



Guayaquil, Ecuador

Exclusion in the metropolis:

Poverty or inequality, violence or citizen insecurity?

Caroline Moser

Professor Emeritus, University of Manchester

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C. Moser

Presentation contents

1. Habitat's New Urban Agenda (NUA)
 - ☐ The concept of 'Metropolis'
 - ☐ 'Exclusion' in the NUA
 - ☐ Static snapshots or longitudinal case studies?
2. Guayaquil, Ecuador as a longitudinal case study
 - ☐ Development as a 21st century Latin American city (1978-2018)
3. The 'other': the excluded city: Indio Guayas
 - ☐ Agency and positionality
 - i. Poverty or inequality
 - ☐ The accumulation of capital assets
 - ☐ Exclusion and spatial, educational and professional mobility
 - ii. Violence or citizen insecurity
 - ☐ Drugs, stigma and gated communities
3. Integrated approaches to inclusion?

NUA concepts: 'metropolis'

- ❑ How do we understand the concept of the 'metropolis'?
- ❑ **Generally defined as:**
- ❑ *'The capital or chief city of a country or region'*
- ❑ **The NUA definition is far broader**

*'While the specific circumstances of cities of all sizes, towns and villages vary, we affirm that the New Urban Agenda is **universal**' (NUA p. 8)*



Loja, Ecuador: Population 240,000

Where is Exclusion in Habitat's NUA?

“Leave no one behind, by ending poverty in all its forms and dimensions...by ensuring equal rights and opportunities, socio-economic and cultural diversity, and integration in urban space (NUA p,7)

Main Topics			
Sustainability	Territorial planning	*Social cohesion	Competitiveness
Climate change	*Informal settlements	*Social segregation	Local development
Quality of the air		*Gender gap	*Unemployment
Natural resources	*Urban planning	*Ageing population	*Informal economy
Energy	Urban development	*Digital gap	Circular economy
*Water	*Public space	*Social inequalities	Innovation
Urban ecosystems	*Mobility	*Safety	Smart city
Self-sufficiency		*Education	
		*Housing	
		*Accessibility	
		*Equity	

Static snapshots or longitudinal case studies?

- ❑ How do we understand exclusion?
- ❑ From static or short snapshots?
- ❑ From longer understanding socio-economic processes and how these are embedded in macro-level political and economic change?
- ❑ This presentation focus on a longitudinal study of Guayaquil, Ecuador



Guayaquil, Ecuador as a 40 year case-study: 1978-2018



1978



2004



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2018

Identifying the Guayaquil metropolitan area



Guayaquil as a 21st century city

A. De

- ☐ **Ecuador:** 2006-14: 4.3% GDP growth
Poverty decline from 37.6% to 22.5%
- ☐ **Guayaquil:** Largest city and main port
- ☐ Population 2.69 mil. Located on River Guayas
- ☐ **21st century innovative initiatives include:**
 - ☐ Inner city rehabilitation
 - ☐ Malecon 2000 project
 - ☐ Malecon Estero Salado
 - ☐ Metrovia public transport system
 - ☐ Road upgrading- flyovers, tunnels
 - ☐ Water-front elite apartments
 - ☐ New gated residential communities
 - ☐ New Airport

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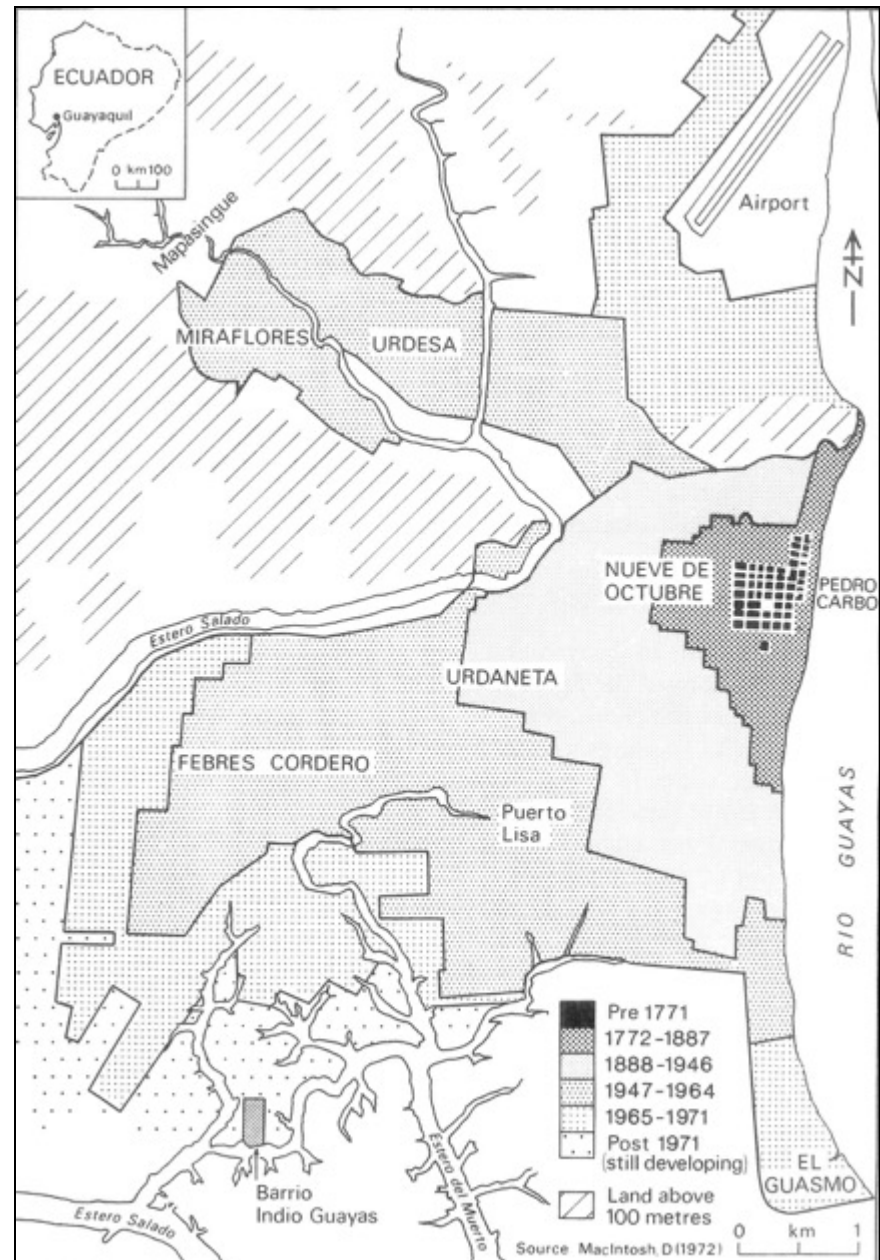


*The 'other': The excluded city of Guayaquil: 1978
Barrio Indio Guayas, the suburbios*



☐ *Guayaquil and Barrio Indio Guayas*

- ☐ Community on periphery of the Estero (mangrove swamps)
- ☐ Plots of 10 x 30 metres
- ☐ No hard land, roads or infill
- ☐ No land titles
- ☐ No physical infrastructure
 - water
 - Electricity
 - Sewerage
- ☐ Minimal social infrastructure
 - Primary school – 70 kids per class
 - No secondary school
 - No health centre
 - Hospital de Guayaquil
 - (40 minute walk away)



1978: Original research methodology

Building a 4x8 metre house and living in Barrio Indio Guayas



2018: 40 years of longitudinal research on poverty and inequality: Agency and positionality



1978 Anthropological fieldwork

- **Research Methodology**
- 12 extended anthropological fieldtrips; **3 quantitative** surveys undertaken with community members
- **Construction of 1978-1992-2004 panel data set**
- Studied second generation kids migrated to **Barcelona**
- 2010 focus on 'cancer' with leader's illness
- **1978 TV film 'People of the Barrio'**
- **2018 new film under production**

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2018 Documentary filming with son, Titus

Development of an asset index

- ❑ The original research documented poverty dynamics - household strategies to 'get out of poverty'
- ❑ Young, upwardly aspiring, small nuclear families, many rural origins, low education with men builders, tailors; women dressmakers, washerwomen



1978 Carmelina and daughter washing



Flaco a local tailor

- ❑ BUT recognition that households are strategic managers of complex asset portfolios
- ❑ **Challenge: to understand how poor households accumulated assets and got out of poverty**

Definitions: Assets

❑ What is an Asset?

❑ *‘Stock of financial, human, natural or social resources that can be acquired, developed, improved and transferred across generations. It generates flows or consumptions as well as additional stock’*

❑ Assets give people the capacity to be and to act (*Bebbington 1999*)

❑ Assets creates agency, which is linked to the empowerment of individuals and communities (*Sen 1997*).

❑ *BUT asset accumulation not only empowers but can also lead to transformation*

❑ Assets exist within social processes, structures, and power relationships

Components of Asset Indices in Indio Guayas

☐ Physical capital

- ☐ Housing
- ☐ Consumer durables

☐ Financial capital

- ☐ Productive durables
- ☐ Transfer and rental income

☐ Human capital

- ☐ Education
- ☐ (Health)

☐ Social capital

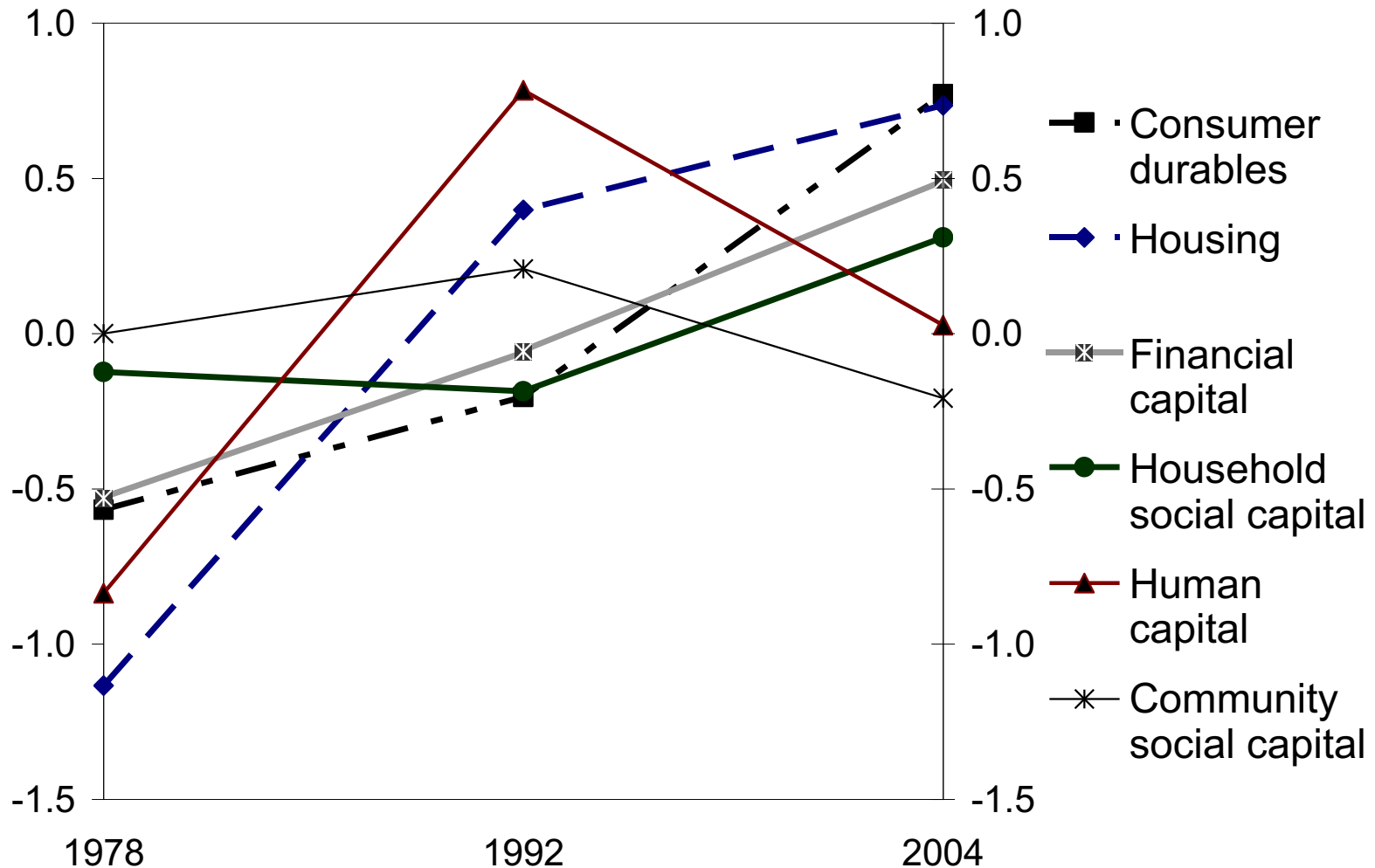
- ☐ Household
- ☐ Community

Econometric Analysis

- Construction of asset indices o understand longitudinal household changes
- Stocks of assets as measures of long-run economic well-being
- Econometrics
- Polychoric principal components analysis
- Income regression estimation

Asset accumulation over time: 1978-2004

Standard deviations (0 = mean across time periods)



Housing is the first asset prioritized



1978 Housing

- ☐ Ownership regularization through land titles
- ☐ 1978 – 2% with land titles
- ☐ 2004 – 80%
- ☐ Titles in both women and men's names

- ☐ Housing consolidation early
- ☐ Housing does not get a household out of poverty: *BUT is a necessary precondition for accumulation of other assets*
- ☐ Valorization through land infill; upgrading



2004 Housing

Community social capital



Indio Guayas Committee 2002

Committee Indio Guayas

- ❑ Strong local community organization essential for contestation and negotiation to achieve delivery of all physical and social infrastructure
- ❑ *Women critical in leadership and rank and file positions*

- ❑ As physical infrastructure consolidated community-based services canceled, community social capital declined
- ❑ Household social capital increased both as coping and as an accumulation strategy
 - ❑ *Increasing no. of extended households*
 - ❑ *Increasing reliance on market for services*



Abandoned community centre 2004

Infrastructure and services achieved : 1978-2002

Date	Infrastructure	Political actor/INDO	Agency
1978-78	Infill	Izquierda Dem.	Mayor
1979	Legal electricity conctns	Izquierda Dem	Electricity company
1980-86	Health centres Hogares comunitarios	UNICEF Izquierda Dem.	Min. of Health
1980	Primary school	Plan Padrino	Min of Educ.
1980	Integral Land filling	Izquierda Dem.	Min of Public Works
1980-84	Land titling	Izquierda Dem	
1983	Main roads paved	Izquierda Dem	Min of Public Works
1983	Community centre	Plan International	
1984	High School completed	Plan International	Min. of Educ
1989	Community basic health	Plan International	Min of Health
1992	Sewerage	Frente directly	Min of Sewerage
2002	Public lighting	Frente directly	Electricity Co.

2018: Barrio Indio Guayas today

From poverty to inequality: Intergenerational exclusion



- ☐ Next generations face different opportunities in asset accumulation strategies
- ☐ But also exclusion and mobility constraints

By 2018 range of spatial mobility

- ☐ Moving **out** of Indio
Guayas to periphery hills,
starting again
- ☐ Moving **professionally**
up to smaller city
- ☐ Moving **up** to professional
area in Guayaquil
- ☐ Moving **up** to new gated
community
 - ☐ Constraints: very distant from
city (4 hours traveling per day)
 - ☐ No family networks so buy as
investment and remain living
with parents



Periphery hills of Guayaquil



New 'gated community'

Spatial mobility: Out and up, migrating to Spain



Migrant from Guayaquil washing up after supper

- ❑ **Migration to Barcelona provides opportunities for women and men**
 - ❑ In 2004 average monthly income: Barcelona \$820; Guayaquil \$62
 - ❑ Migrants become empowered about labor, child protection and domestic abuse legislation
 - ❑ Changes in gender relations – where women can earn as much as men
 - ❑ The majority have stayed through the crisis and have gained citizenship
- ❑ **Remittances as a ‘positive’ shock**
 - ❑ In Indio Guayas, help families, with elderly parents, stay out of poverty
 - ❑ Long-term investments in local housing

2nd-3rd generation educational mobility

- ❑ *2nd generation daughters and sons better educated than parents*
- ❑ *2nd generation daughters better educated than brothers*



Local primary school kids



Local secondary school teenagers

- ❑ *By 3rd generation almost all complete secondary education*
- ❑ *BUT lack of public university places unless able to pay the bribes & have networks*
- ❑ *Blocked further education increasing alienation and exclusion*

3rd generation professional mobility

☐ *Not moving, remaining in the informal economy*

- ☐ furniture makers, cooks, cleaners

☐ *Moving through state institutions*

- ☐ police, military

☐ *Acquisition of professional qualifications and skills*

- ☐ Dentist, doctor, bank economic analyst

☐ *Acquisition of entrepreneurial skills*

☐ **Stigma of Indio Guayas address:**

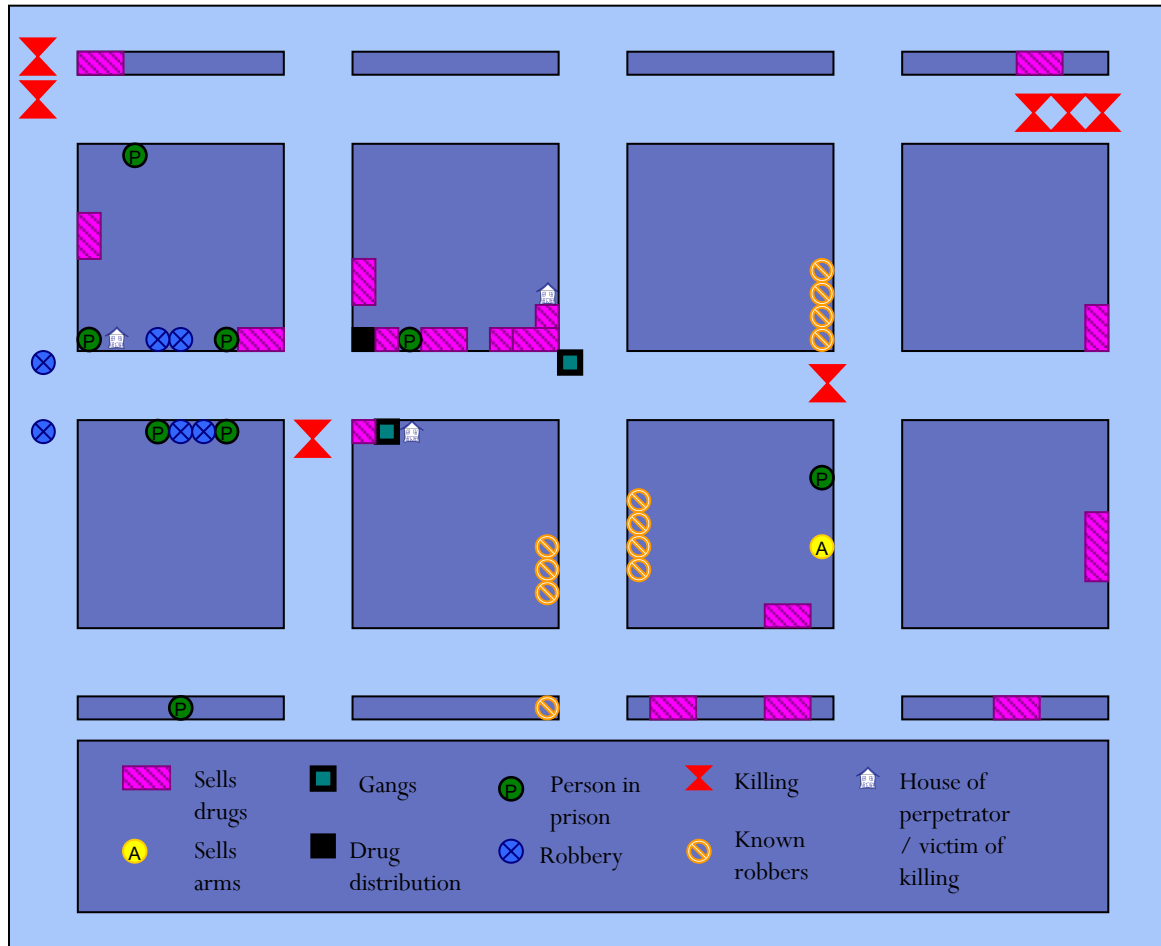
☐ **Critical networks & \$\$\$**



3rd generation son in police force

Violence and citizen insecurity

Map of dangerous locations in Indio Guayas



2005 Focus group of three local women

In this two block area of the same street, comprising some 100 households there were:

- **6 gang or drug-related killings**
- 15 known robbers
- Armed young men robbing women as getting off the bus
- 3 young men currently in prison
- **One of the biggest drug distribution leaders**
- 15 known small shops sell drugs – mainly cocaine paste
- **Teenage boys cycling around selling drugs at a dollar a go**
- Police cars cruising past on daily basis

Responses to Citizen Insecurity



- ☐ **Staying in Indio Guayas**
- ☐ Security measures such as bars, gates and locks are now widespread
- ☐ Public space empty at night and no longer used socially



- ☐ **Moving into new 'gated community' housing project on Via a Daule**
- ☐ Targeted for middle income groups
- ☐ Perceived as 'safe' though distant
- ☐ Avoids stigma of 'dangerous' Indio Guayas
- ☐ No local social capital, shops etc

By 2018 drug consumption and coping with addiction is biggest challenge

- ❑ Focus on drug distribution and gang conflicts to control drug sales
 - ❑ *Neglects critical issue that drug consumption now a 'plague'*
- ❑ Almost every family in Indio Guayas has at least one member who is a drug addict
 - ❑ *heroin, cocaine, 'H' and other chemical drugs*
- ❑ Ex-President Rafael Correa recently amended drug policy to permit individual consumers up to 3 mils. per day (*amount debated*)
 - ❑ Drugs sold in primary and secondary school as well as on streets at all times
 - ❑ Use of young kids to sell
- ❑ Very few drug Rehabilitation Centers except those supported by the *Evangelical Church*
- ❑ **Costs start at \$1500 and take 6 months to a year**



Local young man in drug rehab centre



The same young man post rehab with his son

Importance of household social capital

- ❑ 1978 – 2004 strong community social capital for collective struggle
- ❑ **By 2018 strong extended household social capital**
- ❑ Adult children still living with parents
- ❑ Children caring for elderly parents
- ❑ Sons returning home on failure of marriage
- ❑ Inter-generational job reciprocity



Cancer survivor Carmelina and daughter

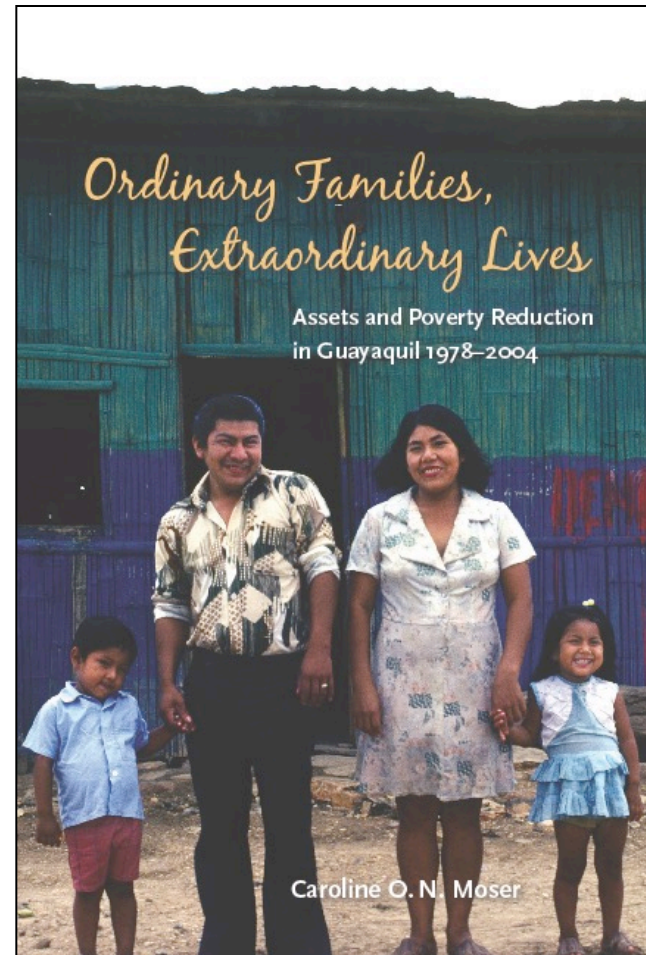
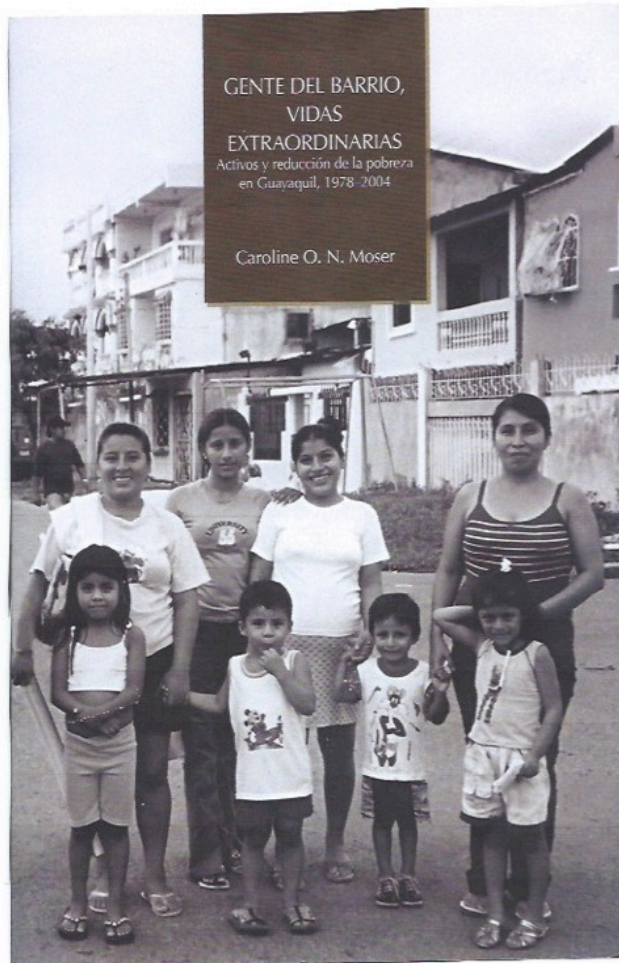


Aurora and her divorced son

Integrates approaches to inclusion policy

- ❑ The accumulation of assets helps us understand policies that can:
 - ❑ Reduce poverty, inequality and exclusion
 - ❑ Empower individuals to achieve upward social, economic and political mobility
 - ❑ Through transformative processes successfully challenge power relations
- ❑ However there are important, deeply embedded political, economic and social constraints and obstacles
- ❑ Exclusion is not a single topic or sector
- ❑ Inclusion policies require integrated cross-sectoral approaches that include:
 - ❑ Sustainability
 - ❑ Territorial planning
 - ❑ Social cohesion
 - ❑ Competitiveness

Publications: website <http://www.carolinemoser.co.uk>



Acknowledgements: 2018 photos by Titus Fossgard-Moser
Guayaquil Malecon etc: Delgado, A. (2011) Guayaquil City Profile, *Cities*