Freedom to dwell or autonomous urbanism?
Dwelling strategies of 2nd generation users under eviction in Guayaquil, Ecuador

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Image 1: Consolidated low-income settlements under eviction versus the relocation housing program of micro-viviendas (Image by authors)

Thirty to fifty years of neighborhood densification in Guayaquil's innerburbs has resulted in three to four generations living either in the same street (when more fortunate 2nd generations were still able to acquire plots) or residing under the same roof, sharing their home space[2] and making spatial arrangements by virtue of home subdivisions and extensions in order to accommodate succeeding generations. Most recently, the many years of mutual efforts of 2nd generation families in the process of home transformation and improvement were abruptly interfered with the launch of the mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico that proposes to 'recuperate' the estuaries and increase the green area/inhabitant, involving the relocation of approximately 30.000 families of the innerburbs to 'micro-viviendas' of 35m^2 located on land with low economical or productive value in the 'new' urban periphery. This study delves into multigenerational dwelling and household dynamics and how these have changed under such a threat as eviction, documenting dwelling strategies, patterns of development-induced displacement and forms of resistance of users in search for alternatives.

Keywords:
Guayaquil, housing inequality, innerburbs, home consolidation, development-induced displacement, urban mega-projects, home space

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[2] The concept of *home space* was first developed by Andersen and Sollien et al. (2012) and later adopted by Viviana d'Auria (2013). In this study the concept is used likewise, as it builds on Turner's theory of seeing the house as a 'process' instead of a finished object incorporating a social layer or 'use value' (Turner, 1968). The house is equally seen as an entangled process in which both social and spatial aspects define the quality of the object.

Ambiguous and changing realities

Emergent inequality is beyond doubt one of the most pressuring issues in contemporary cities in the global South (UN Habitat, 2008; 2014). A manifold of Latin American cities are encountered today in the contradictory reality of on the one hand bottom-up city making in which homes and neighborhoods improve incrementally over various decades through mutual and individual efforts and on the other hand top-down urban development of large-scale capital-intensive mega-projects that radically change urban environments focusing on city beautification and the attraction of (international) capital. Social aspects of urban environments are rarely taken into account in mega-project development.

The ways in which these neoliberal policy approaches and projects reinforce housing inequality and unequal geographical development is widely discussed both in the perspective of "the right to the city" and "right to adequate housing" (Rolnik, 2012) as well by many scholars who have displayed how the mega-project is reconquering urban agendas across the globe (Orueta & Fainstein, 2008; Kennedy et al., 2014) in which the Latin American city is no exception (Strauch et al., 2015)[3].
Various forms of development-induced displacement (direct and indirect), evictions, resettlement and popular resistance are intrinsic components of urban mega-project development (Gellert & Lynch, 2003[4]; Oliver-Smith, 2001). They influence and change the way in which future urban spaces are shaped causing profound shifts in land uses, changes in employment and local economies, leaving traces far beyond the direct ruptures in social urban tissue (Kennedy et al., 2011).

Within a radically shifting setting of globalization and neoliberal development, younger generations of urban poor are increasingly facing the struggle for affordable housing. Against this backdrop the space where these young urban dwellers can contest and negotiate their "freedom to dwell" with the state are equally changing and take new forms. Pioneer urban dwellers once bore the struggles for land regulation, basic services and neighborhood upgrading, for the aspiration to obtain the house of one's own in the city where they searched for permanency to accommodate the extended family. Under the pressure for (re)development in which governance systems are becoming more and more "hybrid" (Flyvbjerg et al., 2003), these now consolidated settlements are sensible places that are reconsidered, challenging the autonomy of the neighborhood founder's children and (great)grandchildren.

Turner once argued: *"the great majority of provisional settlements existing today will be eradicated eventually if only because they are on land of potentially high value"*

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[3] The scholarly work of Strauch et al. discusses the case of the mega-project 'Vía Parque Rímac', an expressway that experienced major popular resistance from affected communities in low-income neighborhoods in Lima (2015). This project is one of many emblematical examples of 'new' mega-projects that arise in rapidly growing cities in the Global South (Kennedy et al, 2014).
[4] Gellert and Lynch demarcate mega-projects as interventions that rapidly, intentionally and profoundly transform landscapes through international attracted capital and technology, distinguishing four types of mega-projects; (i) infrastructure, (ii) extraction, (iii) production and (iv) consumption, although these usually occur in combination (2003: 15-16). Gellert and Lynch furthermore argue that displacement simultaneously embraces natural or material (biogeophysical) as well as social dimensions and that displacement should be seen as an ongoing dialectical process, differentiating between primary (direct) and secondary (indirect) displacement (2003: 16).

(Turner, 1968a: 10). Certainly established settlements or *innerburbs*[5] now have a relative close proximity to the inner city in which homes in these low-income neighborhoods have considerable values on the market (Camargo Sierra, 2015: 147). This likewise brings about a renewed interest of governments and private enterprises in which new threats for gentrification and displacement of low-income residents arise (Ward et al., 2015: 286). A global trend of selling off well-located (generally public) land or incorporate these areas into PPP's (Public Private Partnerships) for development in many cases targets low-income neighborhoods creating *"an urban scenario where the poor do not exist and at the same time 'unlock' the value of the land"* (Rolnik, 2013a: 1064; Peterson, 2009). Hence we encounter many situations from different places in the world where low-income groups living on high value land are causing frictions between global-political and local interests, as Harvey clarifies, *"the process of displacement and dispossession lies at the core of the urban process under capitalism"* (2012: 18).

This paper makes socio-spatial interrogations in *innerburbs* of the Suburbio Oeste in Guayaquil, the first 'rings' of city extensions that developed from the 1950s onwards. These popular neighborhoods have experienced radical social and physical changes ever since pioneer dwellers settled on the municipal swamplands west of the city (Moser, 2010). In the course of a long process of collective action and popular struggles of the *moradores* (neighborhood founders) for services as well as individual household efforts in the home construction process, the bamboo homes that initially arose above the water and swamplands transformed into a highly dense urban tissue that is shaped by constantly growing, transforming and adapting homes, accommodating three to four generations of urban dwellers. The neighborhood founders, that are now growing old (and in some cases have passed away), continue to live in the neighborhood, as do their children who established their own families and are often grandparents themselves[6].

Most recently, with the launch of the mega-project *Guayaquil Ecológico*, the Suburbio Oeste has again become an area of conflict. The project involves the construction of a linear mega-park and aims to recuperate the estuaries and increase the amount of green area per inhabitant (Ministerio del Ambiente, 2010). To reach this goal, approximately forty kilometers of densely populated riverfronts have to make place for the park in order to "*save and conserve the estuaries for the next generation*"[7]. The estuaries' inhabitants, often living in consolidated homes with legal title are relocated in the mass-housing project Socio Vivienda II located in the 'new' urban periphery where land has low economic and productive value.

The four generations living in the consolidated settlements forcefully rejected the implementation of mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico (Sánchez, 2014). Despite the people's collective resistance and as a result of the abrupt actions of the Ministry of Housing (MIDUVI) that gave the people 15 days to accept a key and leave without proposing alternatives nor offering compensation for the losses, part of the consternated community was evicted and relocated in 'micro-viviendas' in Socio

Vivienda II where they started to rebuild their lives in the new dwelling environment. However, most people stayed and resisted as well as complete or part of affected families equally refused to leave to the government housing project, though they left to places elsewhere resulting in secondary forms of development-induced displacement.

Hence the impact of this mega-project leaves its traces far beyond the direct and visible consequences of forced evictions and relocation. This study aims to better understand both the primary and secondary nature of development-induced displacement and delves into multigenerational dwelling and household dynamics and how these have changed under such a threat as eviction, documenting dwelling strategies, patterns of development-induced displacement and forms of resistance of users in search for alternatives. It is questioned to what extent large-scale capital-intensive urban regeneration projects rupture the dynamics of multigenerational dwelling and the ways in which contemporary urban landscapes are constructed from below in order to gain insights in 'new' exclusionary urban settlement patterns. Guayaquil's unequal geographical landscape is augmenting in which consistent resettlements and forced displacement policies are indicated as principal factors contributing to increasing housing inequality (Sánchez, 2014).
In the prospect of Habitat III programmed for the next year we should open up the debate and start working towards alternative thinking about the way in which urban policy agendas can truly provide for future housing possibilities as well as for more inclusive ecological transformations, instead of following the track of neoliberal urban agendas obscuring housing rights, in which the project in focus *Guayaquil Ecológico* is emblematic.

Complementing findings: multiple levels of study

This paper builds upon ongoing research and a first stage of preliminary fieldwork carried out in Suburbio Oeste in Guayaquil between April 2014 and January 2015[8]. Taking off from the notion of bottom-up city making, in which cities are 'read' and 'understood' from *home space* (d'Auria, 2013)*,* the research is framed as grounded theory using in-depth case studies that can best visualize the complex dynamics of multigenerational dwelling and how these change under redevelopment pressures of urban mega-projects. New propositions emerge from the data collected in order to build profound knowledge and theory on this complex phenomenon (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). While the empirically grounded research relies primarily on qualitative methods, it is not merely a qualitative study and approaches and techniques of qualitative and quantitative research of various disciplines are combined. Multi-disciplinary and multi-scalar approaches using mixed methods are identified by various scholars as fundamental techniques in urban studies (Ward et al. 2014; Andersen & Sollien, 2012; Jenkins, 2013). Therefor bottom-up approaches are not studied isolated from other levels of study, but they are rather complementing findings of *home space* and visual ethnographic studies with built environment studies

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[8] Between April 2014 and January 2015 information was gathered during a multitude of visits of various communities living at the waterfront areas in Suburbio Oeste as well as displaced families who's mobility patterns were tracked. Various families were accompanied in their day-to-day struggle against the implementation of the mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico in order to identify the wide range of dwelling strategies people develop.

and citywide perspectives of residential segregation. The paper hence reviews preliminary empirical findings of incremental processes of bottom-up city making in a broader contextual setting of neoliberal development and mega-projects. This intersects with a first aim of the ongoing research to uncover the multitude of displacement patterns and dwelling strategies of 2nd generation families living under the threat of eviction that in later stages are conceptualized and categorized.

Neoliberal development and the urban mega-project: an era of capital-intensive waterfront regeneration in the city of Guayaquil

Global trends in urban mega-projects
Beyond doubt mega-projects are re-conquering contemporary urban agendas worldwide, think of the mushrooming of Arab mega-projects (Barthel, 2010), Brazilian 'World Cup cities' (Rolnik, 2013) and the many examples of European and Northern American urban redevelopment projects (Swyngedouw et al., 2002; Lehrer & Laidley, 2008). Early 'western' mega-projects based upon tabula rasa principles emerged in the ideology of 'progress' under Modernism already from the 1930's onwards, giving rise to big expressways and other large-scale (mainly infrastructural) projects. Such developments were strongly tangled with forceful displacement of communities and therefore received widespread popular resistance of urban movements of the 1960's and 1970's (Jacobs, 1961)[9]. Heavy critics of the 'old' mega-projects' authoritarian character and singular approach led to a first shift in appearance of such large-scale capital-intensive development projects (Orueta & Fainstein, 2008). The project now responded to industrial decline (often located in waterfront cities with port related activities) and suburbanization occurring in parallel to processes of globalization, neoliberalism and the rise of the economic and technological societies. 'New' mega-projects' characteristics differ from forerunners from the earlier epoch in the sense that they follow a more 'fine-grained' approach reflecting environmental and social sensitivity. They involve multiple components and mixed uses, other forms of financing attracting speculative investment and where the state was previously the main initiator now projects are often formulated through public-private partnerships (Lehrer & Laidley, 2008: 789), which are typical 'urban policy experiments' (Rolnik, 2013a: 1063). Yet, within current neoliberal urban contexts, as Lehrer and Laidley argue, the seemingly plurality and social empathy of contemporary urban mega-projects *"reproduce rather than resolve urban inequality and disenfranchisement"* (2008: 787). The contemporary urban mega-project stands within an ideology of international competitiveness in which 'urban status' is favored above 'urban inclusion'.

Mega-projects, development-induced displacement and housing rights
Large-scale and capital intensive projects not merely have had mayor implications for housing affordability in city centers as mega-projects are committed to create 'world-class city enclaves' of global tourism that instigate gentrification pushing out poor urban dwellers into substandard housing (Rolnik, 2013a: 1063). The urban mega-project may have shifted away from a singular approach now reflecting a certain

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[9] The work of journalist, writer and activist Jane Jacobs and her grassroots efforts to protect her neighborhood Greenwich Village in New York against the top-down interventions of Robert Moses is a well-knowm example of early critics of the lack of representation of the needs of most city dwellers in urban renewal.

commitment to public space, environmental and social issues; such arguments similarly camouflage land grabbing (Harvey 2012: 18). Particularly in the global south vulnerability and risk for natural hazards are too often used as an excuse to dislocate the urban poor to unlock land values (Davy & Pellissery, 2013; Rolnik 2013a; Amoako, 2015). Worldwide new waves of forced and often violent evictions directing at low-income groups are reported, frequently as a direct result of capital-intensive mega-projects. They radically and abruptly change urban settlement patterns in which the ones within the reshaped landscape mostly 'lose', while the ones 'outside' tend to gain (Gellert & Lynch, 2003: 23).

The era of capital-intensive waterfront regeneration in the city of Guayaquil
Within the paradigm of neoliberal development and the urban mega-project, waterfront renewal is a common strategy for urban regeneration, that commenced with Baltimore's harbor restructuring in the 1970's and the London Docklands development of the 1980's as classical examples (Gospodini, 2001; Florio & Brownill, 2000). Looking into the specific urban waterfront renewal strategies in the city of Guayaquil, to a certain extent these neoliberal policies and related emblematic projects comply with the logics and global tendencies in 'new' urban mega-project development. Yet within the political discourse of *Buen Vivir* and *La Revolución Urbana*[10] in Ecuador, additional factors can be distinguished that are crucial to grasp the local circumstances in which unequal urban landscapes are constructed in Guayaquil.

In Guayaquil the globalized economy urged a series of reforms to enter more rapidly in the global market dynamics, leading to the plan for Urban Regeneration that would allow the port city to be competitive and at the same time attract investment (Fernandez, 2006). The discourse on urban renewal emerged in Guayaquil from 1992 when Leon Febrés-Cordero, a conservative right wing leader of the *social-cristianos'* political party was elected mayor, setting the government style that was sustained after Jaime Nebot Saadi was designated and entered the political arena in 2000 (Allán, 2011; Villavicencio, 2012). The urban regeneration ambitions of both mayors were soon put in practice with the famous waterfront renewal in the city center of the Malecón 2000, introduced to the people of Guayaquil as the rescue of the history and identity of the city, able to 'recover a lost relationship with the river'. This project was soon extended to other urban estuary landscapes in low-income settlements with the implementation of the Playita del Guasmo (Allán, 2011) and the Malecón del Salado in 2006 (Carofilis, 2012). The official public discourse bonded with these interventions makes reference to a model of touristic development, labor and improvement of the quality of life (Fundación Malecón 2000).
Other scholars have argued that along with the emblematic postures of post-colonial times *("por Guayaquil independiente")* an ambition to bypass a dependency and a relation with the state, crystalizes in the idea of inserting the city into global markets and businesses (Carofilis, 2012). Or as Nora Fernandez explains, urban renewal is used as a way to create icons to attract clients that consume city, the city stops being a

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[10] La Revolución Urbana (Urban Revolution) as a component of La Revolución Ciudadana (Citizens' Revolution) was introduced by the Ecuadorian government under President Rafael Correa (2007-present) with the ambition to gradually achieve the socialist reconstruction of Ecuadorian society. These ambitions are formulated in the national plan of Buen Vivir (Senplades, 2013).

space for social relations and becomes a good that has to be promoted and sold to local and international tourism (Fernandez, 2006: 6).

Regardless of the classical and ongoing struggle between the municipal right wing and national 'socialist' government over the control of the territory of Guayaquil, in its roots urban renewal strategies of Nebot and Correa are the same thing (Villavicencio, 2014). The recent project *Guayaquil Ecológico*, echoing the municipal discourse of waterfront renewal, is a clear example of how the story of capital-intensive waterfront regeneration in Guayaquil presently continues by both local and national mediations. In a certain way Guayaquil Ecológico is a critic on Nebot's failure of including green structures into his city-marketing strategies and development model of *Economia Social del Mercado,* while at the same time acting under the same logic of neoliberalism. The municipal projects of the Malecón 2000, Playita del Guasmo and Malecón del Salado explicitly focused on 'recovering' land value and giving the city a 'new image' by promoting tourism and furthermore expressed a concern for the contamination of the estuaries[11], while the national project Guayaquil Ecológico to a certain extent repeats such objectives though lifting the discourse to an 'environmental' discussion, placing this large-scale capital-intensive project within the category of the 'new' urban mega-project as identified by (Lehrer & Laidley, 2008).

The mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico

The launch of the project
December the 13th 2013 started as a day as any other for the people living at the riverfront in Suburbio Oeste until their attention was caught by the arrival of a written notification of MIDUVI provoking an urgent meeting the following day. When I arrived at the community in April 2014, many neighbors spoke about that special day in December, so did Maria: "*In fact it was not a meeting, because the only thing that we encountered in the meeting was a computer were we had to leave our personal data. No information was given. When we insistently asked about the purpose of the reunion, we found out what was actually going on. [..] We were given 15 days to accept a key and to move to Socio Vivienda II. If we refused MIDUVI's offer our house would be demolished anyway. We went home crying, not knowing what to do. People did not go to work anymore, being afraid that when coming back their home would not be there anymore.*" With this occasion the launch of the component 'Recuperation of the estuaries' as part of the mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico became fact.

The mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico, formulated by the national government of *La Revolución Ciudadana* in a joint venture of the Ministry of Environment (MAE) and the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing (MIDUVI)[12], was initially budgeted at 232 million USD and estimated to be implemented within three years after it was launched in 2010. The project derives from the lack of green areas in the city and proposes to increase the green area per inhabitant from 6,2 to the standards indicated by the World Health Organization of 10 m^2 per inhabitant. The national government

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[11] The Municipality moreover never pinpointed the main causes of the contamination of water bodies looking at heavy industries for example, neither did they intend to solve contamination by providing sewage connections to people of low-income settlements.

[12] Ministerio de Ambiente (MAE) and Ministerio de Desarollo Urbano y Vivienda (MIDUVI).

expects to fulfill this ambition through three mayor components involved in the project Guayaquil Ecológico, first by incorporating Isla Santay through the construction of a pedestrian bridge connecting the natural reserve of the island with the city[13], the second by the implementation of the 600 hectares mega-park Las Samanes and lastly the component of the recuperation of the estuaries through a 10 km long linear park (Ministerio del Medio Ambiente 2010).

This last component of the Guayaquil Ecológico, with an estimated cost of 70 million USD originally and re-estimated cost of 200 million USD currently, subject of review here, was originally planned as a 10 kilometer-distant linear park including the relocation of 8.175 homes of 'vulnerable families' occupying the riverfronts responding to the contamination problem of the estuaries. Yet when the project devised in the centralized institutions in Quito was close to implementation, the managers realized the reality was somewhat different when the encountered that the actual riverfront was about four times longer than imagined and the real number of inhabitants that had to make place for the recreational area was close to 30.000 families, who beside that lived in the area for over 30 years in consolidated homes (Sánchez, 2014). Nevertheless as MIDUVI stated, the project proceeded as planned originally, with 'minor reformulations'. The foreseen completing year was extended to 2017 and the total budget of Guayaquil Ecológico was raised to 322 million USD[14], in which the budget for relocation of families, originally calculated at 60 million USD, increased to 158 million USD (El Universo, 2013). Related to the distance of the park, only recently a recalculation was made and the park now officially covers a distance of 39 kilometers, divided in eleven sections or 'tramos'.

Relocation in Socio Vivienda II
On the premise that the quality of life and housing of 10.000 people will improve with the mega-project component 'Recuperation of the Estuaries', labeling the waterfronts as high risk area (though in none of official documentation this 'risk' is further defined), the first group of people from Suburbio Oeste where relocated in Socio Vivienda II by January 2014. This government-housing program, located in the outer city edges in northwest Guayaquil, commenced with a first phase (Socio Vivienda I) in 2010. Socio Vivienda I, acted under another logic since people could apply for this project on their own initiative. In this subsidized project of two different typologies ready-delivered 'micro-viviendas' of respectively 32 m^2 and 37 m^2, applicants contribute 650 USD and the state donates the remaining 5000 USD, making the total cost of the home 5650 USD.
This second stage of Socio Vivienda that was conceived as the project that would 'provide families living in risk with a decent home', comprises one-storey homes of 34 m^2 that are constructed with a government subsidy (*Bono de Reasentamiento*) of 13.500 USD (MIDUVI, without date). The micro-viviendas were turned over 'for free' to the Suburbio's residents who accepted the key, nevertheless when people settled in the houses they were forced to pay 50 USD a month for an unknown period

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[13] The project 'Recuperación integral de la Isla Santay' was inaugurated by president Rafael Correa the 3th of June 2014. The project involves forced relocation of small group of families in a housing project that was integrated with a tourist 'board walk' running over the island.
[14] In an official announcement that SENPLADES (Secretaria Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo) adressed to MIDUVI dated 17th of October 2013, urgent priority was asked for the components 'Recuperación del Estero' and 'Recuperación integral Islay Santay', as well as it presented the reprogrammed time schedule and total project budget.

of time. Above that no compensation scheme was presented for the house people possessed in Suburbio Oeste. The deal of MIDUVI was: one house for another, though some families living with multiple families in one home in the Suburbios (as is very common in the consolidated settlements) negotiated various homes in return in Socio Vivienda II.

Image 2: Socio Vivienda II (Image by authors)

To prepare the ground for the construction of Socio Vivienda II, a large area of woodlands was deforested and part of the land was acquired through 'buy-outs'. To compensate the native forest that was cut down for the construction of Socio Vivienda II (together with the negative environmental effects of other programmed mass housing projects in northwest Guayaquil), another mega-project was formulated of a 500 meter wide and 15,6 kilometer long ecological corridor[15], a 'living fence' that was envisioned to 'consolidate' the area and prevent the 'risk' of new invasions or irregular urban developments (MIDUVI, 2011: 47).
Another 240 hectares for the construction of Socio Vivienda I and II was purchased by MIDUVI in a controversial procurement from ISSFA[16], that caused uproar amongst the cooperative organization Francisco Jácome who claimed to be the owners (Sánchez, 2014: 119)[17]. The conflict over the territory in this self-evident example of land grabbing continues, making the present owner unclear. For the residents in Socio Vivienda II, living on top of this land mediation struggle, this could have serious consequences for title regulation of the house they are paying for and that they got in return for a home with individual property title. This was a topic

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[15] (Corridor Ecológico Forestal Franja del ARS, Área Reservada de Seguridad) This project is situated on the edges of Monte Sinai, again displacing people and responds to the 'environmental impacts' of the housing projects Socio Vivienda II, Ciudad Victoria and Monte Verde.
[16] Instituto de Seguro Social de las Fuerzas Armadas: Social Secuity Institute for the Armed Forces.
[17] The reclaim for the lost land of the cooperation Francisco Jácome was backed by the newspaper Diario Expreso, recognizing several institutional and juridical failures in the purchase. "Tierras del plan Socio Vivienda en disputa legal." 20 de marzo de 2011.

contested by the people who refused to accept the key and stayed living under the threat of eviction in the Suburbios.

> *"Give me one good reason why I should leave to Socio Vivienda. I*
> *may have a small half-constructed home but at least I am sure it is*
> *mine and that it will stay for my children. In Socio Vivienda they*
> *are not given out 'escrituras' (land title), we can just use the house*
> *for a period of time till we die. Above that we have to pay for the*
> *houses."* Flor (35)

Furthermore the service contract with Interagua was delayed, leaving the people without water connection during the first months, buying overpriced water from the *tanqueros,* repeating the precarious dwelling situation of the early years in the Suburbios.

Popular resistance
The confusion aroused by MIDUVI after the first announcements of evictions, pressuring families to leave within 15 days, made 2060 families leave to Socio Vivienda within this first wave of forced relocation. The homes of these families occupying the waterfront in Suburbio were demolished, leaving cracks in the built structure. Nevertheless, the unacceptable and unjust circumstances of the project made that the majority of the residents organized the communal ties, which often had long been 'sleeping', and collectively resist the mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico. On the account of a long list of arguments the people started a process of resistance. Firstly due to the absence of a democratic process and the lack of public information and since the community was deliberately kept out of the decision-making process, people claimed their right to information. Furthermore, since the only alternative presented was a home in Socio Vivienda II of very bad quality without any compensation scheme that was offered for existing homes or relocation in situ, the quality of the micro-viviendas received serious popular rejection, as well as the distance and location of the new project was heavily critiqued. Hence the community called out for recognition of processes of social production of habitat. Protests getting people to the streets were organized for the first of May 2014 (dia de trabajador). First reunions and conversations with MIDUVI took place and the people achieved to halt further evictions for the year 2014. Nevertheless as MIDUVI stated, *"The project continues, but we will go house by house to socialize the project".*

After almost a year of relative tranquility, a second wave of eviction ran over the area at the beginning of March 2015 after the national minister of housing was replaced a month before the incident as well as the regional head of MIDUVI.
During the year preceding the latest evictions, residents had mainly been focusing on negotiations with MIDUVI and attempts to get the municipality involved in order to search alternatives. In this year the eleven 'tramos' were able to organize themselves better, in which mayor differences of the ability for self-organization and autonomy can be observed. A few neighborhood committees presented alternative design proposals to the municipality, they made by themselves and some even hired architects to draw out their ideas in plans. Other 'tramos' are less organized, settlements are less consolidated and here most extreme poverty is found. These settlements are predominantly located at the Isla Trinitaria that was established after the Suburbio Oeste. In these areas were the population is most vulnerable, latest

evictions proceeded. This time people were given 48 hours to leave their house and since Socio Vivienda II was already fully occupied by people from the first wave of evictions, neither compensation schemes nor a replacement housing was offered. This understandably activated people, local NGO's, Derechos Humanos and also the municipality, who offered humanitarian help.

Communities continue to contest the urban mega-project with their discourse and actions produced from below. Nevertheless mega-projects increasingly operate within an international setting in which its organizational structure diversifies, involving different private and public partners, wherein it becomes more and more difficult for people to negotiate local demands from the community, since they have to 'knock at different doors' of representatives often located outside the city where the project is executed. Above that, in the case of Guayaquil Ecológico, local managers were replaced three times. The lack of and muddled information provided by authorities to residents involved in mega-project eviction is another point that makes it hard 'what' to contest; though this is often clearly thought through to keep people quite (Strauch et al., 2015).
Also in the local media the message is confusing, the separate cases of evictions are highlighted, though on few occasions the cases are linked to the broader phenomenon of the implementation of the mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico. Therefor the contradictory nature of the mega-project itself is rarely profoundly taken into question.

The dynamics of bottom-up city making: four generations living in the Suburbios of Guayaquil

Multigenerational dwelling experiences
Various decades after the first 'ring' of city extensions or 'innerburbs' of Latin American cities were formed, the 'rural squatter settlements' changed into urban neighborhoods and single-family homes transformed into collective, multigenerational or rental homes. Home consolidation and transformation and the ways in which new spaces are created from the bottom-up in order to accommodate 'new' generations is both a divergent and convergent process. The outcomes of the growing demand for accommodation and desire for independent living space across Latin American cities is represented in the various forms of home subdivisions: either horizontally creating additional apartments made accessible through multiple entrances on the ground floor or vertically by constructing individual staircases to access 'los aires' (Rojas et al., 2015).
People developed their own strategies to cope with 'new' demands for accommodation. Sometimes children manage to find a 'solution' elsewhere within the neighborhood: they move in with other kins, rent an apartment nearby or (very rarely) acquire a house of their own. To a fewer extent children move to other places in the city. These inter-generational residential mobility patterns, the low mobility among original owners and the high percentage of home sharing is a general trend that can be found across different low-income settlements in Latin American cities after various decades of lived experience (Gilbert & Varley, 1990; Gilbert, 1999; Ward, 2011).

Four generations living in the Suburbios of Guayaquil

Image 3: Home and neighborhood transformation in Suburbio Oeste (Image by authors)

Suburbio Oeste in Guayaquil is the first suburb where the city extended from the 1950's onwards making this city district, now accommodating a population close to half a million people,[18] a real *innerburb*. Over various decades of neighborhood densification and consolidation, the Suburbios transformed unrecognizably. As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, the initial squatter homes can rarely be found in the Suburbios nowadays; bamboo 'catwalks' above the swamplands and water were exchanged for paved roads and multi-storey permanent dwellings have gradually replaced bamboo homes. This appearance likewise changed in the people's mindset, as the residents express *"son 40 años, no somos invasores"* (it has been 40 years, we are not invaders). Younger generations are born in the neighborhood and only now the stories of invasion of their grandparents and their parents who where children when they came to the neighborhood.

The longitudinal studies of Caroline Moser carried out in the same city district of Guayaquil, display the importance of the home as a basic asset that allowed families to accumulate other assets over time (Moser, 2010). Although the divergence in poverty trends of some families that may stay poor while others climb out of poverty, the radical social neighborhood transformations are an overall success story in the sense that children and grandchildren of pioneer urban dwellers have experienced access to better health care, reached considerable higher educational levels, as well as they often accessed better jobs, something seen across various Latin American low-income neighborhoods (Perlman, 2010; Hordijk, 2010). These positive outcomes are achieved through collective action of parents who bore the struggles for the land infill, services and legal title: preceding communal activities that are essential for fulfilling later individual actions (Hordijk, 2000). Along with a decline of communal action and a shift to a more individual lifestyle, densification and increasing heterogeneity, 'new' problems arise in consolidated settlements: 'new' poverty levels

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[18] INEC, 2010. Redatam Online.

are detected (Birdsall et al., 2014; Ward et al., 2015) as well as a growing insecurity and crime (Moser, 2010).

Equally the scope for realizing housing aspirations has changed considerably for succeeding generations and is often limited by political, social and economic realities. Examining the extent in which children and grandchildren of original neighborhood founders either booked 'success' or 'fail' in finding affordable and decent accommodation, remarkable findings were observed in Guayaquil. While in many low-income neighborhoods in Latin American cities 2nd generation children only dream of becoming home owners (Peek, 2015), 2nd generation families in Guayaquil's Suburbio Oeste managed in fact quite frequently to realize this dream, obtaining a plot within in close proximity to their parents plot, often within the same street. That raises the question under what local conditions this was made possible, how did things evolve afterwards and what are the implications for challenges 'new' generations face today in Guayaquil's innerburbs.

Housing strategies and the way in which land was accessible for the urban poor in earlier ages derives from families attempting to escape from overcrowded rooms (*conventillos*) in the inner-city following their aspiration to acquire 'the home of one's own' (Moser, 2010). This happened within a multi-layered history of Guayaquil in which structures of landownership, government approaches and tolerance towards land occupations were constantly shifting. The dynamics and characteristics of land invasions equally changed over time. Varying from politically motivated land invasions[19], to large landowners who organized invasion on their own land and would later be compensated by the state for the 'loss' of their land and lastly plots that were sold by professional squatters who had claimed these plots they then sold to others (Moser, 2010). Most commonly people bought their solar or plot in the Suburbios. As local scholar Villavicencio once stated, *"Being poor in Guayaquil is very expensive"* (Rodriguez & Villavicencio, 1987). People first had to pay the land dealer, the municipality for expensive *tramites* for title regulation, the local mafia for surveillance and so on.

Divergent and convergent tendencies involved in multigenerational dwelling of the four generations living in the Suburbios and the way in which Guayaquil's urban landscape is constructed from below over various decades is illustrated through in depth-case studies that represent more general dwelling trends that were found in Suburbio Oeste. As in many other Latin American cities, three to four generations often share their home space, making spatial arrangement in various ways to accommodate all home sharers. In Guayaquil more fortunate 2nd generation families left their parents' home and constructed their own dwelling in the same street, though they often continue to share home space in the pioneer home were they grew up.

The multi-generational home: taking over the house of mum and dad

> *"I live here practically my whole life. First in the house with my parents till I got married 18 years ago and my dad constructed a bamboo house for me next to his. Before 2000 the terrain*

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[19] Invasions often occurred near election time, this similarly happened in Lima, where land invasions where organized on state desert land, motivated by political actors. Cases can be found were land was 'given away' to low-income groups in change for votes (Moser, 2010; Hordijk; 2000).

> *belonged to my father, now it is mine. My second husband and I*
> *constructed a new apartment for him recently."* Rita (42)

Rita[20] as many other 2nd generation children, came to live in Suburbio Oeste as a child together with her parents and other kin. Before the family bought a plot in the Suburbios, they lived in the city centre. As Rita explains, first her father made an effort to accommodate his oldest daughter, constructing a small bamboo house for Rita and her first husband, next to his initial home on the same plot (see image 4). In 2000 the terrain was transferred to Rita after which, since now her mother passed away and her father grew old, Rita herself and her 2nd husband took over, fully constructing the plot with a solid structure in which they arranged an individual apartment for the father, where he can, *"enjoy his old days tranquilo."* This example illustrates the broader phenomenon in multi-generational dwelling and shifting housing typologies to accommodate children, grandchildren and on occasion even great-grandchildren. In many instances the plot is fully constructed first horizontally and after vertically in 'los aires' carving out spaces for various generations, as in Rita's case where the home extended extensively on ground level and is now about to grow vertical, as Rita expresses *"My dream is to construct the upper floor mostly for my children who are growing up fast, make an extension to my room and to build a terrace with a view on the water. I would like my children to stay forever, although someday they have contribute to the home construction."* Image 5 shows the result of how the father, Rita and her husband and their six kids are accommodated in different rooms within the same dwelling and share the multi-generational home.

1979 - 1995   2000   2005   2014

Image 4: Home transformation process

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[20] Most names are changed in order to guarantee privacy of the respondents.
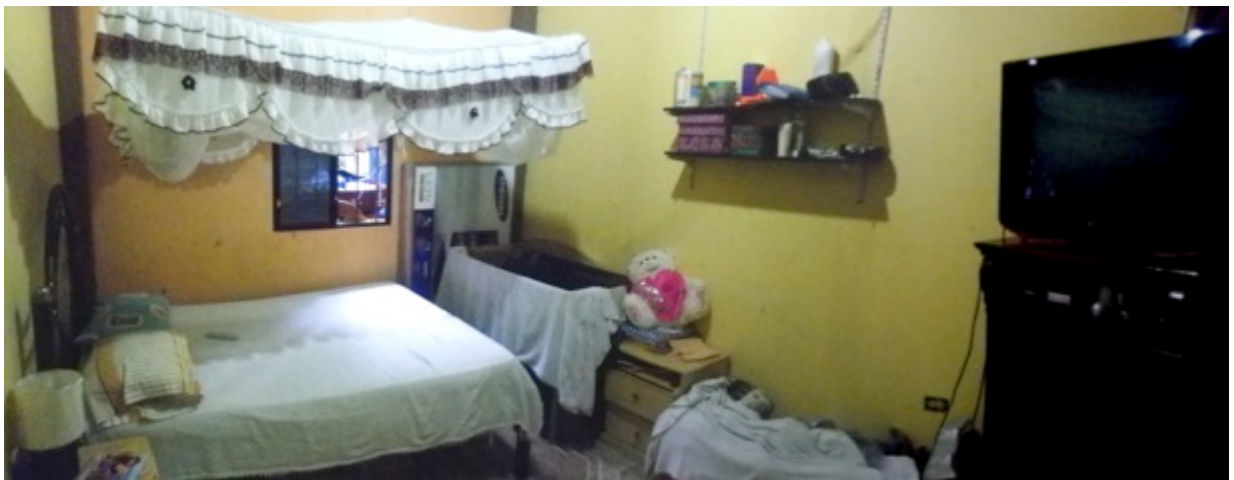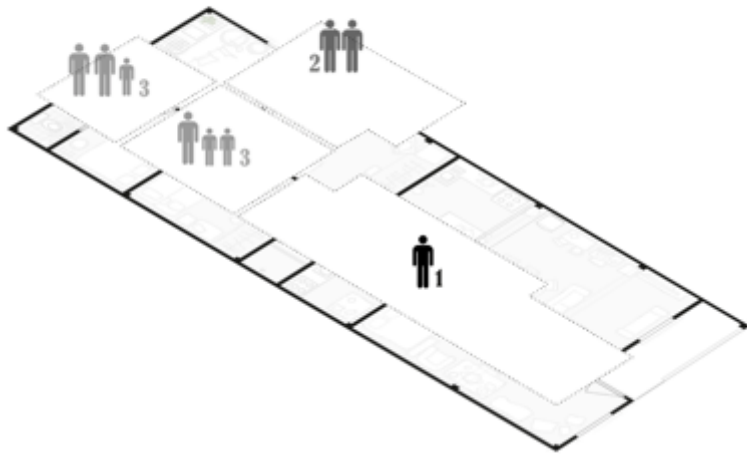
9 home sharers

Image 5: Home sharing: home space of three generations

Realizing the dream of the 'house of one's own'

Image 6: Cross-generational residential mobility within the street – The house of Rosita and José

"Here we are all family. My parents and my parents in law live further down the road, my brother lives behind us and my brother-in-law and our nephews across the street." Rosita (43)

Rosita and José are a couple in their mid-forties who both grew up in the Suburbios. In the younger years they lived within a stone's throw of each other in their parents' home, they fell in love and got married. At that time they were still able to buy a plot from a 'professional squatter' to realize the dream that many 2nd generation children have of constructing 'la casa propia'. Rosita's brother as well as José's brother did the same; as Rosita says: *"Aqui todos somos familia",* here we are all family referring to both kins living close by as well as close relationships with other families in the street.

Rosita and José started with a small home with one bedroom where they slept with their newly born daughter. The bathroom was located outside in the patio. Having the advantage of being at the end of the street, they later bought an additional piece of land where they built a garage first in wood, that they little by little changed into more durable materials. Now they live in a fully constructed single-storey house together with two growing up daughters who have their own bedrooms. Furthermore both José and Rosita made spatial arrangements in the house incorporating workshop space for car fixing, window frame making and dress making activities they earn their living with. Financial arrangements for bank loans have already been made two years ago to construct a second floor with individual entrance through the garage with the main purpose of being rented out, though this ambition is not realized (yet).

Rita and Rosita's aspiration of extending their home vertically was unexpectedly interrupted by the advent of Guayaquil Ecológico, making them the target for forced relocation, freezing all kind of home improvement activities.

Image 7: Home space as income generation: workshop for dressmaking activities

Dwelling strategies of 2nd generation families under eviction

Guayaquil Ecológico is an unfinished game in which the rules constantly change. Initial impacts of the experiences from a first year after the project was launched can be observed. Displaced people allocated in replacement housing attempt to adapt to their new dwelling space, different forms of popular resistance arise, home transformation processes and improvements freeze, and other forms of indirect development-induced displacement transpire.

The preliminary stage of research, empirical findings revealed a wide variety of dwelling strategies and patterns of direct and indirect displacement of families confronting the mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico. The explorations of different patterns of displacement and related dwelling strategies are provided in the table below. In a next stage of research the patterns will be studied more profoundly and linked to household surveys that will uncover specific trends in a broader setting.

Displacement patterns	Forms of development-induced displacement	Dwelling strategies
❶	• Families who stayed and resisted	• Freeze home improvements • Accelerate home improvements • Different forms of appropriations in home space
❷	• Families who stayed and resisted | part of family left to SVII*	• Different forms of appropriations in home space Suburbio / new dwelling environment • Continuous use of pioneer home
❸	• Families who stayed and resisted | part of family left to other places	• Moving in with other relatives • Renting a room elsewhere • Continuous use of pioneer home
❹	• Evicted families who left to SVII	• Different forms of appropriations home space new dwelling environment • Continuous use of homes of relatives in Suburbio
❺	• Evicted families who first left to SVII and returned to Suburbio Oeste	• Abandoned home in SVII • Moving in with relatives • Renting a room in Suburbio Oeste
❻	• Evicted families who left to other places	• Moving in with other relatives • Renting a room elsewhere

* SVII: Socio Vivienda II relocation social housing project MIDUVI

Image 8: Displacement patterns and dwelling strategies

(1) Most of the families remained living in their home in Suburbio Oeste and resisted the mega-project. Although the threat for eviction clearly influenced their dwelling strategies. Many people stopped investing in the house as could be seen in the case of Rita and Rosita, who postulated their aspirations to extend their homes vertically, freezing all kind of home improvements. Other families where afraid their home did not look 'beautiful' and accelerated home improvements by painting their facades. When there were rumors that homes build half on land half on water would be removed, people started filling remaining parts of their plot. Sometimes appropriations made in home space went even beyond. One interviewed lady removed her whole house and rebuild it further back on her plot to make room for the park.

(2) The second pattern showed how the threat for eviction in multi-generational households could be a topic of conflict within the family when different home sharers did not agree on a common solution, staying or leaving. As a consequence part of the extended family refused to leave and stayed, other parts of the family left to Socio Vivienda II. Nevertheless they often return on daily basis to Suburbio Oeste.

(3) In other households that were separated when part of the family stayed, the ones that left did not always left to Socio Vivienda II. Because of fear for the evictions they also moved to other parts of the city, moving in with relatives or renting a room, refusing to go and live in Socio Vivienda homes.

The ones that moved out (either to Socio Vivienda II or elsewhere in the city) were mainly the younger generations that lived in their parents home, often with their partners and children.

(4) On the other hand we found homes that were demolished and where complete families were relocated in Socio Vivienda II. Also these families expressed that for social ties that remain in their old neighborhood, work motives or medical attention in the hospital, they regularly return to Suburbio Oeste, often on daily basis.

(5) Other homes were destructed, but people did not leave to Socio Vivienda but elsewhere. Again often moving in with close relatives within the Suburbio Oeste.

(6) Furthermore, within a year after first groups went to live in Socio Vivienda II, people starts abandon their 'donated' homes. They often returned to the Suburbios. Though their home was often not there anymore, so people searched opportunities to live in with kins or rent a home.

Image 9: Resisting families in Suburbio Oeste versus abandoned homes in Socio Vivienda II

The aim of the first research stage was to explore the multiple dynamics of development induced displacement and the diverse and extensive impacts of the mega-project Guayaquil Ecológico on multi-generational living.
From our first experiences on the ground we see both divergent and convergent trends. Even within single case studies many different patterns can be found sometimes combining several of the above-mentioned patterns. We will close the paper with one final case that can best illustrate the variety of outcomes on the ground.

Dispersed families
Maria and Xavier have a similar history as many other 2nd generation families such as Rosita and José. They were neighbors who got married and were equally able to become homeowners, though much later than Rosita and José. While there were still empty lots available on the 'informal' land market at the time Rosita and José got married, land already ran out in Maria and Xavier's street. For long they shared the home with Xavier's parents together with other kin. In the pioneer home they carved out an individual dwelling space as did Xavier's brothers. In the pioneer house they collectively made the efforts of constructing a multi-storey home with individual apartments for each family in 'los aires' (see image 9). Maria and Xavier occupied the ground floor they made accessible with an independent entrance. Xavier's parents live on the 2nd floor and Xavier's brother and his family inhabits the upper two floors.
In 2009 one of the original settlers who lived across the street, offered his plot with still a small bamboo and wooden home on it to Maria and Xavier, who did not hesitate and bought the plot for $4000. Within 4 months they constructed a two-storey home for them, their three (by now) adult children and their grandchild and invested over $50.000 in the construction of the house.
From the 13th of December onwards when the notification for eviction arrived, the world changed for Maria and her family. Maria's mother used to live two houses away from Maria in the same 'tramo', together with eight other home sharers (Maria's sisters with their husbands, children and grand children). The wooden home of Maria's mother was therefor hosting four generations under the same roof. The house of Maria's mother was evicted, though no one living there accepted to move to Socio Vivienda II. They instead scattered out over the neighborhood, living in with other family members.
In Maria's case her home she constructed since 2009 with Xavier was similarly on the list to be evicted, though Maria and her husband resisted the mega-project and the proposed housing alternative. Nevertheless Maria's daughter, who lived with her husband and child under the same roof, left because of fear for eviction and is now renting an apartment in the city center. This example shows how the mega-project has an impact in various ways resulting in different forms of displacement dispersing families and breaking with social ties.
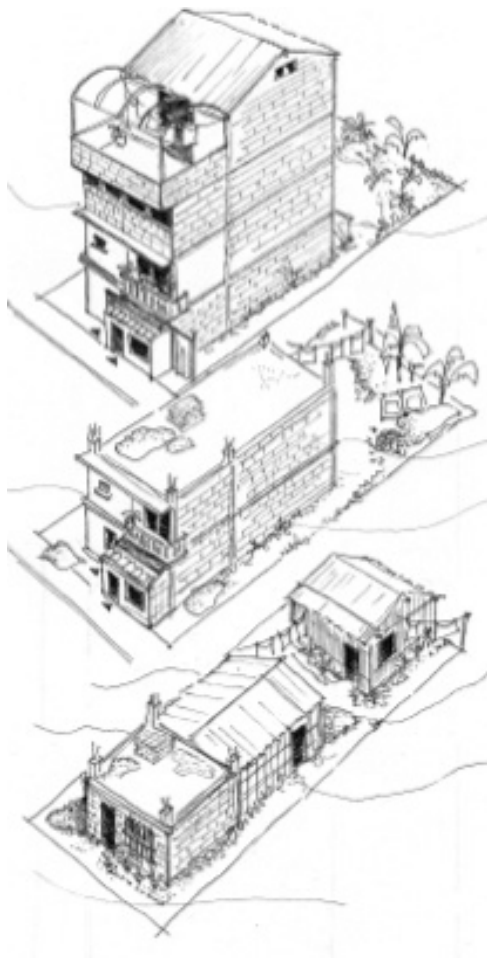
Image 10: First apartment of Maria and Xavier: Home sharing and collective efforts in home construction

Image 11: Evicted home of Maria's mother. Maria who resisted at her roof terrace looking out over the Estero Salado.

Final remarks
Without doubt urban mega-projects reinforce housing inequality in all sorts of ways. Involuntary resettlement is a widely used strategy that remarkably is still seen as 'successful' in Guayaquil (Valencia, 2013), despite the many critics and popular objections (Sánchez, 2015). Apart from the fact that evictions are simply traumatic experiences influencing the everyday well being of people, mega-projects involve direct and indirect displacement, in which complex 'new' unequal settlement patterns are produced, impacts that are cross all kind of borders.
In resettlement cases of 'buy-outs' people are rarely compensated 'appropriately' for their losses (Strauch et al., 2014). In the extreme case of the relocation projects from residents from Suburbio Oeste to Socio Vivienda II as part of Guayaquil Ecológico, no compensation scheme was offered at all.
Furthermore, government or private sector investors involved in mega-projects on most occasions propose one single resettlement alternative, regularly of houses way smaller in size than were people come from (Strauch et al., 2014), mass-produced at low cost lacking all kind of qualitative design. Therefor, *"resistance to relocation is not just about what people lose, but likewise for what they get in return"* (Sánchez 2014: 120). Above that, people's 'freedom to build' is taken away from them since in the government housing projects users do not have the right or possibility to extend. Finally all kind of community participation is lacking (Strauch et al., 2014).
Despite the call for democratization and participation in large-scale development projects coming from different directions in search for alternatives, not just from communities living under the threat of eviction but correspondingly from a broader background of communities, social movements, NGO's and grass roots organizations (Oliver-Smith, 2001); mega-projects show little or no room for community participation and rarely obey to the voice of the vulnerable to contest their "freedom to dwell".

The ambiguous reality continues. Instead of looking inwards in now consolidated low-income settlements recognizing the dynamics and potentiality of bottom-up city making, concentrating on cross-generational dwelling aspects and densification in the first suburbs (Ward et al., 2015); contemporary modes of housing production are mainly pointing towards newly formed mass housing projects and 'micro-viviendas' in newly formed urban peripheries.
What Ward describes as the 'blind spot' in policy agendas (Ward, 2015: 1), in-depth empirical knowledge of various decades of neighborhood consolidation is rarely reflected in contemporary urban policies and practices. Neoliberal approaches currently flourish acting under the logic of outmoded thinking in which dichotomous principles about what is legal/illegal or formal/informal persist and in which the mega-project is a too often-used strategy to transform landscapes fast and abruptly, obscuring housing rights rather than solving housing problems.
The irony of low-density horizontal development of micro-viviendas, that has provably failed, is in such sharp contrast to the self-help home, that has been lived-in now by three to four generations and has slowly adapted to changing household compositions and characteristics of extended families. Hence time has come to critically reflect upon the extent in which young urban dwellers can realize their housing aspirations in cities where space is becoming increasingly limited, and where pressures for redevelopment are present, in order to see what their 'freedom to dwell' means today.

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