliberal perspective, Hidalgo and Huizenga (2012, p.6) point out that ‘economic growth is crucial for the reduction of poverty’ due to both the higher levels of economic prosperity and higher tax revenues that enable city governments to improve urban services, including transport infrastructure. However, the extent to which growth translates into poverty reduction depends extensively on politics and corruption and other competing policy interests may mean that any tax revenue is not spent on reducing inequalities. A counter argument is that neoliberal economies exacerbate exclusion. Emerging social movements, such as the right to the city campaign, focus on political change and radical idealism as a counter to neoliberalism (see Chapter 3).

\(^2\) (California had 22 per cent of US welfare recipients in that year)
In conclusion, transport is important for the wider economy and plays an important role in the activities of wider society. Where transport disadvantage exists, the economic consequences are likely to be significant as people and communities will be less able to fulfil their economic role within a city.

2.6 Understanding ‘Transport-related Social Exclusion’

The term social exclusion is typically used to denote a situation where a particular segment of society is unable to access something that the city has to offer, be that a job, an education or a service such as healthcare. Its use in social policy derives from the acceptance that inequality found in all societies and stems from work in the late twenty-first century that showed that inequality and disadvantage are not linked solely to income poverty (Kenyon 2003).

As one definition states;

*Social exclusion is a ‘dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society’*  
*(Walker and Walker 1997, p.266)*

Another definition also includes this notion of denial;

*‘Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole.’* (Levitas et al. 2007, p.9)

These two perspectives suggest four key attributes of social exclusion; first that it is both a condition and a process; second there is a lack of one or more...
goods, services or facilities that are seen to be facets of a ‘normal’ social life; third that it is a negative phenomenon limiting a person’s potential, and fourth exclusion of one group has wider implications for society as a whole. These four points will be examined in the subsequent paragraphs as the focus narrows to study its relevance to transport planning and a definition of ‘transport related social exclusion’.

The links between social exclusion and transport and mobility as ‘a significant barrier to social inclusion’ have been recognised for the past two decades (SEU 2003). Everyday lives are spatially organised and the spatial distribution of people, employment, education or leisure opportunities influences travel patterns. The ability to move can and should be seen as a ‘stimulant to…. social life’ (Lucas, 2004, p10) through its role in bridging spatial gaps. Much of the literature is focused on accessing jobs but some authors have widened the debate to include other destinations such as shops (to buy reasonably priced produce and other goods), healthcare, education, jobs, and visits to family and friends, for leisure and to maintain social networks (Kenyon et al. 2003; Lucas 2004). Due to the spatial distribution of urban activities, people need to move to access this wide range of facilities.

Troy (1996, p.208 cited in Lucas 2004, p.10) extends the debate to link mobility to the concept of wellbeing;

‘Enhanced mobility gives people greater access to a wide range of interests and activities and allows them a higher degree of engagement with other like-minded members of the various communities to which they belong, thus enriching their lives and contributing to social and economic vitality’.
Wellbeing can be thought of as the combination of both an objective measure of how people are doing in terms of material living standards, health, education, work and political voice as well as a subjective judgment of how people feel about their present and future situation (White et al. 2012). Mobility enables the attainment of many of the objective elements of wellbeing, which then helps to fulfil the more subjective satisfaction-based elements. However, there are many different definitions of wellbeing and therefore applying the objective of meeting a standard of wellbeing to any policy intention would require a carefully considered framework (Gough and McGregor, 2007).

Conversely, many academics have argued that problems of mobility or transport are crucial elements of social exclusion (e.g. Stanley et al. 2010, Lucas 2012 and Attoh 2012). Social exclusion is a phenomenon which suggests the locking out of people from activities that support a reasonable quality of life (Clifton and Lucas 2004, p15). As Kenyon points out (2003, p.321) ‘where mobility is inadequate, access can be denied and exclusion can occur’.

These perspectives suggest that there is a link between social exclusion and transport, as those with constrained mobility have restricted ability to participate in a range of ‘normal’ activities e.g. employment, education, training, leisure opportunities and so on, which will further limit their options and opportunities. As a consequence, those with limited mobility may find it difficult to visit friends and family and maintain the social networks that are vital in terms of a person’s wellbeing. An individual’s health may be affected by poor access to healthy affordable food and healthcare services. As evidenced, from the quotes above, the link between social exclusion and mobility is strong because fundamental to
the definition of social exclusion is the notion of access to opportunities and services. These ideas help to define transport-related social exclusion.

Poor access to transport options does not determine social exclusion. For example, Dibben suggests that the bus users in her study were not ‘necessarily socially excluded…. (compared to)….those who experience multiple disadvantage in relation to accessing transport’ (Dibben 2006, p.658). Preston and Raje (2007) suggest that having transport (whether private or public) available is not always a factor in social exclusion, and that social exclusion occurs only where the price of transport exceeds its affordability, although the literature on barriers to transport use suggest that there are other facets of transport systems that will deter use (such as time, safety, frequency etc). Therefore, ‘it is possible to be socially excluded but still have good access to transport or to be transport disadvantaged but highly socially included’ (Currie and Delbosc, 2010 in Lucas 2012, p.106). Therefore, the link between social exclusion and transport disadvantage is complex, reciprocal and iterative.

Work by Stanley et al. (2010) in Melbourne Australia found that research participants who had the greatest risk of social exclusion\(^3\) travelled less often and shorter distances, owned fewer cars and used public transport less, than those who were more socially included. Participants at risk of social exclusion did not specifically identify the fact that they made fewer trips due to lack of transport, or problems with the public transport system, but rather due to personal circumstances, i.e. doing fewer activities that require travel.

Participating in social activities, such as meeting friends, attending church or

\(^3\) Stanley et al (2010) used a four point scale based on a model developed by the London School of Economics Burchardt, 2002
taking part in sporting groups, was associated with making more trips and

crucial for promoting a sense of social inclusion, therefore it appears that either

the socially excluded choose not to attend such social occasions, or constrain

their visits to those within walking distance.

Social exclusion can lead to low levels of mobility because of issues of

proximity, affordability and availability of services while at the same time, low

levels of mobility can lead to exclusion, preventing people from visiting family

and friends, or accessing places of work and education (Kenyon 2003; Kenyon

et al. 2003). Since people with inadequate transport provision tend to be

concentrated in low-income households and in the most deprived communities,

they are already at risk of social exclusion. Women, lone parents, older people,

people with disabilities, people from minority ethnic groups, the un- or under-

employed or those on low incomes and young people are all less likely to live in

households with access to adequate transport provision (Blumenberg 2002).

Some argue that these ‘excluded’ people are the very people that are more

likely to need public services, such as healthcare facilities, schools, colleges

and welfare services (Clifton and Lucas 2004, p.29) although this is a

generalisation as all citizens require access to these services.

Lucas provides a helpful summary of the link between the two concepts when

she writes that transport disadvantage and social exclusion ‘interact directly and

indirectly to cause transport poverty which leads to inaccessibility to essential

goods and services, as well as ‘lock-out’ from planning and decision-making

processes, which can result in social exclusion outcomes’ (Lucas 2012, p.106;

Lucas and Currie 2012). This idea reflects the notion of both a condition and a
process whereby a ‘vicious circle’ of disadvantage and being ‘locked out’ from services further exacerbates the sense of exclusion. It is likely that those experiencing social exclusion are disengaged from the formal political processes and institutions that make decisions about land use and transport investment, and are likely to feel ‘alienated and disempowered by the whole decision-making process’ including in relation to their housing and job opportunities, as well as the quality of services they receive (Lucas and Currie 2012, p.155).

However, this debate does not focus on the role of power and politics and suggests a rather benign political process where the voices of the socially excluded would be welcomed. In reality, most political orders are biased in favour of the advantaged, educated and well-off, making it even more difficult for the socially excluded to have a voice in decision-making processes. This issue is further explored in Chapter 3 which examines literature on participation, rights and decision-making.

Given the importance of mobility and access to transport as a component of social exclusion, the arguments in this thesis draw on and develop the concept of transport-related social exclusion. Kenyon et al. (2002, p.210) offered the following, widely-cited definition of transport-related social exclusion, highlighting its accessibility and mobility dimensions:

‘[It is] The process by which people are prevented from participating in the economic, political and social life of the community because of reduced accessibility to opportunities, services and social networks, due in whole or part to insufficient mobility in a society and environment built around the assumption of high mobility’.
This definition is particularly forceful in the transport context because it identifies the ‘relational nature of the problem, i.e. that high and increasing levels of mobility within the population as a whole are a key factor in the reduced, accessibility and, ultimately, exclusion of less mobile sectors of the population’ (Lucas 2012, p.108) – in short, the two ends of the spectrum are getting further apart as some people become more mobile and cities are planned with them in mind, which exacerbates situations of exclusion for others.

Lucas (2012) suggests that there are four important aspects of social exclusion that make it relevant to transport planning;

a) ‘the problem is multi-dimensional i.e. can be located with both the circumstances of the individual who is affected and processes, institutions and structures within wider society;

b) it is relational i.e. disadvantage is seen in direct comparison to the normal relationships and activities of the rest of the population; and

c) it is dynamic in nature (i.e. it changes over time and space, as well as during the lifetime of the person who is affected).

d) in policy terms, the concept also forces a focus not only on the experience of disadvantage but also on the associated economic and social outcomes of this condition’ (Lucas 2012, p.106)

Lucas also argues that social exclusion is a useful concept from a transport policy perspective because it specifically relates problems of mobility ‘to the values, processes and actions of key delivery agencies, which are seen to have systematically excluded certain individuals, groups or communities from the
benefits of their policy decisions and practices' (Lucas 2012, p.106).

Recognising the benefits of moving from a narrow income-focused concept of poverty, which relates mainly to individuals, to the broader concept of social exclusion, the implication of considering transport-related social exclusion is that its resolution rests primarily with the agencies responsible for policy delivery, rather than with the affected individuals, again suggesting that decision-making processes and governance arrangements are an important focus for study.

This section has examined the links between social exclusion and transport systems and found that there are fundamental elements of social exclusion that relate to access to opportunities and services, termed ‘transport-related social exclusion’. The literature suggests that while those with constrained mobility are not necessarily at risk of social exclusion, the ‘socially excluded’ are those who experience multiple disadvantage which often includes restricted mobility, either because of personal circumstances such as low income, or ‘lone parenthood, disability, age, ethnicity or unemployment’ (Dibben 2006, p.658) or because of systematic problems relating to how the transport system is designed and operated. An examination of the literature has demonstrated a clear link between social exclusion and the provision of transport systems and the need for policy changes to address this collective issue.

However, the importance of transport and improving mobility is often overlooked in literature on social exclusion, except for a small number of scholars, such as Lucas and Kenyon, with limited work on transport-related social exclusion in developing countries. The next two sections examine how at a policy scale,
decisions on land-use planning and transport planning shape the urban form and transport systems that impact levels of transport-related social exclusion.

2.7 **Urban form as a factor affecting Transport-related Social Exclusion**

This section explores issues of urban form and mobility, as a key reason why this thesis’ focuses on transport systems. It argues that the way cities have been shaped formally via land-use planning and informally via informal settlements has contributed to the spatial exclusion of communities.

Several reports and articles (e.g. Bruton 1993 in Lucas 2004; SEU) 2003; Bocarejo and Oviedo 2012; UN-Habitat 2013) have linked transport disadvantage with urban form, suggesting that ‘there is increasing evidence that the form and functionality of the city is crucial for the promotion of sustainable mobility’\(^4\) (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 75). Transport disadvantage is particularly a problem in low-income cities that have grown rapidly, and where the majority of jobs and services are located in one central district. Those living in cheaper peri-urban areas are thus isolated from jobs and other opportunities by distance, cost, and transport services leading to the city centre are often overcrowded (see Chapter 5 for more discussion on this point as related to the case study).

Many studies have focussed on identifying challenges for specific social groups affected by poor mobility or a lack of transport options. However, some have looked across cities to identify spatial patterns of mobility issues. Lazo’s study

\(^4\) Sustainable mobility is understood to mean a system that provides efficient, affordable and easy movement around the city for all residents
in Santiago, Chile identified that the poorer working-class neighbourhoods are traditionally located in the south of the city and more poorly served by public transport networks (Lazo 2008). She suggests that they have become more isolated from the city centre because of urban policies favouring the private car and the construction of large freeways (‘carreteras’) being central to the planners’ idea of expansion and suburbanisation of the city. She cites Figuroa (2005) who claims that in Latin America, while the middle class who can afford to buy a car, those on lower incomes rely on sometimes poorly maintained public transport networks or use an informal system, which in many cases is unregulated, of poor quality and unsafe. She argues that people in poorer neighbourhoods are forced to adopt different strategies (such as walking long distances, riding a bike or taking public transport without paying) to access services that are not in their immediate area.

A similar spatial analysis was conducted by Bocarejo and Oviedo (2012) to highlight the over- and under-provision of public transport in Bogotá, Colombia. Using indices of social and transport provision, they devised a methodology to identify mobility needs based on an assessment of accessibility and affordability. By mapping the data, they found that lower income communities, who live further away from the economic heart of the city, spent a larger percentage of their income on travel, than wealthier neighbourhoods who lived closer in and were more likely to have a car.

Similarly in Santiago de Cali, Colombia, Jaramillo et al. (2012) mapped the 233 available routes used by the 70 per cent of the population who use public transport against an index of transport need (based on factors such as age,
access to car, employment status, presence of a disability and socio-economic status as classified by the municipal government) and found ‘room for improvement’ in terms of the spatial coverage across the city. They found that the highest levels of service disparity (the difference between social need and transport service provision) were in areas of ‘absolute correspondence’ to the districts with the worst socio-economic conditions ‘which are more isolated and distant from the city centre, with higher levels of illiteracy, crime and unemployment’ lived in by lower-income people ‘without access to a private motorised vehicle, and with a large infant population’ (Jaramillo et al. 2012). By contrast the central areas of the city showed the highest levels of overprovision of services, both in terms of capacity and regularity. They argue that ‘in Latin America there is little empirical evidence to demonstrate the relationship between the provision of public transport and social transport needs’ (Keeling, 2008 in Jaramillo et al., p340), suggesting that the need to improve mobility particularly amongst those communities and neighbourhoods at risk of social exclusion is not being addressed through existing transport provision (either government or private initiatives).

The studies in Santiago, Bogotá and Santiago de Cali demonstrate the particular issues faced by low-income communities living at the periphery of the city. This suggests that low-income communities living at the city’s edge experience the double impacts of not having access to adequate transport choices and a perpetual risk of social exclusion, both compounded by issues of urban form.
In the South African context there appears to be a particularly issue around ethnicity, which may be reflected in other segregated communities, although none of the other studies refer to ethnicity. What is interesting about the studies that have attempted to map transport need against socio-demographic factors (Jaramillo et al. 2012 and Borarejo and Oviedo 2012) is that neither of them deal specifically with particular social groups, but are concerned with neighbourhoods. This is important for studies of social exclusion, recognising as Lyons (2003) states that ‘there is a need for travel behaviour research in beginning to address social exclusion, to recognise that the ‘excluded’ cannot be contained and studied in isolation – the ‘excluded’ affect and are affected by society as a whole. In this context we are at risk of studying and treating the symptoms rather than the illness’ (p.341).

Given the crucial link between social exclusion and mobility, and Preston and Raje’s assertion that the effects of social exclusion have ‘important spatial manifestations’ (2007, p.151), these mapping studies provide an understanding of the social impact of transport planning decisions in terms of improving or reducing the quality of life for residents of particular neighbourhoods. This point is of crucial importance to the arguments in this thesis: that the way transport systems are planned and operated has a socio-spatial relevance and can affect the social exclusion of city inhabitants.

While transport infrastructure influences land use allocation and urban developments, urban form casts a profound influence over transport provision, and produces two main scenarios:
• Those with a car are able to live in more inaccessible locations such as suburbs on the periphery of a city (either because of formal planning activities or informal land takes) which are often poorly served by public transport,

• Urban development patterns have changed to become lower density, owing to the continued and, in many developing cities growing, dominance of the private car (for example between 1970 and 2000, the physical expansion of all urban areas in Mexico was nearly four times more than their urban population growth (UN-Habitat 2010 in UN-Habitat 2013, p. 77).

Both points are relevant to this thesis and warrant investigation, particularly to the extent that they are applicable to the chosen case study cities (see Chapter 5 on the case study city). Each point will be examined below.

**Peripherality**

A large number of cities in developing countries are experiencing fast and uncontrolled growth at their peripheries (UN-Habitat 2013). In many Latin American cities ‘tugurios and favelas (i.e. slums) mark the peripheries’ and ‘easy-to-obtain credit for low-income housing has triggered an explosive growth in low-cost but isolated residential enclaves on the outskirts of many cities’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 79). While the spatial location pattern of low-income settlements varies considerably from city to city, a general trend is clear: the majority of the urban poor live on land that is undesirable to others (Jaramillo *et al* 2012). For example, in some Latin American cities such as Lima and Rio de Janeiro, the poor live some 30 or 40 kilometers beyond employment centres –
in Rio this results in an average commuting time of 3 hours per day for the poorest group (Gwilliam, 2002). In Montevideo, residents living in slums outside the city cite the lack of access to public transport as a major constraint to accessing jobs (ibid). Therefore, this peripheral nature of many low-income communities is itself a contributory factor in their being at risk of social exclusion.

Growing concerns over social equity have prompted an interest in urban design. As the 2013 report by UN-Habitat on Sustainable Urban Mobility states, summarising many years of international research into this field (e.g. Gannon and Liu 1997, Palmer et al 1997), the problem of transport-related social exclusion arises principally from the fact that many urban residents, particularly those on low-incomes, live peripherally in a city and are physically separated from jobs, schools and healthcare and as a result, need to travel longer distances, incur longer journey times and spend a higher percentage of their income on travel costs than better-off groups, or those who live more centrally (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 76). These groups are also more vulnerable to price rises in the cost of travel fares.

Palmer et al.’s (1997) work on cities in India and Ghana concluded that the growth of low-income housing (both formal and informal) on peripheral land without employment opportunities, generated substantial demand for low cost travel to more central workplaces and amenities. This situation coupled with limited financial resources leaves many people living in the city fringes with ‘severe transport and mobility constraints’ affecting their quality of life (ibid, p.3). This is particularly a problem in cities with a dominant urban core.
There are several reasons why poor residents live on the outskirts of cities. First, there are informal processes where migrants moving to a city establish settlements on land adjacent to the formal city boundaries, where land ownership is uncertain or land is cheap. In many Mexican cities, easy-to-obtain credit for low-income housing has triggered an explosive growth in low-cost but isolated residential enclaves (Infonavit 2011 in UN Habitat 2013 p77). Palmer et al’s work suggests that rapid population growth and urbanisation (particularly of informal settlements) in many developing countries is a core reason for the inequality between transport infrastructure supply and people’s needs (Palmer et al. 1997). In many other cities, this dispersal of urban populations is further driven by the idea of ‘leapfrogging’ whereby land held by government agencies, military authorities and religious foundations is skipped over (as Gakenheimer 2011 found in Latin America see UN-Habitat 2013, p. 77). The distant nature of the land beyond then makes the installation of infrastructure prohibitively expensive and in some cases outside the municipal government’s control. In other cases, peri-urban development is driven by financial motives, where peripheral land is bought by municipalities at agricultural prices but then leased or sold to developers at higher prices as a way to raise revenues. In India, zoning policies that suppress permissible densities as a way of reducing congestion in central cities have been blamed for inducing sprawl in recent decades (Bertaud 2011 and Glaeser 2011 in UN Habitat 2013 p77).

As a result, there are socio-spatial inequalities between the wealthy who tend to live more centrally and have good access to a variety of transport modes and the urban poor who live peripherally and are at risk of transport-related social exclusion. Land values are crucial and force ‘many low-skilled, low-income
immigrants from rural areas and displaced low-income inner city residents to outlying, marginal areas, where land is cheaper’ while ‘higher-income households occupy the most accessible and expensive districts near the urban core’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 77). Lazo (2008) also argues that the spatial segregation of the city and the shift away from compact cities occurred as a result of capitalism in the 19th century and the social segregation of the city’s inhabitants. In contrast to the rapid urbanisation witnessed in recent decades, in more slower periods of urban growth, wealthier residents began establishing newer suburbs on the edge of town, hence intensifying socio-spatial segregation. As a result ‘class and income disparities are deeply embedded in the spatial arrangements and mobility challenges of many developing-country cities’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 77).

Another element of urban form that includes intrinsic inequalities is between those who own a car and those who do not. As the next section highlights, this rise in the use of private cars has influenced an urban form, which indirectly affects those already disadvantaged.

**The role of urban density**

Land use patterns over the past 50-60 years have changed in developed and more recently developing cities to become more sprawling and lower density which adds additional costs (time and money) to urban residents’ travel patterns, particularly the urban poor living in peripheral areas, and makes infrastructure provision increasingly costly including, transport services. The dominance of the car in many cities, and the explicit or implicit favouring of car-priority policies has produced a sprawling urban form that exacerbates the
disparity between car and non-car owners. Prior to motorised forms of transport, cities were designed on a compact ‘human scale’ where movements and therefore destinations were largely restricted to walkable distances. Dispersal came (to developed country cities) when, those who could afford to, moved away from the densely packed city centres filled with people, noise and the unpleasant stench of horse manure to create suburbs.

The spread of cities has been seen throughout much of the 19th and 20th centuries. Muller 2004 and Angel 2011 (in UN Habitat 2013 p78) both suggest that since the advent of urban transport modes such as ‘omnibuses, horse cars, trolleys and later buses and cars’, many cities have expanded outwards at reduced densities. Similarly, rail lines and streetcars allowed the development of lower density middle class suburbs along many radial routes.

However since the 1950s, the ‘automobile city’, resulting from increasing use of private cars, has ‘further accelerated the dispersal of economic activities, unleashing low-density discontinuous patterns of urban growth associated with sprawl’ (Calthorpe and Fulton 2001 in UN Habitat 2013 p79). Evidence suggests that similar sprawl and lower density developments are occurring in many rapidly-motorising developing cities such as Santiago, Beijing, Lisbon and Moscow. Research has shown a negative association between urban densities and vehicular travel in cities (Zegras et al 2011, Zhao 2011, Sager et al 2011 in UN-Habitat 2013, p. 76) i.e. as more people choose to use private vehicles, urban densities have decreased.

In many developed cities, this lower-density urban pattern has led to a reduction in city centre activity, and increase in out-of-town shopping and employment.
site, often located close to major road junctions. As a result, traditional
neighbourhood centres in many Western cities have suffered from a lack of
investment and a loss of neighbourhood-based trade, as more retail and leisure
activities are undertaken at locations easily accessible by car. At the same
time, businesses and public services are reducing the number of outlets
through centralisation programmes (for example, the closure and rationalisation
of health services into larger regional centres). Thus residents have fewer
services in their neighbourhoods and increasingly must travel larger distances
to access them (Lyons 2003). Many cities of Western Europe and the US are
now actively encouraging urban regeneration and city centre initiatives to
counter this trend towards suburban to suburban journeys. While this
phenomenon is predominately witnessed in the developed world, there is
evidence to suggest that this is also occurring in low- and middle-income
countries.

When urban dispersal is driven almost exclusively by market forces and
particularly if settlements are largely unplanned, ‘car dependency, energy
consumption, environmental degradation and social problems in urban areas
are further exacerbated’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 79). This situation produces
‘settlement patterns that, critics argue, ‘waste energy, land and other resources
and divide people by race, ethnicity and income/wealth…by the physical
separation of co-dependent land uses e.g. housing is isolated from jobs,
schools, hospitals, retail activities’ leading to increasingly lengthy (and therefore
resource-consuming) journeys (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 79). Critics argue that
sprawl is ‘synonymous with poorly planned, piecemeal and haphazard patterns
of urban growth, requiring larger shares of trips to be made by motorised modes
over increasingly long distances’, thus further encouraging use of private transport.

This changing urban form, and planning policies favouring private vehicles, have exacerbated the existing problems of poverty and exclusion particularly for the urban poor living peripherally (Cebollada and Avellaneda 2008), and many developing country cities are adopting these policies as signs of progress.

So there is a link between urban form and transport-related social exclusion. For developing countries, the importance of social inclusion in transport system design is thus critical because of the rate of urban growth, rapid increase in use of the private car, and lack of public transport investment. First for example, in Mexico City, even after investment in bus rapid transit routes and additional metro capacity, annual vehicle ownership grew by 500,000 cars per year (Jaramillo et al, 2012). Rising levels of car ownership are already perpetuating patterns of urban expansion (particularly sprawl and development at key road junctions (Bocarejo and Oviedo, 2012) which will exacerbate the inequalities already present. Second, the discussion on land use and urban form demonstrates the crucial need for the two processes to be more aligned in order to sufficiently address the issues of transport-related social exclusion. The need for more holistic and systemic collaboration between land-use planners and transport planners is called for by many scholars, including in the 2013 UN Habitat Report on mobility (UN Habitat, 2013). In low-income cities, better oversight of informal transport systems could also help address problems of social exclusion.
Therefore the mandate for studying urban form and the associated land-use planning processes (or lack of) is clear. As the UN-Habitat report on Sustainable Mobilities states ‘the interaction between the development of urban spatial patterns and transport is thus a key factor shaping accessibility in cities both in physical and socio-economic terms’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p.16). As Fainstein (2010) argues, investment decisions are often made on the basis of quantifiable outputs such as the number of houses or jobs created without considering what type of people will benefit. Policies and decisions made by city governments and planners undoubtedly affect transport-related social exclusion, which further justifies the focus on governance in this thesis (see Chapter 3).

2.8 **Mass public transport systems affect Transport-related Social Exclusion**

Public transport provides a vital service for those who cannot afford a car as these services increase ‘access to jobs, education, health services and other facilities’ which are ‘central to social inclusion for the disadvantaged’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p.72). However, arguably of equal significance, is the need for large cities to have effective mass public transport systems (e.g. metro, light rail or bus rapid transit systems) to reduce the adverse impacts of traffic congestion, pollution, noise and road traffic accidents. As Hutton (2013) states, the high-density nature of cities and the sheer numbers of people that need to move, means that private transport, particularly the car, will only ever result in congestion. De Witte et al. (2008) argue that only public transport can reconcile the two major objectives of any urban transport system, which are the need to
minimise traffic and its detrimental impacts, and to fulfil the demand for accessibility to support of economic and social goals. The various authors of the UN-Habitat report on Sustainable Urban Mobility state that ‘there can be little doubt that designing neighbourhoods, cities and regions in a way that can reduce private car dependency, promote healthier, more sustainable urban forms and a variety of travel solutions, can make the city more accessible to all; the pressure to develop sustainable transportation and mobility systems is particularly acute in urban areas’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 76), and further that, ‘the value of expanding public transport services to enhance accessible mobility in cities is unquestionable’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 26).

There is also increasing evidence that the increasing demand for private transport contributes to the global challenge of climate change. Authors such as Low and O’Connor term this ‘the dilemma of mobility’ where in a world ‘wedded to mobility’ there is a ‘danger of continuing along the fossil-fuelled transport path and the real difficulty of replacing private vehicle solutions in time to avoid dangerous climate change’ (Low and O’Connor 2013, p. 3). This is a large topic and will not be examined further in this thesis except to say that climate change and sustainability debates provide a powerful force to encourage politicians to focus on public transport (which generally emits less pollutants per passenger mile than private transport), and resulted in international concordats such as the Bogotá Declaration that favours public transport over private modes. As Low and O’Connor state, private transport was only considered ‘cheap’ when the external impacts of emissions, congestion and road traffic accidents were ignored. With current understandings of the causes and consequences of climate change this ‘mirage of free travel’ has dissipated and
there is a case to re-think private transport in the twenty-first century (Low and O’Connor 2013, p. 15).

As a result, the focus of this thesis will be on public transport systems which are designed and installed either by, or in partnership with, the public sector, such as Bus Rapid Transit, light rail metro or similar and their associated feeder networks for two reasons. First, by their nature they are transport systems requiring large-scale infrastructure investment, including station construction, dedicated lanes/routes, or separate ticketing systems. Therefore, they have the potential for positive impact for those living in poorly connected parts of the city more than a single bus route because they provide the potential for diverse connections to other parts of the city. Second, the necessary decisions and permissions to plan and operate a mass transport system are initiated by the public sector which should observe national or city-wide social equity commitments such as a Right to the City charter or the Bogotá Declaration. This is may not be the case for individual bus operating companies or informal transport. Highway development will not be a focus of this research given the links to unaffordability of private transport and national commitments of most Latin American countries to favour mass transport systems over private modes ((Foro de Transporte Sostenible de América Latina, 2011).

2.9 Re-conceptualising Transport-related Social Exclusion for developing contexts

The literature includes two conceptualisations of transport-related social exclusion which have been developed in response to the evidence found in studies, which help to categorise and define the links between transport,
access, mobility and social exclusion, with a view to shaping interventions to reduce the problem of exclusion, noting that both have a developed country focus. This section presents both conceptualisations, together with a critique in order to develop a new hybrid framework for assessing decision-making approaches for the development and routing of new mass transport systems in developing countries, which is tested through the fieldwork for this thesis.

**Seven dimensions (after Church et al. 2000)**

A model of transport-related social exclusion was proposed by Church *et al.* in 2000 based on their work in London, identifying ‘seven specific features of the transport system that are contributing and/or related to the exclusion of certain population groups, which in line with debates on social exclusion would appear to confirm the multi-dimensional nature of the problem (see Section 2.9. The seven categories identified by Church *et al.* (2000) are:

1. **physical exclusion**: where by physical barriers, such as vehicle design, lack of disabled facilities or lack of timetable information, inhibit the accessibility of transport services;

2. **geographical exclusion**: where a person lives can prevent them from accessing transport services, such as in rural areas or on peripheral urban estates;

3. **exclusion from facilities**: the distance of key facilities such as shops, schools, healthcare or leisure services from where a person lives prevents their access;
iv) **economic exclusion**: the high monetary costs of travel can prevent or limit access to facilities or employment and thus impact on incomes;

v) **time-based exclusion**: other demands on time, such as combined work, household and child-care duties, reduces the time available for travel;

vi) **fear-based exclusion**: where fears for personal safety preclude the use of public spaces and/or transport services;

vii) **space exclusion**: where security or space management prevent certain groups access to public spaces, e.g. gated communities or first class waiting rooms at stations (Church *et al.* 2000).

This model is useful for thinking about the facets of transport-related social exclusion including the physical (e.g. exclusion from vehicles or destinations), economic and time-based exclusion, although arguably these latter two categories could be combined given that in transport terms they are both considered costs to the individual. All seven of these categories are written from the user’s perspective but work at both the individual and collective level i.e. they could be applied to a social group such as people with disabilities, or to an individual. The focus on fear-based exclusion in this model will be relevant to some people but may not be an important factor for all. The focus of the final category called ‘space exclusion’ could be renamed ‘management exclusion’ and related more specifically to transport systems (there are many other spaces where people are routinely excluded from entering e.g. municipal and office buildings, courts and prisons). Geographical exclusion and exclusion from facilities are similar, although ‘geographical exclusion’ considers the movement from the perspective of the individual coming from their home, whereas
exclusion from facilities’ is focused more from the ‘perspective’ of the service provider. They could be merged so long as the new model considers barriers to mobility at both the individual and structural levels. It is also important to note that none of the categories focus on the consequences of exclusion, they are all framed around the limiting factor that causes exclusion. Nonetheless, the model demonstrates the range of ways in which people can be excluded from transport services and the impacts that this may have on their daily lives.

A second categorisation

In a second conceptualisation of transport-related social exclusion, Cass et al. (2005) proposed four dimensions of exclusion: financial, physical, organisational and temporal, the implications of which are discussed in turn below. Again, these were developed using case studies from the UK.

Financial: Cass et al. argue that all forms of transport require some financial expenditure, for example the shoes required for walking, or the cost of a bus ticket, or the means needed to arrange a lift from a neighbour with a car, e.g. a telephone. This dimension links closely to the economic exclusion in Church et al.’s model.

Physical: Cass et al. suggest that this dimension includes the individual’s physical ability to access a bus stop, or a car or walk down a road, as well as contextual considerations of accessing transport, e.g. their safety if walking in unlit, uneven environments and comfort if there is the need to transport heavy or bulky goods. This dimension also includes the availability of information, and
the ability of a person to read and understand that information, such as a route map or timetable.

**Organisational:** According to Cass *et al.*, this dimension relates to the organisational systems that enable (or not) public transport systems to be provisioned. This includes the routes, times, and directions of services, frequency, punctuality, and the conditions for waiting or changing between services. Also important are the social networks that facilitate use, e.g. arranging a lift-share with a neighbour (Lyons calls this ‘inter-household scheduling’ (2003, p341)). This aspect also includes the privatisation and commercialisation of public transport services, which can lead to increasing competition for the profitable ‘hot’ zones of a city, with a high volume of customers. Conversely, ‘cold’ zones are those where transport services are less profitable often relating to low-income communities (see Section 2.7 on Bogotá, Colombia). This so-called ‘Splintering Urbanism’\(^5\) can lead to situations where wealthier neighbourhoods have more frequent, clean and safe services than low-income communities.

**Temporal:** the fourth dimension of exclusion relates to time. Access to formal public transport services will depend on the day of the week and time of day, with many services restricted outside working hours, or on weekends, although this is not usually the case for informal transport such as motorcycle taxis. This dimension also relates to the fact that activities, particular those where there is an element of choice, are limited by the availability of public transport services. A person’s ability to control their time (‘time sovereignty’) is a factor here – often

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\(^5\) A term initially coined by Graham and Marvin 2001.
it is only the more highly paid, professional jobs that allow flexible hours, with the lower-paid manual jobs being particularly strict on start and finish times. In addition, there is the desire to not waste time, and the perception that public transport takes longer than by car, particularly if a change of service is necessary.

This model has several gaps, identified through this literature review. (i) one dimension not expressly mentioned in the ‘financial’ category is subsidy provision for certain groups, e.g. students, the elderly or unemployed, which will affect the ‘balance’ of advantage; (ii) missing from the ‘physical category’ is the influence of prevailing and changing land use patterns, particularly the impact of lower-density developments which favour private transport and disadvantage public transport systems (see Chapter 3); (iii) in addition, the ‘organisational’ element could include wider notions of governance and the role of politics and planning on the provision and location of services and activities (see also Chapter 3). However, in contrast to Church et al’s model which omits much to do with the organisation, provisioning and decision-making processes of transport systems, recognition of this organisational element in the Cass et al’s model is welcomed, and is of crucial importance to this thesis.

This later model includes an understanding of the individual’s traits and abilities, for example their financial status, their physical wellbeing and mental capacity to interpret transport information. This is an important addition over Church et al’s model recognising that a person’s socio-economic status, physical health and (dis)ability will impact on their level of social exclusion. The author considers that it is impossible to ignore individual characteristics in any model of
transport-related social exclusion. This dimension is largely excluded from both models presented here but as several studies (Paez et al. 2009, Palmer et al. 1997; Lucas 2011) show, the elderly, the young and women, especially if travelling with young children are more likely to be socially excluded. In addition, people with low literacy or language skills are likely to have reduced ability to access information about a transport system, such as reading a map or a timetable. Therefore, this warrants the inclusion of a dimension on personal characteristics in any framework that may be used to assess policy or transport planning decisions.

With the additions suggested above, the four stage model of exclusion is particularly helpful to critique policies that focus on increasing access to “get at’ pre-defined ‘public’ goods and services located within pre-determined ‘formal’ locations/destinations’ (Cass et al., 2005 p 551) and start to show the inadequacies of traditional policy responses. This point demonstrates the absence of the opposite consideration; that both categorisations ignore the consequences of exclusion from public transport, and more importantly for this thesis, exclusion from the process of planning public transport systems. Jones and Lucas (2012) defined five categories of social impact from transport decision-making: accessibility, movement and activities, health-related, financial related and community-related impacts. This was as a consequence of an absence of consideration of social impacts in the transport literature as identified in section 2.1. Similarly Schwanen et al (2015) is critical of Church et al’s linear approach to transport-related social exclusion. For these authors, this linearity overlooks the dynamic processes and social consequences of systemic exclusion, and consider that elements of motility and network capital
need to be added in order to fully encompass the issue of having the means and competence to access the range of movement options, including the ability to read the timetable and the existence of friends and relatives to travel to. While both important pieces of work highlighting the complexity issues wrapped up in the term ‘social impact’ and the role played by ‘social capital’ in addressing exclusion, this thesis has focussed on the causal reasons for exclusion so that it can examine how a different type of decision making could improve the outcome. The models provided by Church et al and Cass et al may appear simplistic against these more conceptual frameworks, but nonetheless they have a value when attempting to find empirical evidence of transport-related social exclusion in the field. Chapter 3 explores the role of governance and democracy in decision-making which is intrinsically linked to the heart of this thesis on rights-based approaches to governance.

A Proposed Hybrid Conceptualisation

By combining both models and considering their applicability to developing country contexts, the following hybrid conceptualisation is proposed, in order to explore and test its applicability to developing country cities through the fieldwork in Quito. This model relates to Research Questions 1 and 3a about identifying the different dimensions of social exclusion from a transport perspective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical exclusion –</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Spatial design of the system throughout an urban area, including localities and neighbourhoods experiencing poor transport access</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- Physical design of facilities and vehicles.

**Organisational exclusion** –
- How public transport systems are governed, managed and organised, who runs them, when they operate, their reliability and punctuality.
- Political priorities and governance arrangements for decision-making

**Operational exclusion** –
- The impact of issues such as journey time, service frequency/duration, comfort, instances of personal theft and traffic accidents on a person’s willingness and ability to travel.
- The cost of public transport services.

**Perception-based exclusion** –
- The notion of agency and limitations derived from the perceptions of individuals that public transport travel is arduous or inconvenient
- Concerns for personal safety and security and perceived risks.

**Demographic-based exclusion** -
- Personal characteristics of the individual that affects their risk of social exclusion – e.g. their age, gender, level of income and where they live.

This hybrid model combines the two models of Church *et al.* (2000) and Cass *et al.* (2005), but omits none of their considerations. It includes an additional dimension relating to individual factors, reflecting earlier discussions on the importance of individual factors in affecting a person’s mobility. It also draws out the political angle and the process of decision-making which, as Chapter 3 will elaborate, has a role to play in exclusion.

What is clear from these frameworks however, is that there are many avenues for policy development, but what is unclear from the list, is to which agent e.g. the individual, service providers or transport providers the action should come from, or be directed to, as Lucas points out (2012). Nevertheless, they provide
a useful break-down of the types of exclusion that are included in the ‘bundle’ of transport related exclusion.

2.10 **Mobilities vs. Transport Studies: The focus of research**

It is clear from the literature that transport-related social exclusion is an under-researched phenomenon within the social sciences, particularly in comparison with other policy themes, such as housing or health (Dibben 2006), particularly in a developing country context. In 2003, Kenyon et al. stated that (2003, p.320) ‘the field of social policy has, similarly and surprisingly, tended to avoid discussion of transport and accessibility alongside more traditional social policy issues, despite the clear linkages between transport and these policy areas’.

As detailed in this chapter, the UK and the USA have arguably led the field since the mid-1990s in terms of data analysis and policy developments, primarily driven by motivations of tackling persistent poverty and reducing the welfare burden. There have been studies looking at the impact of urban transportation investment on traditionally marginalised groups, such as: the impacts of pollution on poor communities (e.g. Pucher 1981 and Bullard, 2004); impacts on the elderly (Hilderbrand *et al* 2000, Pietrucha 2000); the disabled (Gant 1992), and the poor (Kain 1968, Karger 2003, Dombroski 2005).

However, these studies have largely remained in the transport geography literature rather than the broader social policy sphere.

Typically, studies into transport-related social exclusion fall into two categories, termed by Church *et al.* (2000) as the *category* approach and the *spatial* approach. The category approach focuses on categories of people e.g. women,
the unemployed, young people and examines their travel patterns, attitudes and needs. Church et al. argue that this has three limitations; that entire social groups may not be homogeneous in their activity patterns nor material assets; it ignores the multi-dimensional nature of exclusion and instead focuses on one characteristic, and the studies rarely look at the geographical factors such as residential locations and locations of the activities that people are trying to reach. Such a people-based approach focuses more on the individual characteristics that affect a person’s mobility.

The spatial approach looks at the geography of the situation and focuses more on the place, which unlike the category or people-based approach, allows consideration of spatial layouts and geographies. In the UK, this type of research tends to be focussed on rural areas (e.g. Cartmel and Furlong 2000), or specific low-income urban estates, while in the US, research has looked at the mismatch between skills and jobs (Church et al. 2000). For example, a Scottish study, Hine and Mitchell (2001) focused on three case study areas and examined how a poor public transport system in Edinburgh was contributing to transport disadvantage. Surveys identified that residents who relied solely on public transport found it more difficult to access key activities in the local area and a small number of respondents in each of the three outer-urban areas reported that transport considerations had prevented them from looking for work or accepting a job and/or accessing education. Respondents without a car also tended to make shopping trips and trips to visit friends and family less frequently. Other studies have used GIS based techniques to map inequality in transport provision (e.g. Bocarejo and Oviedo 2012), or employed varying
metrics of accessibility and mobility in quantitative analyses of transport disadvantage (e.g Stanley et al. 2010).

This distinction between the spatial and category approach is not accidental, and sums up the differences between how transport is viewed – one focussing on people, and the other on places and destinations. However, neither approach provides strategic city-wide solutions. Using an example of London with its complex mosaic of neighbourhoods and transport networks, (Church et al.) (2000) argue that it is an amalgam of the two approaches that will best serve the purposes of social inclusion. Indeed, both approaches continue in the transport geography tradition of ‘thinking about issues of infrastructure development and notions of accessibility’ (Cresswell, 2010 pg 5) rather than a more sociologically based recognition of the importance of movement.

Work by Urry, Cresswell and others have instigated a ‘mobilities turn’ whereby a more holistic view of the universal need to travel has led to a more interdisciplinary approach which ‘connects forms of movement across scales and within research fields that have often been held apart’ (Cresswell 2010, p2). Cresswell’s 2010 paper argues for the need to bridge between this mobilities paradigm and the more traditional geography of transport studies. While the authors view part of the mobilities literature as being very broad (for example it considers movement at all scales including ‘small-scale bodily movements such as dance or walking’ (Cresswell 2010 p3), the study of the meaning and importance of movement, is relevant to this thesis, which is about more than movement as utilitarian and practical.
Is a different focus required?

Arguably, work completed over the past decade has demonstrated a more interdisciplinary perspective to transport planning by attempting to understand the relationship between the geography of cities and its citizens, with studies being undertaken in a wide range of countries including Israel, South Africa and Colombia (Shefer and Aviram 2005; Lucas 2011; Bocarejo and Oviedo, 2012).

In 2013, the UN Habitat report includes chapters on equitable access demonstrating the need to think wider than traditional transport studies (UN-Habitat 2013). However, there remains an overall gap in the research as well as in the ability of policy makers’ to relate the importance of mobility with facilitating social inclusion (Stanley et al. 2010). Root (2003) suggests that a previous failure to apply a social science perspective to transport policy explains why transport studies have consistently failed to address both public concerns about mobility and government aspirations for reducing unemployment or tackling health inequalities.

Lucas suggests that by adopting a more social science perspective, scholars are ‘less interested in the fact that there is no transport available to people per se but rather the consequences of this in terms of their [the people’s] (in)ability to access key life-enhancing opportunities, such as employment, education, health and their supporting social networks’ (Lucas 2012, p106). She further argues that a social science perspective of transport planning ‘asks questions about equality of opportunity to access key services and equity of outcome rather than outputs and also begins to raise the issue of redistributive justice, i.e. the extent to which policy should seek to redistribute transport wealth in the
interests of ‘fairness’ or ‘justice’ (Lucas 2012, p106). More discussion on this point can be found in Chapter 3.

Arguably, a social science perspective, which could be termed a ‘mobilities’ approach, is more people-focused and needs-based than the traditional systems-based approaches to transport provision. The author recognises that this thesis bridges both traditional transport studies and the newer mobilities literature. However, she is reticent to fully embrace the mobilities label due to a concern that this body of literature deviates too greatly from transport studies (particularly when it includes small scale bodily movements or movements of the sea or horses and their riders (Evans and Franklins 2010). This is an issue that Cresswell (2010) cautions against when he states that there is ‘a danger of disconnecting new mobilities work from all the work on forms of mobility that geography has actually always been good at’ (ibid, p.4). In addition, there appears in the mobilities literature a confusion between the term mobility and mobilities. She suggests that the concept of mobilities reflects a broader inter-disciplinary perspective of mobility and transport studies, pluralising mobility to reflect its many operational levels (e.g. social mobility, class mobility as well as physical mobility). The fact remains though, that because this thesis moves away from the positivistic tradition of transport studies and embraces qualitative methodologies, it is a marriage of transport geography concerns with the approaches of a mobilities turn (after Shaw and Hesse 2010).

It is possible to identify another research gap here: much of the policy agenda, particularly in developed nations has been concerned with reducing the welfare burden and providing access to employment sites. This thesis will broaden the
debate focussing on all forms of urban activity, including the need to maintain social networks.

2.11 Conclusion – Addressing Transport-related Social Exclusion

As Foth et al. state (2013, p.1) ‘cities are constantly changing: transportation networks develop, land-use patterns shift, neighbo(u)rhhoods transform, and residents relocate’. The presence or absence of good transport infrastructure and services can have profound and long-lasting effects on neighbourhoods and the mobility of residents.

The findings of the studies presented in this chapter add considerable weight to the claim that transport disadvantage and the broader concept of transport-related social exclusion can be identified as universal and operational concepts, although they are differently experienced within and between nations and by different social groups in different social, geographical and political contexts. This chapter presented four key attributes of social exclusion; first that it is both a condition and a process; second there is a lack of one or more goods, services or facilities that are seen to be facets of a ‘normal’ social life; third that it is a negative phenomenon limiting a person’s potential, and fourth exclusion of one group has wider implications for society as a whole. The idea of mobility being a basic need to meet the wider aspirations of social inclusion were discussed but as Lucas (2012) states there is still a lack of clarity over the relationship between reduced mobility, access to services and social exclusion of affected individuals and their overall well-being, although it has been demonstrated here that there are wider collective economic and social issues that emerge from transport disadvantage.
With a focus on the factors arising from public transport systems as they are planned and operated, a fundamental part of the argument of this thesis is that the way transport systems are planned and run has a socio-spatial relevance and can impact the inclusion or exclusion of city inhabitants. As some of the mapping studies (e.g. Bocarejo and Oviedo 2012, Jaramillo et al 2012 and Lazo 2008) have shown, in order to appropriately plan for future investment, transport planners need to understand the spatial distribution of populations being served, the destinations that they need to reach and their level of transport need. However, one question that is rarely asked is ‘who benefits from changes in land use and transportation?’ (Lucas, 2012).

There is a good deal of variation in the definitions and examples of transport-related social exclusion, let alone how they might be successfully be measured and tackled. However, there is increasing sophistication in the methodologies that have been developed to identify and measure transport-related exclusion as a social phenomenon. By considering dimensions of transport-related social exclusion and critiquing two conceptual models, both drawing on work in developed countries, a third hybrid model appropriate to developing country cities has been proposed for testing in this thesis to offer a broader evaluation of existing and planned policies and assess whether they are capable of reversing the inequalities. This hybrid framework is revisited in the chapter on rights-based approaches to development (Chapter 3) to consider its usefulness as an alternative means of policy evaluation.

This chapter has identified three important gaps that link to the focus of this thesis: first, there is an imbalance between the quantity and depth of research
on transport-disadvantage between developed and low- or middle-income countries particularly in Latin America; second, the focus of literature on transport disadvantage has been on the individual rather than collective mobility both in terms of socio-spatial groupings and socio-demographic groupings, and third, that there is potential to link the discourse on citizen rights that appears in other policy fields, such as healthcare and housing, to transport provision.
Inclusive urban mobility: participation, rights and decision-making on transport infrastructure projects

Chapter 3: Literature Review: Social policy, participatory governance and the links to rights-based approaches

3.1 Addressing Transport-related Social Exclusion

This chapter looks at the current practice of incorporating considerations of social exclusion into the process of planning and operating transport systems. By building on the conclusion of the preceding chapter that there is a need to consider transport and mobility in the field of social policy and to examine the role of decision-makers and those responsible for policy delivery, this second Literature Review chapter examines how social policy concepts such as justice, equity and rights can be related to urban mobility issues in order to address transport related social exclusion. In that way, this Chapter addresses the second research question;

What are rights-based approaches to participatory governance; and through what processes and mechanisms could they be applied to address mobility challenges?

This chapter begins by examining approaches to social policy before picking up the findings of the first literature review chapter that a different policy solution to the mobility challenges facing urbanising cities in developing countries is required. It then examines participatory governance, and in particular the idea of a legalistic rights-based approaches to participatory governance, as a tool to improve decision-making outcomes. Finally, the chapter ends with a discussion
as to how a rights-based approach to decision-making could improve mobility of urban residents.

3.2 The basis of social policy

Social policy exists to redress imbalances caused by relying on a market-based distribution of goods and services and aims to improve the well-being of citizens (Hill 1996). As Amartya Sen recognised, ‘although an individual may be personally satisfied with their circumstances, if they have diminished capabilities, social justice dictates that they should be offered the choice to be able to participate more fully in society’ (Stanley and Vella-Brodrick 2009, p. 95). This sense of justice implies an expectation that the state and organisations concerned with social welfare, should work to improve the living conditions and social justice for all society.

As Chapter 2 has suggested, there is a fundamental need to adopt transport as a social policy concern in order to address the effects on people’s wellbeing. As examined the last chapter, mobility is intrinsically linked to a citizen’s welfare, and is this an enabler of access to goods and services and as Banister puts it a ‘fundamental component of a way of life’ which is ‘embedded in our social, economic and cultural endeavours’ (Banister 2005 in Low and O’Connor 2013, pp. 11-12). Discourses on social exclusion stress the importance of public transport provision to help individuals find suitable employment with which to improve individual economic prosperity (MacKinnon et al. 2008, p.65), although given the breadth of transport-related social exclusion issues examined in Chapter 2, any publicly funded transport provision should have a wider aim than just providing access to employment.
3.3 **Improved accessibility or improved mobility?**

Hutton states that the ‘task of transport planning is to provide the most effective spread of accessibility that can be wrung out of the available resources’ (Hutton, 2013 p.207). He goes on to state this as an ‘unavoidable consequence of geography’ that ‘transport infrastructure and services cannot provide uniform accessibility to all addresses’ (ibid, p207).

Preston and Rajé (2007) suggest that the overall aim of transport policy is to deal with the accessibility deficit that is created by existing transport infrastructure and services. In the author’s view, this deficit is also created by existing urban form and land use policy and practices including the creation of informal settlements without adequate infrastructure, particularly in developing country cities. The use of the term accessibility by both authors suggests a focus on the systemic aspects of mobility, rather than focussing on the aspects of mobility that relates to a person (e.g. their income, physical abilities or ability to understand public transport timetables). However, the literature contains a debate about these two possible policy directions and their different outcomes – one improving mobility and the other improving accessibility.

Ultimately this is important because, as Attoh (2012), states the way the problems and solutions of transport disadvantage are viewed will be the metaphorical ‘lens’ through which the city is viewed; if the focus is on employment and jobs as in the UK and US tradition (see Hodgson and Turner 2003, Blumenberg and Manville 2004, Lucas 2012 in Chapter 2, then the policies, measures and indicators by which are assessed will be skewed towards employment sites and education. Alternatively, with a focus on health,
the perception of success would shift to consider healthcare provision. Therefore, understanding the political context within the city is important when trying to understand how decisions are made about transport investments.

Mobility and accessibility patterns are necessarily complex, and affected by time, day, season and other factors. Cass et al. suggest that it is important to understand this changing nature of travel to reflect both the public or formal aspects of life, such as jobs, education, healthcare, and the informal aspects, such as maintaining social networks that contribute to wellbeing and quality of life (2005). Stanley et al. also looked at the importance of ‘informal accessibility’, which they see as the need to socialise, form and renew social networks to develop social capital and strengthen a sense of community (2010).

Cass et al. suggest that policy goals that aim to increase access to a destination ignore the importance of these informal activities, the way that social networks are formed, and how they have changed in recent decades with new technologies. For example, they point to a person’s need for informal meetings, creating ‘weak, more distant’ ties that may later translate into other opportunities, for example job opportunities (Cass et al., 2005 p. 546, Stanley et al., 2006).

However, providing the argument for increased mobility, Kenyon et al. suggest (2003, p.321) the ‘majority of research into the relationship between social exclusion and transport suggests a need for an increase in physical mobility – largely, by public transport – to overcome transport-related exclusion’. However, they and the authors of the UN-Habitat report on sustainable urban mobility (2013) explain that mobility alone is not enough if it does not provide the
accessibility to the desired location. Therefore, a combination of looking at the person and the system is required.

This debate between focusing on mobility and accessibility is important for this thesis and there exists a debate in the literature about the varying policy goals depending on the overall objective. However, as stated in Chapter 2, for this thesis the focus is on improving the transport system as a mechanism to improve mobility, which has been less explored.

3.4 **Policy solutions**

From the literature on transport-related social exclusion, there are a number of views on the types of policy intervention to address the issues. These range from measures relating to improving the spatial coverage of the transport network, to improving the timetables for public transport to innovations such as increasing access to virtual mobility through which social contact can be increased (Preston and Rajé 2007; Cebollada and Avellaneda 2008).

In general, the possible policy interventions can be grouped into five categories:

- Interventions relating to the physical transport infrastructure, for example Preston and Rajé’s spatial coverage of the network or suggestions to improve walking and cycling routes (UN-Habitat 2013), or to support new or more traditional modes such as rickshaws which can be cheaper and more suitable for peripheral land with poor quality roads,

- Interventions relating to time and timetabling of services such as Cebollada and Avellaneda’s suggestion of improving the timetables to increase patronage,
• Financial interventions such as discount fares for the young or the old or people on low-incomes (Deka 2004) or a more general reduction in fares (Preston and Rajé 2007).

• Interventions relating to land use such as increasing the proximity of facilities and contacts through pro-neighbourhood policies and/or the decentralisation of services (Preston and Rajé 2007), or the variety of suggestions put forward in the UN-Habitat report on Sustainable Mobility such as supporting high density settlements with mixed-use functions in order to minimise the need for extended travel and linking transport systems to low-cost housing.

• Innovative interventions such as providing support for technology to create virtual mobility networks (using the internet to provide accessibility to resources, without the need to travel) (Preston and Rajé 2007).

In reality, it is likely that a combination of policies is required to tackle transport-related social exclusion. Throughout the literature there are two emergent themes; one is equity and the need for a policy stance to reduce inequality, and the second is that there must be a greater focus on people’s need to access certain locations, rather than simply adding in transport infrastructure where current demand is high. Both of these points resonate with the rights agenda which is the main policy focus of this thesis covered later in this chapter. However, all these policy options assume a degree of sophistication in the transport network, relatively transparent governance, and a predominance of formal transport modes, that may not be evident in developing country cities. A
further challenge in this thesis is therefore how to apply these ideas in contexts of rapid growth, political uncertainty and limited resources.

3.5 **A critique of the policy-making tradition**

This section provides a critique of the current decision-making practices on transport investment in order to provide a link between transport-related social exclusion and the approach that a rights based approach might offer thus addressing Research Question 2 of the thesis. Two caveats are relevant here; one is that there are many variations in national and political variations in decision-making processes, the regulatory environment or resourcing for transport, but there are nevertheless certain common practices adopted in transport policy-formation and decision-making which are discussed here. The second caveat is that arguably the biggest critique of transport planning processes is that transport-related social exclusion exists (as described in chapter 2) highlighting that there are social disbenefits to the current decision-making process. The discussion thus focusses on current decision-making procedures in order to explore the potential for a rights-based approach to enhance awareness of transport-related social exclusion.

A critique of current practice is that ‘traditional planning methods for urban transport systems are aimed principally at satisfying demand and do not take into account aspects related to socio-economic or spatial equity’ (Jaramillo et al 2012, p342).

Historically, urban transport planning has focussed on highways design, adopting the ‘predict and provide’ approach, to focus on predicting traffic flow
and providing sufficient road space. Literature from the 1970s and 1980s demonstrates the belief at that time in the private car to solve transportation problems. For example in 1981, Meyer and Gomez-Ibanez stated that 'many transportation problems, including transportation 'of the disadvantaged' can be solved only by adapting the automobile to meet the increasingly stringent requirements of urban life' (Meyer and Gomez-Ibanez 1981). In recent decades, this 'predict and provide' approach has faced criticism, largely from the environmental sector for the externalities it creates - severe and increasing problems of road congestion, safety and environmental pollution (e.g. Jaramillo et al. 2012) - but also from those who believe that the approach advantages road users to the detriment of those who gain less travel-benefit from road construction, particularly because many of the environmental externalities disproportionately affect the urban poor (Hine and Mitchell 2001). In addition, 'predict and provide' has been shown to stimulate increasing levels of physical movement as a whole, rather than improving access to goods and services for those minority ethnic or low-income groups. It is now widely accepted that catering for a rising travel demand, particularly when this is predominately driven by the use of private cars, is unsustainable, as increasing supply of roadspace stimulates greater demand ('induced demand') and because of the environmental externalities it causes. Therefore, the alternative of public transport must be favoured.

Transport projects have also historically been implemented based on the results of a cost benefit analysis (CBA). This assessment tool uses figures on the financial costs of construction and benefits of an investment, including time savings, economic stimulus, reduction in accidents etc., and includes social
impacts where these can be quantified and monetised. Although there are different practices in different countries, CBAs tend to favour projects that will result in small time savings for a large number of people because the calculations work at an aggregate level. Traditionally this has led to greater transport investment in road-building projects rather than projects for public transport. CBA is typically applied to highways development and to major public transport proposals. Walking, cycling and other non-motorised transport is often not included in CBA analyses.

While it is possible to include social costs and benefits in a CBA, this is fraught with difficulty and has been heavily criticised in the literature, largely because of the assumptions used in the process. The criticisms stem from the basic premise that transport infrastructure investments are ‘likely to cause some groups to be better off, but also some to be worse off, where the incidence of gains and losses over different interest groups will generally vary over space’ (Verhoef, 1997, p. 31). Authors including Martens suggest that both transport modelling and cost-benefit analysis are driven by principles that ‘serve highly mobile groups, most notably car users, at the expense of weaker groups in society’ (Martens 2006, p14). For example, Martens highlights the unfairness of assumptions made in the calculations: many CBAs use income levels in calculations of travel time savings to identify the economic benefit of a certain project. If incomes are based on spatialised data, areas with more higher-income households will score higher than those with more lower-income households.
Lower income areas also fare worse when calculations are based on the number of trips made. As Martens notes, low-income areas will still be disadvantaged as the number of trips made in these areas tend to be lower than for higher income areas. Therefore, for any project analysis where travel time savings are calculated using the number of minutes saved multiplied by number of the projected trips, he suggests that ‘well-to-do-suburbs’ will always perform better in a CBA than a disadvantaged area (Martens 2006 p15). This is illustrated in the following diagram showing the ‘vicious circle’ that underlies current transport modelling practices.

Figure 3. The Vicious Circle Underlying Transport Modelling (taken from Martens 2006).

Cebollada and Avellanada (2008) provide an empirical example of this inherent disadvantage. They compared transport planning processes between Barcelona and Lima, accepting that European models of development are being copied in Latin America with the result that social factors are forgotten in the analysis, increasing the risk of greater social exclusion. By interviewing residents in both cities about their present and past daily mobility needs, and interviewing planning professionals and transport operators about how transport
is planned and provided in the city, they concluded that there were ‘serious doubts about the benefits of the “new” public transport designed for Lima Metropolitana on the low-income population in terms of integration and social cohesion’ particularly in terms of cost, timetabling and a limited spatial distribution throughout city (ibid, p. 13).

Therefore, as the SEU report of 2003 on the UK concluded, ‘social costs have not been given due weight in transport policy’ (SEU, 2003, p.4). As CBAs are based on assessing demand which assumes a just and equal distribution of options (modes, facilities, and the ability to pay etc), rather than looking at the needs of individuals or society as a whole, social equity is overlooked (Martens, 2006). One way to remedy the process would be to include some form of distributional analysis, which is where the costs and benefits related to particular sections of society are assessed independently to check for ‘fairness’. More recently, tools such as Multi-Criteria Analysis, Social Cost Benefit Analysis and Social Impact Assessments have emerged as attempts to include consideration of a wider set of factors than simply financial costs and benefits into transport assessments. However, many authors, such as Beyazit still believe that the distributional issues ‘are lacking in the content of current evaluation and appraisal tools which mainly rely on the ratio of general costs and benefits’ (2011, p. 118). Martens suggests that a social justice approach is needed which would ‘focus on the distribution of transport investments over population groups and the related performance of the network for each of these groups’ (Martens 2006, p. 7). He argues that without such an approach the

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6 Social justice is understood here as the morally proper distribution of goods and bads across members of society (Elster 1992; Miller 1999a in Martens 2006, p.3).
unequal distribution of income in a society will invariably lead to the continued unequal distribution of transport facilities (ibid).

Beyazit 2011 ‘describes social justice as the ‘just distribution of what is owned, gained and lost by the members of a society’. In transport context, social justice refers to the fairness in the physical distribution of goods, accessibility for people, affordability of all types of services and distribution of other gains (such as increases in land and property prices). The concepts of fairness and equity have also been explored in the literature. According to Banister (2005) (in Jaramillo et al. 2012, p. 342) there are spatial, social and economic components of equity. ‘Spatial equity is related to the equitable provision of transport services and improvements in infrastructure, particularly in peripheral and/or rural areas. Social equity refers to the availability of special transport services adapted for disadvantaged persons. Economic equity refers to transport services designed for users with lower incomes, or those without economic means to pay the transport tariffs’ (Banister, 2005; Litman, 2010b in Jaramillo et al 2012 p342). Economic equity also includes the tradition of subsidising certain routes for particular travellers, where they are deemed to be ‘socially necessary’, such as school children or those travelling to hospitals. Clearly the extent of these subsidies depends on the country and city.

Foth et al (2013, p. 1) state that ‘equity planning, defined by Krumholz and Forrester (1990), is about promoting a wider variety of choices for people who have fewer ones. It is an important concept in transportation planning because decision-makers often make choices between maximizing transit user numbers or improving geographic coverage to less-populated areas (Walker, 2008).
Similarly to Martens, Foth et al state that ridership numbers should not be the only basis for decision-making. Social outcomes are just as critical because ‘socio-economic isolation intensifies when there are many transit-dependent residents without decent access to destinations’ (Garrett and Taylor, 1999), a clear reference to transport-related social exclusion. However, Deka (2004) suggests that ‘equity planning’, which has emerged as a response to urban social injustice in many policy fields, has not reached the field of transport planning because by its very nature transport planning assumes a rational approach using mainly quantitative data, and uses traffic engineering and computer models that reinforce the status quo. Importantly for this thesis, the one missing element of equity is the need to include the voice of the community and to ensure that any decision-making process involves the people who are likely to be affected.

Therefore, the literature analysed here demonstrates a consensus: there is a need for greater consideration of the social impacts of transport projects and plans in any analysis, although there are variations in how this should be approached.

3.6 Poor participation in orthodox systems of representative democracy

In many of the articles discussed in the previous section, the idea of involving the public in participatory programs is proposed as being part of the solution. The fact is that a democracy involves democratic citizens is well established but the actual inclusion of citizens in representative democracy is a complex matter (Galston, 2001). There is a balance to be struck between self-interest and
public spirit, between rights and responsibilities and between reasoned deliberation and passion. Solt recognises that greater levels of income inequality reduce interest in politics and ‘those with higher incomes and more wealth, therefore, enjoy more potential political influence than those of fewer means, and elected representatives are, as a result, more responsive to their preferences’ (2008, p. 52). Conversely, poorer citizens are less likely to engage in democratic politics, perceiving the system as irrelevant and unresponsive to their ideas. Pateman agreed stating that because greater economic inequality concentrates more political power in the hands of the affluent, apathy is a ‘realistic response’ for ordinary citizens as there is limited value in participating (Pateman 1971, p 298).

Cornwall and Coelho described the ‘challenge of building democratic polities where all can realise their rights and claim their citizenship is one of the greatest of our age’ (2007, p.1), which has resulted in a plethora of ways that citizens try to articulate their demands; protest, petitioning, lobbying and direct action. Underpinning the concept is a critique of the contemporary city, the principles of social justice and equity, and the notion that urban policies under neoliberalism are increasingly unjust, undemocratic and exclude the poor to prioritise the needs of business and the wealthy.

Harvey states that ‘thirty years of neoliberalism teaches us that the freer the market the greater the inequalities and the greater the monopoly power’ and urbanisation under such a system produces ‘worlds of inequality, alienation and injustice’ (Harvey 2003, p. 941). Healey (1997) argues that a more inclusive and deliberative approach to planning would ‘challenge the technocratic system of
current practice with its investment in the instrumental rationality of experts and elected representatives and their role as local decision makers’.

3.7 **Participatory governance**

Within the literature of the past twenty years, there is evidence of growing support for a more collaborative approach to social policy. Critique of the existing system of representative democracy puts forward the case for a ‘bottom-up’ approach to planning, which is the focus of this study, involving all stakeholders in decision making thereby improving transparency, integrity and legitimacy over what Healey (1997) terms the conventional ‘prepare-reveal-defend’ process of plan-making. Cornwall and Coelho define the term ‘participatory sphere’ as an arena forming the interface between state and society where technical and political boundaries can be negotiated and collaborations formed (2007, p.2). However, this ‘communicative-turn’ of planning is not without its critics who question how local level interests, say between business and the local community, can be balanced (Stoker 1997), and of course how national level targets such as for housebuilding or carbon emissions reductions can be achieved by the un-coordinated devolution of planning (Cowell 2007). This section examines how participatory governance is designed to work, and will describe some of the challenges found.

The idea of public service and good governance, is to improve the socio-economic conditions of citizens. Democratically elected representatives and their officials should have public interest at the heart of their professional purpose, at least in a benevolent state. They have dedicated their careers to ‘make the world safer and cleaner, to improve our health, to teach our children
and to unravel the host of societal maladies that confront us’ (Denhardt & Denhardt 2007, p4). One of the outcomes of poor public service delivery in recent decades has been an increased interest in public engagement in decision-making processes. Such an approach affords opportunities to the ‘average citizen’ to get involved in decisions taken at the many layers of government and this section describes the approach before drawing upon some examples from the field of transport.

Participatory approaches to governance have developed both from attempts at government level to promote engagement in all stages of the policy process from design to implementation and evaluation, and from community action and social movements particularly those representing individuals or groups of individuals who feel that their voices have gone unheard, or have been actively silenced (Barnes et al 2004). However, as this section will demonstrate, the concern relates to finding opportunities for those people traditionally excluded from decision making, i.e. the socially excluded.

The process of public participation has been defined as the ‘ability and incentive for ordinary people to come together, deliberate and take action on problems or issues that they themselves have defined as important’ (Gibson 2006 cited in Denhardt & Denhardt 2011). Implicit within this quote is that there are problems and actions that are operational at the local level, and this perhaps is ‘below’ the level of normal government or public service action. Secondly, it would be foolish to assume that all those elected to power, or indeed the officials working for them, were equipped to deal fully with societal issues. Therefore, a
participatory process is necessary to fully understand the issue and the implications of any policy.

The best rehearsed arguments on participation come from Arnstein (1969) and her ladder of participation. Her now well-known typology in a ladder pattern demonstrates the various ways of engaging people from non-participation, through tokenism to higher degrees of citizen power. She herself admitted that an eight-rung ladder was an over-simplification but the idea was to expose what some term as citizen engagement as an empty ritual, and to challenge the normative power balance between the have-nots and the powerholders. Nonetheless, the main benefit of her work was to identify the main types of participation and to dispel the myth that participation always transferred some decision-making power to the citizen.

Barnes et al (2004) studied participatory governance processes in two cities in the UK and looked at both ‘invited spaces’ created by the government to bridge the gap to the citizen, and what they called ‘popular spaces’ created by the voluntary or community sector but usually restricted to a neighbourhood or a ‘community of identity’, such as disabled service users, or lesbian and gay rights. They found that there were three main models of engagement, all of which can be located on Arnstein’s ladder;

1. Information giving, either to encourage wider participation or to raise awareness about a public service or function.

2. Consultation whereby the public can give their views about a particular issue within a framework set by the consulting organization.
3. Dialogue between government and citizens which allows either party to introduce an issue for discussion.

These models were exercised in a variety of activities including visioning events, focus groups, citizen research and teleconferencing where particular communities could not meet face to face. In trying to establish the types of people most likely to engage in these events, Barnes et al. (2004) determined that each individual was motivated by a certain commitment. For example, a commitment to a local area might motivate some people to get involved in regeneration initiatives, a religious commitment might motivate people to help others, and a commitment originating from difference or exclusion might relate to poverty alleviation. They found that there were some activities that encouraged openness, for example housing fora with the neighbourhood residents to discuss improvement proposals, whilst other activities emphasised the idea of representation, particularly for different ethnic groups.

Bickerstaff and Walker (2005) examined the wave of participation in local government transport planning that emerged since the mid 1990s in the UK as a means of questioning normative democratic institutional processes in the light of an increased discourse on citizen rights. They argue that local governments had been ‘experimenting with ‘new’ and deliberative methods of stakeholder and public involvement that sought to ‘overcome the communicative barriers that lead to adversarial styles of interaction (such as traditional public meetings)’ and also look to redress the power balance between decision-makers and the public (p. 2124).
Hodgson and Turner in their study of local transport planning and participatory practices provided five criteria for successful participation that can be used to examine any other participatory process. They are;

- ‘giving voice’ to users ‘allowing all users equal engagement and involvement in decisions about how the transport system serves their needs (and) how it meets their view of being included’,

- ‘generating trust’ by initiating small-scale interventions that would develop trust within those taking part that the government body does listen and act upon their needs,

- ‘supporting organising in the community’. Hodgson and Turner recognised that by supporting existing groups and societies with resources or funding, a government body would be more likely to get the public to engage in their processes,

- ‘involvement in generating the solution’ by including suggestions made by members of the public in the options to be assessed,

- ‘the outputs of the process’ including transparency over the chosen solution and a commitment to its implementation (Hodgson and Turner 2003, p. 269-270).

Thus, in order to improve decisions made in terms of transport investment, participatory practices are important to include the voice of the community to ensure that any decision-making process involves people who are likely to be affected and that there are requirements for openness, transparency and accountability.
In Section 3.12, these five points are combined with the rights agenda to evaluate the participatory processes engaged in the case study.

3.8 The challenges of participation

Despite the normative belief underpinning the concept that engaging with citizens will lead to improved governance and development outcomes, an assessment of the impacts of participation has not provided a positive narrative.

One challenge is around the membership of any group or panel of ‘the public’ that is invited to be involved in participatory activity. There are often ‘more enraged citizens than engaged ones’ and within society, there are those that ‘win’ and those that ‘lose’ with some sectors being excluded from influencing the decisions that affect them (Byrne 2001, p171). Within a particular participatory exercise, there can be tensions where some groups or voices are better organised to attend sessions and provide representative views. Imbalanced memberships of fora and community panels can lead to the over-representation of some views at the expense of others. Conversely, under-representation on consultative groups can be caused by the absence of a network within one particular community of identity which creates a barrier to participation.

The idea of value pluralism is relevant here: society as a whole, let alone one sector, is often unlikely to share the same opinion. This makes the requirement to understand society’s views more important, but also more complicated. Habermas (1970) developed the concept of ‘ideal speech’ in his theory of communication, arguing that through conversation and debate, discussants would inevitably move past value pluralism towards reasonable and consensual
agreements. Ideal speech was defined by a set of criteria which include having all the important interests present at the table, ensuring that each participant is fully informed in order to represent their interests, and ensuring that all claims and assumptions are questioned. In Habermas' view, only by fulfilling these criteria would there be an equal level of empowerment of the parties around the table.

However, this notion of ideal speech has been much critiqued in the literature with the common assertion that these criteria cannot be met in the real world. Returning to a Foucauldian perspective on power, participation is constrained by, or veiled by, specific perpetuating sets of power relations. Similarly, many authors (Tewdwr-Jones and Thomas 1998, Flybjerg 1998) have questioned whether consensus is ever possible or desirable if it means a compromised position between extremes.

Another fundamental issue to overcome is the power of the organising body or people to shape the discussion by considering, or not-considering-enough, who they invite to take part. Inviting the ‘usual suspects’ to discuss transport planning is most likely to engage the same level of discussion. Barnes et al (2005) in their discussion of ‘invited’ spaces and ‘popular spaces’ and concluded that because participatory exercises in ‘invited spaces’ are normally established, managed and run according to rules set by a government institution, there is both a reluctance to change and a lack of challenge to the prevailing power relationship between ‘the public’ and ‘the officials’, resulting in little material change to decision making and even a demoralization of once-committed members of the public. They go on to suggest that ‘popular spaces’
established by citizens themselves are needed, which may either combine with
government invited attempts at participatory governance or remain at an arm’s
length.

Bickerstaff and Walker (2005) expressed the need to consider carefully the
methods for engagement, particularly around the legitimacy of any non-elected,
small consultative forums. Their research demonstrated five ideas;

- The general perception of participation initiatives is that they are
dominated by particular and forceful interests, be they civic, business or
institutional,

- These interests serve to neuter any opposing voices and therefore
reinforce the normative unequal power dynamic,

- Participants and groups will use tactics to try to by-pass or influence the
attempt to find a consensus,

- Greater participation can therefore exacerbate the norm and reproduce
existing patterns of social exclusion and disadvantage,

- There is a need to move away from the concept of ‘ideal speech’ and
recognise the permanence of conflict, inequality and domination.

When discussing the empowerment of marginalised communities, Gibbon
(1992) and Creegan et al (2003) discuss options such as holding citizen
assemblies where the decision-makers invite a representative group of citizens
to voice their opinions on an issue. Four discourses are presented in the
literature; the ‘empowered public’, the ‘consuming public’ where individuals as
free agents are able to exercise choice in the use of public service in a free market model to be active consumers, the ‘stakeholder public’ where citizens have a stake in the good governance of public realm, and ‘responsible public’. Whether these four categories are part of a continuum or not is unknown, but it seems possible that different members of the community assume different positions, and that a person may change from being a stakeholder to an empowered contributor depending on the issue and how they perceive it affects them. However, Bickerstaff and Walker (2005) found that a failure in understanding of the possible range of materials and methods of engagement by local government officials arranging the participation, led to the continuation of entrenched practices of elite decision-making.

Legitimacy is another risk factor highlighted by Barnes et al (2005) and the associated claims to legitimacy based on skills, knowledge and experience of particular members of a consultative forum and their claims to ‘represent’ a wider group. Particular knowledge of the location in question, or a professional background expressed by a lay person representing residents can cause tensions amongst consultative groups. Bickerstaff and Walker (2005) also raised the issue of conflict between elected members of the government body who believe that they are elected to represent the views of the public and direct involvement by citizens. They found a tendency to avoid involving citizens for fear of undermining their own legitimacy on any decision-making panel. They also reported a tension for local government staff who felt caught between the aspirations of the public and the need to conform to government guidance, in this case on local transport planning. Copus (2003) described these tensions as ‘crises of representation’, and highlights the inconsistency of views that can
be intensified by government ambitions to see greater citizen engagement in government decision-making.

Moving to consider the motivations for those members of the public to engage in any participatory practice in their case studies, Bickerstaff and Walker found that participants were less concerned about the process, and more concerned about the policy outcomes, although they recognise the challenges in delivering substantial outcomes and the value of ‘quick wins’. The study by Barnes et al (2005) also acknowledged the importance of what they termed ‘little victories’, small steps toward more long-term change in seeking the trust of the citizen groups being engaged in a particular decision-making process. However, the authors recognised the importance of managing the expectations of those involved to understand that significant change is unlikely in the short term, and ‘little victories’ should be viewed as positive elements indicating overall successful outcomes.

So despite the normative belief that engaging with citizens will lead to improved governance and development outcomes, the impact of participation has been difficult to assess. Unfortunately, there are often many people driven to join a participatory process because of anger at a situation rather than a genuine desire to influence the decision-making process and there are also those that ‘win’ and those that ‘lose’ in any discussion, with some sectors being excluded from influencing the decisions that affect them (Byrne 2001, p171). Bickerstaff and Walker (2005) conclude that participation has failed to deliver the significant changes in normative decision-making practices of local government. They found that a lack of outcome can result in consultation fatigue or a
disinclination to become involved. As Hajer and Kesselring (1999) described, participatory practices, however minimal, could provide a legitimising ‘veneer’ over the existing power balance and the status quo, which means that despite a change in the process from ‘prepare, reveal, defend’ approach to ‘prepare, consult, reveal, defend’, the policy outcome is still the same.

Few researchers have explored participatory planning in developing countries. Fouracre et al. (2006) argues that a more engaged process is required in order to make better decisions based on a greater understanding of travel patterns and the impacts of transport disadvantage on livelihoods. They argue that the engagement of communities and users in decisions about transport and travel is paramount to dealing with social issues precisely because transport is a fundamental mechanism for supporting and strengthening social networks, often termed social capital. Their study in four developing country cities assessed various methods that governments could use to research the needs of their citizens, such as interviews, focus groups, household travel diary, which are all valid methods of enquiry, but will not lead to the revolutionary charge needed to address the scale of transport-related social exclusion, as they retain citizens at an arm’s length from the decision-making process. Information received via these methods is still ‘filtered through’ government officials and then reported to the decision-takers. This is a different model to including citizens or citizen groups as equitable players around the table. The concept of a right to participate is discussed later in this chapter.

Nonetheless, as users, indirect beneficiaries or as taxpayers for public goods and services, it can be argued that citizens have a legitimate entitlement to
representation alongside the responsibility to exercise that role. This involves the need to de-centralise decision making – a phenomenon that could directly challenge representative democracy. Several authors writing on participatory planning conclude that further work is need to understand how power is distributed among participants and how a shift in the power balance could impact the process (Santos and Chess 2003, Bickerstaff and Walker 2005). A rights-based approach is a new mechanism for participatory planning seeking to redress the power dynamics. As such this research addresses part of the research gap identified by these earlier authors.

3.8 The role of Civil Society Organisations

This section draws together debates in the literature on the importance and efficacy of civil society organisations as co-ordinators of public voice. While limited in the literature, the presence of these groups can be common in practice, either lobbying governments or to working as mediators between government and the public.

A study on participation in the health service in the Netherlands by Bovenkamp et al (2010) classified the three main ways to organize public participation;

1. To invite a representative group of average citizens to voice their opinion on a certain subject.

2. To ask a specific group of citizens, the one that will be affected by the decision, to participate.

3. To involve organised civil society groups.
Bovenkamp et al suggest that these civil society groups, described as neo-corporatist, have become legitimate partners in the decision making process, as opposed to the pluralist model of decision making in which interest groups lobby decision-makers from the outside. This happens because it is the role of the organisation to deliberate on the multiple views and present a consider consensus to the government agency leading the participation. This way, the CSO works as an intermediary between the government and the public, with the government hearing only an amalgamated view, rather than the multiple opinions held within one community. Bovenkamp et al state that, in the health sector, patient organisations are being increasingly asked to participate in decision-making processes.

Criticisms of this approach argue that the government needs to recognise the civil society organisation in order to invite them into the decision-making sphere, and the approach does nothing to address the imbalance of power between government and people. Other concerns relate to the limited resources for an organisation to participate effectively, particularly if the process takes months or years and the organisation is small and consists of volunteers without the funds to professionalise. Bovenkamp et al also report that because several successful examples of patient organisations influencing health policy came from lobbying, it is not yet clear whether participating within the decision-making framework accomplishes more than lobbying from the outside. The authors conclude that having civil society organisations as an equal party in the decision-making process is neither feasible nor desirable and that other strategies such as lobbying and use of the media should be used with direct
patient participation through focus groups and shadowing, to ensure decisions are taken close to patient experiences.

3.9 Rights

The preceding section has detailed how participatory practices have yielded mixed results in achieving policy change, and how some literature suggests that a more fundamental power shift toward the citizen is required to address social exclusion challenges. While the question of whether the aim of decision making is that decisions should be made by the people (as opposed to by their democratically elected representatives) or closer to the people, the concept of citizens as members of the decision-making process implies inclusion and mutual rights and obligations (Hutton, 2013). This section will outline the relevance of rights to issues of social equity, first of all stepping outside the sphere of mobility and transport to understand the potential relevance and critiques before presenting arguments for the consideration of mobility as a right.

At the essence of an understanding of rights is that by bestowing rights upon someone or an organisation, some form of entitlement is conveyed to the ‘right-holder’ (Watts and Fitzpatrick 2017). There are many forms of rights including ‘moral or legal, abstract or specific, enforceable or unenforceable, and national or international’ (Watts and Fitzpatrick 2017). The notion of rights and responsibilities, is complex and it is not always easy to understand their practical applications.
Rights emerged from seventeenth and eighteenth century philosophers during the period known as the Western ‘Enlightenment’ which saw the first Bills of Rights in England, America and France. Rights were seen as ‘fundamental, bestowed by God or another divine source, or by some understanding of the nature of humanity’ and were commonly seen as rules or constraints limiting the actions of the individual against the pursuance of collective goals (Watts and Fitzpatrick, 2017 p. 38-39). These so-called ‘natural rights’ were firmly entrenched within the idea of acting in a morally good manner, and therefore were deontological i.e. related to duty and obligation, by their very nature.

Natural rights have been superseded by the concept of human rights. This form of rights has found expression in many international instruments by way of Article 25 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which asserts;

‘everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services’. (UN-Habitat, 2013)

It is explicit in this quote that every human being ought to have access to the rights specified above, and it is incumbent on UN member states to ensure their delivery. Human rights differ from natural rights as the onus is on the collective to provide a basic level of living standard for each and every individual.

The idea of human rights, often simply referred to as ‘rights’ has increasingly gained policy traction in the developing and developed world due to its ‘considerable ethical and intuitive force’ (Watts and Fitzpatrick 2017, p. 40). Part of the attraction towards rights-based approaches stem from notions of equity
as a means of tackling the many forms of inequality that exist within the distribution of societal resources.

When these rights are translated into legislation, such as an unemployed worker’s entitlement to jobseekers’ allowance or housing benefit, there are policies and guidelines clarifying entitlements which contextualise and define the rights and entitlements. This clarification process into law aids the use and enforceability of the right and channels exist by which individuals can seek redress through an appeal system or the domestic court systems (Watts and Fitzpatrick 2013, p. 43). Scruton (2006) cited in Watts and Fitzpatrick (2017) emphasise that it is only when rights become realities by being embedded into legislation do they move from the purview of transnational committees ‘in the realm of dreams’ (p. 44).

However, there are critiques to the application of rights to the notion of wellbeing and the individual needs. Ignatieff (1987) argues that love, belonging, dignity and respect are all things that we need, as well as the physical items, which cannot be provided for within a formal framework of rights. This statement undermines the notion that entitlements can be defined and provided for across the spectrum of human need.

There are also examples where the existence of human rights has been used in, at best unintended, and at worst, highly problematic situations because rights can be used as what Dworkin calls ‘trumps’ in a policy context whereby certain policy priorities have a ‘protected’ status (1977 in Watts and Fitzpatrick 2017). A court case and subsequent appeals have debated whether the legal ability for communities to have areas of land designated as village greens, to
protect them from development, may be incompatible with landowner rights (Baker 2008). Preserving landowner rights is clearly not the primary concern here but they are being used in this situation to prevent the village green designation. This is an example of a perverse use of the notion of rights.

Critics of rights-based policies suggest that whenever rights are bestowed on a person, ‘power situations’ arise in that public officials administering the right, for example to housing or to welfare payments, have considerable power over ‘claimants’ as there are normally conditions placed upon claimants. The process of claiming job-seekers allowance with specified time limits and adhering to expectations that claimants will actively seek employment, provides a good example here. This power dynamic leads to the uncertainty as to whether service users are ‘beneficiaries’ with an implied debt of gratitude to the purveyor or original ‘rights holders’ (Spicker 1984, cited in Watts and Fitzpatrick 2017).

Yet, in spite these weaknesses, human rights discourses retain a key strength: the value of a ‘shared vocabulary’ (Ignatieff 2000, p.349) which can be more useful than harmful, particularly in countries where democratic traditions and the protection of minorities remain weak or underdeveloped (Watts and Fitzpatrick 2017).

These debates provide the foreground through which to consider the meaning of rights-based approaches.
3.10 Mobility as a right

This section focusses on how a rights-based approach might be used in the theme of mobility.

Although not mentioned as a human right in United Nations covenants and conventions, there is a recognition in the literature that the need for mobility underpins the achievement of other human rights, for example, food, medical care and social services. Lazo highlights the fact that mobility is a basic necessity of modern life when she states that;

‘to move and travel is one of the conditions of modernity and it is already a basic necessity as a way of relating ourselves to others and to the city in general. This way we can consider the ability to travel through and within a city one of the liberties of democratic societies’ (Lazo 2008, p. 46).

To move about a neighbourhood or city is a basic component of quality of life; therefore a right to mobility should underpin all other rights (Lazo, 2008). Deka (2004) suggests that in order to operationalise the desire to rectify social inequality, mobility and accessibility should be considered as a basic need such as food, clothing and shelter. Martens (2006, p.7) argues that because ‘the importance of mobility and accessibility in contemporary lifestyles' underpins ‘in the words of Dworkin (1985), a prerequisite for “a life of choice and value” and if we posit that each citizen deserves such a life, the provision of transport facilities can hardly be based on the criterion of demand. Rather, need comes to the fore’. In this quote, Martens suggests that traditional methods of transport

7 Translated from the Spanish: ‘Moverse y desplazarse es una de las condiciones de la modernidad, y se transforma en una necesidad básica ya que es una manera de relacionarnos con los otros, con la ciudad total. Así, la posibilidad de desplazarse por y en la ciudad podemos considerarla como una de las libertades de las sociedades democráticas’.

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modelling based on travel demand are no longer sufficient to tackle the inequality that is inherent within situations of transport disadvantage. He suggests that if it is accepted that every person has a right to a certain standard of living, their need for mobility must be considered in a new approach to transport planning – a rights-based approach.

Therefore, several scholars writing in the transport literature suggest that a right to mobility could be argued because of its fundamental importance to economic and social wellbeing (Martens 2006 and Lazo 2008). UN-Habitat also refers to the possibility of a rights-based approach when quoting the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), stating that ‘the right to mobility is universal to all human beings, and is essential for the effective practical realisation of most other basic human rights’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 31). UN-Habitat recognises mobility as an entitlement irrespective of class, gender, poverty, physical disabilities, affordability. The argument for mobility to be considered as a right returns to transport-related social exclusion, in UN-Habitat’s statement that ‘mobility is thus about granting access to opportunities and empowering people to fully exercise their human rights’ (UN-Habitat 2013, p. 30).

Cebollada and Avellaneda (2008) add their voices to the argument for mobility to be considered a right by demonstrating the opposite situation, arguing that a lack of mobility is a diminishing citizens’ rights which should be addressed through transport policies. They suggest that policies should be tools for
integration and social cohesion, and if they are not designed with the citizen and access in mind, policies will be ‘powerful means of exclusion’ (ibid p. 742).

Importantly in practical terms, as Lucas (2011) concludes after her work on transport related social exclusion in South Africa, that in order to fully appreciate and tackle mobility problems, ‘access to accessible, affordable, safe and reliable public transport needs to be identified as a basic human right’. Her work and the other quoted in this section provide a validation for the focus in this thesis on rights-based approaches.

3.11 The Right to the City

One form of right that is gaining traction in social policy is the idea of the ‘right to the city’. Although the more pervasive discourses on this concept are not directly related to this research, the discussions around this term’s notion of the right to active participation provides useful parallels.

The right to the city concept as a political ideal (Harvey 2008) has been applied to many policy fields; it has been understood as the right of the homeless to occupy public space, the right of urban citizens to engage the urban planning process in non-trivial ways, and at its broadest, as a general right against urban policies that are seen to be either exclusionary, anti-democratic or that ban individuals or groups from participating in urban life (Attoh 2012). According to Mayer, it has been used as a slogan within several social protests and urban resistance movements (Mayer 2009) and in relation to social exclusion, Attoh

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8 Translated from the Spanish: ‘una potente vía de exclusión’
states that it has been looked at in terms of providing a possible way to mitigate social exclusion for the poor or welfare recipients (Attoh 2012).

Lefebvre first introduced the ‘right to the city’ as a concept in his book ‘Le Droit à la Ville’ (1968). He lamented that the ‘use value’ of the city, representing the benefits of urban living, was becoming less important in relation to the city’s ‘exchange value’ arising as a result of the commodification of urban assets and presented the right to the city as a possible way to reimagine urban spaces. His concept included two important tools to resist this change; the right to active participation in the politics, management and administration of the city, and the right to appropriation i.e. the right to access, occupy, create and use space (Dikeç 2001; Purcell 2002; Brown and Kristiansen 2009). His original concept has been further developed by various academics, most notably Harvey, Soja and Marcuse, but as Iveson writes the exact meaning of the concept remains contentious provocative and sketchy (Iveson 2011). Although arguably the second tool has been more deeply explored in the literature, the concept of the right to active participation in political life is directly relevant here.

For Harvey, the right to the city provides the opportunity to rethink and reshape our cities because it is ‘not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it [the city] after our heart's desire’ (Harvey 2003, p. 939). Importantly, because the urban landscape is intrinsically linked to the attainment of happiness and wellbeing, the right to the city also includes the reflexive idea of ‘the right to change ourselves by changing the city’ (Harvey 2008, p. 23). Parnell and Pietersee agree that ‘the right to the city is framed by a strong ethical base and (interlocking) actions to reduce inequality’ (Parnell
and Pieterse 2010, p. 149). It is therefore not a right in the sense of the right to education or to housing for example, but ‘an oppositional demand which challenges the claims of the rich and powerful’ (Mayer 2009, p. 367).

Attempts have been made to operationalise the concept, and the right to the city has gained significant traction with international NGOs and organisations working in development. In 2003, international human rights groups together with UNESCO presented a Global Charter-Agenda for the Human Right to the City and in 2004 Habitat International Coalition presented a draft World Charter on the Right to the City at the Social Forum of the Americas in Quito and at the second World Urban Forum in Barcelona. The following year, at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, a draft ‘World Charter on the Right to the City’ was adopted attempting to combat social exclusion of all forms. This Charter defined the right to the city as ‘the equitable use of cities according to principles of sustainability, democracy, equity and social justice’ (UNHCR, 2015 p. 13).

These various efforts and initiatives sought to develop a consensus on the implementation of the right into urban policies.

The right to the city as written in the text of the World Charter refers to other, more traditionally conceived, rights as part of ‘a bundle of already-existing human rights and related State obligations, to which, by extension, local authorities are also party’ (Mayer 2009, p. 368). Article 1 of the World Charter states that the right to the city;

‘assumes the inclusion of the rights to work in equitable and satisfactory conditions; to establish and affiliate with unions; to social security, public health, clean drinking water, energy, public transportation, and other social services; to food, clothing, and
adequate shelter; to quality public education and to culture’ (HIC 2005)

The same Article also includes reference to rights to ‘information, political participation, peaceful coexistence, and access to justice; and the right to organize, gather, and manifest ones opinion’ therefore widening the list from those which could be said to be already in existence (HIC 2005). In line with Harvey’s assertion that the right to the city is a collective right, this World Charter states that it is the collective right of the ‘inhabitants of cities’; however some groups are highlighted as deserving particular protection ‘in particular of the vulnerable and marginalized groups’ (HIC 2005).

Perhaps more helpful than collating existing rights into one overall right, is to think of the concept as embodying a number of important themes. The UNESCO-UN-Habitat report on ‘Urban Policies and the Right to the City’ suggests themes of local democracy and urban governance, social inclusion and decent, dignified existence within cities, cultural diversity and religious freedoms, and rights to urban services (Brown and Kristiansen 2009). In terms of urban governance, which is perhaps the most relevant to this thesis, the paper refers to a UN-Habitat index of good urban governance that is built on measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability. The report argues that in order to take forward the right to the city, urban governance has a crucial role in an implied contract between city governments and citizens working to ‘ensure efficiency and equitable delivery of services and allocation of resources, particularly for disadvantaged people, the poor, elderly, or migrants’ (ibid, p. 36). This index would seem a useful tool through which to examine the activity of city governments trying to implement the right to the city. Dikeç
agrees that the governance of the city is the key to achieving a right to the city; he writes that ‘it is the urban political life which is to be changed, not the city per se’ and such a right should manifest itself as a way for citizens to ‘actively and collectively relate to the political life of the city’ (2001, p. 1790). He argues that the right to the city is not simply a right to urban space, as could be narrowly but incorrectly interpreted from Lefebvre’s writings, but to a political space via this ‘enabling right, to be defined and refined through political struggle’ (ibid).

In conclusion, the right to the city is not the ‘only game in town’ (Mayer 2010, p 362) for dealing with the injustices and inequalities present within cities and ‘raises more questions than its answers’ (Purcell, 2002 p103) but it marries a right to access the opportunities, commodities and facilities on offer in a city, with the right to participate in the decision-making processes that surround daily urban life. However, one important part of the right to the city is the reciprocal element of rights and responsibilities, i.e. citizens must claim these rights and respect those of others (UN-Habitat 2013). Although difficult to define and attempts to ‘systematically elaborate’ the term as Purcell suggests (2002, p100) have been criticised for not embracing the radical potential of the original Lefebvrian ideal (e.g. Purcell 2002, Mayer 2009), the right to the city, and the interest that surrounds it both in academia and public policy, suggests that it can be an instrument for urban transformation.

Importantly the right to the city has been difficult to translate into specific action because it is a collective rather than an individual right, and has mainly achieved traction in Latin America, particularly in Brazil through the Constitution and 2001 City Statue, in Ecuador through the 2008 Constitution, and the 2014
Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City (Brown 2013, HIC 2014). These formal mechanisms constituting a rights-based approach to governance are relatively rare, making Ecuador a particularly interesting case to study in this thesis.

3.12 Application to considerations of mobility

Moving now to focus on how a rights-based approach could benefit urban mobility, this section presents an overview of some of the research already conducted before concluding with possible methods of exploration for this thesis.

Despite Harvey suggesting that application of the right to the city concept to transport and mobility has been ‘curiously absent from the literature’ (Harvey 2008), some research has been undertaken. Attoh has attempted to apply the concept to transport programmes, in the case of Syracuse in the US, a city with urban sprawl, capital flight and uncertain revenue streams (Attoh 2012). He suggests that ‘whether we define the right to the city as right to public space, or a right to organise collectively, implicit in asserting these rights are questions of transportation and mobility’ because, urban transport policies set the conditions under which the transport disadvantaged can assert their right to the city. He suggests that although transport studies have looked at metrics of accessibility or mobility, these are quite narrow views of ‘rights’ when considered against Lefebvre’s work.

Attoh maintains that a lack of clarity over the nature of the rights bestowed by the right to the city remains in the literature with the focus being on ‘who ought
to have a ‘right to the city’ (Dikeç, 2005) and what the ‘right to the city’ might mean for a more democratic urban politics (Purcell, 2005) rather than what the right actually is (Attoh 2011, p. 669). He therefore suggests that clarity is needed on the type of right which is at issue and whether the right to the city is ‘a socio-economic right or a liberty right, a legal right or a moral right, a prima facie right or an absolute right?’ (ibid). Attoh argues that the very concept of rights, and associated duties or responsibilities are ‘sites of struggle’ and suggests that definition is essential because;

‘while on the one hand this openness [of not defining the explicit nature of the right] may be beneficial, on the other hand it is hard to square this openness with an argument that holds that differences in how rights are defined, and the forms they take, remain differences that matter. Within the radical openness of the right to the city, we will surely find rights that not only collide but are incommensurable.

(Attoh 2011, p. 670)

He uses as an example, Dworkin’s notion of a moral right to break the law which perhaps was not the original aim of ‘rights talk’ but underlines why Attoh believes it is important to define the rights that are embodied in the right to the city (ibid). From a transport perspective, he argues that ‘if the right to affordable transportation is merely a call for expanding the private and individual ownership of cars, it is a right that may stand directly against a right to a clean and sustainable city’ and therefore that the ‘right to the city framework offers us little help in navigating the way forward’ (ibid, p. 675). For him, the right to the city contains an inherent conflict because different individuals and groups will use it in different ways but he suggests that perhaps there is a place for this ‘strategic fuzziness’ as it prompts a discussion between parties to seek trade-offs (ibid, p. 679).
One other study is worth a brief mention: Betancourt (2010) in his MSc thesis attempted to apply the right to the city to the Transmilenio bus rapid transit service in Bogotá. However, he used a more narrow definition of the concept: solely the right to access the activities and opportunities offered in that city. From a largely quantitative study of modal share, he found that people on low-incomes, women, the elderly, the disabled and children have, despite initial aspirations, experienced greater social exclusion as a result of Transmilenio largely because of factors such as poor service efficiency, low speed, inadequate quality of service and lack of information provision (but with the notable exception of cost). He concludes that applying the right to the city could improve the accessibility of this network to these marginalised groups and suggests that translating the concept into policy could improve the participatory practices of decision-making to encourage a dialogue between the relevant actors including the transport operators, community representatives and government officials. Betancourt’s work is a useful study, but did little to advance the arguments.

Hence, there is an absence of rights-based analysis in decision-making for transport planning, whether adopting a ‘right to the city’ concept or not. Thinking more broadly about how a right-based approach could address social exclusion and poor mobility, Martens’ point about assessing transport investments on the basis of need, and not demand is a valuable. He argues that ‘the importance of mobility and accessibility in contemporary lifestyles makes the distribution of transport facilities according to the criterion of demand difficult to defend’ (Martens 2006, p7). He goes on to argue that a ‘whole new generation of models based on the criterion of need’ will need to replace the
existing models. Such a ‘need-based model’ would assess ‘to what extent the existing or future transport network is able to secure a minimal level of accessibility for all population groups’. He advocates a standard of transport need for different population groups based on needs such as health, education, work and social contacts in order to determine the impact of any transport investment, in any need-based Costs Benefit Analysis. However, there are challenges with being too prescriptive about transport needs, which will vary by country, by city, by neighbourhood and by individual. Whilst perhaps useful to address the needs deficits of people and communities, the risk is that by using the lowest level of need as the standard, once needs are met across a population, any investment proposed to raise the level of mobility would be seen as in addition to the base need, and therefore would become more difficult to justify.

Martens has more recently argued for a decision-making approach to include concepts of social justice into cost-benefit analyses (2012). Indeed, several authors have attempted to link social equity with transport, for example by using the Gini Co-efficient of inequality (Delbosc and Currie 2011). Many authors lament the weighty focus on quantitative data in transport planning and push for a more discursive approach to decision making. For example, Deka (2004) concluded that ‘equity planning’ has not reached the field of transport planning because by its very nature transport planning assumes a rational approach using mainly quantitative data, and uses traffic engineering and computer models that reinforce the status quo.
To illustrate the point about the restrictions of using a quantitative approach, research has been undertaken to define a social equity measure that could be used in the assessment of transport proposals. Welch and Mishra (2013) attempted to define a measure for use in transport service planning in the US where there is a federal mandate for equity estimation. They reviewed the applicability of mobility and accessibility measures to social equity; for example measures of transport supply can be based on how well a user can move about the city and access various destinations, how far households are from public transport stops and how long their journeys take them, or alternatively measures can relate to the frequency of service at a particular node or stop, or the number of vehicle miles in a given area. While these measures could give a proxy understanding of equity, there is nothing in them about other factors that might affect a user's experience, such as cost, quality of service, issues of safety or the other measures defined by Church et al. (2010) as elements of transport-related social exclusion (see Chapter 2). However, the equity approach developed by Welch and Mishra (2013) was equally limited, focusing on ‘the distribution of transit-service coverage to household and employment locations’. While they, and this author recognises that analysing transport equity is a complex factor, such a quantitative approach is akin to the mapping studies discussed in Chapter 2 by Lazo (2008) in Santiago de Chile and Bocarejo and Oviedo (2012) in Colombia, and does not address the full gamut of equity as expressed at the start of this section.

There is no further guidance in the debates above on the metrics of mobility that could be used in decision making as the focus is on public participation in decision-making. Therefore, the question remains: to what extent can decision
making in urban transport projects be refined to address the needs of those suffering transport-related social exclusion through a rights based approach to participation?

Using the literature review of participatory practices and combining it with the rights agenda the following Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework has been developed.
Table 3.1 Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework to evaluate a rights-based approach.

| 1. Engaging a cross-section of society | Does the participatory approach give all users the right to be involved in the decision and give them an equal opportunity to voice their views? |
| 2. Building trust | Does the participatory approach seek to develop trust between the decision-makers and citizens by undertaking small-scale interventions in the short-term? |
| 3. Supporting the community | Does the participatory approach support existing groups and societies with resources or funding, rather than establish new systems? |
| 4. Affecting outcomes | Does the participatory approach give citizens the right to make suggestions that will be considered by the decision-making body? Does the exchange of information flow in both directions? |
| 5. Transparency of output | Does the participatory approach give citizens the right to access sufficient information with which to understand why the chosen solution was preferred and to commit a degree of support to its implementation? |

This framework provides the basis for an analytical review of the practices and processes employed in the case study. As a result of the analysis, a revised framework is presented in Chapter 8.

3.13 Conclusion

In conclusion most research on equity and rights in transport provision has been quantitative and has focussed on ways to change the usual practices of cost-benefit analysis through the inclusion of additional metrics, rather than a wholesale re-definition of the process involving those people affected as desired in Lefebvre’s right to the city concept. Indeed, even Martens’ 2012 work to develop the idea of equity planning resulted in a quantitative ‘access poverty’ metric akin to the work of Bocarejo and Oviedo (2014). Therefore, the
discussion in the literature relates more to realising an equal distribution of an attribute among members of a population (known as horizontal equity) rather than distributing an attribute or commodity among specific groups, e.g. those at risk of social exclusion (known as vertical equity) (Mooney 1996 cited in Welch and Mishra 2013, p. 30).

Undoubtedly there will be reasons for adoption of horizontal equity (for example in quantitative methodologies it is simpler to treat each household the same) but this author suggests that the latter is both the more interesting concept as well as the concept that needs to be explored to affect real change in the lives of marginalised groups. Increased efforts by transport scholars to understand vertical equity would tackle some of the distributive impacts that traditionally are lacking from project assessment methodologies. This equity, or lack of, is the challenge with a rights-based approach where the right is equally distributed to all members of a population. However, it is argued here that the original goal of any rights-based approach is to deal with issues of vertical inequity and poor distribution of an attribute.

This chapter has demonstrated that, although not without its challenges, participatory processes to involve affected communities in the decision-making process may afford the opportunity to better understand the needs of the community and incorporate them into the decision in a qualitative manner. Indeed Hodgson and Turner say ‘one of the most valuable aspects of the concept of social exclusion (and the author would add social equity and the right to the city approach) is that it also highlights the need for the participation of people in societal governance processes’ (2003, p. 267).
This chapter has identified that there is a research gap in terms of participatory governance in a rights-based approach to addressing transport related social exclusion. Rights-based approaches have developed from critique of existing policy traditions and a consideration of social equity and justice concepts. Although rights-based approaches to participatory governance have been used in other policy areas, their use has not been explored in the planning of urban transport systems. This is particularly true in contexts of rapid growth in cities of developing countries.
Chapter 4: Research Design

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research is to combine theories of public participation and rights-based approaches to governance with discourses on social exclusion and transport disadvantage as a framework for reviewing mass transport provision in developing country cities. The research will focus on the design and operation of mass transport systems in a developing country context to analyse the role of transport systems in addressing the needs of residents experiencing social exclusion.

This chapter begins by examining the researcher’s epistemological stance and then discusses the methods of research adopted within this study. The chapter moves on to detail the methods used in the field, including interview schedules, and presents the analytical process followed in order to derive the findings and conclusions within the following chapters.

4.2 Methodology

Epistemological traditions in transport research

Most research into transport planning comes from a positivist approach. This stems from the largely economic background of cost benefit analysis and quantitative predictions of transport flows in order to underpin improvements in
transport system design. Buchanan’s seminal 1963 report ‘Traffic in Towns’ used car ownership rates and population growth to predict unsustainable travel patterns, overcrowding and traffic congestion in British towns and cities, but relied on a numerical predictions; nothing was included about why the motor car had become and would remain so popular.

The use of a positivist approach is useful to assess the current status of transport use, for example: traffic flows; how many people use buses, trains or private cars, or what is the observed modal shift following an investment in public transport infrastructure. However, as has been noted by several authors, such as Hidalgo and Huizenga (2013), there are limitations to the use of a positivist perspective to understand travel behaviour. For example, in Mexico City, even after investment in bus rapid transit routes and additional metro capacity, annual vehicle ownership still grew by 500,000 cars per year (ibid). A positivist approach is therefore limited to gathering observed data on vehicle movements, passenger flows and goods movement and predicting trends in the field of transport research.

Positivist, quantitative-led research has until recently also dominated the field of transport-related social exclusion. Authors such as Jaramillo et al. (2012) and Lizárraga (2012) link socio-economic factors with travel mode. These researchers used indices of transport need and transport provision to highlight over- and under-provision in a Colombian city. Again, this is a typically mathematical approach and while the study was able to map and correlate areas of high or low provision to generalised socio-economic profiles, no work was undertaken within the study to understand the decision making process by
government agencies or commercial operators to devise timetables and routes, nor did they look at social constructs of status and desire for private car ownership. The analysis by these authors, and many others, presumes that provision of a sustainable transport system signifies that it will be used. However, it is evident from research about modal choice, for example, that this is not true and the anticipated model shift may not occur.

When considering the matter of rights and participatory governance, a positivist approach is inappropriate, as it would not delve past the superficial level of closed survey questions or observable behaviours. Research into participatory governance has taken a more interpretive approach to understand underlying processes and motivations. Indeed, the topic of social exclusion warrants that the research is methodologically inclusive.

**Alternative: social constructionism**

Social constructionism has become more common place in transport studies in the past decade, although still far overshadowed by quantitative approaches. Adopting a social constructionist perspective allows the researcher to dig deeper than observable behaviours to study the constructed world of an individual in terms of their values and beliefs. For example, a person may choose one form of transport because it allows them chance to travel with a friend, read a book or listen to music in the confines of their own private space.

Another example that is relevant to the author’s chosen line of enquiry is the understanding and construction of rights. A right to adequate housing, education and indeed, a life free of crime is a concept that society has
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constructed to shape and define the way that members of society interact with one another.

However, social constructionism was not chosen as a perspective for this research as the methods that are often used, e.g. semi-structured interviews, narrative inquiry, tend to produce data about underlying reasons for action on an individual level. When dealing with sustainable travel modes, collective impacts and needs are what really matters.

**Preferred approach: Critical realism**

Critical realism shares with positivism the desire to find an explanation for a phenomenon (May 2011) but researchers following this perspective are preoccupied with finding the underlying structures of social relations to understand the reasons behind common policies and practices. By choosing critical realism as the epistemological basis for this research, the author is seeking to identify research that finds collective reasons for travel-mode choice and collective opinions on rights-based approaches. As stated in Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 5) ‘objective reality can never be captured, we know a thing only through its representations’. For critical realists, phenomena exist at the level of events and experiences but also at a deeper level that may not be observable. For example, leadership cannot be seen, only its effects are observed and perhaps felt (Kempster and Parry, 2011).

A well-cited example is Sigmund Freud’s suggestion that our consciousness is determined by our subconscious: the subconscious is the underlying cause of the actions of the conscious and therefore it is this that we must endeavour to understand. Unlike social constructionism which tends towards the individual,
critical realism acknowledges that social reality is stratified between the individual, the institutional, and the interactions in between the two (May 2011). The interplay between theory and activity therefore enables us to understand and inform actions, and of particular interest to the author is the ability to then inform policy and practice.

Two key authors that have drawn on a critical realist approach in their research on transport-related social exclusion are Karen Lucas and Graham Currie (Currie 2004, 2010; Lucas 2011). Both are prolific writers on the interplay between social exclusion and transport disadvantage, and while their focuses have largely been on private transport in developed countries, their desire to assess the impact on socially excluded groups is applicable to public transport modes as well. They argue that social exclusion is a root cause of limited accessibility to employment opportunities thus perpetuating the cycle where the lack of employment opportunities furthers transport exclusion.

**Implications for future research**

There is, therefore, a need to delve beneath the observable actions and use perspectives, techniques and methods to access the underlying values that lead to certain patterns of behaviour. A critical realist approach allowed the researcher to access the governance context and root causes of behaviour and it is these underlying structures that are most susceptible to change under policy reform. Whether people feel they do or do not have a right to equitable, fair, clean, quality public transport services is a matter of values and beliefs, and so appropriate to analysis through a critical realist approach. However, a researcher would be able to use questionnaire responses to the question ‘do
you have a right to public transport?’ as there is likely to be a large variation in
the level of understanding of the concept of rights and legal system, the nature
of rights and the implications of having a right to do something. Proxy
approaches are thus needed.

In order to undertake research on transport-related social exclusion through a
critical realist lens, the methods used need to be framed in a way so that the
causal reasons for travel behaviour can be harvested and understood. This
therefore lends itself to types of qualitative research such as focus groups
where there can be interaction between participants as a theme develops and
deepens. For example, a focus group could be asked to draw on concepts of
rights to housing and test their applicability to public transport systems.

Transport appraisal documents can also be used in a critical realist approach.
Transport appraisals often use scores and weightings to various project
objectives, such as modal shift, access to employment sites, and value for
money, which can be used as proxy to decipher the implied level of importance
a government agency funding new infrastructure places on agents of change.
For example, a high weighting on value for money would demonstrate to the
researcher that the funding body was keen to recoup its investment quickly
through the charging of fares: a high value on modal shift might suggest a
concern for carbon dioxide emissions or the need to reduce congestion. These
elements then become ‘testable’ factors when researching how governments
make decisions on investment, and also when evaluating how people make
their travel decisions; a concern for climate change and the relative travel times
of different modes might very well be contributing factors.
Implications for methodological choice and the qualitative/quantitative divide.

The researcher, therefore, has adopted a critical realist’s perspective and has chosen a methodology appropriate to identifying the underlying mechanisms for action or inaction. The proposal is to conduct a case study of a Latin American city to gather data on different approaches to transport planning. A case study approach was chosen due to the ability to develop a broad and deep understanding of the issues being dealt with. It also allowed theory-building to assist with drawing conclusions (Bryman, 2012). It is recognised that limitations exist with the reliability and replicability of findings and the need to resist temptation to draw generalisations from such an approach.

By focussing on a specific case, the researcher will develop an in-depth understanding of the governance arrangements around decision making in that city and to seek to develop a framework by which it would be possible to understand whether or not an approach to new mass public transport provision uses a rights-based approach. If time allowed, it would have been ideal to test this framework in a second city, one with a different governance structure or perhaps different urbanisation challenges, but this was not possible in this research.
4.3 **Research Strategy – why a case study approach**

The literature review has identified the gaps to be researched. This section justifies the use of a case study, and in particular, why a city with an established rights-based approach to governance was selected.

In social science research, theories have traditionally been generated by ‘combining observations from previous literature, common sense and experience’ (Eisenhardt 2002, p.5). However there is also the need to collect empirical data to prove the reality; case studies are one way of collecting data from a particular vantage point and using this data to build theory on the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of wider societal trends and developments (May 2011). Given the impossibility of knowing society as a whole, case studies are a method of understanding the dynamics within a single, or a small number of settings; they are the ‘empirical investigation of a specified or bounded phenomenon’ (Smith 1978 cited in Mabry 2008, p. 214) and are used to understand complex social phenomena’ (Yin 2009, p. 4).

Case study research uses a combination of data collection methods such as ‘archives, interviews, questionnaires and observations’ (Eisenhardt 2002, p.9) and can also include a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, although understanding a case must go ‘beyond countable aspects and trends’ (Mabry 2008, p. 215). The driving force behind decisions about which sites and questions to examine, which methods and participants to use is a ‘deep understanding of particular instances of phenomena’, and this is why experiences, beliefs and values must be studied to understand the case (ibid).
Schramm (1971 cited in Yin 2009, p. 17) states that the ‘essence of a case study….is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result’. This quote exemplifies the reason behind choosing a case study for this piece of research, which focuses on the decision making process behind public transport investment.

There are however, concerns about reliability to be addressed in case study research as well as recognised limits to the extent in which findings from one, or a small number of case studies, can be generalised to pertain to wider society. Generalisability ‘refers to the capacity of the case to be informative about a general phenomenon’ beyond the case studied (Mabry 2008, p. 222). In most cases, the findings from a case cannot be generalised to whole populations, a point that is particularly relevant for single case studies, because in order to relate findings to another situation, other factors need to be standardised. Such standardisation is particularly difficult for studies of urban planning where demographics and social and political contexts will always vary (Yin 2009, Mabry 2008). However, given the focus on the ‘right to the city’ and the small number of cities with rights agendas embedded in their political frameworks, it might be possible to generalise to some degree about how a legalistic right to the city plays out in practice and differs from other practices (inferred from the literature review). Such a limited degree of generalisation and theory-building, or the making of a ‘logical inference’ (Mitchell 1983 cited in May 2011, p. 223) may be permitted on a small-scale although the temptation to generalise widely must be resisted. This cautious approach to theory-building is supported by the
inductive nature of the study i.e. theory development occurs after data collection and during the analysis to attempt to explain the dataset (see section 4.2).

Another issue worthy of consideration is externality and culture. A case study researcher is usually an outsider to and can have a useful ‘external analytic perspective’ to objectively observe and critique the situation (Mabry 2008, p. 220). They also have no vested interest, which alleviates bias and promotes the credibility of the research. However, each culture develops particular narratives and norms around the social world and the initial lack of familiarity with the case can be a hindrance to the researcher. An absence of cultural competence can manifest itself in an inability to pick up on subtle or hidden meanings suggested by a multitude of actions, such as the offering of refreshments during an interview. Familiarisation both with the case study setting through a period of observation can minimise any cultural gaps, as can purposive discussions with key informants to unearth local meanings (Mabry 2008). Cultural competence is a common issue in qualitative research but should not be seen as a barrier to good research as it can arise even when languages and backgrounds are the same between the researcher and participants; however, it is an important issue to register and reflect upon during analytical stages.

Building on grounded theory, Eisenhardt proposed an eight-step process to using case studies to build theory, which is to be followed in this study;

1. Getting started - defining the research question to focus the effort

2. Selecting cases - specifying the ‘population’ and identifying the sampling strategy
3. Crafting instruments and protocols - choosing the data collection methods in an attempt to triangulate the evidence

4. Entering the field - data collection stage, field notes, flexible and opportunistic data collection.

5. Analysing data - within-case analysis to gain familiarity with the data and generate preliminary theories

6. Shaping hypotheses - replication of logic across the cases, searching for evidence of ‘why’ behind the relationships presented to confirm and sharpen the theory.

7. Enfolding the literature - comparisons with similar and conflicting literature to build internal validity and extend the generalisability.

8. Reaching closure - ending the process when few improvements can be made. (Eisenhardt 2002, p7)

In terms of selecting cases to study, as Pettigrew (1988 cited in Eisenhardt 2002, p.12) noted, ‘given the limited number of cases which can usually be studied, it makes sense to choose cases such as extreme situations and polar types in which the process of interest is ‘transparently observable’. This approach is the basis of theoretical sampling where case studies are chosen when something is known about them and their ‘alignment’ with the emergent theory. In this research, theoretical sampling determines that the case study must be one where the right to the city agenda is being progressed through some legalistic means, a situation which is recognised to be the atypical case in terms of transport planning and operation models (Mabry 2008). The extent to
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which this approach is successful in terms of dealing with social exclusion is the topic to be studied.

The process of selecting cases was relatively straightforward due to the fact that there are only limited countries or cities in Latin America with a rights-based approach to governance formalised through administrative practices. These include Mexico City and its City Charter, Brazil and its constitution, and Ecuador with its constitution right to public participation in public policy (see Chapter 5).

A single case study was chosen in order to study in depth such a ‘revelatory or unusual’ case and to avoid a focus on comparison rather than depth and understanding (May 2011, p. 233). The selection of Quito was made given the existence of mass public transport systems (three Bus Rapid Transit routes) and the plans to develop a Metro network in 2016, affording the opportunity to study a transport planning process ‘in action’.

Latin American cities have been well-researched from a mass transport system innovation point of view. Both Curitiba in Brazil and Bogotá in Colombia have Bus Rapid Transit systems that are emulated throughout the world. As these two cities have been researched before in the context of social exclusion, in view of aim of this research it was thought appropriate to study another city, one with a legal framework for rights-based approaches to governance, and thus Quito was selected as the case study for this research.

In summary, case studies are useful approaches to qualitative research allowing a deep understanding of the how and why behind certain social contexts. Care needs to be taken not to over-generalise from the findings, and
to be aware of the cultural differences between the researcher and the researched.

4.4 Methods

This section provides detail on the fieldwork methods employed in order to address the research questions. It considers each research question in turn and includes a short explanation of the methods used. Subsequently, more detailed justification is given on the selected methods (as some, including interviews relate to multiple research questions), including a commentary on how they have been used by other authors and in the analysis of this thesis.

Qualitative focus allowing induction

Traditionally, transport studies have focussed on quantitative methods, assessing journey times, quantifying access to services using the number of bus services etc. Increasingly, scholars such as Lucas, Currie, Kenyon and Martens are moving towards a mixed methods approach. Emerging during the late 1970s, researchers added a qualitative section to a predominately quantitative study in order to ‘make greater sense out of the numerical findings (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2011, p. 286). Adding qualitative elements of research allows the researcher to discover phenomena behind the observable statistics, such as why modal split between cars and trains have altered over time. Using a critical realist approach to understand the factors affecting behaviour on the collective scale, the methods chosen here are qualitative.

Choosing a range of methods using a variety of stakeholders enables triangulation – the ability to observe a phenomenon from different perspectives.
In social science research, the triangulation of reality provides ‘stronger substantiation of constructs and hypotheses’ (Eisenhardt 2002, p.14) and supports an inductive approach to develop theory through the research process.

An inductive approach is one where ‘in a fairly common-sense model, the researcher collects ‘all the relevant facts’ and then examines them to see what theory is suggested by this set of ‘relevant facts’” (Wengraf 2001, p. 2). The theory thus ‘emerges’ from the data. This is the original ‘grounded theory’ tradition (Glaser and Strauss 1968) in which theory emerges by a process of ‘induction’. The facts are believed to suggest – or even ‘require’ or ‘dictate’ – the theorisation.’

The chapter now examines the approach followed to address each of the research questions.
## Research Questions

The following table sets out the primary and secondary data sources used to address each research question.

**Table 4.1. Overview of how methods relate to research questions.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Secondary data</th>
<th>Primary data collection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. To what extent is social exclusion, particularly transport-related social</td>
<td>Literature Review</td>
<td>Structured interviews with transport users</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exclusion, intensified by current approaches to providing mass transport systems</td>
<td>Documentary analysis of grey literature relating to historic planning process and outcomes</td>
<td>Semi-structured interviews with residents/ community representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in developing country cities?</td>
<td>Analysis of media reports/blog posts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What are rights-based approaches to participatory governance; and through what</td>
<td>Literature review</td>
<td>Semi-structured interviews with community representatives, government officials and academics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>processes and mechanisms could they be applied to address mobility challenges?</td>
<td>Documentary analysis of grey literature review for specific details of the Quito</td>
<td>Observation at events, for example participation events on transport proposals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>system, e.g. Constitution, reports from Municipio de Quito, academic reports</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Spanish)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Through a case study of Quito, a city adopting a rights-based approach to</td>
<td>Documentary analysis (for example transport appraisals, legislation, policy</td>
<td>Semi-structured Interviews - Focus group with community groups (focus group interview)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>development, and with a planned mass public transport system:</td>
<td>guidance, civil-society reports)</td>
<td>Interviews with community representatives and academics about current decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) How can the understanding of transport-related social exclusion in developing</td>
<td>Analysis of newspaper and media reports/social media and posts</td>
<td>process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country cities be advanced;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Interviews with government officials about current decision-making process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) To what extent can a rights-based approach to participatory governance</td>
<td></td>
<td>Observation of government and civil-society events.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
influence the planning and operation of mass transport systems through strengthening participation, and

c) To what extent can citizen-led debates embed rights-based approaches into participatory governance?

This research develops a new conceptualisation of ways to assess transport-related social exclusion through three broad approaches:

a. Developing a model of transport-related social exclusion through the literature review, and testing and refining this in relation to existing transport provision in the case study;

b. Assessing the approach to consultation adopted by the Government of Ecuador and city government of Quito against the Constitutional requirements for rights-based approaches to participatory governance, and accepted good practice on consultation;

c. Examine the effectiveness of citizen participation in the planning of a new transport system, and a grassroots process for embedding a rights-based culture into city governance.

**RQ1: To what extent is social exclusion, particularly transport-related social exclusion, intensified by current approaches to providing mass transport systems in developing country cities?**

The literature as reviewed in Chapter 2 provides a framework through which this research question can be addressed. Church et al (2000) and Cass et al (2005) both produced lists of critical dimensions of social exclusion from a transport perspective (Section 2.9). These have been critiqued in Chapter 2 and a hybrid transport-related social exclusion model has been suggested that is more appropriate for developing country contexts, based on the researcher’s
critique of existing models and gaps identified from the literature. This hybrid model was tested during fieldwork to examine the elements of transport-related social exclusion perspective that are particularly prevalent in the case study. Methods employed included structured interviews with transport users, semi-structured interviews with residents and community representatives affected by or at risk of social exclusion, and an analysis of media reports for contextualisation (newspaper articles, social media and blogs etc).

Structured interviews with seventy public transport users within the city were used to gather data on the problems that people experience when moving around the city, through availability and cost of services, their frequency and their reliability for example. Such a method started from the basis of identifying a group which is socially excluded (for example low-income communities living in the urban periphery) and then identifying a location where it would be possible to meet with them for example young people at an internet café located in a central museum. A proforma of the questionnaire used in the structured interviews is given in Section 4.5.

Analysis of data against the hybrid model of dimensions of social exclusion facilitated an understanding of the problems that communities and individuals face, in order to:

- validate and refine the hybrid conceptualisation of transport-related social exclusion
- underpin discussion of a theoretical link to addressing Research Question 3 to identify the focus of activity for a right-based approach to planning and operating mass transport systems to facilitate change.
In order to better understand the challenges faced in Quito, it was important to build an understanding of the city and its public transport routes and observations. Some time was spent undergoing familiarisation with the location of key sites and services in the city, such as employment centres, schools, universities and hospitals as well as the public transport services that link these locations with residential areas. This ethnographic-style approach to transport studies research has been employed recently by Lucas (e.g. 2011) and is necessary to understand the locations of key destinations and routes that are mentioned during the interviews (so the researcher has a mental map of the area and is able to interact with the interviewees to clarify routes used) as well as to build rapport with the interviewees (Fontana and Frey 2000). This familiarisation exercise resulted in some commentary about how the researcher found travelling around the city, as well as perform a useful ‘verification’ role to ground the evidence gathered in interviews which, as critics state, present reported narratives of those involved and cannot be taken to represent the wider population (Lucas 2011).

More detail on the sampling strategy, interview schedules are covered in Section 4.5.
RQ2: What are rights-based approaches to participatory governance; and through what processes and mechanisms could they be applied to address mobility challenges?

This research question is primarily addressed by the literature review on rights-based approaches and participatory governance. In relation to the case study, this question relates to an examination of the Ecuadorean Constitution and how the rights-based approach is being built into the design and management of mass public transport systems.

In order to address this question, the primary method of analysis was document analysis of policy documents, transport appraisal documents (‘grey literature’).

In addition, it was important to analyse the wording of the Ecuadorean Constitution, paying particular attention to the sections on rights, wellbeing, social justice, and social inclusion.

RQ3: Through a case study of Quito, a city adopting a rights-based approach to development, and with a planned mass public transport system:

a. How can the understanding of transport-related social exclusion in developing country cities be advanced;

b. To what extent can a rights-based approach to participatory governance influence the planning and operation of mass transport systems through strengthening participation, and

c. To what extent can citizen-led debates embed rights-based approaches into participatory governance?

For this, semi-structured interviews were the primary method of data collection both with residents, community representatives and national and city government officials. An explicit recognition of a rights-based approach was not necessary, as proxy measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and
accountability were used to infer the applicability of the rights’ agenda in the chosen case study.

Documents relating to the planning and operation of mass transport systems were analysed. These include:

- Strategic Plan for the BRT system in Quito (Trolébus – Plan Estratégico) 2015
- Documents on the Metro 2016 development including;
  - the Social Impact report (Ekos Negocios, 2015)
  - A summary document of the 80,000 household surveys undertaken regarding the Metro development (MdQ, 2012a)

Analysis of these relevant policy documents has established a benchmark of desired policy and practice activity stemming from the aspirations of the Constitution. This was cross-referenced against the responses on current practice (RQ1) to ascertain the scale (or absence) of the gap.

Semi-structured interviews with government officials included questions on what additional activity might be required in order to achieve compliance with the constitutional right. Current and former officials from the Department of Mobility and the Deputy Mayor’s office (with jurisdiction for participation) were targeted and found to be receptive to taking part in the thesis. A pro-forma for the interview is included in Section 4.5.

As a way of establishing how communities view the efforts, or lack of, by the government, it was important to study media reports (for example from newspapers such as Diario Hoy, El Diario, El Comercio and La Hora) and other
forms of commentary, such as social media and blog posts to understand the views of the community.

Semi-structured interviews with community members and representatives of civil society organisations were framed around ideas of seeking views on how government processes affect residents and establishing additional activity that they might wish to see to improve the way transport systems are planned and operated. A pro-forma for the interview is included in Section 4.5.

The researcher was also invited to attend a number of events during the field work, led by the Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (the city government) or by civil-society organisations trying to respond to the plans for the Metro. These events were helpful in order to try to understand, from a residents’ point of view, the process of participatory governance. This form of participant observation relates to Research Question 3b.

Finally, two focus groups with groups of residents at risk of social exclusion (the elderly and those with disabilities) were used to examine what form of approach would be needed to better meet the needs of socially excluded communities. Contact with these groups was made via researchers at the Institute of the City (Instituto de la Ciudad). The participants were aware of current mass transport systems in the city, and the aspirations of the Ecuadorian constitutional clause on rights-based approaches to governance.
4.5 **Justification for the methods**

This section provides justification for the choice of methods in this research using academic literature to describe the method and its advantages and disadvantages. For each method, the implications for the research design are then provided, which relate directly to the planned fieldwork activity and the preliminary analysis. These implications directly relate to the detail provided in Section 4.4 where the methods are described against the research questions.

**Document analysis**

Discourse analysis, or more specifically document analysis, is crucial to building an understanding of the decision making process and the power given to public voice. Although in many instances of social research, ‘qualitative researchers who use written texts as their materials do not try to follow any predefined protocol in executing their analysis’ (Denzin and Lincoln 2008, p. 278), a formalised approach was followed here because of the fundamental role that documents have in developing an understanding of the experienced reality in the case study. This section examines the literature around document analysis as a method before presenting the detail on how it was applied to this research.

Analysing documents is a valuable method in qualitative research, if currently underused. As Prior states, ‘writing plays such a large part in everyday culture’. Documents, including text and images, are artefacts of social settings and policy frames and as such are hugely useful in understanding meaning and aspirations. As May writes, documents ‘have the potential to inform and structure the decisions which people make on a daily and longer-term basis’ and ‘tell us about the aspirations and intentions of the periods to which they
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refer’ (May 2011, pp. 191-192). Documents therefore form part of the meaning that we attribute to actions and activities in the social world.

The terms ‘document’ reflects a ‘very broad spectrum of perspectives and research sources’ (May 2011, p. 216) including public and private documents, electronic documents, photographs and even interview transcripts. For many authors (e.g. May, Antaki, Prior, Yanow) the starting point in social research has been a focus on the ‘collection and analysis of document content’ (Prior 2008, p. 479), the so-called ‘generic discourse analysis’ that Antaki refers to as a ‘working procedure’ as opposed to a practice based on ‘a strong commitment’ to epistemology or ontology (Antaki 2008, p. 433). Focussing on documents as sources of information in this way enables the writing and images to be ‘scoured for appropriate data’ and is well established in the social sciences (Prior 2008, p. 480). The style of writing can provide a good deal of information about the social fashions of the time, and the organisation(s) that produced them.

A profound, exhaustive approach has emerged in recent literature (see Prior 2008, May 2011 and Yanow 2013). Although everyday life is full of documents, they could be ‘seen as being somewhat divorced from action - as something static, immutable and isolated from human deed’ (Prior 2008, p. 479). Merely analysing their content tells the researcher little about their impact, and for this matter, it is important to understand that the meaning within a document comes to life through the act of being read, and the meaning that the reader attributes to the content. While Scott (1990) cited in (May 2011, pp. 206-207) talked of authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning, for contemporary
authors, the examination of meaning extends the analysis. May (2011) provides some useful questions to ask when analysing the document such as:

- What is the relationship between the various sections of the document?
- What is the relationship of the text to those who constructed it?
- What is the relationship of the text to other texts?

Therefore, key to an interpretive analysis of a document is an examination of reasons why the document was written and any difference between the meaning the author intended to produce and the received meanings as constructed by the audience in differing social situations.

A second important element of this extended form of document analysis is recognition that a document’s meaning will differ according to the audience and the expectations or understanding they have of it. For example, two people could read a passage of text and interpret it in completely different ways. As Yanow suggests it is not for the analysis to discern an objective reality i.e. which viewpoint may be the correct one, but to interpret a document through the lens of those reading it, i.e. the standpoint of the meaning-maker (Yanow 2013b). This allows the researcher an insight to ‘their ‘experienced reality’ – on how those arguments are experienced by those making and hearing them and how they become ‘factual’ reality to them’ (Yanow 2013b, p. 12).

Thinking about the use and function of documents, it was important to understand the origin and purpose of the document, particularly as many of those from government sources will have been written to gain public support, represent a position of power, or establish consensus in the way transport
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systems are planned, delivered and managed in the city. How the documents link and relate to each other is another important element of analysis, even considering how they are hyperlinked together on the internet, including cross-organisational networks (Prior 2008).

The codes to be used in document analysis were the same as for analysing the interview transcripts (for more information see Section 4.8).

Document analysis as described was crucial in responding to the research questions. It provided the researcher with a sound understanding of the context within which the case study is located, and crucial evidence of the decision-making process. There is a need to relate data collected through this method to other data; there is a need to triangulate the data collected from different methods in order to check the accuracy of the respondent’s view of reality by other observations (Silverman 2010). For example, ‘a policy project could begin with government documents whose official, collective meanings might be contrasted with residents’ understandings of those policies, the latter generated through interviews’ (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012, p. 83). This point is of direct relevance here and justifies the choice of both document analysis contrasted with interviews to address certain research questions.

Another type of document analysis was undertaken using social media and blog posts. While blog posts are similar in characteristic to a newspaper article or opinion piece, Twitter or Facebook posts are shorter, can include photographs or images. In all, 132 Facebook posts were reviewed and 1261 Twitter posts were analysed. Facebook posts were transferred manually into a Word document where they could be read, coded and translated. The Twitter posts
were downloaded into an Excel spreadsheet where they could be reviewed. Following certain organisations and people on Twitter, such as the Mayor, the head of the Metro organisation and civil society organisation was also useful to understand when key events were happening, such as radio interviews or public events and to identify other organisations with which to arrange interviews, for example a civil society organisation called ‘Ciudadana Responsable’ was located via Twitter posts and later followed on Facebook.

This was the approach for document analysis within this research.

**Interviews**

Interviews are common, if not overused, social science method (Rapley 2004), although according to Atkinson, perhaps under-analysed (pers comm). Interviews in social science research take a range of forms including structured, semi-structured and group and most commonly take the form of face-to-face interchange (Fontana and Frey 2000). This section discusses the benefits of each type by way of justifying the predominant type used in this research, which are semi-structured interviews (with structured interviews used for RQ3a).

Interviews were an important method for this study. One of the Research Questions of the study was to identify the extent to which social exclusion, particularly transport-related social exclusion, is intensified by current approaches to providing mass transport systems in developing country cities. Ideally, it would be possible to observe what people do in such a situation, but given the themes involving rights, which are themselves social constructs, it is not possible to observe activity to find out what happens in under a rights-based approach. It is the understanding and meanings attributed by those involved
that are the crucial elements of this research design. i.e. a rights-based approach to decision-making is not something that can be observed, it must be felt and known and for that reason, interviews were used in this study.

Interviews were also used to validate intentions against actions i.e. to validate government intentions specified in policy documents against practice. Yanow states (2013b, p. 13) that when conflicts arise between word and deed, it is the deed that we tend to ‘trust’ as the more accurate reflection of what the actor actually means. This explains why this research design includes a cross comparison of documents produced by government bodies against interviews with residents.

The challenge at the start of fieldwork was contacting the relevant individuals, but a starting point was the academics and government agencies with whom the researcher had links. Through academic contacts the researcher had links with FLACSO, the Ecuadorian branch of the Latin American Faculty for Social Sciences (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales), and with the Instituto de la Cuidad, a research organisation funded by the Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito. Another method was to use the social media networks of Facebook and Twitter to identify groups and individuals interested in participatory governance or mobility issues in the city and follow their discussions. Given the high profile nature of the case study project, it was easy to find interviewees with a viewpoint. Interviews were conducted at a variety of locations in the city centre, mainly in the offices of government or community representatives.
The following sections describe the main characteristics of the interviews deployed during the fieldwork.

**Structured interviews**

The benefits of structured interviews are numerous: due to their specified set of questions asked in a prescribed order, they are replicable across a large number of respondents and can be completed by a range of interviewers as the interviewer’s role is relatively neutral (Bryman 2001). As May states (2011, pp. 132-133), ‘the theory behind this method is that each person is asked the same question in the same way so that any differences between answers are held to be real one as a result of the deployment of a method and not the result of the interview context itself’.

Questions are mainly of a fixed choice type i.e. including yes or no answers, or responses picked from a list of options. The sequence of questions is set and not deviated from (Fontana and Frey 2000). Another common type of question is the scaled response question whereby the interviewee expresses an opinion by selecting a point along a scale such as excellent to very poor along a five-point scale (Rapley 2004). This type of open question will invariably lead to a range of responses that can then be grouped in the analysis according to theme, e.g. time or cost. Additionally, the role of the interviewer is minimised due to a ‘standardisation of explanation, leaving little room for deviation from the schedule; eliciting only the responses of the person with whom the interview is being conducted, not prompting or providing a personal view, not interpreting meanings’ and not improvising (May 2011, p. 133).
Structured interviews were useful to gather data on people’s current experience in accessing public transport, by asking them how they normally travel to school or work, for example. These types of questions are largely factual, based on repeated daily actions and for most people. Respondents were asked their opinion about mass transport systems that they use on a routine basis, therefore, they already had an opinion and by answering the questions they were merely re-telling it, as if it were a story, rather than cogitating to arrive at an opinion or new thought.

The responses of the structured questionnaire were comparable due to their standardised nature which supported a degree of generalisation, but the responses lacked depth in that answers were short. Given that the interview schedule is inflexible, data is only collected on the questions asked and it is not possible to explore interesting themes as they develop through tangents (Rapley 2004).

**Questionnaire survey of 70 bus users**

At the start of the research, short structured interviews (i.e. surveys) were undertaken with 70 transport users recruited at public transport stations, on the bus network or at community centres where it was possible to gain access to a large number of bus users. This enabled the researcher to identify the extent to which transport-related social exclusion is intensified by current approaches to providing mass transport systems in developing country cities. The questions focused on the different dimensions of social exclusion being exhibited in the city (RQ3a) and how the current practice of planning and operating mass transport systems affect the lives of socially excluded people and communities.
(RQ1). Table 4.2 contains an outline of the questions asked which was designed to be done in the shortest amount of time but reveal useful information.

**Table 4.2. Interview guide for structured interviews.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEW GUIDE</th>
<th>Date/time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduce self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permission to undertake survey</td>
<td>Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of study</td>
<td>Respondent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your journey today</td>
<td>Observations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin, Destination, Mode, Interchange, Wait time, Total journey time, Cost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems faced when travelling by public transport – which of these do you face, and which is the most significant issue.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability, Affordability, Connectivity, Safety, Distance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On a normal day, do you have difficulty reaching any of these locations via public transport?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work, High school, Hospital/clinic, Police stations, Library, Visiting family, Post office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you….?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A student / A single parent / Looking for work / Retired / A person with disabilities / A full time carer / The head of the household</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This interview guide was tested in a pilot week to assess its applicability to the situation, e.g. whether respondents could be recruited and whether the interviews could be conducted in the short amount of time that they can spare. In addition, permission was needed from transport operators for the interviews to take place on board their vehicles or at stations that they own.
For information on coding and analysis, please see Section 4.8.

**Semi-structured interviews:**

This form of interview was used to explore research themes and had enough structure in the interview schedule to allow the researcher to follow the main theme of the research, but enough flexibility to allow explore respondents’ opinions in depth. Semi-structured interviews contain ‘questions (which) are normally specified but the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers’ in a way that appears contrary to the aims of standardisation and comparability (May 2011, p. 134). As Wengraf states, the prepared questions are sufficiently open that the ‘subsequent questions of the interviewer cannot be planned in advance but must be improvised in a careful and theorized way’ (Wengraf 2001, p. 5). The interview therefore takes a discursive form with the interviewer able to seek elaboration of the answers given (for example, ‘why do you think that happened?’ or ‘can you elaborate a little further?’) (May 2011), it is clear that the interviewer wants to explore the viewpoints of the interviewee, rather than simply note them down (as with structured interviews).

Semi-structured interviewing is quite common, for example, in many work environments or on television news programmes and as such most lay people would anticipate this form of questioning when invited to participate. This means that semi-structured interviews are a method that many people, particularly government officials will feel comfortable with, and therefore at ease in divulging information. As with other interview techniques, the nature of the interview and the way in which the questions were asked and answered should be kept fairly standard for interviewees with similar perspectives (May 2011).
As a method, semi-structured interviews can complement documentary analysis, because by asking people questions, it is possible to understand what respondents really understand and believe, and so gain the story behind the published words. This was important for this research design as, although document and social media analyses were important elements of the research, relying solely on the published word would have presented an unbalanced view of the world.

The semi-structured style was chosen, given the need to stay close to the research questions and an intuitive sense that the issues of rights and justice would not automatically emerge in discussions without the researcher offering a steer, given the potential to explore in-depth answers (rather than short ‘yes/no’ answers) and the valuable ability to pick up on themes as they emerged.

It was important to speak to several groups of interviewees: national government for their links to the Ecuadorean constitution and national policy, city government for their awareness of local policy and implementation, and community groups for a sense of how practice affects them and what they understand to be the motivations of both tiers of government. The ‘civil society’ interview group included people or organisations who represent community interests, such as non-governmental organisations who may be promoting better decision making through participation. Representatives of these groups were able to offer a valuable overview of the mobility challenges faced by either one socio-economic section of society e.g. single mothers, or people living in a certain geographic location of the city e.g. on the periphery. There were a relatively limited number of people in each group who could
comment on the rights-based focus of this thesis, but those contacted gave valuable information.

In addition, twelve business owners directly affected by the metro proposals were interviewed to understand whether they had been included in the decision-making processes and how their business might be affected by the metro.

Table 4.3 gives the numbers of respondents interviewed and themes explored with each interview group.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant group</th>
<th>Number of interviewees</th>
<th>Themes explored</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City Government – Department of Mobility</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>• Current practice in planning and operating mass transport systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One officer</td>
<td>• Transport practices in the city – is there a problem? / whose roles and responsibilities to solve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One Councillor</td>
<td>• Impacts on the socially excluded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability in decision-making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• What additional activity might be required in order to achieve compliance with the constitutional demand?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Government – Deputy Mayor’s office</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>• The socially excluded in the city, challenges faced and impacts from current practice in planning and operating mass transport systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One officer</td>
<td>• Transport practices in the city – is there a problem? / whose roles and responsibilities to solve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One Councillor</td>
<td>• Measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• What additional activity might be required in order to achieve compliance with the constitutional demand?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community representatives</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>• Role of transport in daily lives/ challenges faced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Impacts of proposed/existing public transport systems on mobility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Perceptions of planning and operating practices. (effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• What additional activity might be required in order to achieve compliance with the constitutional demand?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owners – affected by Metro proposals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>• Impacts of proposed metro systems on their business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Perceptions of planning and operating practices. (effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Society representatives</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>• Current practice in planning and operating mass transport systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Transport practices in the city – is there a problem? / whose roles and responsibilities to solve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Impacts on the socially excluded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability in decision making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• What additional activity might be required in order to achieve compliance with the constitutional demand?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Semi-Structured Interview logistics

After the first of each type of interview, the themes and schedule was reviewed before the other interviews are undertaken. As Mabry states, a ‘qualitative case researcher is expected to improve on the original blueprint as information emerges during data collection’ (2008, p. 216). Such a piloting approach gives the researcher the opportunity to assess whether the topics and themes discussed in the semi-structured interviews are suitable in order to respond to the research questions. A preliminary analysis of the data will also help direct future interviews and observations (Corbin and Strauss, 1990). After the pilot, the only change that was made was to reduce the number of city government officials interviewed, to those who were key to the research, once the researcher had understood how the organisations worked and were staffed. However, the number of residents interviewed increased as it was clear that resident focus groups would be a useful research method.

Setting up the interviews took some time, although as contact was made with some organisations before the fieldwork period formally began, and the researcher found it straightforward to arrange interviews with willing volunteers. Following the first set of interviews, those interviewed acted as ‘gatekeepers’ to the identification of other contacts for the research (Fontana and Frey 2000), a process known as snowballing (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012). While this can lead to bias through focussing on a particular group and their contacts, the researcher overcame this by ensuring that the subsequent groups were still of the type to be targeted by this research, in order to stay aligned with the research aims. For the resident interviews, the following typology of people at
risk of social exclusion was used, and these were contacted through target organisations and NGOs working with these groups. The three groups were:

- People with permanent or temporary disabilities or conditions that make it difficult for them to travel independently to activity centres such as work, health care or shops

- Older people (65+) who do not work.

This approach directed the researcher towards a purposive sampling approach. Purposive sampling is used in qualitative research design to 'illustrate a feature or process in which we are interested' (Silverman 2010, p. 193). Due to the focus on social exclusion, it was necessary to attempt to locate people who are at risk of social exclusion, and because of this, the researcher was targeted in her approach to select 'interviewees purposively based on the groups which your research problem address' (ibid p. 194). Following the establishment of an initial set of contacts, ‘snowballing’ was again employed to reach the exposure of participants desired (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2012). Residents were also recruited in local centres (such as an education institution and two community centres for the elderly).

Interview times and locations were established at the participants’ convenience. This was predominately during working hours for Government officials and at their offices, but for community representatives and residents was usually during the evenings or weekends, and either took place at neutral locations such as in community centres or cafes, or in the offices of community organisations.
Each interview was recorded for later transcription. The benefits of this included the ability to focus on what is being said in the interview whilst noting down any non-verbal gestures and probing additionally where this might elucidate useful data (May 2011). In addition, being free from having to look at the notes you are taking allows the maintenance of ‘an insightful interaction through eye contact’ with the interviewee (May 2011, p. 151). However, voice recording raises two important issues: first that all background noise must be minimised, hence public locations such as libraries or public squares were avoided where possible. Second, the issue of ethics is raised and so the researcher informed each interviewee that a voice recording would be made. None of the interviewees objected to being recorded, but if this had arisen, the interview would have been captured through note-taking.

Another issue that is discussed in the methods’ literature is sharing an understanding of the aims of the research with the interviewees so that they understand what is expected of them. Clarification of the purpose of the interviews is argued to be ‘not only a practical, but also an ethical and theoretical consideration’ (May 2011, p. 141). Each interview started with a short introduction to the study and the researcher, so that the interviewees were aware of the aims and objectives of the research. This also helped to relax the interviewees and encourage them to contribute to the study. However, there is a balance to be struck here, in terms of the level of knowledge the researcher can reasonably expect all the interviewees to have. The methods’ literature advises that consideration is paid to whether the interviewees have access to the information that the interviewer is seeking (May 2011). In the case of the residents and community representatives, it was unlikely that detailed...
knowledge on the Constitution or the rights-based approach to participatory governance would be known. Therefore, specific references to these were excluded from the introduction, and the assumption was tested during the pilot interviews.

**Interview schedules**

Using the themes presented in Table 4.3, the interview schedules given in Table 4.4 were developed for each interview group.

Table 4.4. Preliminary interview schedules for semi-structured interviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Government: Department of Mobility (2 interviews)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduce research; Permission to record; Purpose of study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What was the genesis, justification and process for including the rights-based approach to participatory governance in the revised constitution of 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Is there a transport problem in the city? If so, what is it and whom does it affect?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Whose role/responsibility is it to solve?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What does your department do to tackle the challenges present?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• How to solve these challenges?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Do measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability manifest themselves in the decisions taken? If so, how?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What additional activity might be required in order to achieve compliance with the constitutional demand?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Government: Deputy Mayor’s office (2 interviews)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduce research; Permission to record; Purpose of study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Who are the socially excluded in the city, what are they challenges they face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Thinking about these people’s ability to move around the city, what are the impacts from current practice in planning and operating mass transport systems?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Is there a transport problem in the city?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Whose role/responsibility is it to solve?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• How to solve these challenges?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Do measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability manifest themselves in the decisions taken? If so, how?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• What additional activity might be required in order to achieve compliance with the constitutional demand?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Community representatives (3 interviews)

Introduce research; Permission to record/Written consent; Purpose of study.

### Role of the organisation

- Do transport or mobility problems factor into your work?
- How important is transport to the daily lives of the people you represent i.e. finding/keeping a job? Is transport as a basic need for the people you represent?
- What are the challenges faced by these communities? Prompt words of location/accessibility, environmental quality, safety/crime, transport/mobility, income/financial issues.
- Are there any impacts of the way proposed(existing) public transport systems are planned and operated on mobility.
- Do you think that measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability manifest themselves in the decisions taken? If so, how?
- Are you aware of the rights-based approach to participatory governance in the constitution? How do you think this plays out in transport decisions?
- What additional activity might be required in order to achieve compliance with the constitutional demand?

## Business owners (12 interviews)

Introduce research; Permission to record/Written consent; Purpose of study (without mention the ‘right to the city’ agenda).

- Are there any impacts of the way proposed(existing) public transport systems are planned and operated on your business?
- Have you been involved in any consultation process for the metro?
- Do you think that measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability manifest themselves in the decisions taken? If so, how?

## Civil society organisations (5 interviews)

Introduce research; Permission to record/Written consent; Purpose of study.

### Role of the organisation

- Do transport or mobility problems factor into your work?
- How important is transport to the daily lives of the people you represent i.e. finding/keeping a job? Is transport as a basic need for the people you represent?
- What are the challenges faced by these communities? Prompt words of location/accessibility, environmental quality, safety/crime, transport/mobility, income/financial issues.
- Are there any impacts of the way proposed(existing) public transport systems are planned and operated on mobility.
- Do you think that measures of effectiveness, equity, participation and accountability
manifest themselves in the decisions taken? If so, how?

- Are you aware of the rights-based approach to participatory governance in the constitution? How do you think this plays out in transport decisions?
- What additional activity might be required in order to achieve compliance with the constitutional demand?

Focus groups

Focus groups, also known as group interviews, have been used in research on social exclusion and transport disadvantage with communities who can collectively make sense of the impact and importance of transport disadvantage on their daily lives (Lucas 2011). The benefit of a focus group is to allow the group members to discuss an issue and attempt to establish a degree of consensus between them about a topic. The focus group lends itself well to this challenge as the participants are explicitly encouraged to talk to one another, as opposed to answering questions in turn.

For this research, two focus groups were undertaken, one with a group of elderly people, and one with a group of people with disabilities – both target groups for the research. Group members were contacted through the ‘Battle of Tarqui’ Association for the Retired and Elderly\(^9\) which caters for the elderly, and the Pichincha Association for People with Physical Disabilities\(^{10}\) catering for people with disabilities. Both sessions focussed on current problems with public transport in the city, participants’ views on the Metro project, participative activities led by the City Government and what additional activities would be required in decision-making to demonstrate that a rights-based approach had

\(^9\) Asociación de Jubilados y Pensionista “Batalla de Tarqui”
\(^{10}\) Asociación de Personas con Discapacidades Físicas de Pichincha
been followed. A certain degree of exposure to rights-based approaches and extracted text from the national constitution was explained at the beginning of the session.

Both focus groups involved between eight and twelve people and lasted between 1.5 to 2 hours, in accordance with the description in May 2011 (p. 138). Contacts from the Instituto de la Cuidad (Institute of the City) were crucial in this process as experienced focus group facilitators, which allowed the researcher to be free to observe and make field notes. Although the researcher speaks Spanish, employment of a native speaker as facilitator was helpful to deal with issues of colloquial language, idioms, and place names.

4.6 **Analysis of transcripts**

‘Interviews are used as a resource for understanding how individuals make sense of their social world and act within it’ (May 2011, p. 157). As May suggests by calling interviews a resource rather than an compendium, the act of interviewing does not end when the interview is complete, in fact arguably the bulk of the work with transcription, coding and analysis is yet to begin (May 2011). This section describes the process of analysis for the interviews undertaken for this research.

Dey provides a useful three-stage process for data analysis (Dey 1993, cited in Bond 2006, p.43): description, classification and then connection. Coding is an important part of descriptive element of interview analysis with codes defined as words or short phrases that summarise or condense the data and help the
researcher to identify patterns, similarities or differences within the data (Saldana, 2008). Coding has been defined as:

*the general term for conceptualising data; thus coding includes raising questions and giving provisional answers (hypotheses) about categories and about their relations. A code is the term for any product of this analysis (whether a category or a relation among two or more categories) (Strauss 1988 cited in May 2011, p. 152).*

The literature surrounding this research topic provides suggested codes for the analysis of interview transcripts. For example, Salon and Gulyani’s (2010) work in Nairobi identified four key themes for transport and the urban poor in developing cities: (i) financial poverty, (ii) the spatial mismatches between housing location and labour market opportunities, (iii) road safety for pedestrians and other non-motorised road users; and (iv) gender differences in transport provision. These themes could therefore be used to generate the following codes:

- Financial poverty
- Spatial mismatch
- Road safety concerns
- Gender imbalance.

Similarly Lucas’ work in South African communities used focus groups to identify the main issues facing people’s lives as related to transport (Lucas 2011). They are: meeting basic needs, employment, education, transport, health, crime/fear of crime, family/children, community, local environment, religion/spirituality. She coded transcripts of focus groups for these words and used the frequency with which they were mentioned to attribute significance, as
well as whether the discussion centred on availability, affordability, connectivity, safety or distance. Similarly, she coded the transcripts for the type of activity that was difficult to access (work, high school, hospital/clinic, police stations, library, visiting family, post office) and assigned a level of significance to those that were mentioned more often than others. This approach can be adapted to this fieldwork to address RQ3a. The quantitative nature of the analysis suits a questionnaire of transport users.

Therefore, the literature provides suggestions for coding. Before moving on to consider the implications for this research, the issue of language needs to be addressed.

4.7 **Translation issues**

Almost all the fieldwork and was conducted in Spanish, and background documents were in Spanish. Interviews were conducted in Spanish and the researcher’s proficiency was sufficient for this, but sometimes not for the more colloquial language which might detract from the translation of phrases or statements of opinion.

Consideration must be paid to the research consequences of undertaking research in a second language. Different languages construct different ways of seeing social life, which can pose methodological and epistemological challenges for the researcher. Therefore, in addition to using language to express meaning, there is the idea that language influences how meaning is constructed and certain sentence construction patterns will differ between languages, in turn giving rise to different interpretations of what an interviewee
is saying. This is particularly the case when meaning is attached to experiences, and the use of metaphors will add complications (Nas et al. 2010).

Spivak argues that translation is not a matter of synonym, syntax and local colour, but as rhetoric, logic, silence and relationships between them, the so-called ‘cultural meanings’ of language (Spivak 1992 cited in Temple 2004).

If translation is not given adequate thought, the meaning-transfer-chain may reflect Chinese Whispers – a children’s game where the idea is to change what is being said to something unintelligible (Nas et al. 2010). It is therefore imperative that the researcher communicates the meaning of the findings in such a way that the interviewee understands it as it was expressed in the source language.

Larkin suggests that the ‘gold standard’ of translation is what is known as ‘back translation’ or ‘forward-back’ translation which works to ensure word equivalence (Larkin 2007). However, he goes on to suggest that this idea is inherently flawed in that it is impossible to find the same meaning in all languages and the researcher must acknowledge the ‘capacity of each language to create its own meaning, reflecting the view that people are neither bounded, integrated or organised as a whole’ (Geertz 1989 cited in Larkin 2007). The Spanish for childbirth provides a good example of this as in Spanish the term literally translates as ‘to give to the light’, a concept that has no equivalent in English. Similarly, in Latin America, people of an elderly age are referred to as being of the ‘third age’ (tercera edad) are

Many of the documents were in Spanish, the researcher’s second language. To ensure that analysis is not limited to content, Nas et al. (2010) provide useful
recommendations for using texts in other languages that the author followed. They are;

- To stay in the original language as long as is possible, i.e. code Spanish text with English codes,
- To delay the use of fixed one-word translations – the analysis might benefit from using fluid descriptions of meanings using various English formulations,
- Discuss and debate options between researcher and translator to flesh out the subtle meaning differences,
- Recognise that when quotes are translated, they are literally not the words of the speaker anymore because the language has changed.
- The use of a professional translator may be costly but will contribute to the validity of the research (Nas et al. 2010).

The last point has been picked up by Larkin in his work on multi-lingual translation where he stressed the involvement of translators in the design of the original interview questions and the data collection process. He argues that ’mutual reciprocity between researcher and translator offers greater possibility for construction of nuance and meaning’ (Larkin 2007, p.468). Adding a translator into the research process adds ‘layers of meanings, biases and interpretations which may lead to disastrous misunderstandings’ (Freeman 1983 cited in Fontana and Frey 2000, p. 655). Larkin believes that as well as it being important to reflect on the researcher’s own influence on the research, it would be negligent to perceive the translator other than as a co-worker and indeed, it might inhibit access to an understanding of the process and emerging data. Edwards (1998) cited in Temple (2004) made translators translating interview transcripts use the third person rather than translating the text literally. He argued that this approach used interpreters as ‘key informants’ rather than
neutral transmitters of messages and provides a means of including recognition of the role of the translator within the analysis. Temple suggests that ‘if epistemologically, the researcher is neutral, the translational act is inconsequential’ and therefore it does not matter if it is the researcher or another person (2004). This chimes with Larkin’s idea of reflecting the role of the translator, which is the approach that was adopted in this research recognising the time and financial constraints acting as barriers to obtaining professional translation services.

There are other practical considerations in translation. Cultural-matchings may be required to avoid the ‘whiff of colonialisation’ that Ladd (2003) describes (cited in Temple 2004). For example, the researcher may speak enough Spanish to conduct interviews but because of her socio-economic background may not be at home in low-income communities of Quito. Recognising the socio-cultural positioning of the researcher will also give meaning to the dual translator/researcher role and may prompt greater discussion of unfamiliar concepts. As in Temple’s example of hearing people learning to use sign language to conduct interviews with deaf people, there must be a level of honesty about the fluency with which any researcher speaks the source language, if it is not her own (hence the inclusion of this in the interview schedules). Harris (1995) cited in Temple and Young (2004, p169) suggests that there is a ‘fundamental value in the unmediated communication through which both parties have to work hard to make themselves understood and extract agreed meanings’.
Geography and Planning

There are many arguments for and against translation techniques but that the main themes are honesty about language abilities, and extending reflexivity during the analytical stages to any external translators used. In reality, the researcher found that her level of Spanish was sufficient for the task, particularly using Nas et al.’s (2010) guidelines of using a flexible approach to translation. Many interviewees were keen to talk to the researcher because they were interested to understand why she had chosen Quito as the location for the case study.

4.8 Transcription and coding

Once the voice recordings were made, the social media posts saved into a Microsoft Office file, and all was safely uploaded onto a computer and backed up, the acts of transcribing and listening to the recordings were valuable as ways of becoming familiar with the data (May 2011). Transcription took a good deal of time, and could have taken longer if each of the interviews had been translated from Spanish to English. Due to the time implications of this, the interviews were transcribed in Spanish and then coded with English codes. Any significant excerpts and quotes were translated, remembering to stay truthful to the meaning, rather than simply the words.

As referred to above, appropriate codes emerged from the literature review. These ‘open codes’ were used to compare events, actions and interactions and to ‘give the analyst new insights by breaking through standard ways of thinking about or interpreting phenomena reflected in the data’ (Corbin and Strauss 1990, p. 12). These open codes initiated the development of further codes that related to the context and conditions that had given rise to the viewpoints,
termed by Corbin and Strauss as ‘axial codes’ (ibid). These additional codes emerged later during field work and initial analysis. Codes that are proposed from the literature review were:

**Table 4.5. Initial ‘open codes’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category: Social exclusion:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code: physical exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: organisational exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: operational exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: perception-based exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: demographic-based exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category: Transport planning and operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: Decision-making process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: Exclusion from decision-making process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: Participation/engagement of community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category: Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: Mobility as a right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: Right to inclusion in planning/operating process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code: Right to the city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be recognised that these are ‘descriptive codes’, as the researcher is transforming what is said into words that relate to the literature. For example, it is unlikely that the interviewee will say ‘I suffer from physical exclusion’ but more likely, they will use words such as ‘the bus stop is too far away’. Another way of coding would be to code as ‘too far’ which keeps the words in the interviewee’s own language but adds an extra step in the analytical process (Saldana, 2008).

Once the transcripts were coded, it was straightforward to use NVivo 10, a CAQDAS system, to sort and organise the data (see appendices). Similar to the analysis employed by Lucas (2011), the frequency of certain words was used as a measure of significance to the interviewee (provided they are all stated in
the positive i.e. ‘cost is a problem for me’ as opposed to ‘cost is not a problem for me’). However, the role of CAQDAS software was limited to helping understand the frequency and patterns of words used, as given the need to study the words in context, its use must not ‘override the need to be familiar with data produced’ (May 2011, p. 154).

Coding is the first stage of analysis, used to discover linkages through ordering the data (Saldana, 2008). Coding is iterative with multiple rounds of coding undertaken to discover more themes, grasp meaning and build theory, involving a ‘deep reflection on the emergent patterns and meanings’ (Saldana 2008, p. 10). This depth is directly related to the choice of method as interviews are used to ‘elicit respondent’s perceptions’ (Silverman 2010, p. 48). C.W.Mills (1940) talks of the vocabularies of motive and Bourdieu (1992, 1999) (both cited in May 2011, p. 154) writes of the need to look deeper than a linguistic analysis as is also the case in document analysis. The need to extend the analysis past the presence and frequency of certain words is based on the understanding that interviews can never present objective reality, but are replete with ‘justifications or excuses’, ‘motivations and reasons’ behind ‘acts and interpretations of events and relationships’ (May 2011, p. 155). This fact is very relevant for this research, as there was a chance that government interviewees would seek to justify a particular decision or action, and where community members may take the opportunity of a semi-official setting and a participatory activity to criticise government policy and activity. Therefore, there is a need to analyse the transcripts with these motivations and viewpoints in mind, which was done by re-reading and re-coding the transcripts and documents. In addition, it was important to remember that the reality described by one interviewee of a
situation may well be very different to another's. It is the regularities or irregularities and features of the account given, that serve as justifications or accusations which can be compared within an interview, and to a lesser extent, at least for semi-structured interviews, between interviews. This activity of comparison, where similarities are identified and interconnections are discovered, relates to Dey’s third phase of ‘collection’ (2003).

Therefore, after initial organising and coding, the texts (documents and interview transcripts) were re-read and re-coded using increasingly deeper codes in order to discover patterns, similarities and differences that will help to address the research questions.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has described the epistemological stance of the researcher and how this has translated into the methods used to gather data as well as analyse the data. The research is inductive by design, in that the theory building comes out of data analysis rather than prior to it. A range of methods were included to aid triangulation of the data, including the use of the social network Twitter to locate groups and organisations who were interested in both participatory governance and transport issues. Links have been made between each research question and the methods used, and a detailed description has been given with particular emphasis on the implications for this research.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present the analysis of the data in response to the research questions.
Inclusive urban mobility: participation, rights and decision-making on transport infrastructure projects

Chapter 5: Case study: Planning for Quito’s new metro

5.1 Introduction

2009 was an important year for Quito. It saw the start of two processes to improve urban decision-making on major infrastructure projects; a new Constitution adopted in the preceding year took effect and was backed up with new laws on Citizen Participation; this Constitution also saw the city government assume control for mobility and transport issues in the city. The convergence of these two initiatives is the basis of the case study choice, and the challenges and conflicts that arose through their convergence are the subject of this chapter.

This chapter begins by describing important elements of the city of Quito’s geography and topography relevant to the planning and operating of a public transport system. The chapter then details the current system of public transport and governance structures, and outlines the genesis of the metro project as well as the reaction to the decision. Finally, this chapter examines the Constitutional rights and laws relevant to the Research Questions posed in this research.

This introduction to the case study, its geography, historical means of planning and operating transport systems, and the relatively new Constitutional rights to participation and holding Governments to account, provides essential

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11 Article 264 of the Constitution. (República del Ecuador, 2011)
Geography and Planning

background to understanding the analysis of the field work, which follows in the next three chapters. This chapter draws from the following elements of data,

- Media analysis (newspaper reports and radio interviews from September 2011 to April 2015).
- Analysis of technical documents on transport planning in Quito and the decision-making processes for the metro.
- Analysis of the Ecuadorean Constitution and legal framework for participation.
- Semi-structured interviews with local businesses.
- Focus group with residents of the city.
- Participant observation and speeches made by current Politicians, ex-Politicians and academics at public events.

This chapter therefore sets the context for Research Question 3 which examines the application of rights-based approaches to the planning of mass public transport systems.

5.2 Quito’s geography and population

Quito is the capital of the Republic of Ecuador, located high in the Andes at approximately 2,850 metres above sea level. Its mountainous location in a steep sided valley, with volcanoes to the north and south, constrains the growth of the city. As a result, the city has a narrow linear urban form: the city stretches 50km on a north-south axis but only 8km from east to west. The most elevated neighbourhoods are approximately 300m higher than the average altitude of the city centre.
Geography and Planning

The city has only two seasons; winter which is characterised by prolonged rains, and a dry season lasting only four months but with spring-like conditions and temperatures up to 27°C.

Quito is recognised by UNESCO as having the largest and best preserved colonial centre in the Americas (UNESCO, 2012).

Figure 5.1: Map showing location of Quito within the Andes range. Source: Elizon, 2009

The city has a population of 2.2 million people with the limits of the city being defined by the extent of the Distrito Metropolitano de Quito (DMQ) (Metropolitan District of Quito).
Figure 5.2. Plan of the Metropolitan District of Quito (red line boundary) Source: Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito, 2009
Currently, Quito is the second most populated city in Ecuador, although with its growing population, estimates suggest that it will be the most populated by 2020 (INEC, 2013a).

The ethnic composition is diverse, with over 80 per cent of Quito residents being classed as ‘mestizo’, that is of mixed ethnic heritage. Just under 7 per cent are white, 4.7 per cent are African-Ecuadoreans, 4.1 per cent are classed as indigenous and a further 1.3 per cent are Montubio (an officially recognised ethnic identity of coastal people of mixed-race and indigenous descent) (INEC, 2013a).

The rate of unemployment, according to official figures, ranges between 4 per cent and 7.2 per cent (December 2013 and March 2010 respectively), but the rate of under-employment in the city is much higher, at around 35-40 per cent (INEC, 2013b)\textsuperscript{12}.

\textsuperscript{12} Figures from December 2012 and December 2013 were 41.3% and 34.7% respectively.
5.3 **Population distribution**

The city is divided into 32 parishes, which are further subdivided into neighbourhoods or ‘barrios’ (DMPT 2008). Broadly speaking, there are four zones to the city:

- the city centre is the historic core, marked by narrow streets, many churches, convents and museums, and is the traditional centre of economic activity in Quito, alongside a growing tourism industry. Its status as one of the best preserved colonial centres has afforded it World Heritage status.
- the south of the city is characterised as an area of high rural to urban immigration, a zone of growth, renovation and high commercial activity, particularly in the dense neighbourhood of Chillogallo.
- the northern part of the city is the wealthier area, where many richer households live and the headquarters of many organisations are located.
- the ‘Valleys and Suburbs’; originally rural outskirts to the far north and south of the city, these areas have become completely fused with the city boundary. These neighbourhoods are predominately residential for people who work in other parts of the city, but have their own commercial centres, parks and industry.
Figure 5.3. Google Earth image showing Quito in its mountainous surroundings

A household survey in 2011 (Metro de Quito, 2012a) showed that across the metropolitan district, only 6.1 per cent of residents could be classified as in the high socio-economic groups. The majority of these live in the north of Quito. The majority of residents of Quito are classified in the middle socio-economic group and their distribution throughout the city is fairly even (i.e. they make up between 60 and 73 per cent of residents in each of the city’s zones). The remaining 23.6 per cent of residents are classified in the low and very low socio-economic groups. While their distribution is relatively even across the city (typically making up one third of the population in every zone), the one exception is the north of the city where they only make up 10 per cent of the residents.

The same report presented statistics on rates of employment, although it does not define what is classified as a job. Presented as a factor of one, the average
number of jobs was 0.37 per inhabitant, but this figure increased to 0.72 in the north, and decreased to 0.22 in the south and in the valleys of the city (Metro de Quito, 2012a), again highlighting an economic differential between the north and the south of the city.

Ironically, Quito’s public transport system has in part led to this socio-economic distribution of residents. Following the development of a steam train line between the city and the coast, in the 1950s several intra-city tram lines were developed running north to south, facilitating socio-spatial segregation (Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito, 2008). The wealthier residents moved from the city centre to the north of the city, whilst immigrants from the nearby provinces moved into the vacuum created in the original colonial city centre, which is now called the ‘Old Town’.

5.4 Urban growth

The city’s population has grown from 1.4 million in 2000 to 2.2 million in 2015 since the start of the twenty-first century and this 57 per cent growth in population and associated expansion of city limits is fundamental to understanding the challenges of mobility within the city. To the north and east of the city, the valleys of Los Chillos, Tumbaco, Calderón, Carapungo y Mitad del Mundo are developing and becoming incorporated into the transport plans being undertaken by the company created to implement the metro, called the ‘Metro de Quito’ (MDQ) (Metro de Quito, 2013a). In only two and a half years, passenger numbers from these areas doubled to 700,000, representing a third of the city’s total population (Metro de Quito, 2013a)
In terms of public transport provision, urban growth and population distribution are important in understanding the origin of many trips and therefore where services ought to be provided.

5.5 **Dominance of the ‘Old Town’**

The historic centre of the city is the traditional heart of economic and social activity and remains the most popular destination for the city’s residents to work, attend university, socialise or access healthcare. This monocentric urban form, described as a ‘hypercentre’, means that the majority of residents in the city travel to this area each working day.

As described in a government report,

> ‘the monocentric character of urban development in the last decades, with the majority of journeys oriented towards or within the ‘hypercentre’, generates problems of road capacity and all the associated diseconomies. The structural solution to these problems of mobility must start by recognising a land-use plan that corrects the tendencies of this old model of urbanisation which demands more motorised journeys, each time becoming longer’\(^\text{13}\) (Metro de Quito, 2013b).

However, despite this desire for a corrective land-use plan, there is currently no urban development plan favouring polycentrism.

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\(^\text{13}\) ‘Carácter monocéntrico del desarrollo de la ciudad en las últimas décadas, con una gran mayoría de los viajes orientados hacia o dentro el denominado hipercentro. Ello genera problemas de capacidad vial y todas las deseconomías asociadas. La solución estructural de los problemas de movilidad debe partir del reconocimiento de una planificación territorial que corrija las tendencias del viejo modelo de urbanización que demanda más viajes motorizados y cada vez más largos’ Metro de Quito, 2013a
This section presents three important factors affecting mobility in the city. One is the linear and constrained nature of the valley in which Quito is located which has dictated that all urban activities are spatially orientated on a north-south axis. The second factor is that population growth is forcing expansion in the northern and southern extremities of the city as well as up the steep valley sides. The third factor is the prevalence of a dominant central core in the city, resulting in huge numbers of people travelling to the city centre on a daily basis. All of these factors create challenges for the design and operation of any mass public transport system.
5.6 **The political structure**

Quito is the political centre of the Republic, with the Presidential Palace located in the Old Town, and the base for all functions of the state.

A pro-decentralisation agenda nationally has meant the rising importance of city-based governance in Ecuador. In 2009, a devolution package saw the competencies of the City Government of Quito (Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito) expand to include urban planning, public services, the regulation of public and private transport, use of public property, the adoption of the general budget of the city and the setting of urban, district and parish boundaries. The City Council approves laws, resolutions and agreements in the city.

The City of Quito is administered by the City Government of Quito, formed of a council of 21 councillors and presided over by an elected Mayor, all elected every five years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mauricio Rodas</td>
<td>May 2014</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>SUMA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusto Barrera</td>
<td>July 2009</td>
<td>May 2014</td>
<td>Alianza Pais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andres Vallejo</td>
<td>January 2009</td>
<td>July 2009</td>
<td>Ruptura 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paco Moncayo</td>
<td>August 2000</td>
<td>January 2009</td>
<td>Ruptura 25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time of fieldwork, the Mayor was Mauricio Rodas, who had been inaugurated on 14th May 2014. Changes following the 2008 Constitution and devolution of transport powers were initially overseen by this predecessor,
Augusto Barrera. In addition to the Mayor, there are 21 Commissions, including one on mobility and another on citizen participation.

There are several political parties in Quito’s council, many with just one or two elected members. The Mayor, Mauricio Rodas, hails from the SUMA (‘Sociedad Unidad Más Accion’ translated as ‘United Society plus Action’) party, as does the deputy-mayor, Dr. Daniela Chacón who leads the Commission for Citizen Participation and Open Government. The leader of the Mobility Commission is Eddy Sanchez, the sole elected member of the MASS party (Movimiento Acción Social y Solidaridad/Social and Solidarity Action Movement). Other elected officials belong to the Alianza País (‘Country Alliance’) party, which is the party of the national President, Rafael Correa. The previous mayor, Augusto Barrera, who was instrumental in initiating the metro project, was also of the Alianza País party and so shared political allegiance with the President during his 2009-2014 term. The preceding Mayor, Paco Moncayo, who established the first masterplan for mobility in Quito, was from the Ruptura 25 party. The plethora of political parties and allegiances can add complexity to the decision-making process as it is not always clear how individuals will vote.

Newspapers tend not to have a strong political affiliation, for example El Comercio and El Universo, national broadsheets with the highest circulation in the country, are commonly critical of politicians of all parties, although categorical evidence of this is hard to find.

The important points to note on politics are that there is no overall majority in the City Council, and that the Mayor is of a different political party than the
country’s president, although they are both left of centre. As Section 5.10 will show, there have been multiple political parties in power during the development of the metro project.

### 5.7 Quito’s current transport system

A study undertaken in 2011 revealed that on an average working day, over 4 million journeys take place in Quito, of which 2.2 million are made using mass public transport systems (El Comercio, 2014a).

Quito has a complex network of conventional buses and Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) lines in what is sometimes referred to as the ‘Integrated System’ (Sistema Integrado). Somewhat of a pioneering city, the first BRT line was opened in December 1995, under the name ‘Trolébus de Quito’ or simply, ‘el Trolé’ (EPMTP, 2015). This BRT route forms a central axis to the city running from Quitumbe in the south to Estación Norte La ‘Y’ in the north, with 54 articulated vehicles running between different points creating five different services or ‘circuits’ designed to service the busiest routes most frequently.

![Figure 5.5: Photo taken by researcher showing the linear nature of the Trolé route separated into sections to provide five different services, known as ‘circuits’.

Subsequent BRT routes have been built to either side of the Trolé route. A second BRT system, la ‘Ecovía’ was constructed in 2000, again running north to
south in the city, but to the east of the Trolé routes. The Ecovía runs from La Marin in the city centre to Río Coca station in the north with links to feeder routes running from Río Coca further north in the city. It is operated by 42 articulated diesel units.

Between 2003 and 2004, additional BRT lines, called ‘MetrobusQ’, were constructed to cross the city from north to south. The construction work included the widening of avenues and the construction of several underpasses to improve the flow of traffic around the city. MetrobusQ operates on five different lines, called corridors, running north to south but to the west of the Trolé routes, and connects with conventional buses on feeder routes.

In addition there are three bus corridors, the Central North Corridor (Corredor Central Norte), South East Corridor (Corredor Sur Oriente), and South West Corridor (Corredor Sur Occidental), developed in 2005, 2010 and 2012 respectively (see schematic map of Quito, figure 5.6).

The Central North Corridor runs from La Marin in the city centre northwards to La Ofelia in the north. It is the only bus corridor where services are run by multiple private businesses, which many believe is the reason why the facilities are poor: in 2011 the then Mayor had to reconstruct many of the inoperable stops.
Figure 5.6: Schematic map of the main BRT and bus routes in Quito. Source: Quito, Alcaldía 2014
Eighty articulated buses run along the two routes of the South East Corridor from La Marin to Quitumbe in the south, or from Capulí in the south to the University campus in the north.

The newest of the corridors, Corridor South West runs from Quitumbe in the south along a main arterial road in the city, La Mariscal Sucre, to Seminaria Mayor station in the north of the city. This route went through three existing tunnels in the city which caused controversy during its inaugural months due to perceptions that the buses would add to existing congestion in the tunnels, and the choice of conventional buses, rather than articulated ones, which were unable to fulfil the demand.

In addition to the BRT routes, there are 2,624 urban buses operating on 135 conventional bus routes. These buses can integrate with the BRT routes in places, such as in the city centre, or may be entirely separate in the more rural or suburban areas.

It is noteworthy that it has been difficult to locate a map displaying the various routes and connections, both during field work and remotely. The provision of information about routes, services and hours of operation is sparse in the city generally and in the stations. The map shown in Figure 5.6 was published online in July 2016.

5.8 Quito’s transport users

This section outlines the high level of dependence on public transport for daily mobility. Public transport is easily the most common form of transport in the city where car ownership, whilst on the rise, is currently low.
Results from the Household Survey conducted in 2011 by the City Government showed the following,

- there was an average of 0.51 private cars per household across the city but a higher rate in the north of the city (0.71) which correlates to the highest levels of employment;
- 84.4 per cent of journeys were motorised, with an average of 1.26 stages per journey;
- 62 per cent of motorised journeys were by public transport, 23 per cent by private car (the rest were accounted for by school- or company-run bus transport and the use of taxis);
- 63.5 per cent of public transport stages were by conventional bus, 22.7 per cent by BRT network, 12 per cent school or company-run bus transport and 1.8 per cent by informal transport;
- The main reason for travel was most commonly for work or study (63.6 per cent). Personal business accounts for 24.3 per cent, shopping for 4.4 per cent, 3.1 per cent to visit the doctors, 1.6 per cent for leisure or sport, 1.5 per cent to accompany another person and 1.4 per cent of journeys are for ‘other’ reasons;
- Most journeys started between 6-8am, with other peak times being between midday and 2pm and 5-7pm;
- The vast majority of journeys cost the full fare (78.8 per cent of trips; $0.25 each way). The remaining 21.2 per cent of trips were charged at the reduced fare of $0.12 available to the elderly, students and people with disabilities;
Separate tickets must be purchased for each leg of the journey (except where users are staying within the BRT system) and as 67.8 per cent of full-fare journeys and 84.1 per cent of reduced fare trips only involve paying once, we can deduce that either the journey is only one stage or the user stays within the BRT system. (Casual observation during fieldwork noted several successful attempts at fare-dodging, most commonly by jumping barriers);

- 98 per cent of non-motorised journeys are by foot, and there are very low levels of cycling in the city;

- 18.5 per cent of the population do not travel on working days which ties in with the high levels of un- or under-employment reported in Section 5.2 (Metro de Quito, 2012a).

These findings highlight the high level of dependence on public transport in the city, as is common in many Latin American cities, in contrast to many cities in Western Europe or North America. Surprisingly, informal transport is not particularly significant in Quito, accounting for only 1.8 per cent of public transport journeys (ibid), and it was thus not a focus in this thesis. Cycling accounts for less than 2 per cent of non-motorised journeys.

This section has outlined the high level of dependence of Quito residents on public transport for their basic mobility needs. It has also demonstrated the innovative approach to transport infrastructure by the adoption of BRT technology at a relatively early stage (since 1995 – Curitiba started in 1974 and Bogotá in 2000). There is continued reliance on a multitude of conventional bus
routes and providers, and growing issues of congestion particularly during peak hours.

5.9 **The Metro**

This section outlines the genesis of the metro and the decisions taken that led to construction of the Metro. The information was drawn mainly from a review of the 2009 Masterplan for Mobility in Quito, interviews with business owners, a focus group with elderly residents of the city, participant observation of public events and speeches made by current and previous Mayors and academics, as well as detailed analysis of fifteen newspaper reports dating from September 2011 to April 2015.

Quito’s city government is delivering the construction of Ecuador’s first subterranean Metro line, at the time of the research planned to open in late 2017 or 2018 (Ubidia, 2015). The new line will integrate the south with the north of the city, between Quitumbe and El Labrador, and run parallel to the existing BRT routes. Fifteen stations are proposed along a distance of 22 kilometres (see Figure 5.7), with initial plans including access for people with disabilities. Journey times between these two points are estimated to reduce from approximately two hours to just 34 minutes. With eight trains each of six cars, the new metro is planned to serve up to 400,000 people a day (Metro de Quito, 2013b).

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14 Although at the time of the decision, the anticipated finish date was 2016 (see Section 5.11).
Figure 5.7. Proposed route map. Source: UN Ecuador, 2012
Importantly for the city, four of the fifteen proposed metro stations will provide integration with other parts of the public transport system as ‘interchange stations’. These are Quitumbe, El Recreo, La Magdalena and El Labrador.

5.10 The origin of the idea

The idea of a metro was first raised in 2009 within the Plan Maestro de Mobilidad (2009-2025) (Masterplan for Mobility) (MDMQ, 2009) published under a previous mayor, Andrés Vallejo (although work on the masterplan began under the preceding mayor, Paco Moncayo). This masterplan described the problems of mobility in Quito as being related to congestion due to a rising number of middle-class residents buying private cars, a lack of traffic regulation and a growing demand for travel due to a rising population. Rather than focussing on major new infrastructure, the masterplan recommended developing the BRT network with additional routes increasing capacity from 2.5 million to 3.5 million passengers per day and improving service levels. However, the masterplan did include the idea of an ‘urban train’ (‘Tren Urbano de Quito’) for the second half of the plan’s lifespan. This light rail train (LRT) was proposed to run from the Old Town to the south from 2017, then to extend northwards from 2021, with a further third phase extending to destinations to the east of the city including the new airport, in total catering for an additional 1.2 million passengers per day by 2027 (see Figure 5.8). This urban train was surface rail and the proposal was to share the infrastructure on the BRT routes wherever possible.

The possibility of a metro was briefly discussed in the Masterplan as an option for moving large numbers of passengers in an urban context (MDMQ, 2009) but
the idea was not taken forward and according to Moncayo in a speech to a public event critical of the Metro project held in 2015 ‘all of the technicians who came to advise us, all advised us that to build a metro was a mistake’\(^\text{15}\) (Moncayo, 2015).

\(^{15}\) “ningún de los técnicos que vino para trabajar en esto aconsejo el metro, todo lo contrario desaconsejaron que Quito construye un error” Spoken at conference attended by the researcher.
Figure 5.8. Schematic map of the masterplan for Mobility 2009-2025 showing the focus on developing BRT routes and inclusion of an urban train (MDMQ, 2009).
5.11 Deciding on a metro

Nevertheless, in 2009, a metro was part of the election manifesto of the winning candidate Augusto Barrera (Alianza País/Country Alliance), but as an undeveloped idea. According to a newspaper article at that time, the then mayor was deliberating the form of the metro, ‘thinking of a mixed model, one that combines a subterranean route with a section on the surface\(^\text{16}\)’ connecting to the airport, but that technical studies to inform the design were about to commence (El Comercio, 2009).

In October 2010, the City Government under Mayor Barrera, commissioned a feasibility study for a subterranean metro, using experts from Madrid’s Metro as advisors (El Comercio, 2010). The studies cost $8 million, were funded by the National Government, and were due to be completed by the end of 2011. While there were early suggestions that the line would connect the south of the city with the new international airport via the city centre, the feasibility studies were intended to inform the final route choice. Including feasibility, nine studies were commissioned and are now complete, including studies on archaeological and cultural heritage, ground conditions (including seismology given the city’s proximity to geological fault lines), and the potential impacts on the World Heritage Site (MdQ, 2015d).

\(^{16}\) ‘Piensa en un modelo mixto, es decir, que combine una vía subterránea con un tramo en la superficie’. 
Table 5.2 List of technical studies completed on the metro project.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study Description</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Encuesta Domiciliaria de Movilidad</td>
<td>Domestic Survey of Mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factibilidad Primera Linea del Metro de Quito</td>
<td>Feasibility of the First Line of the Metro Quito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estudios Técnicos de Soporte</td>
<td>Technical Support Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caracterización Geológica y Geotécnica del Metro de Quito</td>
<td>Geological and Geotechnical Characterisation of the Metro of Quito.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estudios de Impacto Arqueológico y Patrimonial del Metro de Quito</td>
<td>Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Impact Studies of the Metro of Quito.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estudio de Impacto Urbano</td>
<td>Urban Impact Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estudio de Impacto Ambiental</td>
<td>Environmental Impact Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estudio de Impacto Social</td>
<td>Social Impact Study</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The newspaper, El Comercio, reported that in February 2011, Mayor Barrera travelled to Madrid to attend a workshop with 50 technicians of Metro Madrid, who were conducting the studies. On his return to Quito, Mayor Barrera reported that initial results suggest that it is ‘perfectly feasible to construct a Metro and an integrated transport system’ based on ‘demand, ground conditions and topography of the city’ citing its elongated north-south orientation as particularly suitable (El Comercio, 2011a).

On 28th April 2011, an Executive Decree was signed whereby the National Government committed to finance 50 per cent of the work. Reports suggested

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17 This study has been reviewed by the Researcher as the title suggests relevance to this thesis. In fact, the study is largely concerned with the architectural design of the metro, the physical route alignment through the existing urban features

18 See Chapter 7 for detailed analysis of this study.

19 ‘es perfectamente factible construir el Metro y un sistema integrado’ and ‘demanda, de la situación del suelo y de la topografía de la urbe’.
that work would commence in July 2012 and cost $1,386 million with 15 stations and 18 electric trains, with the public debt paid off by 2030 (El Comercio, 2011a).

This first round of technical studies included the tender specifications to construct two of the four interchange stations of La Magdalena and El Labrador by the end of 2012. In reality, construction of these stations started in January 2014 and were only completed in April 2015. In September 2012, the City received the second phase of studies including plans for the construction of the metro tunnel and the rest of the stations (El Comercio, 2012c). Original timescales showed that tendering for this second phase would start in July 2013, but delays pushed the deadline back to April 2014 (El Comercio, 2014b). Nevertheless, the anticipated opening date for the Metro at that time remained at 2016 (El Comercio, 2011a).

In 2012, shortly after the first financial deal was secured, a public body was set up to oversee the Metro project. This organisation is named the Metropolitan Public Body for the Metro of Quito (Metro de Quito, 2012b).

5.12 Route selection

The Mayor indicated that the first line would run from El Labrador in the north to Quitumbe, a distance of 22 kilometres and would connect with existing BRT and bus corridors, in a journey taking 33 minutes and 58 seconds (El Comercio, 2011b). The idea of connecting the city to the new airport had been lost.
In June 2011, the feasibility studies were presented to the City Government, and Mayor Barrera stated that the Quito Metro would ‘permit the inclusion of neighbourhoods and parishes that for years have been relegated from public transport’ (El Comercio, 2011c).

At the time of writing, there are no plans for a second metro line, although extra BRT vehicles have been bought and there is talk of a new system of cable cars to connect the steep sided suburbs with the city centre that would benefit some of the poorly served neighbourhoods located on steep valley sides (El País, 2015).

This section has provided the context to the metro, where the idea came from and how the political decision was taken to invest in this form of transport. Thus, despite the technical reservations reported by the previous mayor, Paco Moncayo (2015), the published information suggests that decision to build a Metro was politically driven and was used as a populist policy in election campaigns. Questions remain, however, around how the specifics of the route were chosen, and why the link to the new airport was sacrificed in favour of a route to the richer northern part of the city.

5.13 Analysis of the decision to construct a metro

In order to examine the extent to which a rights-based approach to governance influences the planning of a mass public transport system was followed, it is useful to examine the decision-making process as it took place.

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20 ‘permitirá incluir a barrios y parroquias que por años han estado relegadas del transporte público’.
As stated in preceding sections, the proposal for a metro was initiated in 2010 under Mayor Augusto Barrera (who was mayor from 2009-2014) when the studies were commissioned into the feasibility of a metro system for Quito. The idea contrasted with proposals of the previous two mayors, Paco Moncayo and Andrés Vallejo, whom in 2009 had jointly released the Masterplan for Mobility in the city, which focussed on re-designing and strengthening the existing BRT system and developing a surface ‘urban train’ to run from north to south and transversally to key destinations. However, shortly into Barrera’s term, feasibility studies were commissioned into a metro line and funding was sought from the national government. The first phase of the metro was commissioned in April 2011, and continuation of the metro project formed part of the 2013 electoral campaign of incumbent Mayor, Mauricio Rodas.

The then chief executive of the public company established to oversee the Metro, Édgar Jácome justified the decision to construct a metro with the following words;

‘the project has passed the most important stage, that is to determine if it is feasible or not. It is feasible to construct a metro in Quito. The city needs a system of this type, because it is the best mode of transport. The Quito of today has mobility difficulties, we spend too much time travelling from one place to another. The essence is to improve the journey time and quality of life for residents of Quito. The city has a particular geomorphology, it is elongated and there is no availability of physical space on the surface21.’ (El Comercio, 2011d)

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21 ‘El proyecto ha pasado la etapa más importante, que es determinar si es o no factible. Sí es posible construir un metro en Quito. La ciudad necesita un sistema de ese tipo, porque es el mejor medio de transporte. El Quito de hoy tiene dificultades de movilidad, gastamos demasiado tiempo en trasladarnos de un lugar a otro. La esencia es mejorar el tiempo de desplazamiento y la calidad de vida de los quiteños. La ciudad tiene una geomorfología particular, es alargada y no hay disponibilidad de espacio físico en la superficie’.
This quote suggests that it may have been the prestige of the project, rather than the proposed linear route, that was its attraction. This conflicts with the findings of the Literature Review, and in particular authors such as Martens (2006) that in order to address social exclusion concerns, evidence of transport need is required (see Section 3.12).

This section analyses those policy documents available to the researcher, speeches, press releases and newspaper articles on the main reasons cited by the City Government for choosing to construct a metro. The researcher was able to obtain some of the relevant policy documents – including the Social Impact Study and the Feasibility Study for the metro, but Council Committee reports detailing how the discussion proceeded. Nevertheless, by considering potential economic, social and political benefits, the information available demonstrates that the switch in policy from investment in existing BRT routes plus an urban train to a metro system was poorly justified.

**Identification of economic benefits**

In transport projects, assessments of viability include an estimation of the economic benefits of a project in terms of direct and indirect jobs, benefits to the supply chain, and travel time savings, the latter being seen as leading to an increase in productivity as workers spend reduced time travelling for work. Therefore, consideration of the economic benefits of the Quito Metro is an important part of the decision-making process.

Although, as outlined in the literature review, cost-benefit analyses (CBAs) are unsatisfactory if used as the only form of transport assessment, they are nevertheless a common form of appraisal, and it was surprising to find that
none of the nine technical studies included a CBA of the proposed metro. This means that it was not possible to extract the figures used by politicians at the time of the decision to understand the project’s justification, nor are minutes of committee meetings made public. However, from an analysis of grey literature (policy documents), political speeches/events and media articles, it is possible to infer the economic weight of the argument.

According to the Mayor, Mauricio Rodas, the metro ‘will contribute to the ‘economic growth and social cohesion of citizens’ (Rodas, 2015). As reported on his weekly radio programme ‘Aquitodos’ on 4th February 2015, the metro project would generate three thousand direct jobs and many thousands of indirect jobs, an investment estimated at $2,000 million. Rodas also assured listeners that at least 75 per cent of the work would be done by businesses employing residents of Quito. During the interview, he added that; ‘we know that the years 2015 and 2016 will be difficult for the national economy [Ecuador is an oil exporter and a reduction in oil prices for the next three years was predicted to reduce national income], and it will be precisely in those years that through the Quito Metro project we will generate thousands and thousands of jobs for Quito residents, so that this [economic] crisis is not felt in this city due to the large infusion of investment and wealth that the construction of the Quito Metro will generate’ (Rodas speaking on Aquitodos, 4th February 2015).

The direct jobs referred to would be generated mainly in supplies, construction and architecture, but indirect jobs would be created nationally, for example, through the need for raw materials to build the metro tunnel and stations.

22 “que contribuirá, al crecimiento económico, y la cohesión social de los ciudadanos” Rodas spoke at an event attended by the researcher.
An article published a few days later in *El Comercio* newspaper stated that with respect to the direct jobs, the experience of constructing the two interchange stations of La Magdalena and El Labrador ‘demonstrated a ratio of nine to one between Ecuadorean workers and foreign labourers’\(^{23}\) (*El Comercio*, 2015a), highlighting some success in creating direct jobs.

However, commentators in the media and local business owners interviewed during fieldwork were not as convinced of the direct economic benefit, although they remain hopeful. As reported in the article, Alexandra Pilaluisa, the proprietor of a grocery shop opposite the new metro station in the deprived area of La Magdalena, hoped that the project will help the area: ‘now we have to fight day to day [to make a living] and I hope that this situation will be better if the second phase [of the metro project] goes ahead, it will be better’ (*El Comercio*, 2015a) (the second phase refers to the construction of the tunnel connecting the two intermodal stations opened in Phase 1).

During fieldwork, interviews were conducted with twelve proprietors of shops opposite the new interchange station at La Magdalena to discover what they thought the benefits of the metro might be and whether they had been involved in the decision-making process. When asked whether they would benefit from the metro, six of the eleven responded positively. However, many qualified their statements with other social or economic disbenefits. One interviewee, a female worker in the car bodyshop stated that ‘*this business will benefit [as] there will be many more people in this neighbourhood, but for this reason, the rental price [for the business] will rise*’ highlighting at the risk to the permanence of the

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\(^{23}\) “muestra una relación nueve a uno, entre trabajadores ecuatorianos y extranjeros”.

Chapter 5: Case study

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business from rising land values around metro stations. Another interviewee, the owner of a pet shop/newsagents said that she would not see an increase in sales because ‘as in other countries, passengers arrive just to enter [the metro] and they do not look around’. A fourth interviewee, a male owner of an electrical shop stated that he had been approached by representatives of the City Government in terms of providing electrical material for the project, demonstrating the indirect economic benefits for those involved in the construction industry.

Of course, there is a link here between social benefits and economics. Route alignments along corridors with the highest potential number of users makes the project more viable. Therefore, routes are designed based on demand and not need (see Chapter 3 for Martens’ (2006) and Beyazit’s (2011) critique of the policy making tradition). However, this approach ignores the social need of scattered populations. When asked why the line of the metro runs from Quitumbe to El Labrador and not to areas of considerable population growth such as Carapungo or Guamani, Mr. Jácome, then head of the Metro project, answered;

‘The principal reason is the economic factor. For this [project] a major investment is needed. Moreover, between Quitumbe and El Labrador there is more demand for this type of mass service. In order to reach populations that are further from the route of the metro, the expansion of the exclusive bus corridors and express services is planned for these residents. In the future, a second metro line will be considered to serve these sectors, because in the extreme north...’

24 Resident Interview 3 “esta empresa va a beneficiar, esta empresa hay mucha más gente aquí en este barrio, menos, los precios de arriendo este, subirían”.

25 Resident Interview 10 “como es en los otros países, igual el metro solamente llegan las personas entran y no es que ven a los alrededores”.

26 Resident Interview 8.
Therefore, analysis of references to the economic impact of the scheme and resident interviews shows that while there are forecast figures relating to direct and indirect jobs, there is cautious optimism amongst shop owners adjacent to one of the newly built stations that the metro will benefit their businesses. However, concerns of limited increased sales and increasing land values were raised in response to the economic benefits cited by the Mayor and the City Government.

**Identification of social impacts**

Social benefits and dis-benefits are also often included in the assessment of transport projects, although difficulties with quantification and monetisation of effects are common. Nevertheless, many sources touched on the likely benefits to Quito residents, as outlined below.

At the time the decisions were being taken on the metro project, Mayor Barrera said at a meeting of the Latin American Association of Metros and Undergrounds (Alamys) that the principal reason for the metro was the ‘poor face of mobility’ in the capital and the projection that average speeds on the capital’s would reduce to less than 10km per hour within 25 years. Therefore

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27 ‘La principal razón es el factor económico. Para ello, se requiere una mayor inversión. Además, entre Quitumbe y El Labrador hay mayor demanda de este tipo de servicio masivo. Para llegar a esas poblaciones que están fuera del trazado del metro, está prevista la ampliación de los corredores exclusivos de buses y el servicio exprés para los vecinos. Para el futuro se contempla una segunda línea del metro para que sirva a estos sectores, porque en el extremo norte hay un desorden en el servicio de transporte público. Hay que ir por etapas.’
The challenge is to reverse the trend and the metro is an alternative\textsuperscript{28} (El Comercio, 2011e).

The social impacts discussed focused on the physical reach of the metro. Many of the predicted social benefits relate directly to residents in areas of the valleys and peripheral settlements of the city, described in Chapter 5 as at risk of transport-related social exclusion. Mayor Rodas is quoted as saying that the metro ‘will permit the improvement of quality of life for citizens’ by permitting the movement of citizens ‘in a rapid, efficient, safe and agile way’ (Rodas speaking at the Academic Forum in 2015). Estimates suggested that each day 400,000 citizens would use the metro which constitutes ‘approximately 25 per cent of the population travelling from the south to the north and from the north to the south of the city in just 34 minutes’ (Metro de Quito 2015b). This constitutes ‘122 million passengers each year travelling far from traffic lights, traffic and the other obstacles that dramatically reduce the speed of surface transport’, hinting that one of the benefits of the metro will be reduced but more reliable journey times for metro users (Rodas, 2015).

Another newspaper article linked the location of stations to the locations of public organisations. ‘This metro system is incorporated into the reorganisation of all the public offices, proposed by the national Government, for example the social department will be half a block from Quitumbre station, the legislature will be close to El Ejido station and the department for work will be close to La Pradera\textsuperscript{29}’ (El Comercio, 2012b). The siting of key transport modes near to

\textsuperscript{28} ‘la peor cara de la movilidad’ and ‘El reto es revertir la tendencia y el Metro es una alternativa’

\textsuperscript{29} ‘Este sistema de metro además está incorporado a la reorganización de todas las oficinas públicas en plataformas gubernamentales, propuesta por el Gobierno Nacional. Por ejemplo: la
places of work is logical but does appear to favour government workers over other people.

As Metro will not reach peripheral neighbourhoods directly (see Figure 5.7 in Chapter 5), the level of benefit depends upon the effectiveness of connections within the wider public transport network, particularly between the interchange stations of the metro and connecting services into these peripheral areas. Many residents interviewed during the field work were concerned, stating that the metro would mainly serve those who need to travel from the north to the south, or vice versa but not those who need to cross the city. For example, as one resident stated;

‘I believe that the people who will use the metro most are the people who need to travel from the south to the north, or from the north to the south, travelling the length of the city, in the shortest amount of time and for motives of work. In my case, I do not think I will use this form of transport; I might be a little curious to know how the system works and use it once, but personally I do not believe in this project and do not feel satisfied that this will create the new mobility in Quito’

(Resident interview 12)

An article published in October 2014 referred to analysis undertaken by the President of the College of Architects, Handel Guayasamin, who stated that if there is no connection between the metro to the two-thirds of the city where there is no Metro line, ‘we will maintain a population that spends two hours of their time reaching a metro station… resulting in a conclusion that ‘the metro alone will not work’

\[30\] “Según su análisis, si no hay respuesta para las dos terceras partes de la ciudad donde no hay línea de Metro, “vamos a mantener a una población que ocupa dos horas de su tiempo para
In response to critiques of the metro and extent to which it links to other transport routes, the Mayor and his office have repeatedly stated that the metro is part of a system, the ‘backbone of the public transport system’ and stressed that other improvements will be made to the network (Rodas speaking at an Academic Forum in 2015). However, analysis here shows that there are concerns about the dominance of the commuting journey over the leisure journey in the project justification.

The focus group conducted with elderly residents of Quito produced substantial comments about the benefits of the project, from the general comments such as ‘it strikes me as excellent’ (M3), ‘it will modernise the city’ (M3) and ‘the metro is truly necessary’, to the more specific ‘transport modes must provide services to where the majority of people need them such as stadia, hospitals, or the city centre, because these are where they are most needed’ (M5). Again, depending on where the focus group member lived dictated whether they felt the metro would directly improve their mobility.

In summary, the main social benefits described in the data from analysis of the Masterplan for Mobility, interviews with local businesses and in newspaper articles suggest that travel time savings would be the largest benefit, with possible travel cost savings, particularly if the idea of integrated ticketing was expanded, although details on this remain uncertain. However, related directly to the physical exclusion felt by residents of peripheral neighbourhoods, it is unlikely that the metro will benefit many of them given that their journeys will still require bus journeys to reach the flatter, central parts of the city through which ingresar al tramo total del metro (34 minutos de norte a sur), pero los tiempos mayores se mantendrían, finalizando con que “el metro solo no funciona”. 
the metro will operate. Therefore, social benefits for individuals are highly dependent on whether the metro stops are conveniently located for their regular journeys. For example, as the proposed metro route runs roughly north-south along the main axis of the city, it offers little increased mobility to those living to the east or the west or on the valley slopes of the city’s periphery, and hence benefits will be limited to those that live and work within a short distance from one of the proposed stations. There may be a general level of reduction in road congestion that may benefit transport users once in the system, but the duplication of routes along the same corridor as the existing BRT lines will do little for residents living outside the city centre.

5.14 The influence of politics and project prestige

In his speech to an Academic Forum discussing the Metro attended by the researcher in January 2015, Mayor Rodas appeared at the end of the session after four participants from other Latin American countries had detailed their city’s plans for a metro, and stressed his administration’s commitment to the metro, as the vertebral column of the integrated public transport system. Little detail was given of the decision-making process but from his speech it is clear that economic factors such as traffic congestion and social benefits such as a reliable quality service were mentioned most frequently. Environmental benefits and the need for a sustainable transport system, not dominated by the private car, were also mentioned but less frequently. The prestige of the project was evident from his words such as;
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“Quito is advancing towards having one of the most modern public transport systems in Latin America” (Rodas, 2015).

At the end of his speech, he encouraged the attendees to keep discussing, debating the metro in order to “enrich” the idea of the metro, although the event was not part of a formal consultation process and Mayor Rodas left after his speech had ended.

To some commentators, the decision by Rodas to implement the metro was political, rather than technical. According to a key informant and expert in urban issues, the decision is fundamentally political because of the changing nature of the relationship between national and city government, which were then from different political parties. Since winning the election on 23rd February 2014 the topic of who will finance the metro remained under discussion between Mayor Rodas and President Correa, and, as an academic interviewee highlighted, to therefore ‘take this decision and say that Quito will do it, resolves a political fixation in the relationship between the city and the national executive’ (Carrión, 2015).

The political nature of the decision was highlighted in the Social Impact Study conducted for the Metro project (Ekos Negocios, 2015. See Chapter 7 for more on this). This study interviewed a range of ‘actors’ about their views on the project. The following quote relates to the section of the report that presents analysis from interviews with representatives of civil-society organisations:

31 “Quito está avanzando hacia tener uno de los sistemas de transporte público más modernos, de América Latina”
32 “Entonces, al tomar esa decisión y decir Quito lo va hacer, resuelve un tema político en la relación con el ejecutivo nacional” (Carrión, 2015).
it is important to show that half of the interviewees considered that this was about a political decision.... with two visions that dominate, the first that the whole project, as a vital development in the city, is of a political character given the level of political support required to make it happen, and secondly that it is distinctly political because it is not yet necessary to propose a metro for the city of Quito\textsuperscript{33} (Ekos Negocios, 2015 p.134).

The interviewees argued that ‘projects of great significance can be used in a (political) campaign or to link a project with a specific administration’\textsuperscript{34} (Ekos Negocios, 2015 p.134). These quotes from the study imply that, collectively, some respondents, primarily from civil-society organisations related to transport were not yet convinced of the need for the metro project.

Politics has another interesting dimension to play. Once the national Government of Alianza País provides funding for the project, the councillors in the City Government in the President’s party would have to support the project, or else they would be seen as the detractors of progress in the city, thereby removing a key blockage from the Mayor’s plans, despite him being from a rival party. For this critic speaking at a public event, ‘the decision to go ahead with the metro is driven by a large political force, with an unclear technical background’\textsuperscript{35} (Carrión, 2015).

\textsuperscript{33}’Es importante señalar que la mitad de los entrevistados consideran que se trata de un proyecto político, dentro de estos representantes hay dos visiones que predominan, la primera que todo proyecto así sea para un vital desarrollo de la ciudad es de carácter político dado que requiere del apoyo político para volverse una realidad y la segunda que mantienen que es netamente político porque todavía no es necesario plantear un proyecto de Metro para la ciudad de Quito’.

\textsuperscript{34}‘proyectos de gran trascendencia pueden ser usados para realizar campaña o vincular el proyecto a una autoridad específica’.

\textsuperscript{35}‘esta es una decisión con una fuerza política muy grande que no sé hasta qué punto tenga un sustento técnico’
Ex-Mayor Paco Moncayo stated in a speech made at an event in January 2015 held by a civil-society interested in mobility issues, that he did ‘*not know how a Mayor could win elections by going back and forth on the solution to the metro*’\(^{36}\), suggesting that taking a definitive line and sticking to it would be politically preferable. This might explain why the metro continues to be supported despite a less than transparent technical justification as highlighted in this section.

Unfortunately, there were no technical reports, agenda papers or more authoritative sources through which to assess political influence. However, it is clear from the interviews conducted as part of this research and the media analysis that there was considerable motivation for pursuing the project, linked to the various mayoral campaigns.

### 5.15 Public critique of the metro project

This section examines how the metro project has been received publicly through analysis of responses during semi-structured interviews with critics of urban planning in Quito and media articles.

Despite the numerous technical studies on the feasibility of the Metro, there appears to have been little public debate about alternative forms of public transport infrastructure investment for Quito, or alternatives to the metro. The Plan Maestro de Mobilidad/Masterplan for Mobility in 2009 considered a light ‘urban train’ alongside the expansion of the BRT network, but did not consider the idea of a subterranean metro, choosing instead to focus on a ‘re-

\(^{36}\) “no sé cómo puede ganar un Alcalde las elecciones al irse por ir y al regresar con la solución del metro.”
potentialisation’ of the BRT system. Where the metro idea came from the following year is unclear as there is no ‘audit trail’ available in the public domain, although the discussion in Section 5.10 hints at a political intention, an opinion that was backed up by interviews with ex-politicians, interviewees at the Department for Mobility and academic interviewees.

Media debates argue that the money would be better spent on other modes of transport, due to the scale of debt that the City government, and therefore the residents of Quito, would need to shoulder (e.g. *El Comercio*, 2011a, 2011b, 2012a). Within the media, there has been some disagreement on whether the metro was the best option for the city, with opponents mainly concerned about the high cost of the project and the relatively small size of Quito compared to other cities with metro systems as the two main reasons. In March 2014 César Arias, a civil engineer with experience of mobility planning criticised the Metro in the newspaper, *El Comercio*. He stated that it was ‘illogical to construct a metro’ and that current mobility issues could be resolved by the BRT lines. He argued that in a city of only 3 million inhabitants (referring to the broadest definition of the city boundary), there are alternatives and he criticises the absence of an options’ study in order to choose the best investment. He argued that this investment should come from the National Government and not the city itself but that the difference in price between a metro and more BRT lines was ‘enormous’ (*El Comercio*, 2014a).

Other critiques are made of the routing of the metro, its design (including the depth of the stations e.g *El Comercio* 2012b) the impact on hidden archaeology
in the historic centre (e.g El Comercio 2013), and the involvement of foreign companies in design and construction (e.g El Comercio 2012c).

In October 2014, Mayor Rodas announced that a new study was to be commissioned from the Paris Metro company to ‘obtain a new critique on whether the metro project is viable or not’ including an evaluation of the operation costs (El Comercio, 2014b) However, this study has not been made publicly available.

Social equity, in terms of accessibility was raised in this media debate. In late 2014, a commentary piece written in El Comercio newspaper, argued for a ‘Mobility Masterplan with a focus on equity, which serves to improve transport for people and the chaotic congestion’ in the city. The author argues that the priority should be to resolve the mobility issues of the lower income people living in the north and south, which by 2020 may number two million people. He argues that the Metro should only be built if it will deal with the mobility issues of these peripheral residents, ‘if not, we have to think of other cheaper, equitable and viable alternatives’ (Herrera, 2015).

In February 2015, three ex-Mayors were asked to comment on the proposal for the metro in an opinion piece for El Comercio. Around that time, there were several media reports questioning the transparency of the process, particularly regarding financing of Phase 2 and the commissioning of contractors. However, many vague statements resulted suggesting that due process had been followed but not with any certainty. For example, ex-Mayor Augusto Barrera, who drove the conception of the metro stated;
‘I think that the pronouncement of the multi-laterals [the multinational organisations who are financing the project] is an action that endorses the transparency of the process’ (El Comercio 2015).

Another ex-Mayor, Andrés Vallejo, commented on the opaqueness of the decision making process: ‘you have to assume that all this (referring to the loan repayments, operation of the system, maintenance costs etc) is taken into account when deciding to continue with the process’ (Vallejo, 2015). The word ‘assume’ suggests a lack of confidence that all the necessary checks were completed. A particularly scathing commentary piece entitled ‘The Metro and the Abyss’ in February 2015, talked of how ‘in recent weeks, they [the City Government] have tried to shine a light on the commissioning process for the Quito metro, but this project continues to be too dark and uncertain like the tunnels that, perhaps one day, will cross the bowels of the city’ (Descalzo, 2015).

In summary, in the media since late 2014 there has been some discussion of other alternatives to the metro, namely re-investing in the existing BRTs to improve their coverage and service levels, or building light rail lines, but these debates have been in the press and not in government documents. These discussions have occurred since Phase 1 of the Metro (two of the interchange stations) was commissioned, so it is not clear what impact this tardy discussion would have on the decision-making process. However, what is clear is the lack of impact that this public debate has had on the outcome and that other options were not explored as vigorously as the Metro. Current Mayor Rodas has

37 “Hay que suponer que todo esto está tomado en cuenta al decidir continuar con el proceso”.
38 “en las últimas semanas se ha intentado mostrar una luz en el proceso de contratación del Metro del Quito, este proyecto sigue siendo tan oscuro e incierto como los túneles que, quizá algún día, atravesarán las entrañas de la ciudad".
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stressed at multiple points in his tenure that ‘the metro is coming’ suggesting he is unresponsive to other ideas or criticisms.

5.16 Constitutional Rights and the Law of Citizen Participation

This section examines the constitutional rights and laws that Ecuadorean citizens have in respect of participating in and holding to account the processes and outcomes of Government decision-making. It forms the basis for the analytical sections on public participation in the metro project in Quito, responding to Research Question 3.

Ecuador’s 2008 Constitution

Ecuador’s Constitution is the supreme law of the country (República del Ecuador, 2011). The latest version, the twentieth version, was adopted in 2008, having been called for by President Rafael Correa upon his election victory in 2007. It was written by a Constituent Assembly made up of elected representatives, the majority of whom were from the Alianza País/Country Alliance party, the same political party as President Correa. The Assembly was given a maximum of eight months to write the new Constitution; they wrote it in seven months. It contains 494 articles including globally ground-breaking themes on the rights to nature, the right to food, alongside the right to the participation in all public processes (ibid). It is of note that Augusto Barrera was coordinator between the Executive and President and the 2007-08 Asamblea
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Nacional Constituyente (National Constituent Assembly) that was in charge of redrafting the Constitution, and was instrumental in introducing a rights-based approach to the Municipio del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito during his term in office.

Citizen rights

The importance of the country’s citizens is established at the start as the context for the Constitution is set. Article 1 states:

‘Sovereignty lies with the people, whose will is the basis of all authority, and it is exercised through public bodies using direct participatory forms of government as provided for by the Constitution’.

Article 11 (2) states that ‘all persons are equal and shall enjoy the same rights, duties and opportunities’ and ‘the State shall adopt affirmative action measures that promote real equality for the benefit of the rights-bearers who are in a situation of inequality’.

Article 11 (8) starts to describe how these universal rights will play out in practice. It says ‘the contents of rights shall be developed progressively by means of standards, case law, and public policies’ and that ‘the State’s supreme duty consists of respecting and enforcing respect for the rights guaranteed in the Constitution’ (Article 11 (9)).

‘Buenvivir’

Chapter 2 of the Constitution provides greater detail on the rights offered to citizens, grouped together under the term ‘Buenvivir’ which translates as a ‘good standard of living’ or perhaps ‘wellbeing’. Article 66 defines this ‘right to a decent life’ as including health, food and nutrition, clean water, housing,
environmental sanitation, education, work, employment, rest and leisure, sports, clothing, social security and other necessary social services. It is disappointing to note that mobility and transport are absent from this list. It is possible to view the omission of mobility as a right and as an oversight by the authors, or part of the unstated notion that mobility underpins many other elements of life and is therefore implicit in other rights.

**Constitutional rights for specific demographic groups**

The Constitution passes on specific rights to certain demographic groups in an effort to tackle social exclusion often felt by those more vulnerable groups. Chapter 3 of the Constitution conveys rights for the elderly, girls, children and adolescents, pregnant women, people with disabilities, people in prison and those who suffer from ‘disastrous or highly complex’ diseases.

In relation to the groups most likely to suffer transport-related social exclusion (the elderly, the unemployed, women, children, and people with disabilities), arguably the Constitution is strongest on rights for the elderly (classed as over 65 in Ecuador) and people with disabilities. Article 36 states that elderly people “shall receive priority and specialised attention in the public and private sectors, especially in terms of social and economic inclusion and protection against violence”. Similarly, Article 48 states that ‘the State shall adopt for the benefit of persons with disabilities measures that ensure...social inclusion, by means of coordinated state and private plans and programs that promote their political, social, educational, and economic participation’.

Of specific relevance to public transport planning and operation, Articles 37 and 47(10) state that the elderly and people with disabilities, respectively, have a
specific right to “discounts in public services and private transportation services and entertainment”. Article 47 (10) states that people with disabilities are entitled to ‘adequate access to all goods and services’ and that ‘architectural barriers shall be eliminated’.

Therefore the 2008 Constitution affords both rights and responsibilities for the citizen and public bodies to improve citizen participation and public scrutiny of government processes and actions. The next section looks at how this Constitutional right to participate takes effects through one specific method of public examination.

**A right to Public Participation**

Like a golden thread running through the Constitution, the idea of the people’s will as the basis of authority is restated in many of the articles of the Constitution and in increasing detail. Article 204, for example, highlights the crucial role that the public have in public affairs. It says ‘the people are the mandator and prime auditor of public power, in the exercise of their right to participation’.

With rights come responsibilities, however. Article 278 states that ‘to achieve the good way of living, it is the duty of people and communities, and their various forms of organization… to participate in all stages and spaces of public management and national and local development planning, and in the execution and control of the fulfilment of development plans at all levels’.

This Constitutional right to citizen participation is one of the ‘central strategies for the deepening of democracy and a transcendental element in the fight
against corruption\textsuperscript{39} (CPCCS 2011) with details laid down in the Law of Citizen Participation of 2010 (Ecuador Government, 2010). The ultimate aim of the law is to establish a ‘two-way relationship between institutions of the State and citizens\textsuperscript{40}’ (CPCCS 2011).

The primary mechanism by which these rights and responsibilities are implemented in daily life is through the ‘offering of accounts’. This approach based on a two-way sharing of information, is said to mark a new paradigm in which the process of governing should ‘no longer be subject to the will of authority and public institution, surpassing times when public officials selected the information that they wanted to provide\textsuperscript{41}’ (CPCCS 2011, pg18).

The ‘Offering of Accounts’

The ‘Offering of Accounts’ is one of the key methods of public participation and accountability that the regulatory framework has introduced. This section outlines its scope and intended outcomes.

It is a requirement of every public body in Ecuador to complete an annual programme called the ‘Offering of Accounts’ or ‘Rendición de Cuentas’ aimed at ‘improving the inter-relationship between public institutions and citizens, as well as promoting transparency in public management\textsuperscript{42}’ and to ‘promote participatory governance, strengthen governance, and restore confidence in the

\textsuperscript{39} ‘las estrategias centrales para la profundización democrática y un elemento trascendental en la lucha contra la corrupción’

\textsuperscript{40} ‘permite generar de doble vía entre las instituciones del Estado y la ciudadanía’.

\textsuperscript{41} ‘en el que se plantea que debe dejar de ser un proceso sujeto a la voluntad de la autoridad y de la institución pública, superando los tiempos en que los administradores de lo público seleccionaban la información que querían difundir’.

\textsuperscript{42} ‘mejorar la interrelación entre las instituciones públicas y la ciudadanía, y promover la transparencia de la gestión de lo público’.
public office whilst encouraging a balance of powers\textsuperscript{43} (CPCCS 2011). It is through this process that information should be provided to citizens and through which citizens can voice their opinions of political decisions\textsuperscript{44} (ibid).

The 2008 Constitution established the Council for Citizen Participation and Social Control to oversee the roll-out and promotion of the constitutional right to citizen participation.

In October 2011 this organisation published a practice guide to the ‘offering of accounts’ setting out the standards by which public bodies should abide. The process is obligatory, should occur on an annual basis and contain full records in order to meet the legal requirements of evaluation and dialogue exchange with citizens. Importantly, the guide talks of this process as central to the re-balancing of power between the state and the citizen. Citizens can be represented individually or via civil-society or social organisations with shared interests or agendas. In the process, citizens are the ‘primary overseer’ or ‘primary inspectors\textsuperscript{45}’ of information with a view to;

- having ‘the opportunity for dialogue with the authorities over various aspects of management….in a way that can affect the review of the management and administration of public affairs,
- the ability to formulate initiatives and proposals to improve the performance of local government in public management and administration,

\textsuperscript{43} ‘potencia la democracia participativa, fortalice la gobernabilidad, restaura la confianza en lo público estatal, fomenta el equilibrio de poderes’

\textsuperscript{44} ‘transparentar su información y explicar a la ciudadanía, de manera sistemática y detallada, la gestión realizada. Los ciudadanos y ciudadanas tienen la potestad de evaluarla’.

\textsuperscript{45} ‘establece escenarios en los que el pueblo, como primer fiscalizador’
• the population is kept informed on the results and scope of municipal government, permitting activities of **social vigilance on the progress** of management and strengthening the exercise of the right to citizen participation,

• **facilitating social participation and fostering scenarios in which to construct social capital networks**\(^{(46)}\) (CPCCS, 2011 pg 21-22).

This language points very strongly to the need for the citizen to play a lead role in public affairs, with high levels of discussion and debate with public authorities and a mature approach to offering suggestions and solutions with a view to affecting change. The link between the ‘Offering of Accounts’ process and the Constitutional Right to Citizen Participation is therefore clear and strong within this document, with the ultimate aim of encouraging more social participation in order to underpin social capital aspirations of achieving the Ecuadorean idea of wellbeing.

The reference guide provides clarity on the role of the public body in this process. Their role is to;

• ‘**organise institutional information**, 

• **integrate participation as part of the institutional management**, 

• **ensure that the information provided responds to all the concerns of civil society and invites responses in a reasonable timeframe, and**

---

\(^{(46)}\) ‘La población tiene la oportunidad de dialogar con las autoridades sobre los diversos aspectos de la gestión, de hacer consultas directas, plantear sus dudas y observaciones, solicitar información. De esta manera se podrá efectuar la evaluación de la gestión y administración de lo público’. 

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• monitor the ‘Offering of Accounts’ process in order to improve the process, involving the maintenance of permanent relations with citizen groups to continue monitoring the process’ (CPCCS 2011, pg 25).

From this guidance information, there are three important points to note. First, the type of information required as part of this process should be detailed organisational plans and budgets as related to the department, which allows every citizen a detailed understanding of how public organisations are run. However, this assumes that citizens are able to understand business and financial planning documents, as much of the information provided is at professional level. Therefore, there needs to be a balance between detail and comprehension.

Second, the idea of this process is both to check what has been done, and to establish a dialogue between citizens and the decision-makers with a legitimate aim of influencing the ultimate decision and bringing about different outcomes. Citizens should be able to put their ideas forward through an iterative process of participation as integral to the decision-making process.

Third, despite the requirement on public bodies to review the process, to date there has been no formal review of the Offering of Accounts process against the standards set by the reference guide. However, as a key part of this research, Chapter 6 reviews the effectiveness of the process followed by the public body overseeing the metro project, as part of this study’s analysis.

It is clear that the Offering of Accounts has been designed as a key part of the government’s agenda to increase public participation. The Council for Citizen Participation and Social Control has been established to see the right to public
participation embedded into public processes and has attempted to establish good practice.

This section has shown that the legislation and guidance provides a sound basis for participatory planning. The constitution talks of citizens as the ‘mandator and prime auditor of public power’ and affords them the right to citizen participation. The main mechanism for this is via the ‘Offering of Accounts’ that is mandatory for each public body to undertake. The idea behind this process is to balance the power between government and citizen, and to promote a two-way exchange of ideas and information to improve democratic outcomes. The process also allows for citizens to make important decisions without political power or imposition\(^\text{47}\).

However, there has been no assessment of the effectiveness of this process in fostering better decision-making through participatory planning. Using the findings of the literature review, it is possible to assess this process against the standards for good citizen participation through a case study of the metro project. Chapter 7 provides the detailed analysis.

### 5.17 Conclusion

In conclusion this chapter has provided five key findings of relevance to the thesis;

a. The topography and rapid growth of Quito makes it very difficult to provide an effective and equitable public transport system. The city’s early adoption of BRT lines is well used but is poorly integrated with the private bus lines.

\(^{47}\) CPCCS, 2011
b. The option of expanding the BRT routes has been overshadowed by the idea of a new metro across different private providers. The new metro line will operate along a similar geographical route and extent to the existing BRT lines.

c. The new Constitution introduced two main elements core to this thesis – the rights based approach, and devolution of transport decisions to local government.

d. Politics is highly fragmented in Quito, with no one political party dominant, but with city leadership usually at odds with national government. The role of the Mayor is a high profile role within the city and country.

e. The decision on the metro appears to have formed a key part of mayoral campaigns in a highly fragmented system. Despite the reservations about the technical feasibility of the project, decisions to proceed were flagged up as an important political decision. It is of note that committee reports, technical studies and decisions on the metro were not readily available.
Inclusive urban mobility: participation, rights and decision-making on transport infrastructure projects

Chapter 6: Analysis Part One: Social exclusion and the current public transport offer

6.1 Analysis in the thesis

The analysis is split into three chapters. Chapter 6 addresses Research Question 3a to examine the transport-related social exclusion arising from the way mass transport systems are currently planned, and as a consequence transport-related social exclusion in the case study city.

Research Question 3a: Through a case study of a city adopting a rights-based approach to development, and with a planned mass public transport system, how can the understanding of transport-related social exclusion in developing country cities be advanced;

Chapter 7 looks specifically at the decision-making process in Quito relating to the decision to construct a metro examining the rights-based approach from an exploration of the City government activities. This chapter responds to Research Question 3b examining the influence and practice of rights-based approaches to decision making, and whether this could be said to be a rights-based approach to decision making in accordance with the stated aims of the Constitution and related legislation.

Chapter 8 reflects on how far the rights-based approach within the case study meets norms of good practice on public engagement set out in the literature review, and how the reaction from citizens or groups representing the
community can embed rights-based approaches into governance. This chapter addresses Research Question 3c.

Within the thesis, these analysis chapters play a crucial role in linking the literature review with the practice found in the case study. They are followed by a concluding chapter which pulls together the threads of this thesis in responding to the Research Questions.

6.2 Introduction

Chapter 6 draws on the following sources;

- 70 questionnaires with residents of the city (see appendix for data)
- Interviews with five representatives of civil society organisations or academic institutions
- Focus groups with the elderly community and people with disabilities
- Media analysis (seven newspaper reports from June 2014 to April 2015)

Using the hybrid transport-related social exclusion framework proposed in the literature review, the views and experiences of residents have been gathered to test the model against the existing transport system in Quito. The fieldwork data listed above has been coded and analysed against the types of social exclusion commonly related to transport. The categories of exclusion determined in the hybrid model include physical exclusion, organisational exclusion, operational exclusion, perception-based exclusion and demographic-based exclusion, as established by a review of work by Cass et al 2005 and Church et al 2000 (See Section 2.9 and Table 2.1 (for ease reproduced again below).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1. Proposed hybrid Transport-related Social Exclusion framework</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical exclusion –</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial design of the system throughout an urban area, including localities and neighbourhoods experiencing poor transport access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical design of facilities and vehicles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Organisational exclusion –</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How public transport systems are governed, managed and organised, who runs them, when they operate, their reliability and punctuality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political priorities and governance arrangements for decision-making</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Operational exclusion –</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The impact of issues such as journey time, service frequency/duration, comfort, instances of personal theft and traffic accidents on a person’s willingness and ability to travel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cost of public transport services.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Perception-based exclusion –</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The notion of agency and limitations derived from the perceptions of individuals that public transport travel is arduous or inconvenient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerns for personal safety and security and perceived risks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demographic-based exclusion -</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal characteristics of the individual that affects their risk of social exclusion – e.g. their age, gender, level of income and where they live.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the fieldwork analysis, it is understood that there are some similarities between the experiences of the residents of Quito and those presented in the literature, mainly relating to the geographic distribution of public transport and personal characteristics of the individual. However, significant differences emerge as well in the form of cost due to the rigid control the City Government exercises to keep fares low. This analysis of transport-related social exclusion in Quito adds to the current knowledge by examining a public transport system in a developing city context where ridership levels are very high and regulations keep the fares low.

6.3 **Physical exclusion**

The provision of a bus-dependent public transport service across a city relates to three main physical factors. First, it is important to consider the coverage and quality of the road network on which bus travel depends, as some roads,
particularly in steep valley areas, will be less suitable for large coaches than main ‘downtown’ arterial routes. Second, the logistics of managing a bus service, i.e. how the service is run spatially is a factor in determining provision. Third is the expanding nature of the city, and the difficulty or inability of bus operators to keep up with growing demand from settlements on the periphery of the city. As the city grows, many settlements develop informally on the edge of the city and there is often a delay in regularising these areas and incorporating them into the city’s administrative boundaries, after which they can attract infrastructure investment.

The 70 structured questionnaires, interviews with civil society organisation representatives and analysis of media coverages, are analysed under four broad headings below. The media reports were useful as they gave an historical perspective, with the most common concern amongst residents, journalists and politicians being the poor coverage of the public transport bus network, particularly in the newer suburbs and settlements on the outskirts of the city, the valleys and suburbs.

**Lack of coverage – living at a distance from the network**

Problems of physical exclusion were emphasised to the researcher during a visit to the community in Toctuico, one of the new and expanding areas on the hillsides to the west of the city centre of Quito. Several of the bus owners reportedly refuse to drive their buses up the steep narrow streets, particularly in wet conditions for fear of losing traction and driver control.

In March 2014, an opinion piece in one of the most widely-read newspapers in the city, *El Comercio*, discussed how the challenge of ensuring that the new
parts of the city receive public transport is greater now than before: ‘the valleys of Los Chillos and of Tumbaco as well as Calderón and Guayllabamba need greater connectivity; there are distances to shorten’ (El Comercio, 2014a).

Later that same year, a study commissioned for a City Councillor Patricio Ubidia (PAIS) in 2014 while he was a member of the Mobility Commission, showed 25 per cent of the urban area of Quito had no public transport coverage (El Comercio, 2014c). Unfortunately, it was not possible to locate a copy of the report to provide further detail but this statement can be corroborated by similar statements. An ancillary article reported the daily problems of moving from one of the distantly-located suburbs to the city centre. The article states that the ‘residents of these areas are accustomed to walking down the steep slopes to find a form of transport’ highlighting that many bus operators do not drive into settlements located on steep valley sides, or on unpaved or poorly paved roads, and even if services exist they may be infrequent (ibid). Therefore, in order to access public transport, residents need to walk down the slopes to a main buses route.

Public transport planning

The lack of coverage throughout the city highlighted in the preceding section suggests that there is a disjunction between growing peri-urban areas and the provision of public transport services, and also an absence of forward planning. There are several possible reasons. First, the publicly-owned and managed BRT services run on fixed routes and have not expanded since they were

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48 “Los valles de Los Chillos y de Tumbaco; al igual que Calderón y Guayllabamba necesitan mejorar esa conectividad. Hay distancias que acortar”
49 “Los moradores de estos sitios están acostumbrados a bajar las cuestas al trote para buscar un medio de transporte”
constructed in 1995-2004, and so there has been no publicly-funded expansion of services to these new suburbs. Second, for any privately owned bus company to open a new line, the line would need to be profitable, but private companies are more likely to increase their profit margins by serving busy routes with a high concentration of customers rather than risking damage to vehicles on narrow, steep, winding roads where, apart from peak hours, travel demand is less. Therefore, running bus routes into peripheral less-densely populated areas is not very financially attractive to private sector operators. Third there is a lack of forward-looking urban planning in managing Quito’s expansion and the resultant inability of the city government to match new homes, city expansion and the provision of public transport services. The challenge for Quito is the high demand for travel to the city centre (see Section 5.4 in Chapter 5 for more on the dominance of the city centre as a travel destination), the narrow roads in many areas of the city and the topography.

**Vehicle and station design**

Another element of physical exclusion that emerges from the data relates to the design of facilities and vehicles. The rush to board the BRT units through narrow doorways within a constrained time was identified as a significant challenge by questionnaire respondents. For eighteen of the questionnaire respondents, particularly the elderly and those with disabilities, the rushed and often frantic nature of boarding a bus was mentioned as a significant challenge to the safe and comfortable use of the BRT network.

BRT systems, by design, feature platforms at the same level as the bus doors allowing for level transfer of people onto the buses. In Quito, as a bus
approaches the station, a short metal flap folds down from the bus to land on the edge of the platform forming a bridge over which people walk (see figure 6.1). There are typically three or four doors per bus and people queue up on the platform at pre-determined points that align with the doors when the bus arrives (see Figure 6.2). However, the time allowed for the boarding of passengers is short, which normally results in a rush and passengers pushing each other to board the bus, particularly during peak times or at the busier stations, such as La Marin.

Figure 6.1. One of Quito’s BRT buses. Source: Exacto Digital, 2015
Figure 6.2. Queue forming to catch a BRT bus. Source: EPMTP, 2015

Culture of ‘catching the bus’

Until the BRT networks were installed, customers would hail a bus along the roadside, and ask to alight wherever they needed it to. This situation is still the case with some of the privately run buses but is becoming less common. The resulting culture change to using fixed bus stops arose as an issue during the focus group with elderly residents of the city who are more accustomed to the previous flexible hailing system. The focus group attendees argued that it was a discipline that they needed to adopt in order to use the more structured system of stations and stops50

50 M1 ‘tiene que haber una, llamemos disciplina, a pesar que disciplina es una cosa muy grande de decir no cierto, pero tiene que haber una disciplina, por ejemplo: los señores usuarios de transporte, están acostumbrados hacer parar el bus en donde ellos creen que es conveniente, entonces sí es a media cuadra, ahí le hacen parar el bus, y lo mismo están acostumbrados, a bajarse donde ellos creen que es conveniente, entonces para eso se necesita una disciplina’
Geography and Planning

‘the older transport users are accustomed to stopping the bus wherever they think is convenient….and the same, they are accustomed to getting off the bus where they believe it is convenient, therefore for them, they need discipline’ (M1).

In summary, the lack of provision of bus services throughout the city, but particularly to the newer settlements located on the valley sides, and the rushed and cramped nature of boarding BRT units at pre-determined points are the main types of physical exclusion experienced by the residents of Quito. The dominance of the city centre for jobs, education etc., and the long journey times required to reach the city centre could also be said to be limiting the quality of life for the residents in the peripheral areas and represents an important barrier to their individual economic and social progress.

6.4 Organisational exclusion

The category of organisational exclusion relates to challenges presented by the mechanics of public transport provision, such as how and when the services operate and their punctuality and reliability. There is some overlap with physical exclusion for example, when considering the design of the bus units and services, but this section covers elements of social exclusion that are not covered in the preceding section.

Distinction between physical and organisational exclusion

As discussed in Section 6.3 on physical exclusion, eleven respondents named the lack of services as a challenge to their daily movement on public transport. In Quito, BRTs are publicly run while the conventional buses are privately run.

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Therefore when and where services are provided is an organisational issue as the bus routes and service frequency is a decision taken by the bus operators, with limited municipal coordination of services, and economic incentives for private services to concentrate on the busiest route. A consequence of the topography of the city is the infrequent services to peripheral settlements.

Three main areas of concern for organisational exclusion were identified by the data: frequency, overcrowding and information provision.

**Lack of coverage – infrequent services**

Infrequent service is a common issue for residents in the more peripheral settlements, as confirmed by over half (36) of the respondents to the questionnaire. Newspaper articles also confirm the residents’ views. As one noted, ‘María Dután…. waits up to 30 minutes for a bus. The bus that covers this zone does not come frequently. A trip from the top of the Chilibulo suburb to the Historic centre (of Quito) takes almost an hour’ (distance is approximately 5km)\(^5\) (El Comercio, 2014b).

The 70 questionnaires completed during fieldwork, also highlighted long waiting times as a common feature of daily travel patterns for both BRT and conventional buses. Waiting times ranged from three minutes in areas just south of the historic centre to two hours to the north west of the city centre where buses travel infrequently and do not operate on a set timetable. Eleven questionnaire respondents named the lack of services, such as insufficient buses or poorly planned connections with long waiting times, as a significant issue.

\(^5\) “contó que en la vía principal se puede abordar un bus o taxi. Las tarifas oscilan entre USD 0,25 y 1,5. María Dután, otra vecina, espera hasta 30 minutos por una unidad. El bus que cubre la zona no pasa con frecuencia. Un viaje desde la cima del sector hasta el Centro Histórico demora casi una hora.”
challenge in their daily travel patterns. Respondents who named longer waiting times were predominately (82 per cent) living in the far north of Quito, where the greatest urban expansion has been observed (Cotocallao, Pomasqui, San José, Concepcion and Carcelen).
Figure 6.3 Areas of Quito. Source Gifex, 2001
Information provision

The lack of timetables was also mentioned by one respondent as being a barrier to using the BRT and is corroborated by participant observation during field work. The BRT stations show the route of the bus lines but not the intervals between buses nor the operating times, see figure 6.3, which demonstrates the poor quality of information provided at stations. The researcher was unable to find leaflets or print-outs in the stations showing maps or timetables of any of the routes during the fieldwork. The website for the city government department for public transport does have some information but access to this relies on internet access\textsuperscript{52}.

\textsuperscript{52} \url{www.trolebus.gov.ec}
Figure 6.4. Photograph showing the limited information available in a standard BRT station. Source: Author.
Overcrowding

Another organisational challenge is the issue of overcrowding on the buses or BRTs which was mentioned by 42 questionnaire respondents and in the media. In April 2015, El Comercio noted the issue of overcrowding and ‘polite jostling’ for space on the BRT units as particularly prominent during peak hours. Two users interviewed for the article said that they often waited for the next BRT if ones that arrived at their stop were already very full. On the particular day that they were interviewed for the newspaper article, one waited 17 minutes and the other 25 minutes for a service with a three-minute interval, highlighting just how common overcrowding is on peak hour services (El Comercio, 2015b). A participant in the focus group of elderly people conducted for this research lamented that, at times,

‘a passenger in the middle of a crowded bus is unable to alight from the bus at their chosen stop due to severe overcrowding’\(^{53}\).

An elderly participant in one of the focus groups was aware of legal limits on the number of passengers on a bus, stating that although the law stipulates a maximum of seventy passengers, this is regularly ignored during the peak hours when many people are travelling to work or to school, and as a result people are transported

‘like potatoes, one on top of the other’\(^{54}\).

\(^{53}\) ‘el rato que el carro está completamente lleno, y por desgracia una persona está en la mitad del carro, no puede salir’ M1 Focus Group

\(^{54}\) ‘como papas, ahí uno encima de otro’ M1 Focus Group
This overcrowding is a common issue noted in the media and the questionnaires, as it also relates to a fear of crime. This will be discussed more fully in Section 6.6 on perception-based social exclusion.

Fig 6.5. Image showing typical overcrowding on bus system during peak hours. Source: Ciudadania Responsible, 2015.

6.5 **Operational exclusion**

Operational exclusion describes problems encountered by the running of the public transport system and in particular, relates to the cost and affordability of services. This is the category of the transport-related social exclusion framework where the greatest difference between the findings and the model's predictions was discovered.
Cost

Fares in Quito are a flat-fare subsidised by the city government, and held low, and so cost of travel assumed much less prominence in Quito than the transport-related social exclusion framework predicts. In the review of newspaper articles, there were no direct references to the affordability of public transport cost, which is set at a flat-rate across the city, irrespective of the distance travelled. However, there was great debate in the media between August 2014 and March 2015 on the setting of fares fuelled by a request from private bus operators to raise the fare price from $0.25 (with a reduced fare at $0.12 for the elderly and students) to what they estimate to be an accurate real-value cost of $0.42 (El Comercio, 2014d). Following discussions, the agreement made with the City government was to maintain the fare at current prices, with a reduction to $0.10 for people with disabilities (El Comercio, 2015c). While the motives behind the City government’s refusal to agree a price rise may be related to affordability and electoral pressure, these newspaper articles did not make that link.

Affordability was not raised as an issue by the 70 questionnaire respondents and in fact, the $0.25 fare for a one-way journey, fixed by the city government, is commonly seen as very reasonable. Although predicted as being an important aspect of exclusion in the transport-related social exclusion framework, travel cost was not an aspect of exclusion in Quito, because of the particular local circumstances whereby the city government keeps the fares low. This is therefore a highly political and electorally sensitive issue, which has implications for the likelihood of private-sector businesses expanding into certain less profitable areas of the city. As events in Brazil in 2013 and 2016...
have shown, even when public transport fares are increased by a small percentage, there can be public outcry, causing cost and any reduction or removal of cost subsidy to be a highly political issue (Holston, 2014).

Relating these findings to the transport-related social exclusion framework developed in the literature review, problems faced by the residents of Quito in terms of operational exclusion are similar to that of organisational exclusion and relate to the lack of adequate services both temporally and spatially within the city. Information provision is also a problem noted by one respondent to the questionnaire, but also noted by the researcher during the participant observation exercises of using Quito’s bus services.

Operational exclusion as it relates to cost and affordability was not considered to be problematic for the residents of Quito, largely due to the subsidised standard fare set by the City government.

### 6.6 Perception-based exclusion

The lack of coverage of the existing bus network causes perception-based issues in that if people perceive that there are difficulties in catching a bus, they will be deterred from using the service and seek alternative modes of transport, for example taxi or lift-share. This discussion is covered in Section 6.3. Concerns for personal safety and security are additional sources of perception-based exclusion. Both data from residents and the review of newspaper articles highlighted the threat of theft and physical assault as major concerns for users of the existing bus system.
The risk of theft or abuse was a common response to the questionnaire, with 17 respondents specifically mentioning a fear of crime when using public transport. However, interestingly there was an almost equal split between male (8) and female (9) respondents (out of a total of 28 male and 42 female respondents). Several people who felt insecure, also said that there are too many people using the buses, and that the risk of pick-pocketing is high. The researcher also felt insecure using the buses during fieldwork and the need to watch your bag and personal belongings at all times. The problem is exacerbated by the lack of seats on the buses meaning that many passengers stand up reach up their arms to hold onto handrails, thereby leaving their pockets and purses exposed (as shown in Figure 6.7). One respondent had her bag was cut open from below and the contents removed during a journey where she was standing with her hands on handrails. However, out of 70 respondents, only two had actually been the robbed on the public transport network, suggesting that the question is more of perception that reality.

In March 2015, the newspaper *El Sol* reported findings from a study completed by the city government and UN-Women in 2011 showing that ‘80 per cent of female Quito residents were fearful of using public transport and 67 per cent had suffered verbal aggression of a sexual nature’55 (*El Sol*, 2015).

Shortly after being elected Mayor in the summer of 2014, Mauricio Rodas declared an ‘emergency’ in public transport and approved a suite of measures including the employment of an additional hundred police officers to patrol areas

55 “El 80 % de las quiteñas siente miedo de utilizar el transporte público y el 67 % sufrió alguna agresión verbal de tipo sexual”
considered to be high risk, alongside the installation of surveillance cameras in several stations (El Comercio, 2014e).

Another anti-abuse measure was to ‘install transparent bus stops with glass walls to make the interior visible, minimising the possibilities of aggression’ (El Sol, 2015). Throughout the city these glass-walled bus stops are now common and many sport advertising campaigns denouncing sexual abuse (see Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6. Photograph in bus stop. Slogan states ‘We raise our voices for transport free from sexual harassment’. Source: Researcher’s photo.

56 “instalación de paradas de autobús transparentes, con paredes de vidrio que hacen visible el interior, lo integran con el entorno y minimizan las posibilidades de aggression”.
Perception-based social exclusion is high amongst residents of Quito with the fear of petty crime being the most common worry. However, no evidence was found that actual crime rates are high (official crime figures on the public transport system are not reported publicly), i.e. the fear of crime is likely to be greater than the actual risk of crime. No evidence was found that this fear significantly prevents residents from using public transport systems as in many cases there simply is no choice. Similarly, data was not available to demonstrate if the policy interventions around structure of the stations, for example the glass bus stops, signage and additional policing were effective.
6.7 **Demographic-based exclusion**

This section contributes to the picture of transport-related social exclusion in Quito by presenting findings on the final category in the transport-related social exclusion framework: demographic-based exclusion.

This category examines the role that individual characteristics play in determining access to the public transport system. The literature suggests that women, the elderly and people with disabilities are more likely to face problems accessing the public transport services and are considered to be more vulnerable to social exclusion of all kinds. This makes these groups particularly worthy of research, and hence they were a focus of the data collection process, particularly in terms of the questionnaires and the focus groups.

Before looking at the data it is worthwhile clarifying that from the definition provided in the table categorising transport-related social exclusion (Table 2.1) at the start Chapter 6, there is some overlap with physical exclusion whereby certain residents are excluded from using public transport simply because of the inadequacy of services where they live. As mentioned in Section 6.3 above, 25 per cent of the urban area is reported as being without public transport, and in many steep-sided neighbourhoods, transport services are unreliable and infrequent. Therefore, people living in these areas, often new migrants to the city or poorer residents, are by the very nature of where they live, excluded from adequate public transport services. Additional forms of demographic-based exclusion are also considered here.
Disability

In addition to topography, one of the main findings of the fieldwork data relates to the challenge of mobility for people with disabilities. There are over 380,000 people classified as having a disability in Quito, with levels of disability classified according to national guidelines stating a percentage ability, e.g. 100 per cent disabled is someone who is quadriplegic or totally blind (MDQ, 2012a). People with some form of disability are eligible for reduced fares on public transport, whilst those classified as 100 per cent disabled are exempt from any charge.

As mentioned above, people with disabilities were sought out during the fieldwork because the literature points to severe mobility and accessibility issues for this demographic group. As a result of contacts made with civil society organisations, 15 people who classified themselves as having a disability, ranging from autism, blindness to quadriplegia, were respondents for this structured questionnaire. For these respondents, the main challenge faced when using the current public transport system was boarding the buses at stations. As discussed in Section 6.4 above, respondents reported that due to frequent overcrowding of stations, passengers would push and shove other users to get ahead in the queue. The boarding process is particularly challenging for those in wheelchairs, who reported that the short opening time for the doors prevents wheelchair-users from boarding, and that wheelchairs can even get stuck in between the closing doors. One blind woman said that she felt as if people closed the doors to prevent her from getting on the bus, and several people reported receiving insults from other users. One man in a wheelchair complained that the ramps to access the platforms became too slippery for a wheelchair when wet, and that comments made by other
passengers are often unhelpful to those with disabilities, for example saying ‘watch out’ to someone who is blind but not indicating from which direction the threat is coming.

Two semi-structured interviews were conducted with leaders of civil-society organisations campaigning on behalf of people with disabilities. Both leaders were classified as disabled themselves. One, the head of the ‘Asociación de Personas con Discapacidades Física de Pichincha’ (APDFIP – Pichincha Association of People with Physical Disabilities) agreed that the main problem with the bus system is the overcrowded stations and the problem of trying to board a bus whilst using a walking stick. The other issue that this community group leader identified is the increasing use of the fixed BRT stops by the conventional buses. For people with severe difficulty in walking, such as himself, it was problematic to use the bus as there was inevitably a walk to and from bus stops from the journey origin and to the final destination. For this reason, he chooses to use taxis instead which pick him up and drop him off at the desired location, avoiding the need to walk far;

‘because the bus stops here and I need to go there, but I can’t go there, so I do not choose this form of transport, I can’t’ 57 (Community Representative 1).

The other interviewee in this group ran a support and lobby group called ‘Fundación Vitar’ (‘Vitar Foundation’) based in Quito. For him, the problem is two-fold. First, the majority of people with a disability have fundamental difficulties in moving around, and second, the transport system is ill-designed.

57 ‘por decirle estoy parado o parada aquí y yo estoy acá no puedo llegar acá’ ‘entonces yo no cojo ese transporte, ñosea, no puedo, yo no puedo’
for people with disabilities (for example, without ramps or lifts), which produces challenges for improving their quality of life;

Institutions that do not have ramps or lifts are difficult for people with disabilities in our country; they could improve (the situation) and have a useful life with optimum quality of life.58 (Community Representative 2).

He noted that the challenges of mobility were most prominent in the peripheral neighbourhoods with poor public transport, asking for a ‘wake-up call to the authorities to execute realistic and logical plans for human displacement and mobility in the city’.59 Despite these daily difficulties, this community group leader emphasised that public transport remains a core necessity for most people with disabilities and that, as they represent a significant number of potential passengers, their needs should not be ignored.60

The elderly

Another group specifically sought out during the fieldwork were elderly people, (or ‘personas de la tercera edad’ (people of the third age) as they are referred to in Ecuador). During a focus group with ten elderly residents of Quito, three main challenges emerged. First was the physical difficulties of boarding and alighting from a bus, particularly for those who have difficulty walking or standing. Two participants said that this difficulty had prompted them to buy a private car.61

58 ‘instituciones que no cuentan con rampas ni ascensores que dificultan, que las personas con discapacidad de nuestro país, puedan mejorar y tener una vida útil y una calidad de vida optima’

59 ‘es por ello que es un llamado de atención a las autoridades, para que ejecuten planes reales y logísticos para el tema de desplazamiento humano y de movilidad humana en el interior de nuestra capital’

60 ‘No podemos dejar de lado el número significativo, existente de personas con discapacidad, que van a ser usuarios potenciales, recordemos que la mayor índice de usuarios con discapacidad, en el Ecuador en la actualidad usan el metro bus que es el transporte terrestre.

61 M4 ‘ahora he optado por coger un carro particular’ and F3 ‘Yo obligadamente cojo taxi para venir acá, o para irme a cualquier lado, porque yo tengo dificultada de caminar, porque tengo artrosis a mis rodillas, y entonces yo, de ley cojo taxi para irme a cualquier lado’.
Geography and Planning

(‘now I have chosen to take a car’ (M4) and ‘I am obligated to take a taxi to come here, and to take me wherever, because I have difficulty in walking, because I have arthritis in my knees, and therefore I take a taxi to take me wherever I want to go’ (F3)) and highlighted that buses are poorly equipped with features such as low-level floors for people with mobility issues.

Second was the absence of designated seats for elderly passengers on some services, or that other passengers did not offer these seats to the elderly, sometimes pretending to be asleep whilst using the seat. This issue seen as a consequence of overcrowding, and sitting down partly protected the passenger from the effects of overcrowding.

Third was the practice by private bus companies of avoiding picking up elderly passengers at bus stops, because they pay a reduced fare, in preference of full-fare paying groups. For example, one group member said that a bus driver saw four elderly passengers each paying $0.12 as less profitable than eight youngsters each paying $0.25, and that profit would prompt the driver to pick up the youngsters rather than the elderly people. This example, although hypothetical, suggests that private bus companies, some of whom still pick passengers up at any point along the route, may consider the fares they will receive in deciding to stop. There is only anecdotal evidence of this.

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62 ‘en el trole, tiene marcados los asientos, pero lamentablemente no se cumple, porque el chofer medio alcanza a ver por el espejo, dice vea dele el asiento a la señora, y si no se van, se hacen los dormidos, los jóvenes se hacen los dormidos, aun sabiendo, y están viendo que esos asientos son amarillos y es específicamente para personas de tercera edad’ F1.

63 ‘ven a un grupo de cuatro viejitos, como los cuatro viejitos, tienen que pagar 12 centavos, entonces son 48 centavos, pero en la otra cuadra ven, a 8 jóvenes, y como los 8 jóvenes tiene que pagar 25 centavos, entonces eso significa 2 dólares, y si el chofer coge más dinero para poder, vamos a decir, reemplazar esa injusticia, entonces prefiere a los jóvenes antes que a los viejos’ M1.
A Twitter post stated that ‘the drivers of the Ecovia (one of the BRT lines) do not respect people of the third age [the elderly], they close the door when they have one foot inside the bus and the other out of the bus; they are mistreating our elderly’ (Villagrán, 2015). Another post blamed a ‘lack of education that means some passengers think that this is the last bus and that they must get on the bus at all costs, pushing people and ignoring any queuing elderly people who may be in their way’ (Valdez, 2015). However, social media has to be used carefully in any analysis as it tends to attract complaints, rather than praise.

Gender

Gender did not arise as a specific issue from the questionnaire data as both men and women stated that the excessive crowding of the buses made them feel unsafe. One man did comment however that the perception of sexual assault made every man a target for a women’s suspicion and that to avoid any incidences of abuse or assault, separate women-only buses or carriages should be employed. However, this was not a commonly expressed viewpoint.

In conclusion, it can be argued that demographic exclusion is the most problematic element of transport-related social exclusion for Quito, particularly for elderly people and people with disabilities (approx. 15% of Quito residents are classified as having a disability). Clearly there is a link between the severity of ailment or disability and the challenges faced, but the issues centre on the operation of the system, such as doors closing too quickly for elderly citizens to board the bus safely, or poor facilities for those in wheelchairs to access the raised platforms of the BRT system. Equally important are the cultural issues of pushing and shoving to board crowded buses at the expense of members of
these vulnerable groups, or abusing the system of prioritised seating for the elderly where this exists. To remedy these issues, both the system infrastructure needs to be altered, but issues to tackle overcrowding and the sense of panic to board the buses need also to be addressed.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed data on transport-related social exclusion in Quito in order to advance the understanding of transport-related social exclusion in developing country cities. It is clear that transport-related social exclusion exists in Quito and the analysis found that the hybrid model of transport related social exclusion was useful to tease out the types of social exclusion at play in Quito. The four predominant issues (insufficient network coverage, high travel demand, overcrowding and the perception of crime) linked directly to the model in terms of physical exclusion, organisational exclusion and perception-based exclusion. Arguably, given the severity of a lack of network coverage in parts of the city and the overcrowding issue, particularly at peak times, the two most common types of exclusion in Quito is physical and organisational. However, the model was not able to translate directly to the case study. The analysis of the data has shown the absence of cost as an issue in Quito in terms of transport-related social exclusion. This suggests that the models of transport-related social exclusion devised for developed nations may need adaptation for less-developed nations, to assess the degree of public subsidy for public transport costs and political sensitivity of fare increases.

In the case of Quito, data collected from the field showed that the causes of social exclusion related more to systemic issues of the transport network, rather
than individual issues, such as described by demographic based exclusion (although the existence of a physical disability is considered to be a key indicator of social exclusion). The main issues faced by residents related to the insufficient and imbalanced coverage of mass transport in the city, driven largely by the topography and geography of the city (see Chapter 5) but also the fact that the expanding areas to the north and south of the city are unplanned and located on hillsides difficult to for buses to access. The persistence of a ‘hypercentre’, a central business district to which the majority of the city residents need to travel on a daily basis for work, education, retail or leisure purposes, drives high levels of travel demand from all areas in the city to the city centre. Car ownership, although increasing, is at low levels, placing a high demand on a bus and BRT networks.

The other challenges for the transport system stem from its popularity, or at least the level of dependence residents of the city have on the current bus and BRT network. Issues of overcrowding, particularly during peak hours were common, as was the linked issue of the perception of crime, mainly petty theft and assault. Evidence was found that wealthier residents are choosing to buy cars as a response to issues of overcrowding, further contributing to issues of pollution and congestion, as there are few segregated bus lanes apart from central sections of the BRT routes.

Specific vulnerable groups have heightened concerns about safety and accessibility to the transport network. Issues of overcrowding particularly affected people in wheelchairs, blind people and the elderly who spoke about trouble boarding a bus in the short time that the doors open, challenges of not
finding a seat, and cultural issues of other passengers pushing them out of the way to access the service first.

6.9 **Use of the Transport-related Social Exclusion framework in the case study**

When analysing the data there was inevitable overlap between the different category definitions in the TRSE framework. For example, the issue of overcrowding that arose in the analysis of the responses to the structured questionnaire may derive from either physical exclusion resulting from design of the buses (e.g. they are too small, or do not have enough seats), or operational exclusion because of insufficient frequency to cater for demand. The overlapping nature of the categories is unsurprising given the definition of transport-related social exclusion as multi-faceted and interlinked (e.g. Lucas 2012). This suggests that whatever categorisation is used, links across categories will need to be made.

Similarly splitting in an arbitrary way the incidence of theft or assault (operational exclusion) and the risk of theft or assault (perception-based exclusion) causes problems for this data set as unless a respondent specifically mentions that they have been the target of theft/assault, then the analytical conclusion is that this is a perception. As any policy intervention to address perceptions of crime would be similar to reducing the actual risk of crime, it is proposed to remove the risk of theft from the perception-based exclusion category.
While categorisation is helpful to analyse the range of exclusionary factors operating in a given context, the results suggest that the traditional Church et al (2000) and Cass et al (2005) models, as developed in the TRSE framework, fails to cater for developing nations where ridership is very high and government subsidy means that affordability is not an issue. Therefore in the revised model, the issue of cost is not singled out as an issue and instead becomes one of the determinants of operational exclusion.

The literature review initially discussed issues relating to the individual or to the system, and this also is a helpful classification. Classifying issues in this way would alleviate the tension between demographic-based and physical exclusion when considering where a person lives. Systemic issues could be further split into issues around the planning of the transport system, i.e. the routes and frequencies offered, as opposed to issues of an operational nature, such as overcrowding and safety. Arguably a four-way categorisation (individual factors, collective factors, issues relating to the planning of the public transport service and issues relating to the operation of the service) would be a simple yet effective means of categorising the issues faced.

If the research were to develop, the following changes would be made to the model to reflect the discussion above (see Table 6.1).
Table 6.1. Revised hybrid conceptualisation of transport-related social exclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclusion caused by factors relating to the individual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Personal characteristics of the individual that affects their risk of social exclusion – e.g. their age, gender, level of disability, level of income and where they live.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The notion of agency and limitations derived from the perceptions of individuals that public transport travel is arduous or inconvenient.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective exclusion of specific groups</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Impacts caused by the collective characteristics of a community, for example, new immigrants moving into a particularly isolated part of the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Political will, priorities and governance arrangements for decision-making, which may exclude certain groups or communities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclusion related to the planning of the public transport service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Spatial design of the transport system throughout an urban area, including localities and neighbourhoods experiencing poor transport access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Morphology design of the urban area, for example whether the city has a monocentric or polycentric design will determine the shape and frequency of travel patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Physical design of facilities and vehicles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The presence, absence, or loss of a subsidy on the cost of using public transport.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclusion related to the operation of the service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• How public transport systems are governed, managed and organised, who runs them, when they operate, their reliability and punctuality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The impact of issues such as journey time, service frequency/duration, cost, comfort, instances of personal theft and traffic accidents on a person's willingness and ability to travel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The presence of overcrowding on services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Concerns for personal safety and security and perceived risks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This four-way model would seem to alleviate issues of overlap between categories as identified through the analysis of the proposed model. Clearly, it would need to be tested to understand whether this more simplistic model of transport-related social exclusion would transfer to other case studies.

Overall, the application of the TRSE framework has been helpful in order to fully draw out the issues and understand the complexity of social exclusion from a mobility perspective.
Chapter 7: Analysis Part 2: Decision making and activities of public participation in the Metro Project

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 presents an analysis of the decision-making process in Quito relating to the decision to construct a metro with an exploration of the City Government activities, examined through the government’s rights-based approach to development, which links directly to the following Research Question;

Research Question 3b: Through a case study of a city adopting a rights-based approach to development, and with a planned mass public transport system, to what extent can a rights-based approach to participatory governance influence the planning and operation of mass transport systems through strengthening participation.

This chapter examines the activities of citizen engagement led by the City Government exercises in order to determine whether a rights-based approach has been applied. It explores four activity types from data gathered during the field work period;

a) A specific study commissioned for the Metro project on social impacts;

b) The requirement for accountable decision-making through the annual ‘Offering of Accounts’

c) Consultation processes relating to the Metro;
The provision of information;

Data is tested against the Constitutional requirements for rights-based approaches and the law on citizen participation (see Chapter 5) and the Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework on participation (see Section 3.12). The chapter will provide evidence of a weak decision-making process and poor application of rights-based approaches to participatory governance despite the legal requirements. The discussion in this Chapter analyses how the government views channels for citizen engagement. This is then contrasted in Chapter 8 with a discussion on how citizens are responding to normative decision-making activities, a comparison that suggests that there is a gap between these information providing activities and the type of citizen engagement expected by the public.

The fieldwork was scheduled in early 2015 at a time when the second phase of the metro was being finalised financially and contractually. As a result, there were many events and media discussions about the project that took place in Quito at the time. The researcher was able to gain invitations into academic, public sector and third sector events through contacts in research and civil-society organisations, and several of the presentations and statements have informed the findings of this chapter.

This chapter draws from the following elements of data,

- An academic involved in rights-based research in an urban context
- Two focus groups with members of the disabled and elderly communities
- Analysis of technical documents on the official decision-making processes for the metro.
- Analysis of three years of ‘Offering of Accounts’ reports.
Media analysis (newspaper reports and radio programmes from September 2011 to April 2015)

- Interviews with five representatives of civil society organisations or academics
- Interviews with community representatives
- Interviews with politicians and city officials
- 12 semi-structured interviews with business owners around La Magdalena station
- Grey literature reports, including those produced by civil society representatives.
- Participant observations at metro-related events, recordings and transcriptions of speeches

This chapter takes each of the four participation activities in turn, assessing each against the proposed public participation protocols set out in the literature review. The chapter then continues with an examination of the public critique of the metro project by detailing the analytical findings from the field work in the form of interviews with community groups, residents and business owners before drawing together relevant conclusions to help address the Research Question on government approaches to strengthening participation in an attempt to address transport-related social exclusion.

7.2 **Appraising rights-based approaches in the metro design**

As documented in Chapter 5, through the Constitution (2008) and the Ley de Participacion Ciudadana/Law of Citizen Participation (2010), the City Government has, since 2008, had a duty to involve its citizens in decision-making processes. The act of bestowing rights on citizens suggests that this legislative framework can be considered as a rights-based approach, giving citizens direct access to decision-makers and their decisions. Rights-based
approaches depend on effective citizen engagement. Analysis of government-led activities is central to the research aim of this thesis, examining whether a rights-based approach has been applied to transport planning in Quito, and particularly relevant to Research Question 3b. This is the first time the question has been addressed and is a fundamental part of this research.

Table 3.1 below sets out the Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework used to evaluate the participatory approaches used in the case study, as devised in the literature review based on the work of Hodgson and Turner (2003).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Engaging a cross-section of society</th>
<th>Does the participatory approach give all users the right to be involved in the decision and give them an equal opportunity to voice their views?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Building trust</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach seek to develop trust between the decision-makers and citizens by undertaking small-scale interventions in the short-term?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Supporting the community</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach support existing groups and societies with resources or funding, rather than establish new systems?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Affecting outcomes</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach give citizens the right to make suggestions that will be considered by the decision-making body? Does the exchange of information flow in both directions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Transparency of output</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach give citizens the right to access sufficient information with which to understand why the chosen solution was preferred and to commit a degree of support to its implementation?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This section examines how the city government of Quito has attempted to engage citizens in the decision-making process for the metro project using four
activities linked to the metro project: the Estudio de los Impactos Sociales/Social Impact Study commissioned for the metro project; the ‘Offering of Accounts’ process that applies to all government activities; the consultation activities to raise awareness of the project, and the regular provision of information about the project. This section takes these four key activities of the City Government undertaken during the deliberations and decision-making process on the metro, and evaluates them as approaches to citizen participation.

This chapter evaluates the extent to which the City Government meets the objectives of the framework for a rights-based approach to citizen participation in the case study of the metro project.

7.3 Activity 1: Social Impacts Study

One of the suite of ‘technical studies’ commissioned by the City Government to inform the decision on the metro was entitled the ‘Study of Socio-Economic Characterisation and the analysis of transport mode evaluation of the population of the Metropolitan District of Quito in reference to the Metro project for the city of Quito’ (Ekos Negocios, 2015). This study is the only study commissioned for the metro that related to social impacts (the others were technical, feasibility and engineering documents). It is therefore highly relevant to this research.

The study is referred to here for short as the Social Impacts Study and is available on the ‘Metro of Quito’ website, made available after its publication in

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64 Estudio de Caracterización Social, Economica y Análisis de Evaluación de Medios de Transporte de la Población del Distrito Metropolitano de Quito en referencia al proyecto del Metro de la ciudad de Quito.
Geography and Planning

October 2012. The study is the only one of fifteen studies commissioned by the city government that relates to impacts on the city residents. For that reason alone, it is highly relevant to this research. The researcher accessed the Social Impacts Study from the internet, but disappointingly, amongst key informants contacted for this research, there was very little awareness of the document and its influence. The analysis below was therefore taken from a close reading of the document, assessment of the comments against the good-practice framework for rights-based participation identified above.

The study was undertaken by Ekos Negocios, a Quito-based organisation offering ‘strategic information and exclusive knowledge for effective business decision-making’ (Ekos Negocios 2015). This organisation runs a news website, manages publications focussing on Quito business life and is involved in organising awards and networking events, in other words, it is not a social science research organisation. The study is based on 750 questionnaire responses and over 300 interviews.

As the introductory section of this study states that there is a ‘wide spectrum of the population involved’ in the project (ibid, p8). For that reason the study suggests it is ‘necessary to know the characteristics, concerns, position, benefits and impacts of the project on distinct social groups, with a view to identifying the discernible factors that identify the population, to know the level of adhesion and mitigate the possible negative impacts that could be generated by the construction and operation of the Quito metro’\(^{65}\). The introduction states

\(^{65}\) ‘Necesario conocer las características, inquietudes, posición, beneficios e incidencia del proyecto en los distintos grupos sociales, con el fin de identificar los factores sensibles que identifica la población, conocer el grado de adhesión y mitigar los posibles impactos negativos que se pueden generar en el proceso de ejecución de la obra y la operación del metro de Quito’
that the information collected in this study will ‘permit an understanding of the socio-economic situation of the population along the route of the Metro stations\textsuperscript{66}, that could then be used to ‘devise strategies of mitigation and communication that will assist the integration of society and in turn the successful execution of the project\textsuperscript{67} (ibid, p8).

This then seems a clear objective of the study: to identify the distinct social groups that could be affected by the project, ascertain their viewpoints and concerns, look at predictions of benefits and impacts and identify mitigation measures to reduce negative impacts. This objective would seem consistent with the Law of Citizen Participation (2010) which affords for the sharing of information with the public with a view to altering outcomes for greater social benefit. This study is therefore a relevant document through which to judge the efficacy of the rights-based approach to urban planning in Quito.

The following sections are categorised according to the Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework.

**Engaging a cross-section of society**

The first task undertaken by the study was to identify ‘the actors related with transport in the city of Quito in its diverse forms\textsuperscript{68} by looking for people that ‘could influence the population, those who have influence on the project, those who understood the theme and finally those who could receive a direct impact

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\textsuperscript{66} ‘Permitirá conocer la situación socioeconómica de la población a lo largo del trazado de las estaciones del metro’

\textsuperscript{67} ‘Realizar estrategias de mitigación y comunicación, que ayuden a la integración de la sociedad en torno a la ejecución exitosa del proyecto’

\textsuperscript{68} ‘Los actores relacionados con el transporte en la ciudad de Quito en sus diversas formas’
from the project through construction or the implementation of the project 69 (ibid, p9). As the Literature Review highlighted, people usually have a motive for engaging in participatory processes.

The study identified the following social groups:

- Public transport providers and users
- Private transport users
- Non-motorised transport (i.e. pedestrians and cyclists)
- Entities of control and public service (e.g. the police and public bodies such as Public Space Unit, Quito tourism)
- Productive Sectors (e.g. Small and Medium businesses, Professional Guilds and Chambers of Production and Construction, as well as leaders of opinion on radio and TV).
- Mobility collectives and civil society (NGOs and associations of mobility, academics and neighbourhood leaders)
- Political actors (ex-Mayors, ex-Councillors and ex-Ministers)
- Households – (across the city, rather than close to the metro stations)
- Inhabitants and business owners in the area of direct influence.

Following this classification of social groups, the study attempted to categorise the groups in relation to aspects of the project. While a social impacts study for a transport project might normally be considered to include issues of affordability, accessibility, alongside specific elements of design for certain demographic groups such as people who use wheelchairs, the three parameters chosen for this study were as follows;

- The actor’s position towards the project

69 ‘Pueden incidir en la población y directamente en el proyecto. Por otro lado se incluyeron también a aquellos actores cuyas actividades pueden tener incidencia por el proyecto, conocedores del tema y finalmente quiénes pueden recibir un impacto directo por la construcción e implementación del proyecto’.
Taking each of these three parameters in turn, the position of the actor toward the project was characterised according to a six-point scale:

- unknown, active opposition, passive opposition, undecided, passive support, active support

in order to ‘evaluate how they will act against the construction and operation of the Quito metro’. There is no indication in the report how the characterisation was made. The importance and influence of the actor was classified on a similar six-point scale:

- little or none, some importance, moderate importance, much importance or the most important and; unknown, none or little, some influence, moderate influence, much influence, the most influential

as these ‘two factors reflect the impact that each actor could have in the development of the project’. The basis on which these assessments were made was not explained, but this wording suggests that the Social Impacts Study was seen as a way of understanding which social groups were more likely to oppose the Metro project.
The three parameters of position, importance and influence used in the study appear to be subjective and skewed, first, because by the time of publication of the Social Impact Study, the metro was a *fait accompli* which could not be altered, and second, they are weighted against citizens who may be affected by the project who may not support it but could not influence the outcome. By viewing the project from this angle, the results allow the city government to assess where support or opposition for the project might come from, rather than the mobility needs of the city. To illustrate this finding, those with the most influence were categorised as only being supportive of the project, rather than opponents to the project, and defining a high degree of influence as being ‘in favour of the project’\(^{73}\). As such this categorisation appears biased towards support for the project.

‘Importance to the project’ is ill-defined in the study but considering that one of the objectives of the metro project is to encourage modal shift from private cars to the metro, existing drivers should be considered as very important to the success of the project. It appears that this report has not considered that the presence of a metro might encourage drivers to switch modes, and suggests that those who drive now might continue to drive in the future.

For public transport users, one of the social groups most likely to be significantly affected by the metro in terms of modal choice and improved accessibility, the Social Impact Study suggests that the group has an unclear position on the metro, having a ‘high level of importance’ and a ‘low level of influence’. The report concludes that this group ‘depends totally on the process of adapting

\(^{73}\) ‘El actor está a favor del proyecto’ pg 13.
behaviour to the norms of society, and that the position of the actor, as well as
the distribution of benefits, will be defined by the information campaigns that are
undertaken\footnote{‘Este sector depende totalmente de la socialización que se haga del proyecto, así como de las
campañas de información que se emprendan, de tal forma que la posición de este actor pueda
definirse y se difundan los beneficios que puede aportar este proyecto’.}, suggesting scope for manipulation in the way the City
Government portrays the project and influences potential users.

The study categorised users of private vehicles as ‘passively supporting’ the
Metro because it will facilitate movement in the city, and suggested that car
drivers are of ‘moderate importance’ and limited influence because they are
smaller in number than other groups, and are dispersed in nature.

Both groups were categorised as having ‘low levels of influence’ in the project,
with a common feature being their dispersed nature. This low grade raises a
crucial point. It suggests that the right to participation and influence on all
public matters as detailed in the Constitution is better delivered to large or well-
organised or geographically specific groups, as more dispersed groups are
harder to engage with. A lack of organisation should not prevent people
exercising their right to participation, although logistically such a large,
dispersed group makes participation difficult. This conclusion links to the
Literature Review which recognised that under-representation on consultative
groups caused by the absence of a network can be a barrier to participation
(see Bickerstaff and Walker (2005) and Habermas (1970) in Section 3.7).
Chapter 8 explores how a more tightly formed group can exercise rights in a
more coherent and effective manner, and highlights the fundamental
importance of civil society organisations in creating a voice for the common
person in order to influence political decisions.
Additionally, the Social Impact Study suggested a low level of awareness of the metro project for both groups suggesting that consultation events and participatory exercises had not been wide-reaching.

Judging the study and its methodology of engaging citizens, it is not considered to be a model way of engaging citizens or understanding the impact upon them of a large infrastructure project. Despite the 750 questionnaire responses and over 300 interviews completed for the study, it cannot be argued to have allowed a cross-section of society to become engaged in the decision-making process, nor has it affected the outcome for the better, despite assurances at the start of the report that mitigation measures will be included. Instead, it appears to have been commissioned solely to enable the city government to understand where the greatest opposition to the project would come from. Indeed, analytical triangulation has been hampered on this study as public awareness amongst those interviewed in the field work, including experts and activists who were highly aware of City Government decision-making processes, was negligible. The fact that public awareness of this study is low suggests that, as a possible participatory tool is has not met its objective of devising communication strategies that will assist the integration of the metro project into society’s conscience.

**Affecting outcomes**

Furthermore, the aim of the Social Impact Study is narrow; to ‘understand the socio-economic profile and characterisation, position, information and involvement of the principle relevant actors who are involved in the
development of the construction and operation of the metro project\textsuperscript{75}. The focus is on the position and involvement of various social groups in the project, and the idea of mitigating impacts through the design of the project in the introduction to the study has been lost. Apart from some generic suggestions on communication strategies (discussed on page 219 of the Social Impact Study), mitigation suggestions are not covered in the report.

Therefore, it appears that the intent was to prepare a baseline socio-economic study and information on the position and concerns of distinct social groups, but not to advise on changes to the detailed design or execution of the project as suggested in the introduction to the study. Given that this report came out after the first phase of the metro was commissioned, any influence of the report on the metro design was limited. The study does suggest that studies should be repeated in order to ascertain any ‘changes in position, impact or perception of the project once the construction phases and project operation have begun’\textsuperscript{76}. At the time of writing, this had not been done\textsuperscript{77}.

**Transparency of output**

The only significant recommendations made by the project are on the Communications Strategy. However, fewer than two pages of the study are assigned to a Communication Strategy containing non-specific recommendations on how to engage the public in the project. In both the pre-construction and construction phases, the strategy talks of the need to restate

\textsuperscript{75} ‘Conocer el perfil socioeconómico y la caracterización, posición, información y afectación de los principales actores relevantes que estarán involucrados en el desarrollo de la construcción y operación del metro de Quito’

\textsuperscript{76} ‘Cambio de posición, impacto y percepción una vez que empiecen las fases de construcción y operación del proyecto’.

\textsuperscript{77} All technical studies relating to the metro project have been published online and there is no refresh of this study.
the attributes, benefits and values of the project to ‘awaken greater interest’ in the project and that during construction the communication should be ‘more strategic, dealing with the inconvenience to the citizen as issues arise’ (Ekos Negocios 2015, p. 232). The study suggests that people or groups will try to politicise the project and incite protests against the project during construction, but that the City Government should remind the citizens of the time-savings and improvements in security and comfort that the metro will bring. These recommendations are much below the expected level for a communications strategy for a multi-million dollar infrastructure project, and do not seem to use any of the information gathered on the needs of specific social groups to tailor the recommendations in any way.

In terms of transparency of the decision to undertake the metro, as opposed to other transport investment, the conclusions of the study are fairly opaque and do not seem to meet the stated objectives. For example, there is no consideration of any mitigation strategies to reduce the impact on any one community group even though this is an apparent objective of the study.

**Other elements of the Participation Evaluation Framework**

The other elements of the participation framework are less attributable to the Social Impact Study as it has been produced by a third party and the decision-making body are not directly involved in its production. Therefore, there are not the opportunities to build trust or support the community that direct participatory events would offer.

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78 ‘para despertar mayor interés’ pg 232  
79 ‘la comunicación será más estratégica, ya que surgirán inconvenientes e incomodidades para la ciudadanía’ p232
Conclusions on the Social Impact Study:

This analysis suggests a number of flaws with the Social Impact Study. First, the agency contracted to do the study focusses on business and communications strategies rather than social research, and not citizen participation or environmental protection. Second, although, as noted above, the objectives of the study appeared to be about identifying impacts on social groups with a view to making suggestions about mitigating measures to reduce negative impacts, this was not done, and the report presents information on the levels of support for the project describing which groups are the most likely to oppose the project, rather than using public feedback to improve the design and reduce impact, as a true social impact assessment would do. Third, the publication of the report after the Executive Decree was issued by the National Government to grant financial support to the project and after the City Government had started to commission the first phase of the metro, rules out any use being made of the evidence presented in this study in influencing the design of the project or the construction processes. As has been stated in Section 5.6, over half of the interviewees believed there to be some political incentive for the metro and remained to be convinced of the need for the metro. The timing of the publication after the decision to proceed with the metro had been made reduces the opportunity for the city government to use the interviewee responses to challenge their own decision, or similarly, to defend it.

The other noteworthy point about the categorisation of social groups according to their support/opposition, importance and influence is the relative categorisation between car drivers and public transport users. The lower level importance to the project of the car drivers suggests that there is little ambition,
at least amongst the report writers, to achieve modal shift from private car use to the metro, with existing public transport users reportedly being the most likely users of the metro. Additionally, the higher level of influence assigned to the civil society organisations than individual members of the public identifies the important role of these organisations to present the voice of the citizen in decision-making situations.

In conclusion, as the only one of the fifteen studies that did not deal with technical aspects of the metro, the Social Impact Study, published in 2015, falls short of meeting its own objectives to identify impacts and suggest mitigating measures to lessen negative impacts on various social groups. There were low levels of awareness of any detail of the project across the social groups, and concerning statistics such as the level of both informal and formal traders who believe their businesses will be negatively affected by the project. Clearly the fact that well-informed activists interviewed for this research had little awareness of the study suggests either that it was part of the formal analysis that was not well-publicised. The study makes generic recommendations about a communications strategy but given the report’s publication after Phase 1 of the metro had been commissioned, it is likely that this report had no influence on the Metro project either in terms of its design or public relations. However, there is information within the report on groups that might oppose the metro, which politicians, official or journalists might find useful and could be used to political advantage.

Therefore, it can be concluded that as a participatory exercise, the Social Impact Study falls short against all five elements of the participation framework.
7.4 Activity 2: Metro of Quito and the ‘Offering of Accounts’

As discussed in Chapter 5, the ‘Offering of Accounts’ process is a mandatory legal requirement whereby all public bodies must provide annual information and open themselves up to scrutiny. This section will examine the requirements of the ‘Offering of Accounts’ process on the public body overseeing the Quito Metro project in order to assess this process as part of a rights-based approach to governance. It demonstrates how the information provided and the process followed has become more sophisticated with time, but questions whether the approach is truly in line with the wording of the Ley de Participacion Ciudadana/Law of Citizen Participation (Asamblea Nacional, 2010).

The ‘Metro de Quito’ organisation as a public metropolitan body is obliged to perform the ‘Offering of Accounts’ process, but as it is classified as a delivery arm of the City Government, its obligations are less than full government departments, but include provision of details on approved and spent budgets; the engagement and procurement of works and services, and commitments to the community\(^{80}\) (CPCCS 2011, p.27). Information analysed here was drawn from the Metro de Quito website from 2012 onwards, which is also analysed against the most relevant sections of the Rights based Participation Evaluation Framework, drawn from Table 3.1 above.

**Transparency of output**

For 2012, a single sided pdf document is available with web-links to an annual report detailing the provision of information publicly (MdQ, 2012c). For 2013,
more detail was released on the actual metro project, the progress of
construction in phase 1, and the procurement processes for phase 2, including
the names of the bidders but no financial information. A short matrix of
information was also produced listing the of technical studies for the project,
and stating that these audience and the annual plan were for citizens (MdQ,
2013c). These two sets of documents therefore seem to confirm to the
requirements of Article 92 of the Ley de Participacion Ciudadana/Law of Citizen
Participation (Asamblea Nacional, 2010) (see Section 5.16 in Chapter 5), which
states that public bodies are obliged to offer their accounts by providing
information on the annual work plan and budgets (the documents state that the
organisation does not need a strategic plan as they are a business formed to
deliver a specific project).

From 2014, information becomes more detailed, and there is evidence of the
production of public-facing documents to promote the accountability process for
the Metro project. The report for 2014 states that ‘no mechanisms of citizen
participation….have been implemented, because the work is underway and
community involvement has been minimal’ (MdQ 2014).

**Supporting the community**

The 2014 report states that ‘no citizen observatories nor committees for the
service user have been established, nor have any commitments to the
community been made, nor are there any participatory events planned’ (ibid).
The reference to observatories is interesting given that a Citizen Observatory
for Mobility did exist at the time, but was not established directly by the
government (see Chapter 8), and was clearly not drawn into the appraisal process.

**Engaging a cross-section of society**

The 2014 ‘Offering of Accounts’ report focuses on information published that is available to citizens, but suggests that efforts to ensure this information has reached, been understood and challenged where appropriate, have not occurred. This absence of active communication is not consistent with the recommendations of the Social Impact Study which emphasised the need to publicise the benefits and values of the project to ‘awaken greater interest’ during the pre-construction and construction phases. This recommendation was not picked up in 2014.

This level of effort to engage citizens also falls short of the wording of the Law of Citizen Participation (2010) which seeks to promote a two-way dialogue between citizens and the state. The Metro de Quito organisation states that in each of the three years between 2012-2014, despite forms and processes being devised and available to receive requests for information from the public, no requests were received (MdQ 2012c, 2013c).

The situation changes in the 2015 ‘Offering of Accounts’ report (MdQ, 2015c). There is evidence of participatory events planned from December 2015 to March 2016 to target 2,500 families with houses or businesses within a radius of 100 metres of the new metro stations, with an objective of ‘to raise awareness of first-hand information on the different aspects of the construction
process\(^{81}\) (MdQ 2015e). This is hailed very much as the ‘start of the campaign\(^{82}\) (ibid). The report also notes that three local assemblies had taken place, two public deliberation dialogues and 47 guided visits, as part of the project’s drive for citizen participation (MdQ, 2015a). There is no information on the local assemblies, apart from a scanned list of attendees. The two public deliberation dialogues were the Academic Forum held on 29\(^{th}\) January 2015 at the Universidad Católica del Ecuador/Catholic University of Ecuador, which was by invite only (the researcher attended under an invite from the Instituto de la Ciudad), and the second was a speech to Engineering students at the same university attended only by students of that faculty. The report suggests that holiday camps, neighbourhood leaders, university students and municipal organisations have been the recipients of the guided visits to construction sites.

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\(^{81}\) ‘socializar con los vecinos información de primera mano sobre diferentes aspectos del proceso de construcción’\(^{82}\) ‘arranca campaña’
Building Trust

There is no evidence during the research that any of the ‘Offering of Accounts’ processes attempt to build trust by undertaking short-term small-scale interventions in the community. Arguably, for a project of the size of a new metro this would be difficult but a simple example would be an additional bus service to some of the hard to reach peripheral areas of the city. This would
cost a fraction of the metro budget but could go a long way to building trust with certain communities.

**Affecting outcomes**

According to the 2008 Constitution and the Law of Citizen Participation (2010), the ‘Offering of Accounts’ process provides a structured method of shifting power to the citizen to develop a two-way dialogue for the management of public affairs. Guidance written by the Council for Citizen Participation and Social Control stipulates a list of documents that publicly funded organisations must publish, and there is evidence that the Metro de Quito organisation finds this straightforward to follow.

However, the law and the Government-produced guidance goes further and talks of the need for the integration of participation in public processes, the need to respond to concerns from citizens and perhaps most importantly, ensure the citizen is the ‘primary overseer’ of public matters. There is evidence to suggest that the Metro de Quito organisation is falling short of its obligations, and therefore that citizen engagement remains at the information provision stage.

When compared to potential participatory techniques, such as in Arnstein’s ladder of participation, the process of holding local events where technical staff make presentations in an auditorium, with some time given to a ‘question and answer’ session is akin to information provision, rather than a deeper level of engagement. By limiting the engagement of citizens to a ‘question and answer’ session, the process limits the involvement of citizens to those who are comfortable asking a question within a public arena, reminiscent of critiques of

83 Consejo de Participación Ciudadana y Control Social
Habermas’ ideal speech (1970) argument whereby it is only those people willing to speak up who have their voices heard.

This viewpoint was corroborated by an interview with an academic expert in the field of rights-based approaches to urban governance who said,

‘[citizen participation] does not exist because transparency is the ‘offering of accounts’ process, and if this is no more than renting an auditorium, giving information, reporting on activities and generally presenting to your own state officials, then I do not know how you can call that accountability….’ (Academic representative 184)

Similarly, another participant at a second focus group commented that the Offering of Accounts approach is,

‘no more than meetings and self-praise of the authorities where they inform the community but do not receive anything from the community, nor criticisms of their proposals85’ (M6).

Both of these viewpoints corroborate the findings of the evaluation against participatory best practice and suggest that the process in not affording citizens the opportunity to affect the outcomes of any decision-making process.

**Discussion on the Offering of Accounts approach**

Analysis against the Participatory Evaluation Framework suggests that the Offering of Accounts process is not well-known to be inclusive and two-way.

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84 ‘Pero aquí en Ecuador, donde hay la Ley de participación ciudadana, y la Ley de transparencia, entonces quizás los ciudadanos tienen derecho a inscribir el proceso con estas Leyes, pero como funciona en realidad. No, no hay esa cosa porque por ejemplo la transparencia ahora mismo ha estado en esta temporada, con rendición de cuentas, sí, y la rendición de cuentas no es otra cosa más que alquilar un auditorio, dar información, sí, hacen un informe de actividades, y generalmente frente a los propios funcionarios del estado, sí fue la semana pasada, entonces no sé qué tan rendición de cuentas tu puedas llamar eso’

85 ‘no es más que reuniones e autoelogios de las autoridades, donde disque informa a la comunidad pero no recibe nada la comunidad en cuanto a críticas, en cuanto a propuestas, y tampoco hacen referencia a sus programas de acción, entonces todo esto tiene que ver con el tema de cómo realizar una participación autónomo de ciudadana pero incidir fuerte mente en las políticas públicas’
Effective citizen engagement is much more than providing information – it requires the inclusion of views of the community into the decision. However, timing is key, and as these annual returns report on consultation on decisions that have already been made, for example the budgets and operational plans of the previous financial year, there is little influence that citizens can have on current decision and projects.

Reflecting on the findings of the Literature Review and in particular the differentiation by Barnes et al (2004) between ‘invited spaces’ and ‘popular spaces’ (Section 3.6) it is clear that the Offering of Accounts meetings are the former, as they are established, managed and run according to the rules set by the government institution. Often, as it demonstrated here, there is a lack of challenge to the prevailing power relationship between ‘the public’ and ‘the officials’ resulting in little material change to decision making.

It could be argued that the Law of Citizen Participation (2010) is perhaps optimistic in its objectives and cumbersome in its implementation, and that the level of transparency and scrutiny proposed is unrealistic for day-to-day government operations across a complex swathe of activities, but nevertheless the principle of transparency was a key element of the 2008 Constitution and the Law of Citizen Participation (2010). If transparency and consultation do not work in a context where legislation exists to operationalise it, then it is unlikely to be successful in other contexts. Chapter 8 will examine the role of civil society organisations as potential brokers of discussion in these situations.
7.5 **Activity 3: Consultation Activities**

Another of the ways that the city government attempted to engage the public is through publicity and consultation activities. These events began in July 2012, with the aim that the City Government 'will raise awareness in citizens about all of the elements that constitute the metro project' (El Comercio 2012a). Again, these are analysed under the most relevant headings in Table 3.1.

**Engaging a cross-section of society**

There was clearly quite an extensive attempt to engage the public. Between 4th and 22nd July 2012, 13 information points on the Quito Metro were opened throughout the city to give citizens information on the project and to ‘defend the (feasibility) study and environmental management plan for the project’ and five public audiences were held (El Comercio, 2012d). Visitors to the information points were given a leaflet which detailed the route of the first line and were invited to review the two large files of the environmental impact studies. As reported in a newspaper article (El Comercio, 2012d) visitors to the stand in the main square of the historic centre, Plaza San Francisco, 'showed little interest in the technical information' (ibid). Their main concern was how to protect the cultural heritage of the historic centre during the construction of the tunnel. One resident, Carlos Torres who was quoted in the article as saying ‘we are fearful that there may be subsidence in homes or cracks in walls’ as a result of the

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86 'Vamos a dar a conocer a la ciudadanía todos los elementos que constituyen el proyecto del metro'
87 ‘difundir el Estudio y Plan de Manejo Ambiental del proyecto’
88 ‘muestran poco interés por la información técnica’
89 ‘Tenemos miedo de que haya hundimientos en las viviendas o resquebrajamientos en paredes’
excavations. Two other residents quoted in the article shared these concerns stating ‘they are going to destroy the heritage for all residents of Quito’ and ‘I think that seeing how special the historic centre is, they should not construct a station here’. The article stated that concerned residents were told that technical studies had been completed which would guarantee the care of important heritage and that more information was available on a website. Access to internet rates are low in Quito (only 53.1 per cent of people in Quito’s province of Pichincha have access to the internet (INEC 2013c). Additionally, there are issues of lay and expert knowledges as representatives of the metro project would know more technical details on the project than a lay person may understand or be interested in.

**Affecting outcomes**

The timing of these events is consultation roadshows is worth consideration. Mayor Barrera opened the tendering process for the construction of the first phase of the metro on the 9th July 2012, well before the end of the consultation events, putting into doubt whether the views of the public gathered during this exhibition and the five public audiences were ever likely to influence the design.

The consultation exercise continued into late 2012, with the Mayor stating that ‘over 75 dissemination events about the project had taken place in different fora, in universities and professional colleges and with the community’ (El Comercio, 2012e). On the 10th December, a roaming exhibition began in Quito’s city centre consisting of information panels that detailed the sites of the stops,
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the feasibility studies, the construction techniques of the tunnels and stations, and the protection of the environment and cultural goods, alongside a replica metro car. This exposition ran for one month visiting the San Francisco plaza, the Universidad Central del Ecuador/Central University of Ecuador and two existing BRTs stations (ibid). Residents were most interested in understanding how the new metro would link with the existing bus and BRT system and with the design of the metro car, and the events received an average footfall of 100 people per hour (ibid).

Transparency of Output

The Executive Decree to commission the metro was signed in April 2011, so these events presented and subsequently defended a planned activity, rather than inviting views of the public to inform a project. This is an non-participatory approach to urban planning undertaken by politicians and technocrats, whereby projects are agreed and subsequently defended to the public. At the consultation events it might have been appropriate to tell members of the public about the metro and provide information, such as on the environmental studies conducted, but the presence of mapped routes and a replica metro car, presents the project as a *fait accompli* rather than as something to express rights of participation. As such the consultation events did little to help people in Quito in exercise their rights to participation as stipulated in the Constitution.

Timely engagement in any decision making process with a view to genuinely affecting outcomes is a key requirement of the legal framework of the right to public participation. This was clearly not achieved through the consultation process for the metro.
Other elements of the Participation Evaluation Framework

The elements of Building Trust and Supporting the Community are not directly related to this activity as you would not expect a consultation roadshow to support local communities other than perhaps supporting them through hiring a community hall. Similarly, the nature of the consultation event does not lend itself well to direct interventions in the community in order to build trust, however arguably the process of the decision-makers ‘getting out there’ and meeting with people can go some way to building a rapport with the community they serve.

7.6 Activity 4: Providing information and publicity

One common way that governments promote participation amongst their citizens in the decision-making processes is through providing information. As Arnstein and others have noted (Arnstein, 1969), and discussed in Section 3.7, there are limitations to the effectiveness of information provision, as information may not reach everyone, and raising awareness of a project or issue does not guarantee full and effective engagement.

Engaging a cross-section of society

Since his inauguration as Mayor in 2014, Mauricio Rodas presented a weekly radio show on various Quito radio stations (see Figure 7.1). This half-hour programme was designed to be a ‘space created by your city government to resolve together the problems of our city, encouraging citizen participation so that everybody can live better lives’ according to its Twitter page. As well as

93 ‘spacio creado por tu Municipio para resolver juntos los problemas de nuestra ciudad, incentivando la participación ciudadana para que todos podamos vivir mejor’ aQUITOdos 2016
an opportunity for the Mayor to address an audience, members of the public call in with questions for the Mayor.

Figure 7.1. ‘Listen to head-on dialogue with Mauricio Rodas on the most important themes in the city’. Source: EcuadoRadio

The name is a play on words. ‘Aqui todos’ is Spanish for ‘everyone here’ but by highlighting the name ‘Quito’ in the title gives the added suggested meaning of ‘All here for Quito’.

Transparency of output

During the fieldwork period there were several AquiTodos programmes where mobility in the city was discussed, so it was obviously a priority topic. On the 4th February 2015, the Mayor discussed the direct and indirect job creation associated with the metro project (94El Comercio 2015a). On 25th February 2015, the Mayor discussed the recent agreement with bus operators on keeping bus fares constant. The following month, the Mayor used the programme to re-

94 ‘Más de 3 mil empleos directos y miles de empleos indirectos, generará la construcción del Metro de Quito y el 75% de la obra será realizada por mano de obra quiteña, declaró el alcalde de la ciudad, en su cuarta edición del programa radial “Aquitodos con Mauricio”
announce his ‘Vision for Mobility’. On 6\textsuperscript{th} May 2015 the Mayor talked about the metrocable project during the show which is a project to install cable cars to link neighbourhoods on the steep sides of the valley with the city centre. Therefore, these events point to an intention to defend decisions taken and provide an opportunity for the public to seek additional information from the Mayor, albeit in a staged radio interview.

During the fieldwork (January-March 2015) Mayor Mauricio Rodas or the Gerente General (Director General) of the Metro de Quito organisation, Mauricio Anderson, were sometimes interviewed on the radio. In one interview on the 5\textsuperscript{th} February 2015 Mr Anderson explained the progress on Phase 2 of the metro and was discussing when the detail would be made public. He stated,

‘It is possible to know the details of the report about the second phase of the project….This, this report, will be made public once we have finished the process of awarding the contract, at the same time as all the tender documents will be made public’ (Anderson, 2015\textsuperscript{95})

Here, Mr. Anderson states that information will be released into the public domain only after the contract is awarded. This is common practice within infrastructure projects as there is a ‘confidentiality clause’ used to protect commercially sensitive information during the tendering processes. When pressed for more detail, Mr. Anderson responded saying that ‘unfortunately, I cannot discuss those points\textsuperscript{96}’ (ibid).

\textsuperscript{95} ‘Se puede conocer cuáles son los detalles del informe sobre la fase dos, del proyecto elaborado por las cuatro multilaterales. Ese, ese informe será público una vez que terminemos el proceso de adjudicación, al igual que todos los documentos de las ofertas, eso será público’.

\textsuperscript{96} ‘lamentablemente no puedo entrar en esos puntos’
This radio interview came at a time when there was a funding gap for Phase 2. This funding gap came about because the tender prices received by the four multi-national companies bidding to construct the tunnel and 13 more stations, were at least $500m higher than the estimates of the previous city government (Anderson, 2015). This led to much discussion in the press about where to apportion blame (*El Comercio* 2015d, 2015e) with criticisms such as that the project ‘continues to be as dark and uncertain as the tunnels’ (*El Comercio* 2015d).

**Other elements of the Participation Evaluation Framework**

Weekly radio shows and radio interviews are more about providing information to an audience rather than providing an opportunity for shared discussion about a problem and the possible solutions. Therefore, there is limited applicability to all five elements of the framework, but in particular building trust, supporting the community and affecting outcomes.

**A partial information-giving activity**

In conclusion, there is evidence of a willingness to put some information in the public domain but as demonstrated by Mauricio Andersen, to be guarded when pressed to give more information. Therefore, according to the standards of a free two-way exchange of information required by the legislation (see Section 5.16) and defined as good practice in the literature review, these radio interviews and programmes do not meet the standards of public participation in a rights-based approach to governance.

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97 ‘tan oscuro como los tuneles’
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This is the third of three analysis chapters. Building on the first two chapters demonstrating the social exclusion challenges in Quito and how the decision-making process for the new Metro system made limited accommodation of the rights-based approach, this, the third analysis chapter examines the reaction from citizens or groups representing the community. This chapter contributes to addressing Research Question 3c:

*To what extent can citizen-led debates embed rights-based approaches into participatory governance?*

by examining the effectiveness of citizen participation in the planning of the Quito Metro, and grassroots processes for embedding a rights-based culture into city governance.

### 7.7 The citizen response

This section presents data on the inclusion or exclusion of citizens during the decision-making process for Quito’s metro. Given the conclusion of the preceding section that there were significant failings in the participatory exercises hosted by the city government during the decision-making process for the Metro, it is not surprising that there has since been an active citizen protest against both the current Mayor and the project. As in the rest of this chapter, this analysis will be framed using the Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework (Table 3.1).

**Affecting outcomes**

Much of the data relating to the citizen’s view of the metro relates to whether it is a worthwhile project. In 2010, the city government commissioned a large
household survey on mobility of 80,000 Quito residents. The question was asked, ‘would you use a metro?’ with possible answers of ‘without doubt, sometimes, or never’ (MdQ, 2010). The survey is reported on the Metro de Quito website, although unfortunately the data from the questionnaires is not publicly available. However, as current usage statistics show that over 80 per cent of respondents said that their daily journeys relied upon public transport use (INEC, 2013b), this was used, in the eyes of one interviewee, ‘(by the city government) to justify a metro98 (Academic representative 1).

However, many interviews and posts on social media suggest a different story. As one interviewee noted the question ‘would you use a metro?’ is too limited to base a decision on. As he noted, the people were not asked;

‘what type of metro [they would use], nor where the stops should be but that the city government took from this one question that they ‘had the citizen mandate to build a metro Error! Bookmark not defined. (Academic representative 1).

This suggests that by asking a limited question, the city government was able to conclude that the majority of the population was in favour of the metro project, without disclosing details of the project design, which might have reduced the number of favourable answers. This is important because as the interviewee suggests, two people’s impressions of what a metro might be are ‘totally

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98 This interviewee knew about the questionnaire and cited it as the primary justification for the metro but admitted that he had not seen the results himself. ‘¿quieren un metro o no? quieren un metro o no?, no que tipo de metro, ni donde, donde están las paradas y creo que después de esto el Municipio tiene un mandato ciudadano para hacer el metro’, ‘yo no conozco esa encuesta, y tampoco conozco mucha de la información del metro, porque eso se ha manejado con mucha reserva, pero impresionante, yo lo que veo en el caso de que la gente quiere un metro, en muchos casos yo creo que la gente no sabe lo que es un metro’
different’ and that to rely on the response to this limited question to justify a project is ‘unsustainable’ and ‘absurd’ (Academic representative 199). Between February 2014 and October 2015, there were 1261 tweets on the subject of the metro. Analysis of these tweets reveals how citizens are using this platform to reach their politicians. For example, on 3rd March 2015, the Mayor announced his ‘new Vision for Mobility’ at an event in the city. He tweeted about this the day before, saying ‘we are very satisfied with the presentation tomorrow’100 but after the actual announcement which noted the prioritisation of pedestrians and public transport users101, a tweet was directed at him saying ‘a year late, but good. Question: is there a document? Can you share it?’102 and another saying ‘can you put the vision on your website so we can all look at it?’103. This shows that social media sites are being used by the city government to make announcements on the metro project, and citizens who use social media are responding with questions or comments to give their views. However, there are no instances where the city government is using these networks to ask for views, or to start conversations with their citizens. As such their potential for being effective means of citizen engagement is limited.

99 ‘que es para usted un metro, ahí va a tener dos respuestas totalmente distintas, entonces usted va a decir es el bus de la esquina, o es el trole de la esquina, si, entonces a mí me parece que si eso han hecho para justificar la construcción del metro, me parece que es muy poco serio, si, si, ósea técnicamente no es sustentable, si, me parece muy, no sé, legitimar el metro, a partir de eso, y no de estudios técnicos, me parece absurdo’.
100 ‘Estamos muy satisfechos por la presentación de mañana de la Visión Estratégica de Movilidad para el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito’ 2nd March 2015 Twitter @MauricioRodas
101 ‘Los peatones y el transporte público son las prioridades de nuestra visión de movilidad para Quito http://t.co/09TrQcnuIB’ Twitter 3rd March 2015 @Mauricio Rodas
102 ‘@MauricioRodasEC @MunicipioQuito un año después, pero bueno. Pregunta: ¿existe algún documento? ¿lo pueden compartir? #Quito’ 2nd March 2015 Twitter @andresmideros.
103 ‘@MauricioRodasEC puede subir la Visión a la página de internet del @MunicipioQuito para que todos veamos @QuitoVigila’ 3rd March 2015 Twitter @ConsultaFamil
People with Twitter and Facebook accounts tend to be from the wealthier, more educated part of society, and so efforts were made during the field work to speak with others who may not have these options available to them.

An attendee of the focus group with elderly residents also said that the views of citizens were not listened to, even at events designed for citizen participation, when he said,

‘But what guarantee is there, what guarantee do we have, if after we present (our ideas) with all the reasonableness, all the optimism, all the will, we give the best ideas, and they are not accepted, and are thrown in the bin of ideas, what guarantee do we have against this’

(M5)

This quote exposes the futility of attending community events where ideas and viewpoints from the community are not taken on board and resonates with the literature of Habermas (1970) that true community engagement must include the desire to incorporate citizen viewpoints into the decision. However, it is noted that not all proposals from citizens are either realistic or quick to implement, which is why Hodgson and Turner (2003) noted the importance of generating trust between governments and citizens by initiating small-scale interventions that would develop trust within those taking part that the government body does listen and act upon their needs.

Using the Rights-based Participation Evaluation Framework used in Chapter 7 to evaluate the participatory exercises, this analysis adds doubt that the intention was to involve the public in the defining of options to solve Quito’s mobility challenges. Participation is a two-way process whereby citizens need to understand the parameters within which they can make suggestions, for
example on issues relating to affordability if the topic being discussed is the cost of a fare, but it is the city government that must set the parameters of the discussion and work openly to include the views of citizens in the decisions they take. Ultimately, it is still the city government which needs to take the final decision on investment but there needs to be more power-sharing with the wider community in order for them to achieve the level of citizen participation inscribed in Article 204 of the Constitution.

**Engaging a cross-section of society**

During field work, twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with business owners or workers in shops opposite the new interchange station ‘La Magdalena’, one of the first two stations to be built as part of the first phase of the project. The construction work had started in 2013 but ten of the respondents said that they had not been contacted by the city government about the project before the construction started nor at the time of interview, despite the likelihood of impacts on their livelihoods. Several quotes express a lack of surprise with this situation, for example,

‘no, they don’t take us into account’\(^ {104}\) (RI5)

‘no they haven’t ask us how businesses are doing, if we will be affected’\(^ {105}\) (RI10)

‘no, I hoped that they would ask for our opinions and hoped that they would accept what we think’\(^ {106}\) (RI11)

\(^ {104}\) ‘No, si no nos toman en cuenta’

\(^ {105}\) ‘no nos han preguntado de cómo está yendo el negocio si nos afectado’

\(^ {106}\) ‘Que si no nos piden las opiniones, ojala nos acepten lo que nosotros opinamos’
Figure 8.1. Business owners located in the shops on the left of the photo were interviewed about their views and involvement in the metro project. La Magdalena station is being constructed behind the fencing on the right of the photo. Source: Author.

Figure 8.2. Business owners located in the shops on the left of the photo were interviewed about their views and involvement in the metro project. La Magdalena station is being constructed behind the fencing on the right of the photo. Source: Author.
Figure 8.3. The owner of this kiosk provided the third quote above and despite having been in business at that spot for 35 years had not been asked her opinion about the metro station that was being constructed directly opposite from her. Source: Author

From just three quotes, it is clear to see that these business owners are disappointed with the lack of engagement on the metro. This feeling of being ignored and disengaged from the decision-making process is similar that expressed in the newspapers and social media.

Some views suggested that citizen involvement is limited to particular groups of society. For example, the focus group with elderly residents confirmed that some of them had been involved in consultation on the cost of fares for the existing buses and BRTs. A representative in the group talked of ‘having the opportunity to attend the offices of the city government about the issue of the hike in fares’ (M1). However, his view of the effectiveness of this process was negative suggesting that,

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107 ‘tuvo la oportunidad de asistir, al Municipio, por el asunto este de alza de pasajes’
Exercising the right to engage

The majority of the twelve business owners next to La Magdalena station were not aware of the project before its construction, despite obvious potential effects on their businesses. Six of the proprietors knew about the law of citizen participation but felt that it was not adhered to, as the following quotes show.

The lady who had ran the news kiosk for 35 years directly opposite the new station (La Magdalena) said that she knew about the law but that ‘they always ignore us’ and described how she ‘lived in fear’ of not knowing what the city government’s plans were for the area’ (RI11).

One lady owner of a newsagents shop was very aware of her rights; ‘they should have talked with the people who are here….we have rights, and we must participate in all that they do’ but had not personally tried to be involved nor was directly consulted (RI1).

A female worker in a bakery commented that ‘the President says so [that there is a right to participation] but at the end after all, there never is’ (RI6).

A male owner of a motor repair shop said ‘I know that there is this law, but they haven’t taken us into account’ and specifically about the construction work

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108 ‘nos invitan damos las ideas, pero esas ideas cuando mejor situación tienen, van a parar al tarro de basura, no sirven para nada’
109 ‘nunca nos hacen caso’, ‘Vera yo me fui hablar con el municipio, para que no me quiten de aquí. Vera somos de aquí de este sector, hay tres personas que estamos años aquí, pero dijeron que todavía no está decidido, ósea no se sabe qué mismo va a pasar, entonces estamos con ese temor’.
110 ‘Tuvieron que hablar con las personas que están aquí….Que si tenemos derecho, que debemos participar en todo lo que haya’
111 ‘Eso dice el presidente, pero al fin y al cabo nunca es así’
more than a year we have been living with dust, closed streets; they got themselves ready and did not take us into account\(^{112}\) (RI9).

A female owner of a pet shop made the interesting link between citizen participation and securing votes when she said, ‘Yes but I suppose that it was established to gain our votes\(^{113}\) (RI10).

These quotes show that, although over half of residents interviewed were aware of their rights, there appeared to have been a lack of true engagement in the decision-making process and a sense that the power remained with the city government. The data shows widespread feelings of cynicism about the aims of citizen participation, and some fear expressed at not being able to control the future of the business without knowing what plans the city government had. All of this data presents a dim picture of the practicalities of citizen engagement in the city.

**Disengaged groups**

The fieldwork demonstrated cases where citizens had not been involved in the decision-making processes, and they felt a prolonged sense of exclusion. These views were shared by leaders of specific interest groups, residents and by those who had worked for the city government.

One of the groups specifically targeted by the researcher during fieldwork was people with disabilities, and interviews were conducted with leaders of member associations and support groups. During the interview with Community

\(^{112}\) ‘Sé que hay esa ley, pero realmente no, no, nos han, para hacer esto no nos han tomado en cuenta’, ‘ahora está más o menos, más de un año estuvimos con polvo, cerradas las calles, ellos se pusieron hacer y listo no nos tomaron en cuenta a nosotros’

\(^{113}\) ‘Si pero no, supongo que esto ya fue establecido al nosotros realizar las votaciones’
Representative 1 (the leader of a civil society organisation for people with disabilities), the following revealing quotes were gathered,

\[
\text{We have never met ‘citizen participation’}^{114}.
\]

‘I have no knowledge of the metro, I have no knowledge of what it will do, what will the situation be for people with disabilities, no, will there be exclusive platforms or trains for people with disabilities, I do not know, nor for the metro cables, both are currently projects that still have not emerged, nor have they been discussed with people with disabilities’\(^ {115} \)\{(Community Representative 1)\}

‘in reality, what is happening is what is not happening, I mean there is talk in meetings about citizen participation but there is repetition and nothing happens’\(^ {116} \)\{(Community Representative 1)\}

From these quotes it is clear that the interviewee, as a representative of a large association for people with disabilities in the Quito area had not had the opportunity to comment on the metro project and had a dim view of citizen participation in general.

Similar views on the lack of transparency in decisions were shared by another interviewee, Community Representative 2, a representative of the Vitar Foundation (Fundación Vitar) which also focuses on raising awareness of the needs of people with disabilities. In specific reference to the metro project, he said that,

‘we do not know what lurks behind those contractual undertakings or those offers, nor do we know if it is the same business or the same

\(^{114}\)’La Participación Ciudadana jamás nos hemos reunido’
\(^{115}\) ‘no tengo yo ningún conocimiento, del metro no tengo nada de conocimiento como irán a hacer, cuales serán las situaciones solo con las personas de discapacidad, no, habrán andenes exclusivos o que se yo, como son como trenes creo que alguien una de esas será exclusiva para personas con discapacidad, no se yo, ni hablar, de los cables igual, todos son ahorita proyectos que todavía no salen a la luz, no se ha discutido con las personas con discapacidad’
\(^{116}\) ‘en la realidad es lo que esta pasando, es lo que esta pasando no, osea hablar en reuniones sobre la participación ciudadana pero si hay mucho eco, osea no pasa nada mejor dicho
consortium who is charged with the different works they undertaken; this is a question of transparency, this is a matter of common wellbeing, and this is a logical and political ethical matter, ethics that are scarce at present, in this current city government (Community Representative 2)

By questioning the ethical standpoint of the city government, this interviewee (Community Representative 2) is hinting at the level of distrust between citizens and their city government and suggests that there are reasons to fear malpractice amongst the political processes.

Community Representative 3, from a group interested in mobility issues, particularly cycling, echoed these points about the lack of citizen engagement, but with particular spatial reference points;

'in the case of the south of Quito, there have not been [participatory activities], very few. But there is a citizen movement more or less consolidated in the north, however, this group has not been taken into account [in the decisions made] (Community Representative 3)

From the government perspective, consultation events have been hailed a success. During an interview with an official with the city government he enthusiastically described a previous participatory process on agreeing bus fares with user groups and operators as follows:

‘there were themed tables and we presented the context of the city with the private bus operators and it went well, it went well, because for the first time the exercise included actors such as citizens, because normally agreements have been made between the bus operators and the state, bus operators and the city government, or

117 'no sabemos qué se esconde atrás de aquellas empresas contractuales o de aquellas ofertas, ni sabemos tampoco si es que una misma empresa o un mismo consorcio, es el encargado de las diferentes obras que realizan, eso es cuestión de transparencia, eso es cuestión de bienestar común, y eso es cuestión de ética lógica y política, de la cual estamos escasos en la actualidad, en este municipio actual’
The interviewee went on to say that as a result of these processes, the reduction in tariff for people with disabilities from 12 cents to 10 cents was secured: ‘we had good results from this, the council of today has already fixed the tariff, revised the tariff for people with disabilities to 10 cents’ (City Official 1). This suggests that there was a positive outcome but interestingly, representatives of two Quito-based associations representing people with disabilities interviewed as part of this field work had no idea that this consultation had been going on. Perhaps this final quote from the interviewee reveals that the process of participation was not properly planned;

‘the [discussions on the] tariffs were a little, how do you say, reactive because there was an idea to raise the tariffs and there was not a programme of citizen participation’ (City Official 1)
These quotes suggest that far from ensuring that all users are involved in the decision-making process, and despite people with disabilities being highly vulnerable to transport-related social exclusion, they are not involved in decisions that affect their mobility challenges, despite there being a rights-based approach to participatory governance.

**Transparency of output**

By early 2015, when the construction of the first phase of the project was almost complete, resident views reported in newspapers were rather resigned to the project, for example with views such as,

‘They’ve thrown so much money at it, to abandon it would not be right\(^{121}\)’ (Daily Motion, 2015).

However, other views still questioned whether this project was the right option for Quito and how much the metro would be integrated with the existing BRT and bus system. For example, in a newspaper article entitled ‘What is happening with Quito?’, the author posits the following questions and answers,

‘What is happening with the transport system, such as the Ecovia, the Trolé or the Metrovía [the three existing BRTs]? Cleanliness and service leaves much to be desired, not to mention the privately owned buses.

What is happening with the Metro? It seems that everything is centred on the metro, with no talk of the other problems of the city\(^{122}\).

(Salvador, 2015)

\(^{121}\) ‘Porque tanto dinero dejar botado no valdría la pena ¿no?’

\(^{122}\) ¿Qué pasa con las unidades de transporte, sea Ecovía, Trole o Metrovía? Dejan mucho que desear la limpieza y servicio, no se diga de las unidades privadas. ¿Qué pasa con el Metro? Parece que todo se centra en el Metro, pero no se habla de los otros problemas de la ciudad’.

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These quotes express disagreement with the project at a time when funding for the second stage of the project was in question. The city government, and Mayor in particular responded through social media such as Facebook and Twitter. On 19th February 2015, the Mayor Rodas' Twitter account made eight tweets justifying the decision with statements including 'the report of no objection from the multi-laterals [the funders] signals that the Technical Commission’s analysis of the four tenders is correct about the metro' and 'the metro will be an axis of a modern integrated transport system' and 'the construction of the metro does not mean the elimination of sections of the Trolóbus'. These quotes highlight the role of social media to raise and respond to objections from members of the public.

Similarly, on the 2nd of March 2015 the Quito Metro company posted an update on social media stating,

‘the first line of the metro will have fifteen stops, located in the places of highest density, for the greatest benefit to the citizen’ (MdQ, 2015d).

There was however, one comment questioning the zig zag line of the route;

‘this metro line is good....!!! But it is a zigzag (sarcasm)’.

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123 ‘El informe de no objeción de los multilaterales señala que es correcto el análisis de Comisión Técnica sobre las 4 ofertas para el metro...’ Twitter 19th Feb 2015 @MauricioRodas
124 ‘El metro será el eje de un sistema integrado de transporte moderno compuesto por los Quitocables, el nuevo Trole y la Ecovía ampliada’ Twitter 19th Feb 2015 @MauricioRodas
125 ‘La construcción del metro no implicará la eliminación de tramos del Trole que, por el contrario, será ampliado y fortalecido’ Twitter 19th Feb 2015 @MauricioRodas
126 ‘esa línea del metro está bien.....!!! para eso le hacían en zig zag (sarcasmo)’ Arroba 2015
7.8 Conclusion: To what extent did a rights-based approach to governance influence the planning and operation of the metro by strengthening participation?

Four activities of citizen engagement have been reviewed here; the Social Impact Study commissioned as the metro project was being initiated, and the ‘Offering of Accounts’ annual transparency process set up under the Law of Citizen Participation (2010), the consultation activities that ran alongside the commissioning of Phase 1, and the regular provision of information via radio interviews and programmes.

Each of these activities has been viewed through the lens of accepted good practice on citizen participation as defined in a Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework identified in Section 3.12 and using the legislative framework of the 2008 Constitution (República del Ecuador, 2011) the Law of Participation (Asamblea Nacional, 2010) and supporting regulations. In each case, the activities of the city government to engage citizens in the decision-making process surrounding the metro have been limited. Shortfalls range from the bizarre scoping of the Social Impact Study which looked more at the threats to the city government’s plans than impacts on citizens, the one-sided nature of the ‘Offering of Accounts’ process where the events are more akin to an annual report than offering any real scope for two-way dialogue, and to the untimely consultation events.

Testing the approach to consultation by the City Government against the Constitutional requirements, the Law of Citizen Participation and accepted good practice on consultation, the data has been analysed against the Rights-based
Participation Evaluation Framework. However, as found in practice and despite genuine government intent to deepen transparency and participation, poorly constructed citizen participation is often started too late or is more about defending project ideas than seeking the views of others, as found in this case study. They are managed and prescribed by the government organisation limiting any real engagement in the decision-making process. As Cebollada and Avellaneda (2008) state institutionalised activities (which can be understood as including activities such as the ‘Offering of Accounts’) satisfies governments but can act as powerful means of exclusion as they are not perceived to be open to everyone or even engendering two-way discussion (Bovenkamp et al 2010).

Even with the 2008 Constitution and the Law of Citizen Participation (2010) relatively recently written, and with the establishment of the Council for Citizen Participation (see Section 5.16) to oversee these processes, citizen participation was not initiated early enough, or designed in such a way as to influence such a high profile project such as the new metro system. This demonstrates that a rights-based approach is not yet fully integrated into Quito’s urban planning and governance processes. It appears that the rights-based approach as detailed in the Ecuadorean legislation has not overcome the prevailing power dynamics that arise when rights are bestowed to others, in that the necessary cultural change to balance the power in decision-making terms does not automatically follow. As the Literature Review discovered, those bestowing the rights to others retain considerable power over the recipients, and there is little change in the outcome.
Chapter 8: Analysis Part 3: How effective are the rights-based mechanisms for decision-making in engaging the public?

8.1 Analysis within the thesis

This is the third of three analysis chapters. Building on the first two chapters demonstrating the social exclusion challenges in Quito and how the decision-making process for the new Metro system made limited accommodation of the rights-based approach, together with the reaction from citizens or groups representing the community, this chapter contributes to addressing Research Question 3c:

*To what extent can citizen-led debates embed rights-based approaches into participatory governance?*

by examining the effectiveness of citizen participation in the planning of the Quito Metro, and grassroots processes for embedding a rights-based culture into city governance.

The chapter examines the extent to which citizen-led debates can embed rights-based approaches into city governance. The chapter does this by presenting data from the following sources;

- Interviews with five representatives of civil society organisations or academics
- Interviews with community representatives
- Interviews with politicians and city officials
12 semi-structured interviews with business owners around La Magdalena station
Focus groups with elderly residents of Quito
Grey literature reports, including those produced by civil society representatives.
Participant observations at metro-related events, recordings and transcriptions of speeches
Media analysis (newspaper reports and social media from September 2011 to April 2015)

8.2 Reasons for a lack of citizen engagement

Many of those interviewed made suggestions about why citizen participation was not working in the spirit of the legal framework. Views about the inadequacy of current participatory practice are shared by existing and previous government officials, an elected representative at the local government level and current city government Councillors.

One interviewee who until 2014, headed a government-backed research centre on urban issues said,

‘if you ask me if there is a law of participation, I will tell you yes, and that law of participation contemplates a mountain of mechanisms in order to utilise citizen participation. If you ask me if this law is applied, I will tell you no, and why is it not applied – for two reasons, as much because of civil society as due to government. I will explain why……the problem is that the people do not know that the mechanisms [of participation] exist, and it does not interest them, because who is going to be interested in participating in these things, the middle class, the high class, the educated, the urban, but the rest of the population come and go, and you are faced with the fact that when you call them, you try to involve them, they say ‘I have no time,
I do not want to get involved’ etc. The weakness of the process of participation is that it is related to the social and cultural situation that is here….and from the other side, from the government side, they are interested in lots of participation, but it is very difficult, so we cannot say that the government does not do participation, it is both sides, both society and the government that are not interested in the matter127’ (City Official 2)

When questioned about why citizens may not want to get involved in government decision-making processes, the response was as follows,

‘Perhaps it is because citizens do not want to involve themselves in political processes, because it does not work, for them’ (City Official 2)

The interviewee continued by describing the process as taking place ‘behind closed doors’128’. He suggested that the fundamental problem behind this lack of engagement is poverty and qualified this comment in the following way,

‘when you are poor, you do not have time, enthusiasm, or desire to get involved in politics, the poverty that is generated is a support to populism, and you have thousands, sorry, millions of poor people that listen to the nice people on the television, or candidates and vote for them, depending on what they say. Therefore, a large part of the

127 ‘si me dices que hay una ley de participación, te digo si, y la ley de participación, contempla un montón de mecanismos, para utilizar la participación ciudadana, si me dices si eso se aplica, te digo no, y porque no se aplica, por dos razones, tanto por la sociedad civil, como por los gobiernos, y te explico porque, yo no me entere, yo no soy abogado, no manejo estos términos jurídicos, ni se me de memoria, las formas de participación que tiene, pero un abogado nos estaba explicando justo a nosotros, permíteme un segundito. Me estaba explicando que hay, la silla vacía, consejos, gabinetes, hay un montón, dijo que había como 10 cosas para que la sociedad participe, entonces nos decía este abogado, que el problema es que la gente no sabe que existen esos mecanismos, y no le interesa, porque a quien le puede interesar participar por ejemplo en cosas es, la clase media, alta, o educada, o urbana, pero al resto de la población le va y le viene, entonces tú te enfrentas con el hecho, de que cuando les intentas convocar, les intentas decir participen, hagan algo, a no, no tengo tiempo, no quiero, etc. Es decir la debilidad del proceso de participación por ese lado, tiene que ver con una situación social y cultural que está ahí, si y quizás en otros países también, y quizás en otros países, ahora desde el otro lado, desde el lado gubernamental, tampoco le interesa al gobierno mucha participación, si porque es muy difícil, exacto, entonces no se puede decir que el gobierno no hace participar, sino que es las dos cosas a la vez, tanto la sociedad como el gobierno no están interesados en el asunto’.

128 ‘las conversaciones estan detrás de puertas cerradas’
problem has to do with reaching a minimum income which would resolve these things\textsuperscript{129} (City Official 2)

This interview is quite revealing about the causes of inactivity in citizen participation exercises, suggested that the problem stems from a lack of awareness of opportunities, a lack of belief in their effectiveness and a lack of time, even though the government is committed to participatory approaches. As Barnes \textit{et al} (2004) found, there needs to be a reason to motivate people to engage in a participatory process; the existence of a right to do so is not itself enough.

Ignorance of the rights of participation but also the voluntary unpaid nature of involvement were cited as important reasons behind a lack of citizens’ engagement by Community Representative 3, who used to work in the transport department of the city government;

\textit{‘it [the Law of Citizen Participation] does not work…..people on the one hand do not know about these instruments, they are clearly voluntary initiatives in that, they do not pay you to do this. So there are groups, well a few people who have the capacity to monitor the process, go to meetings, give up their time. These are people who work, because nobody pays them [to participate]’}\textsuperscript{130} (Community Representative 3)

\textsuperscript{129} ‘cuando tú eres pobre, no tienes tiempo, ni ganas, ni deseo de involucrarte en la política, la pobreza lo que genera es un respaldo al populismo, y lo que tú tienes claro es miles, perdón, millones de pobres que claro escucha a cualquier personas bonita de televisión, o candidato, y votan por él, dependientemente de lo que diga, entonces gran parte del problema tiene que ver, con llegar a un mínimo de ingreso, ciudadano general, en el cual tenga solucionadas ciertas cosas’

\textsuperscript{130} ‘no, no funciona…..la gente por un lado no conoce de estos instrumentos, son iniciativas netamente voluntarias; o sea, no te pagan para que hagas esto. Entonces, realmente, son grupos que, son pocas personas las que están en capacidad de dar seguimiento a un proceso, de ir a reuniones, porque es su tiempo. Es gente que trabaja, es decir, nadie les paga’
City Official 2 also suggests that there are particular socio-economic groups, especially the well-off and educated, who are more likely to become involved in participatory practices, but the poor he suggests are too busy making ends meet to get any more involved in politics than through the symbolism of their vote. Perhaps a lack of organisation or a demoralisation from previous engagement attempts are the reasons behind a lack of engagement. Certainly it will be those people most comfortable with formal presentations in lecture-style events who attend the ‘Offering of Accounts’ events described in Chapter 7.

Politician 1, an elected official, recognised this imbalance amongst socio-economic groups who choose, or not, to participate in government processes. He said,

‘when…only the intellectuals, the well educated go to assemblies, access to information is restricted, because how do the neighbourhood people access information, when will the people of neighbourhoods access it, we need information flowing to that level’¹³¹ (Politician 1).

Academic representative 1, an academic studying rights-based approaches to urban planning, agreed that citizen participation in its current form is not working and suggests that the failure to have a meaningful citizen participation is because,

¹³¹ ‘cuando solamente los intelectuales, los bien inteligentes van a las asambleas, el acceso a la información es restringido, porque a la gente del barrio como le llega la información, cuando es la gente del barrio la que accede acá, necesitas que la información fluya a este nivel’
‘participation is nowadays very individual, very fragmented, because the indigenous people and nationalities do not participate’\textsuperscript{132} (Academic representative 1).

While this particular view of indigenous groups being key to participation was not shared by other interviewees, it highlights that a meaningful collective of people might need to come together to strengthen of citizen voice in decision making.

There is a form of local government whereby each neighbourhood has elected representatives called ‘Presidents’ with whom the city government can liaise. When questioned about citizen participation, one such leader of a deprived neighbourhood poorly served by public transport lamented that despite the power that citizens had because of the law, the balance of power still rested with government because it is them that commands any participatory exercise.

He said,

‘the law of citizen participation exists, we can know that, but in this moment, if they do not talk to us, invite us at least, then we do not know what we can contribute’\textsuperscript{133} (Politician 2)

This quote shows that there may be a greater involvement in an ‘invited space’ (as Barnes et al, 2005) notes, but that expectations may need to be clear in order to encourage members of the public to take part who may not otherwise have the confidence to challenge professionals and politicians.

\textsuperscript{132} ‘la participación por ejemplo: hoy día es muy individual, muy fragmentado, porque no participan los pueblos y nacionalidades indígenas’

\textsuperscript{133} ‘pero al ley de participación existe podemos conocerla, pero en este momento si no nos hacen digamos, la invitación por lo menos no sé qué podemos aportar’
From the point of view of the government, the data shows that there is an element of pride in their ambitions for citizen participation as the following quote suggests;

‘we have encountered a purpose, a goal, to develop guidelines for citizen participation, so that the residents of Quito can be incorporated into the governance processes from the city government and basically the Mayor’ (City Official 1).

This interviewee, a city official working on citizen participation for the Mayor’s office recognised that encouraging new ways of working is difficult and takes time. He said,

‘in the last decade, there has been a flow of participation from many social sectors, and look what happened, for example: now they convene, organise themselves, workers, students, women and all the sectors that influence that which they do not agree, ..... now this is in motion, but it is very complicated to govern a country with these types of tools, with a constitution and a law…’ (City Official 1).

This quote also touches on the issue of managing expectations of citizen engagement when he talks about complications in governing a country with high levels of citizen participation.

In summary, the particular problems relating to engaging citizens in participatory exercises highlighted in the data relate to the challenge of engaging all interests within a community, and that the most likely group to engage are the wealthy and educated, who will naturally only represent a subset of views. Related issues are a lack or unequal awareness of the rights of participation, and the difficulty in working with a dispersed group such as all citizens, hinting at the importance of collective voice in order to engage a wider cross-section of
society, one of the elements of the Participation Evaluation Framework that, from the analysis, was not wholly met in the case study. However, it may be that citizen groups are almost always dissatisfied with participatory exercises unless their very specific views are reflected in the outcomes, and the government and city government should be commended for attempting to improve citizen participation in public policy. The risk is that without assessing effectiveness, they may consider themselves successful without actually affecting change for their residents. The final point is about the need to set parameters of engagement and to manage expectations about possible outcomes of citizen participation, for example, what element of a decision could be influenced by the public. It is a combination of these factors that leads to inertia in citizen participation in Quito.

Reasons why governments fail to engage well

In terms of trying to understand why the laws of citizen participation fail from a government perspective, City Official 1, whose role in the city government involved issues of participation said the following,

“there is excessive regulation in all areas, and this is what we have observed now in this project….the excessive regulatory burden, laws, rules, that sometimes are unknown, sometimes are contradictory or at times, sometimes are not used, because people do not know how to; the framework of regulation in Ecuador is very, very complicated and even the lawyers do not understand the laws134' (City Official 1).

134 ‘hay una excesiva normativa para todos los ámbitos, no y eso es lo que un poco nosotros hemos observado ahora en este proyecto que te voy a contar luego, la excesiva carga normativa, de leyes, de normas, que a veces se desconoce y a veces se, ósea son contradictorías, o a veces simplemente no las utilizas, porque no sabes cómo, es un poco del
Community Representative 3, an ex-city official with a keen interest in mobility suggested the following,

‘the theme of participation conceived by the Secretary for Mobility is a compartmentalised vision. For example, if we are going to have bikes, we only invite cyclists; if we are to do something with taxis, we will only invite the taxi drivers, if it’s about motorbikes, only the motorbikers. When an infrastructure project affects everybody, you cannot do that because the cyclists will say ‘yes I want it’, but the residents in the neighbourhood where the cycle path will pass disagree, so you do not invite them and they say nothing; and this is the way, in all projects. Therefore, it’s a really serious problem, of conception, of badly conceived participation because there are no specialised people, sociologists, psychologists, I don’t know who because you do not need specialists as it is an issue of common sense. If you have a project that will affect a series of stakeholders, you have to invite all of them, not only one or the beneficiaries. So yes, I believe that those in power will always be afraid to invite those who are more likely to protest or be affected’ (Community Representative 3)

This quote touches on three important issues. First, who a government body decides invite affects the outcome of any participation exercise, for example, the suggestion of inviting cyclists to discuss plans for more cycle routes in the city is more likely to be met with support than from other groups. Second, by

Marco de la normativa en el Ecuador, es bien, bien complicada y claro no los abogados, los entendidos en leyes’

135 el tema de la participación concebida desde la Secretaría de Movilidad, es una visión compartimentalizada; es decir, por compartimentos. Es decir, si vamos a hacer bicis, solo vamos a invitar a los ciclistas, si vamos a hacer algo de taxis, solo invitamos a los taxistas, si es de motos, solo a los moto. Cuando un proyecto de infraestructura afecta a todos, no puedes hacer así porque los ciclistas van a decir “sí, yo quiero”, pero el vecino donde le pasa la ciclo vía, no está de acuerdo y no le invitaste y nunca le dijiste nada; y así, es en todos los proyectos. Entonces, es un problema grave, de concepción, de mala concepción de la participación porque no hay gente especializada, sociólogos, psicólogos, no sé quiénes son pero tampoco necesitas gente especializada porque es un tema de sentido común. Es decir, si tienes un proyecto que va a afectar a una serie de stakeholders, tienes que invitar a todos, no solo a uno o al beneficiado. Entonces si, yo creo que el poder siempre va a estar con miedo de invitar a los que más van a protestar o van a ser los afectados
selecting who is invited to any participation activity, rather than inviting everybody, the debate is stifled. Third, governments are more likely to include people or groups who are not likely to protest against the proposals. This last point links back to the design of the 2012 Social Impact Study which categorised social groups by their likelihood to be affected by the metro, and therefore the likelihood of them protesting against the project.

In conclusion, this data suggests that despite good intentions governments are often unsure of how best to involve their citizens in any decision-making process, or to act on the comments and suggestions, and if they do, they may select those groups that are most likely to engage in participation or those representatives most likely to support the proposals for fear of encouraging protest. In a situation where governments are elected and therefore the popular vote counts, there is always a desire to avoid conflict with large or influential sectors of society, such as the middle class and educated. This suggests that those groups who lack an awareness of political processes and their rights, or who are poorly organised or lack the resources to have a unified voice continue to be excluded from participatory exercises.

**Time needed to embed culture change**

Several interviewees mentioned that it took time to make the necessary culture change to improve levels of citizen participation.

The leader of an association for people with disabilities said that,
‘we are dusting off and unpacking people with disabilities who have been hidden under the bed, or in locked drawers, and they are becoming more visible’ (Community Representative 1)

This interviewee suggests that because vulnerable groups have been excluded from decision making for so long, changes cannot be made overnight. Thus it seems that both sides may need a period of awareness-raising to move to a situation where the rights laid down in legislation are being recognised by both sides. After all, this interviewee also suggests that ‘it is not a lack of laws, it is a lack of awareness’ that is required to improve citizen participation.

This was echoed by the city government official who said that,

‘we are on this path, but we have not achieved it yet, nor will we tomorrow, or perhaps for a while’ (City Official 1)

He also suggested that the prevalent culture was to be demanding but that this often brought people into ‘very tense’ relations with the government organisations based on a presumption that the government could ‘solve all the needs of the population’.

Politician 1, an elected official in the city government, who used to be the Secretary of Mobility until 2014 but remains active on mobility issues, also reflected that adherence to the Constitution and the idea of a rights-based approach to urban governance was not going to be resolved quickly;

‘this is what we have to construct, because it is not the case that next year Quito will be perfect, the notion is to build it, to design a strategy of institutional arrangements in the city government and to work with

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136 ‘estamos desempolvando y desempacando a las personas con discapacidad que estaban escondidas bajo de la cama, en cajones con llave entonces todo eso a se a visibilizado’

137 ‘no es falta de leyes, es falta de conciencia’

138 ‘muy tensas, ‘solventar todas las necesidades de la población’
8.3 Ways to embed rights-based approaches into city governance

Throughout the course of the analysis, particularly of the semi-structured interviews, participants were asked to suggest ways to improve the citizen participation regime to reach a truly ‘rights-based’ approach to urban governance. These are discussed here but will be revisited in Chapter 9 where the threads of the analysis are pulled together with the review of contemporary literature on participatory governance, where many of these themes can be found.

One relatively easy way to achieve suggestion is the idea of better collation and use of information. Community Representative 4, the head of the Citizen Observatory for Mobility, suggested in the interview for this research that in order to understand whether citizen participation was leading to better outcomes,

‘you have to ask the people, how good the service is today, or if there is no service, or something like that, this allows people to say many things, so that the next day, when you analyse the numbers, you can take their opinions into account’ and that for his organisation

139 ‘eso una vez más es lo que hay que construir, porque no es que eso el próximo año Quito va hacer perfecto, es el tema de construir, de diseñar una estrategia de arreglar institucionalmente al municipio y de trabajar con la organización social, con la ciudadanía, en términos de que aproveche, utilice estos mecanismos que están creados a través de este sistema’
City Official 1 questioned the methods through which information is given to people stating that ‘Ecuador has a very low level of information, very low, imagine it, people here read on average one and a half books a year, here people don’t read’. Together with low levels of internet access, this interviewee was questioning the relevance of putting information into leaflets or on websites about the law and their rights (City Official 1).

However, another interviewee suggested that what was needed was to ‘raise the level of citizen participation in mobility themes, not just provide information’ (Academic representative 1).

These two suggestions link to the idea of giving all users an equal opportunity to voice their views in the ‘Engaging a cross-section of society’ element of the Participation Evaluation Framework. This element of the framework is about creating a benchmark of mutual understanding of the problem with which to move forward to look at solutions.

Another area where awareness needs to be raised is in the provisions of the Constitution and legal rights themselves. As Politician 1 stated,

> ‘another element is that people can participate in the taking of decisions, for this is fundamental….to work with citizens to improve their capacities to participate, then this system, I believe, will have an

footnotes:

140 ‘tú tienes que preguntar tu a la gente, de a como está el servicio hoy, o si es que no tiene el servicio, o cualquier cosa, eso les permite a las personas decir muchas cosas, que mañana cuando hagas los números vas a tomar en cuenta para solucionar, eso para nosotros es lo más importante’

141 ‘es necesario para aumentar el nivel de participación ciudadana en temas de movilidad, no más información’
important element which is citizen participation constructed both from bottom to top and top to bottom\textsuperscript{142} (Politician 1)

Awareness about the issues needs to be raised, as well as awareness about rights and responsibilities of citizen participation. Implicit within this quote is the idea that informed citizens are the ones best to become involved in any process.

Similarly, from a Government official work, is needed to improve knowledge of the legal framework,

\textit{‘the law has to be just, widespread, and known because the people are not interested and say that you have to go to the library to see the law’}\textsuperscript{143} (City Official 1)

It is clear from City Official 1, that the City government is considering the practical application of the Law of Citizen Participation and has identified the need for guidance and tools to support the rolling out of citizen participation. As he said,

\textit{‘we have to develop a series of tools and resources that can help us understand at the same time the state of the actual participatory situation and how with this [law] we can improve’}\textsuperscript{144} (City Official 1)

Perhaps these quotes suggest a refinement of the framework, where the community is supported first to understand their rights and responsibilities.

\textsuperscript{142} ‘otro elemento es que la gente pueda participar en la toma de decisiones, para eso es fundamental me parece es arreglar la estructura constitucional, pero también trabajar en la ciudadanía para que tenga mejores capacidades de participar, entonces en ese sistema yo creo que tiene un elemento importante que es una construcción de abajo hacia arriba y de arriba hacia abajo, de la participación ciudadana y de la definición’

\textsuperscript{143} ‘la ley tiene que ser justa, difundida, conocida por que la gente no es que se interesa y dice voy a la biblioteca a ver la ley, o me meto a la página web haber la ley, Ecuador tiene un nivel muy bajo de educación, muy bajo, imagínate que acá la gente lee, hay un promedio de que voz como ecuatoriano lees un libro y medio al año, acá le gente no lee ni el pasquín’

\textsuperscript{144} ‘hemos tenido que desarrollar una serie de herramientas e insumos que nos pueden ayudar a comprender mismo el estado de la situación actual de la participación y como con eso nos proyectamos no cierto’
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permitted under this new right-based approach to participatory governance, before they can play active effective roles in collective decision-making processes. The Participation Evaluation Framework talks of the need to provide existing groups and societies with resources (and funding) for support and in the case of Quito, tools and resources to understand the decision-making context and the role that they can play would be most valuable in the short term.

One of the City Officials interviewed also stated that,

‘one of the guidelines is how to organise citizen participation, in order to incorporate this into processes of governance…at the moment the city government has decided to call citizen participation ‘Participative Action’ because what we are doing is taking action, we are conceptualising participation away from understanding it just as citizen participation, which is a generic term fairly common and actually very trite in some global contexts. I think that Quito wants to give it the sense of ‘Participative Action’ with concrete actions; we will incorporate, we are incorporating in order that citizens will act, but act in an informed way, act in a deliberative way; participation will be tailored to meet your rights, your obligations, your responsibilities; it will be reported back to you, you will have information because if you do not have information you cannot participate’” (City Official 1)

Once again the link between information provision and informed citizens is made clear but this quote considers the concept of action and transparency as

145 “una de esa pautas es justamente como organizar la participación de la ciudadanía, para incorporarse a estos procesos de gobernabilidad, en el caso del municipio gobernabilidad local y en el caso del estado a través de una gobernabilidad antigua, ahora el municipio a decidido llamarle ya a la participación ciudadana, “Acción Participativa” porque es lo que nosotros estamos accionado, estamos conceptuando dentro de la participación, par ano comprenderle solo como participación ciudadana que es un nombre genérico bastante común y además muy trillado en algunos contextos a nivel mundial, creo que a Quito quiere darle un sentido de “Acción Participativa” de acciones concretas, vamos a incorporar, estamos incorporando para que la ciudadanía actué, pero actué de una manera informada, actué de manera deliberada, la participación será a la medida que tu conozcas, tus derechos, tus obligaciones, tus responsabilidades y te informes, tengas información, porque si no tienes información como puedes participar”
well. The point about re-naming participation as Participative Action may be semantics but highlights that, at least according to the interviewee, what is important out of the process is action. This may not necessarily mean co-production of projects or devolving of government delivery responsibilities to the local level, but more likely refers to the need to focus on outcomes in any discursive activity.

Ross’s work on active citizenship is worth mentioning here. He writes that while the social goal may be the development of an active citizen, many politicians would be satisfied with a passive citizen, i.e. one who obeys the law and broadly subscribes to the governing state (2012). An active citizen is one who evaluates whether laws work well and if not, how they can be changed, but citizen activity needs to be developed through education. The idea of providing information to citizens is a passive activity which could generate a low level degree of citizen activity, such as letter writing to politicians, but in order to generate active citizens, common values or dispositions need to be identified. Therefore, while a rights-based approach is a laudable end state, at present, insufficient tools have been provided to achieve it. One such tool is the presence of civil society groups who can act in response to these failures in representative democracy. This idea of organising citizen voice, which is discussed in greater depth in Section 8.5. As Community Representative 3 said, in trying to encourage citizen participation in government schemes,

‘In the case of Quito, I tell you, there are many interests…it is a gigantic city, there is much disorganisation, that there is no adequate focus on citizen participation’ (Community Representative 3).

146 “En el caso de Quito, te digo, hay mucho intereses de por medio, es una ciudad gigante, hay mucha desorganización, no hay un enfoque adecuado de la participación ciudadana”
This quote hints at the role for civil society organisations in helping build trust between governments and the public, and act as a conduit for views and information. Hodgson and Turner (2003) talked about small-scale interventions to demonstrate that the state can be trusted, and perhaps the use of a professional but community minded body to interface between state and citizens is required in order to help any fledging rights-based approach to governance.

This section has highlighted the challenges as described by Ross (2012) of turning a passive citizen into an active one. A good ‘passive’ citizen who votes and obeys the law, needs to be empowered in order to engage with and hope to influence the course of events. Kennedy (2006) proposes four levels of activity in citizenship. First, there is the base level of engaging in voting and subscribing to a political viewpoint. These are minimalist activities but nonetheless count as participation. Second, citizens may become engaged in social movements, perhaps through voluntary activities. While valuable, these activities are largely conformist, repairing an issue rather than addressing the underlying causes. The third more active form is action for social change; attempts to change policies such as writing to elected representatives, signing petitions and participating in demonstrations. This category includes both legal and illegal forms of activity, such as graffiti and civil disobedience but in essence consists of agitating against the norms of political society, rather than seeking to engage and affect from within. The fourth form is enterprise citizenship which Kennedy defines as being based on a citizen achieving financial independence, learning about the issues and identifying solutions through entrepreneurial ideas. Whilst not intended to be a hierarchy or
sequence, the third form appears to be the most active form of citizenship although as already stated, works against the grain of traditional political democracy, rather than working in a co-operative and co-productive way such that participative governance and rights-based approaches would suggest.

Ross (2012) argues that in order to be an active citizen, not only do values and disposition need to align with a cause or motive, but skills and competencies are required, including the skills of enquiry and sophisticated skills of participation for example, the ability to understand group dynamics and skills involved in social action and social capital. This distinction helps to develop an understanding of the importance of tools to achieve a desired outcome. The Ecuadorian government have developed an aspiration for rights-based approaches to governance but have only developed blunt tools, such as the Offering of Accounts, to achieve the goal.

In conclusion, the two main suggestions unearthed by the data which would serve to provide tools necessary to embed rights-based approaches to decision-making were a proposal for an improved system of providing information on public policy from the city government to the citizens, and the encouragement of a more informed citizenry, more aware of their rights and able to play a meaningful active participatory role. This leads in Section 8.10 to a refinement of the Participation Evaluation Framework.

8.4 Conclusion on the citizen response to participation in government decision-making activities
From the analysis of the semi-structured interviews, resident interviews and social media, it is clear that citizen participation as a right-based approach in Quito is not functioning as best it could with respect to mobility issues. Despite genuine efforts by the city government at increasing awareness of the Metro project, the level of participation is not increasing, because of a mismatch between how the official bodies function and what type of engagement the citizens want. It appears that the city government seeks to present information to demonstrate progress towards the end of a decision or project which has often already been determined, i.e. when the decision has been taken by the officials and elected politicians, but citizens want details on the project before it is finalised and seek swift action on their comments. This results in shortcomings when comparing the findings of the current levels of engagement with the provisions in the Constitution and legislation. Therefore, according to the Participation Evaluation Framework, the implementation of the rights-based approach to participation is failing against the elements of engaging a cross-section of society, affecting outputs and transparency.

8.5 The Role of Civil society organisations

This section examines how civil society organisations (CSOs) can act as brokers or intermediaries between governments and the public to bring about better decisions.

The Social Impact Study completed for the metro project identified ten civil society organisations working in the field of mobility and transport, including two concerned with mobility issues generally, including the Citizen Observatory for Mobility, but the majority allied with a specific group or theme, such as
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‘Peatones para Quito/Pedestrians for Quito’ or the ‘Fundacion Biciacción/Bikeaction Foundation’. In contrast to the existing public transport user, these groups were assigned a ‘moderate level of importance’ in the study appraisal, because they act as a collective voice for wider group interests, and they were thus graded as having a ‘high level of influence’. These ratings reflect the clear mandate for this type of organisation to represent the interests of a dispersed citizenry, and their resulting power to influence political processes.

The views of civil-society organisations are likely to be somewhat different depending on the organisation represented, and a sample size of five citizen representatives, as interviewed in this thesis is too small to draw any meaningful conclusions. What can be said is that the views of civil society organisations appears to be recognised by officials and politicians as being of higher importance and influence as campaigning organisations than those of individual citizens.

During the field work, two CSOs were contacted who operate within the field of mobility in Quito. This section will describe their activities and examine the role they play in act as a ‘middleman’ between citizens and government.

8.6 **Observatory and the transport ‘emergency’**.

The Citizen Observatory for Mobility, defined, according to its director as,
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‘a type of “think-tank” that collects facts, collects information, processes them and transforms the data…into information for people through some means’ (Community Representative 4)

Established in 2009, the Observatory was ‘created in the wake of the Constitution and the specific law of Citizen Participation that permits and gives the State the obligation to recognise all forms of social organisation’ (OCM, 2013). This suggests that until the 2008 Constitution and the 2010 Law of Citizen Participation (2010) was declared there was no formal obligation on the state to acknowledge the presence of such an organisation.

The organisation has been set up to pursue the provisions of the Constitution, which states that the duties and responsibilities of Ecuadorians include to,

‘…participate in the political, civic and community life of the country in an honest and transparent manner’.

**State of mobility review 2013**

In 2013, the Observatory completed a review of the current state of municipal mobility management, four years after devolution of these powers to the city government. The reason for this was because,

‘from the review of the facts, we can almost always identify things that should be corrected or things that should be done; because we start from a diagnosis and propose an alternative’ (Community Representative 4).

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147 ‘es una especie de “think tank”, que recopila datos, recopila información, los procesa y los transforma en datos y esos datos los transforma en información para las personas a través de algunos medios’

148 ‘creada bajo la Constitución y la ley específica que es la Ley de Participación Ciudadana, que permite y que hace que el Estado tenga la obligación de reconocer toda forma de organización social’

149 Ecuadorean Constitution: paragraphs 7 and 15 of Article 83

150 ‘porque a partir de esta revisión que se hace de la información casi siempre nosotros podemos identificar cosas que deben corregirse o cosas que deben hacerse; porque partimos de un diagnóstico y proponemos una alternativa.’
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As part of this review, the Observatory looked at the legal nature of the transport competencies of the city government, an analysis of road accidents between 2013 and 2014 (which found an increase in accident rates and fatalities), and an analysis of the transport initiatives that the City government had brought it, including improvements to Quito’s traffic light system, and the acquisition of additional buses. They also looked at the role of citizen participation in the decisions made on transport projects since 2009 (the first full year of implementation of the Constitution and the devolution of power to autonomous city regions) and found that,

‘despite the information requests made, there is no documentary evidence of the incorporation of citizens in the planning criteria, implementation and execution of plans and projects developed by the municipality of the DMQ [city government] in regard to mobility’¹⁵¹

(OCM, 2013 p.9).

This is quite a damaging quote but corresponds with the interview data analysed in this thesis, that despite the enabling legal framework and the good intentions of city officials, the city government is not adequately engaging with the residents of Quito in relation to mobility issues. The Observatory conducted a short survey via Twitter to find the top ten activities that the city government could do to improve mobility in the city. The resulting list includes many ‘soft’ measures such as changing timetables or promoting non-motorized transport, as well as small measures such as patching up potholes. The top ten list did not include any suggestions of major new infrastructure projects, such as a metro. When asked whether mobility of people and vehicles has improved in

¹⁵¹ ‘PARTICIPACION CIUDADANA:Durante el estudio efectuado, y pese al requerimiento de información realizado, no existe evidencia documental de la incorporación de criterios ciudadanos en la planificación, implementación y ejecución de planes y proyectos desarrollados por la Municipalidad del DMQ en los concerniente a Movilidad.’
the years since 2009, 84 per cent of respondents (from a total of 342) said that the situation had worsened. This may not be a direct result of the city government’s interventions, but perhaps reflects an increasing affluence in the city and a growing use of the private car.

As a result of this analysis the Observatory concluded that despite the required legal framework ‘to assume all powers and duties on transport and transit,

‘The [city government], during these years of management, has not implemented valid citizen participation mechanisms that have allowed it to incorporate proposals and citizens’ initiatives into their public policy on mobility. This contravenes the provisions of law and order and evidences the failure to achieve inclusive public practices’ (OCM, 2013).

As a concluding remark in their report, the Observatory lays down the following challenge to citizens, which the organisation has since assumed to be its raison d’être,

‘For all these reasons we invoke and urge you, citizens and authorities, to initiate a participatory, comprehensive and inclusive process of technical and purposeful discussion around this sensitive issue, in order to, if appropriate, take immediate and urgent decisions that Quito demands’ (OCM, 2013).

**Transport emergency**

The other important action that the Observatory took was in May 2014 when they successfully petitioned the Mayor Rodas, then newly appointed in his position, to declare a ‘transport emergency’ in the city. This action resulted from their study into the effectiveness of the current BRT system which that the growing daily demand fell far short of the capacity on the buses, and that the number of operational buses had reduced from 90 in 2007 to 66 in 2013. These
two factors resulted in a high density of passengers per cubic metre (on average 9 people per cubic metre compared with international norms of 6-7 per cubic metre) (see more on overcrowding in Chapter 6). This, the Observatory argued, represented a serious reduction in the service quality warranting the declaration of a transport emergency, likening the situation to one cause by a \textit{force majeur} at an institutional level (and quoting relevant pieces of legislation). The Observatory campaigned for the Mayor to use his powers to impose ‘measures of an urgent nature’, for example the ‘direct control of works, goods or services as required to overcome the emergency situation facing the public transport system'\(^{152}\) (OCM 2014, p.8).

On 30\(^{\text{th}}\) June 2014, the Mayor Rodas did indeed declare a transport emergency in Quito and ‘announced the execution of a rescue plan at a cost of $29.5m'\(^{153}\) including new buses and the restoration of those currently out of service (\textit{El Universo}, 2014). As a result of the declaration, 40 new buses were commissioned for the BRT system and added to the fleet on 5\(^{\text{th}}\) March 2015 (\textit{El Comercio} 2014f). The aim was to reduce average crowding from 9 people per cubic metre to 6 (ibid). Remarking on the time delay between the declaration and the new buses, the head of the Observatory commented;

\begin{quote}
‘ok, [it happened] after six months or more, but I’m pleased’\(^{154}\),
\end{quote}
\textit{(Community Representative 4)}.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{152} ‘De esta manera la Municipalidad podrá contratar de manera directa, y bajo responsabilidad de la máxima autoridad, las obras, bienes o servicios, incluidos los de consultoría, que se requieran de manera estricta para superar la situación de emergencia que enfrenta en sistema Trole Bus en la actualidad’.
\textsuperscript{153} ‘anunció la ejecución de un plan de rescate a un costo de $29,5 millones’.
\textsuperscript{154} ‘ok, después de 6 meses o más, sí pero, sí me gusta’
\end{flushright}
Overall, Community Representative 4 has been forced to admit that the ‘actions taken during the emergency, “have not affected the [overall public transport] service”155. This opinion was shared by a Facebook user who declared ‘in spite of the declaration of transport emergency, changes have not been seen’156.

Thus, given the severity of the problem and declaration of an emergency, normally reserved for disasters where governments can immediately direct resources to reconstruction, the purchase of 40 additional buses is considered rather a limited response to the challenges of Quito’s public transport system.

However, despite this example demonstrating a limited take-up of the provisions in the legislation to demand grassroots change, it does demonstrate the power

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155 ‘las acciones tomadas durante la emergencia “no han incidido en el servicio” P
156 ‘Pese a la declaratorio de emergencia en el transporte metropolitan los cambios no se perciben.” Quito Vigila Facebook July 13th 2015
of an NGO which can provide evidenced-based research and leverage the
legislation to form persuasive arguments. Whether these 40 new buses would
have been purchased without the emergency declaration will never be known,
but it is possible that this action on behalf of the collective citizenship was
instrumental.

Other initiatives

The Observatory has also had success in suggesting the inclusion of public-
private partnerships (PPPs) as a funding model for further public transport
investment proposed by the new Mayor. The belief is that these are ‘a
successful strategy to achieve the most efficient transport system’ (Alarcon,
2015). This success was largely achieved by holding an ‘International Forum’
on PPPs, shortly after which the Mayor announced the creation of a Municipal
Unit for PPPs (Agencia Pública de Noticias de Quito, 2015). In his speech, the
Mayor recognised the importance of NGOs such as the Observatory when he
remarked,

‘I want to, in the first place, congratulate the organisers of this Forum
for proposing this debate about a fundamental theme to improve
mobility in our city, and in all the country and the region. The act of
encouraging discussion and presenting different points of view about
this theme is a positive initiative’ (Rodas, 2015)

From this quote, it is clear that the elected officials welcome the organisation of
events to stimulate debate about technical issues that they are grappling with.

Whether or not the PPP concept will be taken up for future transport projects

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157 “Quiero en primer lugar felicitar a los organizadores de este Foro porque están planteando el
debate sobre un tema fundamental para mejorar la movilidad no solo en nuestra ciudad sino en
todo el país y la región. El hecho de fomentar la discusión y plantear los diferentes puntos de
vista sobre este tema es una iniciativa positiva”
remains to be seen, but again, this example highlights the value of technically-proficient NGOs working between the citizen and the government to promote debate and propose ideas. The successes of the Observatory suggest that effective participation needs mobilisation and evidence.

8.7 ‘Quito de Pie’

Another mobility-focussed NGO in Quito is called ‘Quito de Pie’ or ‘Quito standing’. Rather than a formal organisation, ‘Quito de Pie’ is a ‘group of citizens with doubts about public policies and politics in general in Quito’. In February 2015, they organised a forum for discussion on the metro. It was a public event that the researcher heard about via one of her interviewees and included presentations by an academic interested in urban governance and the ex-Mayor from 2000-2009, Paco Moncayo. Relevant quotes from the event have been discussed earlier, but what is needed here is a brief discussion of why this group of individuals, noticeably anti-metro, felt the need to come together and organise an event entitled ‘Metro: challenges for the present and the future of Quito’.

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158 ‘que somos un grupo de ciudadanos con inquietudes acerca de las políticas públicas y de la política en general de Quito’
Fig 8.5. Flyer advertising the Quito de Pie event entitled ‘Metro: challenges for the present and the future of Quito’ stating the speakers, the moderator, the place and time.

As the moderator of the event said,

‘I want to insist on this, the idea of conserving, of building, of re-building spaces for debate, for public deliberation, and this exercise, this call, is basically the answer, a series of chats, sometimes between few people, sometimes between many people, where all the time we are saying that we have to do something. We have to meet each other, we have to assemble, we have to discuss, we have to invite….in order to defend spaces of discussion, of public deliberation and we need many spaces to examine, to discuss, to question also, about local issues, as well as national issues’ (Event Moderator, 2015).

159 ‘yo quiero insistir en esto, la idea de conservar, de construir, de reconstruir espacios para el debate, para la deliberación pública y este ejercicio, esta convocatoria, es básicamente la respuesta, a una serie de charlas, a veces entre menos personas, a veces un poquito más grandes, en donde todo el tiempo estamos diciendo hay que hacer algo. Hay que vernos, hay que convocar, hay que discutir, hay que invitar’….’ para defender los espacios de discusión, de
This quote is an impassioned plea for more public discussion and public involvement in political processes and decision making. It suggests a deficiency in openness between governmental processes and those citizens who wish to inform and involve themselves in political processes, linking to a lack of two-exchange between the city government and its citizens in order to affect outcomes. This speaker also noted that there was a need for ‘much more information, specialist and technical, in order to understand the implications of a project such as the metro’.

During the session, there was time for some question and answers from the audience and some of the questions raised interesting points relevant to this thesis. For example, regarding the level of information publicly available to citizens, this participant said the following,

‘Until this morning, I was really looking forward to taking my first journey on the Quito Metro. I knew the stations, and saw this project as revolutionary for the capital. However, when one has a little more information like you have presented to us, well, there is a change, a great change. And you can say that this matter is a little frightening. Therefore, I think that we have a duty to share this information in similar spaces, I think that this is the responsibility that we have, as a collective for the city; to keep producing this type of space for people to enter and understand, because people, the citizens do not know what is happening. They hear of the Metro as a myth, as a sure thing, that will come to solve and change the lives of all residents of Quito. However, there are many other considerations, as this event has exposed me to. Therefore, this is a simple invitation to repeat

160 ‘much más más mucha más información como la que ellos tiene especializada, técnica, desde el punto de vista técnica y también desde el punto de vista político que son todas las implicación que tiene un proyecto como estos’
Another participant at the event said:

‘we should raise the level of information given to all residents of Quito, because we deserve to decide about our integrated transport system’ (Q4)

The Event Moderator concluded that,

‘there is a sense that public debate has been debilitated, each time it is less, in fewer spaces, and so we are disheartened to debate….but also we share a sense that no effort should be space to recover these spaces, to reconstruct them, to do all that is necessary to restore Quito as a city vigorous in political discussion’ (Event Moderator, 2015)

While no further evidence of activity from this group has been noted in the press or social media since this event, these quotes illustrate both the poor state of citizen participation generally in Quito, but also the level of appetite there is to improve citizen engagement in issues such as the Metro. Events such as the

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161 ‘Hasta la mañana de hoy yo estaba muy ilusionado de subirme mi primer viaje en el metro de Quito, conocer las paradas, y ver este proyecto revolucionaria para la capital. Sin embargo, cuando uno tiene un poco más de información como lo que han presentado ustedes, pues hay un cambio, y cambia mucho. Y se puede decir que es un poco aterrador el asunto. Entonces, creo que tenemos el deber de compartir la información en espacios similares, creo que esa es la responsabilidad que nosotros tenemos, que el colectivo tiene con la ciudad; seguir produciendo este tipo de espacios para que la gente se entere y conozca. Porque la ciudadanía, De Pie, los ciudadanos a pie no sabe lo que está pasando. Escucha el metro como un mito, como un deber ser, como que nos va a solucionar y cambiar la vida a todos los quiteños. Sin embargo, hay muchas otras consideraciones, como las que se han expuesto en este espacio. Entonces, más bien esto es una simple invitación para que esto multiplique, y nosotros poder multiplicar este mensaje y continuando generando el debate. Sin eso sería una irresponsabilidad con el futuro de Quito’.

162 ‘debe levantarse una información que a eso encomienda a todos los quiteños y quiteñas que nos merecemos decidir sobre nuestro sistema de transporte integrado

163 ‘primero una sensación que el debate público se ha debilitado, de que es cada vez menor, de que hay pocos espacios, de que estamos desanimados de debatir….. pero también compartimos esa sensación de que no hay que escatimar esfuerzo, para recuperar esos espacios, para reconstruirlos, para hacer lo que sea necesario, para que Quito vuelva hacer una ciudad vigorosa, políticamente, en la discusión’
one organised by Quito de Pie can be useful catalysts to collective activity, and could be used to build trust between parties.

8.8 **An important bridge**

In conclusion, it is clear from these two examples and the events they have held and the initiatives they have proposed, that civil society organisations can make a difference both in terms of presenting a collective representation of the citizen voice, galvanising activity amongst the public and proposing technical solutions that are then adopted by the governments. There are risks in terms of representation as evidenced in the Section 3.7 of the Literature Review, but it is clear that organisations with some technical knowledge and the ability to pull together events with well-respected speakers can aid both mobility outcomes and participatory governance.
8.9 Conclusion

This Chapter has examined the reaction from citizens or groups representing the community to Quito’s metro project and specifically to the level of public participation within. This chapter has contributed to addressing Research Question 3c; 

To what extent can citizen-led debates embed rights-based approaches into city governance?

by examining the effectiveness of citizen participation in the planning of the Quito Metro, and grassroots processes for embedding a rights-based culture into city governance. 

Analysis of semi-structured interviews with politicians, city officials, community representatives and leaders civil-society organisations alongside transcripts from events has highlighted that despite sincere efforts by the city government at increasing awareness in the Metro project, the level of participation has not met the aspirations of the Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework nor the legal requirements of the Constitution for a two-way exchange of information. Reasons for this are numerous, complex and interlinked but include a disjuncture between official bodies who wish to present information on a completed decision and citizens who either are not aware of their rights and these decision-making processes taking place around them, or want to be more involved in the process as it evolves. The analysis found that, as in many participatory practices, it is the wealthy and educated who are most able to participate, but groups such as people with disabilities who feel left out of the
situation. Another reason for failure is that, simply put, in a project as large as a metro for a large city in a mountainous setting, there are too many stakeholders to know how to engage with successfully. The Participation Evaluation Framework provides some hints at a solution here when it states that there is a need for small-scale interventions in the short-term. Good participation cannot just happen on a large scale infrastructure project without a solid base of regular constructive participation preceding it. Much of the analysis has pointed to the fact that it takes time to develop relationships, build trust, learn from others about their view of the problem, and in the case of the metro in Quito, the decision was taken before any of the participatory events took place. As a result, civil society organisations have developed, most notably the Observatory of Citizen Mobility, which has successfully acted as a conduit between the city government and citizens as a whole, to argue for improvements to the transport system, such as the 40 new buses which could be viewed in the framework as a small-scale intervention to help build trust between parties.

The Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework has been used in this chapter to help analyse the shortcomings of citizen participation in the case study. However in parallel, the analysis from the case study has unlocked some potential refinements to the framework that could aid its future use on large scale infrastructure points in contexts with a fledging rights-based approach to governance. The first of these is the provision, or co-production, of resources to help citizens understand their rights under the rights-based approach and how they might best exercise them. The second refinement is the express reference to the role of civil-society organisations as mechanisms for building trust, taking the above example of the 40 new buses in response to
the transport emergency. Therefore, the refined framework is presented in Table 8.

Table 8.1. Revised Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Engaging a cross-section of society.</th>
<th>Does the participatory approach give all users the right to be involved in the decision and give them an equal opportunity to voice their views?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Building trust</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach use civil-society organisations to develop trust between the decision-makers and citizens by undertaking small-scale interventions in the short-term?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Supporting the community</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach support existing groups and societies with resources or funding to help them better understand and implement their rights in the rights-based approach to governance?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4. Affecting outcomes                   | Does the participatory approach give citizens the right to make suggestions that will be considered by the decision-making body?  
                                          | Does the exchange of information flow in both directions? |
| 5. Transparency of output               | Does the participatory approach give citizens the right to access sufficient information with which to understand why the chosen solution was preferred and to commit a degree of support to its implementation? |

This revised framework could be used to evaluate other rights-based approaches to large scale urban projects.
Chapter 9: Discussion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter draws together the preceding chapters in order to address the research questions proposed in Chapter 1 and relates the findings to the Literature Review. Each individual research question is considered in turn and is answered by elements of the literature review or data analysis.

The title of this thesis is ‘Inclusive Urban Mobility: participation, rights and decision-making in transport planning’ and the focus of the research is on examining the efficacy of using a rights-based approach to improve processes for the planning and operation of public transport in order to tackle the mobility challenges experienced by a growing number of urban citizens.

The key elements of this description to be discussed here are clearly the nature of a rights-based approach, mobility challenges and the planning and operation of public transport. This focus is reflected in the research questions posed at the start.

The aim of this research is to combine theories of public participation and rights-based approaches to governance with discourses on social exclusion and transport disadvantage, explored through a case study of a planned mass public transport system in Quito, a city adopting a rights-based approach to participatory governance. Three research questions framed the research.
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Research question 1: To what extent is social exclusion, particularly transport-related social exclusion, intensified by current approaches to providing mass transport systems in developing country cities?

Research question 2: What are rights-based approaches to participatory governance; and through what processes and mechanisms could they be applied to address mobility challenges?

Research question 3: Through a case study of Quito, a city adopting a rights-based approach to development, and with a planned mass public transport system:

- a. How can the understanding of transport-related social exclusion in developing country cities be advanced;
- b. To what extent can a rights-based approach to participatory governance influence the planning and operation of mass transport systems through strengthening participation, and
- c. To what extent can citizen-led debates embed rights-based approaches into participatory governance?

This chapter begins with the summary of the methodology and the research gaps, and then is structured around the three research questions. The final section presents a summarising conclusion on the overall research aim.

9.2 Chosen methodology

In order to address the research question, a case study approach was taken. By delving deep into a particular context it is possible to triangulate the data to reach a semblance of reality. Ecuador presented a natural choice given the 2008 Constitution which included a right to participation and accountability in decision-making processes. These have been argued in Chapter 4 (Research
Design) to frame the city’s rights-based approaches to political decision-making. The installation of a metro in Quito presented a good choice of a mass public transport system as, during the lifespan of this research project, it was being planned, financed, contracted and the initial phases were under construction. This timing meant that there were rich data to review and analyse, primarily policy documents and media articles, alongside numerous potential interviewees, both professionals and citizens, to speak with enabling a high degree of triangulation to understand the situation. Field work began in January 2015 for a period of three months, although data has been collated from 2009 to 2016 using newspaper articles, grey literature and government reports and press releases which were readily available on the internet. Data were coded using NVivo and the analysis has been presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

9.3 Research gaps

This research helps to address many existing research gaps;

- Using rights-based approaches to tackle mobility challenges is an under-studied area. The literature tends to focus on rights-based approaches to other policy areas such as housing, or on voluntary participatory governance techniques to transport planning.
- Much of the research on social exclusion and transport to date is focused on developed nations, and there has been limited research into transport-related social exclusion in developing country cities.
- Research on social exclusion and transport tends to consider current mobility and accessibility issues as a static phenomenon, rather than dynamic, and fails to assess the extent to which re-organisation of the
existing transport network can address these issues in parallel with or instead of a large infrastructure project such as a Metro.

- Many studies on transport disadvantage tend to focus on the individual, or at the neighbourhood level, rather than on an entire city and the collective mobility of its residents. Adopting a lens of social exclusion has allowed this research to take a more collective view.

- Much of the transport policy agenda, particularly in developed nations has been concerned with reducing the welfare burden through improving access to employment. This thesis does not focus on specific reasons for mobility but instead broadens the debate to include all forms of urban activity, maintaining that adequate mobility is essential both to enable access to employment and to maintain social networks.

- Transport appraisal still has a quantitative bias and many studies on social exclusion and transport have used a mapping approach to quantify transport need and transport provision (or lack of provision) in an attempt to measure accessibility and the effectiveness of public transport provision. This thesis takes a qualitative approach looking at the views of citizens and governments on how participatory rights-based approach can contributed to an improved understanding of transport-related social exclusion and mobility needs.

Therefore, this research makes a substantial contribution to the field by looking at the planning and operating of public transport systems from a rights-based approach to participatory governance, using qualitative methodology and focusing on an under-developed country with a ‘live’ project to study.
9.4 Research Conclusions

Research Question 1: To what extent is social exclusion, particularly transport-related social exclusion, intensified by current approaches to providing mass transport systems in developing country cities?

The objective behind this question is to understand how the current practice of decision-making in a transport planning context affects the lives of potential and current users through developing an understanding of the concept of ‘transport-related social exclusion’ and its application to developing country contexts.

The literature review lays the foundation for understanding why an alternative approach to planning, such as a rights-based approach, might be necessary. Many authors such as Hine & Mitchell (2001), Attoh (2011) and Foth et al (2013), have written of transport disadvantage, the point where a lack of transport options starts to impact on life choices, such as travelling to work, hospital, college or to visit family and friends. This concept has also been linked to social exclusion through the work of Lucas, Kenyon for example. Church et. al (2000) and Cass et al (2005) have put forward two conceptualisations of transport-related social exclusion, grouping the type of issue into categories such as physical, organisational or perception-based exclusion. Common issues include an insufficient network of public transport within the urban area, poor timetabling of services disadvantaging shift- and weekend-workers, cost and the need to buy multiple tickets for a journey. The link between transport disadvantage and transport-related social exclusion exists suggests failings of the current dominant methods of planning and operating mass transport systems, which tend to focus on service efficiency rather than social need.
The literature tells us that those groups most likely to suffer transport disadvantage are also the most likely to be affected by social exclusion, e.g. women, people with disabilities, unemployed people, single parents or the elderly, and other poor or marginalised groups. The disproportionate nature of social exclusion within already vulnerable groups in society has led to a focus in developed countries on acknowledging the need to resolve transport-related social exclusion as part of wider welfare reform agendas. However, little research has been undertaken in developing country cities where public transport ridership is high.

A review of the literature suggests reasons for this failure of the current transport planning approach to adequately address social need. Traditionally, transport projects have been assessed mainly through a cost-benefit analysis (CBAs). In brief, this is where the financial costs of a project are weighed against the economic benefits, such as time-savings. Projects with a positive score i.e. where the benefits outweigh the costs, are deemed viable, but these calculations include little consideration of social costs and benefits. For example, road-schemes involving small time savings along a busy stretch of road tend to come out favourably in CBAs as the time saved, a small number of minutes, is multiplied by the number of drivers in typically a long period of time, such as sixty years, generating a high value for economic benefits. Most current models of transport assessment are based on travel demand and not need, and are inherently biased towards higher income groups who tend to be more mobile, as Martens (2006) notes. This leaves the poorer, more vulnerable groups already likely to be facing some form of social exclusion, for example from jobs because of poor educational attainment, or a physical disability,
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unfairly disadvantaged by current decision-making practices. Consideration is neither given to the type of person who stands to benefit from a project nor how great his or her travel need is. Although, some new approaches to transport assessment have been suggested, for example Multi-Criteria analysis, in order to seek objectives of social equity and justice as advocated by authors such as Martens (2006) and Urry (2007), there is rarely the time or resources to apply these in lower-income cities, and alternative methods for assessing the social impacts of transport projects are required.

In conclusion, current approaches to the planning and operation of mass transport systems often have negative effects on the more vulnerable sections of society because the services provided do not meet their mobility needs of the urban poor. This seems to be due to a lack of consideration of the needs of people and these specific groups in the decision-making processes, which are still largely limited to economic metrics. Challenges of insufficient service provision, poor timetabling and cost are established in the literature, and specific needs of certain groups, such as people with disabilities or the elderly were highlighted in the literature. From the case study, the particular topography and mountainous setting of Quito presents a planning challenge, the unregulated and unplanned expansion of the city due to high immigration levels, and the persistence of the economic, social and cultural ‘pull’ of the city centre. Specific needs of people with disabilities or the elderly were also highlighted from the case study data.

From the literature review, drawing from Church et. al (2000) and Cass et al (2005), a hybrid model of transport-related social exclusion framework was
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developed which was tested by assessing the existing forms of social exclusion faced in the case study city of Quito. The model has been refined and revised as part of this research (see section on Research Question 3a below).

Research Question 2: *What are rights-based approaches to governance; and through what processes and mechanisms do they operate?*

This question is largely addressed through the literature review. Rights-based approaches to governance stem from an appreciation that the current system of decision-making in public policy is insufficient, and a belief that by involving the public, decisions are fairer and more relevant to the people they affect.

Public engagement in decision-making is not a new topic, but is relatively under-researched in the transport literature. Traditionally a technical engineering-based discipline, policy decisions or projects have typically fallen into the category of 'prepare-reveal-defend' as criticised by authors such as Healey (1997) and Harvey (2008). In more recent decades, at least in developed countries, there has been a move toward public participation in decision-making largely promoted by left-wing governments acting on a social conscience. Results have been mixed, as described by authors such as Bickerstaff and Walker (2005) and Elvy (2014). Many of the criticisms of public participation emanate from two simple questions; who is the public, and what is participation?

Habermas (1991) described the difficulties of representation, recognising that those who can and do get involved in participatory exercises tend to be people confident in putting their views across, sometimes to the exclusion of others’ views, experienced in formulating arguments, and also they are people who can
afford the time to attend events, so they are not people who need every hour to make ends meet. Bickerstaff and Walker (2005) also suggest that the people with loud voices tend to dominate the discussion and the search for consensus thereby reinforcing the unequal power dynamic. Contentions over ensuring a representative spread of people on any steering group to represent the wider public remain as valid today as then and there are few examples where governments can truly say that they have engaged with the public.

Similarly, limitations exist on how the act of participation is defined. In 1969 Arnstein devised the renowned 'ladder' showing various levels of citizen engagement from simple information provision through consultation to partnership working, moving up the ladder to citizen control. All of these approaches to participation exist currently but are variable in terms of their intention and extent. For example, it would be hard to argue that by informing the public of a project, there is any interest in gathering their views, let alone an intention to include their views in the decision-making process. However, in a partnership model of public participation, higher up the Arnstein ladder, it would be reasonable to expect some degree of involvement in the decision and an intention to include the views of the public alongside those of the technicians and politicians. Therefore, what is understood to be participation is variable.

A rights-based approach, which is the researcher’s term for decision-making legislative-backed approaches affording a legal right of public participation\textsuperscript{164},

\textsuperscript{164} Although there is some discussion in the literature of the phenomenon entitled the Right to the City, this has not featured in this thesis other than in a small section in the literature review because the consensus amongst the literature is that it is yet to be defined in a way that can be used empirically. Mayer (2009) states that it is not a legally enforceable concept and is more of
therefore pushes the focus of participation towards the top of Arnstein’s ladder; the partnership/citizen control end. It is here that we find discussions of the ‘right to the city’ (e.g Harvey, 2008) and attempts to embed this right into transport studies (e.g. Attoh 2011, 2012). However, the right to the city largely remains a contested concept, difficult to define and implement, or to apportion accountability. However, the literature suggests that a right to citizen participation written into legislation and embedded through governance processes and institutional structures can strengthen participatory approaches. By using legislation as a mechanism and devising governance processes for delivery, for example accountability procedures, a rights-based approach starts to have the ability to affect change by re-balancing the power dynamic between citizen and government.

Using the literature review of participatory practices and combining it with the rights agenda a Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework was developed. This framework provided the basis for an analytical review of the practices and processes employed in the case study. Following analysis of the case study, this framework was modified and is presented in response to Research Questions 3b and 3c.

In conclusion, the type of rights-based approach considered here are those embedded in legislation. The establishment of a legal right to participation enables civil-society organisations and individuals to strengthen their voice in government decision-making. Furthermore, embedding the right in legislation a moral claim. Therefore, despite one reference to it in Ecuador’s constitution, the focus of the rights-based approach here has been on legally enforceable rights to public participation.
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creates a responsibility for the government to develop a governance framework
to administer the right. In particular in relation to transport planning, a rights-
based approach enables governance structures to address transport need,
rather than planning for demand-driven transport services. In addressing need,
people’s fundamental need for mobility to support other functions of everyday
life is recognised.

Research Question 3: This is divided into three sub-sections

*Through a case study of a city adopting a rights-based approach to
development, and with a planned mass public transport system:

a. How can the understanding of transport-related social
   exclusion in developing country cities be advanced;

Using the hybrid transport-related social exclusion categorisation developed in
Chapter 2, data collated from the field in Quito was used to test this
conceptualisation as a framework for describing people’s perceptions of existing
transport-related social exclusion in the city. Chapter 6 analyses data drawn
from seventy structured interviews, interviews with representatives from civil
society organisations and academic institutions, focus groups with distinct
groups of residents and media analysis. The data showed that the
conceptualisation broadly corroborated the situation in Quito. From
questionnaires completed by seventy residents, it was clear that transport-
related social exclusion exists in Quito. In this city, where car ownership,
although increasing, is still low, the causes of social exclusion related largely to
systemic issues of the transport network, rather than individual issues of income
(although the existence of a physical disability is considered to be a key
indicator of social exclusion). The main issues faced by residents related to the
inadequate and imbalanced coverage of mass transport in the city, both the
BRTs and buses, largely a result of the topography and geography of the city (Quito is a narrow, linear city surrounded by volcanic mountains), but also the unplanned expansion areas to the north and south of the city located on steep hillsides difficult to access with a bus. The persistence of a 'hypercentre', a central business district to which the majority of the city residents need to travel on a daily basis for work, education, retail or leisure purposes drives high levels of travel demand from all areas in the city.

The other main challenges for the transport system stem from its popularity, or at least the level of dependence residents of the city have on the current bus and BRT network. Issues of overcrowding, particularly during peak hours were common, and the linked issue of the perception of crime, mainly petty theft and assault. Evidence was found that wealthier residents are choosing to buy cars as a response to issues of overcrowding. However, increases in traffic this contribute to issues of pollution and congestion both for car drivers and for those using buses, as there are few segregated bus lines apart from a few central sections of the existing BRT routes. Issues of overcrowding were particularly severe for people in wheelchairs, blind people and the elderly who spoke about trouble alighting onto a BRT service in the short time that the doors open, challenges of not finding a seat, and cultural issues of other passengers pushing them out of the way to access the service first.

These four predominant issues (insufficient network coverage, high travel demand, overcrowding and the perception of crime), alongside the absence of cost as an issue, suggest that the models of transport-related social exclusion devised for developed nations, may not be directly transferrable to less-
developed nations. From the case study, the particular topography of Quito presents a planning challenge, as does the persistence of the economic, social and cultural dominance of the city centre, and the city’s current rate of growth due to high immigration levels. The specific needs of people with disabilities and the elderly were also highlighted from the case study data, for example adequate infrastructure for wheelchairs and sufficient time to board and alight the buses.

Therefore, the conceptualised hybrid transport-related social exclusion framework developed in Chapter 2 was found to be largely applicable to the case study and useful in terms of highlighting the complexity of social exclusion as a phenomenon. However, as the analysis showed, there was much overlap between the two sub-categories of ‘organisational exclusion’ and ‘operational exclusion’ which resulted in the split between this two categories being largely arbitrary. Similarly, the split between the incidence of theft or assault (operational exclusion) and the perceived risk of a threat (perception-based exclusion) was deemed unnecessary. At the time of devising the hybrid categorisation, it seemed important to distinguish factors that were under the direct control of the businesses supplying the transport system, as opposed to factors that might be affected by external sources. This explains the initial split between organisational exclusion, including where a bus service runs, to operational exclusion, which includes reliability. However, these external factors affecting the operations are many and range can from the level of income of one user to whether there is political will to seek a reduced fare subsidy agreement with the operators.
Therefore, a revised framework emerged from the fieldwork and data analysis of existing attributes of transport-related social exclusion in Quito that can be considered to be more appropriate to developing Latin American cities, using four categories, one on factors relating to the individual, such as disability, age and affordability, a second on collective exclusion experience by specific groups, a third on issues relating to the planning of the public transport service, and the final category relating to the operation of the service (See Section 6.9 and Table 6.1 (for ease reproduced again below).
Table 6.1 Revised hybrid conceptualisation of transport-related social exclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclusion caused by factors relating to the individual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Personal characteristics of the individual that affects their risk of social exclusion – e.g. their age, gender, level of disability, level of income and where they live.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The notion of agency and limitations derived from the perceptions of individuals that public transport travel is arduous or inconvenient.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective exclusion of specific groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Impacts caused by the collective characteristics of a community, for example, new immigrants moving into a particularly isolated part of the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Political will, priorities and governance arrangements for decision-making, which may exclude certain groups or communities.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclusion related to the planning of the public transport service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Spatial design of the transport system throughout an urban area, including localities and neighbourhoods experiencing poor transport access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Spatial design of the urban area, for example whether the city has a monocentric or polycentric design will determine the shape and frequency of travel patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Impacts caused by the collective characteristics of a community, for example, new immigrants moving into a particularly isolated part of the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Physical design of facilities and vehicles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Political will, priorities and governance arrangements for decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The presence, absence, or loss of a subsidy on the cost of using public transport.</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exclusion related to the operation of the service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• How public transport systems are governed, managed and organised, who runs them, when they operate, their reliability and punctuality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The impact of issues such as journey time, service frequency/duration, cost, comfort, instances of personal theft and traffic accidents on a person’s willingness and ability to travel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The presence of overcrowding on services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Concerns for personal safety and security and perceived risks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By dividing the framework into actors, it is more straightforward to consider whether the solution lies within the individual, the community, planning of the system, or some failure in how the system is operated, and therefore whether the solution is one to be commissioned or regulated, or one to be dealt with by social policy e.g. subsidised taxi transport for all people with disabilities. It is proposed that this categorisation would help to define the sources and nature of exclusion which would also help to identify possible remedies. Therefore, the revised model of transport-related social exclusion is provided for further research in developing country cities.

b. To what extent can a rights-based approach to participatory governance influence the planning and operation of mass transport systems through strengthening participation?

The chosen case study does have a strong rights-based and participatory approach to governance enshrined in legislation. This is documented in Chapter 5 and relies on the existence of rights to public participation in the 2008 Constitution and the Law of Citizen Participation (2010). The topography and rapid growth of Quito means that it is difficult to provide an effective and equitable public transport system. The new Constitution introduced two main elements central to this research – the rights-based approach to governance, and the devolution of transport decisions to local government. With early adoption of BRT lines focussing mainly on the historic core of the city and high rates of mass transport use, people living peripheral regions including those newly developed parts of the city remain affect by poor mobility options.

Chapter 7 draws on data from two focus groups, analysis of technical documents relating to the metro and the organisation that is developing it,
participant observation of metro-related events and media analysis. It focuses on the government’s approach to participation on the metro project. City officials are highly committed to participatory approaches, and there is evidence of activity in embedding this approach into practice, for example through citizen assemblies, citizen watchdogs and the accountability procedures, but – as the research found – there are many challenges of implementation. Referring back to Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation (1969), while the citizen assemblies and citizen watchdogs fall into the top category of ‘degrees of citizen power’ and are relatively aligned with the spirit of the legislation, the ‘Offering of Accounts’ approach remains a tokenistic activity focussed on information provision.

The Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework developed from the literature in Chapter 3, and the several requirements of the Law of Participation (2010) were used as a framework in the case study to assess government approaches to participation. There are five elements of the framework all of which were tested against four participatory activities led by the city government in promotion of the metro project, and against the citizen response and citizen-led counter activities relating to the mobility challenges faced. Four significant government-led processes associated with the metro planning were assessed, mostly from documentary analysis, as the key events happened some time ago and were not widely known even amongst experts and activists. First was the Social Impact Study, prepared by PR consultants after a decision to proceed with the metro had been taken. Despite stated objectives to the contrary, this appeared to focus on identifying which groups were most likely to object to the project, not on mitigating impacts. Second was the Offering of Accounts, the annual reporting process required of all government organisations, which
improved over the three years available in the research (2012-2015), but was still geared towards information-giving rather than public appraisal of the process. Third were the consultation activities initiated by the City Government – mostly after the decision to proceed with the metro had been taken, and fourth was the information provided, including the rather popularised radio show by then Mayor Rodas who won power in 2014.

In terms of the planning and operation of mass transport systems, as specified in the research question, there is evidence from this research that the rights-based approach to governance is not yet implemented as intended in the legislation. The decision to invest in a metro was taken *in camera*, poorly constructed citizen participation efforts were started too late and although the government insists that there are benefits to society of the project, little has been done to engage with a wide cross-section of residents of Quito. Additionally, no changes have been made to the project on the basis of citizen views. This relates back to the distinction made by Ross between active and passive citizenship and suggests that the actions of the city government are either not encouraging nor expecting activity within the citizens.

The project instead falls into the category of ‘prepare-reveal-defend’ where the Mayor and City Government defended the decision (of the previous administration and their decision to enshrine the project as an election commitment) through the provision of information on finance deals and a justification of the chosen route. The role of politics cannot be ignored in the decision to build a metro, as well as the expectation of passive citizens who have not engaged in the participation activities associated with the Metro. As
discussed in Chapter 4, the city government consists of multiple political parties, and is usually at odds with the composition of the national government. The presumed justification of a project being necessary for a capital city and the visibility of the metro project in the incumbent Mayor’s election campaign point to a strong element of political prestige overshadowing the technical elements of the decision. A different decision might have emerged from a decision-making process based on active citizens helping via representative democracy to identify the public’s needs and the prevalence of transport-related social exclusion in the city, which included a large number of small-scale and targeting improvements to the existing system, rather than a limited coverage of a high-cost metro that fails to reach areas where social exclusion is most acute.

Despite concerns about a lack of integration with the wider transport network, and impacts on cultural heritage plus unanswered questions on the cost of the fare or specific provisions for people with disabilities, there is no evidence from this research, that despite attempts at participation, the city government intended to engage with their citizens on these project details nor that they were prepared to listen to and incorporate their views.

c. To what extent can citizen-led debates embed rights-based approaches into participatory governance?

Chapter 8 reviewed the activities and views of citizens of Quito in relation to the metro project, and the level of public participation involved, drawing on primary data from semi-structured interviews, focus groups and participant observation, alongside analysis of grey literature and media analysis. Again, the Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework was used as a framework to analyse
the data. In addition to the general analysis in this chapter two core dimensions were explored – indicated as important in the literature review – the specific needs of disadvantage groups including the disabled and elderly, and the role of civil society organisations in creating a voice and encouraging participation for marginalised groups who would not otherwise know how to contribute to participatory exercises.

The chapter concluded that despite efforts of the city government, residents did not feel as though their views were being requested on solutions to the mobility challenges they face, and perhaps more concerning was that they felt that their views would not be taken into account, even if they were required, reflecting a perceived lack of impact on the output of any decision-making exercise. The chapter discussed several possible reasons for this, including the difficult for the city government to engage with the large number of stakeholders affected by a project the scale of a new metro line, and a lack of awareness of the rights that citizens are able to exert. However, the difficulties of achieving effective participation were also recognised, especially the cost implications for lower-income households.

However, analysis also found that the current and potential role of civil society organisations is driving change in the decision-making process. Change is needed both in terms of the level of citizen awareness and their engagement and there is evidence in this research that organisations such as Quito de Pie have encouraged debate in the public sphere. Contemporary social movements can challenge and redraw the frontiers of the traditional political system, for example, state power, political parties, formal institutions, by challenging their
legitimacy and accepted manners of working (Escobar et al. 2018). Secondly, change is needed in actual mobility outcomes, and although the example may be a limited one by their own words, the actions of the Citizen Observatory for Mobility in lobbying for the legal declaration of a transport emergency was critical in delivering forty extra buses. Similarly, this organisation has successfully proposed the use of innovative public-private partnership funding for future mass transport projects. Without the interventions of this organisation, those changes in the provision of transport services may not have occurred, and provide a basis for the building of trust between governments and the general public with which they can build better two-way participative processes.

The case study demonstrates that giving citizens the right to participate in public policy making through legislative changes, such as the 2008 Constitution and the Law of Citizen Participation (2010), necessitates that governments devote time and resources to how best to meet the demands of such a right, and that departments, job roles and processes are established to administer the right. A right is something bestowed from one to another and so it is understandable that the government, as the bestower of rights, initiates the change. That said, ‘bottom up’ citizen approaches to demand increased citizen participation and re-balance the decision-making power are warranted in many cases.

Despite the problems of participation identified through application of the framework for participation, there are two important points to note, which perhaps provide the rationale behind the limited success of the participatory approaches. One is that processes take time to embed, and culture takes time to change. Chapter 8 recognises the role that the citizen plays in decision-
making needs to change to take on the responsibility bestowed on them by these rights. In a situation where residents are used to feeling ignored by their governments, generational change is required until citizens can participate meaningfully, including objectively representing views and accepting technical change, and have the confidence that the city government will act on their views. It is this cultural change that civil society organisations can help foster, and it would be wrong to expect that within a short time period after the introduction of a legal right to public participation, the processes should follow best practice.

Similarly, culture change is required in the city government to move to a position where they want to involve the public and incorporate their views, and recognise the limitations of the approach adopted so far. The contrast between the city officials’ view of their (successful) participation initiatives outlined in Chapter 7, and the citizens’ view in Chapter 8 is stark. Quito’s city government is trying to establish processes for improving engagement, such as citizen watchdogs for service quality in public transport, but these processes take time to embed and to deliver results. As Bickerstaff and Walker (2005) noted in 2005:

‘Public involvement is not, to date, allowing change of the procedural system itself or contesting the power of these systems or the expert discourses that underpin them. Rather, what we are witnessing is a ‘jarring’ between the ideals of participatory democracy and the realities of representative democracy. (2005, p.2140)

Bickerstaff and Walker argue that political enthusiasm for participatory governance needs to increase in order to invigorate civic society and citizens to participate in practices of democratic decision-making. This would require a two-fold culture change, both on the side of government and public. However,
as Watts and Fitzpatrick has found in their work on homelessness, policies employing a rights-based approach work if everyone is equally deserving and there is a process to follow (Watts and Fitzpatrick, 2013). Thus a legally enforceable approach such as the one Ecuador is following is a good approach to improving rights-based and participatory approaches to governance.

The second point that is relevant here is to recognise the role of civil-society organisations, armed with technical and/or legal knowledge which can act as a catalyst for change. The existence of mediators such as the Citizen Observatory for Mobility and groups such as Quito de Pie demonstrate that there is a will from the public to engage in these processes, but that perhaps presenting a collective voice is easier in the outset, both from the logical viewpoint of time and resources, but also whilst there is uncertainty about how city governments might react to opening up their governance processes. The literature points to the fact that the civil service organisations must remain at an arm’s length from government and will only succeed in engaging with government if they are well-resourced and not seen as a campaign or lobby group. The case study also shows the successes of these organisations, particularly the Citizen Observatory for Mobility in using evidence and their professionalism to highlight the mobility challenges faced by residents to the Mayor which resulted in an additional forty buses being added to the network. This example demonstrates how, reflecting on the framework, civil society organisations can be instrumental in building trust between governments and residents by securing small-scale ‘quick win’ projects.
In respect of the participation evaluation framework, some refinements were suggested to highlight the need for governments to provide support and resources to community groups and individuals to ensure they understand the rights that they have to participate in public policy. The proposed amendment to the framework suggests explicit reference to the use of civil-society organisations as means to build trust between governments and the public, particularly through pushing for small-scale interventions in the short-term. The revised framework is presented in Section 8.10 (reproduced below for ease).

Table 8.1 Revised Rights-Based Participation Evaluation Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Engaging a cross-section of society.</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach give all users the right to be involved in the decision and give them an equal opportunity to voice their views?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Building trust</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach use civil-society organisations to develop trust between the decision-makers and citizens by undertaking small-scale interventions in the short-term?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Supporting the community</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach support existing groups and societies with resources or funding to help them better understand and implement their rights in the rights-based approach to governance?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Affecting outcomes</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach give citizens the right to make suggestions that will be considered by the decision-making body? Does the exchange of information flow in both directions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Transparency of output</td>
<td>Does the participatory approach give citizens the right to access sufficient information with which to understand why the chosen solution was preferred and to commit a degree of support to its implementation?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus, despite the finding that rights-based approaches are not delivering for mobility challenges in Quito, time may bring incremental change towards a more balanced power relation between citizens and the state.

9.5 Core findings

Returning to the broad aim of this research, to explore theories of public participation and rights-based approaches to governance with discourses on social exclusion and transport disadvantage, explored through the case study of a planned mass public transport in Quito the core findings can be summarised as follows.

- Existing conceptualisations of transport related social exclusion examined in the literature review did not deal well with developing country contexts. A hybrid model was developed, analysed and revised to create an actor-led model which advances the understanding of transport related social exclusion in these contexts. This actor-led model helps to appreciate how current approaches to the provision of mass transport intensifies social exclusion.

- Rights-based approaches to participation in governance mechanisms can address transport-related social exclusion and mobility challenges. Drawing on both the literature and the legal framework promoting participation in Quito, a Rights-based Participation Evaluation Framework was developed and tested. Analysis found that although Quito’s metro project fell into the ‘prepare-reveal-defend’ model of decision making, there were genuine attempts by the city government
to initiate participation. Some initiatives took place at the wrong time, i.e. after the decision was made, and others were overly complex i.e. the formulaic process of the ‘Offering of Accounts’. Therefore, awareness-raising about good models of participation is required amongst the decision-makers. In addition, cultural change is required for residents to embrace a new open government.

- Civil society organisations hold a central opportunity in building a bridge between the state and the public. Through their professionalism, they can collate and use evidence effectively to lobby governments for actions, for example the forty new buses as a result of the transport emergency. They can also act as mediators to present a collective voice, something that a dispersed group of residents might struggle to do.

- Through the analysis both the hybrid model assessing transport-related social exclusion and the Rights-based Participation Evaluation Framework assessing government approaches to participation were refined for application to different case studies.

9.6 **Implications and further research**

This research has contributed knowledge to addressing research gaps on governance approaches to addressing mobility challenges in an urban less-developed country context. It has presented qualitative data on the views of the public, the actions of the government and the critique by the media to triangulate a conclusion close to reality. The research has used an example of
a large infrastructure project in a context of a rights-based approach to decision-making to formulate these conclusions. It is a unique piece of research on the use of rights-based approaches to tackle urban mobility challenges through a large transport infrastructure project.

There are a number of academic and practice-related implications from this research. Firstly, conceptualisations of transport-related social exclusion devised for developed nations are not directly relevant for developing contexts where public transport use is so high, the cost of travel is often subsidised, and transport provision is highly politicised.

From a practice point of view, this research makes it clear that legislation alone is insufficient to drive a rights-based approach, and that substantial resources are needed to devise processes and mechanisms for embedding these rights and their uptake into the decision-making processes, in which both municipal governments and civil society organisations have a key role to plan. Change is required on both sides of the discussion table; governments need to improve their level of engagement with citizens and demonstrate a genuine desire to include their views into the decisions taken. Citizens must become aware of their new rights, but also must take the responsibility of citizen participation seriously by contributing meaningfully and objectively.

Again from a practice point of view, support needs to be available to civil-society organisations to help in this redistribution of decision-making power. These organisations are building experience in citizen engagement as well as the effective lobbying of governments.
Further research is required using additional case studies – perhaps where rights-based approaches are not so clearly entrenched in legislation – to understand successes and pitfalls of other types of citizen participation that may be more effective than rights-based approaches. These successes and pitfalls are likely to be centred on discussions of appropriate representation and accountability.

Ultimately, this research has the potential to underpin further research to understand the link between transport-related social exclusion, the design of transport infrastructure projects and the potential of citizen participation to help overcome mobility challenges in developing countries. Through this qualitative research, a different perspective has been considered on mobility challenges in developing country cities and the efficacy of a rights-based approaches to resolution. There is much more that can be researched in terms of using rights-based approaches in this way, and of particular interest would be a study examining approaches to resolving mobility challenges in a particular neighbourhood within a city or for a particular societal group, for example people with disabilities.
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Last Accessed 2nd January 2018.


## Appendices

### 1. Spreadsheet of questionnaire data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Place, Casa de Sucre</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Observation</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Journey time total (mins)</th>
<th>Interchang</th>
<th>Waiting time (mins)</th>
<th>Daily cost ($)</th>
<th>Problems 1</th>
<th>Problems 2</th>
<th>Problems 3</th>
<th>Problem 4</th>
<th>Difficulty 5 access places by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.18am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>Denys</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>South of Quito</td>
<td>University or Museo de la Defensa</td>
<td>Trolley-take a day</td>
<td>60 mins to University from home, 20 mins to the Museum</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Too many people on the bus, not enough space, he waits for the next bus if really busy</td>
<td>Insufficient services, especially in peak hours, lots of people making the same journey (south-centre)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.23am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>George</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>South of Quito</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>3 buses</td>
<td>1h 30m (1st journey 10mins, 2nd 20mins, 3rd 00-60mins)</td>
<td>2 changes</td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>Lack of space</td>
<td>Need to change buses and wait.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.26am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>Jorge</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bario: San Carlos (norte)</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>20-35mins to catch a bus (there are no timetables so it just has to wait)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>Too many people</td>
<td>Lack of services</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.29am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bario: Istanda (sur)</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Trolley</td>
<td>1080m</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Too many people</td>
<td>Unsafe</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.32am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>Javier</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Mid 30s</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bario: Nacion (norte)</td>
<td>Work at the museum</td>
<td>Bus integrated (bus) There is no Trolé</td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>20mins (with traffic could be 30mins) Only 4 services an hour</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>Buses are full/too many people</td>
<td>Lack of services</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.36am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>Oscar</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>La Marin (south)</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>6460m</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>Security (especially at night)</td>
<td>Too many people</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.40am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>c. 30 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>San Jose (norte)</td>
<td>Museo</td>
<td>3 buses</td>
<td>1h 40m (when there is little traffic)</td>
<td>two changes</td>
<td>1 change</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Too many people, lack of connectivity between services</td>
<td>Traffic slowing down travel times</td>
<td>Needs to travel to the city centre for all services</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.44am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>Evelyn</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>South of Quito</td>
<td>Secondary school (which is in the same sector)</td>
<td>Bus (normal)</td>
<td>2880m</td>
<td>1 change</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Too many people, no space (security an issue)</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.47am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>Caroline</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bicentenario (norte)</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Trolley</td>
<td>1 mins (3 stops)</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>3 or 6</td>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>Buses are old</td>
<td>Lack of services</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>31.1.15</td>
<td>11.50am</td>
<td>Museo de la Defensa,</td>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cotocollao</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Metrobus and</td>
<td>10 mins in the 3 chanoas</td>
<td>10 mins to wait</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Too many</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Questionnaire Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Observation</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Journey time total (mins)</th>
<th>Interchange</th>
<th>Waiting time (mins)</th>
<th>Daily cost ($)</th>
<th>Problems 1</th>
<th>Problems 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>2:54pm</td>
<td>Asociación de Jubilados</td>
<td>Galo</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40 years</td>
<td>La America</td>
<td>Historic centre</td>
<td>Trole and bus</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>Too many</td>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>3:02pm</td>
<td>Asociación de Jubilados</td>
<td>Guillermo</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>Plaza Grande</td>
<td>Sector Lucha de las Potreras</td>
<td>Trole and bus 'trasbordo'</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>At El Recreo</td>
<td>30 depends on traffic</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Too many</td>
<td>Not enough buses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>3:06pm</td>
<td>Asociación de Jubilados</td>
<td>Cespedes</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>San Juan (right)</td>
<td>El Recreo</td>
<td>Metrobus</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Unsafe</td>
<td>Bad move</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>3:09pm</td>
<td>Asociación de Jubilados</td>
<td>Santos</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>La Matatalena (sutil)</td>
<td>Historic centre</td>
<td>Metrobus</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>None (soy solido)</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>3:14pm</td>
<td>Asociación de Jubilados</td>
<td>Cesar</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>Tocucho</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Bus integrado</td>
<td>15 to 20</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Unsafe</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
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<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>3:16pm</td>
<td>Asociación de Jubilados</td>
<td>Jose</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>Carapungo (norte)</td>
<td>Historic centre</td>
<td>Trole and almacentador</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Too many</td>
<td>Unsafe of delivery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>3:18pm</td>
<td>Asociación de Jubilados</td>
<td>Victoriano</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>El Tejar (norte)</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Trole and bus</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Sometimes Rapitans</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
<td></td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>3:22pm</td>
<td>Asociación de Jubilados</td>
<td>Jose</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>El Recreo</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Trole and 2 buses</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>Waiting times</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>4:43pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Giovanni</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20-30 years</td>
<td>Solanda (suth)</td>
<td>To the north</td>
<td>Trole, Ecova, Metrobus</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>Pushing</td>
<td>Too many moves</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:19pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Monica</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40 years</td>
<td>Wheelchair</td>
<td>Ramíno</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Trole, Ecova, Metrobus</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Up to 120 mins (particularly in the morning when there's lots of people)</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Bad behaviour by other people, Wheelchair moves not caught</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:24pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Ruth</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40 years</td>
<td>Wheelchair</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>Trole</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Up to 60 mins at night</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Too many</td>
<td>Unsafe of delivery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:27pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>Tocucho</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Unsafe, Inlining</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:33pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Joso</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Bus coliguloso</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Too many</td>
<td>Lots of pushers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:36pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Edgar</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>Wheelchair, 5 blocks from home to work, Historic Centre</td>
<td>Trole</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Not enough drop kits</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:41pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Hilda</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>Callaos del</td>
<td>Historic centre</td>
<td>Metrobus</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>Much</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:44pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Hilda Belia</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>over 65 years</td>
<td>La Vineda</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>Unsafe, bad mannered people</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:45pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Teresa</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50 years</td>
<td>Partially sighted</td>
<td>Balcon de</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Metrobus</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>Unsafe, bad mannered people</td>
<td>Too less people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:46pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Cristina</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>16-21 years</td>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>La Plazuela</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>Too many</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>10.2.15</td>
<td>5:54pm</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario San Marcos - meeting of Fundación Vitara-PCD</td>
<td>Soledad</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40 years</td>
<td>Always travels</td>
<td>La Merca Dos</td>
<td>Historic Centre</td>
<td>Metrobus</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>Too many</td>
<td>Inlining</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendices

Gayle Wootton
2. Nvivo coding evidence
14 de septiembre de 2014 21:38

La falta de cobertura de buses de servicio público en las zonas altas del Distrito sería cubierta por un medio de transporte alternativo: el metrocable.

Se trata de una cabina porcelana del teléfono que se desplaza con un cable aéreo. Servirá para movilizar a quienes viven en estos lugares. Inicialmente, la propuesta municipal está enfocada en seis sectores: La Roldó, Pasil, San Juan, La Libertad, Chilhilco y La Argelia.

Los moradores de estos sitios están acostumbrados a bajar las cuestas al río para buscar un medio de transporte. Las calles empapadas de Chilhilco, en el sur, y San Juan, en el Centro, hacen que los conductores de buses y taxis no cubran partes de estas zonas o incrementen las tarifas. Ante esto la gente opta por caminar o utilizar el servicio informal (carros particulares). En el primer sector, los moradores que viven al costado de la calle Virgen Para deben caminar hasta media hora para llegar a la calle Chilhilco y hacer un transporte. Los buses de servicio urbano no cubren la zona alta.

Víctor Cumbal, habitante, contó que en la vía principal se puede abordar un bus o taxi. Las tarifas oscilan entre USD 0,25 y 1,5.

En San Juan, Sonia Arm, residente de la calle Joel Monroy, pasando la 19 de Junio, desciende a diario una cuesta para tomar un bus y llegar al centro o norte.
que satisfacción para nuestra ciudad poder albergar este foro, que trata un tema fundamental y sin duda de enorme transcendencia en la actualidad, para nuestra Ciudad, aquí. Ustedes conocen, nuestra administración está comprometida, con impulsar un proyecto del metro, para el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito. El primer sistema de metro en el Ecuador, estamos trabajando con mucho entusiasmo, con mucha dedicación, para convertir este gran proyecto, en una realidad y hemos dado pasos decisivos en ese sentido, por lo tanto el poder discutir temas relacionados con la innovación en este tipo de sistemas de transporte, y los aspectos que a través del permite mejorar, la calidad de vida de los ciudadanos, es absolutamente fundamental, y resulta además oportuno, por lo que estamos viendo en nuestra ciudad. El avance hacia este proyecto de tanta transcendencia, yo quiero en primer lugar agradecer a Alamsy, por la participación en este foro, por la declaratoria que nos acaban de entregar mediante la cual se apoya, el proyecto del metro, para el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito, y para nosotros es fundamental, nutrimos, de las experiencias positivas de sistemas de metros, en otras ciudades de América Latina, y por supuesto contar, con el contingente técnico, y todo el respaldo de una organización de, alto prestigio como es Alamsy, así que quisiera agradecer profundamente, por esta declaratoria que, lo que hace es, financiar, consolidar el proceso de nuestra ciudad, hacia la construcción, de un sistema de metro, sin duda, es un apoyo muy importante, el que hemos recibido, el día de hoy, por parte de Alamsy, y por eso reitero el agradecimiento, a nombre de nuestra ciudad. Para nosotros la discusión de estos temas, es tremendamente útil, habremos tomado nota, de todo lo que se comentó hoy, de experiencias tan positivas, en ciudades hermanas, de América Latina, que sin duda, fortalecen, contribuyen, a que este camino que hemos emprendido, sea un
Geography and Planning

Appendices 381 Gayle Wootton

una parada y coger otro, el alimentador, si (el alimentador); por eso, el transporte aquí en Quito, se ha vuelto un caos, por lo complejo que es la ciudad muy pequeña, incluso en el Quito Colonial es difícil que nosotros vayamos rápido.

NH: muchas gracias.

F1: Para mí el transporte, es básico, porque todos los días tengo que trasladarme a mi lugar de trabajo, y en ocasiones si se demora, sé uno hay que salir con tiempo para coger el bus normal, por lo tanto es necesario a veces utilizar el Sistema Integrado, entonces ahí es cuando hay muchos problemas, porque le aprueban mucho a uno, y tiene que tener cuidado de las cosas, y todo, pero es el único de via, que tiene vía libre, y si yo cojo un taxi, por ejemplo: se me demora más, y me toca pagar mucho más de lo que pago los 25 centavos, me voy a la casa, pero, llega a tiempo al lugar de trabajo, por ejemplo: en mi caso, entonces es prioritario el transporte público.

NH: Alguna otra opinión, allá le estás pidiendo.

M1: Yo voy a remarcar,

M4: en mi caso hablando de transporte, sobre todo nosotros, en mi edad, ya me es imposible tomar un taxi, porque, muchos pasan vacios y viendo a uno no le cogen, un bus poco, porque es más peligroso en este caso, dado que la incoherencia de los señores choferes, como le tratan a una persona mayor, ahora he optado por coger un carro particular, porque aparte de los taxis, hay otros que se prestan y prestan buen servicio, como ejecutivos dice usted, eso sí, (NH: como ejecutivos, claro), eso es lo que en este momento está pasando, sobre todo con nosotros de la tercera edad,

NH: alguna otra intervención.

Ya vea yo quisiera.