

**Understanding Urban Inequality: A Comparative Analysis of
Three Cases from Quito, Ecuador**

by

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ABSTRACT

Cities exist within unique socio-spatial contexts, acting as magnifiers of larger socioeconomic processes and relationships. This thesis explores the history of urban inequality in Ecuador and its relationship to inequality in Latin America. It offers a comparative analysis of attempts by various actors to address urban inequalities in Metropolitan Quito: the first case is the Environmental Sanitation Program, a top-down project funded by the Inter-American Development Bank; the second is the Program of Participatory Urban Agriculture, a project administered by the City of Quito that takes a middle-ground approach to local-skills development; and the third case, the Association of Women Fighting for Life, uses a grassroots approach to create low-income housing. A critical analysis of the effects of these projects to address physical, state, and socio-cultural barriers and contribute to socio-economic empowerment is used to offer a series of lessons-learned about how to overcome urban inequalities in Quito and elsewhere.

Key terms: urban studies; urban development; socio-economics; urban empowerment

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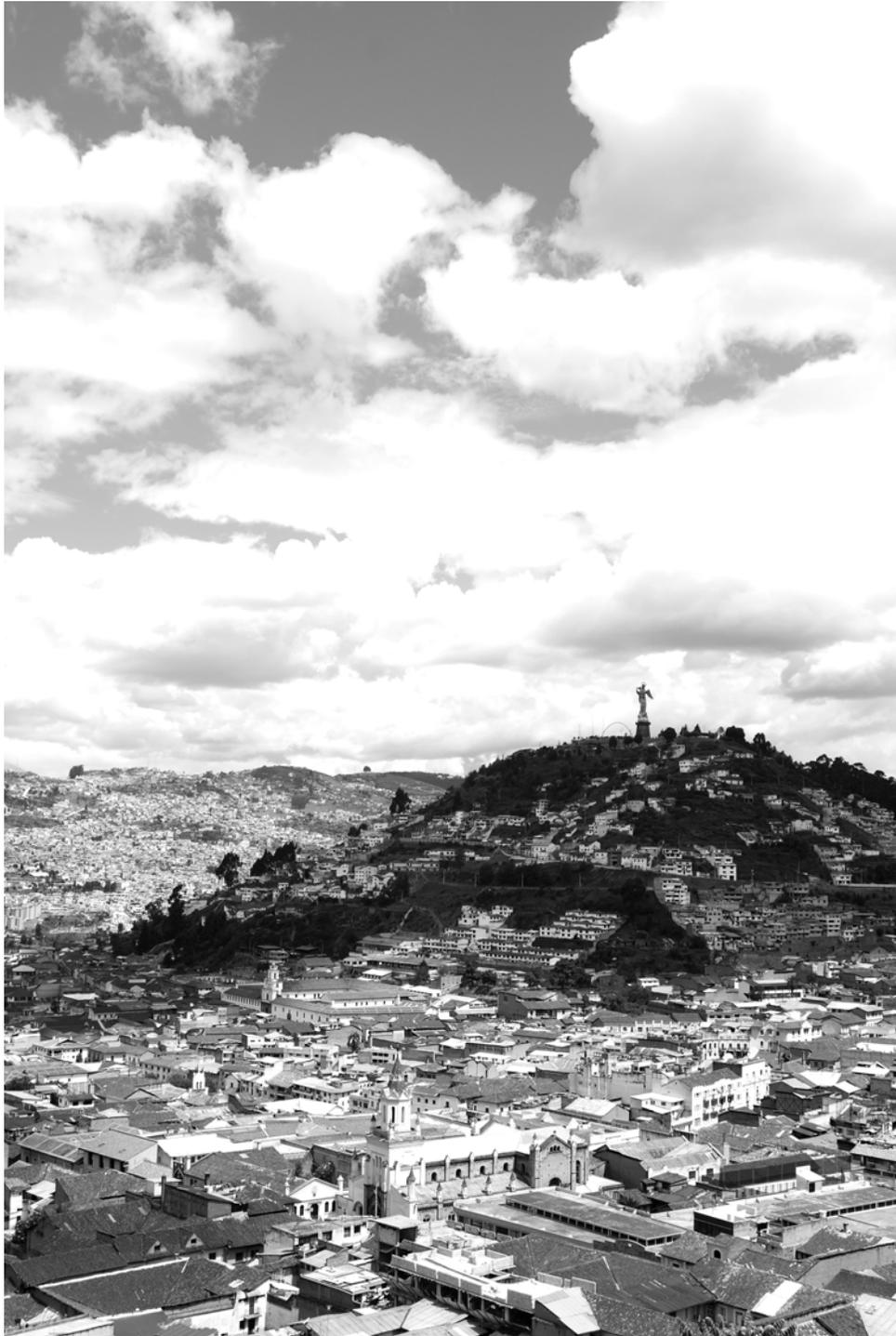
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

- AGRUPAR: Program of Participatory Urban Agriculture (*Programa de Agricultura Urbana Participativa*)
- BID: Inter-American Development Bank (*Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo*)
- CBD: Central Business District
- CONAIE: Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*)
- CONQuito: Municipal Agency for Economic Development (Agencia Municipal de Desarrollo Económico)
- EMAAP-Q: Municipal Water and Sewage Company of Quito (*Empresa Metropolitana de Alcantarillado y Agua Potable – Quito*)
- EPMGDT: Public Metropolitan Company for the Management of Tourism (*Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Gestión de Destino Turístico*)
- EPMMOP: Public Metropolitan Company for Mobility and Public Works (*Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Movilidad y Obras Públicas*)
- FLACSO: Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (*Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales sede Ecuador*)
- HoH: Head of Household
- ISI: Import Substitution Industrialization
- IVS: Index of Social Vulnerability (*Índice de Vulnerabilidad Social*)
- MPLV: Association of Women Fighting for Life (*Asociación de Mujeres Luchando por la Vida*)
- MRQ: Metropolitan Region of Quito
- OP-710: Operating Procedure for involuntary resettlements, Inter-American Development Bank
- PMRR: Plan for the Mitigation of Risks and Resettlements (*Plan de Mitigación de Riesgos y Reasentamientos*)
- PSA: Environmental Sanitation Program (*Programa de Saneamiento Ambiental*)
- SAPs: Structural Adjustment Program
- USDA: United States Department of Agriculture

CHAPTER 1



Colonial Center Quito, author photo

INTRODUCTION

The loci of economic, environmental, political and social power, cities are the centers of humanity.

Even if this statement has not been true historically, it certainly is now with the United Nations' 2007 announcement that the majority of the world's population is no longer rural, but urban (UNFPA 2007). This is indeed both a troubling state of affairs, and an opportunity for real change. It is troubling in the sense that cities seem to increasingly be defined as centers of concentrated social and economic inequality (Engels 1999; Griffin & Ford 1980; Mollenkopf & Castells 1991). Perhaps this is because they act as economic interlocutors between 'rural' and 'urban', 'tradition' and 'modernity'; because in much of the world they are the artifacts of a colonial legacy of social and cultural hierarchies (Griffin & Ford 1980) or simply because cities are home to such great concentrations of people that the physical distance between poverty and opulence seems at times to be non-existent. The inertia of urbanization means that our world is increasingly characterized by spatial concentrations of inequality, manifest, for example, in the form of 80% of the world's urban population living in slums and shantytowns (Davis 2004). The opportunities lie in the fact that this does not have to be the case; cities can shrug off what are in many instances inherited inequalities (Hoffman & Centeno 2003) to become inclusive spaces where all residents, not just a small "minority", can reap the benefits of urban life (Roberts 2008).

A core tenet of this thesis is that the transition to urban life (speaking in terms of individuals and families urbanizing, or the broader global transition) can be largely beneficial: cultural mixing and social heterogeneity; increased efficiencies accrued from the spatial concentration of economic activity; more efficient delivery of infrastructural and welfare services; and, the potential for a diminished ecological footprint from residential densification (Hern 2010). Furthermore, and one of the most important benefits for "subordinate" groups (a

term I use to describe **groups in urban society that while not homogenous, are similarly impacted by socio-economic and cultural inequalities;** examples include women, indigenous people, Afro-descendants, informal workers, the elderly and refugees), is greater access to opportunities for social and economic development. However, simply arriving to a city does not guarantee one's inevitable 'development' as substantial barriers do exist.

Opportunities for social and economic development within urban environments such as the availability of jobs, higher wages, and greater concentration of State resources, are often unobtainable for those who desperately need them. In Quito, Ecuador, for example, the best hospitals and universities and the most abundant amounts of green space, are located in the North of the city, a region long-dominated in discursive and more visible terms as wealthier and influential. For its part, the South struggles to make do with aging if non-existent infrastructure, depending on the support of NGOs and corporatist political allegiances. While Ecuador's 2006 "Left turn" (Conaghan 2008) has resulted in an overall stronger welfare State, many communities continue to lack basic services and protection of fundamental rights (Swanson 2007, 2010; Schussler 2009)¹.

Based on a review of the literature on urban inequality, my field observations and interviews with different individuals and organizations during fieldwork, this thesis analyzes three main types of barriers to social and economic development. First, barriers can manifest within the *physical infrastructure* (what I will simply refer to as physical barriers), in terms of the unequal distribution of services across urban space (electrification, sewage, transportation), or the presence of built-form structures that delimit the free and fair use of public space (such as fences, closed circuit televisions; Hern 2010;

¹ The "Left turn" is most often associated with the election of President Rafael Correa in 2006. The argument could also be made that it began as early as 2000 with the election of Quito mayor Paco Gallegos, or that a popular shift towards the Left has been coming since the rise of indigenous confederations such as CONAIE in 1980s and 1990s.

Jacobs 1961 also discusses how the physical structure of the city, or the built-form, can be adjusted to 'liberate cities' so that they may reach their 'full vitality'). Physical barriers can have varying impacts. For example, a deficit in affordable public transportation may inhibit wage laborers living in one part of the city from accessing available work elsewhere. Or, the presence of closed circuit televisions in public plazas may discourage (or altogether ban) informal economic activity, preventing low-income and informal workers from accessing much needed markets (Swanon 2007).

Second, barriers to development can emerge from (or from a lack of) *state infrastructure* (what I will simply refer to as state barriers) in terms of corruption, lack of technical expertise, bias or inefficiency. For example, if State mechanisms are inefficient or biased they can prevent certain groups from effectively accessing resources such as welfare programs, public utilities and even basic human rights. For example, Schussler (2009) suggests that an inefficient government bureaucracy is partially to blame for the current unprotected state of Colombian migrants who are living in Ecuador 'illegally', many of who are trying to obtain official refugee status. A lack of State protection for migrants, although guaranteed in the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution, is compounded by the discrimination that migrants face in Ecuador, and means that Colombians in general have great difficulties doing such basic things as sending their children to school, accessing health care and operating small businesses.

Finally, barriers to economic and social development can be *socio-cultural*. Socio-cultural barriers hinder the ability of subordinate groups to foster a sense of belonging and responsibility to larger urban areas. They may decrease the points of contact that exist between different groups, therefore inhibiting the formation of solidarity. For example, as will be discussed in Chapter Three, there is an on-going urban agriculture project in Quito (AGRUPAR) designed to support low-income and otherwise subordinate communities through formal skills development. One of the obstacles that this project will face in the medium to long-term is how to expand its market presence within a city as ideologically divided as Quito (Andino 2009; Swanson 2007; Carrion 2009). Encouraging the

middle and upper-classes to abstain from shopping in modern, Western-style big-box supermarkets in favor of produce markets run by low-income farmers will be a challenge given the deep-rooted classism and ethnic stereotypes that dominate their perception of 'the poor'. While I differentiate between these three types of barriers, it is important to note that I do not see them as being entirely mutually exclusive, in that, a physical infrastructural barrier can have its roots in state biases, or a socio-cultural barrier can produce built form inequalities (physical barriers). These are semi-fluid categories that I use to help in my analysis and understanding of urban inequality.

Reducing or removing barriers is however only half of the process. A second tenet of this thesis is that overcoming inequalities also requires the empowerment of subordinate groups. Specifically, empowerment refers to the capacity-building of subordinate groups in the form of formal skills development (be they tangible skills such as carpentry or gardening, or more intangible skills such as how to effectively access state resources). In using the term 'empowerment', my unit of analysis is the group or community. This is because, as Otero (2004; and expanded upon in Bartra & Otero 2009) suggests, political-cultural formation, "the process through which [...] oppressed social groups shape demands, form organizations to pursue them, and generate leadership to represent them before the state..." (332), happens predominantly at the organizational level; this, despite the role that individuals may (or may not) play in maintaining movements' independence from state or other forms of political co-optation. In other words, political-class formation is the process by which oppressed groups struggle to overcome the inequalities imposed by the dominant group in society. While individuals are undoubtedly impacted by inequalities, and may even take an active role in leading the newly formed organization.

This thesis compares several approaches to overcoming barriers to social and economic development and promoting empowerment among subordinate groups through a case study analysis in the Metropolitan Region of Quito (MRQ), Ecuador. Within that case study I focus specifically on three on-going projects

that have been operating roughly since the year 2000. The first project, called the Environmental Sanitation Program (PSA, *Programa de Saneamiento Ambiental*), was designed to mitigate environmental and human risk within the MRQ while also protecting the country's natural and historical patrimony. The Municipal Water Company (EMAAP-Q) administers this project in conjunction with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). The second is the Program of Participatory Urban Agriculture (AGRUPAR, *Programa de Agricultura Urbana Participativa*), an urban agriculture project run by the municipal agency for economic development (CONQuito). The final project is a grass roots organization, the Association of Women Fighting for Life, (MPLV, *Asociación de Mujeres Luchando por la Vida*), which helps families suffering from inequalities access affordable housing. While these projects do not explicitly share the same stated objective, their respective methodologies and desired outcomes suggest a similar goal of combating urban socioeconomic inequality. I believe that this similarity ultimately makes for a valid and useful comparative analysis.

My research question is: *how successful have the projects under analysis been at addressing urban inequality within their target populations?* To answer my research question, I evaluate each project in three ways: first, the project's success at meeting its own stated objectives; second, the project's ability to reduce physical, state-infrastructure and socio-cultural barriers for their target populations; and third, the project's achievements with regards to empowering communities. My findings are grounded in interviews with project participants and staff, field observations, a review of projects' policy documents and promotional materials, and a literature review. *Based on the conclusions that I draw in relation to my research question, I hope to suggest ways in which policy can be shaped to more effectively combat urban inequality in Quito and elsewhere.* I feel that my findings are able to provide insight into the process of overcoming barriers to development beyond the immediate context of Quito, specifically in urban Latin America, because inequality has been a common experience in the region. Furthermore, and as this is a preliminary case study, my suggestions will also point to areas where I believe future research needs to focus.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into four parts: literature review, conceptual framework, methodology and context. My review of the literature will explore what scholars, both classical and contemporary, have said in relation to urban inequality. I will highlight two approaches to the understanding of urban inequality: the Marginality School, and what I call the Critical Perspective on Marginality. The Marginality School suggests that inequality is created by an inherent 'poor culture'. In my review of this school of thought I draw on prominent scholars who have adopted this perspective, such as Ferdinand Tönnies and Oscar Lewis. The Critical approach refutes this argument and spins it on its head, suggesting that structural constraints such as those found within neoliberal capitalism are in fact the instigators of inequality. In reviewing this second school of thought I look to other prominent scholars such as Georg Simmel, Janice Pearlman and Teresa Caldeira. After reviewing the literature, I introduce my conceptual framework. This section will briefly reiterate the focus of my research and state my hypothesis. The following section will outline my methodology, including a justification for my decision to conduct a case study and take a project analysis focus. This chapter concludes with a contextualization of my research. In this section I briefly review Latin America's urban history (with special attention to Ecuador and Quito), the historical patterns of urbanization and inequality, more contemporary instigators of urbanization, and the geography of urban inequality.

The main body of the thesis will be divided into three chapters. Within these chapters I present the findings from each of the three projects. I do so in a structured way so as to facilitate the critical analysis of each individual project, and then a comparative analysis at the conclusion of the thesis. Chapters Two, Three and Four will be divided into three sections each: introduction, project methodology and results, and critical evaluation. The first section will offer a brief introduction to the project including any antecedents, followed by a discussion of the projects' stated objectives and a definition of the target population. The second section reviews projects' approaches to combating urban inequality and the results that they have achieved thus far. The third section critically analyzes

each project taking into account two things, first, projects' successes and failures at meeting their own pre-established goals, and second, their ability to address inequality within their target populations. This second area of analysis will focus on the removal of barriers, and the empowerment of subordinate groups. My findings in this section are largely based on field observations, interviews and a review of projects' policy documents and promotional materials. I will also comment on each project's implicit approach to inequality, in relation to the literature review that I conduct in the subsequent section of this chapter. The concluding chapter of this thesis will serve to recapitulate the central issues of this study, briefly reviewing each of the projects and their respective critical analyses in a comparative perspective. A list of 'lessons learned' and suggestions for areas of future research culminate this thesis.

LITERATURE REVIEW

With this literature review I aim to succinctly describe two basic approaches to the study of urban inequality, and the relationship that the literature highlights between that topic and barriers to social and economic development and empowerment. The first part of this literature review looks at the Marginality School, and it focuses on the works of Ferdinand Tönnies (1963) and Oscar Lewis (1959). The second part examines its rebuttal, what I label, the Critical Perspective on Marginality, focusing on work by Georg Simmel (1903), Janice Pearlman (1976) and Teresa Caldeira (1999, 2000, 2008).

Before I begin my review however, it is important to note that my focus will be on Latin America and North America, for a number of reasons. First, Latin America is the location of my case study and therefore the source of the literature I rely on to contextualize my findings. Second, it has been suggested by a number of authors and social critics that Latin America (and specifically urban Latin America) is one of the most unequal places on earth (Davis 2006; Hoffman & Centeno 2003). And third, Latin American and North American urbanism have

historically had a relationship that since the early 20th century has seen the evolution of Latin American cities, and the concomitant urban relations and issues that have arisen, closely resemble those in the North. That relationship is evidenced theoretically by Griffin & Ford's (1980) "Model of Latin American City Structure, and visibly with the rise in popularity of gated communities and fortified spaces as discussed by authors such as Caldeira (1999), Roitman (2003, 2004) and Andino (2009).

THE MARGINALITY SCHOOL

Within the literature on urban inequality there are two dominant streams. The first, the Marginality School, reached the pinnacle of its influence in the 1950s and 1960s. This collection of *perspectives* interprets inequality (or what it calls marginality) as an ascribed quality, characterized ideologically and sometimes physically by fundamental differences between 'the poor' and 'the wealthy'; 'center' and 'periphery'; 'rural' and 'urban'; and, 'the shantytown' and 'the modern metropolis'. One of the first theorists to adopt this viewpoint is Tönnies.

Tönnies (1963) distinguishes between rural and urban life using what Knox & Pinch (2006) call contrasting "forms of basic human association" (188): *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Tönnies sees the difference between these forms of association as the two ends of a continuum (similar to Redfield's "folk-urban" continuum, 1947), the latter representing modernity, and the former its antithesis. *Gemeinschaft* is used to characterize rural or small town life, where social and economic relations are dominated by kinship and a 'sense of community', and where continuity, religiosity, conservatism and tradition are predominant core values. Some interpretations of *Gemeinschaft*, such as those that dominate colloquial discourse about Latin American rural life (or peripheral or peri-urban life) tend to replace those somewhat benign adjectives with ones intended more maliciously, such as backward, antiquated, isolated, provincial and indigenous.

Tönnies further notes that “urbanization and industrialization” transform human interactions and daily life, changing their fundamental nature into one associated with *Gesellschaft*. The modern notions of rationality, efficiency and individualism dominate this second type of “human association” wherein intersecting individual needs, for example between buyer and seller, are seen to bring people together out of immediate necessity rather than less immediate (or more abstract) bonds such as religion or kinship. Durkheim (1984) makes a similar distinction between “mechanical” and “organic solidarity”, emphasizing the differences between “permanent bonds formed among similar others in traditional societies” (*Gemeinschaft*) and “temporary relations formed in complex societies among dissimilar others” (Oyserman *et al.* 2002, 3; *Gesellschaft*).

While Tönnies would perhaps argue that the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* is one of evolution and modernization, the Marginality School argues that the ‘rural way of life’ tends to pervade despite urbanization, or irrespective of spatial location (Lewis 1963). It argues that the inability to adapt to life in the city is the basis for urban inequality (marginalization; Roberts 1995). That is, recent migrants are unable to shed their need for (or perhaps survival strategy of) *Gemeinschaft* community-based solidarity in favor of the more individualistic, anomic, dog-eat-dog *Gesellschaft* variety, and are as such more affected by the physical, state and socio-cultural barriers that prevent their development. From this perspective, these two basic forms of human association, embodied by individuals, families and entire communities, are ‘sticky’, continuing to dominate social, cultural and economic relations despite changes to one’s spatial context. In that sense, individuals are to blame for their own ‘marginality’, and specifically, their lack of adaptation to modernity, epitomized by and in *the city*.

Another key author from this School is Lewis, and in particular, his best known work “Five Families” (1963). In this ethnography, Lewis provides a detailed account of five Mexican families from different socioeconomic and spatial contexts: from poor to middle class, from rural to urban. Lewis frames his account of the daily lives of five families as a contribution to “our understanding

of the culture of poverty in contemporary Mexico and, insofar as the poor throughout the world have had things in common, to lower-class life in general” (1). He goes on to suggest that the characteristics of this culture transcend time and space, and are just as common “in London, in Puerto Rico, in Mexico City slums and Mexican villages, and among lower class Negroes in the United States” (2). It appears his main objective is to describe how truly different the poor are to the rest of society, and how ‘their culture’ pervades every aspect of daily life. Even if Lewis’ intention is to be benign or objective, his account comes off romantic and fatalistic. Lewis’ ‘culture of poverty’ argument fits neatly into the broader Marginality School, emphasizing the perception that poor individuals or families are unable to move beyond the poverty that seemingly defines them, because of ignorance, tradition or some other inherent quality.

The main contribution of the Marginality School to this thesis is the ability of the *worldview it embodies* to highlight socio-cultural barriers. Socio-cultural barriers exist between individuals and communities and prevent interaction within society, for example, between ‘poor’ and ‘wealthy’ segments of the population. These barriers often emerge because of the perception that one group has of the other (for example, based on racism or classism). In that way, socio-cultural barriers hinder the ability of subordinate groups to create and maintain social and economic developmental opportunities. To understand how this works, it may be useful to think of socio-cultural barriers as largely ‘performative’, in that they are often *assumed* to be true and continually reinforced. Perceiving something to be true and reaffirming it through daily discourse and behaviors can make it so by default. An example would be if a poor area of a city was commonly understood to be crime-laden and violent (violent and crime-laden *because* it is poor; such as the case highlighted by Salcedo & Torres 2004, in Santiago, Chile). That stereotype may result in a lack of economic investment, meaning that locals need to rely on informal economic activities such as begging, street vending or petty crime. The informal image of people from that area reaffirms the initial stereotype, and reinforces it as a ‘no-go area’. Similarly, if certain segments of the population are characterized negatively (for example, as indigenous,

backwards or untrustworthy) they may have difficulty accessing loans or securing affordable housing. The discrimination faced by African-Americans trying to access the housing market in US cities serves as another example (Massey & Lundy 2001).

The main critiques of the Marginality School perspective is the lack of agency it gives to 'the poor', and its interpretation of them as a homogenous group. This perspective suggests that 'marginal' people lack the intelligence to adapt to new surroundings, romanticizing their innocence, and it belittles them, making them out to be an oppressed other-ed minority (even if they are the "majority", Roberts 2008). Either way, the worldview embodied in this perspective provides no hope to escape the vicious cycle of poverty, nor does it place any responsibility for one group's 'marginality' on urban society's structural or historical inequalities.

THE CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Critical Perspective is a rebuttal to the Marginality School perspective arguing that urban inequality is the product of structural factors rather than the shortcomings of individual actors (or a generalized 'other'). Roberts (1995) traces the roots of this perspective to the 1970s and 1980s, however I believe we can look to earlier urban sociological thought for insight. Simmel, for example, in his essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903) uses the term "*blasé* attitude" – what is in essence a feeling of complete disregard for anything beyond one-self – to suggest that structural nature of the metropolis and advanced capitalism reinforce individual pursuits at the expense of collective well-being. He argues that the pervasiveness of "abrupt heterogeneous stimuli" (325) de-sensitize the many individuals that constitute cities, resulting in their general lack of interest and concern for fellow urbanites. From this perspective, it is thus the structural inequalities (or the byproducts) of, for example, 'more developed' human association (*Gesellschaft*) or advanced capitalism that produce inequalities.

For her part, Pearlman (1976), the theorist most strongly associated with the Critical Perspective, has conducted extensive ethnographic research in the *favelas* of Brazil to demonstrate that social, economic, cultural and political inequalities have structural causes and cannot be associated with the traits of so-called 'poor culture' (referring to the "culture of poverty" argument employed by many theorists in the Marginality School). Despite that, in her analysis she notes that although inequality, from the perspective of the Marginality School, is a myth, it is in fact a "social reality" (what I suggest above as leading to the creation of socio-cultural barriers). Pearlman states: "As a myth it [marginality] supports personal beliefs and social interests, and is anchored in people's minds by roots that will remain unshaken by any theoretical criticism. As a description of social reality, it concerns a set of specific problems that must be treated in an alternative theoretical way in order to be correctly understood" (1976, 242). Pearlman's analysis concludes that at least in the case of Brazil and Latin America, inequality is truly rooted in "the historical process of industrialization and economic growth [...] the consequence of a new model of exclusion of vast sectors of the population from its main productive apparatus" (251).

Caldeira adopts a similar stream of thought in her own work in Brazil in the 1990s and 2000s. This more contemporary analysis tracks the emergence of "fortified enclaves" upon the cityscape, an increasingly common trend in Latin America and much of the developing and developed world; Salcedo & Torres (2004) for example, highlight that in the early 2000s there were more than 20,000 residential enclaves in the US alone, housing more than eight million people. Fortified enclaves are defined as: "private property for collective use [...] physically isolated, either by walls or empty spaces or other design devices [from the rest of society; they are] turned inward and not to the street; [and are] controlled by armed guards and security systems that enforce rules of inclusion and exclusion" (1999, 109). In their most prevalent forms, fortified enclaves manifest as gated communities, malls, plazas, business parks, privatized highways, country clubs, and educational institutions (Salcedo & Torres 2004; Sabatini & Salcedo 2007; Roitman 2003, 2004; Espinosa & Ospina 2009).

Fortified enclaves however, can be more broadly understood as privatized and 'securitized' (formerly) public spaces.

Caldeira links enclaves to the arrival of structural adjustment and neoliberal economic policies to Latin American cities in the 1980s and 1990s (Striffler 2002; Yashar 2005; Swanson 2007, 2010; Burbuck 2007; Lucero 2001; and de la Torre 2006, describe this transition in Ecuador; Conde 2009 also gives an introduction to this issue in Latin America), and to the resulting liberalization of land-use policies and transitioning economic structure (reminiscent of shifts towards the "information economy" in US in the 1970s and 1980s; Mollenkopf & Castells 1991; Wade 2008; Harvey 2006; Roitman 2003, 2004; Sabatini & Salcedo 2007). These drastic economic changes had, and continue to have, profound consequences that in many cases serve to exacerbate long-present socio-cultural cleavages. Authors such as Griffin & Ford (1980) and Kingman Garcés (2006) have highlighted the inertia of these cleavages in Latin America and their relation to municipal policy and urban development.

Moreover, Kate Swanson (2007, 2010), focusing on Ecuadorian cities, discusses the development of what she calls "revanchist" (2007) or exclusionary urban social and economic policies, and their active segregation of subordinate groups. She reveals how a desire by the governments of Ecuador's two largest cities, Guayaquil and Quito, to promote tourism and local economic development within their respective central business districts has led to the forced removal (physical and symbolic) of what are already oppressed peoples, specifically Afro-Ecuadorians and various indigenous groups (Gómez & Salavarría 1986, provide a graphic account of their housing cooperatives forced removal from vacant lands on the edge of Guayaquil. Their removal from areas deemed to be economically productive or of high value is reminiscent of exclusionary built-form structures imposed during Spanish colonialism, the so-called Laws of the Indies (Griffin & Ford 1980). The Laws of the Indies used decree to hierarchically delimit land-use and residential space starting in the 1500s when much of urban Latin America first began to emerge.

The impact of the Laws of the Indies can still be seen within the colonial center of almost all cities in the region, recognizable in the remaining grid-like layout of streets and the concentration of religious, political and economic power around central plazas (such as the Zócalo in Mexico City, the Plaza Grande in Quito or the Plaza de Armas in Valparaíso). Other scholars analyzing the transition towards privatization and urban housing policy liberalization in Latin American cities have suggested that it continues to produce “islands of wealth within seas of poverty” (Borsdorf *et al* 2007), and causes drastic “urban fragmentation” (Espinoza & Ospina 2009).

Many scholars who adopt the critical perspective argue that neo-liberalism has been a very powerful agent of inequality in recent urban history (Caldeira 1999; Davis 2006). They further argue that the arrival of neoliberal economic prescriptions most acutely affects the waves of urbanizing migrants forced to work in the informal economy (particularly women; Jackiewicz 2001), and those living in rural and peri-urban areas within municipal political boundaries (interview, Díaz, MPLV, July-August 2010). In part this is due to the increasingly limited ability of city governments to provide basic infrastructure to peripheral communities, the main receiving ground for migrants (Gilbert 1996; Griffin & Ford 1980; Holston 2008). Moreover, Davis (2006) provides a particularly dramatic description of the impact of neo-liberalism and related Structural Adjustment Programs on urban areas in the developing world. He notes that SAPs were designed quite intentionally by international financial organizations (such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) to be “anti-urban” in hopes of reversing the trend towards urban primacy with regards to government investment, fiscal policy and social services (15-16, 151-153).

The Critical Perspective provides insight into physical and state barriers as they relate to urban inequality, such as those barriers that have emerged (or been reinforced) by the capitalist integration of urban economics in Latin America. For example, in the analyses provided by Pearlman, Caldeira and Swanson, capitalism and neo-liberalism, and the policies they advocate (or

discourage) serve as state barriers because in many instances they lead to the: forced removal of low-income (and other oppressed) groups from the public sphere, and in doing so diminish their ability to seek economic opportunities (for example as street vendors); confinement of new migrants to the peripheries of cities where basic services and economic opportunities tend to be scarce, because of a lack of funds, or due to policies aimed at preserving or recuperating land-values (in Ecuador this is especially true in the case of colonial central business districts, Sabatini & Salcedo 2007; Gilbert 1996); and, segregation of certain ('un-modern') socio-economic or cultural groups to encourage economic development and tourism (for example, the removal of indigenous peoples from colonial centers, Swanson 2007).

In terms of physical barriers, one of the most visible manifestations is the unequal distribution of basic services across urban space. In Quito for example, access to basic services such as paved roads, electricity, public transportation and sewage varies greatly across the city and Metropolitan Region (see Figures 2 and 3). Businesses and homes in the North end of the city (home to the most important businesses and wealthiest neighborhoods) enjoy greater access to services, while those in the South (home to the lowest-income communities and much of the informal economy) contend with limited availability (see Figure 1.2). Subordinate groups are often forced to acquire services illegally, which can prove dangerous and costly (Holston 2008 and Caldeira 2008 document a similar scenario in Sao Paulo). Other physical barriers to social and economic development include differentiated or uneven access to public space, nature and affordable housing.

Another strength of the Critical Perspective is its ability to coherently refute the misplaced blame of the Marginality School. It argues that poor people are not to blame for the on-going inequality that they are succumbed to, or the resulting inequalities that they experience. However, in assigning all blame to structural inefficiencies or the inherent inequalities of capitalism, theorists often fail to suggest solutions short of large-scale, fundamental structural change. A few who do, however, are Holston (2008) and Mollenkopf & Castells (1991). They argue

that structural inequalities are allowed to perpetuate in part because of a lack of coherence among subordinate groups; in a way, this is similar to what Marx says about the unorganized army of the proletariat that must first recognize their common oppression in order to rise up against the owners of the means of production. As such, they argue that mobilization is key to overcoming inequality: Holston describes the successful mobilization of poor communities on the peripheries of Sao Paulo with the help of a non-local religious organization (similar to what Yashar 2005 and Brysk 2000 describe happening in indigenous communities in Ecuador); Mollenkopf & Castells, in discussing what they call the “dual city” (to be discussed later in this chapter), assert that the organization of the poor masses would help overcome the growing physical and ideological divide that exists within de-industrializing/post-industrial American cities of the 1970s and 1980s. While the organization of subordinate communities may in fact be a good strategy to help overcome barriers to development in the mid to long-term, the argument could be made that without first addressing the immediate needs of subordinate groups (food, shelter, income) they may not be inclined towards political mobilization. Moreover, I agree with Otero (2004) who argues that by focusing on the role of non-local actors in the politicization of subordinate groups, and specifically the analysis offered by Holston (and echoed by Brysk 2000 and Yashar 2005) fails to take into account that political-cultural formation is most effective when crystallized at the local level, by local actors: “The main locus of politics [and focus of analysis] should remain local if significant changes in the life chances of subordinate groups, communities and classes are the goal” (325).

I find the Critical approach to understanding inequality to be *more* appropriate, though still imperfect. Therefore, my use of the term ‘inequality’ throughout the remainder of this thesis will align with that School. I will continue to rely on the Marginality School however, in selective ways. For example, I will use the Marginality School to help describe socio-cultural barriers to development (for example, perceptions of the urban poor), and as well to interpret the different approaches taken by the projects under analysis.

In the following section outlining my conceptual framework, I argue that both the Marginality School and Critical Perspective can contribute to our understanding of how to overcome urban inequalities. However, and as I argue at the onset of this thesis, addressing urban inequality also requires empowerment (the acquisition of formal skills and knowledge of how to interact with the state). Just as migrating to cities does not immediately or even necessarily result in more profitable employment, reducing barriers cannot in and of itself produce greater economic and social opportunities. Subordinate groups also need empowerment to develop as they see fit; or as Otero (2004) states, subordinate groups require political-cultural formation to shape demands, organize to pursue those demands, and interact with the state and with other organizations to make effective claims on those demands (this is not necessarily a linear process).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study focuses on the relationship between subordinate groups' experiences with urban inequality, and the efforts of various projects to encourage/ facilitate their social and economic development. I argue that the conceptual tools offered by the different schools of thought, and specifically the perspective each school adopts towards inequality, are useful in understanding why some projects have been more or less successful than others at addressing urban socioeconomic inequality.

A Marginality School perspective 'approach to development' would likely involve treating the symptoms rather than the structural causes of inequality, for example transferring resources to subordinate groups (or "marginal groups") through charitable programs. Resources are therefore targeted towards meeting the immediate needs of the poor, for humanitarian reasons or perhaps to quell dissent. Moreover, there would be little effort to imbue empowerment, respect, self-confidence, independence or any other sentiment that belies the fact that poverty is an inherited culture and a way of life. This approach is similar to what

Otero (2004) describes as the form of state interaction most likely to result in the co-optation of efforts to address inequalities, wherein state-directed intervention addresses material needs, but decreases the autonomy of subordinate groups to push for demands on their own terms.

A Critical perspective 'approach to development' would be more focused on finding long-term solutions to structural constraints. For example, capacity-building, formal skills development, self-reliance and even politicization would all be present within this type of developmental project. Moreover, this type of approach would likely be able to foster more equitable relationships between project staff and project participants given that its focus is concerned with empowerment and overcoming obstacles more than it is basic survival. This approach is in line with what Otero (2004) describes as the form of state interaction least likely to result in subordinate groups' co-optation, wherein demands are constantly reiterated through a more dialogical process of pressure and mobilization.

While both approaches have their pros and cons – co-optation is harmful and subordinate groups need to confront their adversaries, however taking an overly confrontational stance may be similarly damaging for subordinate groups – successful projects will be those that find an appropriate balance.

The central research question for this thesis is: *How successful have the projects under analysis been at addressing urban inequality within their target populations?* My findings will be related to three variables. First, the projects' success at meeting their stated objectives; second, the projects' ability to reduce specific kinds of barriers for their low-income target populations (this variable will be assessed using my analysis of both the Marginality School and the Critical Perspective, and their abilities to help understand physical, state and socio-cultural barriers); and third, the projects' achievements with regards to empowering subordinate groups. Measuring these variables quantitatively is difficult, and would require time and resources that I simply did not have access to during fieldwork. A lack of extensive reliance on quantitative data is however balanced by qualitative data (further discussed in the next section). As such, my

findings are largely based on analysis of project and government documents, interviews, field observations and a literature review. Based on the findings of my research, I will suggest ways in which municipal policy can be shaped to better address inequality in Quito and elsewhere – something akin to a list of ‘lessons learned’. As my research is quite preliminary, and my focus quite specific, these lessons need to be seen as my limited observations of what is working in Quito, what may work elsewhere, and as indications of areas needing additional study. My research can also be used as a tool for activist groups and NGOs seeking to improve the living conditions of urban subordinate groups.

As I describe above, the three projects in question are structurally dissimilar, despite holding a common objective. The first, the Environmental Sanitation Program has a top-down approach, using the Inter-American Development Bank’s imported experience, expertise and rules of stakeholder engagement. The second, the Program of Participatory Urban Agriculture takes a middle-ground approach, combining expert knowledge with local skills development. And the third, the Association of Women Fighting for Life, takes a bottom-up approach, relying almost exclusively on the skills and experience of grassroots activists. Comparing and contrasting these fundamental differences will facilitate drafting additional lessons, apart from those that will already be drawn from each project’s individual assessment and critical analysis.

My hypothesis is that the most successful projects will be the ones that effectively balance the use of external knowledge and expertise against local empowerment, and immediate needs against long-term needs. Moreover, successful projects will be able to maintain egalitarian relations between project staff and the target population, avoiding paternalism and ‘charity’ as much as possible; they will support subordinate groups to achieve their own social and economic development.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology I employed in this research was designed to respond to the central problematic of this thesis: how successful have the projects under analysis been at addressing urban inequality within their target populations?

My overall research methodology had two main components: literature analysis, and fieldwork. The principal role of the literature review was to create an effective conceptual framework that would facilitate the analysis of urban social and economic inequality and local attempts to overcome it. My field research (June-August 2010) methodology consisted of participant observation, interviews, surveys, photographic documentation and archival and library data collection. Given that the central focus of my research is to try and understand how different projects address urban inequality in Quito, I try to incorporate as much qualitative data about individuals' and communities' experiences with inequality as possible.

Fieldwork was made possible by a Fellowship and Foreign Study Supplement from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and with the academic support of my supervisors at Simon Fraser University Drs. Gerardo Otero and Hannah Wittman and of those in the field, Drs. Eric Hershberg and Luis Verdesoto. Through these initial contacts I was introduced to a number of individuals and organizations working on issues related to urban inequality. As well, through Dr. Verdesoto's ties to the *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales sede Ecuador* (FLACSO-Ecuador) I came to be familiar with the three 'projects' that the main findings of this study emerge from (with particular mention to the help provided by Jaime Erazo Espinosa).

Three projects (which will be discussed at greater length in the subsequent three chapters) were analyzed using participant observation. This ethnographic method is used as a tool to gain entry into communities, learn the language they use, and to gain members' trust so that more reliable and accurate data may be generated. In the case of this research, participant observation involved accompanying project staff (also referring to volunteers) into the field during routine visits to their various project sites. Visits typically lasted between two and eight hours, and I made roughly 10 visits per project (more information

about the specifics of field visits is found in each projects' respective chapter). During these repeated visits I became familiar with the functioning of projects and was able to conduct both formal and informal interviews with project participants and staff. Field visits accompanied by project staff, proved to be the most effective way to observe the operation of projects, as sites were often located in remote neighborhoods of Quito, lacking reliable access via public transportation. Moreover, as these three projects are aimed at supporting individuals living in the most low-income and informal communities in the Metropolitan Region, legitimacy was a prime concern. Therefore, entering project sites with the familiar faces of project staff allowed me a degree of acceptance and credibility that would otherwise have taken months to accumulate. I was thus able to borrow the trust that communities placed in others in order to interact and collect data from project participants.

Over the course of three months I conducted roughly 50 interviews, approximately 75% of which were with project recipients (15 recorded digitally, the rest manually). While the questions that I asked each individual varied slightly depending on the project and participants' familiarity with it (for example, some participants being more active than others), the main foci remained constant, asking about: *how individuals entered the project; what they thought of the project's mandate; how they would describe their interactions with project staff/volunteers; the advantages and disadvantages of their participation etc.*

Interviews with project participants typically lasted between 20 and 40 minutes, and were conducted in locations that afforded maximum comfort to interviewees (such as in their house or garden; often with the help of project staff introductions). While I strived to make interviewees feel as relaxed as possible, using clear non-threatening language with open-ended questions, dressing casually, reassuring them of their anonymity etc., I would be naïve not to acknowledge the possibility of bias. Coming into a country as ethnically diverse as Ecuador as a 'white male outsider' (possibly being perceived as an 'expert') flags my interactions with women and men of low socioeconomic status, who in many cases carry the skepticism associated with long histories of social,

economic, political and cultural hierarchies and inequality, as potentially impacted by the bias of unequal power relations (Schussler 2009). Therefore, despite my concerted attempts to overcome such unequal power relations, the results of my *interviews should be understood as key pieces of evidence supported by supplemental data (such as field observations and a literature review), rather than standalone facts. And moreover, they should be seen as supplemental to the findings of other researchers in the area of urban inequality.*

The remaining 25% of interviews were conducted with project staff, local academics, representatives of government agencies (Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion) and inter-governmental institutions (the Inter-American Development Bank, UN-Habitat), other grassroots organizations, and 'regular citizens' from around the country. Similarly, interviews lasted between 20 and 40 minutes (though with some stretching over two hours), and used a mixture of open-ended and semi-structured questions. Interviews with staff focused on projects' objectives and methodologies, their interactions with other organizations (governmental and non-governmental), sources of funding, and projects' successes and shortcomings. The other interviews conducted served a contextual purpose. In the case of government ministries and inter-governmental institutions, the focus was on the work they carried out in Ecuador (specifically Quito) and their perception of the state of urban social and economic exclusion. Finally in the case of local academics, grassroots organizations and 'ordinary citizens', the focus was their perception of social and economic exclusion, their geographic conceptualization of exclusion (for example, '*what are the objective and subjective manifestations of exclusion upon the cityscape?*'), and attempts by a variety of actors to produce more inclusive urban areas.

Other methodologies employed during fieldwork serve a more supportive role. Surveys, for example, which were carried out only in the case of the AGRUPAR project, were used to support hypotheses derived from interviews, field observations and a review of the project's promotional/ educational materials (a sample of this survey is found in *Appendix A*). My research was initially designed to use surveys more centrally, however due to time constraints

(including struggles to gain access to project participants in the PSA and AGRUPAR projects) they were only able to provide supplemental information. In retrospect I do not feel that a more comprehensive deployment of surveys would have greatly changed findings, however it may have made findings more representative and therefore more defensible. Archival and third party data analysis were also used to gather evidence on the historical context and contemporary situation of urban exclusion, thereby supplementing my literature review. Sources include the Quito-based Institute of the City, the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, Un-Habitat and the Municipal Region of Quito. This data had a particularly important function, as many locally produced documents are difficult to access from outside of Ecuador. Despite accounting for a relatively small portion of my fieldwork, the archival and third party data that I accessed heavily influence the conclusions I draw in this essay, and serve an important contextualizing role. In particular the more contemporary documents, published in their great majority by FLACSO-Ecuador, provide a more nuanced interpretation of urban dynamics in Quito, facilitating a critical analysis to be made between local experience and theory.

Although I believe my time in the field was very fruitful, time significantly limited the amount of data I was able to collect. My research therefore maintains a very specific focus, acting as a conjunctural case study, bound by place and time. Although a case study does serve a purpose in and of itself, adding to the collection of knowledge related to a specific geographic and temporal locality, it also has a larger function (in suite with theory) helping to create and refine policy recommendations based on real-world experiences. Other factors that limited my work include my level of fluency, although almost always adequate, in Spanish (and at times *Quichua*), the network of contacts that I could accumulate in three short months, and the limited amount of information that was available about different grassroots projects (i.e. at time information is hard to find). For those reasons, this study is for me, more of a stepping-stone in understanding the issues discussed, serving to push theory forward, than it is a sweeping

reinterpretation of urban social and economic dynamics. Consequently, depth, rather than breadth characterizes this thesis.

Finally, a few words are in order as to why I chose to do a case study and project-analysis approach. Firstly, as Schrank (2006a) suggests, I chose the cases that make up my “small n” study purposefully, given their relation to the larger phenomenon that I am attempting to understand (22). The result is a greater degree of “nuance” but a loss of “generalizability” (2006b, 173). This is not necessarily a negative. Rather, I feel that using a controlled analysis to shed light on a particular phenomenon (urban inequality) helps in the evolution of the literature by describing the subtleties that contribute to making theory dynamic. And secondly, taking a project approach was the most effective and *interesting* way of demonstrating the phenomena at hand, and ultimately addressing my research question. By using a series of projects to study the movement away from social and economic inequality (projects with a similar focus, but different logics and methods) I feel that I am better able to present a series of ‘lessons learned’. My hope is that the lessons I draw will highlight the benefits of each project, taking into account their respective and collective shortcomings, ultimately contributing to the discussion of creating more inclusive cities in Ecuador and elsewhere.

CONTEXT

To contextualize my findings I will present a brief review of Quito’s urban history and a discussion of the processes of urban development that characterize the entire Latin American region. In this review I pay specific attention to the factors that have set urbanization in motion, the impact of economic transformations in and on urban areas, and what we could consider to be the geography of urban inequality. My analysis will flow between the experiences of Latin America as a region, those of Ecuador as a country, and the particular characteristics of Quito as a city and metropolitan region. In doing so I hope to

demonstrate that many of the processes that I touch upon here are not unique to Quito or to Ecuador, nor are the particularities of Quito and Ecuador necessarily generalizable. My hope is not to convince the reader that Quito was or is the ideal place in which to research urban inequality, but rather that inequality is a universal experience, which undergoes subtle yet meaningful variation in every urban area. I chose Quito over the scores of other large Latin American urban centers because of my previous familiarity with the city. This familiarity proved invaluable, allowing me to more quickly begin fieldwork, reformulate my research question, and use my network of contacts to find projects for my case study. Logistically speaking, it was the ideal place to conduct fieldwork, and theoretically speaking, it is a very appropriate place to research urban inequality, just as are Buenos Aires, Lima, Santiago, Mexico City or Sao Paulo.

To begin a discussion of Latin American urbanism, it is important to note that for the purposes of this study, 'urban Latin America' is seen to begin with the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese. While this may seem exclusionary or shortsighted, I feel that in the sake of being clear and concise, it was necessary to limit how far back my analysis looks. I am not however denying the fact that urban areas existed before the Colonial period. Moreover, it is necessary to define what I mean by 'urban'.

Defining an urban area is not as straightforward a process as might be assumed. For example, we cannot necessarily understand the frontier between 'urban' and 'rural' to neatly coincide with the boundaries of a city. This is because these diametric distinctions serve as political constructs rather than accurate depictions of objective or subjective interpretations of space. Both within and beyond the boundaries of supposedly urban areas lie spaces characterized by non-conformity: urban areas can exist within areas politically defined as rural, just as rural areas can exist within urban political boundaries. Therefore it is important to situate urbanity within a larger discussion of access, land use, political voice and perhaps most importantly, perception, rather than simply relying on political lines drawn on maps. For the purposes of this study, 'urban' is defined as all areas existing within the Metropolitan Region of Quito. This is because

essentially the entire area maintains close economic, social, infrastructural, political, and symbolic ties to the City of Quito. And moreover, the Metropolitan Region has a critical mass of population. This qualifier is very important, because it would be easy to characterize any number of peripheral areas as urban (according to the first part of my definition outlined above) so long as they maintain close ties with an urban area. However, one of the most critical defining factors of an urban area as suggested by authors such as Simmel (1903) and Knox & Pinch (2006), is the coexistence (though not necessarily peaceful) of a large, concentrated group of people.

In this study I will make reference to two distinct administrative areas, the Metropolitan Region of Quito and the City of Quito. The Metropolitan Region is an administrative area divided into 11 separate zones (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2), with varying concentrations of population. The City of Quito is the area of the Metropolitan Region with the highest population density, its economic, political and cultural heart (see Figure 1.3). The political boundaries of the City do not neatly match-up with any of the political boundaries of Region's zones. Instead, the City of Quito is located at the center of the Region, occupying parts of different zones: Calderon in the North, Eugenio Espejo and Manuela Saenz in the Center, Tumbaco in the East, and Eloy Alfaro and Quitumbe in the South. Given the close economic, social and political relationship between the City and the Region, and its generally high concentration of population, in this thesis I broadly interpret both areas as urban, however I distinguish between the two political units as appropriate.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF LATIN AMERICAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The Griffin & Ford model (1980) is perhaps the most widely accepted representation of the 20th century Latin American city (though it is not without criticism, Cowley 1998). Even though this model first appeared in 1980, it continues to be important, pointing out the major urban transitions that took place over a period of roughly 500 years. Perhaps the model's main downfall is its

obviously modernist ideals that imagine the “Anglo-American City” as the crux of urbanism. Based on this model, there are three events that account for the majority of the metamorphosis in the Latin American City between the 16th century and the 1980s: Colonization, Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI), and large-scale urbanization.

Image 1: “A Generalized Model of Latin American City Structure” (Griffin & Ford 1980)

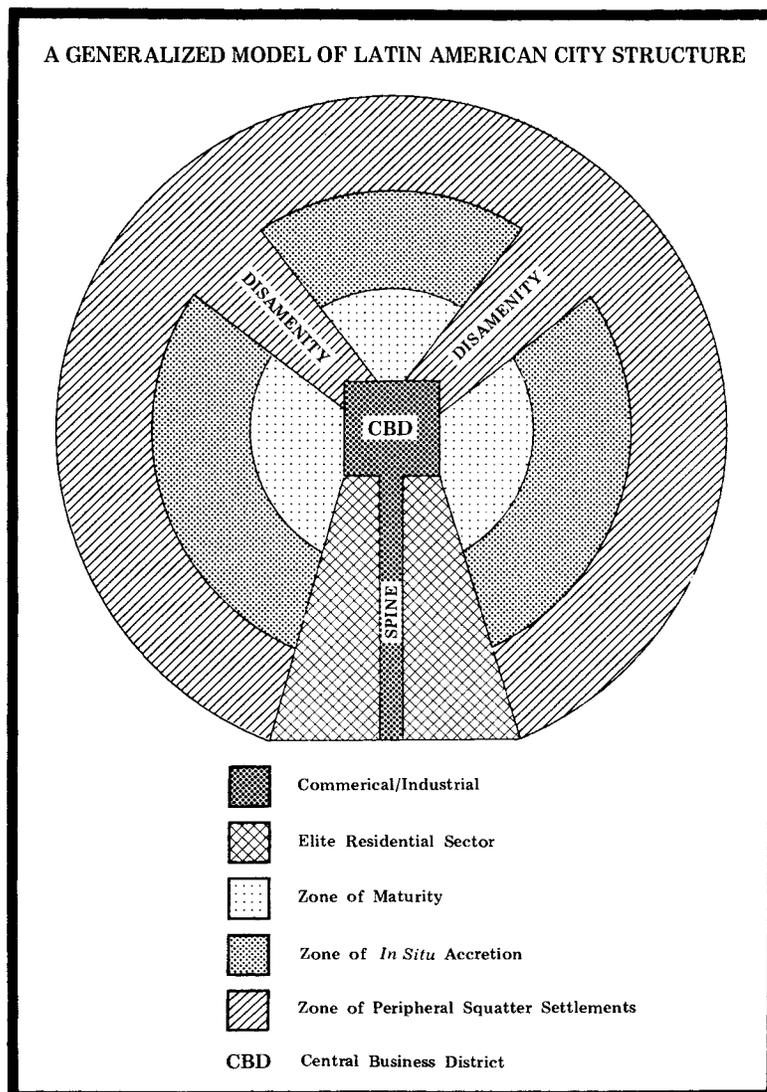


FIG. 4

It can be said that the foundation upon which all of Latin America's urban

development stands is colonization and the implementation of the Laws of the Indies. In making that contention it is important not to ignore the fact that in many cases the Spanish chose to 'found' cities over top of pre-existing indigenous settlements, as is the case with Quito. These Laws went beyond architecture and orientation, dictating the spatial organization of socio-economic, political and religious order within the colonial city. The Laws also served to make-visible a system of deep-rooted racial, gender and cultural hierarchies that in many ways were products of Colonialism (what Hoffman & Centeno 2003, refer to as a caste-system).

"The Laws required a grid pattern with geometrically regular east-west and north-south streets and a central plaza. Lots immediately adjacent to the central plaza were designated for specific buildings such as the principal church and the *cabildo*, while other blocks near the plaza were assigned for residential development by socially worthy individuals. Almost by decree, increased distance from the plaza, the core of urban activity, meant decreased social and economic status for residents. The relationship between geographical location and social status in the urban milieu was ascriptive, although the use of lower floors of residences on and around the plaza by artisans and shopkeepers led to some mixed land use and mixing of social classes." (Griffin & Ford 1980, 399).

Even with the end of Colonialism and the struggle for independent States in the 19th century, the structure of the Latin American city did not go through significant change until the 1930s. That being said, significant physical change has really only come to a select number of cities as many remain remarkably similar to how they were during the Colonial Era. For those that have changed significantly, the Laws of the Indies still account for much of the dominant urban form (such as the main plazas, cathedrals, grid pattern streets). There are also a handful of cities that do not fit Griffin & Ford's model because they appear in regions that essentially escaped colonialism and were thus founded later (Brasilia is an example; Dawson 2011, 38).

Import Substitution Industrialization² (phases one and two) changed the Latin American cityscape first constructed during the colonial era. This period generally understood to have occurred between the 1930s and 1970s was characterized by “the expansion and consolidation of industrial centers” and intense rural-urban migration (de Oliveira & Roberts 1996, 254; Urquizo 2009). It was initially thought that industrial growth in cities would be more than enough to accommodate the influx of migrants. However, as technology improved and additional labor power could no longer be absorbed, an informal economy emerged. The informal economy produced greater urban socio-economic inequality due to its inherent precariousness (such as a lack of job security), and resulted in growing rates of relative and absolute urban poverty. From a Marginality School perspective, recent rural migrants were ‘marginalized’ because of their inability to adapt to their new surroundings. And from the Critical Perspective, inequalities were the product of changing economic and social structures, notably the movement towards industrial capitalism (similar to what Engels describes in the “The Condition of the Working Class in England”, 1999). Moreover, the Critical Perspective would see the vast movement of people to urban areas as the expansion of a reserve army of labor power. While capitalism was not directly responsible for urbanization, or the production of reserve labor, it could take advantage of it. Therefore, even if not formally incorporated into the capitalist model of accumulation, the informal workers and subordinated groups that comprised the informal economy were nonetheless bound to it.

In terms of urban development, and as Griffin & Ford point out, in the early part of the 20th century Latin American cities lacked the capability of providing basic services over broad areas, relegating the majority of industrial activity to the urban core (1980, 401). At first this suited the interests of the urban elite who

² Import Substitution Industrialization phase one emerged in large part because many Latin American countries lost their main source of basic manufactured goods with the outbreak of World War I, and the reorientation of European and North American industry towards the war effort. The second phase of ISI focused on more complex industrial goods, and led to heavy borrowing by Latin American countries.

preferred to live near their workplaces, however with the arrival of more and more industrial activity, notably the second phase of ISI (mid 1950s), rising land values, the advent of car ownership among the elite, and crime and violence associated with a growing population of migrants, upper class housing began to ebb from the core. The model highlights the retreat of elite housing during this period along the main boulevards and avenues that stretch out from the city center, what Griffin & Ford call the “spine” of the Central Business District (CBD). As the second phase of ISI took an even stronger hold in Latin America towards the 1960s and 1970s, cities simply could not keep up with the high rates of urbanization or the delivery of basic services.

As peripheral populations grew rapidly, all levels of government struggled to offer services and infrastructure (Auyero & Swistun 2009; Holston 2008). “Self-help” housing (also known as shantytowns, *barrios populares*, *favelas*; Potter & Lloyd-Evans 1998) began to dominate the periphery where land was relatively inexpensive or free, as opposed to at or near the core where much of the low-income and subordinate populations worked (Holston 2008). Living conditions in the core and on the expanding periphery were characterized by high levels of unemployment, crime, violence, and as being hot beds for socialist and communist activism (Burbach 2007). During the political period of bureaucratic authoritarianism in the 1970s and 1980s many Latin American governments took a “*mano dura*” (‘strong arm’; Ungar 2006) approach to informal urban settlements often involving bulldozers, armed forced displacements and brutal police repression (Salcedo & Torres 2004). These were attempts to not only wipe out incipient cells of the radical Left, but also to make way for the development of elite housing on the periphery (Burbach 2007). Gómez & Salavarría (1986) give a dramatic account of the police violence and state repression that their organization, the ‘Housing Cooperative 9th of January’, suffered as informal settlers in the peripheral community of Mapasingue in Guayaquil, Ecuador in the late 1970s.

In the 1970s and 1980s we see another period of urban elite diffusion in Latin America (Caldeira 1999, 2000, 2008; Capello 2006; Holston 2008; Empresa

Pública Metropolitana de Gestión de Destino Turístico 2011). Griffin & Ford (1980) emphasize this exodus in their model, suggesting that the cost-prohibitive nature of “suburban development” (using Anglo-American terminology) meant that only a small segment of the population could afford to separate themselves from the growing precariousness of burgeoning Latin American metropolises. This is also the period when Caldeira (1999, 2000, 2008) suggests that we start to hear the language of security and violence (otherwise known as the ‘talk of crime’). The ‘talk of crime’ is more than simply talk, as it has had very real consequences on the urban built-form, leading to the emergence of what she calls “fortified enclaves”. As noted in the literature review, fortified enclaves are defined as:

“Private property for collective use [...] physically isolated, either by walls or empty spaces or other design devices [from the rest of society; they are] turned inward and not to the street; [and are] controlled by armed guards and security systems that enforce rules of inclusion and exclusion” (Caldeira 1999, 109).

The idea of the “fortified enclave” or, more generally, the privatization and securitization of public space, is related to the concept of “citizen security”. De Mesquita Neto (2008) notes that “citizen security” first appears in the discourse on human rights that followed the period of bureaucratic authoritarianism in the Southern Cone in the 1980s and 1990s. It suggests that while the state is charged with upholding citizens’ human rights, it also has the responsibility to protect their general wellbeing and personal development (including education and economic opportunities). It can be argued that in Latin America, the middle and upper-classes saw the protection of their “citizen security” vanish with increasing informality and delinquency brought on by the 1980s debt-crisis and the subsequent rise of neo-liberalism (just as the subordinate groups did). In response, they increasingly limited their direct interaction with the ‘ills of the outside’ poor urban world (who Kingman Garcés 2006 calls societies’ “Others”). During this period police forces, private security guards and close-circuit cameras became the new intermediaries in society, strictly controlling the points of intersection between socioeconomic groups. As Caldeira notes, with the help of

neo-liberalism and concomitant Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs, Davis 2004, 2006; Swanson 2010), the walls and security apparatuses that have come to characterize the 21st century Latin American cityscape serve to magnify pre-existing socioeconomic differences (racial, gender and cultural hierarchies), and act as physical, state and socio-cultural barriers.

CURRENT STATE OF URBAN LATIN AMERICA

Urban Latin America continues to grow, and with that growth comes increasing poverty and inequality. The population of Latin America (including the Caribbean) is currently estimated at 594 million (ECLAC 2010), of which nearly 90% is urban. While the overall population growth rate for the region is expected to steadily decline over the next 30 years (ECLAC 2010), cities are predicted to grow, and quickly. Cities such as San Jose, La Paz, Guatemala City, Panama City and Asunción, for example, have population growth rates far above the Latin American average (pegged at roughly 1.1% between the 2005-2010 period, and declining), and well above even their own national rates. Panama City leads the way among major urban centers in the region with a 2010 population growth rate of 3.5%, compared to the national rate of 1.6%, following closely is Asunción with a 3.1% population growth rate, compared to Paraguay's rate of just 1.8% (ECLAC 2010).

Another important statistic is the ratio of a country's urban population living in slums, and in that regard Latin America outpaces much of the developing world. Given what is known about the precariousness of life in slums (Auyero & Swistun 2009; Holston 2008; Davis 2006), this data can tell us what proportion of the population likely lives without stable access basic services and adequate housing. While the absolute percentage of the urban population living in slums tends to be lower in Latin America than other regions such as Asia or Africa (UN-Habitat 2011), when we compare slum populations as a percentage of total population, Latin America stands out. Even though there is great variation, for instance in Chile only 8% of the total population lives in slums while in Peru at

least 50% of the total population do, just over one-fifth (roughly 21%) of Latin America's total population is concentrated in slums, some 250,000,000 people – that compared to less than 20% in places such as China, India and Indonesia (although this may change over time).

Table 1.1: Slum Population as a Percentage of Total Population, Selected Countries (UN-Habitat 2011)

Country	Total Pop (millions)	% Total Pop living in Slums
Argentina	37	29
Bolivia	9	38
Brazil	173	22
Chile	15	8
Colombia	43	17
Costa Rica	4	8
Dominican Rep.	9	25
Ecuador	14	16
El Salvador	6	22
Guatemala	12	25
Guyana	1	2
Haiti	8	31
Honduras	7	10
Mexico	100	15
Panama	3	17
Peru	26	50
Bangladesh	140	22
China	1 285	14
India	1 025	15
Indonesia	215	10
Sri Lanka	19	3
Kenya	31	24
Ghana	20	25
Uganda	24	13
Sudan	32	32

Another sign of inequality is gender and ethnic discrimination. In urban Latin America, women and indigenous peoples are among the most likely segments of the population to be illiterate, and living in poverty and extreme poverty. The “urban femininity rate of poverty” (ECLAC 2010) for example, continues to rise reaching as high as 132% in both Argentina and Costa Rica in 2009, well above rates in earlier periods (112% in Argentina in 1999, and 126% in Costa Rica in 2002). Moreover, the proportion of urban single-parent families

headed by women is growing quickly, especially among the bottom quintile of the population (ECLAC 2010). Within these statistics there do exist some limited signs of positive change. Women are joining the economically active population faster than men, illiteracy among women has been steadily on the decline since at least the late 1990s, and there appears to be gender equality when it comes to access to education for the generation under the age of 25 (ECLAC 2010). The same however cannot be said about indigenous peoples who continue to suffer discrimination in the labor force and in the social welfare and education systems in all Latin American countries (Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2009).

The challenge for the governments of Latin American countries and large municipalities will be how to absorb the continued influx of migrants and growth of already large urban centers in terms of adequate housing, delivery of services and social programs (especially education and healthcare); how to foster opportunities for economic development in cities for new migrants and in the countryside so as to 'persuade' would-be urbanizers to stay home; and finally, how to promote more equality of opportunity for all social, gender, economic and cultural groups.

ECUADOR

Ecuador is located in North West corner of South America, to the South of Colombia and to the North and West of Peru. It has a population of 14.2 million people (INEC 2011), 62% of which is *mestizo*, 21% indigenous and 3% of Afro-descent, the rest being of European and other ancestry. Moreover, 65% of the population lives in urban areas (far less than the Latin American average of 90%, ECLAC 2010), nearly half of which can be found in one of Ecuador's two principal cities, Quito and Guayaquil, with respective populations of 2.12 million and 2.38 million.

When it comes to basic indicators of development, Ecuador fares about average or slightly better than other countries in the region. For example:

national rates of unemployment remained below or roughly equal to equivalent Latin American rates between 2000 and 2010 (Ecuador going from 9% to 8% and Latin America from 10.4% to 7.6%; ECLAC 2010); illiteracy rates for women in Ecuador have gone from 8.3% to 5.7% between 2005 and 2010, compared to the Latin American averages of 10.3% to 7.5% over the same period (ECLAC 2010); and national income inequality measured by the Gini Coefficient is currently pegged at .500 in Ecuador, compared to the Latin American average of .521 (Central Intelligence Agency 2011; ECLAC 2010). As well, Ecuador has recently been very successful at addressing many of the Millennium Development Goals, making substantial gains when it comes to literacy, gender equality, access to education and maternal health (World Bank 2011).

Despite these more recent signs of optimism, Ecuador continues to lag behind much of Latin America in terms of addressing urban poverty and inequality. Although on the decline, the percentages of urban Ecuadorians living in poverty and extreme poverty are nearly twice the Latin American averages. ECLAC (2010) estimates that in 2009 40.2% of urban Ecuadorians were living in poverty (compared to 27.8% in urban Latin America), and of that, half live in extreme poverty (15.5% in urban Ecuador and 8.8% in urban Latin America). Moreover, the rates of urban unemployment and urban inequality are above Latin American averages. In 2009 urban unemployment in Ecuador was 7.9% compared to 7.3% in Latin America, and urban inequality measured by the Gini coefficient was .485 in Ecuador and .458 in Latin America (compared to 1999 data, .526 and .520 respectively; ECLAC 2010). UN-Habitat (2011) also estimates that just over a quarter of Ecuadorians live in slum or shantytown-like conditions, experiencing diminished access to potable water and improved sanitation (see Figure 1.2; 2011), greater than the rough Latin American average of 20%, discussed above (UN-Habitat 2011).

Similar to the rest of Latin America, there are two groups particularly affected by poverty and inequality, women and indigenous peoples. Using data from ECLAC (2010) we find that women in Ecuador: are more likely than men to be unemployed in urban areas (the 2009 urban unemployment rate for women

was 9.8% compared to 6.5% for men); they are less likely to be economically active nationally, and specifically in urban areas (in 2010, 83.3% of men were economically active compared to 50.6% of women, and when looking only at urban areas these figures adjust to 78.1% for men and 52.3% for women [2009 data]); are more likely than men to be illiterate (in 2010 6.9% of women were illiterate compared to 4.7% of men); and moreover, are increasingly more likely to be living in poverty and extreme poverty (in 2009, the femininity rate of poverty was 111% [compared to 108.8% in 2002] and the femininity rate of extreme poverty was 118.1% [compared to 116% in 2002]).

For their part, indigenous peoples in Ecuador: have higher infant mortality rates (39.1 compared to 24.6 among the non-indigenous urban population, and 73.8 compared to 37.9 among the non-indigenous rural population); have higher rates of illiteracy (10.4% urban indigenous males are illiterate compared to 4.4% of urban non-indigenous males, and 20.4% of urban indigenous women compared to 5.7% of urban non-indigenous women); and have less average years of schooling (urban indigenous males have an average of 6.2 years compared to 8.9 for urban non-indigenous males, and urban indigenous women have 5.2 years compared to 8.8 for urban non-indigenous women; Sistema de Indicadores Sociodemográficos de Poblaciones y Pueblos Indígenas 2011). Ecuadorian indigenous people living in urban areas are more likely to have inadequate residential water supply (in urban areas 19.7% of houses headed by indigenous peoples have inadequate water compared to 16.3% of non-indigenous headed households), and are more likely to live with deficiencies in sanitation (in urban areas 34.2% compared to 33.4% among the non-indigenous urban population; the ethnic divide in access to these services is much more severe in rural areas; Sistema de Indicadores Sociodemográficos de Poblaciones y Pueblos Indígenas 2011). Ecuadorian indigenous peoples between the ages of 25 and 44 are three times *less* likely than non-indigenous people to be employed in prestigious technical or professional positions (ECLAC 2011).

Many of these and other inequalities have historical causes, and in that regard, Ecuador is similar to other countries in the region. What Griffin & Ford (1980) note are the three main events of urban Latin America's urban evolution – Colonialism, Import Substitution Industrialization and large-scale urbanization – have created and/ or reinforced what Hoffman & Centeno (2003) describe as a caste-system, replete with gender, ethnic and spatial hierarchies.

The challenges that Ecuador will undoubtedly face in the coming decades are similar to those in the rest of Latin America, namely: how to contend with swelling urban populations and the delivery of basic infrastructural and social services; and, how to create more equality of opportunity for social and ethnic groups suffering from inequality. In the latter regard, there do appear to be meaningful signs of progress in Ecuador, specifically since the arrival of so-called “New Left” leaders such as Paco Moncayo (former mayor of Quito; see Moncayo Gallegos 2008) and Rafael Correa (current President of the Republic). Their policies, municipal and national respectively, reflect growing popular pressures for the preservation of basic rights and the creation of economic opportunities.

QUITO

In Ecuador's capital city, the major events of Latin America's urban evolution that Griffin & Ford (1980) describe have played out in familiar ways. The Laws of the Indies laid out the grid pattern of streets within the colonial core, complete with a concentration of political, economic and religious centers of power (Swanson 2007, Capello 2006). Industrialization and a boom in banana exports in the 1940s pushed upper-class residential development out from the Central Business District along major axes to neighborhoods such as *Mariscal* and *La Floresta* in the North of the city (Capello 2006; Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Gestión de Destino Turístico 2011). The early to mid-20th century heralded the first modern developmental boom in the city, leading to the expansion of infrastructure and the construction of “hospitals, schools, universities, prisons and [the] international airport” (Empresa Pública

Metropolitana de Gestión de Destino Turístico 2011). The general movement of wealthy families to the North of the city, and the resulting relegation of the working classes to the South still holds true today. To reiterate, the dominant built-form narrative of the City of Quito sees the North as the seat of modern political and economic power, while the South is seen as dangerous, dirty, traditional and largely made up of indigenous peoples, Afro-Ecuadorians, migrants and peasants. This phenomenon of spatial segregation coupled with social and economic inequalities, has led theorists researching similar processes elsewhere to suggest the formation of a “dual city” (Mollenkopf & Castells 1991), that is, the presence of two ideologically or socio-economically dissimilar cities within the same geographic space. The “dual city” is a major barrier to development, physically (unequal distribution of resources and services) and socio-culturally (limited points of intersection between the ‘two cities’). The idea of the “dual city” is quite salient in other cities of Latin America, just as it is in the global North (Vancouver for example has been used as an example; Hern 2010).

Rapid urbanization in the 1960s and 1970s, stimulated by Import Substitution Industrialization, Agrarian Reform (Carrion 1990; Burbach 2007; interview, Moscoso, EMAAP-Q, June 7, 2010) and an oil boom (Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Gestión de Destino Turístico 2011), produced a second phase of elite exodus from the central regions of the City of Quito. The urbanization it produced also led to a rise in the informal economy and the development of low-income communities in and on the valleys, ravines and mountains on the periphery of the Metropolitan Region. Skyrocketing oil revenues in the 1970s and early 1980s led to the creation of a welfare state and the provision of basic urban infrastructural and social services (Burbach 2007). As the City of Quito’s tourism website describes: “The second wave of development came on the coat-tails of the petroleum boom of the seventies, high rise buildings spiking the skyline, new public buildings [being built], and new residential neighborhoods sprouting where once fields and forests ruled. The face of Quito was never the same again” (Empresa Pública Metropolitana de Gestión de Destino Turístico 2011)

In 2010, the population of the Metropolitan Region of Quito (including the City of Quito) was an estimated 2.12 million people, 22% of whom were living in poverty (inclusive of extreme poverty), and 8.2% in extreme poverty (Dirección Metropolitana de Planificación Territorial, Quito 2011). These averages can perhaps be misleading as more than half (in fact eight) of the Metropolitan Region's eleven administrative zones currently have above-average levels of poverty and extreme poverty. These eight zones, which also tend to have higher concentrations of illiteracy and decreased access to basic services, are geographically concentrated towards the South of the Region and along its Eastern and Northern Peripheries. The following figures demonstrate the concentration of inequality within the Metropolitan Region using a series of quantitative measures.

Figure 1.1: Literacy Rates and Average Years of Schooling, Metropolitan Region of Quito (Instituto de la Ciudad, 2011)

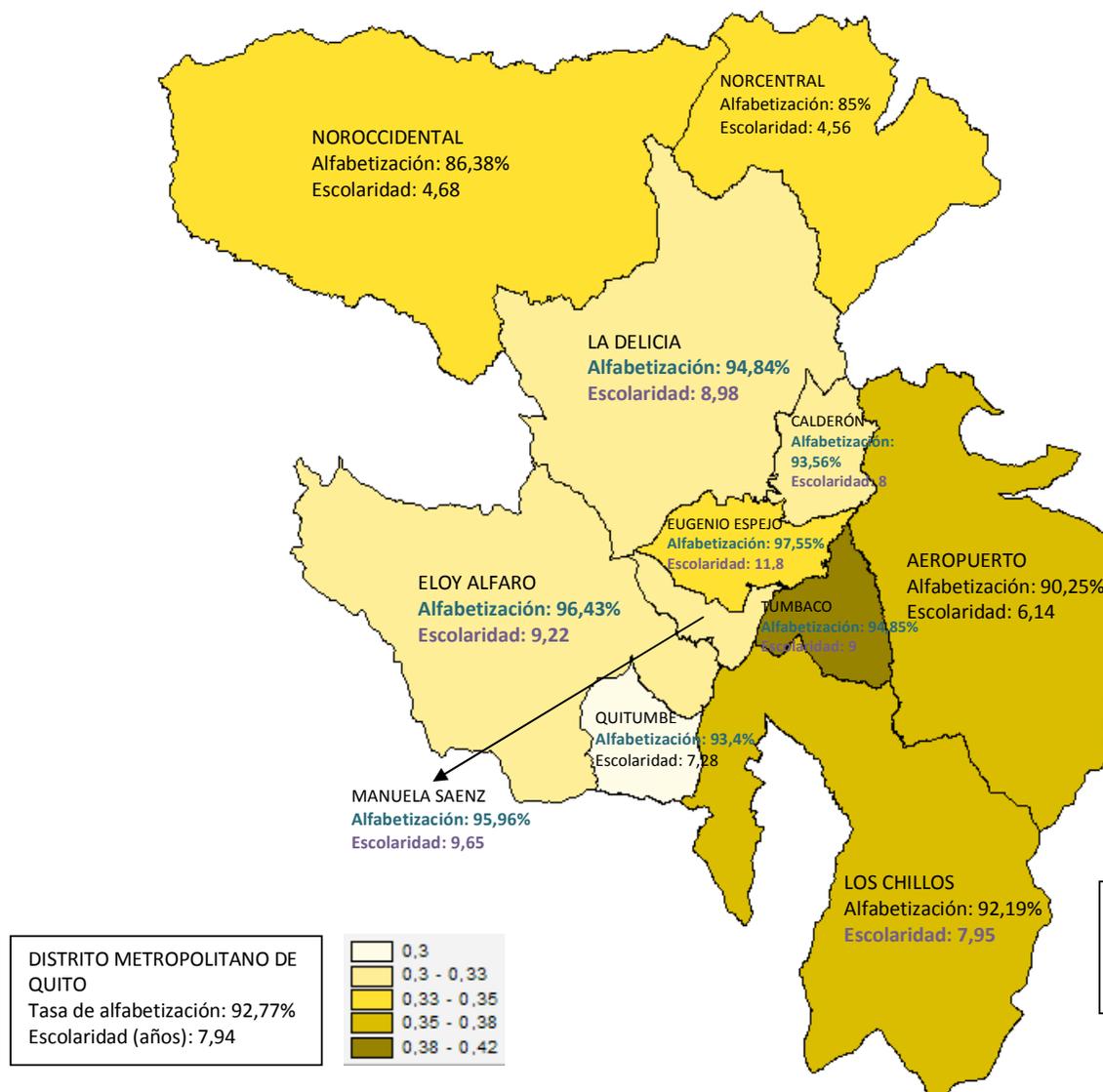


Figure 1.1 shows the variation in literacy (the top percentage in each of the zones) and average years of schooling (the bottom number) within the Metropolitan Region of Quito, with darker colors on the map denoting higher levels of inequality as measured by the Gini Coefficient (Instituto de la Ciudad, 2011). The average rates can be found in the box in the bottom left-hand corner of the figure (literacy 92.77% and 7.94 years of schooling). This map reveals a general relationship between income inequality (dark zones) and below average levels of literacy and years of schooling, Tumbaco being the one major

exception. Zones to the extreme North (Noroccidental and Norcentral) and those to the extreme South and East (Aeropuerto and Los Chillos) tend to lag behind, a trend that continues with the next figure.

Figure 1.2: Access to Potable Water, Electricity and Sewage, and Levels of Poverty (Instituto de la Ciudad 2011)

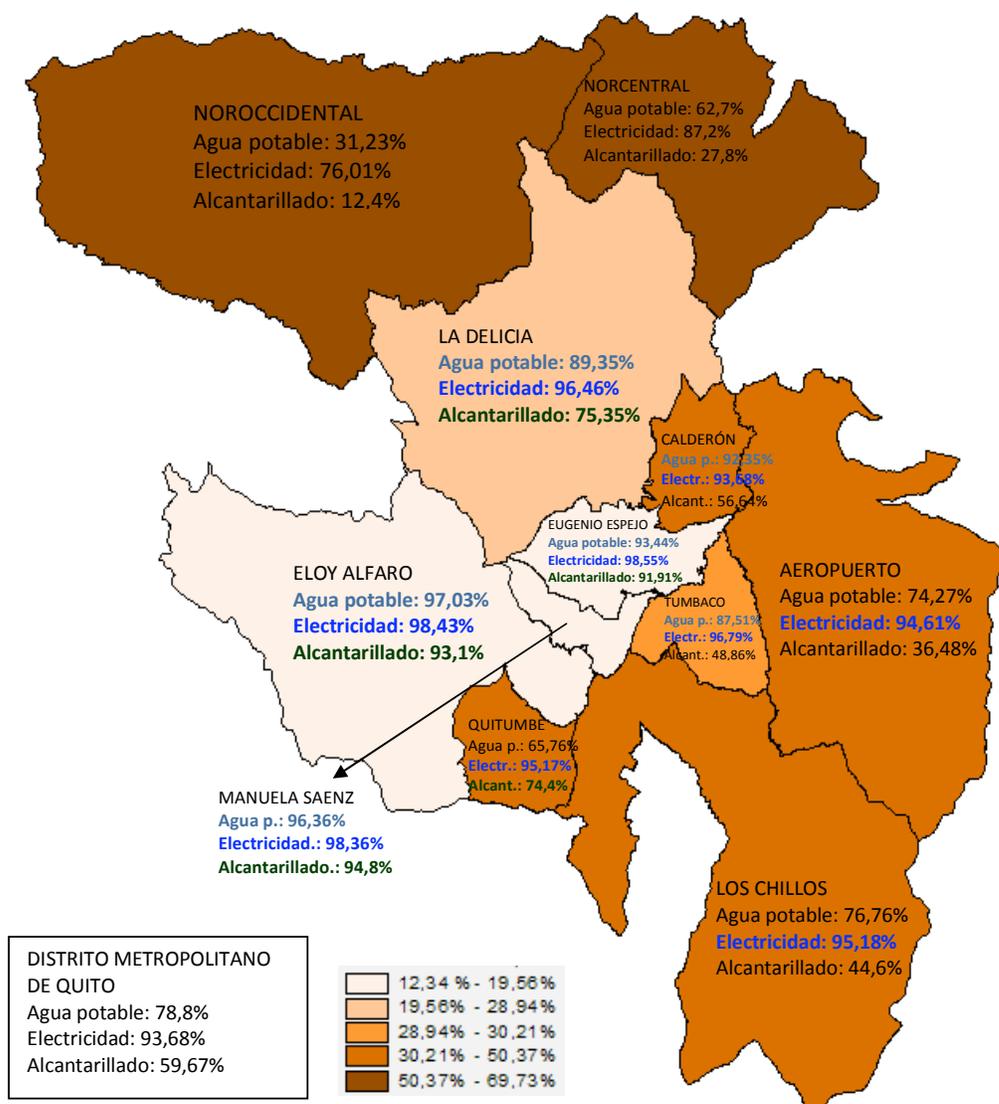


Figure 1.2 highlights the relationship between access to basic services and poverty. It shows that regions with higher concentrations of poverty (darker zones) also tend to have less than average access to potable water (the first percentage in each zone), electricity (the second) and sewage (the third). This

map further indicates the concentration of poverty and the poor delivery of basic services to the peripheries of the Metropolitan Region, once again the extreme North, East and South. It also highlights just how stark the contrast is between the provision of services in the center of the Region (Eugenio Espejo, Eloy Alfaro and Manuela Saenz) and on its peripheries. For example, access to potable water ranges from 95% in some zones in the centre to well under 50% on the peripheries, and access to sewage, from as low as 12% in Noroccidental to above 90% in the core. Two potential reasons why there is such a stark disparity in access to basic services are: first, peripheral zones tend to have relatively lower population density, making services more expensive to install on a per capita basis (for example, the population density of zones with *below average* poverty rates range from 62 to 140 persons/hectare, compared to the zones with *above average* poverty rates, which have between 0.6 and 16 persons/hectare; La Delicia is an outlier among the 'poor zones' with a population density of 89 persons/hectare); and second, because the central zones are older, and historically had wealthier populations who were able to pay for service installations (Capello 2006). This pattern of distribution of resources aligns remarkably well with the description provided by the Griffin & Ford Model of Latin American City Structure (1980) discussed previously.

The contrast between the core and periphery is further demonstrated by the following table, which shows the poverty and extreme poverty rates for the entire Metropolitan Region and each of the eleven separate administrative zones. This table highlights another characteristic of inequality in Quito, the relationship between poverty and ethnicity. It shows that those zones with poverty rates above the Region average also tend to have higher concentrations of indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian communities, while those with below average poverty rates tend to have slightly lower concentrations.

Table 1.2: Relationship between Poverty and the Concentration of Select Ethnic Groups in the Metropolitan Region (Dirección Metropolitana de Planificación Territorial, Quito 2011)

Administrative Zone	Poverty Rate	Extreme Poverty Rate	Percentage of Population Indigenous	Percentage of Population Afro-Ecuadorian
Metro Region	22	8	3	3
<i>Neighborhoods with poverty rates greater than the regional average</i>				
Quitumbe	38	16	4	3
La Delicia	23	8	3	5
Noroccidental	53	27	1	4
Norcentral	38	36	7	5
Calderon	27	10	8	2
Tumbaco	26	10	4	3
Los Chillos	29	16	3	2
Aeropuerto	36	21	3	3
<i>Neighborhoods with poverty rates less than the regional average</i>				
Eloy Alfaro	18	4	2	3
Manuela Saenz	20	4	5	3
Eugenio Espejo	13	4	3	3

Table 1.3 displays the relationship between the “formality” of communities and poverty. Despite lacking a clear definition, based on my interactions with informants during fieldwork (such as city employees and activists), I interpret “formal communities” to be those complying with city by-laws, within which all residents either maintain formal property title or rent from someone who does; conversely, “Informality” suggests a situation in which some aspect(s) of a community do not conform with existing municipal by-laws and/or residents occupy land or rent from someone without formal title. The data shows that the distribution of formal and informal settlements across the Metropolitan Region (using the Metropolitan Region’s typology) tends to align with access to basic

services, illiteracy and income inequality. Those communities with large illiterate populations, and with limited access to water, electricity and sewage (namely Los Chilllos, Quitumbe, Aeropuerto) also have higher concentrations of poverty and informal settlements. Not surprisingly, 78% of the Region's informal settlements appear in zones with above average rates of poverty and extreme poverty. This perhaps needs to be qualified noting that the poorer regions also tend to have larger surface areas. It would be useful to direct future research to the analysis of this tendency, asking: why informal settlements seem to concentrate in poor neighborhoods (is informality produced by poverty, or does poverty lead to informality); and analyzing the condition of property rights within informal communities.

Table 1.3: Relationship between Community Formality and Poverty, (2008 data from Dirección Metropolitana de Planificación Territorial, Quito 2011)

Administrative Zone	Number of “Legal Neighborhoods” (% of total)	Number of “Approved Communities” (% of total)	Number of “Informal Settlements” (% of total)	Poverty Rate
Metro Region	356 (100)	82 (100)	357 (100)	22
<i>Neighborhoods with poverty rates greater than the regional average</i>				
Quitumbe	128 (36)	12 (15)	100 (28)	38
La Delicia	34 (10)	8 (10)	43 (12)	23
Noroccidental	-	-	-	53
Norcentral	-	-	-	38
Calderon	53 (15)	15 (18)	72 (20)	27
Tumbaco	5 (1)	6 (7)	7 (2)	26
Los Chilllos	37 (10)	12 (15)	46 (13)	29
Aeropuerto	6 (2)	4 (5)	8 (2)	36
Group as % of Total	74%	59%	78%	/
<i>Neighborhoods with poverty rates less than the regional average</i>				
Eloy Alfaro	43 (12)	11 (13)	34 (10)	18
Manuela Saenz	32 (9)	11 (13)	18 (5)	20

Eugenio Espejo	18 (5)	12 (15)	25 (7)	13
Group as % of Total	26%	41%	22%	/

Table 1.4: Total Population Growth Rates for the Metropolitan Region (data from Dirección Metropolitana de Planificación Territorial, Quito 2011)

Administrative Zone	Growth Rate 1990-2001	Growth Rate 2001-05	Growth Rate 2005-10	Growth Rate 2010-15 (est.)	Population 2010
Metro Region	2.6	2.2	2.0	1.8	2 215 820
<i>Neighborhoods with poverty rates greater than the regional average</i>					
Quitumbe	10	5.4	4.4	3.6	291 439
La Delicia	4.2	3.1	2.8	2.5	340 193
Noroccidental	-0.9	-1	-1	-1.1	10 940
Norcentral	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	18 010
Calderon	7.9	4.8	3.9	3.3	137 605
Tumbaco	5.2	3.7	3.1	2.7	80 276
Los Chillos	4.3	3.2	2.8	2.4	152 170
Aeropuerto	5.3	3.7	3.2	2.8	97 312
<i>Neighborhoods with poverty rates less than the regional average</i>					
Eloy Alfaro	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.1	459 532
Manuela Saenz	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002	227 124
Eugenio Espejo	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	393 616

Furthermore, in the Metropolitan Region of Quito zones with high poverty rates also have high population growth rates. Table 1.4 shows that with the exception of the two least populated zones (Noroccidental and Norcentral), those zones with above average poverty rates also have high population growth rates. The table also reveals that the poorest areas of the region, which also happen to be the most unequal (in terms of income equality, literacy and access to basic services), continue to grow at astonishing rates, often two, three and four-fold the Regional average, but that over time those rates seem to be slowing down or evening out. The Metropolitan Region of Quito does not disaggregate the source

of population growth, for example between migration and fertility. I would argue however, based on my field observations and discussions with staff from different organizations, that growth in peripheral communities has historically been related most strongly to migration from the countryside.

Finally, Figure 1.3 shows the geography of poverty within the City of Quito (as distinct from the Metropolitan Region). To classify poverty, the City of Quito uses three different subsets: chronic, structural and recent. *Chronic poverty* (red areas) is defined as “households that do not have sufficient income to cover basic consumption or needs”. *Structural poverty* (brown areas) is defined as “households that have sufficient income to acquire basic services, but which have not been able to improve the quality of their livelihood”; essentially, households that are just making-do, with no extra income to construct stable housing or invest in higher education etc. Finally, *recent poverty* (blue areas) is defined as “households that are able to satisfy their basic needs, but which have an income below the poverty line” (Dirección Metropolitana de Planificación Territorial, Quito 2011).

Table 1.5: Distribution of Poverty within the City of Quito (from Dirección Metropolitana de Planificación Territorial, Quito 2011)

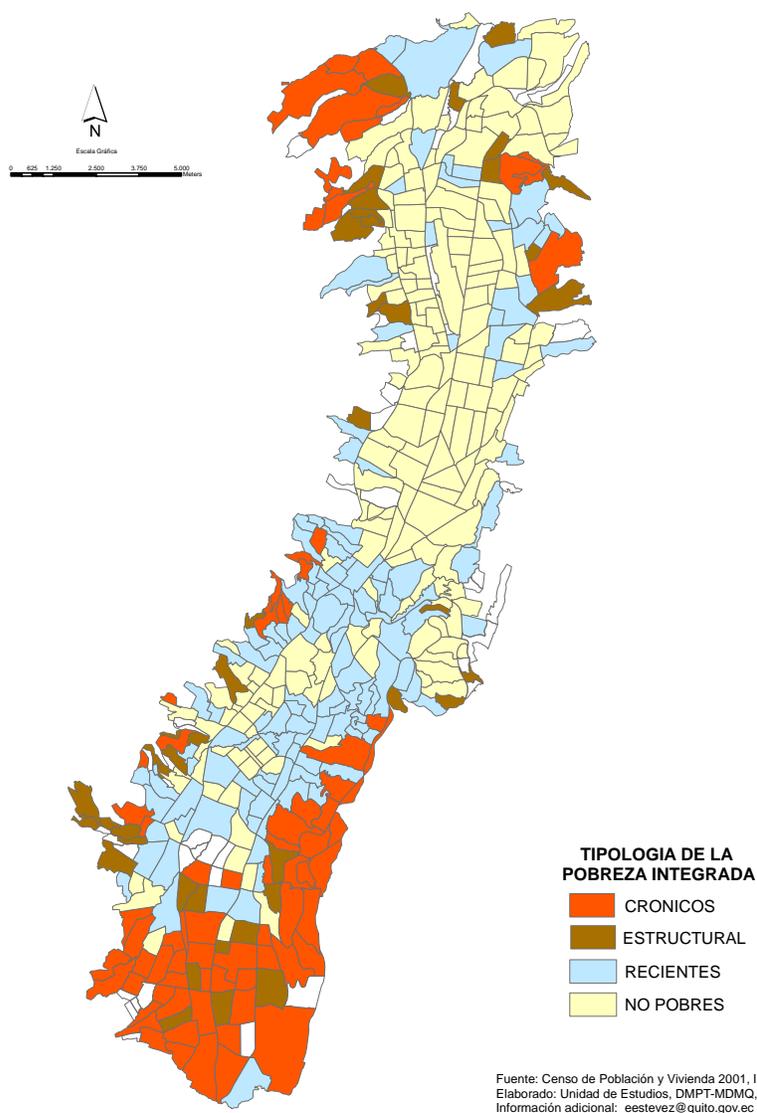


Figure 1.3 shows that poverty is for the most part confined to the South of the City, while areas classified as not poor (“*no pobres*”) are concentrated in the North (coinciding partially with the Eugenio Espejo Regional zone). And moreover, that the most severe classifications of poverty, chronic and structural poverty, tend to be most dominant at the extreme Southern end of the city (in the Metropolitan Region this would partially coincide with the zones of Los Chillos and Quitumbe).

What we can infer from all of this data is that inequality physically manifests on the peripheries. In the City of Quito it is more or less confined to the South, and in the Metropolitan Region inequality concentrates within the North, East and Southern peripheries.

From the viewpoint of the Marginality School, inequality occurs in Quito as a result of a culture of poverty (what Pearlman 1976 argues is the “myth” that perpetuates a “social reality”, and what I suggest leads to the creation of socio-cultural barriers). This School would argue that the poor’s rural roots, and peasant traditions hold them back from truly becoming part of urban society. And moreover, that marginality is most visible on the peripheries of society, in shantytowns and poor neighborhoods, and spatially in the city’s South.

From the Critical Perspective, inequality has structural causes. When inequality first manifest in Quito with the arrival of the Spanish, it was the product of an imported caste-system (Hoffman & Centeno 2003; Dawson 2011); Urban White European males were at the top of society and rural indigenous/ Afro-Ecuadorian women were at the bottom (and not much has changed). In the early part of the 20th century, inequality was caused by a corporatist State, individuals and communities able to interact with the State as members of unions or as peasants fared much better than individuals or communities identifying as indigenous (Striffler 2002). At the end of the 1970s and with the implementation of SAPs, neoliberal capitalism became the culprit. Under the structure of neoliberal capitalism the individual thrives while the collective is pushed aside, globalization flourishes while tradition is relegated, and women, minority groups, the poor, political refugees and the culturally dominated (such as the indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorians) often struggle to get by while the jet-setting elite (be they of European or indigenous ancestry; Colloredo-Mansfeld 1998) transform the city according to their interpretation of North American or European modernity.

The actual sources of inequality appear in both overt and more abstract ways. As discussed previously, Swanson (2007) describes the structural and abstract control of certain socioeconomic and cultural groups in Quito using what she calls “revanchist” urban policy. These policies do not explicitly discriminate

against specific groups, however the way in which they are enforced can be seen as unequal. For example, revanchist policies used to promote economic development, or which are designed to create safe environments for tourists (such as in Quito's colonial center), can manifest overtly in the form of police repression against beggars or informal vendors, the use of surveillance infrastructure to monitor tourists activities and the creation of fortified enclaves around tourist sites (Hern 2010). All of these forms of repression act to peripheralize or erase ways of life, narratives and images deemed 'inappropriate' or 'un-modern', thereby limiting the free use of public space (despite it being enshrined in the Ecuadorian Constitution, Asamblea Constituyente 2008).

As an example, during my final few weeks of fieldwork in Ecuador I attended an outdoor music festival. The event, taking place in a plaza in the colonial center, was advertized as a "symbolic takeover" of public space (*una toma simbólica*). The concert was organized by a local non-profit organization and funded by several government agencies (municipal, provincial and State) and non-profit foundations. In attendance were about 2000-3000 individuals from across the socio-economic and ethnic spectrum of Quito, along with the usual contingent of *extranjeros* (wealthy tourists and poor backpackers). Such a large gathering in the colonial core meant that informal vendors and beggars were out in full-force. It also meant that the Metropolitan Police (essentially an unarmed police unit that patrols the colonial core) were present to clamp down on 'inappropriate activities'. The unfortunate irony came when in the same breath that the event's speakers were reading word-for-word from the Ecuadorian constitution, proclaiming that 'this plaza is constitutionally guaranteed to be for the enjoyment of all citizens of the Ecuadorian state', the police began to forcibly remove all vendors and beggars. This resulted in a few episodes of policemen trying to chase down women selling gum and cigarettes. Even with babies in tow, the police were no match for them. At best, this anecdote can demonstrate what is at times an almost laughable or ironic way in which double-standards manifest irrespective of law. At worst, it highlights the harsh discrimination faced by subordinate groups in Quito, disproportionately indigenous and women

(Dirección Metropolitana de Planificación Territorial, Quito 2011)), who appear in this case to be seen as something less than 'citizens'. Or perhaps this is simply a case of the law being a projection of how society should or "might function, and not so much as a prescription of how it will function" as Dawson (2011, 60) suggests in a separate discussion about Latin America.

I have argued that these inequalities can also be understood as constraints on social and economic development, appearing in the form of physical, state and socio-cultural barriers. For example, police repression of beggars and vendors limits the ability of families with low-incomes to earn a living (a state and perhaps socio-cultural barrier); surveillance infrastructure acts as an invasion of privacy, especially when it is used as a tool to target and repress certain socioeconomic groups (a physical, state and socio-cultural barrier); and, the fortification of space, can transform public space into semi-private space, reneging in the case of Quito and Ecuador, constitutional guarantees for freedom of assembly and freedom to use the public domain for all citizens (a physical, state and socio-cultural barrier).

The main challenge that I foresee for the Metropolitan Region and City of Quito will be how to balance the need for steady economic development (including the growth of the tourism industry) against the needs of subordinate groups, which in many cases are one and the same. While in recent years tourism has instigated the redevelopment and revival of the low-income areas of Quito (notably the colonial center), I argue that more needs to be done to incorporate the individuals and groups actively excluded by such projects. For example, the same informal workers and ethnic groups who have been continually pushed to society's peripheries in order to maintain a specific imagery deemed appropriate for international tourism need to take a meaningful role in determining how economic development will impact their city in the future.

The following three chapters review different on-going projects that aim to improve the living conditions of subordinate Quiteñas and Quiteños. They are the efforts of disparate groups of organizations and individuals, some of whom are themselves from low-income and subordinate communities (the Association of

Women Fighting for Life, Chapter 4). Analyzing their successes and shortcomings will not reveal a panacea for urban inequality in the 'developing world', but may point to strategies for instigating access to social and economic development that can be adapted to the particular contexts of other Latin American urban areas.

CHAPTER 2

ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION PROGRAM (PSA)

INTRODUCTION

The first project that this thesis examines is the Environmental Sanitation Program (PSA). The PSA is a multi-million dollar project administered by Quito's Municipal Water Company (EMAAP-Q) in collaboration with the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). It is the continuation of the group's previous project "The Slopes of Pichincha Program" (*El Programa Laderas del Pichincha*) that operated between 1996 and 2002. The current PSA project began in 2004 with a mandate through 2013. While the PSA is my main focus, both programs share similar objectives and methodologies and are therefore discussed largely as one.

"This project [PSA] is a continuation of the work completed by The Slopes of Pichincha Program whose stated objectives were: flood control; recovery of 'clean' environments; enhancement of drainage; risk management; recovery of natural urban public spaces; resettlement of families at risk; and the recovery of areas of strategic importance to the municipality of Quito. [...] Within that holistic framework, the PSA is concerned with mitigating urban risks found along and within the ravines [that originate on Pichincha Volcano] and recovering fragile environments within the city, in such a way that contributes to an improvement in quality of life and security for the people living in these areas, and preventing disasters associated with the occupation of low lying lands prone to flood, landslides and alluvium." (EMAAP-Q 2009)

The project's objective is to preserve Quito's iconic natural patrimony (notably Pichincha Volcano and the associated ecosystem) and the benefits that accrue from it to the population (such as potable water, clean air, flood control) through small and large-scale infrastructure development and risk mitigation. To

do so, the PSA takes a two-pronged approach, dealing with both environmental and human needs. While both sets of needs are extremely interrelated and often indistinguishable, I will frame the remainder of this description from the perspective of human needs.

Human needs can be disaggregated into those of the entire population of the Metropolitan Region of Quito, and those of low-income and subordinate populations living in at-risk conditions on the periphery (both of the City and the Metropolitan Region). The PSA has a number of ways of describing risk: geophysical (for example, housing next to or in a ravine, and at-risk of being washed away); social (for example, low-income families without the means to move or address the geophysical risk associated with their housing); and, environmental (for example, housing located in areas not appropriate for urban residential use, because of ecological sensitivity). These three types of risk are not mutually exclusive.

My interviews with key project administrators revealed that some of the PSA staff tends to attribute the source of risk to the poor families themselves. One administrator in particular traced the current risk to the local ecosystem and national patrimony (both embodied symbolically by the Pichincha Volcano) directly to families that had begun constructing informal communities in the late 1960 after the agrarian reform implemented by the military junta (interview, Moscoso, EMAAP-Q, June 17th and August 14th 2010). Ms. Moscoso noted how groups living in “at-risk” areas continue to “put the natural patrimony [of the country] at risk, as well as [risking] their own lives”. Ms. Moscoso also attributed the conditions of housing in these communities to the stubborn character and “foolish attitude” (“*actitud tonta*”) of residents, who are in her eyes unwilling to work together to improve the conditions of their communities. Based additionally on my field observations I argue that this perspective pervades the methodology taken by the project, exemplified by the lack of short or long-term socio-economic support offered to communities deemed at socioeconomic risk, and is reminiscent of the Marginality School perspective discussed in Chapter One. From that perspective the physical and socioeconomic condition of subordinate

communities is attributed to the people themselves, irrespective of a larger structural or historic context. Conversely, the Critical Perspective on Marginality would likely point to the agrarian reform project as one of the initial structural cause of urbanization, and the lack of economic opportunities and affordable housing as sources of informality and why communities have and continue to emerge in areas of geo-physical risk.

The first group (the entire population) faces more mid to long-term risk in terms of access to potable water, flood control and the preservation of local ecosystems. The second group (low-income communities) faces immediate risk both in terms of the danger associated with living in an area of geophysical instability, and in terms of their relative socioeconomic condition that forced them to settle in these areas in the first place. Moreover, they experience risk due to the condition of their occupancy, with many households lacking legal title to land, and thus unable to easily relocate. As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, the peripheries of both the Metropolitan Region and the City are home to the largest concentration of poverty and inequality, and as shown in Table 1.3, housing informality is also most prevalent in these areas.

The first group (the general population) is targeted broadly through risk mitigation (flood control, city-wide educational programs); infrastructure development (large-scale drainage projects, the creation of parks); the protection of natural patrimony; and, indirectly through the benefits that are expected to accrue in the form of economic development, formalization of land tenure, tourism, citizen engagement and the creation of public space. The second group (low-income communities) is targeted with small-scale infrastructure projects (sewage projects, slope fortifications); resettlements; *in situ* risk mitigations (removing certain buildings, planting trees); local community participation (re-design of community spaces); and the formalization of land tenure (granting of land title). It is important to note that these two groups are not mutually exclusive; families in immediate risk who benefit from relocation and formalized occupancy

(can/should) also benefit from, for example, large-scale infrastructure projects and the creation of public spaces³.

PROJECT METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

The Plan for the Mitigation of Risks and Resettlements (PMRR), one of the PSA's promotional materials, acts as a handbook for addressing the risk presented by, and the needs of the second target population (low-income communities). It identifies three objectives with regards to the resettlement of low-income at-risk families, what I refer to below as '*ex situ*' mitigation:

- 1) "Facilitate the de-occupation of areas deemed at risk, alongside and within ravines, recover fragile urban green spaces, and facilitate the implementation of mitigation actions and works;
- 2) Guarantee to families directly involved in the Program solutions that are socially just and adequate according to their particular socioeconomic and cultural condition, and in such a way that produces a positive change in the quality of life of resettled persons; and,
- 3) Comply with the objectives of the Program, the socio-environmental policy framework of EMAAP-Q, municipal regulations, and the operational guidelines of the BID for programs with obligatory resettlements"⁴ (EMAAP-Q 2009, author translation).

The evaluation and classification of risk is conducted in four steps.

- 1) "*Threat Maps*": This information is used to identify which specific settlements are in physical risk, and the relative severity of that risk. Threat Maps are created based on geologic and geomorphic information retrieved from the field within each of the ravines. Based on this

³ My descriptions of risk and risk mitigation strategies are based on my interviews with project staff over the course of fieldwork, field visits to project sites (including five to families currently preparing for forced relocation and one to a housing project for relocated families), and a review of the PSA's promotional materials (specifically EMAAP-Q 2009).

⁴ The BID's operational guideline for involuntary resettlement is OP-710

information, risk is classified in each study-area according to the *probability* and *intensity* of phenomena (i.e. mud flows, landslides, flooding, rock slides). Probability and intensity are determined taking into account various factors such as soil composition, height of slopes, and erosion etc. and, the expected velocity and magnitude of events.

- 2) *Physical vulnerability of 'exposed elements'* (i.e. houses and other constructions): Vulnerability is determined using a number of factors, including the relative location of buildings to ravines, construction materials, presence and amount of vegetation, and existence of sewage or drainage etc.
- 3) *Social vulnerability of families in risk*: Social vulnerability is determined using a matrix with 7 criteria (the Index of Social Vulnerability, IVS): gender of head of household (HoH); educational attainment of HoH; ethnicity of HoH (self-defined); per capita consumption; age of HoH; presence of any disability or handicap within the family; and the existence of 'infant morbidity' (measured using factors such as malnutrition). Each criteria is assigned a certain number of points according to its relative presence within the household. For example, a male HoH is assigned 0 points, while a female HoH is assigned 5; HoHs identifying as indigenous of afro-Ecuadoran are assigned 5, *mestizo* (mixed) 2.5, and 'foreigner' (*extranjero*) 0.

Points are summed and used to determine the level of Social risk for each particular family. Based on that risk a specific mitigation strategy is created. In the event that families need to be resettled, families who receive 0-20 points are offered technical assistance from the PSA, with the costs of mitigation borne by the family. For families receiving 20-30 points, costs are shared with the PSA. And for those scoring 30-100, complete assistance is provided.

- 4) *Evaluation of condition of tenancy*. Each family's tenancy situation is distinct. Some families have full legal title; some occupy the land while the owners live elsewhere (e.g. renting or living in a family member's home); others occupy the land with illegal or fraudulent title; and still others occupy lands with no title at all. The evaluation of each family's risk and their respective risk mitigation strategy takes into account their condition of tenancy (EMAAP-Q 2009).

Once risk has been identified, there are two types of risk mitigation strategies, *in situ* and *ex situ*, both of which try to avoid drastically altering families' current socioeconomic and occupancy condition (as evidenced by the

above experts). *In situ* mitigation refers to efforts undertaken to diminish risk on the original parcel of land (for example, the relocation of certain buildings, the construction of walls, fortification of slopes, planting trees). *Ex situ* mitigation involves the physical relocation of a family, and the demolition of all constructions upon the original site. Lands are then re-designed taking into account the environmental objectives of the project and through direct consultations with local communities, for example transforming lots along the edge of a ravine into a soccer field or an illuminated walkway. As mentioned, the costs associated with each mitigation strategy are assigned to the different stakeholders according to IVS score the family. As of 2009, Phases One and Two of the PSA had provided 332 families with *in situ* mitigation and 55 with *ex situ* mitigation (EMAAP-Q 2009), and as of fieldwork some 30 families were awaiting resettlement.

According to project staff, when an *ex situ* mitigation is deemed appropriate a number of important steps are taken. First, families are approached by the PSA and informed about of the relocation process and any costs involved. When families are deemed to be at high risk, the financial burden of relocation is taken on by the PSA. Second, families are presented with a list of housing alternatives, although there is typically one PSA preferred option such as a housing complex that it has built (or purchased) in collaboration with the local municipal government. Being resettled can represent a significant change for relocated families who in many cases are accustomed to living in houses with access to land upon which they could grow small crops or raise animals (as evidence during field visits, by the number of families who had been cultivating small crops or raising animals such as pigs and chickens), but who must come to live in the more restrictive environment of a condominium complex; where once families could essentially do as they please with their lands (because it was private property, if they were not renting; and because of a lack of State capacity to enforce bylaws such as those prohibiting raising animals), they must adapt and live communally within the guidelines established by their condo association. Third, families are taken to the proposed site and allowed to make comments and suggestions. Fourth, families relocate with the assistance of the PSA. And

fifth, PSA staff monitor families for one additional year in case problems arise (project staff not that they only really deal with psychological problems; as opposed to strictly socio-economic problems) and offer assistance accordingly.

Within that methodology there are some important subtleties, many of which came up during field visits. Families that previously possessed legal title, or who have occupied the at risk parcel of land for a period of time that results in *de facto* legal possession (15 years or more in Quito) will be granted full title to their new housing through a land swap with the PSA. To do so, families must first provide or obtain title to their original property, a potentially costly process (according to PSA project staff) for which there is no financial assistance provided. Families that do not accept the relocation alternatives presented by the PSA have the option of finding their own. In those cases, families either have a new home purchased for them, or are 'bought-out' (according to their IVS score and a formula designed by the Municipality to calculate the value of lands). PSA housing alternatives have a budget of US \$18,000⁵, and families who chose to find their own new housing will be granted that as a maximum. Even though there is a welcomed degree of freedom in finding new suitable housing, \$18,000 will likely only be able to pay for a small one or two bedroom condominium in suburban Quito. However, most families choose to be relocated to the PSA's preferred option because it is typically located in or near to neighborhood they had previously been living in. Finally, housing alternatives and relocation schedules are formulated to minimize socioeconomic externalities. For example, the PSA presents housing alternatives located near to where families already live so that children can remain in the same school and friends, and so that those who work do not have to find new employment. As well, relocations take place during school holidays to decrease the burden on children.

The PSA has also instigated a number of infrastructure projects of varying size along the western edge of the city. These projects are aimed at mitigating large-scale environmental risk through flood control, ravine fortification, and the

⁵ Up to \$13,000 is provided by BID, and the Government of Ecuador provides \$5,000 through a one-time State housing subsidy for low-income families.

extension of sewer lines for the general population. One of the more substantial of these efforts was the fortification and re-design of the “Jerusalem ravine” (*quebrada Jerusalén*) in the neighborhood of *El Tejar*. This neighborhood is located on the periphery of the colonial center of the City of Quito, and has long been associated with working class residents. Its redesign has opened up the ravine to all residents of the city with illuminated hiking trails and soccer fields, and made the colonial center less prone to flooding. The area’s redevelopment is also largely portrayed by the project as the symbolic revitalization of a once-vibrant yet nonetheless significant neighborhood.

There are two other major developments from this project, both of which are seen to benefit the general population of Quito. The first is the *Yaku Water Museum*, which is situated on the flanks of Pichincha just North of Jerusalem ravine. The main focus of the museum is water conservation education. During a visit guests physically retrace the journey that water makes from glacier to tap. Afterwards they are encouraged to walk along the trails that extend down from the museum and that link it with the colonial center. The second development is the *TelefériQo*⁶, a eco-tourism complex oriented by a gondola that takes visitors up nearly a vertical kilometer from the city center to a base camp at 4100 meters on Pichincha Volcano. From there visitors can either chose to stay and admire the incredible view (appreciating 40 kilometers of urban sprawl), or, for those not contented by drinking coca tea in a heated tourist lodge, they can hike the remaining 700 meters to the summit. *TelefériQo* also boasts an amusement park, and a network of hiking and mountain bike trails that allow visitors to witness the ecological sensitivity of the *páramo* and the immensity of the city’s footprint. The trails also serve as deterrents to future unsuitable housing development, one of the key goals of the PSA.

CRITICAL EVALUATION

⁶ A play on the Spanish word for gondola – *teleférico*.

To critically evaluate this project we need to take into account two things. First, and to give a fair evaluation success, the project needs to be compared to its stated objectives. This will lead to a more accurate description of the PSA's accomplishments and a more refined analysis of where there may be room for improvement. Second, and to address the research question, I evaluate this project in terms of its ability to address inequality within its target population (specifically the families in the second target population of low-income/subordinate communities who underwent *ex situ* mitigation) by promoting social and economic development. In Chapter One I suggest that overcoming inequality is contingent upon the removal of physical, state and socio-cultural barriers, as well as the empowerment of subordinate groups. I begin this evaluation with a look at the project's achievements with respect to its stated goals, followed by an analysis of its efforts to address inequality. My findings are based on my observations during field visits, interactions with project staff and participants, and a review of the project's promotional materials.

STATED OBJECTIVES

Evaluated against its stated goals, the PSA seems to be a largely successful undertaking. Evidence from the field suggests that the project has been effective at addressing its 'environmental goals' (mitigating risks such as flooding and contamination of potable water), as well as, though to a lesser extent, its 'human goals' (such as providing *in situ* and *ex situ* mitigation). Environmental goals concern the protection of the local environment from short and long-term threats. Threats are defined by the PSA as potential dangers to the benefits provided *by nature to* the general population. The benefits are: natural flood control, bio-diversity, tourism, and the creation of local and national narratives/cultural imageries (for example those centered on the volcano and mountains that flank the colonial district). The threats to nature are: human encroachment on sensitive lands; the improper disposal of waste; the weakened recharge capacity of grounds from continued deforestation and

paving; and, erosion caused by the removal of plants and the construction of heavy buildings along the edges of ravines. As discussed above, the PSA has taken a multidisciplinary approach to tackling these issues, instigating substantial household-level risk mitigations both *in situ* and *ex situ* (targeted at low-income communities), undertaking large infrastructure projects to improve water management (targeted at the general populace) and creating broad-based education campaigns such as the Yaku Museum and the *TelefériQo* (targeted at the general populace).

With regards to the ‘human’ component, the project tries to balance the long-term needs of all residents in Quito against what it calls the “socioeconomic” and “socio-cultural” needs of the low-income communities who migrated to at-risk areas. The needs of the general population are addressed by endeavors taken by the PSA to ensure the long-term protection of local eco-systems and sources of potable water through large-scale flood control projects and efforts to conserve at-risk ecosystems (specifically on Pichincha Volcano, around the *TelefériQo*). The PSA has attempted to address the needs of the latter group (low-income communities) through *in situ* and *ex situ* mitigation. While both strategies have their positives and negatives, the objective living conditions of “at-risk” families have improved with the help of this project. For example, project participants reported improved security of land tenure, better access to basic services, and in many cases the physical amelioration of housing. On the one hand, *in situ* families are given assistance to remain in their homes, and *ex situ* families are ensured full title over new properties. *Ex situ* families also remarked that they have improved access to services and some even noted that they feel a stronger connection to the city (one individual noted that he feels “more attached and committed to the city [having been relocated to his new home]”). On the other, *in situ* families continue to live on society’s periphery without stable access to basic services, and in some cases *ex situ* families lament the lack of ‘neighborliness’ of ‘feeling of community’ within housing condominiums. As I was only granted access by the PSA to households that underwent *ex situ* mitigation, I will focus my evaluation of the project specifically on them.

The PSA relies on a series of documents when considering the needs of families requiring *ex situ* mitigation. The primary document is the PMRR, and as stated above it has three objectives. In my opinion, in terms of addressing socioeconomic inequality, of the three, the second is perhaps the most important: to “guarantee to families directly involved in the Program solutions that are socially just and adequate according to their particular socioeconomic and cultural condition, and in such a way that produces a positive change in the quality of life of resettled persons.” While the document leaves unclear what exactly constitutes one’s “socioeconomic” and “cultural condition”, or an improvement in “quality of life”, the terms are slightly more crystallized with the help of the BID’s Operating Procedure OP-710. OP-710 is a policy used by the Bank for all of the projects it funds with an “involuntary resettlement” component. It will help us gauge the impact that this project has had on the lives at-risk families that undergo (or have undergone) resettlement. The Operating Procedure states that every effort will be made by the Bank, or by its agents (i.e. EMAAP-Q), to ensure displaced families in the “shortest possible period of time”:

- 1) “Achieve a minimum standard of living and access to land, natural resources, and services (such as potable water, sanitation, community infrastructure, land titling) at least equivalent to pre-resettlement levels.”

During my visit to one of the PSA’s housing developments I had the opportunity to talk with three families. All three expressed at least similar levels of access to basic services such as potable water, sewage and electricity, and, improved access to the Internet, telephone service and public transportation (compared to previous housing conditions). As well, and based further on my conversations with project staff, families that had previously enjoyed *de facto* or *de jure* title, either retain that title or have formalized ownership over new condominiums.

Families also note that they lack access to land and community infrastructure (such as parks or soccer fields for children to play on). One father noted that in the housing project “there is no room for my kids to play”, and “there

is no freedom [here]” – referring to the fact that individual families cannot use common areas within the housing development as they wish.

2) “Recover all losses caused by transitional hardships”

The financial burden that families suffer because of the transition (for example, notary fees for legal documents, printing and photocopying documents, getting copies of land title, physical moving expenses) is kept to a minimum, however significant costs may still be incurred. While the cost of the new house (depending on the IVA score) and the associated move are covered by EMAAP-Q, before that can actually happen families must first come up with the money needed to prove existing land title or obtain *de facto* title from the Municipality. According to project staff, this process has a base cost of roughly US \$50 (more than 20% of the minimum monthly wage of US \$240; although many individuals do not even earn that much), but when we consider the cost of transportation, loss of income, and in some cases the need to contact landowners who live overseas, the total costs can reach as high as \$75 or \$100. For impoverished families working in the informal economy, and especially for single parent families, these costs can be very prohibitive and can severely stall their retreat from high-risk areas – to give an idea, the minimum wage in Ecuador is \$240 per month, although there is no minimum wage in the informal economy.

3) “Experience as little disruption as possible to their social networks, opportunities for employment or production, and access to natural resources and public facilities.”

As stated above, the PSA takes many steps to limit the social and economic externalities attributed to the resettlement. Despite those good intentions, in some cases there are still significant negative impacts. One example that I observed during my visit to a housing development was an individual who worked as a carpenter out of a workshop beside his previous home. Since the relocation brought him and his family to live in a condominium,

he has been physically and legally unable to bring his workshop with him. This means that he now has to commute back and forth between his house and work, resulting in more overhead costs, and as he lamented, decreasing the amount of time that he spends with his family. Moreover, all interviewed families expressed their dissatisfaction with the feeling of ‘neighborliness’ (*vecindad*) within the housing complex, contrasting it to the real sense of community they previously enjoyed. At the same time, families also expressed happiness that their new housing was “more central”, with improved access to public facilities such as schools, public health centers and public space (e.g. colonial center).

4) “Have access to opportunities for social and economic development.”

This last point is the area that the project participants I interviewed feel that the project has been least successful. While offering basic social support in terms of psychological counseling for families deeply affected by the relocation (in some cases leaving homes that they had lived in for 15 or more years), there has been no support provided for socioeconomic development. It is true that families have more security of tenure and greater access to basic services, in many cases they continue to lack economic stability and formality. Moreover, and as mentioned previously, families are unhappy with the lack of social interaction amongst neighbors. Since solidarity can be instrumental in the search for employment (Mouw 2008), its absence should be interpreted as a matter of both social and economic development.

Based on my observations in relation to the PSA’s stated objectives, I make the following suggestions. First, the project could do more to encourage social interaction within housing developments. This could improve families’ sense of belonging and respect for one another (*vecindad*), and in turn improve solidarity. Solidarity will help families strengthen social networks and find future economic opportunities (for instance, through networking; also helping to overcome socio-cultural barriers; Mouw 2008). Two strategies for accomplishing this are: i) bring to-be-resettled families together as soon as possible, allowing

them to share the experience, provide social and emotional support to one another, and build social networks; ii) encourage resettled families to carry out communal work projects (or '*mingas*', as they are known colloquially in the Andes; Ruiz *et al* 2008) such as cleaning, painting, planting trees or throwing parties. This may help develop solidarity and facilitate the integration of new families to the community over time. Second, families may benefit from improved access to land. Land serves two important functions, both as a tool for economic development and as a source of identity. Since, according to project staff, many of the relocated families work in the informal economy, originally migrated to the city from rural provinces, access to arable land may be an important tool for economic development (for example through urban agriculture) and may provide a more culturally just housing solution. Third, the PSA could potentially do more to promote economic development. It could do so by putting families in contact with local agencies that provide free skills development (such as CONQuito), encouraging social interaction among families, and providing access to land. One way to satisfy all of these needs together is through community gardens/urban agriculture. Beyond being a source of employment, community solidarity and identity preservation, gardens also help to improve families' nutrition levels, decrease their monthly expenditures on food (as Mougeot 2000 notes in the case of low-income communities in urban Africa) and can be a source of empowerment and pride for women and the elderly (feelings expressed by participants in the Municipality's urban agriculture project, AGRUPAR, see Chapter 3). Lastly, the PSA could do more to financially support families at high geographic and social risk who are unable to cover the costs of acquiring (*de jure* or *de facto*) land title. This would expedite the resettlement process, allowing the PSA to continue risk mitigation elsewhere and guarantee that families with exceptional risk are adequately supported.

ADDRESSING INEQUALITY

In terms of addressing inequality, the project has been somewhat successful. While the expansion of basic services (namely sewage lines and flood control) and improved access to public and green spaces throughout the North and Central regions of the Metropolitan Region (and the South as the project progresses) does help overcome some of the historical physical barriers in Quito, and ensuring land titles helps deal with state barriers, the project does little to bridge socio-cultural barriers to development. To address this, I would suggest that the PSA try as much as possible to incorporate at-risk and resettled families into the social fabric of the city, or at the very least, beyond the walls of housing developments (not to mention fomenting interaction within housing developments). One way to do so would be to combine social housing for resettled families with middle-class housing. This has the *potential* to be a cost effective way to encourage interaction between different socioeconomic groups, while at the same time subsidizing the costs associated with building and maintaining housing for resettled families. The cost effectiveness of these social housing projects is however never a guarantee. Steps could also be taken to promote social and economic development within sending communities among those families not resettled by the project (keeping in mind that only those families suffering extreme risk are relocated, while others, who still experience great amounts of risk remain unsupported). One strategy may be to facilitate middle- and upper classes' access to public space/nature within at-risk low-income communities, and in so doing, make steps to overcome socio-cultural barriers. This could be accomplished by investing in low-impact tourism and hospitality infrastructure and by training local residents in project management (skill building being an important step in the empowerment process). When analyzed in concert with the PSA's goal of protecting ecologically sensitive lands against unsuitable human occupation, 'small footprint' tourism infrastructure such as hiking trails, horse-back riding, and paragliding may help prevent people from resettling in at-risk areas, enhancing the population's appreciation for the local

environment, while at the same time instigating both social and economic development in low-income communities and more meaningful interaction across urban society.

While beyond the direct scope of the PSA, I believe that creating a stronger sense of ownership within target communities may also help to cement the project's successes and long-term sustainability. The greatest achievement with regards to stimulating some sort of ownership or empowerment has been accomplished by giving families and sending communities a voice during the negotiation and redevelopment phases. As Holston (2008) and Mollenkopf & Castells (1991) argue, one reason why drastic urban inequalities persist in much of the world is because of a lack of organization among low-income groups. Therefore I would suggest that in order for the PSA to help target communities understand this project as an opportunity for social and economic development, some degree of organization would need to happen. To do so, the PSA would have to find a way to overcome differences that may exist within communities (remembering that low-income communities are not homogenous areas), i.e. bringing people together using common objectives such as economic development or effective political representation. While I suggest this goal is beyond the immediate scope of the project, upon closer inspection I believe that mobilization is key. Without it, it would be quite difficult to produce a lasting sense of duty within peripheral communities (or any community for that matter) to protect their local environment, or the agency necessary to actively guard against environmental and human threats. In my opinion, political agency would improve the PSA's chances of being sustainable in the long-term, as well as offering the possibility for further economic development and empowerment.

It appears that the PSA employs a perspective somewhere between the Marginality School and the Critical Perspective (although the perspective of some administrators is definitely more in-line with the Marginality School). As discussed in Chapter One, the Marginality School viewpoint asserts that urban inequality is the product of inherent qualities of 'the poor'. The Critical Perspective counters, arguing instead that inequality has structural causes. The project takes a middle-

ground approach in that at the same time that it seems to place blame on 'the poor' for migrating to environmentally unstable lands, acting as 'human risk' and exacerbating water scarcity, they target the barriers of the Ecuadorian State and the City of Quito. From the perspective of the PSA, state barriers include ineffective land titling practices (which is why the PSA uses their own legal department to facilitate the processing of land titles) and the state's inability to enforce environmental and housing standards within ecologically sensitive areas.

CHAPTER 3

PROGRAM OF PARTICIPATORY URBAN AGRICULTURE (AGRUPAR)

INTRODUCTION

The second project that this thesis examines is the Program of Participatory Urban Agriculture, or AGRUPAR (an acronym that translates from Spanish as ‘to form a group’ or ‘to come together’). Like the name suggests, AGRUPAR is devoted to the growth of community-based urban agriculture within the Metropolitan Region of Quito. Similar to the PSA project discussed in Chapter Two, AGRUPAR is administered by the Municipality of Quito through one of its agencies, in this case the agency for local economic development CONQuito. However, unlike the PSA there is very little reliance on outside sources of funding. In fact, the Municipality provides over 90% of AGRUPAR’s budget (interview, Rodríguez, AGRUPAR, August 17, 2010). Trying to be self-sustaining, financially speaking, can have positives and negatives. On the one hand, the project can operate with a greater degree of flexibility and local accountability, only needing to justify its practices to local stakeholders. On the other, as cities in the developing world are often cash-strapped and therefore unable to effectively implement much-needed social and economic development programs (Gilbert 1996), outside funding brings the resources needed to initiate such programs (although not necessarily leading to greater chances of success). It appears that AGRUPAR has been able to find a balance between the two alternatives. By only relying on small, targeted amounts of external funding (although open to all types of technical support offered by international volunteers, NGOs and research organizations), the project is, based on my observations, able to place accountability to local stakeholders above all others.

CONQuito began this project in 2002. With its endurance through two mayoral transitions, the staff is hopeful that urban agriculture will take a central position within Quito's broader, long-term poverty fighting strategy. The project's stated objectives are as follows:

“AGRUPAR is a poverty fighting strategy of the Municipality of Quito with the ultimate aim of providing food security to the most vulnerable populations in the district, especially those located in peri-urban and rural areas. The project offers capacity building and technical assistance for the implementation of demonstrative community organic gardens, the formation of associated small businesses, and the commercialization and transformation of foods for neighborhood groups, schools, the handicapped, religious organizations, women heads of household, and the retired/ elderly, among others [...]

This project seeks to provide food security not only to the most vulnerable populations in Quito, but to the Metro region as a whole, democratizing the consumption of healthy goods, creating job opportunities, improving the income of producers, and increasing everyone's environmental and social consciousness towards the role of producers [...]

What is more, this project is a source of solidarity, it builds confidence, brings families together and promotes equality and fairer trade. The project seeks to maintain a high level of respect, honesty, loyalty, compromise, responsibility, tolerance, solidarity, justice, equality and discipline between participants and the community in general, at the same time as it also includes the establishment of more equitable socio-economic, gender and anthro-environmental relations.” (Agencia Municipal de Desarrollo Económico 2010, *author translation*)

The project's director Alexandra Rodríguez, has stated that AGRUPAR strives to uphold a “holistic interpretation of sustainability”, taking into account the term's three central components, “economics, the environment and the social”, while at the same time emphasizing a fourth, “food security and sovereignty.”

The above excerpt from one of AGRUPAR's published materials, demonstrates how far-reaching the impacts of urban agriculture can be. Urban

agriculture projects have ‘taken root’ in countless cities in the developing and developed world: from the far northern reaches of the Yukon, to Buenos Aires in the South, to Asia, Africa and everywhere in between. As AGRUPAR can attest, the reason for the proliferation of urban agriculture is its efficacy as a tool for local development. Aside from more obvious economic benefits (such as formal job creation, much needed income for vulnerable groups) it can also be a source of solidarity and empowerment within low-income and subordinate communities, as well as being a secure source of healthy food. Moreover, and to round out the social and economic benefits of urban agriculture, the use of organic production techniques (such as integrated pest management, inter-cropping, compost) helps ensure the environmental component of projects’ overall sustainability (Medina *et al* 2001; Koc *et al* 1999; M. Caridad Cruz, presentation given, February 8th, 2009).

As of 2009 there were roughly 90 AGRUPAR projects operating in low-income communities within the Metropolitan Region. As discussed in Chapter One, within the Metropolitan Region the areas suffering from the most inequality are located to the extreme North, South and East. As former Quito mayor Paco Moncayo Gallegos has noted, improving the relative position of these “vulnerable” socioeconomic groups has been somewhat of a theme in Quito since the late 1990s/ early 2000s (Moncayo Gallegos 2008). As discussed at greater depth in Chapter One, high levels of unemployment, income inequality, illiteracy and informality characterize the communities involved in this project.

With regards to its target population, the AGRUPAR project does not actively seek participants. Instead, small groups approach the project for support. While accurate data on the exact demographic composition of project participants does not exist, during field visits to project sites I observed that producer groups are typically collections of subordinate families, or small collections of subordinate individuals such as women, the elderly or troubled youths; based on observations made during visits to various gardens it appears that groups form among neighbors, or through pre-existing community, religious or non-profit organizations (such as orphanages). Targeting vulnerable

populations is however, only half of the story as the other main stated objective of the project is to stimulate a 'fair trade economy for locally produced foodstuffs'. Framing urban agriculture as a form of fair trade is quite novel, implying an attempt to provide producers with a more just income while instilling among consumers a sense of socioeconomic and environmental consciousness towards the people and environments that 'nurture' them (which I believe we should interpret as an attempt to overcome socio-cultural barriers; Hudson & Hudson 2003; Nichols & Opal 2005).

The second target population of the project is the residents of the Metropolitan region as a whole, to whom foodstuffs are sold. This target group can be further disaggregated, distinguishing between: low-income communities within which producers are based, and which act as the primary markets for urban agriculture surpluses; and the general populace, who tend only to shop for urban agriculture products at weekly farmers markets (*bioferias*; in line with the project's assertion that urban agriculture is a form of fair trade, AGRUPAR refers to farmers markets as "alternative spaces for the commercialization of goods"). While this is perhaps a subtle distinction, it is a nonetheless important one to make. Consumers from the local communities are almost necessarily characterized as low-income (because urban agriculture projects are typically based in low-income communities), however consumers at farmers markets are not. By marketing to low-income communities first, AGRUPAR is encouraging the formation of solidarity around sources of locally grown healthy food. But by also focusing on the 'wealthier' side of the general population, it appears that AGRUPAR is trying to take advantage of the growing popularity for (or perhaps fetish for; Hudson & Hudson 2003) organic products among higher-income groups. In doing so, AGRUPAR reinforces the idea that urban agriculture can be a form of fair trade (the idea of poor producer and rich consumer working together in a mutually beneficial relationship), and makes the impacts of this project more far-reaching in terms of bridging the socio-cultural divide that exists within Quito.

PROJECT METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

The project has two phases. First, is the period of roughly one year during which urban agriculture groups are trained by AGRUPAR's staff of agronomists. This is called the Demonstration Phase. The second, which we can call the Practical Phase, is when urban agriculture groups work more independently and carry out what they have learned. As stated above, AGRUPAR does not actively solicit groups to join the project, rather it relies on other means, e.g. word of mouth, the Internet, news papers etc., to attract future urban farmers. To enter the project, AGRUPAR has three criteria (Agencia Municipal de Desarrollo Económico 2010):

- 1) Groups must have at least eight members
- 2) Groups must have legal access to a plot of land (it is strongly advised that the plot be located very near to group members' homes, and that it be no less than 150 or 200m²)
- 3) The group must have access to a source of potable water

Once groups form and successfully approach AGRUPAR they enter Phase One, during which they create a demonstration garden with the help of project staff. Over the next eight to ten months, groups meet in a classroom at CONQuito's offices or on a group's plot of land for roughly two hours per week. Sessions are designed to teach farmers the principles of organic urban agriculture and animal breeding (e.g. guinea pigs, chickens, pigs). Farmers also learn the basic skills needed to manage their inputs and commercialize products (including value-added processes). It is important that the demonstration phase last at least eight months so that farmers can learn to adapt their techniques to the rainy and dry seasons.

After completing the Demonstration Phase and moving in to the Practical Phase, not very much changes. Although visits from AGRUPAR tend to be less frequent, extension workers continue to play a central supportive role by offering

resources (e.g. seeds and seedlings; inputs such as bio-fertilizers and bio-pesticides etc.), helping groups acquire organic certification, showing farmers how to build greenhouses, and addressing any questions or concerns that arise (e.g. combating diseases and pests). In this way, the capacity-building role that AGRUPAR plays is seen as an on-going process. The other major difference between the phases is that urban agriculture groups must now pay for each technical visit. It is thought that this symbolic payment, usually US \$0.50 per visit, builds confidence and promotes empowerment among producers, while also creating a sense of ownership. It also strengthens the relationship that AGRUPAR extension workers have with the farmers they work with, relating to them on more equal terms (i.e. client and service provider) as opposed to something more paternal. From the perspective of the Marginality School, we may interpret this as a transition from “*Gemeinschaft*” to “*Gesellschaft*”, or the modernization of relations. Producer organizations are also encouraged to help one another. This often takes the form of complementing each other’s harvest when taking products to market (i.e. if one group only produces potatoes and another only tomatoes, they can work together to market both products), sharing transportation costs, or coming together for workshops or communal work projects (*mingas*) such as building greenhouses.

Producer organizations typically consume the majority of their products internally, only selling surpluses. This helps address low-income families’ immediate need for healthy food, while also decreasing their on-going expenditure on foodstuffs (Mougeot 2000). The majority of farmers interviewed⁷ noted that they saved between US \$20 to \$40 per month at the market by consuming their own food (although in some cases, farmers were saving as much as US \$200 or \$300 per month). Calculating an average savings is difficult given that family size and consumption patterns vary, and because families may

⁷ I interviewed roughly 20 farmers, eight with the help of surveys (see Appendix A) and the rest informally

not be able to easily quantify monthly expenditures on food⁸. When surpluses do exist, they are primarily sold within local communities. Many groups also chose to sell their goods in weekly farmers markets located throughout the city, and/or donate produce to different local community organizations (e.g. schools, churches, orphanages).

According to AGRUPAR's most recent data from 2009 (Agencia Municipal de Desarrollo Económico 2010; interview, Rodríguez, AGRUPAR, August 17, 2010), the current state of the project is:

- 89 demonstration gardens (Phase One)
- 63 sets of drip-irrigation
- 406 family gardens (Phase Two)
- 52 guinea pig cultivators
- 19 school gardens
- 11 farmers markets
- 19 gardens with NGOs
- 27 micro-business (e.g. selling value-added products such as jams, cooked guinea pigs or honey)
- 1 plant nursery
- 8 micro-finance organizations
- 3 sties (*piloneras*)
- 7400 people trained
- 100 greenhouses
- 48,000 recipients

Furthermore, based on my observations in the field and conversations with urban farmers, I highlight five qualitative outcomes of this project. *First*, is *solidarity-building* (Mougeot 2000). In this project solidarity tends to emerge in three instances: between producers within urban agriculture groups; between different urban agriculture groups, as evidenced by different *ad hoc* partnerships that emerge (such as surplus sharing and *mingas*); and, between producers organizations and the subordinate communities within which they emerge.

⁸ AGRUPAR does not keep any detailed information on costs savings, but does state that on average producers earn US \$30 per month from urban agriculture surpluses. This figure is also arguably quite rough and may not be representative.

Another likely source of solidarity is between producer groups and the larger population of Quito (interpreted as a potential socio-cultural barrier to overcome), however as of yet, there appears to be little evidence to suggest that the majority of the population is even aware of urban agriculture let alone AGRUPAR (interview, Rodríguez, AGRUPAR, August 17, 2010). As I will argue in the next section, this is an area that should be of greater strategic importance.

Second, my conversations with producers lead me to believe that this project encourages *environmental awareness*. During interviews, many producers highlighted greater environmental awareness stemming from the organic cultivation techniques that they learned during Phase One. Furthermore, in surveys, when farmers were asked to identify the three most important skills learned from the project, common answers included: “how to cultivate organic products” and “how to manage organic inputs”. And moreover, some farmers noted that the solidarity forged between them and their local clients helps spread environmental awareness within the community.

The *third* qualitative outcome is *the ‘securitization’ or stabilization of food sources*. All farmers interviewed and surveyed remarked that taking part in this project helps them to decrease their monthly expenditures on food, while also improving the quality of their diets. *Fourth* is *the creation of employment*. In a country and city plagued by the low-wage informal employment, the development of formal, skilled and stable employment is vital. Since urban agriculture generally takes place close to the home, it can lessen the strain on the primary earner by allowing other family members (women, elderly parents) to contribute economically (Jackiewicz 2001). Moreover, the fact that urban agricultural work, at least in the case of this project, is not plagued by gender divisions means that it can be a source of pride and empowerment for women, working to rectify the situation which sees Ecuador have the lowest percentage of income earned by women in urban areas within the Andean region at merely 32% (compared to 34% in Peru, 37% in Bolivia, and 44% in Colombia; Inter-American Development

Bank 2010⁹). This claim is substantiated by the fact that women in the project noted time and again that they feel: “greater independence”; “of more value as a citizen and woman”; “less marginalized”; and, that they are doing work that they feel is more “valued and dignified”.

The creation of employment leads to the *fifth* qualitative benefit, *empowerment* (again empowerment referring to the capacity-building of subordinate groups in the form of formal skills development). Many of the women interviewed, for example, were quick to point out how meaningful their involvement with AGRUPAR has been. In general, they feel less dependent on their spouses and a greater sense of “usefulness”; one project participant also noted how hard it was for a women to find work in Quito, and that urban agriculture has allowed her to lead a more meaningful life. At a broader level, urban agriculture teaches project participants a set of skills that are recognized formally with certifications (for example, organic production and management skills); instilling a sense of ownership over ‘home-grown’ poverty alleviation strategies; giving low-income individuals and families the confidence needed to activate their agency; and, taking a page from fair trade, reorienting the relationship between producers and consumers to be more ‘symbiotic’, and in so doing, moving to reduce the socio-cultural barriers that exist between ‘wealthy consumer’ and ‘poor producer’.

CRITICAL EVALUATION

STATED OBJECTIVES

During my final interview with project staff, the director of AGRUPAR simplified the project’s stated objective as a search for sustainability (interview, Rodríguez, AGRUPAR, August 17, 2010). She went on to identify three central

⁹ Ecuador also has the lowest percentage of female participation in its labor forces in the Andean region at 42% (age 15-64| Inter-American Development Bank 2010).

components of sustainability: economics, the environment and the social. In order to more clearly define 'sustainability', we can use the widely accepted definition provided by the Brundtland Commission (UN 1987): sustainability refers to our "ability to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". Relying on this definition and the conceptualization provided by AGRUPAR, in order to successfully meet its stated objectives the project must therefore provide short and long-term economic, environmental and social solutions to vulnerable populations, without hindering future generations' ability to satisfy their own needs. We should also keep in mind that the project has three target populations: producers, local communities and the general population.

Based on interviews and field observations, for producers (subordinate groups), the short-term economic benefits from this project include: stable and formal job creation; added income; decreased expenditures on food; skill development; and the ability for more family members to become economically productive. Long-term economic benefits may include: access to skills and training needed to expand and diversify; less economic burden on future generations; and the ability to save and invest (in themselves, their children and their gardens). Short and long-term environmental benefits include: improved environmental awareness; the knowledge of how to efficiently manage resources and inputs; and, the environmental benefits that may accrue from more 'friendly' land uses (such as more stable water supply, preservation of arable land through organic production techniques). Short-term social benefits include: empowerment; greater independence (especially for women); greater stability; better health; solidarity with community members; pride; sense of purpose; and, as Holston 2008 and Mollenkopf & Castells 1991 would argue, the potential for political mobilization (and as Otero 2004 argues, political-cultural formation, which in turn may lead to more effective interaction between subordinate groups and the state, specifically if subordinate organizations can make claims using what he calls a "bottom-up linkages approach" which would help them maintain

their independence in the face of pressures for co-optation on the part of the state).

For local communities, short-term economic benefits include: sources of employment; support for local organizations and charities (e.g. producers giving away surpluses). Long-term economic benefits may include: sources of employment as projects expand; access to microcredit through producer organizations (which is already taking place); and, the potential for food cost decreases as urban agriculture grows. Short and long-term environmental benefits include: more local environmental awareness and the conservation of local resources. Short and long-term social benefits include: local solidarity and trust, better health and a sense of local pride.

For the general population, short-term economic benefits are negligible, however in the long term urban agriculture could become an important source of tax revenue (and could also decrease the amount of families accessing State welfare services). Short and long-term environmental benefits include the preservation of local resources, and the benefits that may accrue (mentioned above). Short-term social benefits include: better health for those who consume organic urban agriculture products. Long-term social benefits may include: overcoming socio-cultural barriers and, greater trust and respect between different socio-economic groups.

Without taking away from the project's short and long-term accomplishments, there are ways that I feel AGRUPAR may be able to strengthen its operations and help ensure its own long-term viability. First, AGRUPAR could expand its urban agriculture education campaigns beyond vulnerable communities. By spreading the word about the benefits of eating locally produced organic foodstuffs among the city's more high-income groups, the project would likely establish a broader and more powerful market in terms of purchasing power. This is especially true given that high-income groups are often willing to spend more for organic food (Goldman & Clancy 1991; Wier & Calverley 2002). Similarly, AGRUPAR could work to make-known the system of organic certification that it uses. This seems to be an issue that AGRUPAR staff

are already aware of (interview, Rodríguez, AGRUPAR, August 17, 2010), suggesting that if consumers are unfamiliar with how urban agriculture practices are verified, they will continue to prefer certified organic products grown elsewhere (for example USDA certified organic products).

Furthermore, AGRUPAR could continue to expand by diversifying its sources of funding. According to the project director, currently more than 90% of AGRUPAR's operating costs come from the municipality, with the remainder coming from international and State government sources (such as the Inter-American Development Bank or the Ministry of the Agriculture). However, the ability of the Municipal government to provide additional funding to the project in the future remains uncertain. Given the far-reaching impacts of urban agriculture, other government ministries may be willing to step forward to a) ensure that it has a long-term, and growing presence within the Metropolitan Region and Ecuador, and b), develop linkages to expand the benefits of urban agriculture as broadly as possible. As an example, making an agreement with the Ministry of Education to purchase food from AGRUPAR's projects for school lunch programs, may guarantee producers a market for produce while ensuring low-income children have access to healthy food (and in turn decreasing the burden on the health care system, and giving children a better chance for success; Pollitt 1995). But just as there are financial obstacles for the Municipal government to overcome to continue to fund AGRUPAR, other government bodies similarly face constraints. And what is more, other government bodies may currently be receiving external funding, that if diverted to support AGRUPAR, may counteract the AGRUPAR's level of local accountability.

ADDRESSING INEQUALITY

When I analyze AGRUPAR based on its ability to address inequality there seems to be a series of limited, yet meaningful successes.

Although not directly within its mandate, AGRUPAR is challenged in its objective by the physical inequalities that exist in Quito. For me, the most obvious physical barriers for AGRUPAR are the lack of quality roadways and access to

public transportation. Producers, who typically live in peripheral neighborhoods may greatly benefit from improvements in these areas. For example, improvements would allow producers to more easily take their goods to markets. Currently, many producers note that they are forced to hire trucks or take taxis to market, unnecessarily increasing their overhead costs. While this is potentially beyond AGRUPAR's immediate scope of practice, it is an example of an area in which the project may be able to establish closer linkages with other government institutions (such as the municipal agency in charge of public works and transportation, EPMOP).

Again, although beyond its mandate, AGRUPAR's short and long-term success is related to state barriers such as state inefficiencies, biases and corruption. One way that AGRUPAR has been able to overcome state barriers is by affording relative autonomy to its agronomists, allowing them to make important decisions without having to go through state bureaucracy. This makes the delivery of extension resources to project participants very efficient and attuned. For example, it was observed during field visits that agronomists choose which resources to supply producers with (bio-fertilizers, bio-pesticides, seeds), the duration of their weekly visits and the level of support that they offer (from teaching basic cultivation techniques to product commercialization strategies). For their part, and according to AGRUPAR's agronomists, producers can request as much or as little support as they deem necessary, and can use agronomists as intermediaries to establish networks of cooperation with other producer groups. AGRUPAR suggests that this allows urban agriculture projects to progress quickly, and encourages the development of strong working relationship between extension workers and project participants based on mutual trust and respect.

AGRUPAR has also had limited success at overcoming the socio-cultural barriers present in Quito by establishing points of interaction (farmers markets). AGRUPAR notes that ideally, farmers markets would act as points of interaction between different socioeconomic groups, bringing people together around sustainably grown food (interview, Rodríguez, AGRUPAR, August 17, 2010).

Interpreted in terms of fair trade, farmers markets would serve to educate consumers about the far-reaching economic, environmental and social benefits of the project, and therefore encourage consumers to choose fair trade goods (local organic foodstuffs) over non-fair trade equivalents (supermarket produce). However, it is hard to ascertain whether or not AGRUPAR's farmers markets have been able to achieve these effects, which form part of the project's central objective. Based on participant observation, it would appear that even though farmers markets can undoubtedly be interpreted as potential points of intersection across Quito, their impacts remain quite superficial, with the majority of consumers still characterized as low-income/ subordinate groups. This claim is based on my interviews with producers working at farmers markets, and their remarks that AGRUPAR and the benefits of urban agriculture are in their opinion relatively unknown within the general population. To overcome this, AGRUPAR could do more to educate the general population (including working with other government bodies). In turn, this may help to 'deepen' the socioeconomic impact of these points of intersection, move to overcome socio-cultural barriers, and create a larger market for goods.

In terms of the second component of addressing inequality, empowerment, one of the most significant outcomes that I observed, was the creation of solidarity through formal skills development. Solidarity-building happens in two ways. First, producers and their families come together around urban agriculture projects. In becoming urban farmers, producers learn valuable skills necessary to improve their quality of life¹⁰. Based on interviews, these skills empower producers to: "feel like more productive members of society"; take more "pride in their form of employment"; "feel more independent"; and, "take a greater degree of ownership and have more respect for their local community and environment". Second, the production and consumption of foodstuffs within vulnerable communities leads to a more widespread sense of solidarity. Solidarity is evidenced by: the exchange of locally produced goods; the role of

¹⁰ All producers surveyed expressed that urban agriculture has given them "greater opportunities to improve their quality of life".

producers as 'ambassadors of environmental stewardship' (as one interviewee suggested); and through the support that urban agriculture groups give to local organizations/charities (for example, donating food and acting as micro-credit lenders; A. Rodríguez, personal communication, August 17, 2010).

AGRUPAR's perspective of inequality aligns closely with the Critical Perspective. Exemplifying this is the approach that AGRUPAR takes to interacting with producer groups. While it is understood that producers live in poverty, that poverty is seen as conditional and not necessarily characteristic. My interviews with the project's agronomists lead me to believe the relationships that form between staff and producers are highly equitable, one of consumer and service provider (exemplified by the symbolic payment that producers must make to AGRUPAR). I believe that this approach inspires among producers a greater amount of confidence and ownership over results than, for example, if AGRUPAR were to take a more paternalistic approach. In sum, while AGRUPAR has so far been very successful at addressing inequality within its target population, a strategic targeting of resources could help expand the reach of the project (in terms of both breadth and depth of impact).

CHAPTER 4

ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN FIGHTING FOR LIFE (MPLV)

INTRODUCTION

The third and final project that this thesis examines is the Association of Women Fighting for Life (MPLV). First emerging in 1999 as an informal collection of low-income women (of *mestizo*, indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian descent), this grassroots organization has grown and formalized¹¹ over time and now counts on a following of more than 200 women and their families. The women initially came together, meeting once a month in a public park in Quito to discuss common issues and concerns regarding access to affordable and dignified housing. Those discussions evolved into an organized struggle to help subordinate families achieve a better quality of life. For the MPLV, quality of life is intimately tied to adequate housing. It is argued that without the initial stability that adequate housing provides, personal/familial social and economic development is hard to achieve. The same logic is applied at a more general level to low-income, vulnerable communities: if families cannot count on some degree of stability in their lives or in their community, there is little hope for solidarity-building or political mobilization; families are simply too focused on their individual day-to-day struggles for survival, to think in terms of a “we”.

Conversations over the course of fieldwork with members of the Association highlighted a number of issues that seemed to both provoke inequalities, and hinder families’ abilities to overcome them. Key sources of inequality include unequal access to basic urban services, a growing informal economy (pegged at 55% of the Ecuadorian labor force; Inter-American

¹¹ The Association was formally registered in 2001

Development Bank 2010; Middleton 2007), deep-rooted gender, ethnic and class stereotypes, and subordinate groups' inability to enter the housing market. This final source of inequality is evidenced by the amount of families forced to rent, some 37% of the total urban population of Ecuador and 55% of the urban population of the province of Pichincha (the province Quito is located in; data from 2003-2007; INEC 2009). In fact, renting, or rather no longer needing to rent, was an area that all families suggested was the greatest benefit of their involvement with MPLV. As one woman noted, when asked how she felt about the transition from renting to home ownership:

"The conditions before were, let's say, unfavorable. [It is hard] to have to keep paying rent, month after month. Plus it is difficult having a landlord, someone placing restrictions on you [and your family], saying 'the children can't touch the plants', 'the children can't play here'. That is, as opposed to here [new housing project].

[Since moving in], wow, what can I say. I just feel so good. Peaceful. Above all else, the peace of mind is priceless. I am just so tranquil in my house. There is no pressure here to pay rent every month. My children are safe, and [now] have all the room they want to play. We are no longer restricted."

Another project participant stated:

"Renting is uncomfortable and expensive. What you spend in rent [each month] is basically the same as what you pay here to have a house. [When that kind of opportunity comes around] you have to take advantage of it.

In only five or six years we will finish paying. I don't care if I have to sacrifice for all those years. It will be worth it [when we have a house]."

These and other interviews reinforced that fact that so many subordinate families in Quito are "concentrated in rental housing" (Klak & Holtzclaw 1993) because they have no access to credit, formal employment, bank accounts, collateral, and credit history (interview, Díaz, MPLV, June 2010). Renting results

in the unfavorable situation in which families become dependent on the whims of a landlord. In Quito, low-income renters are forced to live in relatively expensive (based on discussion with low-income renters, apartments typically cost between US \$100 to \$250 per month¹²) and substandard conditions on the city's periphery – constantly moving towards the city's outer reaches, where rents are less. Many project participants that I spoke to noted that renting is a vicious cycle, continually pushing them to live on society's periphery, both physically and ideologically.

The role of the Association is to help families overcome the barriers to housing “formality and dignity”. It does this by: *mobilizing* families around a discourse of rights and access; creating *solidarity* among families; and, *empowering* families to instigate their own social and economic development. While the Association acts as a unified front, the main actors through which mobilization, solidarity and empowerment are generated are female heads of household. As the MPLV states, its objective is to “improve the quality of life for women [...] heads of household, **through** the process of acquiring dignified housing” (presentation given, Díaz, MPLV, July 2, 2010; *author translation and emphasis*). The project transforms disparate families into collections of would-be homeowners, and helps them to access credit and housing through their collective purchasing power. The idea is that in the eyes of financial institutions, giving a mortgage to a low-income family on its own is a risky investment. However, when families organize in such a way that ensures a higher degree of mutual accountability¹³, and thus greater likelihood of loan repayment, financial institutions are more willing to offer credit. In partnership with different Quito-based financial institutions and NGOs, MPLV acquires lands and negotiates with different construction companies to build affordable condominium-style

¹² Keeping in mind that that the minimum monthly wage is US \$240.

¹³ The project uses a scheme similar to micro-credit, in which small groups are formed and each member is accountable to all others. The failure of one member of the group to repay their loan, results in their debt being transferred to all other group members.

developments. Housing projects are located on the peripheries of the city and Metropolitan Region where land is relatively cheap.

It is important to note the emphasis that the Association places on “*the process of acquiring dignified housing*”. As will be further discussed in the next section, for the MPLV, the process of obtaining housing begins with the recognition of one’s rights, and then the creation of solidarity. Based on my observations of group meetings and interviews with project participants, the *process* itself also serves as a form of empowerment, granting women, specifically, and subordinate families, generally, valuable skills such as how to effectively interact with government bodies, how to read legal documents, and how to mobilize around the protection of rights. In suggesting the importance of the overall process, the Association identifies four strategic objectives:

- 1) “Develop strategies for financing and managing housing;
- 2) Generate work initiatives to improve families’ income levels;
- 3) Strengthen the organization by creating among women a sense of common identity, and [improving] their self-esteem; and,
- 4) Construct a feeling of ‘neighborly cohabitation’ by instigating sensibility and reflection, while acknowledging the urban context, having respect for the environment and promoting solidarity.” (Presentation given, July 2, 2010; *author translation*)

The MPLV situates their efforts within three broad, yet related contexts. First is the recognition that housing is a fundamental human right and thus should be guaranteed through citizenship to a nation-state. In making this claim, the Association refers to a number of UN declarations and the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution (presentation given, July 2, 2010; Asamblea Constituyente 2008). The second context is what the MPLV calls “structural causes of poverty”. The MPLV points to unequal distribution of rights and resources, an inherited system of land ownership and debt-peonage (the *Huasipungo* system), and social and political inequality. The third is the basic inability (“weakness”, Drake 2009) of both the Ecuadorian government and Municipality of Quito to effectively manage

land access and housing rights (a common claim that is also made by the PSA). To overcome these structural barriers to housing, the MPLV takes *somewhat* of an anti-establishment stance, refusing to use 'conventional' channels to access housing for its members (such as lobbying or protesting). Lind (1997) argues that this type of non-conventional approach is very common among grassroots women's organizations in Quito. The Association instead relies on a carefully chosen network of NGOs, community-minded financial organizations and construction companies to help finance and build its own social housing. I argue that this is 'somewhat' of an anti-establishment stance because while remaining indignant towards what they perceive to be perennial state neglect and corruption, the MPLV is adept at strategically accessing resources when and where they emerge (such as housing bonuses for low-income families).

As for the structure of the Association, the MPLV states that decision-making and strategic planning happen through consensus within each housing project, however in reality, there is a small group of women at the helm, reinforcing Otero's (2004) emphasis of local politics directed by strong leadership types (based on my observations, and using Otero's system of classification, the leadership of the MPLV would likely be defined as "democratic-participatory", that is, the leadership is continually groomed and emerges from within the ranks of the group itself). The main leaders act as the main intermediaries between the MPLV's and its different partners (creditors, construction companies, architects, the state), and as mentors to the leaders of each of the Association's individual housing projects. In turn, individual project leaders, elected by families in each project, manage the specifics of their individual housing development and work to create solidarity among the families involved. One main leader suggested to me that the decentralized structure of the Association is beneficial because it forces families to take ownership over their project, holding elected leaders accountable, while at the same helping prevent the rise of "*caudillas*"¹⁴. Otero

¹⁴ A Latin American term for strongmen or politico-military leaders that emerge charismatically to assume popular control. In this case, the MPLV tries to prevent

would perhaps also argue that the accountability and loyalty that leaders have to the group is what helps the Association maintain its independence when interacting with the state.

PROJECT METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

The process of acquiring a house begins when women approach the MPLV about upcoming projects. Information about projects is spread by word of mouth, as almost no information is available through more public means such as the Internet or newspapers (most likely due to the small size of the organization, and because the women who manage it are busy working other jobs and raising families). Projects are typically condominium-style housing developments (*conjuntos habitacionales*) similar to those found in the PSA project. Each project varies in size, but they are usually large enough to accommodate a few hundred people. Within each project, one individual is elected President and serves as the project lead, interacting on behalf of the project with the architect, construction companies, financial institutions and the state (they often do this in partnership with the Association's leadership). To enter into any given project, families must first become members of the Association. To do so, they pay a one-time membership fee of US \$30, and on-going monthly dues of \$3. These are largely symbolic fees, though they are also used to supplement the income of the Association's main group of leaders (including the leader of each individual project) as well as pay basic administration costs (for example, photocopying, legal services, transportation). One of the main leaders from the MPLV also suggested that by paying these fees, families tend to feel a greater sense of involvement in the project and become accustomed to paying condo fees once they move in to their homes (condo fees are usually US \$5 per month per family).

the rise of women leaders who may come to dominate over others and cause the organization to lose sight of its main target population and objectives.

Families must then apply to enter a specific project. While the Association tries to limit the barriers to entering its projects, there are typically requirements dictating families' maximum or minimum levels of income. The variation stems from the fact that no two housing projects have the same costs. Entry requirements are based on families' abilities to repay mortgages, and are typically expressed in terms of how many 'minimum wages' a family earns each month¹⁵. Project leaders noted to me that providing proof of a family's monthly income is often very difficult if its members work in the informal economy. As such, the Association accepts indirect measures of income (for informal vendors this could be receipts of monthly inventory purchases).

When families are accepted into a project they begin a three step financing process. First, after saving for a few months families pay a deposit, guaranteeing their place in an upcoming development. The amount of the deposit varies depending on the project, but is typically a few hundred dollars. Second, families must pay a deposit of 10% of the final cost of the house. This 10% is used to access a one-time State housing bonus of US \$5000 for low-income families (the same housing bonus discussed in Chapter Three that the PSA uses), which is then applied directly to the principal. Coming up with a 10% down payment for a house however, even if that house only costs US \$10,000 – \$20,000, is a very difficult feat. This is where the Association relies on its 'strength of numbers'.

Due to the large number of families involved (sometimes as high as 75 or 100), even if they all work in the informal economy, the MPLV is able to access loans. Loans cover the 10% down payment, and families immediately begin making monthly payments towards it after submitting their reservation fee. The 10% is amortized over a sufficient period of time to keep monthly payments below US \$100. This is thought to be a reasonable amount to ask families to pay

¹⁵ The minimum wage is US \$240 per month. A family with an income of US \$750 makes roughly three minimum wages. Projects may stipulate that to enter families must not make more than two minimum wages, or must make at least three minimum wages.

each month, especially given the fact that they are still paying rent. Once they have finished paying the 10%, families begin paying a mortgage. Mortgages are similarly amortized time to keep payments low.

It is also important to note that the Association works with architects and construction companies to keep the costs of housing developments as low as possible. This often means negotiating to keep profit margins down, and handing over houses “semi-complete”. “Semi-complete” means that houses have walls, a roof, windows, a front door, and are ‘roughed-in’ for plumbing and electrical, however lack flooring, appliances, paint, fixtures and furniture. This allows families to stop renting and move in as soon as possible, completing their house as they can afford to do so. Moreover, private space is kept to a minimum (no North American suburb-size backyards here!) in order to maximize the amount of families per project. Private space is made-up for, however, by creating large amounts of communal or common areas (such as soccer pitches and community gardens).

Below is a summary of this process, using the example of one of the Association’s more recent housing projects, “*Alba Azul*”.

- Houses cost roughly US \$10,000. Entry requirement was a monthly income less than two minimum wages.
- 1) Families pay a US \$200 entry fee
 - 2) Families then begin paying the loan for 10% of house value, US \$900. This is needed to access State Housing Bonus (*Bono de la Vivienda*) of US \$5000, which is then applied to the principal. The Bonus is also used as a guarantee for construction companies.
 - 3) After paying off the 10% loan, families now make mortgage payments. In this case, the remaining cost of US \$4000 is amortized over a period of roughly four years, keeping payments around US \$87. Families receive title after paying their mortgage.
- From start to finish, the process took about four years for most families (with some taking a little longer than others to finish paying their mortgages).

While individual families are making monthly payments and waiting to enter their new homes, they go through a series of workshops. Workshops take place directly on the plot of land on which houses are being constructed, and serve three purposes: families get a greater sense of collective ownership (interacting with other families directly where they are going to be living); they become familiar with one another (initiating solidarity-building); and, they allow families to monitor and hold construction companies accountable. Workshops are conducted on a variety of topics including: the laws associated with condominium living; to the state of Colombian migrants living in Ecuador; and, computer training for workers in the informal economy. Workshops and general meetings (taking place every few weeks) also serve to update families on the progress of construction, the status of applications for loans and the housing bonus, as well as providing an opportunity for families to get to know one-another and make sure everyone is keeping up on their loan/mortgage payment schedule. Participant observation highlighted that both the Association leaders and individual project leaders are quick to point out to the entire group when individual families are falling behind on payments, not being afraid to call them out by name. While this may seem a bit crude and humiliating for families struggling to make a living, the MPLV says that it is meant to instill a sense of community among project participants: 'one comrade falling behind is equivalent to the entire community falling behind'; or, 'one family defaulting on a loan means that a financial institution may not help support the next project'.

While the MPLV main leaders play an integral role throughout the entire process, they attempt to be as hands-off as possible, as soon as possible. They do this by decentralizing leadership to respective projects, though acting as mentors when appropriate, and stepping aside completely once families receive title to their houses (condo-associations are created as soon as possible). MPLV leaders say that this allows each housing project to control its own destiny, helps individuals and families feel empowered as active members of their community, and frees leaders up to work on other projects.

As far as quantifiable results are concerned, the MPLV has one housing complex fully constructed, and is currently in various stages of completing five more. While accurate data concerning exactly how many families have been impacted by the project is hard to ascertain (namely because the Association does not keep track of what happens to housing complexes after they are completed and title is handed over, and therefore it is hard to know how many families have subsequently moved in/out), it is safe to say that each of its projects initially benefits between 50 and 100 families (based on the average amount of units per development). Getting accurate data is also made difficult by the structure, in that each individual project head may not share exact data with the Associations lead administrators. I can only estimate that somewhere in the region of 250–500 families have been granted access to stable housing through their participation in this project, and that that number will undoubtedly grow over time as some families move out, and others move in, and as new projects take shape.

Based on my interviews with project participants and staff, I argue that this project has three key qualitative benefits. We can think of them in terms of a trajectory beginning with the creation of a community and resulting in the politicization of subordinate families. The first positive outcome is community-development, and is achieved by empowering families individually, and creating bonds between them by emphasizing common objectives such as housing rights. Families are empowered with the help of the workshops organized by the MPLV, which bring families together on the land that they will soon live on to learn about important legal and social issues, as well as skills that will help them to enter the formal economy. Families express that empowerment and confidence building happen throughout the entire process of acquiring housing, as they learn to hurdle state barriers. For example, families learn how to read legal documents and to effectively apply for state subsidies. This may decrease their anxiety towards these processes and encourage them to apply for additional resources in the future (such as further employment training). Moreover, by ensuring a mutual responsibility for loans, families are empowered as members of a

community. Much like the collective purchasing power that they get when applying for loans as a group of families instead of as individual low-income households, thinking in terms of “we” can help to minimize the potential shock of physical, state and socio-cultural barriers that may appear in the future. One of the ways that this happens is with the threat of public shaming, which can lead families to be more supportive of one another and reorient themselves from individual needs to a collective good. Although I would argue that the line between community support and targeted animosity is tenuous, especially if certain families continually fail to make payments and put the entire project in jeopardy.

The second qualitative benefit I identify is the formalization of tenancy. Some theorists have suggested that for subordinate groups, having access to formal land tenure can lead to social and economic development (Cockburn 2009). However, the MPLV takes a completely different approach to ensuring formality of housing than, for instance, the PSA project. Instead of working with the government to formalize/legalize land tenure, the Association builds its own social housing in a decidedly (though not entirely) anti-governmental fashion. While the two projects produce roughly the same outcome – namely, better access to basic services and more stability for subordinate families – by encouraging and coaching families to navigate the system themselves the MPLV is able to empower families at the same time that it helps them overcome barriers.

This leads to the third qualitative benefit, which is the organization of communities, or what Otero (2004, and again, further discusses in Bartra & Otero 2009) calls political-cultural formation. Once families begin thinking in terms of being part of a community and can live with a greater degree of stability (both of which are hard to accomplish as renters), I argue that they may be able to more effectively place demands on the state for the protection of their rights (namely housing). The case of MPLV is somewhat similar to the situation that Holston describes in Brazil (2008). The “insurgent citizenship” that he documents there is in part based on the central role that organizations play within peripheral regions

of Sao Paulo. These organizations are able to bring communities together around a common objective (access to rights of urban citizenship) and channel that objective into a political struggle. The main difference being that the organizations that Holston describes in Brazil are non-local, whereas the MPLV is an organization that emerged from the grassroots of Quito. The MPLV is able to transform disparate families into a unified front, capable of expressing its demands (whether successfully or not) before the state. If the 'united front' is able to continue to do this after the Association's leaders move on to the next project, remains to be seen.

CRITICAL EVALUATION

STATED OBJECTIVES

As stated, the objective of this project is to “empower women heads of household through the process of acquiring dignified housing”. In evaluating the MPLV's success, we can critically examine what it calls its four “specific objectives”. These are the objectives that the Association adopts to achieve its overall goal, and are as follows: find strategies for financing and managing housing; generate work initiatives; create strong organizations around a common identity; and, create a feeling of solidarity.

1) As I have described, the Association has found an effective way of financing and managing its housing developments. It relies on a network of “community-minded” financial institutions and construction companies to build housing developments and provide access to loans and credit for subordinate families. During interviews, heads of households expressed that they are encouraged to pay back loans, first and foremost because they want to escape the poverty-inducing trap of renting, and second because they are bound together with groups of other families in a such a way that holds them accountable to one another. While many say that financing a house is a difficult process, they are willing to “make the sacrifice” because the rewards of home

ownership are so great. To manage projects, the Association decentralizes leadership and uses a system of mentorship, which leaders say promotes a greater sense of local ownership over housing developments and empowers families and collections of families by involving them throughout the entire process.

2) The Association is able to generate work initiatives in two ways. First by organizing workshops designed to provide basic employment skills (e.g. computer training), and second by formalizing land tenure. Formalization allows families to concentrate on other issues such as finding work in the formal economy, and can also provide them with access to credit in the event that they want to start a small business. For example, one member of the Association remarked that after moving in to her new home she was able to take classes and now has stable employment at a health center.

3) Organization-building is the foundation of this Association. A disparate collection of families is brought together around a common identity/ies (at first women, and then later the urban poor, would-be homeowners and rights bearing citizens) and is given the skills and opportunities needed to take control of their rights to adequate housing. The discourse on rights that the MPLV uses may also help instigate families to push for the protection of their other rights in the future, however this remains uncertain. Furthermore, holding workshops and meetings in the location where projects are based helps to foster a common identity within the group (bound to a specific parcel of land and a common experience) – something that interviewees were quick to highlight.

4) Finally, solidarity emerges most strongly as a result of the fact that families come from similar backgrounds, and go through a similar struggle. This is emphasized in the language used by Association, encouraging families to think in terms of “we”, and reminding members that there is a mutual responsibility between the group and its individual components. Solidarity also appears to help subordinate families bring their collective demands for resources to the state, and fend off potential co-optation.

This project has been remarkably successful, given the sheer size of the barriers that members face. However, there are always ways in which even successful efforts can become even more effective. One small adjustment that could greatly benefit the MPLV is the expansion of its linkages, in two senses. First, by creating more ties to government institutions the Association may be able to access greater support and resources. While most recently a “weak” neoliberal state is seen to have exacerbated many of the already present socioeconomic problems within the city, leading the group to find alternative means of addressing their rights, they may benefit from the ‘additional room’ that has been created by social movements and civil society mobilizations in the 1990s and early 2000s (as documented by Yashar 2005; Brysk 2000). Specifically, the MPLV could take advantage of local economic development projects such as AGRUPAR and the free skill-building workshops provided by CONQuito. Despite the fact that the dominant cohort of leaders may perceive this as a threat to the Associations’ ideals, a potential ‘sell-out’ or ‘mainstream politicization’ of the group (as was expressed when I mentioned these ideas to them), I believe it could produce more good than harm. The current Correa government espouses many of the same notions of inclusion and rights that the MPLV holds dear; closer ties may help expedite the transformation of these aspirations into reality.

Second, I think it would be beneficial for the organization to strengthen its ties with other community-based groups in Quito, what Otero (2004) refers to as a “bottom-up linkages approach”. While the MPLV currently has ties to a number of groups, bonds remain weak and very informal. The rationale behind this is, and as stated previously, that the Association fears being co-opted by politicized *caudilla/os*. However, this need not be the case. I argue that bonds can be created without putting in jeopardy the decentralized activist structure that already exists, and which thus far has proven successful. Based on my observations, it would appear that the best place to start is with local neighborhood associations in the areas where housing projects are constructed. This may lead to the creation of more solidarity between MPLV members and

greater subordinate communities, and in turn the empowerment of more families experiencing inequality, ultimately leading to a stronger civil society and deeper democracy.

ADDRESSING INEQUALITY

The project has by far been most successful at addressing physical barriers (namely access to housing). From the standpoint of physical barriers, families express how they now enjoy “safer”, “more secure”, “more independent”, and “more stable” housing conditions, compared to the “uncomfortable” or “unfavorable” position of renting. Homeownership brings more secure access to basic services (such as potable water and electricity), formalization of land tenure, and greater proximity to community-based infrastructure such as community centers, community gardens and parks, all of which are incorporated into housing projects.

Similarly, in terms of state barriers, the MPLV has created the potential for families to take advantage of opportunities for development. By helping subordinate groups learn how to interact with the state and financial institutions, groups may then be able to do so more effectively in the future. However it is hard to know whether or not that experience will prove as effective if and when individuals choose to interact independently in the future (for example accessing individual loans), or if those gains were only possible because the women and their families acted as a unified front.

From the standpoint of socio-cultural barriers, there have been small changes in terms of subordinate groups’ interaction with the larger city. Some members of the Association express that they are now able to take advantage of the workshops organized by MPLV, and others, who remark that they are now able to look for training and formal employment after moving into stable housing. The potential for employment formalization means that more residents of peripheral and subordinate communities may be brought into direct (and more

meaningful, such as in the formal economy) contact with those from other areas of the city.

For me, the hallmark of this project is its ability to inspire subordinate groups through a discourse of rights, fostering a sense of ownership amongst the disparate collection of families that it brings together. The MPLV transforms individual actors into a unified front, ready to engage with the state for the protection of its rights. When empowerment and confidence are coupled with the decreased threat of barriers, subordinate groups are freer to take advantage of opportunities for social and economic development, and when none exist, they are more adept at creating them themselves.

The perspective that the Association adopts is in-line with the Critical Perspective on Marginality. This is perhaps best demonstrated by its conceptualization of poverty and inequality as products of structural constraints such as an imported colonial hierarchy and neo-liberalism. Overcoming state barriers is therefore the Association's key focus. While also making gains in addressing physical and socio-cultural barriers, learning to navigate state bureaucracies to access resources is this project's hallmark; or alternatively, learning to avoid state inefficiencies and creating new opportunities. This approach appears to have thus far been very successful for the Association. As I suggest above, however, and similar to the case of AGRUPAR, there are ways that I believe the project could expand the reach of its impacts. In sum, the Association has been very successful at addressing urban inequality. If the MPLV chooses to expand beyond the few projects that it manages at any give time, or spread beyond the Metropolitan Region of Quito (currently a mid to long-term goal of the Association), it may have to search for willing partners in the state government and/ or in the local or international NGO sector. A potential expansion may however challenge the resolve of the organization to remain a-political (that is continually challenging the state, no matter the political party currently in power), and its ability to remain accountable to its immediate stakeholders, subordinate families.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

I began this thesis with the following statement: *The loci of economic, environmental, political and social power, cities are the centers of humanity.* My goal has not necessarily been to convince the reader of such, but rather to bring to light from my Quito cases the current state of the ‘center of humanity’ as manifested in Ecuador. It is here that the great majority of its inhabitants experience inequality and structural barriers on a daily basis.

The UN’s 2007 announcement that our world has officially become more urban than rural was perhaps reason for celebration for some. Those who remark as Jacobs (1961) does that when at their full potential (what Jacobs [1961] calls “vitality”) cities act as problem solvers capable of addressing not only their own abundant ills but also those that exist beyond them (448). Vital cities have the potential to instigate from their populace any number of scientific, political, social or economic advancement for the betterment of humanity. This is because vital cities are places where a diversity of social, economic and political actors come together within the tight quarters of abrupt “heterogeneous stimuli” (Simmel 1903) to tackle the issues of the day. The spatial concentration of so many people of different thoughts, opinions, beliefs, orientations and perspectives has the potential to initiate positive change. Vital cities are undoubtedly home to agents capable of imagining and forging their own brighter future, taking advantage of an abundance of social and economic opportunities for development.

What does “vitality” really mean, however? If by vitality we mean to say equality, sustainability, freedom or agency, then cities have yet to meet their full

potential. An urban world in which the majority of the population lives with instability, informality, danger, discrimination and violence (Davis 2004), is surely not a vital one.

Latin America would therefore be home to some of the most non-vital cities in the world. As testament to such: in Brazil, nearly 45% of the urban working age population (ages 15-64) makes a living in the informal economy, and in Bolivia this soars to almost 85% of the population; in both Ecuador and Guatemala, some 20% of the urban population between the ages of 10 and 14 works (legally or illegally); in Paraguay, 94% of urban households have dirt floors; in Guatemala only half of all urban residences have a refrigerator; in Costa Rica only 39% of the urban labor force is female (ages 15-64); in urban Honduras, the average 20 year-old has completed just seven years of school, and only 37% have completed at least nine; and in Nicaragua, just 3% of urban household have a computer (Inter-American Development Bank 2010).

This data exists in stark contrast to the Brazilian elite that Caldeira describes, and the fortified worlds that other theorists have documented in cities large and small throughout the Hemisphere. The lives of elites – characterized (perhaps stereotypically) by children attending private English-language schools, European vacations, and security of employment – gives drastic relief to the child labor, informality and precariousness that the most of the world's urban majority live with on a daily basis. The inequality faced by that global “Majority” (Roberts 2008) silences their ability to contribute to making urbanity a better or more “vital” place, just as it inhibits their capacity to access much needed resources. It further challenges the ability of subordinate urban populations to create a better life for themselves and their children.

As I describe in Chapter One, there have traditionally been two perspectives on the causes of inequality. The Marginality School perspective sees inequality as the product of dichotomous or incompatible lifestyles, one urban, modern, rational and individualistic, the other rural, backward, superstitious and collective (Lewis 1959; Knox & Pinch 2006). It is the inability of ‘the poor’ (seen as a unified cultural group, necessarily originating in rural

locations) to adapt to city life that produces marginalization. This viewpoint dismisses ‘the poor’s’ agency to change their lot, thus interpreting poverty as a trait handed down from one generation to the next, like one’s hair color or likelihood for heart disease, rather than as a temporary condition, like getting a broken leg. The contrasting viewpoint, which I call the Critical Perspective on Marginality, traces the roots of inequality to structural constraints that exist in society. Colonialism, industrial capitalism, Structural Adjustment Programs and neo-liberalism are all seen to have produced or exacerbated inequality in one way or another. From this viewpoint inequality is a socio-politically-constructed or generated condition of being oppressed rather than an inherited or ascribed quality.

The focus of this study has been to understand how inequality has been addressed by different projects in Quito. In pursuit of that objective I acknowledge that while urban inequality is unique to each city, there are commonalities that link cities together throughout Latin America. Colonialism for example, was an experience that all regions in Latin America (and beyond) faced. Colonialism impacted different places in different ways, however, depending on who the colonizer was, what resources were present, the size of the indigenous population and the extent of slavery etc., just as Import-Substitution Industrialization (ISI), agrarian reform and neo-liberalism have been common processes of structural change in much of the region. Given that similarity and commonality I chose to conduct a case study, and rely on literature produced by scholars who have researched urban inequality elsewhere in South and North America. *My goal has been to critically analyze on-going efforts at addressing inequality in Quito*, what I describe as a two-part process involving the removal of barriers (physical, state and socio-cultural) and empowerment. With these critical analyses I aim to provide insight that can then be reapplied to the specific context of overcoming barriers to development in Quito, but which can also be used to help design better projects with a similar focus elsewhere. In essence, my aim is to help cities, namely Quito, become more “vital” and better able to instigate development within their populaces.

THE PROJECTS

Each of the projects that this study analyzes tells us something about overcoming inequality. Comparing their different logics, methodologies and stakeholders, can help us to understand how future projects operating in Quito may be better designed, based on what seems to be working and what does not. My analysis of the three projects is based on two constituent parts: first, the projects' abilities to meet their own objectives, and second, their respective abilities to promote development. I have disaggregated the latter into the projects' abilities to help low-income target populations overcome physical, state and socio-cultural barriers, and their abilities to activate empowerment through the political-cultural formation of subordinate groups. My findings in relation to these central questions are based on my observations during field visits, interviews with project participants and staff and a review of projects' promotional materials.

The first project that I analyze in this thesis is the Environmental Sanitation Program. The PSA has two objectives, to address environmental and human risk. I draw the conclusion that based on those objectives, and relying on among other things, the Inter-American Development Bank's policy documents that describe how those goals are to be accomplished, the PSA has only been somewhat successful. Its greatest successes have been with regards to mitigating environmental risk for the general populace, however it has done little to ensure the short and long-term socioeconomic development of acutely impacted at-risk individuals and families. In terms of its ability to address inequality within its target population, the PSA has helped families to overcome physical and state barriers, but has done little to promote connections between different socioeconomic groups (for example, low-income families still live on society's ideological periphery) or empower families to assert their agency.

I would attribute the project's successes, which tend to come from large-scale infrastructural initiatives, to the fact that its main stakeholder has employed a top-down approach. I believe that this has encouraged the PSA to favor outcomes that are easily tangible. As a result, more intangible outcomes, such as instilling among subordinate at-risk families a greater sense of attachment to the rest of Quito, or empowering families to take advantage of economic opportunities for development, seem to get left behind. Moreover, the fact that this project adopts a perspective that to a large degree treats inequality as an inherent condition (in line with the Marginality School) means that solutions targeted to specifically benefit 'the poor' are short-term bandages rather than long-term structural solutions. Another reason why the PSA has been more adept at tackling large-scale issues, or conversely, why it has struggled to give families the long-term support that they need, is because of the structure of the organization. The PSA has a large bureaucracy that is ultimately accountable to the Bank's donors, rather than to individual families, at-risk communities, the general population or even Quito's municipal government. This means that the project is not very flexible – relying on the top-down implementation of operating policies developed generically – and cannot easily respond to potential variations among subordinate communities or families or even individuals. The exception being when the project shifts between phases every few years, and the opportunity for self-reflection arises (with the help of Washington-based auditors). On the other hand, we could interpret this to mean that the PSA is able to push ahead with massive undertakings, such as flood control, and can focus on the interests of the general populace without being caught up in the minutia of each individual case. Arguably, however, there needs to be a balance.

The second project that I analyze is the Program of Participatory Urban Agriculture. AGRUPAR has two objectives: one is to promote sustainability and the other is to create a fair trade market for urban agricultural goods. The project has been very successful at making subordinate producer groups and their local communities more socially, economically and environmentally sustainable, in the short and long-term. The project has been less successful at transforming urban

agriculture into a form of fair trade, however. While the physical infrastructure needed to accomplish this objective is essentially in place (farmers markets; although improvements in the physical infrastructure needed to bring products to market would likely be welcomed), insufficient education among the general population of Quito and limited institutional linkages beyond the immediate municipal agency that funds the project may be inhibiting the broader consciousness needed to turn that goal into a reality.

AGRUPAR has been quite successful at addressing inequality within its target population, specifically in terms of empowerment. The skills-development and on-going training that AGRUPAR provides, helps subordinate communities generally, and more relegated subsets such as women, specifically. As noted in Chapter Three, women in particular describe how they feel more “independent”, “useful” and “productive” with their participation in the project. In terms of barriers, the project has made the most advancement at overcoming state barriers, notably addressing state inefficiencies. This is likely the product of AGRUPAR’s decentralized structure, which allows agronomists to work with individual producer organizations as much or as little as needed, and provide them with the specific support that they require. There is no structured timeline. There are no mandated growth targets. Producers work at the pace they choose and expand as they deem appropriate given their unique situation. Overcoming socio-cultural barriers is another area where the project has made some inroads through the development of a network of farmer’s markets. However, more may need to be done to create awareness about the benefits of the project and to encourage consumers from other socio-economic groups to change their consumption patterns. The area where the least amount of progress has taken place is when it comes to physical barriers; although beyond its immediate purview, AGRUPAR has done almost nothing to improve the physical inequalities within low-income communities.

Much of AGRUPAR’s success can be attributed to the projects central objective, sustainability, which takes into account subordinate groups’ immediate and long-term needs. Another reason why AGRUPAR has been able to tackle

inequality so effectively, despite limited gains in overcoming barriers to development, stems from the perspective it adopts, which is in line with the Critical Perspective on Marginality. The project recognizes what in many cases is subordinate groups' latent agency, waiting to be activated. As such the project was designed to empower producer groups to take control over their own lives; AGRUPAR simply gives producers the tools to do so. This is evidenced by the relationships that form between AGRUPAR's extension workers and producer organizations; these are relationships built-upon mutual respect and equality between user and service provider rather than between charity and 'the needy', as would likely be the case if AGRUPAR were to take on a Marginality School outlook.

The final project that this study looks at is the Association of Women Fighting for Life. This project's overarching objective was to "empower women heads of household through the process of acquiring dignified housing", a goal that they have had great success at achieving. Thanks to this project, over the past decade dozens of families have been transitioned from the precarious condition of renting, to becoming full-fledged homeowners. This is quite an achievement for families whose main source of income often comes from the informal economy or from poorly paid low-skill labor. Women and their families are indeed empowered *through* the process, emerging with invaluable skills, and the confidence needed to apply those skills to the betterment of their socio-economic condition.

In terms of barriers to development, the MPLV has helped women and their families overcome physical barriers, specifically access to housing, and the stability that comes with that (such as more stable access to water, sewage, electricity). State barriers are addressed by this project as well. Women heads of household, and the unified front they come to compose, are given the skills necessary to navigate what are often inefficient state bureaucracies, although it remains to be seen if those skills can and will be applied with the same effectiveness if and when women appear as individual actors before the state in the future. Similarly, the MPLV has potentially helped families to overcome socio-

cultural barriers, evidenced by the fact that some women are able to work in the formal sector (which they attribute to having stable housing for their family), however it is unclear if those gains will result in increased meaningful interaction between different socioeconomic groups, and lead to the creation of future opportunities for development.

LESSONS LEARNED

The PSA project has shown that the development of large-scale infrastructural projects often comes at the expense of tailored solutions to inequality. The AGRUPAR project has shown that a balanced combination of expert knowledge and local empowerment can be achieved, and that projects can be designed to offer short and long-term solutions to inequality. And the MPLV project has shown that grassroots projects can be successful, but that acting almost entirely as a unified front has the potential to leave individual actors without the strength-of-numbers to continue to improve their current condition through social and economic development.

When analyzed together, there are three key insights that these projects provide. This knowledge can most readily be reapplied in Quito, but can also be adapted to the context of other cities in Latin America and elsewhere. **First**, while approaches that rely exclusively on the use of imported expert knowledge (PSA) or which dismiss the potential contributions of external support altogether (MPLV), can achieve gains when it comes to addressing urban inequality, an approach that targets the use of expert knowledge (and which acknowledges that target populations can also be sources of 'expert knowledge') towards short and long-term capacity-building and formal skills development among subordinate groups will likely be more successful at overcoming inequality; that is, expert knowledge should be seen as complementary or instigatory, and neither as the 'absolute truth' nor necessarily problematic or hegemonic. This is because participants can gain a sense of confidence and ownership when they are

involved in the project's development and progression. Participants are, I believe, thus better equipped to adapt solutions to meet their unique situation. **Second**, and related to the first, projects need to be designed holistically and sustainably so as to take into account the short and long-term needs of subordinate groups. For example, adopting a strictly long-term environmental approach neglects the immediate human component (such as the need to use resources), just as only focusing on economic outcomes neglects related social, political and environmental concerns. Projects able to think in terms of "sustainability" and effectively apply those principles to all actions will be most successful. And **third**, for projects to be able to genuinely instill a sense of empowerment they need to foster strong working relationships with their target populations. Those relationships need to be based on mutual respect and equality, something that is impossible to do from a Marginality School perspective.

I would argue that based on my critical analysis the three projects that AGRUPAR has been the most successful, although all have made significant headway at addressing urban socio-economic inequality within the Metropolitan Region of Quito. Of the three, AGRUPAR has been the project most adept at targeting skills development to foment empowerment. It has been the project most capable of addressing immediate and long-term needs within a discourse of sustainability – for example, teaching families to feed themselves and create their own short and long-term economic opportunities while also protecting the local environment. AGRUPAR has also been able to create strong working relationships between its team of agronomists and producer organizations, based on equality, empowerment and individualized support. This project also shows the most potential to address socio-cultural barriers within the city.

AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There are three of areas for future research that I believe could benefit the literature on urban inequality. The first has to do with the ability of urban

agriculture to foster community development and create opportunities for development. Urban agriculture is an emerging (although some would say re-emerging) form of local economic development, and has been researched quite extensively. However research has tended to focus only on the immediate benefits that accrue to the local target population (Mougeot 2000). Approaching urban agriculture as AGRUPAR does, as a form of fair trade, may aid in the design and implementation of projects so as to benefit larger populations. Thinking in terms of fair trade allows projects to be framed as mutually beneficial (local and larger population), solidarity-building, formalizing (for example, creating formal employment), and educational. Research that approaches urban agriculture using a broader and more holistic conceptualization may help to expand its reach as a form of poverty-alleviation and local community development.

The second area for future research has to do with the further exploration of the relationship that Pearlman (1976) highlights between the “myth and social reality” of “marginalization”. I believe that the literature would benefit from a more focused analysis of how the “myth” perpetuates marginalization in the form of socio-cultural barriers. It may also benefit from research focusing on the perceptions of the so-called ‘marginalized’ themselves, and whether or not they interpret inequality or poverty as an inherent characteristic or as a temporary condition.

And finally, the literature may benefit from further research into the barriers for social and economic development. While in my case study of Quito I highlight three specific barriers – physical, state and socio-cultural – it remains to be seen if they are as salient within other cities in Latin America. For example, in other cities in the region there may be other, more or less specific barriers that inhibit subordinate groups from freely exercising their social agency or developing their political-cultural formation. Given the context of urban inequality in Latin America, and the fact that there are both strong similarities and differences over time and space, it would be a useful exercise to find out whether it is the form of the barriers that change (for instance, cultural or linguistic barriers

instead of more broadly defined socio-cultural barriers) or if the form of the barriers remains the same and only the manifestations which change.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE AGRUPAR SURVEY

Perry Stein <i>candidato</i> de Maestría – Simon Fraser University, Canada ----- Encuesta para el proyecto de AGRUPAR
Parte I
<i>En esta sección, se les pedirá a los y las participantes responder preguntas generales. Si no están cómodos con las preguntas están libres de no responderlas. Nuestra primera prioridad es dar seguridad y comodidad a los y las participantes en el desarrollo de esta encuesta.</i>
DATOS
Dirección (si no quiere, mencionar sector de Quito):
Nombres y Apellidos:
Número y edades de personas en su vivienda (o beneficiarios directos de su participación en agricultura urbana):
Nombre de la organización productora con quien trabaja:
Número de personas que forman parte de la organización (contándose usted):
Usted tiene alguna función administrativa dentro de la organización (por ejemplo, presidente o tesorero)?
¿Cuál es el tamaño de su jardín? (incluyendo los invernaderos; sin incluir las bodegas, cocina o espacios no productivos para la Agricultura Urbana; señale cuantos metros tiene)
¿Cuántos metros esta el huerto de su casa? _____; ¿Te parece que el huerto esta cerca de su casa? SI o NO
Tipos de productos que han sido cosechados y producidos por la Organización (incluidos los productos de valor agregado):
¿Como su organización se enteró acerca de AGRUPAR?
¿Hace cuanto su organización ha estado trabajando con AGRUPAR?
¿Su organización trabaja con algún grupo particular de la población(Ejemplo: Solo mujeres, adultos mayores, jóvenes, organización de carácter religioso etc.):
¿Cómo se da el reparto de utilidades e ingresos en su organización (ejemplo: entre los socios, o se reparte de acuerdo a las horas que trabajo cada individuo)?
¿Cuántas horas por semana usted dedica en el huerto?

¿Usted tiene un empleo además del jardín?: **SI o NO**

Si la respuesta es SI, ¿Cuál es?

¿Ha tenido una experiencia anterior en agricultura antes de participar en este proyecto?:

¿Cuál es su nivel de educación?:

¿Estaría dispuesto a participar en otra entrevista? **SI o NO**

Estas entrevistas se llevarán a cabo antes del fin de agosto y tendrán una duración de 15 a 30 minutos. Se le pedirá que hable acerca de su experiencia con agricultura urbana y su percepción de AGRUPAR. **Su participación será totalmente anónima.**

En caso que quiera participar, dénos algunos datos para contactarlo (número de teléfono, correo electrónico):

Teléfonos (convencional o celular):

Correo Electrónico:

Parte II

La primera sección se refiere al apoyo de AGRUPAR en la etapa de capacitación inicial y de largo plazo del proyecto.

1. Poner en orden (del más fácil a lo más difícil) los requisitos solicitados por AGRUPAR para acceder al programa de agricultura urbana de AGRUPAR. (Del 1 al 3, donde el 1 es el más fácil y 3 el más difícil).
 - Tiene acceso a un terreno cercano a su hogar ____
 - Tiene acceso a agua potable ____
 - Formar un grupo de 8 personas (como mínimo) ____
 - a. Encontró USTED alguna otra dificultad para cumplir los requisitos. Mencíónelos.
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2. Aprendió diferentes capacidades y conocimientos en el proceso de capacitación inicial (la fase de demostración). **SI o NO**
 - a. Si la respuesta es SI señale cuales fueron los tres más importantes (Por ejemplo: aprendí a preparar las camas para sembrar; aprendí a producir productos orgánicos; se reconocer cuando una planta esta deteriorada y cuando esta en buen estado, etc.).
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.
3. ¿Cree que hay algo que le faltó enseñar a AGRUPAR durante el proceso de capacitación inicial, que le hubiera servido para mejorar la aplicación del proyecto? **SI o NO**
 - a. Si la respuesta es SI, señale que otros conocimientos y capacidades debería dar AGRUPAR en la capacitación inicial.
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 -
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4. Hablando sobre la capacitación inicial...
 - a. Que le pareció los horarios:
 - i. Fueron flexibles. **SI o NO**
 - ii. Tuvo usted obligaciones que le impidió asistir a las capacitaciones. **SI o NO**
 1. Si la respuesta es SI, señale cual(es)
 -
 -

b. Que le pareció los y las profesores:

- i. Las capacitaciones fueron presentadas de forma clara y simple. **SI o NO**
- ii. Los y las profesores usaron un vocabulario sencillo y que pudo entender. **SI o NO**
- iii. Sus clases fueron aburridas. **SI o NO**

5. Su organización continua recibiendo asistencia de AGRUPAR. **SI o NO**

6. La asistencia dada por AGRUPAR es suficiente para fortalecer sus iniciativas de agricultura urbana en el largo plazo y hacer que el proyecto sea sostenible. (por ejemplo, continúan aportando a nuestra organización información nueva e útil, nos enseñan nuevas habilidades y competencias, responden nuestras preguntas y dirigen sus acciones hacia nuestras demandas). **SI o NO**

a. Si la respuesta es NO, que otro tipo de apoyo por parte de AGRUPAR se puede dar.

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-
-

7. El equipo técnico de AGRUPAR...

a. Cuenta con conocimientos adecuados para la ejecución y seguimiento de su proyecto de agricultura urbana (por ejemplo, le ayuda a resolver sus problemas con las cosechas). **SI o NO**

b. Muestra disposición y atención para atenderle (por ejemplo, responden a cualquier duda o pregunta que tenga en un tiempo razonable etc.). **SI o NO**

c. ¿Qué recomendaría usted para mejorar el trabajo del equipo técnico de AGRUPAR?

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La segunda sección trata sobre los resultados que hasta ahora ha tenido el proyecto en su vida y la de sus familias.

1. Seguridad alimentaria:

a. Mi familia gasta menos en comida por nuestra participación en agricultura urbana. **SI o NO**

i. Si la respuesta es SI, ¿Qué tipo de productos usted dejó de comprar en los mercados?

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-
-

b. ¿Que beneficios cree que le da a usted y a su familia, comer los alimentos que se producen orgánicamente en el proyecto?

-
-

c. Mi familia tiene mejor acceso a comida sana por nuestra participación en agricultura urbana. **SI o NO**

i. Si la respuesta es SI ¿De que manera ha cambiado su alimentación?

-
-

- ii. Además, Si respondió SI ¿Considera que ahora sus miembros de familia se enferman menos **SI o NO** y están mejor alimentados? **SI o NO**

2. Seguridad económica

- a. ¿Cuanto gana usted cada mes? _____
 - i. ¿Cuánto gana usted por la venta de los productos de agricultura urbana? _____
 - ii. ¿Cuánto usted ahorra mensualmente en víveres, ahora que consume los productos cosechados y sembrados por usted? _____
 - iii. ¿Cree que ahora, con los ingresos de la agricultura urbana, puede contar con una cantidad de dinero segura mes a mes? **SI o NO**
 - iv. ¿Nos podría decir en que gasta sus ingresos de la agricultura urbana?
 -
 -

3. ¿Yo me siento / Mi familia se siente orgullosa por participar en Agricultura Urbana? **SI o NO**

- a. Si es la respuesta es SI, ¿por qué?
-
-

4. Hay mayor solidaridad dentro de mi comunidad como resultado de la agricultura urbana. **SI o NO**

- a. Si la respuesta es SI, de ejemplos
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.

5. Hay un mayor respeto al ambiente en nuestra comunidad como resultado de la agricultura urbana. **SI o NO**

- a. Si la respuesta es SI, de ejemplos
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.

6. ¿ Encuentra impactos negativos para su comunidad por este proyecto?

- a. Si la respuesta es SI, señale cuales.
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.

La tercera sección tratará sobre temas de carácter general, como la inclusión social y el empoderamiento de los participantes en el proyecto de agricultura urbana.

1. La agricultura urbana se valora en su comunidad o su barrio. **SI o NO**

2. La agricultura urbana se valora en Quito. **SI o NO**

- a. Si la respuesta es NO, señale porque?
-

3. Yo me siento / Mi familia siente que desde que comenzó a trabajar en agricultura urbana, cuenta con más oportunidades para mejorar su calidad de vida y de sus hijos. **SI o NO**

a. Si la respuesta es SI, ¿De que manera?

-
-
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-

4. AGRUPAR está haciendo todo lo que puede para apoyar la agricultura urbana. **SI o NO**

a. Si la respuesta es SI, ¿qué mas podría hacer AGRUPAR?

-
-

5. Para usted, ¿qué problemas resuelve la agricultura urbana? ¿Cuáles son los tres más importantes?

-
-
-

6. ¿Cómo usted siente que el proyecto de Agricultura Urbana ha ayudado a los y las personas más pobres y vulnerables de la ciudad de Quito para tener un vida más digna, y así gozar de su derechos como ciudadanos y ciudadanas?

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-

a. ¿Ha reducido las barreras sociales? **SI o NO**

i. Si la respuesta es NO, que otras medidas creen que se deberían tomar?

-
-

b. ¿Ha reducido las barreras económicas? **Si o No**

i. SI la respuesta es NO, que otras medidas creen que se deberían tomar?

-
-

Otros Comentarios: _____

Muchas gracias por su participación

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