

INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN QUITO-ECUADOR

The context, rationales and shortcomings of formalization policies

Author:
ANDREA PAOLA CORDERO ORTIZ

Student ID:
940872

Supervisor:
Alessandro Coppola

Master Degree
Urban Planning and Policy Design

School of Architecture, Urban Planning,
Construction and Engineering



POLITECNICO
MILANO 1863

Academic year: 2020 - 2021

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ALESSANDRO COPPOLA

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to God for guiding me during this challenging and amazing road.

Many people trusted me during my master's studies and helped shape this research. First, and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my parents, Gonzalo and Paola, without you and your support, this dream goal wouldn't be coming true. Thanks for your unconditional care and sacrifices; for being my inspiration, and above all for teaching me that success in life lies in being happy. Also, I am very thankful to my sisters, Erika and Nathalia, for knowing me better than I know myself and always encouraging me to do my best. Thank you, little sisters, for being my best friends and always being there no matter how far we were apart. Moreover, I would like to thank my boyfriend, Santiago, for being my teammate, and for your love and support. Thank you for being by my side throughout this amazing journey, which with ups and downs allowed us to learn and grow together. Also, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my abuelita Yolita for always having the perfect advice, and for your hugs and unconditional prayers.

I would like to thank my research supervisor, Alessandro Coppola, for his guidance and shared knowledge on this sensitive but interesting topic. Last but not least, thank you to everyone who shared their experience and knowledge about the topic under consideration. As a result of your openness, through this work, I am able to demonstrate some insights that I would like to share with anyone who wants to contribute to global conversations about informality.

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ABSTRACT

Informality is one of the inherent realities that cities and their citizens face at different dimensions permanently. Besides, segregation and stigmatization are part of this reality, in which wealthy social classes see informality as the result of lawbreakers' actions. Notably, these human settlements, rather than having the desire of going against the law, are people who try to fit in an urban space in which regulations, policies, and powers ignore their needs and their presence as part of the city. Over the years, researchers, and policymakers, among others, have studied informal settlements in the hopes of formalizing them as an effective way to face emergent issues and challenges.

It appears obvious that formalization policies should consider specific goals such as granting ownership recognition to dwellers and providing them with access to basic services and dignified living conditions. However, it is easier said than done, particularly in Latin American countries where informality is part of the urban imaginaries and financial management has long been questioned.

To understand the Ecuadorian capital's reality around informality, Quito was considered a suitable case to study. This was done to analyze and comprehend the context in which formalization policies are implemented, the rationales that local governments considered during their implementation, and their level of effectiveness. As a result, the study's findings revealed shortcomings in the implementation of formalization policies, which instead of ensuring an improvement in living conditions following ownership recognition, has devolved into a purely administrative process that grants title deeds.

Keywords: informality, informal settlements, formalization policies, Quito, titling, integral upgrading.

SINTESI

L'informalità è una delle realtà intrinseche che le città e i loro cittadini affrontano in modo permanente nelle diverse dimensioni. Inoltre, la segregazione e la stigmatizzazione fanno parte di questa realtà, in cui le classi sociali ricche vedono l'informalità come il risultato delle azioni dei trasgressori. In particolare, questi insediamenti umani, piuttosto che avere il desiderio di andare contro la legge, sono formati da persone che cercano di inserirsi in uno spazio urbano in cui regolamenti, politiche e poteri ignorano i loro bisogni e la loro presenza come parte della città. Nel corso degli anni, ricercatori, responsabili politici, tra gli altri, hanno studiato gli insediamenti informali nella speranza di formalizzarli come un modo efficace per affrontare problemi e sfide emergenti.

Appare ovvio che le politiche di formalizzazione dovrebbero considerare obiettivi specifici come la concessione del riconoscimento della proprietà agli abitanti e l'accesso a servizi di base e condizioni di vita dignitose. Tuttavia, è più facile a dirsi che a farsi, in particolare nei paesi dell'America Latina dove l'informalità fa parte dell'immaginario urbano e la gestione finanziaria è stata a lungo messa in discussione.

Per comprendere la realtà della capitale ecuadoriana sull'informalità, Quito è stato considerato un caso adatto da studiare. Ciò è stato fatto per analizzare e comprendere il contesto in cui vengono attuate le politiche di formalizzazione, le logiche che i governi locali hanno considerato durante la loro attuazione e il loro livello di efficacia. Di conseguenza, i risultati dello studio hanno messo in luce carenze nell'attuazione delle politiche di formalizzazione, che invece di garantire un miglioramento delle condizioni di vita a seguito del riconoscimento della proprietà, si è trasformata in un processo puramente amministrativo che concede titoli di proprietà.

Parole chiave: informalità, insediamenti informali, politiche di formalizzazione, Quito, titolazione, riqualificazione integrale.

INTRODUCTION

Urban growth is visible not only in the variation of the footprint but also in the emerging conflicts that positioning in a new space brings. This is very clear in the presence of informal settlements within cities. There are many reasons to build in “prohibited zones”, and the existence of these ways of inhabiting the territory are important points that many people have been trying to understand over time.

Urban informality can be perceived differently in different parts of the world, depending on where you are. While the term may refer to overcrowding in public housing units or the construction of unauthorized structures in developed countries, it refers to a type of urbanization in which poor social classes settle to meet their basic needs and become a part of the city in developing countries. Notably, most of the time, this way of life is the result of desperate measures rather than a low-cost decision to inhabit the city.

Over the years, researchers, and policymakers, among others, have studied informal settlements in the hopes of formalizing them as an effective way to face emergent issues and challenges. Although formalization recognizes the importance of formal property titles as the starting point to work with these human settlements, this approach seems to be insufficient to deal with the rooted problems that their presence brings. Considering the prevalence of informality in developing countries, the implementation of land titling policies has become a common practice in Latin America. Thus, Latin America and specifically the Ecuadorian capital, Quito has been chosen as a suitable city context to study the dynamics and challenges that the implementation of these public policies brings to the city.

Quito is located in one of the most intricating topographies of the country, in the Andean region at 2.850m above sea level. It is surrounded by mountains, volcanoes, and valleys, and its urban development has been guided by natural geography in a north-

south direction. Notably, most settlements had followed this pattern not only those that belong to the formal city but also those informal ones. However, in the latter, consideration of potential risks and illegal ways of inhabiting the city has been overlooked.

Although the illegal way of inhabiting these areas is considered a problem for authorities, over the years the municipality has implemented different programs to regulate them by giving property titles. Actually, for this part of the population getting title deeds represents a victory due to the tireless fight of generations but is still a question if the implementation of formalization policies are good interventions for the city and its inhabitants. Consequently, the research aims to analyze and comprehend the context in which formalization policies are implemented, the rationales that local governments considered during their implementation, and their level of effectiveness.



Photo 1. View of hillside neighborhoods in Quito.
Source: Author's photo.

CHAPTER I: DEFINING CONCEPTS

1.1 Defining Informality

1.2 Defining Informal Settlements

1.3 Defining Public Policies

1.4 Processes of Informal Settlements Upgrading

1.1 Defining Informality

Many are the definitions of informality, while the dictionary describes it as a style that does not follow strict rules or contrary to or forbidden by official rules, regulations, etc. (dictionary.com), many scholars define it as the way of inhabiting prohibited lands within cities. Actually, the term is mostly identified as the illegal practices that infringe the laws regarding land tenure and urban planning within cities.

“Informality is attributed to many causes, including low-income levels, unrealistic urban planning, a lack of serviced land and social housing, and a dysfunctional legal system” (Fernandes, 2011).

Informality is one of the inherent realities that cities and their citizens face at different dimensions permanently. Notably, part of this reality lies in the stigmatization, in which wealthy social classes consider informality just as the result of actions of law-breakers people. It is important to underline that these human settlements, rather than having the desire of going against the law, are people who try to fit in an urban space in which regulations, policies and powers ignore their needs and presence as part of the city.

1.1.1 Informality from different perspectives

“Defining informality either precisely or meaningfully is equally difficult” (Gilbert, 2004).

Urban informality could be seen differently in every part of the world, considering different factors according to its location. Although the meaning could change from one place to another, the idea of acting inside an unauthorized environment is constant. In a developed country acting against the rules means overcrowding inside public housing units, or the production of unauthorized constructions such as hotels, shops, or beach resorts (Chioldelli F., et al., 2020). On the other hand, in a developing country, this means a form of urbanization where poor social classes settle themselves with the idea of satisfying their basic needs and being part of the city. Thinking that this group of people are the victims within a system that overlooks its inhabitants' needs- is a common reflection. Nonetheless, in order to comprehend the different dimensions that this phenomenon implies- it is essential to go into detail on that through the understanding of the term from different perspectives over years.

Urban development of cities around the world has been brought changes in their physical, economic, social, and political dimensions. New dynamics emerged, and with them, new ways of life. Cities had changed their conception from small settlements in which every border was spotted, or basic needs were satisfied inside a reduced action ratio. Towns become linear, concentric, or even decentralized human settlements that took possession of nearby lands and embraced new ways of living. Although the urban growth has been followed the same principle of conquering adjacent plots of lands of what was known as the city, the procedure differs from case to case. Urban plans and policies have been important tools for authorities when proposing organized growth. However, their absence, unequal distribution of wealth, and corruption have been the main factors for the emergence of informality, mainly in countries of the global South.

Even though informality is not a new urban process, it was not considered as a reality to be included on a city's agenda until 1970. Since its first appearance in the 1970s, the concept of informality has referred to highly heterogeneous phenomena such as “...informal housing and land markets. These topics were part of research that was conducted in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s and involved a wonderful diversity of political scientists, anthropologists, and sociologists. These studies dismantled notions of a “culture of poverty” and of “marginality,” and instead situated informality firmly within the larger politics of populist mobilizations, state power, and economic dependency” (Alsayyad N. & Roy A., 2004).

Over the years, many scholars have addressed this relevant phenomenon. Some contribute with new concepts that facilitate understanding while others analyze pre-existing theories that are reaffirmed or rejected over time. For instance, Nezar Alsayyad and Ananya Roy describe urban informality as the manifestation of informal processes in the urban environment, such as informal subdivisions of agricultural lands, illegal negotiation of plots, and illegal urbanizations (Alsayyad N. & Roy A., 2004). Moreover, Alfredo Brillembourg and Hubert Klumpner framed informality as an interesting “laboratory for the study of adaptation and innovation” where “flexibility is the common ground among these approaches, a model of organic development that challenges the assumption of traditional Western planning that man controls his surroundings” (Van Ballegooijen & Rocco, 2005). Indeed, Rem Koolhaas said, “our preoccupation with the apparent “informal” has been premature, if not mistaken” (Van Ballegooijen & Rocco, 2005) referring to self-organizing processes that result in a logic to manage informal cities. For him, the term went beyond the identification of illegal practices, was more related to a way of living.

...

“Understanding informality in urban space, its spatial implications, and political challenges creates opportunities to shape an urban theorizing rooted in the various local contexts of Southern cities, not just the Northern global city-laboratories of London, Chicago, or Los Angeles that have produced most of our urban theories to date” (Kudva,2006).

Because informality is a phenomenon that exists in our cities, its definition could be understood from various perspectives in order to clarify their relevance and manage appropriate practices. Such as:

Legal Dimension

“ Informal economy is the people’s spontaneous and creative response to the state’s incapacity to satisfy the basic needs of the impoverished masses “ (De Soto, 1989).

For Cathy Rakowski, informality stressed the “legal, bureaucratic” position of the state underlying the sharp divisions between formal and informal economies. Within this sense, an author as Hernando de Soto rejected the concept of a defined informal sector. Instead, he views the informal economy as all extra-legal activities carried out within society. As a result, he attributed the emergence of the informality phenomenon to excessive state regulations which encouraged the informal entrepreneur to survive and prosper as an economic hero. In other words, he focuses on the ways that the state creates legal and bureaucratic obstacles to legitimate enterprise and the ownership of property.

As the best solution to tackle informality, De Soto bases his research on the possession of legal titles. Actually, he believes that through informal settlements’ legalization, the state can recognize the security of tenure and promote the socio-spatial integration of informal communities within the urban structure and society.

Economic Dimension

“...urban informality is born as a consequence of the economic inability of poor people to enter into the formal city” (ONU-Hábitat, 2006).

While many could define informality as the main feature of a marginalized sector within society that does not contribute to the economy, this part of the population is closely related to the formal sector, being an essential part of the modern economy. Although often people inhabiting informal sectors are stigmatized just as the urban poor living in squatter settlements, their role within cities and their economy are crucial due to the kind of services and workforce that they provide.

Besides, for the renowned economist Hernando De Soto, productivity, and capacity to save are the main features of poor people within cities. Thus, he extends his theory by highlighting the fact that entire nations could be benefit from capitalism if every asset of the poor will be recognized. In fact, poor people do not represent a problem for economy of nations, instead they are the solution.

Most scholars define informality through the economy which is identified as the set of remunerative economic activities that exist outside of a formal system of state regulation. Often, activities that involve trade in illicit or criminal goods and services are treated separately and, therefore, are not included in many working definitions (Heintz & Pollin, 2006). It is particularly important to underline that while formal employment is common in developed countries, the informal sector is the predominant form of employment in developing countries.

Political Dimension

“Informality must be understood not as the object of state regulation but rather as produced by the state itself” (Roy, 2004).

One of the most common ways to see informality is through its politicization. Many places, particularly those labelled as informal, become ideal scenarios for political activism, prioritizing short-term actions without considering the challenges that this phenomenon brings.

Although this political dimension should be the best option to deal with informality within cities, the phenomenon is intensified due to abuse of power and corruption. In fact, political authorities are frequently involved in resources mismanagement or the approval of urban planning decisions that favour personal and political interests over those who are most vulnerable. This kind of decisions not only ignore this group of people who live within cities but also intensify the issues that living under informality implies.

Moreover, informality is closely related to a non-inclusive political system that overlooks inhabitants' rights. These rights seem to be negotiable when politicians ask for electoral support and forgotten when they have the authority and opportunity to provide welfare for citizens. Specifically, while access to quality sanitation, housing, and infrastructure are implicit rights, these relevant elements become negotiable when politicians are in control. In doing so, the state excludes, delegitimizes, and renders informal settlements' inhabitants invisible.

People who live under informality are an essential part of the society but often on terms that caused them to be economically exploited, politically repressed, socially stigmatized, and culturally excluded (Bayat A., 2000). However, they should not be considered as a socially disorganized group but, otherwise, a heterogeneous group of people that self-organize themselves in order to get rights that authorities ignored.

"Public institutions are crucial in shaping everyday life and development trajectories of informal settlements and practices" (Chiodelli F. , et al., 2020) Hence, their lack of action just bring a cause-and-effect reaction from the informal settlements' inhabitants, which is not always the best option for politicians who want to show a neat and well-managed city as part of their government mandate.

Design Dimension

Informality has been seen as a bottom-up approach in the design dimension. According to John Turner, the presence of inefficient governmental interventions and planning instruments- allowed people that lived within informality to improve their ways of living by taking their lives into their own hands. Significantly, he underlines the relevance of good community organization, self-help, and autonomy in the urban and architectural communities. In fact, this was the way in which Turner understood informality, as a phenomenon of opportunity for people who taught professionals to build instead of learning from them. Besides, he was among the very first to portray the urban poor not as victims but as heroic pioneers at the edges of Latin American cities (Van Ballegooijen & Rocco, 2013).

Inside the design dimension, informality has been seen in many ways; from marginal human settlements that give a bad aspect to cities, to ways in which urban growth is visible especially in the peripheries of them. For Alsayyad, informality is manifest in new forms and new geographies, both at the rural-urban interface and in terms of developments that may serve as a principal avenue to property ownership (Alsayyad N., 2004). Significantly, informal

settlements are the spontaneous result of people that have been ignored by regulations and policies in cities, but at the same time, their undeniable presence within the urban landscape makes it possible to put on the table needs and emergent dynamics that their presence brings.

While their visibility means a call to action for many, it is a way to romanticize poverty for others. For instance, Ananya Roy describes the informality phenomenon as 'the aestheticization of poverty', a definition in which the aesthetic imagination sees the squatter settlement as organic beauty, a museum-like space that is pure and clean. Hence, urban informality is framed as 'vernacular', 'innocent' and 'authentic' (Alsayyad N. & Roy A., 2004). It is particularly important to underline that although for Roy the aestheticization of poverty is primarily focused on aesthetics, it has numerous implications apart from it. Most importantly, it mutes the social, political, and economic narratives that also underlie poverty. (Alsayyad N. & Roy A., 2004).

...

Evidently, how informality is defined could be generic depending on the context, the author that talks about that, the reality that people live in, among others. Significantly, to apply this generic definition to urban terms and understand the essence of this study, informality could be explained broadly through the definition and analysis of informal settlements. Indeed, understanding the issues and challenges that informal settlements bring to cities- is essential to address this phenomenon in the territory.

1.2 Defining Informal Settlements

As previously exposed, informality within cities is recognizable where informal settlements take place. Not only because of the illegal appropriation of the "interior/private spaces" talking about settlements inside lands but also because of the result of the "exterior/public spaces" due to the new dynamics that having these kinds of settlements bring to the city.

These settlements are mainly residential areas that exist within cities (with some peculiarities), but they are not recognized by the authorities as part of them. Moreover, informal settlements could be considered as a threat not only because of their irregular development patterns but also because of the environmentally vulnerable lands in which these human settlements may be located.

1.2.1 Habitat III

“Informal settlements are residential areas where 1) inhabitants have no security of tenure vis-à-vis the land or dwellings they inhabit, with modalities ranging from squatting to informal rental housing, 2) the neighbourhoods usually lack, or are cut off from, basic services and city infrastructure and 3) the housing may not comply with current planning and building regulations and is often situated in geographically and environmentally hazardous areas.” (UN-Habitat, 2006)

UN-Habitat exposed during the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development¹ the main features of informal settlements within cities talking about the presence of this phenomenon all over the world. There are different typologies, dimensions, and locations of these informal settlements depending on different urban contexts, and they are mainly located in developing countries due to their tough socio-economic factors. Moreover, during these conferences, the new urban agenda was defined, in which topics such as poverty, population growth, lack of affordable housing, weak governance, migration, and economic vulnerability were treated as interrelated factors with the presence of informal settlements within cities. For this reason, the agenda’s main target was thinking about informal settlements and their treatment as part of integrated solutions which consider not only the “illegal” occupation of the land but also the correlated dynamics in different dimensions that the presence of this phenomenon cause and bring to the cities. Notably, these concepts and ways to deal with this reality are general guidelines that will be applied depending on different governance systems, cultures, environments, scales, among others.

1.2.2 Some considerations between informal settlements and slums

Talking about informality and “illegal” ways of inhabiting cities makes us think about two specific terms: informal settlements and slums. Although both terms could be related to economic informality, social problems, illicit land use, and the lack of public policies that support their dwellers, people usually think about informal settlement as the “polite” way to call to slums. However, informal settlements comply with features that differentiate them from slums.

According to the World Bank, Slums are the most deprived and excluded form of informal settlements characterized by poverty and large agglomerations of dilapidated housing often located in the most hazardous urban land. In addition to tenure insecurity, slum dwellers lack formal supply of basic infrastructure and services, public space, and green areas, and are constantly exposed to eviction, disease, and violence². On the other hand, and not too far away from the World Bank’s definition, UN-Habitat defined ‘slum’ as...

“one or a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area, lacking in one or more of the following five amenities: 1) Durable housing (a permanent structure providing protection from extreme climatic conditions); 2) Sufficient living area (no more than three people sharing a room); 3) Access to improved water (water that is sufficient, affordable, and can be obtained without extreme effort); 4) Access to improved sanitation facilities (a private toilet, or a public one shared with a reasonable number of people); and 5) Secure tenure (secure tenure status and protection against forced eviction)” (UN-Habitat, 2006).

“In the global context, the term ‘slum’ is a pejorative term that casts a slur on both the neighbourhood and its residents, regardless of the intentions of those who use the word”. (Dovey, K., Oostrum, M., Shafique, T., & Chatterjee, I., 2020). Although the term responds to the combination of different features, the simple use of it (regardless of the context in which the word is used) is commonly related to exclusion, disadvantage, and disorder. Actually, this is one of the reasons why many people use the term informal settlements as a synonym or as the ‘romantic’ way of expressing themselves when talking about slums within cities. As a result of this misunderstanding, people could think that informal settlements and slums are the same and their presence represents the same challenges as part of cities. Clearly, many conflicts are implicit in both terms, but the main difference lies in that informal settlements offer the most realistic pathway for effective upgrading with a view towards formality and recognition within cities.

1.3 Defining Public Policies

Just as the terms informality and informal settlements were defined in order to understand the concepts that will be managed

during the study, the bounding of the term Public Policy should be exposed. In doing so, we will have a broader idea of the relevance of the term and its implication within the research. However, general terms should be defined as a base to understand different ways to approach the topic.

While it is true that the term policy could adopt a general interpretation, it is necessary to clarify the definition of three terms using different approaches in order to differentiate their meaning and choose a more specific interpretation for the study. First, Polity... is related to a political community. They are groups of people who belong to institutions and democratic regimes that are part of a political sphere. Second, Politics... refers to the activity. Generally, it is represented by political leadership, parties, and coalitions that are interested in the competition for power. Third, Policy... specifies the relevant role of public programs in solving public problems. In fact, the term is used having in mind people who have the power to decide about problems and solutions and choose the best way to foster innovation in public programs. As a result, and because of the study's goal, practical actions that seek to solve problems through the implementation of effective public programs, which is more closely related to the term Policy, will be considered.

“The term policy refers to the set of objectives, together with plans or programs for action, regarding a specific aspect of collective interest.” (Schade S. & others., 2021).

1.3.1 Addressing the term

Public policies have been conceptualized in different ways. For instance, while the Merriam-Webster dictionary defines them as government policies that affect the whole population, dictionary.com illustrates them as the fundamental policies on which laws rest, especially policies not yet enunciated in specific rules. Both definitions of the term appear insufficient when discussing not only government power but also the role of social capital within cities. For this reason, many scholars have been studying different aspects that are related to the term as an effective way to define it. From the simplest definitions “public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do” (Dye T., 1972), to the most complex ones “public policy can be generally defined as a system of laws, regulatory measures, courses of action, and funding priorities concerning a given topic promulgated by a governmental entity or its representatives” (Kilpatrick D., 2000) each conceptualization depends on the consideration of different dimensions and realities.

For this study, mainly two points of view were considered. On the one hand, there are Yves Meny and Jean-Claude Thoenig, and on

the other, there is Eugenio Lahera. As a result, their conceptions and definitions of the term were revealed. In doing so, a way for understanding the role of public policies as part of informal settlement management within cities emerged.

The authoritarian approach

Yves Meny & Jean-Claude Thoenig's definition

*“A public policy is the result of the activity of an authority invested with public power and governmental legitimacy”
(Meny Y. & Thoenig J. C, 1992).*

As part of their investigation: “The Public Policies”, the authors define the term by explaining that public policies are government action programs in a sector of society or geographic space. In fact, these action programs are a set of practices and norms- issued by public actors to achieve specific outcomes. Moreover, it is particularly important to underline that this concept of public policy gives a lot of relevance to the state by supposing that choices only depend on authorities and their way of thinking.

Clearly, this approach falls short due to a lack of interest in the main actors who should be included in the decision-making process. These actors should be involved, not only residents who can demonstrate the reality in which they live, but also the private sector, which can benefit in a variety of ways. As a result, public policies could be viewed as the outcome or the so-called decision phase—of an intriguing process that should involve a wide range of stakeholders. Notably, this viewpoint excludes these stakeholders; however, successful practices within cities have demonstrated their inclusion over the years. Thus, public policies aim to respond to their specific needs, highlight their underlying values, and modify undesirable conditions. Thus, public policies aim to respond to their specific needs, highlight their underlying values, and modify undesirable conditions.

The multidisciplinary approach

Eugenio Lahera's definition

According to Eugenio Lahera, a public policy corresponds to courses of action and flows of information related to a public objective defined democratically, which are developed by the public/private sectors, and frequently with community involvement. In fact, a quality public policy will include 1. guidelines or contents from the public sector; 2. tools or mechanisms from the community; 3. not only institutional definitions or modifications but also the forecast of their results. (Figure 1)

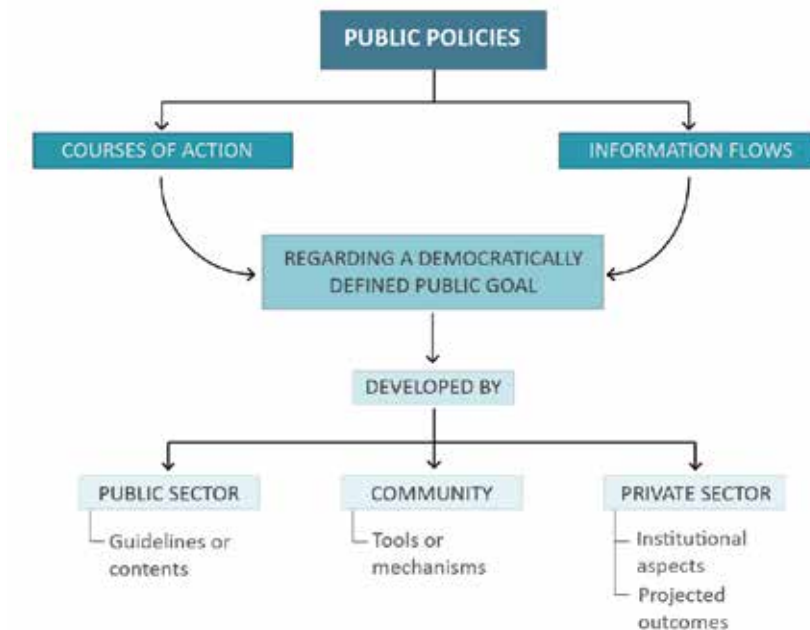


Figure 1. Public Policies' concept according to Lahera.
Source: Lahera, E, 2002. Author's elaboration 2022

Through this definition of the term, Lahera provides the components for a successful public policy, which could be applied at various levels of government administration. It is important to note that, while the author refers to a broad concept of public power, he also emphasizes the importance of designing, managing, and evaluating public policies at various scales. In doing so, he highlights the significance of these policies as a response to public affairs by defining and emphasizing the distinctions between Politics and Public Policies as follows:

“Politics” and “public policies” are commonly used interchangeably, but they are not the same thing. Politics is a broad concept that refers to power in society as a whole. Public policies, on the other hand, are specific solutions for managing these public affairs” (Lahera, E, 2002).

...

Because of their applicability within the reality of informal settlements, Meny and Thoenig's, and Lahera's points of view were labeled as authoritarian and multidisciplinary approaches, respectively. The purpose of the comparison was interesting because of the implications. While the first focused on the relevance

of the state, the second on the importance of having accurate tools in various sectors in order to have quality public policies.

Although there is no precise definition for the term, the way it is conceived in terms of its role, applicability, implications, and even challenges vary depending on explicit features. As a result, the general idea will remain broad, but the concept of successful public policy will vary from person to person and case to case.

1.3.2 Designing Policies

As previously stated, the studied policies respond to the aim of reaching a public goal by taking predetermined actions. In order to do it, a thorough process of analysis, design, and implementation should be considered. In doing so, a high-quality public policy will be developed.

Certainly, developing and implementing public policies is a difficult task, but understanding their concepts, elements, and implications will help to achieve the desired results. Consequently, descriptions regarding policy analysis and policy design will be presented.

Policy analysis

Considering the implications that public policies bring to collective decisions, it is important to mention that an accurate analysis of them is needed. It is required not only for the explanation of their implementation but also for forecasting how government at various levels will interact with citizens, as well as public and private parties, to solve collective problems. In other words, evaluating implemented policies is the best way to assess predecessor cases' successes and failures to learn from them by avoiding undesired conditions and replicating desired ones.

“Policy analysis is a social and political activity. True, analysts take moral and intellectual responsibility for the quality of their policy-analytic work. But policy analysis goes beyond personal decision making” (Bardach E. & Patashnik E., 2009).

As stated in the quote, policy analysis is a social and political activity that considers more than just one's well-being. In fact, it stems from the participation of professionals and interested parties as ideal factors for achieving people's well-being and collective goals.

“Policy analysis must create problems that decision-makers can handle with the variables under their control and in the time available” (Wildavsky A., 1979).

Policy analysis, according to Wildavsky, is based on the continuous identification of problems and, with them, the search for potential solutions as well as specific parameters to achieve the desired conditions. Furthermore, the role of decision-makers is important because of their ability to manage unexpected circumstances while always keeping in mind the tools at their disposal. Again, the subject matter is concerned with the ability to create problems while also considering the solutions that may emerge and be managed by specific actors in a specific field.

Policy design

Aiming to understand the broad concept of the term, a previous definition exposed by Herbert Simon, a Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences, is considered as an introductory idea of what specifically design means. On the one hand, he reflects on the difference between science and design. (Figure 1)

Science	Design
The natural sciences are concerned with <u>how things are</u>	Design is concerned with <u>how things ought to be</u> , with devising artifices to attain goals.

And on the other hand, he emphasizes the social sciences' role in teaching about artificial things, which mainly is about how to make artifacts that have desired properties and how to design them. In doing so, he reinforces the design concept of changing existing situations into preferred ones. Certainly, through this definition, we can contextualize the exposed meaning by understanding the logic of policy design as the viable way of creating desired conditions and modifying undesired ones.

Besides, designing a policy is a way to propose in detail an ideal way to solve public problems. Policy design, in particular, is a problem-setting and problem-solving approach whose main goal is to deal with the critical constraints arising from the 'problem' to be solved, the actors involved, and the context of the intervention.

“Policy design involves the effort to develop efficient and effective policies more or less systematically through the application of knowledge about policy means gained from experience, and reason, to the development and adoption of courses of action that are likely to succeed in attaining their desired goals or aims within specific policy contexts” (Howlett, 2014).

Howlett uses the term on the one hand to emphasize its dual nature, in which knowledge and experience play complementary roles. And on the other hand, to highlight the development of efficient and effective policies as imminent goals of the approach's success.

Moreover, to elaborate a policy design, some elements should be considered:

- Problem definition and agenda-setting: Is there a problem?
- Policy formulation: Which are the possible solutions?
- Policy Instruments/Tools - Decision-making process: Which is the best alternative?
- Policy Implementation (theories, models, and mechanisms):

Putting the solution into practice.

- Policy evaluation (outputs, outcomes, and impacts): Have we solved the problem?
- Policy maintenance: Succession, modification, or termination.

As part of these elements, it is worthy to indicate that the problem definition is an essential step to defining the reasons for working in the policy design and giving the work a sense of direction.

...

“Innovators are those who want to substantially modify the content of a public policy and are not necessarily public actors, even though they almost always try to influence the behavior of institutions.” (Dente B.,2014).

Although designing a policy involves many actors that at the end of the process will be benefited from the work, during the entire procedure the experts have a main role in terms of opportunities to innovate. Notably, fostering innovation in a process that tries to solve collective problems appears to be a complicated mission (Figure 2), but as professionals, interested parties, and citizens, the main objective should be achieving an integral and innovative policy that satisfies citizens’ inherent needs.

1.3.3 Understanding policy decisions

As previously stated, the policy design could be considered a compounded and complex process, and if we talk about innovation,

the perception of complexity increases. However, understanding the reasons for taking specific decisions or designing detailed strategies- makes easier the way of analyzing a problem and contributing to solving it. For this reason, a detailed approach to the decision-making process will be exposed.

Significantly, if we talk about the comprehension of the decision-making process that shapes a public policy, it is essential to consider the contribution of the conceptual framework of Bruno Dente’s work. Hence, his ways to explain how policy decisions are taken and how the application of recommended strategies allows people to overcome unexpected situations will be described below.

“Making the necessary reforms”, like any government in the world knows all too well, is easier said than done” (Dente B.,2014).

Dente points out his position regarding the premise that it is difficult to decide in a governmental sphere. Both, altering how collective problems are tackled and lacking agreement among diverse actors are some of the main reasons for this. However, over the years the separation of powers emerged as an appropriate option not only for dealing with these challenging dynamics but also for staying close to citizens. In most cases, this ensures a close interaction with people, while decentralization of responsibilities ensures the agility of bureaucratic processes. For instance, the importance of people’s preferences is a relevant role in the decision-making process, just as Charles Lindblom affirms:

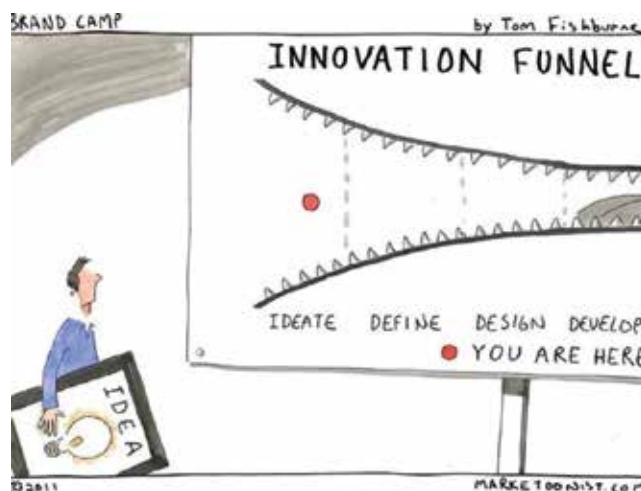


Figure 2. Innovation funnel.
Source: Fishburne T., 2011.

“Societies and political systems based on preferences and interactions tend to work better than societies based on the reason: they recognize the dangers of human failure, do not expect to know what people’s real needs are simply going by some theory, but are based on the need to supply suitable answers to citizens’ preferences even when they are contradictory or irrational” (Lindblom, 1977).

Deciding is an act of will that means choosing one option above others and renouncing potential solutions by selecting the one that fits in a specific moment. In fact, this concept applied to policies and their implications- shows how considering knowledge, interest, and experience is an effective way to find solutions thinking about achieving the desired results. Notably, a decision is a process, a conglomerate of specific actions that could not be understood as a determinate moment of change. For this reason, having a perspective of cooperation and continuous improvement is needed. This is relevant talking about public decisions due to its collective nature and the inherent public actors’ interest in solving citizens’ problems.

...

After having a definition of the topic, being part of the decision-making process that policy design implies- seems to be confused at this point. Therefore, it is pertinent to adopt a theoretical model that allows the main actors “...to identify the variables that can be used to investigate the whole class of phenomena that we decided to call “policy decisions” and to make explicit assumptions about the behaviors that influence their outcomes” (Dente B., 2014)

“The fact that to find a meaning of the world that surrounds us it is necessary to use theory, and not only empirical investigation, can seem counterintuitive, but it is no less true. In fact, we need conceptual models so much, that we even use them without knowing it” (Dente B.,2014).

As the quotation indicates, theoretical and empirical investigation is required in order to comprehend the full scope of events that occur around us. To be specific, Bruno Dente, citing Allison, exposes the author’s idea about decisional models, defining them as “conceptual lenses” required to describe and explain reality.

Decision-making models

A decision-making model is a short description of the main features of the decision-making process. Through their analysis and application, the involved actors can identify: 1) the features of the decision-maker 2) his/her cognitive capabilities 3) how solutions are searched and assessed 4) how the final choice is made.

Dente considers four decisional models that contain important clues to understand how decisions are made, which are defined as follows.

- **The Rational Model:** This model attracts our attention to the fact that individuals usually try to choose the best solution for the satisfaction of their interests.
- **The Bounded Model:** It reminds us that our knowledge is imperfect and that we are often satisfied with the first “rather good” solution that we find.
- **The Incremental Model:** This model highlights how most of the decisions, especially in public policies, are the result of compromises among actors with contrasting interests.
- **The Garbage Can Model:** It shows how the passing of time is not irrelevant, since it can make the connection between problem and solution either possible or impossible.

To sum up, a chart showing the essential features of the presented models- is given as follows. (Table 1)

Notably, the Incremental Model is the most used in public policies regarding the features of its decision-making processes. To illustrate the scope of this model, a summarized definition by Dente is presented as follows:

“The outcomes of a public policy decisional process depend on the interaction of different types of actors with different goals and roles who, within a network that can have different characteristics, exchange resources using different patterns of interaction, to obtain a stake, within a given decisional context”.

Model	Who decides	Evaluation Criteria
rational	Individual	Predictive rationality: Optimum
bounded rationality	Individual/coalition	Retrospective Rationality: Satisfaction (eg: no losses, to win something)
incremental	Partisan interdependent actors	Retrospective Rationality: Mutual adjustment (negotiate, constructing a coalition to reach a decision)
garbage can	Changing actors and positions depending on arenas, problems and learning from interactions	Retrospective Rationality: Contingency Entrepreneurship and capability to connect problems and solutions in open policy windows

Table 1. Decisional Models.
Source: Vecchi G. after Dente B.,2014

1.4 Processes of Informal Settlements Upgrading

If we think about informality as an issue that belongs just to informal dwellers, we are ignoring the complexity that cities present and the cohesion of formal-informal systems within them, which are intimately related. Evidently, the inefficient use of land, the presence of unplanned human settlements, or the lack of sanitation are some of the evident issues that informality brings. In this sense, these kinds of human settlements could be considered the opposite to planning and its long-term proposals for cities, in which, to be realistic, not always informality is considered within their priorities. In fact, informal settlements and their needs usually are left behind due to the difficulty that being engaged with informality represents for planners. To deal with informality mainly means questioning how the current planning processes produce the unplanned, the kind of disorder in the physical dimension, and the dilemmas of social justice that are implicit in the presence of informal settlements. Evidently, dealing with informality is a hard task, but these human settlements should be recognized as part of cities to guarantee the rights and duties of their citizens.

“The process of formalization is never as straightforward as simply converting informal documentation into formal titles” (Roy, 2005) Through this phrase, the author exposes her recognition of formalization processes and criticizes the input that this way to deal with informality brings to society and all the dynamics that this

phenomenon presents. “Land regulation simply reflects a specific worldview of land that derives from the western capitalist model of individual ownership of land.” (Abbott, 2002)

Edésio Fernandes, the professor, urban planner, and lawyer in his book Regularization of Informal Settlements in Latin America exposes that the way to deal with informality requires two types of interventions: 1) to prevent the establishment of new informal settlements. 2) to address the deficiencies of existing settlements through programs that (a) provide formal legal recognition of the communities, as well as individual or other forms of ownership and legal possession; (b) remedy gaps in public services, and (c) promote local economic opportunities and growth.

While Roy recognizes formalization and criticizes this option as the best solution to manage informality, Fernandes explains in a detailed way the dimensions that must be considered to deal with these types of human settlements. Notably, the “appropriate” way to deal with informal settlements is different from person to person, depending on previous experiences, the realities that one goes through or the close cases that one has experienced. Consequently, during this research two approaches will be treated as the main ways to deal with informal settlements: 1) Formalization. 2) Upgrading of the immediate context.

1.4.1 Formalization

The lack of recognition of informal settlements is a concern within cities. These visible elements are part of the urban morphology, they have their socio-cultural dynamics, and their inhabitants represent an important part of the cities' workforce. Although informal settlements' dwellers represent an important part of the city and its dynamics, places in which they inhabit are not considered as part of it. In fact, they are excluded settlements of the city in which the presence of basic services, adequate infrastructure, reglementary green areas, or public spaces are ignored.

Over the years and after the recognition of the term and all the dynamics that their presence represents within cities, many cities around the world are thinking about informal settlements as a latent issue that should be managed by authorities. Consequently, many policies have been considering Informal Settlements' formalization as an interesting alternative to handle many of the ignored requirements of this group of people. Although issues that the presence of these human settlements bring do not lie only in the lack of property titles, their formalization is a good starting point to treat and make them part of cities. The recognition of land rights will bring many benefits to their dwellers. In particular, formalization is more than having the land's property title, it means having access to better conditions for living and tenure security for future generations. First, they will work for having access to services and infrastructure. "There are a number of different services that fall under the definition of physical infrastructure and, within each of them, there is a wide range of service options. Thus, if physical infrastructure provision is to be replicable as a methodology, the way in which choices are made, and chosen options implemented, has to be clearly outlined." (Abbott, 2002) Second, they can inherit their possessions to future generations. Third, they can sell their lands whenever they want. To summarize, informal settlements' dwellers will acquire rights that other citizens have, and they probably have never experienced before.

This action will benefit not only landowners but also the city. Through formalization, people that inhabit these settlements will acquire duties that will make harmonious the coexistence between citizens within cities. Although the fulfillment of these duties implies a responsibility to act in a specific way and could be difficult for a person that never experienced something like this before, informal settlements' dwellers will identify that the benefits of formalization are better than the "annoying duties" if they want to be part of the city in which they live.

Hernando De Soto's contribution to formalization processes

If we talk about formalization, is inevitable to talk about Hernando De Soto. The renowned economist, through his research projects, tries to explain why capitalism thrives only in the West. As part of his ideology, he points out that the inability to produce capital is the main obstacle for countries around the world to benefit from this economic system (capitalism). Generally, countries that are not part of the Western World have high poverty levels, which use to be the reason to stigmatize nations by pointing poor people as part of the population that cannot seem to produce capital for themselves.

"The key problem is to find out why that sector of society of the past, which I would not hesitate to call capitalist, should have lived as if in a bell jar, cut off from the rest; why was it not able to expand and conquer the whole of society? ..."

[Why was it that] a significant rate of capital formation was possible only in certain sectors and not in the whole market economy of the time?"

The Wheels of Commerce (Braudel. F,1984).

While Braudel's description of the bell jar could be considered a critic to highlight inequalities in different sectors within cities, De Soto emphatically links this to poor people's restricted access to formal property: "The great majority of people, who cannot get the fruits of their labor represented by the formal property system, live outside Braudel's bell jar". Notably, Braudel's concept can be interpreted in a variety of ways, but the most important aspect of his contribution is the importance of capitalism in society. This capitalism only served the privileged few rather than focusing on the integration and improvement of the underprivileged. In fact, the graphic representation of Braudel's Jar (Figure 3) tries to show the abysmal difference between rich and poor sectors within cities. Undoubtedly, his image is not so far from the reality of cities within which these disparities are part of their urban landscape. (Photo 2)

For De Soto, the main difficulty for countries that do not belong to the West is not the lack of labor productivity of their inhabitants to generate capital, but the lack of recognition of everything that they produce and that could generate wealth in their nations. In fact, he highlights hard-working, entrepreneurship, and the ability to save as the main features of poor people in different countries. In doing so, he is explaining "...that most of the poor already possess the assets they need to make a success of capitalism. Even in the

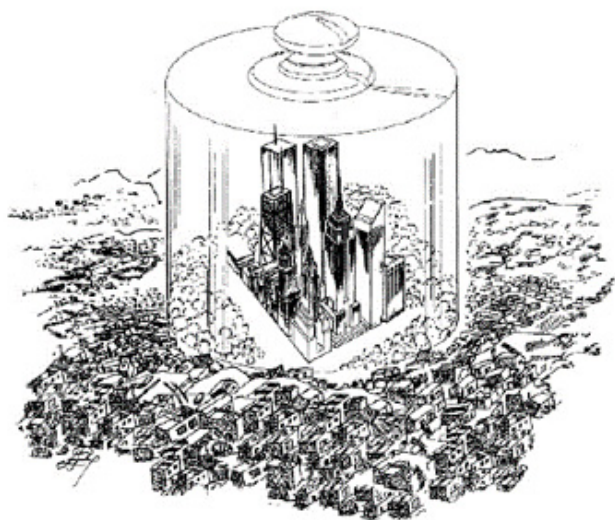


Figure 3. Braudel's Bell Jar's representation.
Source: The Mystery of Capital, 2000.

poorest countries the poor save. The value of savings among the poor is, in fact, immense...". For this reason, the author defines as a dead capital all the assets that belong to poor inhabitants and highlights the fact that they "have things, but they lack the process to represent their property and create capital". In fact, integrating the poor into the productive force and giving them access to formal documentation of lands as a deserved right within cities- are essential parts of De Soto's thinking.

"It is the formal property that provides the process, the forms and the rules that fix assets in a condition that allows us to realize them as active capital" (De Soto,2000).

De Soto considers the obstacle that obtaining legal authorization to build or getting a legal title for a piece of land represent. In doing so, he advocates for streamlined procedures that ensure credit for this segment of the population by using their assets as a guarantee of payment in the same way that other people in cities do. This is essential within his critical thinking because property for him is more than mere paper, it is a "mediating device that captures and stores most of the stuff required to make a market economy run" (De Soto, 2000).



Photo 2. São Paulo's aerial view.
Paraisópolis and Morumbi neighbourhoods.
Source: Nelson Kon. www.nelsonkon.com.br

Furthermore, he promotes titling implementation as the key to giving poor people the opportunity to be part of the city by achieving market and political integration. On the one hand, market integration will be recognizable due to possession of title deeds ensuring belonging- and with this, the ability to invest, improve, exchange, or inherit their assets safely. On the other hand, political integration will be achieved due to the double-direction support between the state and poor people. In fact, this unprivileged sector will feel supported by the state when authorities consider legal recognition and access to the property as fundamental responsibilities with this part of the population. Moreover, the author expresses: "With the poor on his side, a leader intent on reform has already won at least half the battle" (De Soto, 2000). This shows that although implementing a property system is a political challenge, working on political strategies that will make reforms possible- will be the key to achieve political affinity and significant support along the way.

De Soto's critical thinking has been the base for many scholars and his ideas of formalization have been implemented in many cities on a huge scale: *"His influence can be measured by the fact that an increasing number of countries and cities, in Latin America and elsewhere, have introduced regularization policies based on his ideas, and these programs have already had a significant impact on international and institutional approaches to property reform and*

good governance” (Fernandes, E, 2004). However, some authors, scholars, and professors involved within multidisciplinary areas have questioned the base of his thinking. To be specific, they are pointing to lack of real evidence, poor urban quality, overlooked environmental implications, and misleading solutions for what he calls “mystery” as many of the factors to consider when applying the principles of his ideology. Evidently, the way of thinking will defer from one person/case to another, but it is particularly important to underline the relevance of his thinking as one of the most widely accepted solutions addressing this complex issue.

1.4.2 Upgrading of the immediate context

Formalization recognizes the importance of formal property titles as the starting point to work with these human settlements. However, this approach seems to be insufficient to deal with rooted problems that their presence brings. While the authorities should be concerned about providing education, health, and welfare to citizens, these aspects result in campaign promises that never come true. Hence, relevant issues for people should be improved as a response to this good attempt of upgrading within the “unrecognized” part of the city.

“This seeks to identify all of the important sets of relationships that exist within the social, economic and physical spheres of life in the settlement, and then create a redevelopment plan that embraces and enhances all of these. Here, the problem is that it really requires a static situation to exist in the settlement while all the identified factors are dealt with.” (Abbott, 2002)

Upgrading the immediate context is needed in a society that is the result of the environment in which is developed. Lack of public services, adequate infrastructure, or community support are persistent problems that should be solved as part of an integral proposal. While the latest is closely related to participatory planning, the first and second should be mostly managed by the authorities. Not only the community but also the state should be involved in these processes that aim to human settlements’ improvement which should be integrated as part of the city. Feeling part of the city is more than having the land’s property title, it means people being involved in daily urban life exercising their rights and fulfilling their duties. “The framework for community involvement is the project cycle, where a project is broken down into distinct stages comprising initiation, planning, design, implementation and

maintenance.” (Abbott, 2002) Moreover, it should be managed not only in the physical dimension but also in the “abstract” dimension which is more related to public policies.

That informal settlements have their community structure and engagement is a fact, but what happens when each household wants to look for its benefits? Maybe at that point, some internal conflicts could emerge within households and with this, a rupture of previous alliances. Because of that, community support should be implemented thinking about these needs. To be specific, achieving a harmonic relationship between dwellers and their insertion within society are aspects on which these communities should work. Furthermore, the presence of a team that is not the main stakeholder within the human settlement that is going to be improved, is essential in the implementation of community support. Actually, this impartial part of the decision-making process ensures objectivity and community participation along the upgrading process. In fact, working on cities considering the presence of informal settlements could have a positive impact in terms of citizens’ well-being. As a result, people will feel engaged in the present and future of the cities in which they inhabit.

Although many people are not convinced that they would gain stronger security or better education than they already have after the mentioned upgrading, they are aware of the undoubted improvement in terms of health and welfare that this approach represents. As an example, the implementation of drinking water, sewage, or rubbish collection will immediately benefit the health of informal settlements’ dwellers. The implementation of public services is one aspect that ensures a notable improvement not only in the dwellers’ life but also in the neighbourhood’s projection as part of the city.

Evidently, the upgrading previously exposed is not an easy task for many reasons: budget, political interests, public and private interest, dwellers’ disagreements, among others. However, considering the feasibility of the implementation and its long-term effectiveness could be a good starting point and a way to change the features that nowadays define informal settlements aiming them as relegated parts of the city. In fact, thinking about an integral improvement is essential if we consider informal settlements as the target of change and inclusion within cities.

1.4.3 Considerations of the case studies

While developed countries present isolated cases of informality, in most Latin American countries informal settlements have been considered an established way of living and part of the urban residential development. Hence, the study of specific processes of

formalization and informal settlements upgrading in Latin America are pertinent in this part of the research.

In addition, formalization processes and informal settlements upgrading are present in the Latin American contexts as feasible ways to deal with these human settlements within cities. First, De Soto's relevant theory regarding urban economy emerged from implemented titling processes within the so-called "barriadas" in Perú. Second, the emergence of workable and replicable models for other informal settlements in Brazil was the result of implemented upgrading programs for the so-called "favelas". Third, the implementation of a market-based approach was the way to deal with informality in Chile, resulting in a significant reduction of the country's housing deficit.

The Peruvian practice

The presence of informal settlements in Perú and the dynamics that they brought to different cities, have been forerunners of essential theories, studies, and practices around the world. As previously mentioned, De Soto's theory advocates for the access of informal settlements to title deeds. In fact, his theory was widely applied in Peruvian informal settlements, becoming one of the most well-known cases in the world.

In 1996 the president Alberto Fujimori created the Commission for the Formalization of Informal Property (COFOPRI) as an organization responsible for giving access to the informal settlements to massive titling. In doing so, the government got political support from the people. Actually, COFOPRI's creation was convenient not only to give informal settlements' inhabitants access to credits but also

to achieve the registration of land titles, a right that in many cases had been overlooked. However, the organization allowed informal settlers to formalize lands even if they would not be the owners.

"The dominant approach to land regularization internationally and in Latin America for the last two decades has focused on legalizing tenure of individual plots—also referred to as titling or formalization—as a self-contained program" (Fernandes, 2011).

As Fernandes exposes, formalization has been considered as an important approach that ensures the tenure of individual plots. In fact, rather than discussing settlements, neighbourhoods, and communities, formal titling focuses on individual units, property rights, and free-market transactions regardless of the social context and consequences (Fernandes, 2011). Although, in the case of Perú, titling was considered a key factor for development, working thinking about benefits for individual plots- instead of a communal development stopped their integral development and brought many challenges over time.

For one decade, nearly 1'600,000 freehold titles were distributed in Perú which had an approximate cost of \$64 per title. Households were not charged any additional fees, and property values increased over time. Moreover, the COFOPRI program reduced the time to obtain a title from 7 years to 45 days, the number of required steps from 207 to 4, and the cost from US\$2,156 per title to essentially zero (Guerinoni 2004).

Following the idea of improvement that De Soto implemented regarding informal settlements, the three main points within



Photo 3. Santa Maria in San Juan de Lurigancho, Lima, Perú.
It is a 15-year-old informal settlement where most properties have had titles for more than 12 years.
Source: Fernandes, 2011

his agenda were difficult (if not impossible) to fully achieve and demonstrate. Of the expected accompanying effects, there were some dwelling improvements and some poverty reduction, but little evidence of improved access to credit (Fernandes, 2011).

Sadly, in this case study land regularization has been reduced to the titling dimension. In fact, this could be enough for families that have been fighting to get property rights within cities, but an insufficient measure for promoting socio-spatial improvement, equity within society, and integrated urban development. (Photo 3.) Moreover, such titling programs have created the expectation that all informal settlements will eventually be legalized. This expectation has stimulated further informal development, especially on public land, where the vast majority of titles in Peru have been issued (Fernandes, 2011).

The Brazilian practice

A variety of informal settlements exist in Brazil, but the most prominent among them are the so-called “favelas”. These informal settlements are visible from different parts of the city and have been part of it since the late 19th century. As many governments that must deal with this reality, the Brazilian government attempted to incorporate these human settlements into the formal city.

“Efforts have ranged from eradication to urbanization through infrastructure improvements to limited attempts at regularizing the informal occupations by granting legal title to the residents” (Pamuk & Cavallieri, 1998).

As Pamuk & Cavallieri describe, the government put its efforts to deal with a population who live within these informal settlements. Previously mentioned actions had better results in some contexts than others, but clearly, the more successful approach has been informal settlements upgrading. Although talking about this upgrading approach- could imply the legalization of informal settlements as an essential part of it, its success is mainly due to the improvement of living conditions, large public investment, and continuous housing consolidation.

Unlike the case of Perú that focused on individual units to formalize, the intervention in Brazil was developed considering the informal settlements’ inhabitants as a group of people that needed adequate conditions to live within the spaces that the state had overlooked over the years. Although titling was presented as an important part of the approach due to the importance of legal security of land tenure, achieving socio-spatial integration was the main objective and required broader and strengthened strategies. For this reason, titling processes had a secondary role, and the program intervention scale was reduced.

For Brazil was important to promote access to live in dignified conditions, be part of the city and participate in the opportunities that it brings to its citizens. Consequently, many interventions were carried out throughout the Brazilian territory at different scales. For instance, the Favela-Bairro program involved a large public investment in services, infrastructure, public spaces, and community facilities, combined with continuous housing consolidation by the residents. It has improved living conditions even without full legal tenure security (Abramo, 2009). (Photo 4) The internationally acclaimed Favela- Bairro program in Rio de Janeiro resulted in only 2,333 titles in a universe of more than 50,000 families, but only 145



Photo 4. Before and after the intervention of the Favela-Bairro upgrading program.
Source: Fernandes, 2011.

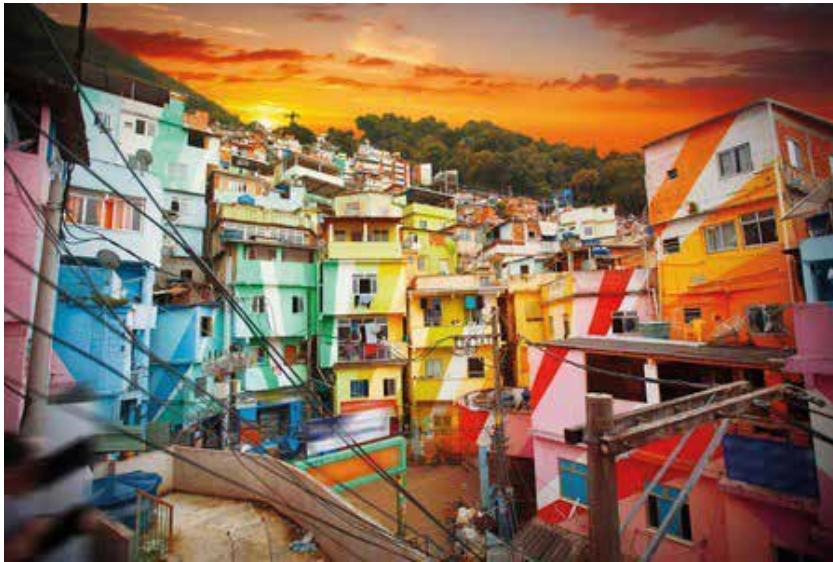


Photo 5. Santa Marta's painted houses. A way to overcome the stigma attached to residing in informal areas.
Source: Skreidzeleu/Shutterstock,2017.

completed the registration process (Larangeira 2002). One reason for this low titling rate was that occupants had to work through a complex bureaucracy on their own to complete the process.

Also, some regularization policies have combined tenure legalization (also formalization or titling) with the upgrading of informal areas, and others have also had a socioeconomic dimension (to generate income and job opportunities) or a cultural dimension (to overcome the stigma attached to residing in informal areas) (Fernandes, 2011). (Photo 5)

Crucial aspects for the successful approach are not only the implementation of policies that ensure the provision and implementation of basic services and needed facilities but also the effective social participation in different stages of upgrading processes.

Although formalization programs have been seen as the key for informal settlements' development, the success of the upgrading approach in many Brazilian municipalities- demonstrated that formalization would not be necessary to improve living conditions.

The Chilean practice

Chile is the most developed country in the region, and their example has been important through time to understand the effectiveness and challenges of the implemented policies around informality. In the late 1970s, Chile pioneered the adoption of market-oriented

social housing policies and the use of demand-side subsidies (i.e., state grants or cash supplements to enable low-income households to afford housing) designed to provide greater access to housing finance and formal housing (Magalhães. F, 2016). Subsidies, as well as incentives, were implemented. The last ones were stimulus granted to the private sector with the purpose to offer affordable housing for poor people. In doing so, the country changed the orientation of its housing policy from government-led programs to a market-based one.

On the one hand, the implemented model was successful not only because of the access that poor people had to formal housing but also due to the increase of private investment in the construction sector, which represented the expansion of business in the country. On the other hand, the model resulted in socio-spatial segregation due to the remote location of affordable housing units concerning the city. As a result, their residents were isolated from job opportunities, intensifying inequality and exclusion. It is important to mention, that these dwellings were places with deficiencies not only in services and social infrastructure but also in design. Is because they did not fit their needs, which made people lose their sense of belonging. Evidently, policymakers ignored the importance of location by overlooking this important factor in the planning stage. Although a key location could be part of a visible upgrading of settlements that shelter poor people, it was considered an obstacle to achieve integration within the city.

“In recognition of these negative effects, Chilean housing policy has recently shifted toward a more integrated and comprehensive approach, combining housing solutions, social development, and social inclusion. The current framework goes beyond providing housing units by emphasizing the development of inclusive and liveable cities” (Arditi et al., 2003; Rodríguez and Surgranyes, 2012).

In the mid-2000s, the model shifted from being a limited plan that had focused its attention on housing provision- to a wider one that put together different solutions to achieve an integral approach. To be specific, the new approach considered housing solutions, social development, and social inclusion as part of the integrated and participatory model. Furthermore, new programs with various names, goals, and opportunity areas were implemented over time, all with the mission of intervening in more than just physical space. These programs were proposals that considered integrating residents, professionals, and organizations to redirect policies at different levels by thinking about people’s welfare. For instance, the architect Alejandro Aravena considered the changing needs of families over the life cycle to design progressive housing units that were adaptable and flexible according to each case. (Photo 6)

The policies adopted a holistic approach by linking physical aspects of neighborhoods to social initiatives (Aravena and Sandoval 2008; Castillo, 2010). Although the market-based approach implementation- implied an important reduction of the housing deficit in the country, it did not tackle the social problems that poor people had to go through. For this reason, upcoming programs adopted new policies with the primary goal of improving the welfare of families.

“The emphasis on quality over quantity, by moving away from the approach of merely delivering houses, marked a new era in housing policy” (MINVU, 2004).

Many are the challenges that Chile has been faced over time, and the lessons that it leaves are valuable within societies that think there is an established solution to deal with this complex phenomenon. Moreover, this case shows that dealing with informality entails not only the housing provision but also the implementation of policies that handle effectively the emerging social problems.

...

Brazil’s broader upgrading program has been much more limited in scale and had per household costs of \$3,500 to \$5,000 —from 50 to 80 times higher than those in Perú. Though there are few benefit-cost studies of Brazil’s program, those that exist find that property value increments exceed upgrading costs, yet at a rate below the increment resulting from new urbanization (Fernandes, 2011).

While regularization programs provide individual security of tenure and protection against legal eviction, they can also cause gentrification, especially in centrally located and valuable areas where land developers and promoters may pressure residents to sell their parcels (Durand-Lasserve 2006). Many traditional communities in São Paulo, for example, have been converted from informal settlements to middle- and upper-class developments (Fernandes, 2011).

Clearly, each case study has several advantages and disadvantages, but the importance of analyzing each one is having a broader view of possible responses to informality in different scenarios over time.



Photo 6. Quinta Monroy, flexible housing units. Iquique, Chile. 2004 / 2016
Source: Palma, C, 2016.

Analyzed dimensions	CASE STUDIES		
	PERU	BRAZIL	CHILE
Goals	Legalization of land tenure	Legalization of land tenure Integral urban and social upgrading	Improving welfare of families thorough: Housing provision + social development + social inclusion
Policy approach	Titling	Titling + Upgrading	<i>HOLISTIC APPROACH</i> --> Housing + Social initiatives
Nature of the process	Individual	Collective	Collective
Instruments applied	Land regularization	Land regularization, urban design, infrastructure, social facilities, and social development	Urban planning, urban design, social facilities, social development, and income generation
Outcomes	Legal recognition of lands	Socio-spatial integration	From reducing housing deficit to improving family welfare

Table 2. Comparative table of policies applied' dimensions in the case studies.
Author's elaboration, 2022.



Photo 7. View of Panecillo mountain.
Source: Author's photo.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK METHODOLOGY

The research aims to understand the challenges that informality brings to cities, the management of informal settlements, and the implications of formalization policies within cities. Hence, that informality is a broader concept is a fact and the consideration of its definitions described in the previous chapter was essential. In doing so, I shaped a wider idea of what informality means and the complexity of the term in different aspects. In doing so, a categorization of different dimensions emerged to reinforce the understandings of the implications of informality for the urban environment. Moreover, the definition of these dimensions contributed not only to understand different authors' perspectives but also to see the phenomenon as a far-reaching concept that in some ways could give us clues to solve certain challenges.

As mentioned, some emerging terms around informality were clarified, as was the importance of considering a specific case to understand not only some of the realities of informality in developing countries but also the strategies to face their challenges. Hence, considering Latin America as one of the areas in which this phenomenon is strongly present, I chose the Ecuadorian capital as a suitable city context to study. Quito is a city where informal settlements have been a part of the city's landscape over time, and where I would have access to a variety of sources of information to shape my research and perspectives on the topic.

The case of Quito was a good example to understand the dynamics that informality brings to cities. To be specific, as in many Latin American cities, formalization policies are those that have been created as the solution to issues of the studied phenomenon and those that are still in force.

Scholars who have been working on urban informality and formalization policies- have different perspectives based on their experiences, which have been propitiating conversations and debates around the topic over the years. Indeed, their contributions were fundamental for my research because through them I was able to connect the relevance of their ideologies with Quito's reality around informality.

People who have been working on formalization policies consider many aspects, from the success that having title deeds represents for some people, to the lack of quality of life that these policies represent for others. So, through this research I want to contribute to this conversation by asking:

1. *What was the problem framing the local government used to legitimate and support formalization policies in Quito?*
2. *How these framings were integral and integrated into the understanding of formalization policies? What was their general level of effectiveness in reference to the implementation of policy goals it legitimized?*
3. *Does the issuance of legal titles support the decline in the production of new informal settlements in Quito?*

...

First, to frame the context in which the research would take place, I analyzed and described the general features of the city and its development over the years. In doing so, I could have a broader view of the territory and its dynamics to comprehend the emergence and management of informal settlements over the years. Notably, for this part of the research, the investigation through grey literature was essential. Understanding the reality of the city based on official documents was possible due to given information regarding its general features, evolution, and regulatory plans over the years. Significantly, analyzing the city having in mind the aspect of informality- made me understand the emergence of the phenomenon based on political decisions, economic aspects, and social and cultural behaviors. The emerging definitions included not only an understanding of informality but also of informal settlements and their upgrading processes. Furthermore, I was able to address the key issues that arise as a result of formalization and their implications from a planning standpoint. through the analysis, I was able to identify the relevance of different concepts and the efforts (or lack of them) of the state to deal with informal settlements in the Ecuadorian capital.

I could get the most relevant information regarding the emergence of informality in Quito not only from scientific literature but also from local information. Empirical work was carried out in which interviews played an important role. These were the source to confirm or put into question the information previously found in documents of public access. Notably, the interviews were carried out with key actors from different areas that are involved in formalization processes.

I had access to the municipal ordinances of the city and analysed them carefully. In doing so, I had a wider view of different processes and needed requirements to formalize the studied human settlements. Besides, the relevance of different stakeholders was

shown through the different steps of the formalization process, not only regarding authorities that want to impose public policies but also neighborhood groups that defend their interests.

Having first-hand information from people who work with informality- was needed to build a general framework of the studied human settlements. In doing so, I was able to understand that formalization is more than presenting a request and getting a title deed. In fact, it is related to organization, solved conflicts, emerging requirements, and hard work for common well-being.

To address these questions, I aimed to respond to them by looking for potential sources such as scientific literature, technical analysis, official documents, databases, visual materials, oral sources, and social media. On the one hand, references such as relevant papers, books, articles, webpages, social media groups, interviews with public workers, and informal settlements dwellers, among others were relevant tools that allowed me to analyze the reality of the city around informality. In doing so, I could answer the questions mentioned above, which enabled me to narrow concepts and dynamics to build potential paths toward integral improvements in the current public policies. And on the other hand, during the research, some shortcomings appeared. In particular, the lack of reliable data/maps about the informal expansion across time, the lack of aerial images that show the expansion over the years, the lack of a structured and informative webpage that shows official data regarding identified informal settlements, lack of distinction between informal settlements and formalized ones or the lack of follow-up to formalized sectors- were part of the limitations that the study had.

As previously mentioned, the reflection of concept definitions around informality- were essential inputs to develop the analysis of formalization policies applied in Quito. In fact, the combination of theoretical references around informality and some literature describing implications regarding policy analysis allowed me to identify the best perspective to analyze the phenomenon as part of the reality of the city. To be specific, I chose the incremental model, detailed by Dente as part of the revised literature in the first chapter of this study, as the most reliable one to comprehend the full scope of events that occur around informality.

The following characteristics explain why this model was adequate for conducting the analysis. First, it emphasizes the values, goals, and empirical analysis of action, as well as their interrelationship. Second, it considers actors that need each other (public/private actors). Third, this model highlights how most of the decisions are the result of compromises among actors with contrasting interests. Fourth, it focuses on agreements between analysts around one specific policy to be adopted, although they would not necessarily be agreeing that it is the most appropriate mean for

the achievement of a shared objective. Fifth, the emergent choice from the decisional process of this model is the product of social interaction. Sixth, the model considers public policy decisions as a co-produced product by many actors. Seventh, for this model, the decision-making process is influenced by the preferences of other actors due to their relevant role during the implementation of the policy. Eighth, it considers negotiation as an important criterion to find solutions that give shape to policies. Ninth, it is deeply grounded in political analysis, meaning that it explicitly considers the fact that an important part of the interactions must deal with the “fight for power”.

As previously stated, the use of this model is close to the reality revealed by the presence of informal settlements in Quito. Hence, having in mind the main features of the model, an analysis of actors, their discourses surrounding the studied phenomenon, the proposed goals, the governance mechanisms they employ, and, in general, the elements that shape the policies in place was carried out. In doing so, I was able not only to describe in detail the main areas of interest but also to respond to the questions that were orientated to contribute to the discussion of the topic surrounding informality as follows:

1. What was the problem framing the local government used to legitimate and support formalization policies in Quito?

In order to answer the first question, the review of official documents that the municipal government presented as part of their management of informal settlements was very useful. As a result of this part of the research, I could understand the problems that local government considered as the base to propose its goals and limit the scope of proposed policies. A variety of discourses were exposed by authorities as fundamental reasons to face challenges that informality has brought to the city for many years. In doing so, the Municipality explains why they believe institutionalization, and thus formalization policy is the most effective way to address these issues.

The institution that manages formalization policies, is a public entity that aims to recognize ownership by giving deeds to people that live in informal settlements. The approach to professionals that are part of the entity, through interviews - was very important to identify their position around the studied phenomenon and their way to handle it.

2. How these framings were integral and integrated into the understanding of formalization policies? What was their general level of effectiveness in reference to the implementation of policy goals it legitimized?

Considering the doubts I had to clarify regarding this question, general data that showed how the designated entity has been managing the entire process was needed. From the understanding of its nature and implementation to its legacy and effectiveness, I was able to get reliable information. Notably, the analysis of the previous thesis that considered topics related to this study- were potential sources to understand the strengths and weaknesses that the implemented actions regarding formalization have been had over the years. These works meant the opportunity to access many opinions from people who studied the city for different purposes. As in most cases, implemented policies have supporters and detractors, but the importance of the adopted methodology during the process was having a neutral position. In doing so, I was able to process data obtained from different sources in order to give shape to my perspective regarding the topic.

Although the content of specific literature related to the case of informal settlements in Quito- gave me a clear perspective of its reality, the consideration of Latin American cases that characterized improvements and/or deficiencies of the policies after their implementation- represented an interesting source to analyze the “integral” improvement that the institution in charge of formalization in Quito defines as one of its main goals to achieve. While informal settlements upgrading is a concept that has been applied in the last years, just a few cities that deal with the phenomenon of informality had been trying to apply it. As a result, it was necessary to study the previously described cases to comprehend, on the one hand, the integral and integrated approaches that provided a path to real improvements in the studied human settlements. And on the other hand, the lack of these integral and integrated approaches is responsible for their aggravation and proliferation.

3. Does the issuance of legal titles support the decline in the production of new informal settlements in Quito?

Addressing this question implied a combination of technical and empirical research. In fact, they complemented each other due to the topic’s importance not only from a planning standpoint but also from a social one. On the one hand, as part of the fundamental references used during the research, a review of the city’s official plans, Google Earth information, and database from the formalization institution was required, to understand the relevance of informal settlements as part of the city’s expansion by looking for

evidence that showed the role of formalization policies over time. On the other hand, first-hand information was critical in framing the concept from people’s points of view. Through interviews, the perspectives of those who benefited from the formalization process as well as those who were unable to participate were revealed as a statement of relief or desperation depending on the circumstances.

Moreover, some stories of neighborhoods were considered meaningful examples. Notably, the consideration of these stories- contributed to clarifying not only the dynamics that formalization brought but also the realities that are part of the after-effect of titling. Considering a site visit in one of the neighborhoods was essential to be involved in the environment in which different responses, stories, and requests emerged.

In addition, along the research process, some questions arose regarding the underlying issues that govern the appearance and spread of these human settlements. These questions were answered on the one hand through scientific and historical data by referring to access to land and housing within the Ecuadorian capital. And on the other hand, through the involvement of the city’s social capital as a representative group of those in need.

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Photo 8. View of Quito's historic center.
Source: Author's photo.

CHAPTER III: QUITO. A BRIEF PERSPECTIVE OF ITS DEVELOPMENT OVER TIME

- 3.1 The Ecuadorian capital at 2.800masl
- 3.2 DMQ (Quito Metropolitan District)
- 3.3 Governance system
- 3.4 Demographic characteristics DMQ
- 3.5 Urban development: The outcome of a segregationist growth

Since the beginning, and due to the features of the city, Quito was considered the most important administrative center of the country, which brought important immigration flows within the city as the best option to get job opportunities. This phenomenon has been part of the essence of the Ecuadorian capital. To be specific, people from other provinces are an important percentage of Quito's population and their workforce is an essential part of the economic development of the city.

The urban development of the city is mainly characterized by the presence of a segregationist criterion. This criterion has been kept not only at the beginning of the city, but also in the first regulatory plan that reaffirms the presence of people from high, middle, and lower social classes. Over the years, the different treatment of the city in the northern, central, and southern areas of the city and with this, the emergence of informal settlements was evident. This way of inhabiting the city was developed to access cheap urban plots that allowed people to inhabit the city by paying low-cost areas. It is important to mention that land speculation was part of this dynamics, and many people took advantage of people who put their hopes in those plots of land. Notably, overpopulation and land speculation were emergent problems that brought others such as

lack of accessibility, basic services, or accurate infrastructure to reach these isolated areas from the urban centre. Although the proliferation of informal settlements was one of the main characters for the urban expansion, it was considered a problem for the city many years after their emergence.

3.1 The Ecuadorian capital at 2.800masl

Founded in 1534, Quito is located in one of the most intricate topographies of the country. The Ecuadorian capital is also the capital of the province of Pichincha (Figure 4) and it is located in the Andean region at 2.850m above sea level.

Moreover, Quito is a city surrounded by mountains, active volcanoes and valleys which have been part of the landscape that makes this a unique city. The presence of extensive green landscapes and urbanized lands make Quito a special scenario where, as in many cities, different planning challenges have emerged over time. Although Quito's urban growth has been the result of political, economic, and social aspects, the city has settled mainly by following the natural geography in a north-south sense. (Photo 9)

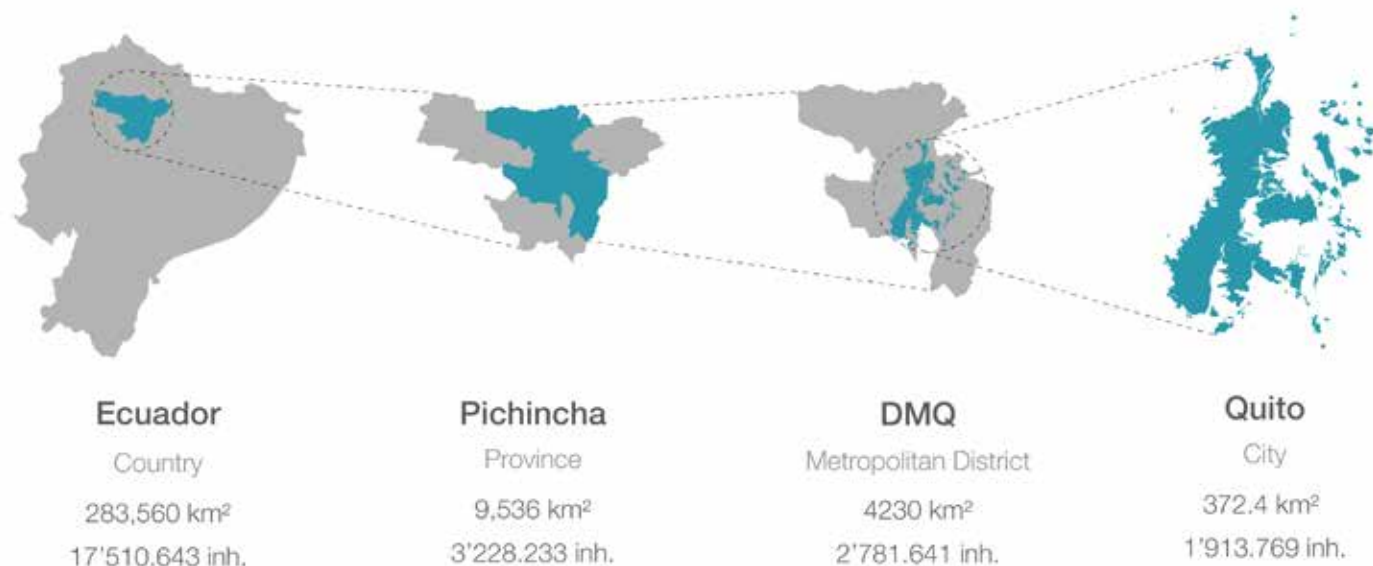


Figure 4. Quito's location at different scales.
Author's elaboration, 2021.

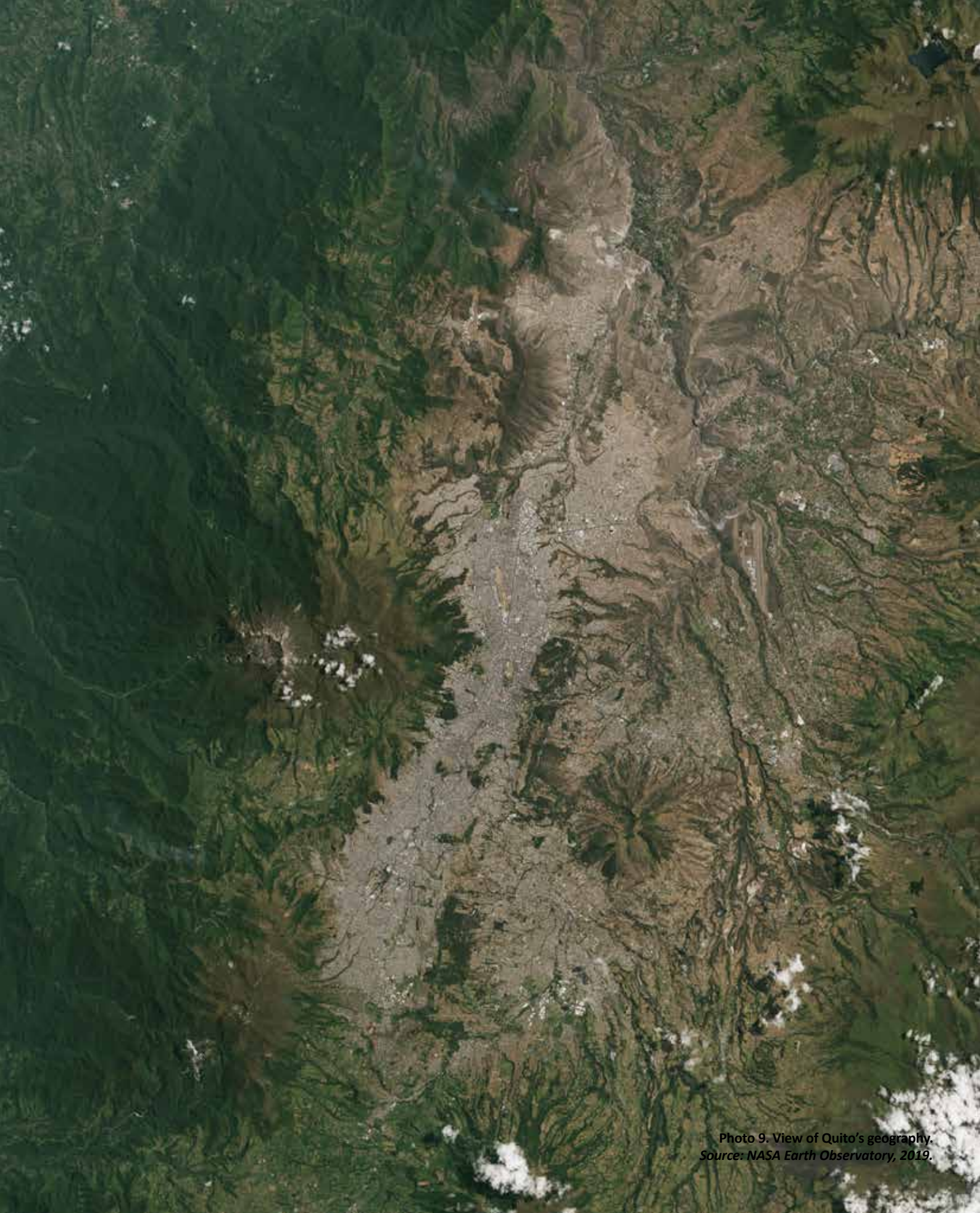
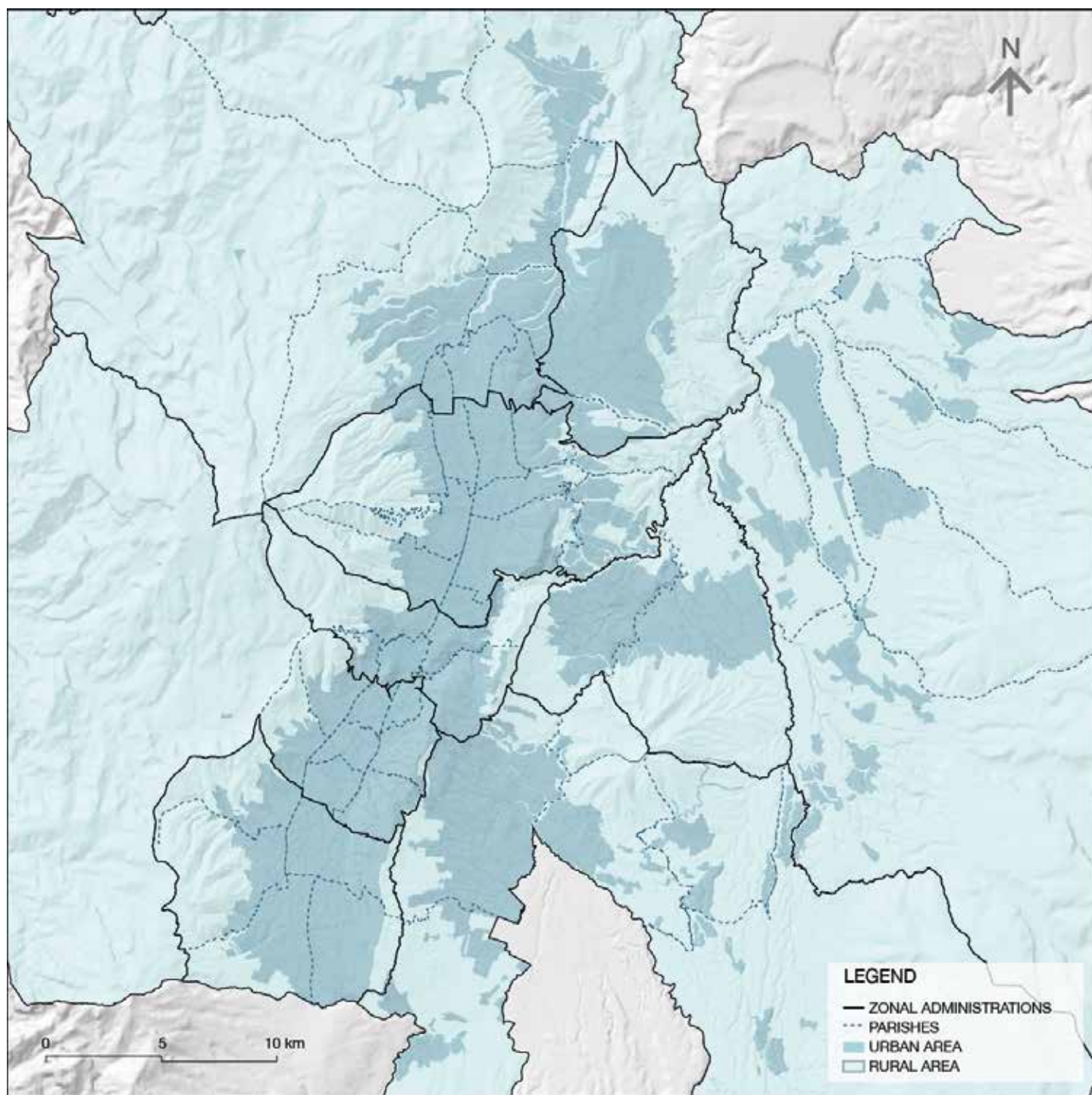


Photo 9. View of Quito's geography.
Source: NASA Earth Observatory, 2019.



Map 1. Land Classification- DMQ.
Source: Datos Gobierno Abierto Quito, 2022. Author's elaboration 2022.

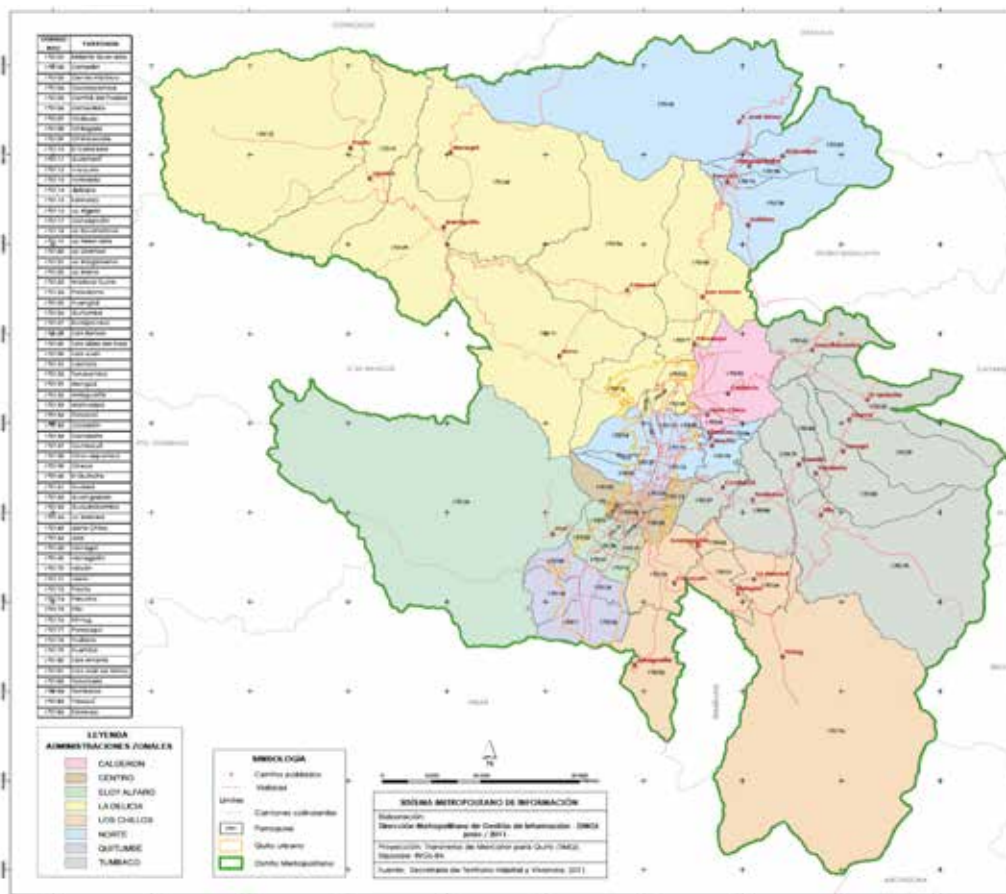
3.2 DMQ (Quito Metropolitan District)

Talking about the political and administrative division of the city, Quito has been through many processes of urban expansion that have resulted in different limits, borders, and spatial compositions over time. Quito, as of the enactment of the Special Law for the Metropolitan District of Quito (Ley especial para el Distrito Metropolitano de Quito - LEDMQ), in 1993, was recognized as a Metropolitan District (another way we will refer to the city in the research). Nowadays, the Quito Metropolitan District (Distrito Metropolitano de Quito - DMQ) is a canton located in the province of Pichincha, which is composed of urban and rural lands. (Map 1.) According to the Secretariat of Territory, Habitat and Housing (Secretaría de Territorio, Hábitat y Vivienda) land classification as urban or rural is determined depending on its use, and it is independent of the political-administrative allocation of a parish as urban or rural. As a result, the institution defines both terms as follow:

“Urban land: It is one occupied by concentrated human settlements, which are fully or partially equipped with basic infrastructure and public services, and which constitute a continuous and interrelated system of public and private spaces.

These human settlements can be of different scales and include urban centres on rural land.

Rural land: It is that mainly destined to agro-productive, extractive, or forestry activities, which, due to its natural or environmental condition, its scenic, historical, cultural interest, or that, due to its special biophysical or geographical characteristics, must be protected or reserved for future urban uses.” (Secretaría de Territorio, Hábitat y Vivienda, 2021)



Map 2. The administrative and political division of the DMQ, 2011.
Source: Secretaría de Territorio, Hábitat y Vivienda

As a result of the political and administrative division of the city, the DMQ is divided into 8 Zonal Administrations whose functions are to decentralize institutional bodies, as well as to improve the participatory management system. Each is directed by a zonal administrator appointed by the mayor, who is responsible for executing the powers of the city in his sector (Municipio de Quito, 2022). The zones are conformed by 65 parishes not only urban but also rural. To be specific, from 65 parishes, 32 of them are urban and 33 are rural and suburban. (Map 2.)

According to the City Hall and the Metropolitan Planning Council, the total area of the DMQ is 423.520,78 ha; where 42.352,08 ha. belongs to urban areas, 190.584,35 ha. to protected areas or nature reserves and 190.584,35 ha. to agricultural activities. These areas represent 10%, 45% and 45% of the total area respectively (Municipio de Quito & Consejo Metropolitano de Planificación, 2011).

3.3 Governance system

Talking about the governance system is needed to understand how the territory and its emergent needs are managed. As previously exposed, the DMQ is a canton located in the province of Pichincha, and like other provinces of the country, it has autonomy from the national government.

Although the Quito Metropolitan District encompass diverse areas that have different features, needs, strengths and weaknesses, the body that governs it is the same: the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito. It is headed by the Metropolitan Mayor of Quito, its highest administrative and political authority. The current Metropolitan Mayor is Santiago Guarderas, who as part of his duties as a city's authority, leads the executive branch of the Metropolitan Autonomous Government and chairs the Metropolitan Council.

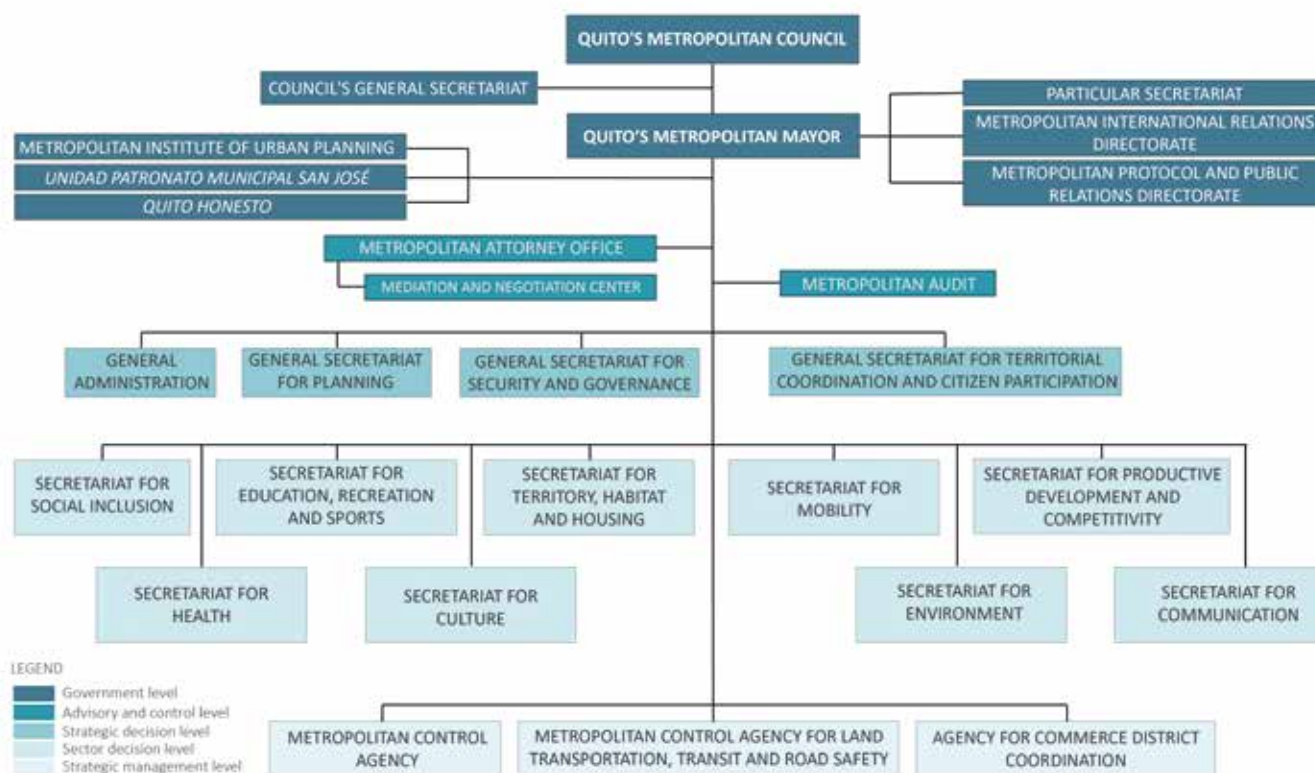


Figure 5. Current organization chart of the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito. Source: Municipio de Quito, 2021. Author's elaboration 2022.

The Quito's Metropolitan Council is an entity composed of 21 Metropolitan Councillors democratically elected by citizens for 4 years. Through these councillors, the entity exercises the legislative power of the Metropolitan District of Quito to issue resolutions, ordinances, and agreements (Municipio de Quito, 2021). Moreover, the councillors represent both the urban and the rural parishes of the Metropolitan District and they form groups that oversee different commissions. For instance, economic, social, and territorial axis are commissions with their mission, vision, and action categories to tackle emergent problems at another scale.

Other relevant entities that are part of the governance system are the Secretariats. They are responsible for dictating public policies for the district and monitoring their execution. In doing so, they ensure the fulfilment of goals that their representatives and their team set in different areas.

Finally, Metropolitan Public Companies and other municipal dependencies- ensure the provision of public services and compliance with ordinances in the Metropolitan District.

Authorities and entities previously exposed shape the levels of the organization chart and each of them act according to their level (Figure 5). From the government level to the strategic management level, each institution is responsible for different areas of intervention, has the authority to make important decisions, and is composed of a multidisciplinary team.

3.4 Demographic characteristics DMQ

The Quito Metropolitan District is a diverse territory not only in terms of its physical-natural aspects but also in terms of the origin

of its inhabitants: 35% of the DMQ inhabitants come from other parts of the country (Municipio de Quito & Consejo Metropolitano de Planificación, 2011). This feature of Quito's population is a strength for the cultural development of the territory that has been present over the years and will be an essential part to understand the phenomenon that this study wants to tackle.

The VII Population Census in 2010 is the last verified data that the country has about the population at country, province, and canton scale. In 2020 a new Census was programmed, but due to the COVID-19 situation, it had to be suspended. Notably, data from more than ten years seems to be deficient within cities that are changing the whole time. For this reason, the study is using, on the one hand, information from 1950 to 2010 of Census 2010, and on the other hand, projections of the population from 2010 to 2020; both provided by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses. (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos, 2020)

As part of the previous censuses and projections of the population previously mentioned, information about the population in 2020 in Ecuador (the country), Pichincha (the province) and the DMQ (the canton) emerged. To be specific, Ecuador has 17'510.643 inhabitants, Pichincha has 3'228.233 and the DMQ has 2'781.641. Moreover, it should be noted that nowadays, Pichincha is the most crowded province of the country, and the DMQ is the most crowded canton of the province (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos, 2020).

According to the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INEC), from 1950 to 2020, Quito Metropolitan District's population has multiplied more than 8 times to reach 2'781.641 inhabitants, which represents the 86.17% of Pichincha and the 15.89% of the total population of the country. (Figure 6)

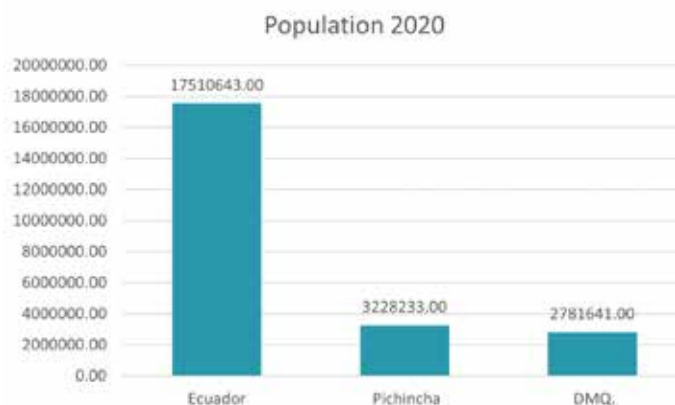


Figure 6. Quito Metropolitan District's population, Urban and Rural parishes 2020. Source: INEC 2020. Author's elaboration 2021.

The DMQ has had a constant growth of the population and many variations regarding urban and rural parishes' growth. Although the number of inhabitants has increased, this growth analysed through the annual growth rate shows that the population growth speed has reduced during the last thirty years. (Table 3) (Figure 7) The reasons why these fluctuations are present are related to the social, political, and economical situations of the city at different times of its history.

As previously exposed, the DMQ is the most crowded canton within the province of Pichincha and considering that it is important to mention that most of its inhabitants are part of the urban area. In fact, 68.8% of its population inhabit the urban parishes (the commonly called Quito) and 31.2% of them live in the rural parishes (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos, 2020). (Figure 8.)

The evolution of the population of the DMQ not only in urban parishes but also in the rural ones has tended to grow. While the growing tendency is talking about population, there are marked

differences regarding the annual growth rate if we compare the evolution of the population between urban (Figure 4.) and rural parishes. (Figure 5.)

Since the nineties, a process of "peri-urbanization"² predominates towards the valleys, which are close to the city. This is due to two main reasons: on the one hand an expansive and dispersed model of urbanization and on the other hand the incorporation of economic activities related to agro-exports in the eastern valleys³, which has favoured the growth in the suburban area concerning the city. (Municipio de Quito & Consejo Metropolitano de Planificación, 2011). As a result, the percentage of the annual growth rate during this decade was drastically modified: while in the urban parishes it tended to decrease, in the rural ones it has increased significantly. (Figures 9 & 10.) For this reason, although rural parishes' administrative character continues as rural, for planning effects these are considered as suburban parishes.

Population				Annual growth rate %			
Year	DMQ	Quito - Urban Parishes	Rural Parishes	Period	DMQ	Quito - Urban Parishes	Rural Parishes
1950	319221	209932	109289				
1962	510286	354749	15554	1950 - 1962	3.92	4.38	2.98
1974	782651	599828	182843	1962 - 1974	3.71	4.56	1.36
1982	1116035	922556	193479	1974 - 1982	4.19	4.34	0.71
1990	1409845	1100847	258439	1982 - 1990	2.92	2.99	3.68
2001	1893641	1449349	444292	1990 - 2001	2.68	2.46	4.68
2010	2239191	1619146	620045	2001 - 2010	2.17	1.5	4.1
2020	2781641	1913769	867871.992	2010 - 2020	2.19	1.69	3.42

Table 3. Evolution of Quito Metropolitan District's population 1950 – 2020. Source: INEC 2020. Author's elaboration 2021.

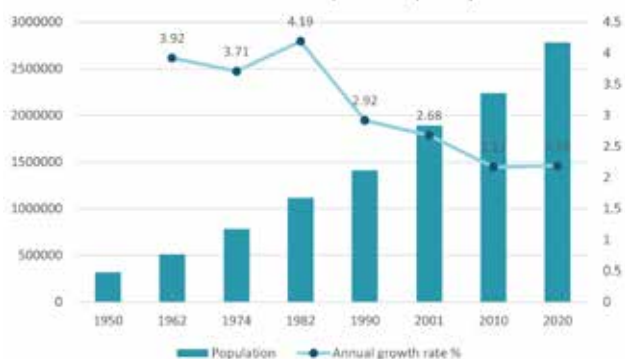


Figure 7. Evolution of Quito Metropolitan District's population 1950 – 2020. Source: INEC 2020. Author's elaboration 2021.

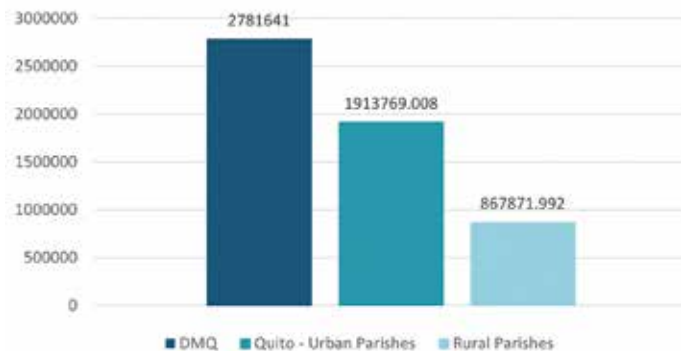


Figure 8. Quito Metropolitan District's population, Urban and Rural parishes 2020. Source: INEC 2020. Author's elaboration 2021.

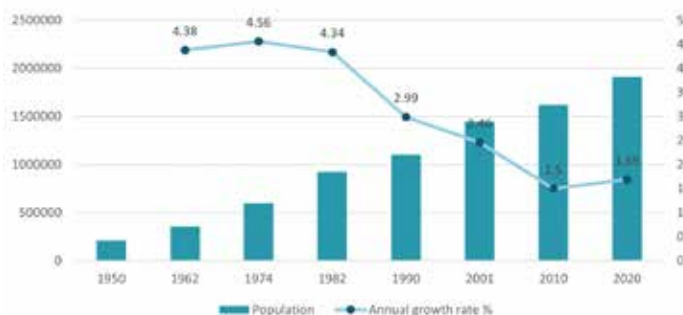


Figure 9. Evolution of the Population (Quito- Urban Parishes).
Source: INEC 2020. Author's elaboration 2021.

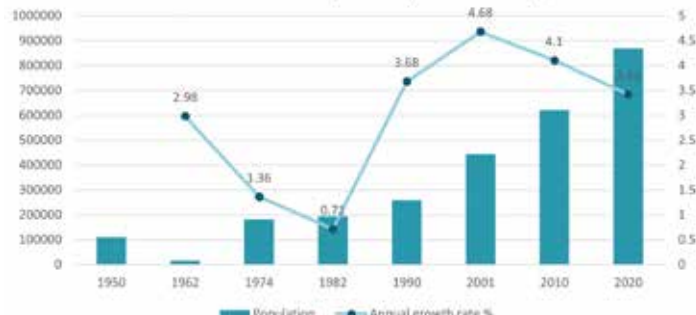


Figure 10. Evolution of the Population (Rural Parishes).
Source: INEC 2020. Author's elaboration 2021.

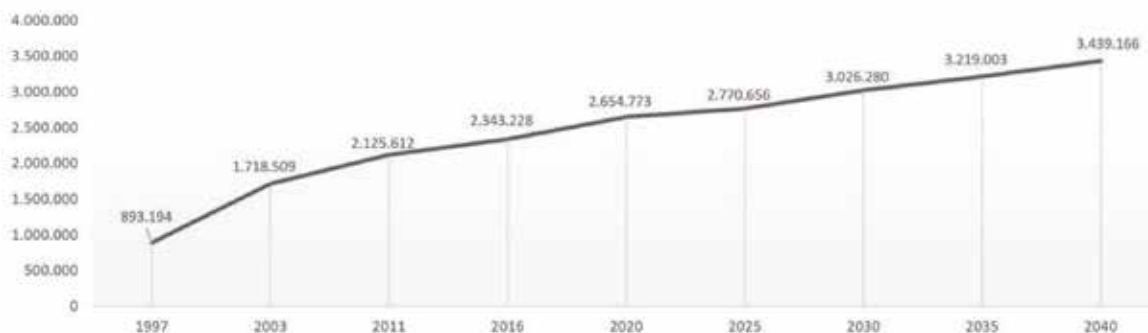


Figure 11. Population growth- DMQ.
Source: INEC, EPMAPS & ICQ.

Nowadays the population of the DMQ is still increasing and according to population projections based on information from the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INEC), Metropolitan Public Company of Potable Water and Sanitation (EPMAPS) and the City Institute Corporation (ICQ) if the historic growth trends continue until 2040, the Ecuadorian capital's population will be more than 3,44 million inhabitants. (Figure 11)

Talking about density, the gross density of the DMQ's urban area, in 2016 reached 54.3 inhabitants per hectare, which is considered a low-density range. The projection indicates that until 2040, even if the urban area does not grow, it would remain in low ranges (80 inhabitants per hectare). (Visión 2040, 2018).

As previously exposed, the DMQ's population will continue growing, but in order to understand the trend of this growth regarding features of the population, a population pyramid is needed. According to the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INEC), in 2017 DMQ's population was mostly composed (34%) by young adults (20 to 39 years old), followed by teenagers and children (27%) and less proportion of adults over 64 years old (6%). It is also

observed that the population between men and women maintain a similar distribution between age groups up to 40 years old, after that, the presence of women is more than men. Evidently, this pyramid shows a prevailing young population which enables future social and economic development not only of the city but also of the country. (Figure 12)

...

To understand informality within the study area, analysing the urban development and plans overtime is needed. Although transformation and expansion could be familiar terms regarding cities' urban development, their meaning around informality implies more than the analysis within the physical dimension. It also implies the analysis of the context in which the urban settlements appeared, considering social, economic, and political dimensions. For this reason, it is important to go in-depth into the urban development model and planning proposals regarding informal settlements in the DMQ.

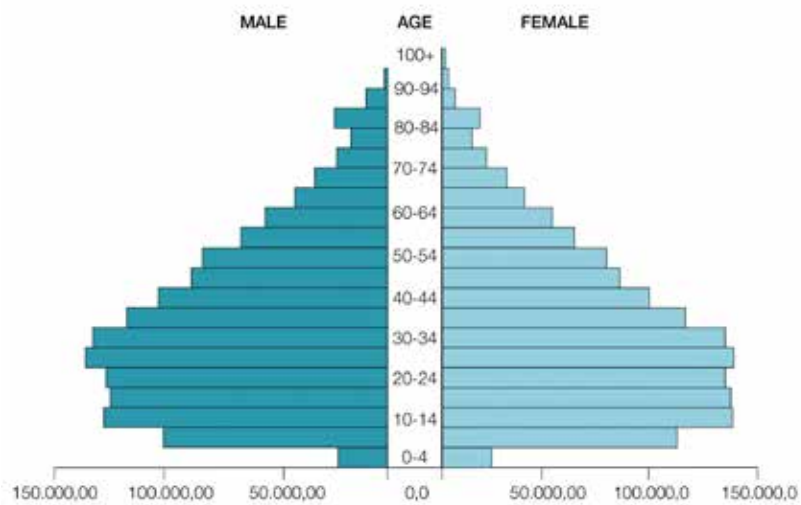


Figure 12. Population pyramid- DMQ.
Source: INEC 2017. Author's elaboration 2021.

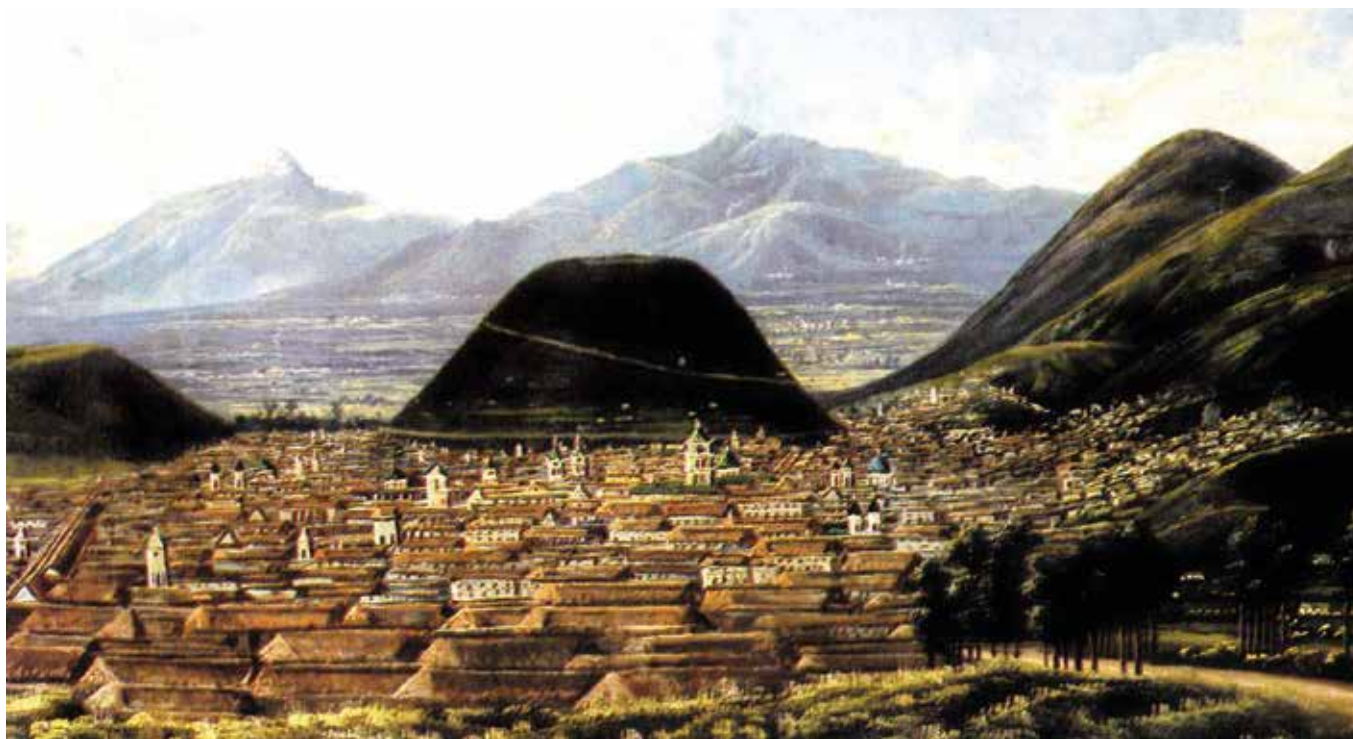
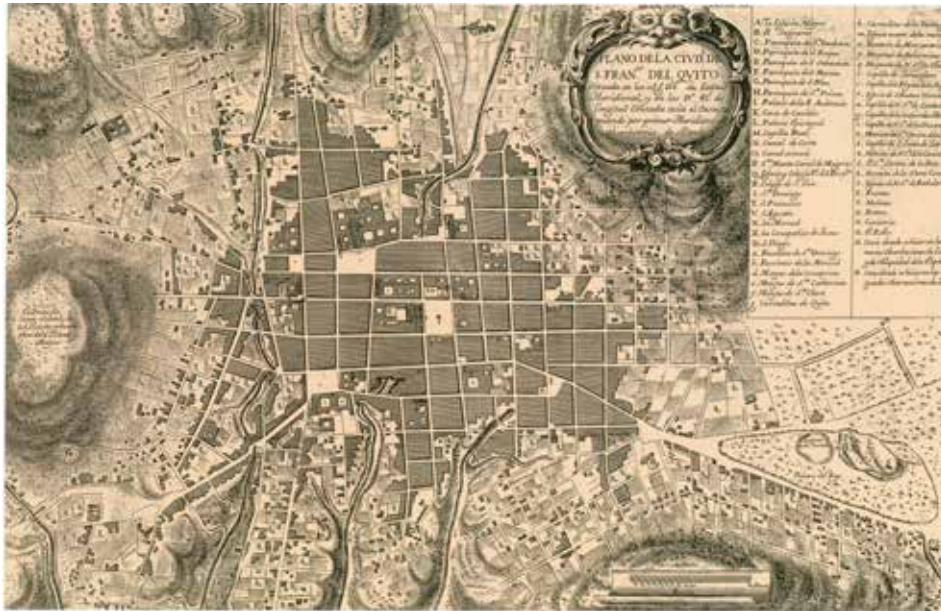


Figure 13. The landscape of the city in the mid-19th century.
Source: Rafael Salas, Banco Central del Ecuador.



Map 3. Quito's historic map, 1978.
Source: Secretaría de Territorio, Hábitat y Vivienda

3.5 Urban development: The outcome of a segregationist growth

Since the beginning, the city was configured by a rectilinear juxtaposed grid over the bottom side of the Pichincha volcano. (Figure 13.) This configuration was the typical way of organization that the Spanish imposed in many cities of Latin America when they conquered them. Consequently, the first physical idea of the city got a shape that corresponds to what is currently the Historic Centre. (Map 3)

Subsequently, the part of the city that today we consider as Quito's historical centre- was the urban core of a city that started to organize itself in a radial-concentric way as part of its urban structure (Figure 8.). Hence, a shape that was the result of residential segregation and social division- emerged. To be specific, the urban core with its orthogonal model was shaped by a succession of hierarchical and discriminatory grids, since it went from the Plaza Mayor where the political and religious powers were located, followed by the surroundings which were huge urban plots that belonged to wealthy people and finally small plots in the peripheral areas that sheltered to common people. The most remote peripheral areas belonged to the conquerors' farms. (Carrión, 1987)

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In 1895, the Liberal Revolution prioritized the construction of a regional railway, which promoted the first trading system between Quito and Guayaquil (a porting and manufactured city, the second most important in the country). Hence, many industries and housing appeared along the tracks, improvement of infrastructure and implementation of basic services were present and by the 1920s a notable modernization of the city had taken place. This modernization process changed the city radically in eighteen years (1904-1922) due to the increase of capital accumulation in the real state sector, the use of urban land was intensified (overcrowding) and peripheral zones began to be divided and populated. Quito became a bureaucratic and capitalistic city which was the administrative centre of the country where most of the national economic resources arrived.

Due to the new features that the city acquired, during the 1930s Quito received the first important population flow from the countryside to the city. The decline in cocoa exports in the country



Figure 14. Scheme of the concentric radial territorial organization form (1748- 1904).
Source: Carrión & Espinosa, 2012.



Figure 15. Scheme of the longitudinal territorial organization form (1904- 1960).
Source: Carrión & Espinosa, 2012.

was the reason why the city was the best place to go to find job opportunities. Consequently, there emerged on the one hand the agglomeration of the people in certain places of the centre and on the other hand the first informal settlements in the hillsides near to the centre because of the cheap price of the land. It is important to mention that while immigrants tried to occupy cheap lands in the centre (by overcrowding the housing units) and looking for space in the hillsides in order to have access to jobs within the city, the wealthy social classes started to move to the northern parts of the city, betting on the status and better living conditions in huge plots that used to be their vacation residences. Consequently, the urban

expansion of the city started, and the northern and southern parts were urbanized by dominant sectors and working social classes respectively. A longitudinal shape in the urban footprint emerged as part of the new organization (Figure 15), within an accelerated growth process and residential segregation. The agrarian urban lands of the city suffered a drastic modification due to the accelerated expansion process of the urban economy, mainly deduced from the action of agrarian landowners who considered more profitable the speculation or sale of small properties such as family gardens or vacation farms than agricultural production (Carrión, 1987). The adopted shape was related to the modification of the geographic

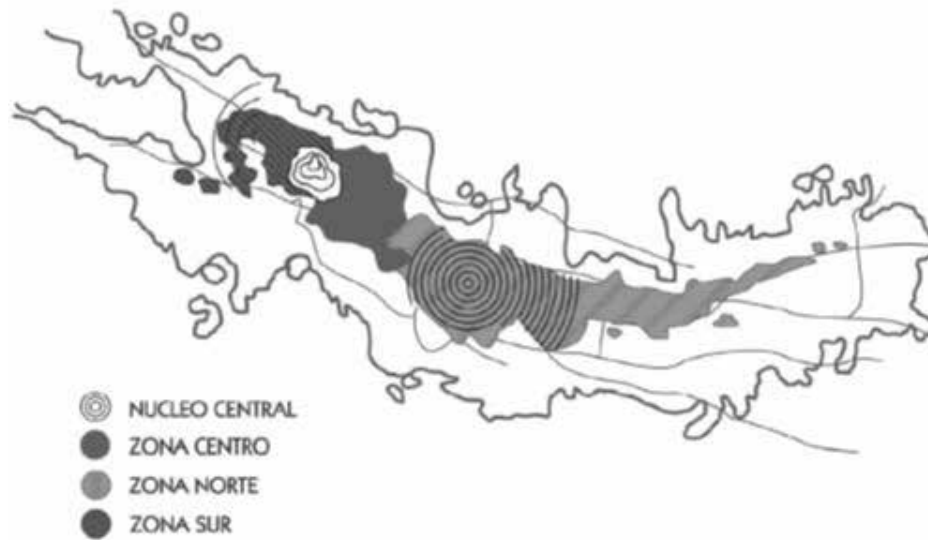


Figure 16. Scheme of the polynuclear longitudinal territorial organization form (1960- 1970).

Source: Carrión & Espinosa, 2012

factors, which conditioned the implantation of the city. (Carrión & Espinosa, 2012)

By the 1960s, new industries were stimulated by international capital, and oil activity emerged in the country, reinforcing Quito as the centre of economic and political power, and positioning the Ecuadorian capital as the modern city of the country. During this period, there was the construction of modern buildings in the north of the city, which defined urban speculation and urban segregation. Moreover, the first international airport Mariscal Sucre was built in the northern rural fields of the city, which meant the connection of the city to the world. During this decade, the territorial organization evolved as an extension of the previous growth model. (Carrión, 1987) To be specific, the southern, central, and northern zones of the city continue marked, but they had internal modifications which allowed them to specialize the territory. As a result, the city developed a longitudinal polynuclear configuration. (Figure 16)

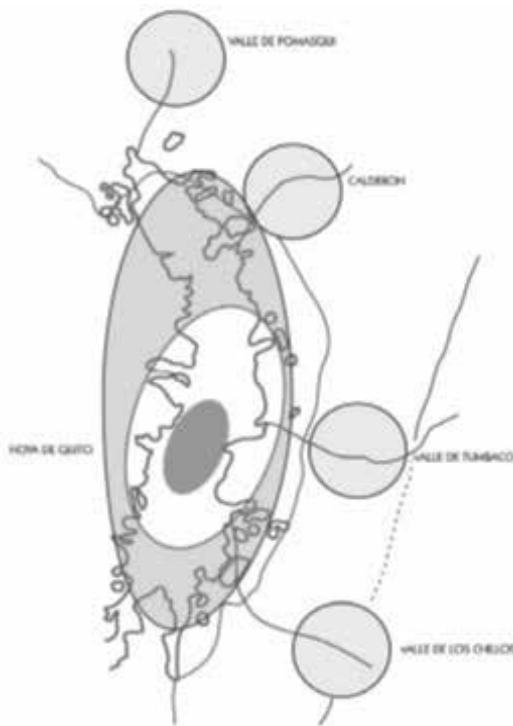


Figure 17. Scheme of the metropolitan area's territorial organization form.

Source: Carrión & Espinosa, 2012.

In 1970 the population increased accentuating the housing demand problems, which led to the implementation of public housing cooperatives focusing on the southern part of the city, where the working-class was settled due to the presence of scattered industries. It is important to mention that during the 1970s, the oil boom brought important developments into the city. To be specific, the development of infrastructure and high demand of cars appeared as a way of replacing the national railway system, the construction sector became an important economic activity, the second-highest flow of people from the countryside took place in the city, and Quito was reaffirmed as the centre of the economic and political power of the country due to oil incomes.

In the period between the 70s and the 80s, there was a “380% growth of the urban area” (Carrión & Flores, 1983). The articulated processes of urban expansion and renewal made it possible to redefine the metropolitan form of urban-territorial organization (Figure 17) since the logic of constitution, qualification and use of urban land was territorially formed from segregation and the centre-periphery relationship. (Carrión & Espinosa, 2012) Due to the permanent upward trend that land prices had, peripheral neighbourhoods started to shelter low-income inhabitants evicted from the historical centre. The decade of the 1980s represented the concentration of urban services. To be specific, administration, health, commerce, commerce, and recreation activities were settled in the north and centre of the city while the industries were located in the extremes, mainly in the south. Also, private, and public administration were settled in the centre and north of the city. During the same period, construction became one of the main economic activities that contributed to the city’s development.

In 1978, Quito was the first city to be listed as UNESCO World Heritage Site. Hence, Quito has tried to preserve the inner city by turning it into a tourist destination until now. Due to the urban expansion of the city, the northern and southern extremes lost their identity. Although the presence of housing cooperatives was important within the city, gradually the private construction companies were allowed to get enrolled into the construction market. This meant an important development for the city. This development caused urban expansion which on the one hand gave to the urban area new physical limits and spaces to grow taking advantage of the good economic situation of the city. And on the other hand, originated evident urban segregation favoured many because of the emergent speculation of the lands and harmed others because they were not able to pay rents or credits that allow them to live within privileged zones of the city.

In 1995, considering the increasing urban expansion of the city and thinking about the limited ways to mobilize within the city, the public administration implemented the first municipal transportation system for the city, a BTR system (Bus Rapid Transport). The system articulated the city in a north-south sense which favoured the connection of both extremes of the city. The implementation of this new way of transportation allowed to decentralize the commerce that used to be present formally and informally into the historical centre to the northern and southern parts of the city.

The development that the city and the country had experienced during the last decades started to disappear because of the increase of the inflation rate, the currency devaluation in 1999 and the dollarization process in 2000. During those times, the poverty not only in the city but also in the country had grown exponentially. Moreover, the national crisis and unemployment made people

emigrate to the United States and Europe. This phenomenon separated families and made evident the extreme poverty. Notably, those were hard times, but during the following years that intense migration was beneficial for the city because all the received remittances were addressed to the poorest families. For this reason, many people invested their money in the construction sector, reaffirming this as a key sector in the economy of the Ecuadorian capital.

During the first decade of the XXI century, the urban area evolved from a central-oriented growth to a decentralized growth, which meant the emergence of agglomerated urban settlements in the eastern valleys of the city (Figure 18). These new features of the city gave a clear idea of the uncontrolled growth and urban sprawl that the city started experiencing. Urban sprawl in previous years was related to people getting status or new opportunities to inhabit the city. Likewise, urban sprawl during the last 20 years- has meant high-income people’s need to look for a better lifestyle avoiding the chaotic city. The new way of inhabiting the city brought not only a new physical growth of the city towards the east but also the production of gated communities because of the agglomeration of upper classes. Besides, it is important to mention that all these dynamics brought new features to the northern and eastern areas, which became those that shelter the most educated people with high levels of income, while the southern area shelter people with less levels of education and lower incomes. Nowadays, the dynamics are the same in the northern, eastern, and southern areas of the city, while the city centre is still the area of administrative power of the country.

The called second oil boom arrived between 2009 and 2014, and during these years, the country could take advantage of the higher prices of oil. Consequently, the implementation of the new international airport and the construction of the two largest buildings in the country took place. These mega projects represented a period of bonanza that finished just with the closure of them. In 2016, the construction of the first subway started, which is expected to be ready by 2022. Afterwards, the country started an economic recession due to the international oil low cost and COVID-19 crisis.

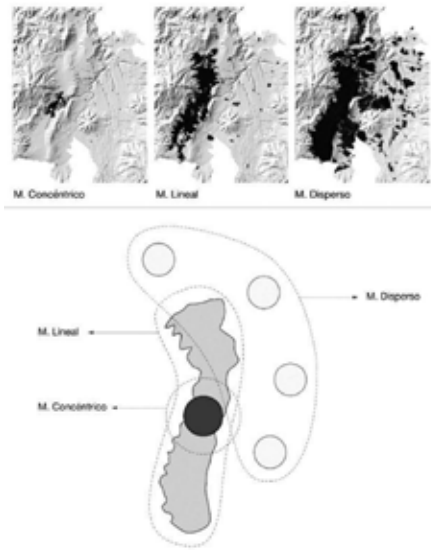


Figure 18. City models in Quito Metropolitan District.
Source: City Institute Corporation (ICQ).

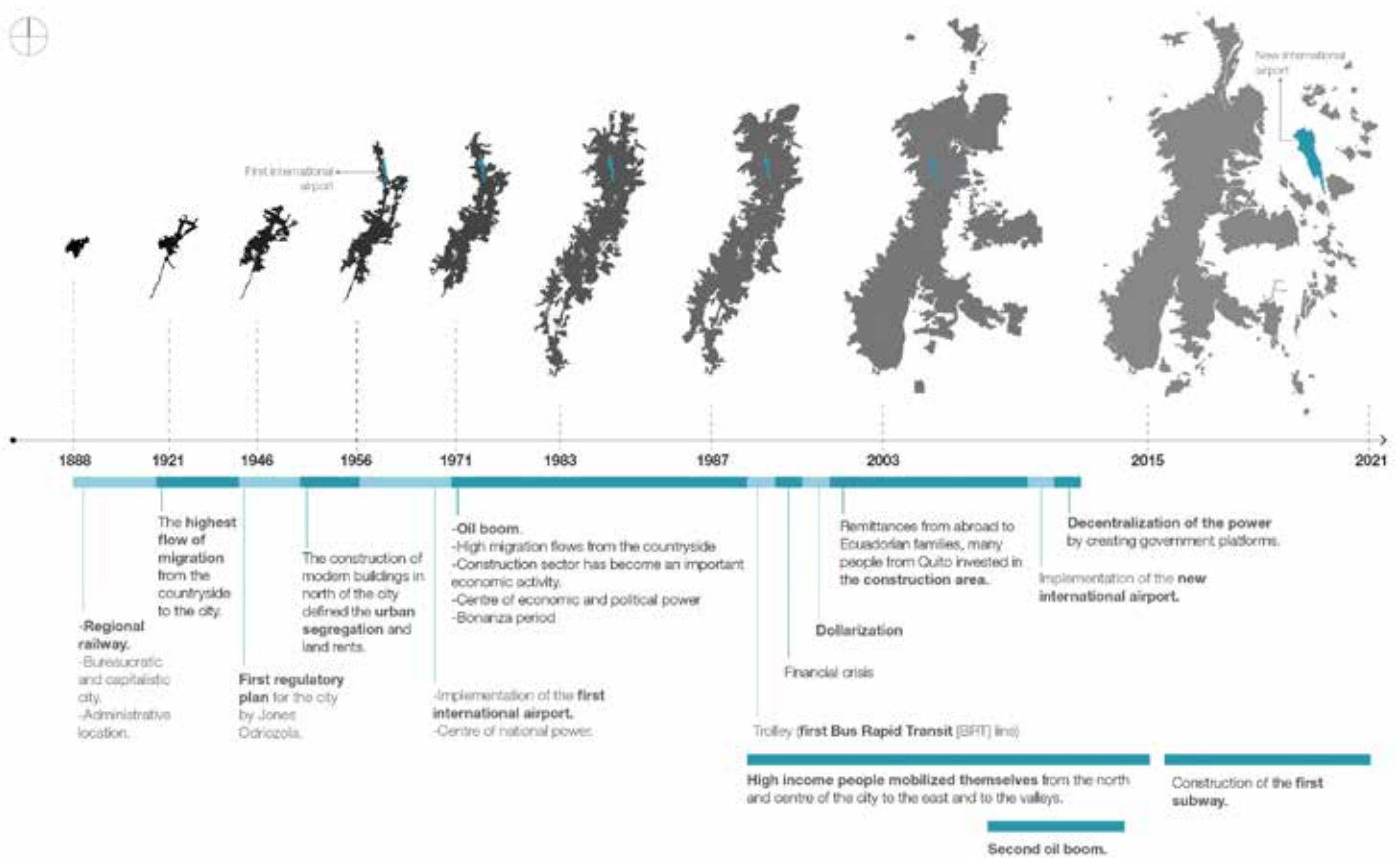


Figure 19. Quito's spatial growth related to main events.
Source: Cordero P., Paredes S., Nakviroj N; 2020.



Photo 10. Atacucho neighborhood.
Source: Author's photo.

CHAPTER IV: INFORMALITY IN THE DMQ

- 4.1 The emergence of informal settlements in the DMQ: between elitist segregation and improvised urban growth trends
- 4.2 Extra-legal ways of inhabiting the DMQ
- 4.3 Regulatory Plans: Policies that overlook informality
- 4.4 Public policies and regularization: an attempt to deal with informal settlements in the DMQ
- 4.5 After formalization

4.1 The emergence of informal settlements in the DMQ: between elitist segregation and improvised urban growth trends

“Traditionally, it is affirmed that urban informality derives from the structural inability of the public power to guarantee the supply of plots with services based on the scarcity of housing alternatives, not only offered by the public power (due to the lack of adequate housing policies) but also those produced by formal markets, which are increasingly essentially speculative.” (Fernandes, E, 2008)

According to Edésio Fernandes, one of the most common causes of the existence and proliferation of informal settlements is the lack of state intervention. On the one hand, the DMQ’s authorities have had problems managing informality due to lack of economic resources that allow an important investment in this area. And on the other hand, they have been overlooking and minimizing one of the vital needs of its citizens. However, it is important to mention that this is not the only cause of informal settlements’ presence within the Ecuadorian capital.

As previously explained, the rampant growth of the city was characterized by elitist traditions, as in many Latin American countries, which contributed directly or indirectly to the emergence of informal settlements. To be specific, the urban planning of the city responded to the elitist tradition which focused its attention on the privileged social groups. As a result, residential, functional, and spatial segregation emerged, clearly favouring the wealthy over the poor, which can still be seen throughout the city today. While the well-off had the option of settling in the most suitable areas, the most disadvantaged had to adapt to settling in areas that were left behind.

Furthermore, the city area known as the Historic Centre- was the area that sheltered many people from the countryside. Because of the presence of wide spaces typical of colonial dwellings, the historic area initially accurately accommodated new residents. These residents were tenants, most of them from the countryside and other provinces of the country, and the owners of the mentioned dwellings were wealthy people that rented these spaces and moved to the northern area of the city. Besides, due to the city’s high demand for labour, this became an overcrowded area that offered tiny spaces within the same houses for a small sum of money without considering the basic needs to live properly. Significantly, these were triggers for a phenomenon that tended to occupy the

limits of the urban area of the city by overlooking eventual risks.

The informal occupation of rural and conservation areas, and their conversion into urban land, grew since the 1970s, through invasions and sale of lots in informal markets, mainly in the contours of the sprawling city. Hundreds of thousands of homes, many precarious, have been erected over agricultural, livestock, ravines, and conservation areas, even in zones considered of high risk. This form of human settlement has occurred at the same time as other planned and regulated by the Municipality processes (Gómez A. & Cuví N., 2016). Basically, at the end of the 1970s, the peripheral neighbourhoods of the city emerged because of land divisions, migration flows, and the rejection from the so-called “legal city”. Although these neighbourhoods were consolidated human settlements within the city, they acquired the status of peripheral areas where their existence brought the idea of a social as well as spatial exclusion and degradation. Not only for their way of acquiring the plots but also for their way of inhabiting vulnerable zones. Undoubtedly, the presence of these peripheral neighbourhoods intensified inequalities between social classes and stigmatized poor people as the neighbour no one would want to have.

“In the period between the 70s and the 80s, there was a 380% growth of the urban area” (Carrión & Flores, 1983).

Due to the emergence of peripheral neighbourhoods and the unplanned growth of the city, new ways of organization appeared. Dichotomous conceptions for understanding the city began to be introduced: modern city / ancient city; historic city/city without history; peripheral neighbourhoods / popular neighbourhoods; legal city / clandestine or illegal city; satellite city/dormitory city (Carrión F., 1987). These new conceptions of the city were different ways to perceive the new “centre-periphery relationship” (Carrión & Espinosa, 2012) which not only influenced land value and real estate activities but also defined the new urban growth trend. This trend was shown as a sub-urbanization phenomenon which was the new way of living for many people in the city. (so suburbanization was involving both the poor in the informal ways you described and the wealthy in other areas?)

4.2 Extra-legal ways of inhabiting the DMQ

Informal settlements’ inhabitants are people that somehow paid for their lands although the way of acquiring them would not be the desired one. Hence, many of these human settlements- present characteristics not only of progressive dwellings (which are self-built

dwellings that are growing through time) but also precarious/critical conditions. These conditions are referring to the physical aspect of the emergent constructions and their way of settling themselves in protected/vulnerable zones. Although these self-built homes have been assembled over the years with available materials and precarious financial resources, there are also durable structures that provide protection from extreme climatic conditions and many of them have been built with significant economic resources, owing to the contributions of multiple generations in the same family.

Even though the physical aspect of these human settlements is one important indicator to understand their current situation, this aspect would not be discussed deeply. Hence, it is important to highlight that when talking about informal settlements in the DMQ as part of the study, the term will refer to lands and their legitimacy instead of housing units and their quality as part of the mentioned neighbourhoods. In other words, while the main topic to understand here is the sub-urban areas' occupation, it is important to mention that the attention is focused on the lands rather than the structures that have been built on them. Notably, this conception of the informality phenomenon in the city results in the way in which the State, the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito and main authorities that are part of these institutions such as the mayor, directors of the main secretariats among others, have been managing the existence and proliferation of these human settlements over time.

...

The city's vulnerable inhabitants began to look for free lands on the periphery as a desperate way of satisfying the basic need of inhabiting. In fact, finding a space to inhabit became the main goal despite the lack of basic infrastructure and services, the illicit establishment according to zoning imposed by the Municipality or/ and environmental risks. These are the main features of informal settlements, which sheltered mainly working-class people that found in the Ecuadorian capital an opportunity to access better opportunities. Because of the difficulty for them to access urban lands properly, they found in the extra-legal area the opportunity to be part of the city that overlooked their rights.

In particular, this relegated part of the population accessed illegally to lands in three different ways:

The city's vulnerable inhabitants began to look for free lands on the periphery as a desperate way of satisfying the basic need of inhabiting. Some of these areas were private and others belonged to the state, in both cases, the scenario was invasion at the beginning. In fact, finding a space to inhabit became the main goal despite the lack of basic infrastructure and services, the illicit establishment according to zoning imposed by the Municipality or/

and environmental risks. These are the main features of informal settlements, which sheltered mainly working-class people that found in the Ecuadorian capital an opportunity to access better opportunities. Because of the difficulty for them to access urban lands properly, they found in the extra-legal area the opportunity to be part of the city that overlooked their rights.

In particular, this relegated part of the population accessed illegally to lands in three different ways:

First, they took possession of lands that belonged to others which are the so-called spontaneous settlements or invasions. It is important to mention that although nowadays this is not a common phenomenon in the DMQ, some neighbourhoods were established in this way (Mena, 2010).

Second, they formed cooperatives (groups of people with the same objective of acquiring lands) to join efforts and buy huge lands. This way to access specific plots is usually visible in rural lands and/or ecologically protected areas, which along with possession of general deeds (of the entire land instead of parcelled ones) make it almost impossible to demonstrate land ownership of every single plot.

Third, they bought fractionated lands that did not have services on their surroundings nor infrastructure to access to them at low cost and with the option to pay in many instalments over the years. Notably, the Municipality considered most of these areas as agricultural lands, primarily based on previous uses of the land and without regard for the city's future growth potential. These lands were offered by intermediaries which generally were the owners of huge lands that sold a piece of land or in many cases more than once the same plot to different people by taking advantage of them. Actually, this is the most common way in which these human settlements have been established in the DMQ

In addition, the informal development of the city has been considered a convenient business for the so-called land traffickers or clandestine developers. They usually promote illegal occupation of lands in risking areas, invasions, and subdivisions of plots. In fact, they not only promote the illicit settling but also sell lands at higher costs. Moreover, these lands do not always belong to them, which gives rise to scams because the same plot are sold to one or more people without even owning it.

“Many families are duped by these people who “sell” lands at low prices and then disappear, leaving only papers with no legal value” (Muñoz, 2021).

Noteworthy, the presence of land traffickers has been a constant reality since the emergence of informal settlements until today.

Although nowadays many families try to access plots in the extra-legal areas of the city as a desperate solution to be part of the Metropolitan District, others have inherited these pieces of land from past generations. As a result of this, they have a physical space to live in although the security of tenure is something that in most cases is still lacking.

“The logic of locating next to the urban limit has the purpose of accessing the basic services installed in the adjoining neighbourhoods and the “hope” of becoming legal and having individual deeds in a short or medium period, which is why informal settlements have been constituted as part of the city, indicating that this problem has been constant since its appearance until today”
(Mena, 2010).

As Mena exposes, informal ways of inhabiting the periphery of the city are more than people satisfying their basic needs. They are human settlements seeking recognition as part of the city, access to infrastructure and basic services, and legalization of their lands. The latest to get title deeds that allow them to be part of the formal city to improve their ways of living, inherit their properties to future generations, or even have access to credits, considering that they have access to wealth accumulation as previously explained according to De Soto’s ideology.

4.3 Regulatory Plans: Policies that overlook informality

The accelerated changes and mutations that the DMQ had during the first years- were tightly related to a conversion of the territory from rural to urban. Clearly, these changes were unexpected within a city that did not have development plans nor a projection of population growth. During those times, the way of control was the implementation of policies that the local government imposed talking about the city expansion. However, the city continued growing with developments that demanded the intervention of authorities. As a result, they looked for international professionals that could help them to predict and control future developments of the city.

As part of the city’s expansion, regulatory plans were implemented,

and informal settlements arose. Even though these human settlements were located within the city’s Metropolitan Area, they and their rights were overlooked due to a variety of factors. Among them, segregation, abandonment from authorities and lack of resources to acquire lands within the formal city. Significantly, people rejected the authorities’ stance, and in most cases, ways to deal with informal settlements emerged as politicized options to gain support among certain social groups and eras of the city .

...

4.3.1 First regulatory plan – Jones Odriozola’s Plan, 1942

As the first attempt at an urban plan for the city, in 1942 the Uruguayan architect Jones Odriozola carried out the first regulatory plan for the city, in which the southern side was dedicated for the working class, the centre for administrative purposes and certain poor groups, while the northern for the well-off population. (Map 4.) This plan considered single uses of different zones of the city instead of multiple ones. It is important to mention that this plan proposed to continue the social segregation of previous years. While the working class was settled in lands surrounded by industries, the wealthy social classes had location preferences within the territory. The historic center was contemplated to be the administrative area, hosting the institutional apparatus of the state, while the south and north with diverse zoning typologies marking class distinctions. To illustrate better, it was considered high buildings of apartments for employees with important positions in the government and other wealthy individuals. These buildings would be located near the inner-city and part on the northern side of the town. Other typologies such as high-quality buildings in the historic center were destined for traditional families with high acquisitive powers. Because the wealth was always looking for green areas and natural zones, the plan settled them over the precepts of the ‘garden city,’ in which low-density villas with large gardens were disposed throughout the north. Whereas the working borough was developed in the south with small low-density dwellings. These housing units were primarily smaller than the ones of the ‘garden city,’ nevertheless, residents started to expand their dwellings building up to four-story buildings over the years. These preferences were exposed not only in the distribution of the land but also in the closeness of the most important facilities such as universities, sport and recreational areas that would be located in the northern part of the city. By the 1960s , this plan was considered, on the one hand, out-of-date because it did not respond to the real growth tendency of the city and on the other hand, expensive because of the high costs and low profitability of the proposed projects. As a result of this, the proposal was not entirely developed.



Map 4. First regulatory plan of the city, 1942.
Source: arquitecturaecuatoriana.blogspot.com

Although the social and residential segregation had started, this plan did not consider direct actions concerning informal settlements due to the lack of their effects in the territory for these years.

4.3.2 Urbanism Director Plan, 1967

Considering the previous plan and its weaknesses, this plan used zoning as the tool to regulate the urban growth and the distribution of the land uses within the city. To be specific, this land-use plan established specific guidelines for the land intensity of use, building heights, and dimensions of the plots within the urban area. Moreover, many policies were implemented, where one of the most important tried to include the working class sector (a group of people that had been ignored in previous years) by stimulating the organized growth of the city. For instance, housing cooperatives and a bank (Banco de la Vivienda) and were created thinking about, on the one hand, the construction of mass housing for the popular sector and on the other hand, giving access to loans for acquiring these social housing units. The plan proposed the creation of three types of housing: single-family dwellings, double-family dwellings, and multi-family dwellings. Their implementation was thought together with the implementation of green areas, mixed uses, and the relocation of industries. Besides, the plan provided tunnels and highways as part of the infrastructure for having connections in a north-south direction.

As mentioned, through the implementation of these policies, the municipal action intended to be strengthened against the disorder generated by the proliferation of urbanizations and spontaneous peripheral settlements, which were the product of the uncontrolled

division of lands by land speculators. In 1971 the periphery was declared an Emergency Urban Development centre for its treatment and improvement. This declaration meant the starting point to think about urban plans at a metropolitan scale. (Peralta & Higuera, 2016)

While it is true that the regulation of the urban land started during the implementation of this plan, other problems emerged. In fact, problems such as the absence of norms in more than 40% of the occupied urban area, and the incongruity of the norms against the current demands of the population, the economic crisis and land speculation were evident (Carrión & Vallejo, 1994). In other words, more than 40% of urban land lacked land-use guidelines, and the rest, which appeared to be governed by specific regulations, was ultimately controlled by contradictory norms to the legitimate needs of the population. This resulted in illegal land occupation activities, the consequences of which will be seen over time.

4.3.3 Director Plan 1973 – 1993

Considering the beginning of the oil boom and economic improvement of the country during the 70s and 80s, the urban expansion and rampant population growth were emergent phenomena in the main cities of the country. Undoubtedly, Quito was a city in which an increase in then pace and intensity of development became evident, and this period was characterized as the moment of the highest spatial growth of the city. Hence, this plan considered Quito as a metropolitan area that showed regional features and dynamics. Notably, urban and rural lands were considered as relevant spaces to manage within this plan, which

contemplated protection strategies of the rural areas and control strategies over the population growth of the urban ones.

Although the points that this plan addressed were relevant, the limitation of its proposal was evident since important phenomena that were developed parallelly were not considered: an overcrowded historic centre that brought social and economic issues, peripheral neighbourhoods of the city that sheltered immigrants, spontaneous settlements towards the nearby valleys and the increase of land value due to its high demand within the territory. These aspects could be synthesized on the one hand, as problems of emergence and proliferation of informal settlements and on the other hand, as land speculation.

The plan was not officially implemented, but its guidelines were the basis for the elaboration of the next urban plan.

4.3.4 Plan Quito 1981

As mentioned, this plan was formulated considering the guidelines that the Director Plan proposed in previous years. This plan highlighted the importance of the decentralization of the municipal administration by implementing a new district organization. Moreover, it is important to mention that during this period (1984-1988) the plan recognized informal settlements in the periphery and considered them as a problem for the city. Consequently, for the first time, the legalization of informal settlements was carried out. However, this formalization was presented as a limited procedure that ignored the management of future improvements for the neighbourhoods.

4.3.5 Metropolitan Structural Plan 1993

During this period, the municipality implemented the Metropolitan District Law, which proposed to order integrally the urban structure of the city to face growth trends and conurbation processes. As part of this organization, the plan proposed: first, the creation of a polycentric city model that wanted to deconcentrate the main functions from the central zone to the rest of the city through the creation of municipal/borough Administrations. Second, the individualization of urban social identities in neighbourhoods and parishes, which considered the social involvement as the key point to face internal problems. Third, the prioritization of informal settlements' recognition by giving them the qualification of Integral Development Units through their incorporation into the urban area of the city. This recognition implied the provision of basic infrastructure, provision of urban facilities depending on the needs

and strengthening of their socioeconomic development through neighbourhood improvement programs. (Peralta & Higuera, 2016)

This development plan and its proposed policies were in force until the late 1990s.

4.3.6 General Plan of Territorial Development PGDT 2001 – 2009

From 2000, a new phase for city planning began. As part of it, new ways of thinking and conceiving the city emerged. This plan was conceived as a tool to manage in an effective way the new demands of the land implementing policies related to land and housing. In fact, one important approach of the plan was the enhancement of inhabitants' quality of life through the improvement of public spaces, strengthening citizen participation in the integral process of local planning, and access to the urban land. The latest was conceived as a goal to achieve by controlling land speculation and the proliferation of informal settlements. Notably, these goals were primarily focused on titling policies that were within the powers of the city, with no regard for the State as part of it and a way to ignore possible framings and implementation of integrating approaches.

As part of the implementation of the plan, in 2001 the Land and Housing Unit (Unidad de Suelo y Vivienda) was created to manage the regularization process of peripheral informal settlements. This process included the creation of policies that prevent the emergence of new informal settlements based on a supply of land and housing of social interest promoted by the city hall. However, despite all these measures to control urban sprawl in the periphery, the reality surpassed it (Peralta & Higuera, 2016).

In 2009 a new mayor was elected. The new authority proposed a new city model called Plan del Buen Vivir, which highlighted the legalization of informal settlements as one of the main proposals within the plan. This formalization considered different policies as tools to deal with these human settlements, policies such as, promotion of social housing, provision of basic services to plots where informal settlements were located, and adjudication of property titles. Thus, in 2010, the special unit that would oversee informal settlements' regulation (Unidad Especial Regula tu Barrio – UERB) was created as an accounting entity with economic, financial, administrative and management autonomy. The entity has many decentralized units in different zones of the city: Central, La Delicia, Calderón, and Quitumbe which aim is:

“Process, channel and solve the procedures for the regularization of the informal occupation of the land, in an attempt to expedite the issuance of reports and pertinent procedures for the legalization of neighbourhoods, within the framework of planning and ordering of the city”.
(UERB, 2021)

Nowadays, the special entity (Unidad Especial Regula tu Barrio – UERB) is still in charge of informal settlements’ legalization, which role within the city will be detailed later.

4.3.7 Metropolitan Plan of Territorial Arrangements PMOT 2012 – 2022

This plan replaced the previous one. The plan was proposed to face a complex territorial reality which was the result of unsolved problems generated in previous decades such as the presence of vacant urban lands, the spontaneous and informal housing constructions, the low density in specific areas, the expansion of urban borders and the negative impact on natural areas. (Peralta & Higuera, 2016)

The continuous growth of the city showed mainly happened through the increase of population in the periphery. This reality was the main motivation to think about the city and its urban problems from a polycentric perspective. To be specific, urban facilities and services should have been accessible for everyone and their location in the city centre during those days did not allow that. For this reason, the strengthening of the rural and urban centralities was needed to balance the provision of urban facilities and services as a response to specific needs.

Other improvements such as the provision of connectivity and accessibility within the Metropolitan District, promotion of the consolidation and compactness of existing urban land, and consolidation of the main environmental structure of the DMQ through the system of protected areas and ecological corridors were proposed. Moreover, the plan considered the implementation of technical rules of architecture, public space, urbanism, and urban furniture to regulate the ways of intervention within the city.

Regarding informal settlements, their regularization continued by paying special attention to the periphery’s treatment and implementing neighbourhood improvement programs to have an integral development of them.

4.3.8 Vision of Quito 2040 and its new model of the city

This plan was developed in 2018 and the municipality wanted to apply it until 2040. The success of the plan was defined as follows:

“Quito in 2040 will be a city with a high quality of life capable of successfully facing all the challenges that emerge from the territory in the social, cultural, economic and environmental fields. In this way, it will have become a resilient city and will have ensured the sustainable development of its population”. (Quito vision 2040, 2018)

The proposal of the plan was related to the achievement of sustainable development of the city to guarantee inhabitants’ welfare. For instance, inclusive and open city for everyone, global and competitive city, environmentally responsible city, a city designed for life, and city that values its culture and history- were features of the desired city that shaped the main strategies of the plan.

Improvements regarding the reduction of the rampant land use and promotion of an implementation of a compact city concept were a preamble for the emergence of new centralities that the plan proposed. These centralities were managed as opportunity areas in which health, security, education, and public space interventions were present. The model of centralities within the city was presented as a multiscale one, in which concepts of participation, entrepreneurship, habitability, and ecology were present.

Topics like citizen participation, housing, and poverty within the DMQ are mentioned in the plan as general guidelines to deal with those dynamics. However, it is important to consider that as a plan, this did not represent decision-making process or a description of detailed measures to be taken regarding informal settlements.

Although topics like citizen participation, housing, and poverty within the DMQ are mentioned in the plan, they are general ideas to deal with those dynamics without a description of detailed measures to be taken regarding informal settlements.

The plan was successfully received by neighbourhoods’ inhabitants, who could get involved in the design of different proposals through a contest that involved professionals and citizens. Unfortunately, with the end of the mayor’s governance period, the plan’s ideas of continuity ended too.

4.3.9 Metropolitan Plan for Development and Territorial Management of the DMQ, PMDOT 2021 – 2033

This is the last plan that the city has, which was approved on September 13th, 2021. The proposal was conceived thinking about objectives, strategies and policies that will guide the municipal management of the DMQ for the next 12 years. The vision of the development plan for 2033 is:

“The Metropolitan District of Quito is a territory that guarantees rights and social inclusion, safe, responsible, competitive, resilient based on its diversity and cohesion in the territorial, social and economic. It has a comprehensive, compact and polycentric model of sustainable development; as well as one of responsible, transparent and efficient governance; that generate equitable opportunities for a full, healthy, fair, productive life, free from violence and discrimination; that allow improving the quality of life of its inhabitants, nature and animals”. (PMDOT, 2021)

The plan’s strategic objectives are presented as solutions for achieving improvements in territorial, economic, and social aspects, such as promoting environmental management; consolidating neighbourhoods and communities that will have services and quality habitats; implementing new mobility options that will ensure efficiency, quality, and security within the Metropolitan District; promote productivity and competitiveness for economic

growth with social responsibility; and ensure a fair life with equal opportunities, and access to health, education, culture and security. (PMDOT, 2021)

This plan based many of its proposals in previous plans which considered actions to deal with urban expansion and informal land occupation. However, this plan includes different strategies to achieve it. To be specific, the plan promotes the use of land that has basic services- to incentive the compact city model by increasing allowed height in the regulation of the city for new buildings. This way to use the urban lands intends to give more green and public spaces to the city as a way of compensation.

Regarding informal settlements, the plan promotes territorial development planning to control the construction of houses without municipal authorization, reduce the growth of informal human settlements, and strengthen adaptation and resilience to changes in nature. Moreover, promote the use of “Reserved Lands” which are municipal lands that are intended to be preserved, to assign them for the development of future territorial solutions, such as social housing, urban facilities, or infrastructures.

...

Although city regulatory plans and their considered agendas have not been influenced by political forces over the years, political clientelism has been used to justify the implementation of public policies in the city.

Besides, it is important to mention that each plan until 2012 proposed the expansion of urban lands without considering the existing vacant areas, which generated low densities in large areas of the city (Peralta & Higuera, 2016). Consequently, the following

Regulatory Plans	Year	Expansion of the urban area (Ha)
Jones Odriozola’s Plan	1942	3776
Urbanism Director Plan	1967	7355
Director Plan	1973 - 1993	6976
Plan Quito	1981	8992
Metropolitan Structural Plan	1993	19014
General Plan of Territorial Development PGDT	2001 - 2009	31809
Metropolitan Plan of Territorial Arrangements PMOT	2012 - 2022	38492
Vision of Quito 2040 and its new model of the city	2018	43116
Metropolitan Plan for Development and Territorial Management of the DMQ, PMDOT	2021 - 2033	43116

Table 4. Proposals for the DMQ’s urban area expansion based on regulatory plans executed between 1942 and 2021. Sources: Peralta & Higuera, 2016; Visión 2040, 2018. Author’s elaboration 2021.

plans gave more importance to a new strategy instead of considering urban expansion as the main indicator of the plan's success. (Table 4) This new strategy was the adoption of the compact city concept to consolidate the urban core and deal with urban expansion.

Unfortunately, it has become standard practice for many local governments to present new planning proposals for the city without even analyzing the key objectives of the previous plan or the status of its implementation as a starting point for the new one. As a result, in many cases, policies and interventions overlapped, resulting in discontinuity that made dealing with informality difficult and is still present today.

Over the years, the production of the informal city not only has been maintained but also has been intensified. However, the conception of informal settlements' presence has changed from their denial and exclusion to their recognition and formalization. It is important to underline that, although most of the urban plans considered informal settlements as part of the city's reality, just a few of them did something about it. In fact, it remains to be seen whether these actions were sufficient considering first, the lack of continuity between governance periods, second, their effectiveness over the years, and third, the informal settlements' current situation.

4.3.10 The issue of housing

Though Quito has counted on various processes of planning, its history has been marked by contradictions and incongruences within its plans. Thus, the issue of informal settlements has never been properly tackled or even included in the agenda as one of the main causes of the lack of a housing program. Moreover, the production and unflattering enlargement of its urban fabric have triggered a rampant development of new settlements that, among formal and informal ones, follow the precepts of the previous city. Over the years, these guidelines have been imposed by migration flow patterns and the distinction of classes. The latter has played the role of exodus looking for class differentiation. As Bustamente and Herrero describe in their paper: "The route of high classes has triggered the city of Quito's dispersion, which has increased the fifth part of land use from population increase." In other words, wealthy social classes have been responsible for dispersion of the city and its emerging dynamics due to the imposition of their preferences in order to achieve distinction. On the other hand, migration flows have been a constant phenomenon that has also imposed the shape of the urban footprint. In short, this demonstrates the continuing disinterest of public authorities to develop a housing policy.

As previously explained, immigrants settle themselves in the cheapest zones of Quito. Towards the beginning of the twentieth

century and the 80s, the historic center was the scenario to agglomerate people coming from the countryside. In 1982, around 330.000 inhabitants were the product of migration, which represented 40% of the capital's population. (Ruiz, 1988) These data show the high influence immigrants have had on the city's development and the clear shortage of housing for popular sectors. On the other hand, wealthy classes demanded better living conditions because the city was becoming more chaotic with traffic, the presence of popular sectors, and the high flow of immigrants. The new target was the eastern valleys. At this point, there are two different trends importantly contributing to the housing landscape:

1. the struggling process of housing access for popular sectors, and
2. the land value speculation due to the high demand for housing by the higher classes.

The 70s and 80s were years of economic improvement for the whole country due to the oil boom and the construction industry that was starting to influence the economy of the biggest metropolis. Even though Quito was never depicted as an industrial city, its economic resources have come from the central government becoming the central administration of the country and the flow of capital this generated. As a result of this, the construction industry was a strong source of money and immigrant attraction to the Ecuadorian Capital. Within this context, the Ecuadorian capital and the central government together had to focus their efforts to consolidate a housing program that could tackle the issue of the housing shortage.

The Ecuadorian government was the main landlord in Quito, owning large surfaces of land in the north and south of the city. This was a substantial factor to satisfy the demand for housing, especially within middle and upper-middle-class people. The governmental apparatus together with the local institution developed housing programs within these large public lands. With the creation of the Housing Bank and mutualists, the government was able to canalize capital with low-interest rates towards the working class to give them access to these public programs of housing. However, the required documentation for access to public housing could not be fulfilled by everybody, and the lower classes were marginalized in the peripheral informal neighborhoods, in the south and the north.

What has accelerated the process of urban growth has not only been the lack of production of housing for the popular sector and informality, but also the new gated communities organized by the wealthy. Over the years, the differentiation has been quite visible when talking about public space and the provision of services for the city. In the 90s and the new millennium, the economic crises and the process of dollarization caused serious financial issues that slowed down housing provision. Furthermore, the increase in population and the lack of work have made more visible the presence of informality and the inexistence of a housing policy for

Period of Time	Actors	Context	Housing solutions
1930s	Wealthy people	- Looking for better housing forms - Differentiation from lower classes - New neighborhoods in the northern side	- Large villages such as the English cottage - The concept of the "Garden City"
	Immigrants from the countryside	- Migration to the capital for job opportunities	- Dwellings of the historic center that higher classes left
1980s	Wealthy people	- Consolidation of the well-off class - New tastes: sophisticated services in the north	- Towers of housing - Unifamiliar dwellings
	Immigrants from the countryside	- Oil boom attracted interest to the capital - Second flow of immigrants from the countryside	- Densification of the historic center - Informal housing in peripheral neighborhoods
	Medium class	- Families with stable jobs	- Housing provided by the public institution - Multifamiliar and unifamiliar units in the south
	Public institutions	- Channeled economic resources to develop housing programs - Policies towards informality reduction	
1990s and 2000s	Wealthy people	- Process of new neighborhoods for higher classes - Social differentiation - Healthier and natural areas in the eastern valleys	- Gate communities
	Working class	- A clear differentiation of social classes	- Unifamiliar units in peripheral neighborhoods
	Medium class		- Unifamiliar units in souther and northern sides
	Public Institutions	- Soft incentives and a lack a proper housing program	
	Real Estate	- Provision of housing for wealthy and medium classes with different tastes	

Table 5. Summary of Quito’s housing issue. Author’s elaboration 2022.

the Ecuadorian capital.

There have been governmental policies and institutions dedicated to housing provision quite similar to the Bank of Housing and mutualists. One of those is the Minister of Urban Development and Housing (Ministerio de Desarrollo Urbano y Vivienda / MIDUVI); which provides housing to those in need by asking the beneficiary to own the land where the house will be constructed. Nevertheless, these types of policies have not made a great impact on the Ecuadorian capital. Today, the only model of housing provision is that ruled by the real estate sector. The speculation created by the wealthy’s demand for housing has made its access impossible for the lower classes within the city. Notably, the issue of housing is taking advantage of soil consumption with low levels of urban services. (Table 5)

“A public policy corresponds to courses of action and flows of information related to a public objective defined democratically, which are developed by the public/private sectors, and frequently with community involvement” (Lahera. E, 2002).

As previously described, public policies respond to the aim of reaching a public goal by taking predetermined actions. Hence, in this part of the study, policies that governments considered over the years regarding informality, were described based on the following premises:

On the one hand, the Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador orders in the article 66: it corresponds to the State to recognize and guarantee people the right to a dignified life, ensuring housing and other necessary social services; Article 430 states: people have the right to a safe and healthy habitat, and to adequate and decent housing, regardless of their social and economic situation. And on the other hand, the Regime Law for the Metropolitan District of Quito, establishes: the Municipality will comply, among others, with the purposes of regulating the use and adequate occupation of the land.

Moreover, considering the different goals that national and local governments have, the lack of coordination is evident. In fact, from

overlooking informality to consider them as part of the city just in terms of regulation, policies in force resemble insufficient within a changing and continuously growing city.

Recognizing informality

Many factors influenced the creation of the informal city and have been intensifying their proliferation. From the lack of access to urban land to the emergence of peripheral neighbourhoods, the city went through many dynamics that brought challenges that authorities overlooked along the time. Indeed, the presence of informal settlements was ignored as a public affair to be managed.

Over the years, the state had to recognize the importance of these informal settlements due to the relevance of their existence as part of the reality and physical space of the city. In doing so, authorities thought that they had the phenomenon of informality under control, which clearly was a wrong idea. To achieve the accurate management and eradication of informal settlements, the municipal government implemented some public policies.

As previously exposed, it was between 1984 and 1988 that the public sector mentioned informal settlements for the first time as human settlements that were present in the city. However, its role was limited just to the recognition of peripheral neighbourhoods by labelling them as a problem for the city.

In 1993, the state prioritized the informal settlements' recognition by giving them the qualification of Integral Development Units through their incorporation into the urban area of the city. In doing so, the municipal government considered the provision of basic infrastructure and urban facilities as fundamental needs that these human settlements required to live within an inclusive environment. Unfortunately, this proposal was just that: a proposal that did not survive the passage of time, neither as a proposal nor as a set of policies.

Formalization: the most visible attempt to manage informality

Policies that were put in place in previous years did not produce the expected results. Although the state acknowledged informal settlements as a part of the city, it was far from abolishing them. As a result, new ordinances, and a new method of managing these human settlements emerged.

With the specific influence of what Latin American countries had been doing to manage informality, Quito bet on public policies for the regulation of these human settlements. Since the beginning,

these policies had the main objective of guaranteeing the security of land ownership by giving informal settlements' dwellers title deeds. In doing so, authorities tried to ensure their inclusion as part of the city. Clearly, this idea is related to Hernando de Soto's ideology previously explained, in which formal documentation of land tenure ensured this part of the population had access to credits and achieve integration. However, critical issues and challenges these informal settlements bring- go beyond this theory and its assumptions. Also, it is important to consider the emergent needs of informal settlements' inhabitants during formalization processes. Consequently, regularization processes were institutionalized. So, two institutions have overseen informal settlements' formalization since the beginning of its implementation. In 2001 the Land and Housing Unit (Unidad de Suelo y Vivienda) was created and subsequently, in 2010 the special entity (Unidad Especial Regula tu Barrio – UERB). The latest replaced the Land and Housing Unit bringing a decentralized attention system that aimed to be accessible for all citizens.

4.4.2 Land and Housing Unit (Unidad de Suelo y Vivienda)

As mentioned earlier, in 2001 the Land and Housing Unit (USV for its acronym in Spanish) emerged as part of the regulatory plan of the city that was in force during that period of governance. This, with the main goals of managing and streamlining the formalization processes of informal settlements and consolidating them within the urban fabric.

To be specific, the institution had an important role that pretended to change the way of managing these human settlements since their emergence in the city. Thus, the entity set a clear aim that was:

“Regularize and legalize informal settlements in the Metropolitan District of Quito, to solve the urban, economic, social and land ownership problem, giving rise to an economic reactivation and improvement of the quality of life of its inhabitants” (Vélez, 2016).

This general objective was supported by three specific ones: 1. Integrate the neighbourhood in urban plans of the district to obtain infrastructure and services, thus improving the quality of life of its inhabitants 2. Solve land tenure issues through the issuing of individual property titles 3. Reduce the informal subdivision of the district, through the different legal, technical and communication instruments (Vélez, 2016).

The Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito adopted a new structure of the entity that followed an organizational chart in which the Land and Housing Unit (USV) was considered as part of the management model period 2000-2008. (Figure 20)

The Land and Housing Unit was originally part of an operational level within the Metropolitan Directorate of Territorial Planning. (Figure 21) This was an important factor in understanding the new institution's role in the city. This was because, despite managing territorial occupation affairs, their connection with other units was lacking. Moreover, it is important to highlight that "the functional organizational chart of the Land and Housing Unit was not structured; however, it was formed of a general coordinator, architects, and lawyers as "technicians" and a single secretariat" (Castro, 2011).

The General Plan of Territorial Development proposed ordinances and policies to support the new institution. For example, the regulatory plan promoted the construction of housing units as a viable option for relocating families living in high-risk areas. However, the Land and Housing Unit (USV) was mainly created to manage the legalization procedures of informal settlements.

Nature of the formalization process

In the case of Quito, the characteristics of formalization processes were focused on a collective nature. To frame its nature, it is necessary to comprehend the significance of the process's social dimension. Hence, considering previous practices and current ones is needed.

On the one hand, as previously stated, one extra-legal way of inhabiting the city was linked from the beginning to the idea of joining efforts (forming associations, which were groups of people with the same goal) and purchasing vast lands. Although proving land ownership of every single plot is nearly impossible in this option, the role of social cooperation has been included as a successful way for people to be heard by the local government. On the other hand, as part of current practices in Quito, the so-called "mingas" are part of social organization and participation within neighborhoods. Mingas are solidarity meetings in which neighbors work together to achieve a common goal, which can encompass cleaning the streets to constructing communal facilities.

These are two examples of how social engagement is important, not only for pioneering by representing the strength of a group fighting for their rights but also for being an effective way of achieving goals at different scales that still work today. Evidently, collective processes have been part of the city since its inception.

As a result of this premise, the local government not only recognizes its essential feature but also defines the nature of the formalization process. In doing so, the municipality characterizes it as a collective process implying a relationship between landowner associations and the city. Notably, this is the foundation upon which to apply as future beneficiaries of the process. Landowner associations must have been registered as social organizations by the Ministry of Social Welfare, and every single co-owner of the general plot to be regularized must agree to participate in the process.

Basic requirements to access formalization

To manage the legalization procedures, the institution imposed some requirements on the residents of informal settlements. The USV received and checked the requested documents. These documents were a series of legal, socio-organizational, and technical requirements that the neighbourhood (after their organization) had to present to start the process. Which were as follows:

Legal documents

- 100% Global deed in the name of the social organization or all its members (co-owners).
- Lien certificates.
- Property tax letter(s).

Socio-organizational documents

- Registration and Approval of Legal Status in the Ministry of Social Welfare.
- Registration of the Current Directive of the Social Organization (neighbourhood committees).
- List of partners endorsed by the same State Portfolio.

Legal documents

- Service feasibility reports issued by the EMAAP (Electric Company of Quito) and the EEQ (Potable Water and Sewage Company).
- I.R.M (Metropolitan Regulation Report).
- Map of the neighbourhood (according to technical requests).

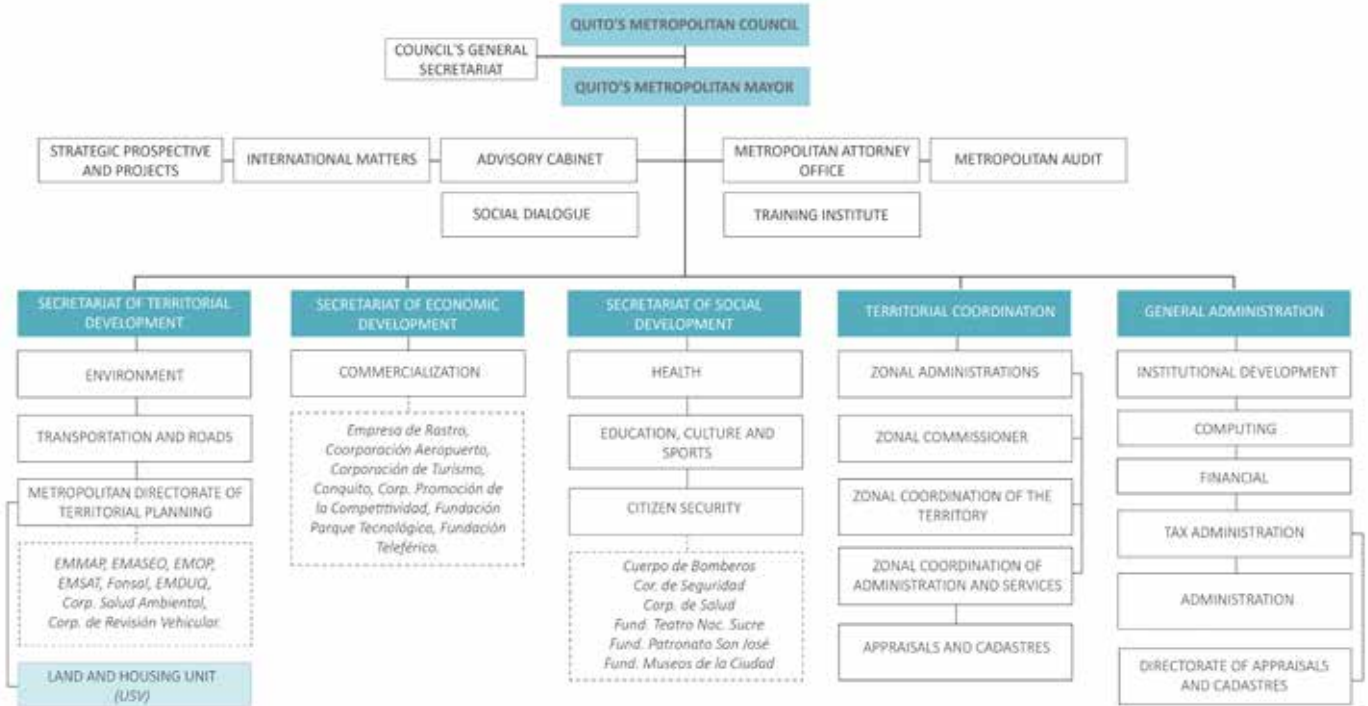


Figure 20. Organization chart of the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito, period 2000-2008. Source: Vélez, 2016. Author's elaboration 2022.



Figure 21. Structure of the Metropolitan Directorate of Territorial Planning. Source: Vélez, 2016. Author's elaboration 2022

According to Mena (2010), for the neighbourhoods, it was not always possible to meet all these requirements. For this reason, the USV (in addition to fulfilling the function of legalizing the neighbourhood) became a mediator and facilitator of the process to reach agreements between the owners of the land and the residents of the neighbourhood. Moreover, the institution also provided professional advice to fulfil the technical parameters demanded within the municipal regulations.

Neighbourhoods' categorization

When the legal documentation was delivered, the committee in charge classified the neighbourhoods as follows:

- **Type A:** Can be legalized in short periods. It is necessary to have a global deed, a defined social organization, a favourable Metropolitan Regulation Report (IRM), digital and geo-referenced maps, and the current land use is residential.
- **Type B:** Can be legalized in the medium term. It implies that it has a global deed, a defined social organization, it does not have a map and its land use is compatible with housing.
- **Type C+:** Legalizable in the long term. It implies that they do not have a global deed, they do not have a defined social organization, the plan is not digital, and their land use is compatible with housing.
- **Type C-:** These are neighbourhoods that cannot be legalized. It implies that the use of the land is not compatible with housing, such as ecological protection and equipment, they can also be neighbourhoods that are in high-risk areas (steep slopes, landslides, etc.).

At the same time, the technical staff went to the territory to verify the conditions of the neighbourhoods. Professionals inspected the areas to corroborate the information issued by people asking for regularization. Moreover, they analysed possible risks and had contact with inhabitants by explaining to them the status of the process. In fact, this phase of the process aimed not only to verify provided information but also to establish a relationship between informal settlements' inhabitants and the municipality (Mena, 2010).

After fulfilling the basic requirements

When the neighbourhood met the prerequisites, three institutions met in order to analyse the neighbourhoods individually. In doing so, the multidisciplinary teams could expose their points of view. Among the mentioned institutions there were the Secretariat for Territory, Habitat and Housing; the Metropolitan Attorney office; and the Directorate of Appraisals and Cadastres. They met and produced a technical report that was structured as follows:

- History record of the plot of land in which the neighbourhood is settled.
- Remunerative rate.
- Inspection report.
- Legal technical report.
- Technical specifications.
- Works to be executed with their respective deadline for completion.
- Guarantee for works execution.
- Zoning.
- Deadline for delivery of individual deeds.
- Control of works execution.
- Control of the time to register the Ordinance in the Land Registry.

Then, this technical report was delivered to a commission of the Land and Land Management Commission of the Metropolitan Council for its review and approval.

Formalized neighbourhood

The ordinance project was carried out for its revision in the Secretariat of the Council. This document was discussed and approved in two instances by the Council. On the one hand, the Ordinance was formalized in a Notary and registered in the Land Registry. And on the other hand, once the previous procedure was completed, the maps were sealed, and fees were paid to the College of Architects and the Municipality. Moreover, and as part of the second instance, the ordinance was registered in the Property Registry and the individual properties were part of the municipal cadastre (Mena, 2010).

Finally, and as a tradition, the delivery of individual deeds to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood was in charge of Quito's Metropolitan Mayor as part of his public appearances.

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Considering that all documents were in order during the application by informal settlements' inhabitants- the procedure could take a period of 3 to 4 months (Mena, 2010). This delay in the procedure was due to the failure to comply with the requirements to start the process of legalization of these settlements rather than ineffective management on behalf of the USV.

In addition, it is important to highlight that the production of official information within the same department allowed procedures to be streamlined. (Mena, 2010) In other words, the implemented institutionalization showed important improvements around the management of informality in the city.

4.4.3 Unidad Especial Regula tu Barrio – UERB

In March 2010, Unidad Especial Regula tu Barrio (UERB) was created to replace the USV. It was attached to the General Secretariat of Territorial Coordination and Citizen Participation, in charge of regularizing informal land occupation, which will act in a decentralized manner through three units: Quitumbe, Calderón and La Delicia (Cueva, 2011). This decentralization was a relevant improvement for the institution due to the personalization of the procedures in different areas of the city. Today the entity has many decentralized units in different zones of the city: Central, La Delicia, Calderón, and Quitumbe.

The accounting entity was established as a special unit with economic, financial, administrative, and management autonomy. Notably, this is the institution that still oversees the management of informal settlements today and its main aim is:

“Process, channel and solve the procedures for the regularization of the informal occupation of the land, in an attempt to expedite the issuance of reports and pertinent procedures for the legalization of neighbourhoods, within the framework of planning and ordering of the city”.
(UERB, 2021)

This general objective is supported by seven specific ones and through them, a continuity with the purposes established in the USV is recognized. The specific objectives include 1. Increase the

number of regularized neighbourhoods annually. 2. Streamline the neighbourhood regularization process. 3. Promote access to basic services such as drinking water, electricity and sewerage in regularized neighbourhoods. 4. Encourage the linking of regularized neighbourhoods to the system of citizen participation. 5. Promote the increase of green spaces in the Metropolitan District of Quito. 6. Promote municipal work in regularized neighbourhoods. 7. Facilitate information on regularization processes for citizens who are in the process. (Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito, 2019).

As previously mentioned, the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito assumed a different structure, in which new secretariats and municipal dependencies were integrated. As part of this change, the institution adopted a new organizational chart in which UERB was considered as an important part to deal with territorial occupation, specifically informality. It is important to highlight that the UERB was part of management model periods from 2010 to 2019. And although the institution changed a little bit from one period to another during these more than ten years, it had been present until today. In fact, the organization chart of the entity that shows the management model in force, and the presence of the UERB as part of it is presented as as in figure 22.

The Special Unit (UERB) was formed as part of the General Secretariat for Territorial Coordination and Citizen Participation. The organic structure was presented as figure 23.

In order to formalize an informal settlement, a procedure similar to the one carried out in the Land and Housing Unit (USV) had to be carried out. The acceptance of the case begins through a specific format that was prepared by the UERB. The next step to follow was to carry out an in-depth socio-organizational report; this is one of the differences with the USV, the UERB studies the history of the neighbourhood and its socio-economic situation and acts as a facilitator and mediator of the process (Vélez, 2016).

In addition, the legal process lasted longer than its predecessor, since it seeks to verify if the lot has a title, global deeds, certificates of sale of the property, promise of purchase- sale, certificate of sale or some receipt that verifies the ownership of the land. They generally only present payment receipts, so to benefit from regularization they can only be owners of one plot (Vélez, 2016).

Nature of the formalization process

Such as USV, formalization processes continue having a collective nature in which, as some requirements to be future beneficiaries, social organizations should be registered, and every co-owner must agree to participate in the process.

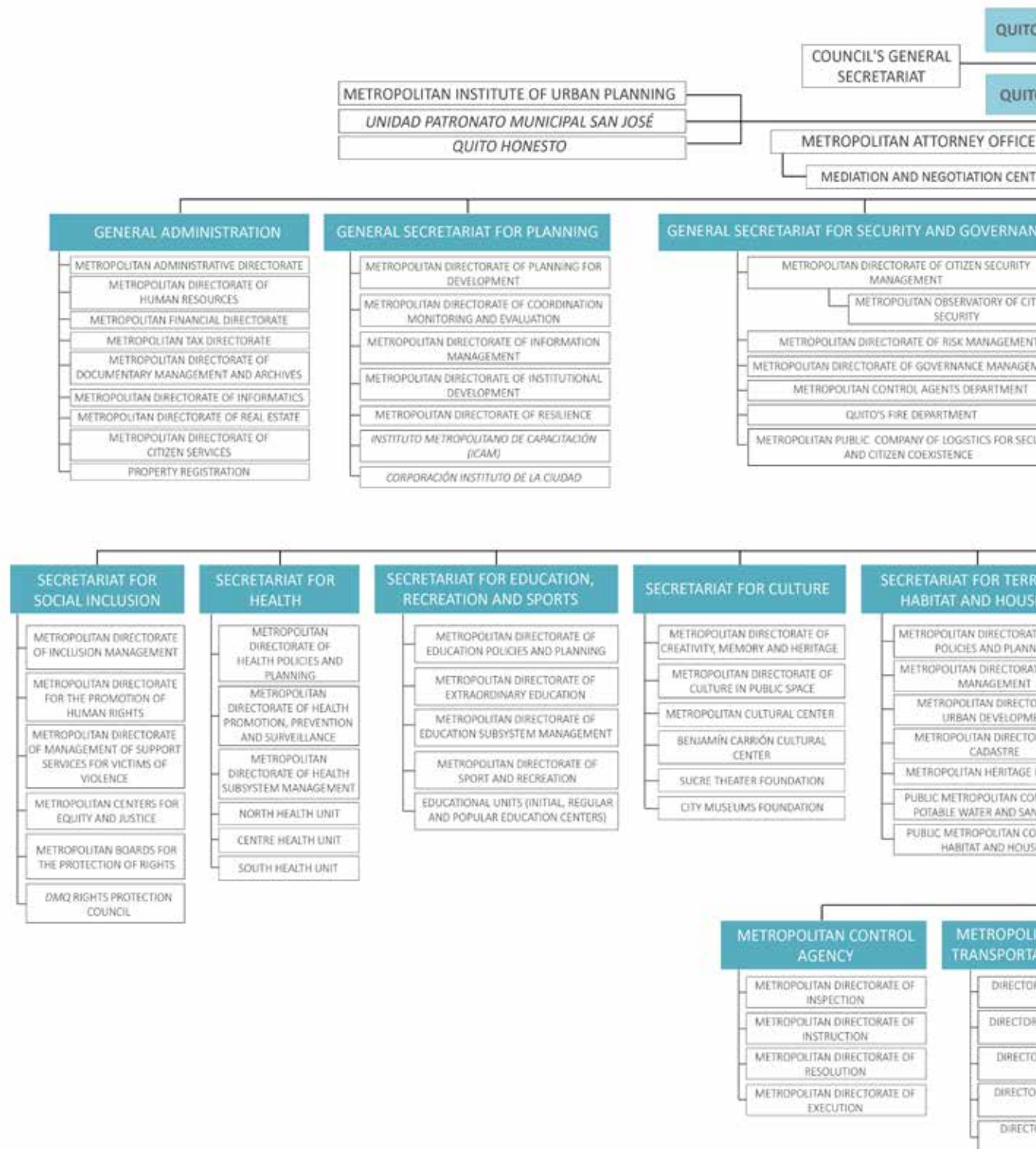


Figure 22. Organization chart of the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito, period 2014-2019 (still in force). Source: MDMQ, 2015. Author's elaboration 2022.

D'S METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

D'S METROPOLITAN MAYOR

PARTICULAR SECRETARIAT

METROPOLITAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DIRECTORATE

METROPOLITAN PROTOCOL AND PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTORATE

METROPOLITAN AUDIT

GENERAL SECRETARIAT FOR TERRITORIAL COORDINATION AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF MANAGEMENT
COORDINATION IN THE TERRITORY

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF RURAL PARISHES

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

EUGENIO ESPEJO ZONAL ADMINISTRATION

EQUINOCCIO ZONAL ADMINISTRATION

QUITUMBE ZONAL ADMINISTRATION

VALLE DE TUMBACO ZONAL ADMINISTRATION

VALLE DE LOS CHILLOS ZONAL ADMINISTRATION

CALDERÓN ZONAL ADMINISTRATION

MANUELA SAENZ ZONAL ADMINISTRATION

ELOY ALFARO ZONAL ADMINISTRATION

LA MARISCAL SPECIAL TOURIST ADMINISTRATION

UNIDAD ESPECIAL REGULA TU BARRIO

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SECRETARIAT FOR
MOBILITY

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE
OF POLICIES AND PLANNING OF
THE MOBILITY SYSTEM

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF
MOBILITY MANAGEMENT

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE
OF TECHNOLOGICAL
DEVELOPMENT OF MOBILITY

DIRECTORATE OF SUSTAINABLE
TRANSPORT MODES

METROPOLITAN PUBLIC COMPANY
OF MOBILITY AND PUBLIC WORKS

PUBLIC METROPOLITAN COMPANY
OF PASSENGER TRANSPORT

PUBLIC METROPOLITAN COMPANY
METROQUITO

SECRETARIAT FOR
ENVIRONMENT

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF
ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES AND
PLANNING

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF
NATURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF
ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
MANAGEMENT

PUBLIC METROPOLITAN COMPANY OF
CLEANING

PUBLIC METROPOLITAN COMPANY OF
INTEGRAL MANAGEMENT OF SOLID
WASTE

ENVIRONMENTAL FUND

SECRETARIAT FOR PRODUCTIVE
DEVELOPMENT AND COMPETITIVITY

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF PRODUCTIVE
DEVELOPMENT

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF INVESTMENT
AND FOREIGN TRADE

PUBLIC METROPOLITAN COMPANY FOR THE
MANAGEMENT OF TOURIST DESTINATION

PUBLIC METROPOLITAN COMPANY OF AIRPORT
SERVICES

PUBLIC METROPOLITAN COMPANY OF TRAIL

ECONOMIC PROMOTION CORPORATION
CONQUITO

SECRETARIAT FOR
COMMUNICATION

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF
PRODUCTION AND INFORMATION
MANAGEMENT

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF
ADVERTISING AND
INSTITUTIONAL IMAGE

METROPOLITAN DIRECTORATE OF
MEDIA : MUNICIPAL RADIO AND
PRINT MEDIA

TAN CONTROL AGENCY FOR LAND
ATION, TRANSIT AND ROAD SAFETY

ATE OF MANAGEMENT OF TRANSIT OPERATION
AND TRANSPORT

ATE OF MANAGEMENT OF CONTROL OF TRAFFIC
AND COMMERCIAL TRANSPORTATION

ORATE OF MANAGEMENT OF ROAD SAFETY AND
TRANSIT ENGINEERING

ATE OF MANAGEMENT OF REGISTRATION AND
VEHICLE ADMINISTRATION

ORATE OF MANAGEMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE
JUDGMENT OF SANCTIONS

AGENCY FOR COMMERCE DISTRICT
COORDINATION

DIRECTORATE OF MARKETS, FAIRS AND MUNICIPAL
PLATFORMS

DIRECTORATE OF AUTONOMOUS COMMERCE

DIRECTORATE OF LOGISTICS AND OPERATIONS

DIRECTORATE OF POPULAR SHOPPING CENTERS

PUBLIC METROPOLITAN COMPANY OF *MERCADO
MAJORISTA DE QUITO*



Figure 23. Structure of the Metropolitan Directorate of Territorial Planning.
Source: Vélez, 2016. Author's elaboration 2022

Basic requirements to access formalization

As the previous regulatory institution, some documents were required to analyse and ensure the viability of the procedure. On the one hand, the neighbourhood self-organized and elected a president / legal representative who will be a spokesperson during the entire process and will present the requested documents. In fact, the designed person starts providing the mandatory requirements that show basic information of the neighbourhood to be regularized by presenting the following information (GADDMQ, 2022):

- Name of the human settlement or of the social organization in which they are grouped.
- Full names and surnames of the applicant/beneficiary or legal representative.
- Identity card of the applicant/beneficiary or legal representative.
- Precise identification of the human settlement, with the determination of the province, canton, parish, area.
- Georeferenced topographic map.
- Justified request for regularization.
- Address data, telephone number, email.
- Deed(s) of the property to be regularized.

- Invoices for payment of services, if any.
- Registration and approval of the legal personality, in case of being a social organization.

On the other hand, the legal, socio-organizational, and technical requirements that were part of the mandatory documents that the USV asked for, are also today part of the UERB exigencies with small changes. As a result, the interested party should present the following documents:

Legal documents

- 100% Global deed in the name of the social organization or all its members (co-owners).
- Lien certificates.
- Property tax letter(s).
- Up-to-date property registration.

Socio-organizational documents

- Request for regularization of the human settlement
- Registration and approval of the MIES (Ministry of Economic and

Social Inclusion) Legal Entity.

- Registration of the current Directive of the Social Organization (neighbourhood committees).
- List of partners endorsed by the MIES (Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion) Legal Entity.

Legal documents

- Service feasibility reports issued by the EMAAP (Electric Company of Quito) and the EEQ (Potable Water and Sewage Company).
- I.R.M (Metropolitan Regulation Report).
- Road layout report.
- Report of spaces, coordinates, boundaries and upper edges of the creek, plot by plot.
- Map of the neighbourhood (printed and digital copies).

These requirements are the ones that the UERB is asking for until today to start with the procedure. Clearly, they are very similar to the USV's requirements, but the main difference lies in the evident commitment showed by informal settlements' residents along time. In fact, they have been accustomed themselves to seeing the compilation of these documents as the key to access to formalization instead of considering it as a mere bureaucratic process.

Neighbourhoods' categorization

Unlike the predecessor institution, UERB reduced the categories to classified neighbourhoods. Thus, three categories are considered when the procedures begin:

- **Type A:** Settlements in which legal, technical, and socio-organizational situations are in order.
- **Type B:** Settlements in which one of the three parameters is not resolved.
- **Type C:** Settlements in which two or more parameters are not resolved.

UERB prioritizes type A cases since they are those that meet all the requirements and also to settlements with a higher level of consolidation. The level of consolidation of a neighbourhood is categorized by observing the number of houses versus the number

of existing plots. Thus, settlements that have been established for 5 years, have a minimum of 11 batches resulting from the regularization process and have at least a 35% consolidation level are legalized. Moreover, the UERB requires the existence of 15% of land destined for green areas (GADDMQ, 2022).

After fulfilling the basic requirements

When the neighbourhood met the prerequisites, a technical report should be provided by the UERB. This technical report is presented in specific formats and a planimetric study with geographic information is requested. In case the residents cannot do it, the UERB analyses the option of sending a technician to do it because without this the process cannot continue. Moreover, there is direct coordination with the Directorate of Appraisals and Cadastres and the Zonal Administrations for inspections.

Subsequently, the report will be presented to an institutional table present in each Zonal Administration (depending on the location of the human settlement to be formalized) to get its approval. Moreover, it is important to mention that the institutional table of each Zonal Administration is made up of the representatives or their delegates of the following dependencies:

- Specialized technical unit of Regulation Processes.
- Zonal Administration.
- The legal director of the Zonal Administration.
- Governing entity of Territory, Habitat, and Housing.
- Governing entity of cadastres.
- Risk management governing entity.

The Institutional Table analyses the consolidated report and approves or rejects it. Thus, if there are rectifiable or formal observations, the Institutional Board must include them in the approval act, and these must be corrected before the file is sent to the General Secretariat of Quito's Metropolitan Council (GADDMQ, 2022).

Formalized neighbourhood

After the approval of the corresponding reports by the Institutional Table for the Regularization process, the Technical Unit Specialized in Regularization Processes, within five days counted from the approval of the consolidated report by the Table, will send the file duly organized and numbered with the corresponding reports, the

explanatory statement and the draft ordinance for the regularization of the human settlement, and if applicable, the declaration of social interest, to the General Secretariat of the Council so that it can send the file to the corresponding commission within a maximum term of five days (GADDMQ, 2022).

The corresponding Commission must deal with the file placed under its consideration and issue the respective opinion within a maximum term of five days unless it requires additional information or the practice of some diligence for which it will have a term of fifteen additional days; and send immediately for knowledge and resolution of the plenary session of the Metropolitan Council (GADDMQ, 2022).

Once registered and consolidated the human settlement regularization ordinance, the Specialized Technical Unit in regularization processes will request the governing entity in cadastre issues, generate the cadastral code numbers and new individual property numbers following the approved Metropolitan Ordinance (GADDMQ, 2022).

...

Nowadays, the process of regularizing a neighbourhood takes approximately two years from its beginning until the ordinance is obtained. However, the final objective of the regularization process is not only the recognition of the settlement by the municipality, but it must include also two extremely important aspects such as the titling of these properties in favour of their legitimate owners and the provision of infrastructure for the neighbourhood, which means a comprehensive solution to the problem of land use planning, irregular land tenure and the provision of services and necessary infrastructure in Quito, guaranteeing the right to the city for the most vulnerable sectors (Quito's Metropolitan Council, 2016).

4.4.4 Main actors and their role in the formalization process

Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito

The Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito works to build an inclusive city, with equitable access to opportunities for all citizens, and especially, a better quality of life (MDMQ, 2021). In fact, this is the entity in charge of ensuring that citizens live in a dignified environment. The main works to achieve the objectives of the institution are executed through the General Secretariat for territorial Coordination and Citizen Participation.

How do they frame the issue of informality?

This institution controls and regularizes land tenure to enable access to basic services and recognition of informal settlements as part of the city.

How do these actors' frames change over time?

The Municipality, specifically the Quito's Metropolitan Mayor has been changing the composition of the institution that regularize these human settlements by streamlining processes and procedures to get title deeds.

What kind of interests do they represent?

Since it is a public actor, the institution represents the interests of the local and general government which want to improve inhabitants' living conditions.

What is their role in the policy?

They are the promoters. These actors are central to the policy formulation process, from the emergence of the problem to the formulation of goals and potential solutions.

What are their resources?

Their resources are political. They can mobilise citizen consensus.

Unidad Regula tu Barrio (UERB)

The special unit is part of the General Secretariat for territorial Coordination and Citizen Participation. The institution is in charge of processing, channelling and resolving the procedures for the regularization of informal land occupation, to expedite the issuance of reports and other pertinent procedures for the legalization of neighbourhoods (UERB, 2021).

How do they frame the issue of informality?

This is an institution that through their public servants (a multidisciplinary team formed by professionals) - process, channel, and solve procedures for the regularization of informal land occupation in the city.

How do these actors' frames change over time?

The entity has been getting involved in the human settlements' reality as an effective way to respond to their needs. Moreover, the institution has been changing its organizational chart according to emergent needs and working with other municipal entities to strengthen its role in the formalization processes.

What kind of interests do they represent?

On the one hand, the institution represents the interests of the Municipality regarding improving citizens living conditions. And on the other hand, this entity advocates for its interests of achieving consolidated-human settlements' legalization.

What is their role in the policy?

They are the directors. These actors are the interesting in reaching decisional success of the policy by overcoming obstacles and applying strategic resources to achieve it. In this case, they want to formalize the greatest number of informal settlements per year.

What are their resources?

Their resources are knowledge/information. They can mobilise data, information, or models able to extract added value from the data.

Zonal Administrations

They are the representation of the Municipality of the DMQ in the city, as their presence decentralizes institutional bodies of the city. Their primary role in the city is to be close to the people and respond to their needs, thereby improving the participatory management system.

How do they frame the issue of informality?

They are responsible for following the process after the regularization of the studied human settlements. Moreover, their presence in the neighbourhoods is essential to have direct contact between the local government and people. For instance, zonal administrations are responsible for managing participatory budgets, which are intended for the improvement of neighbourhoods through infrastructure implementation as a response to peoples' needs.

How do these actors' frames change over time?

Although this is not an elected body, zonal administrations, which are composed by public servants, have been changing according to people's requirements. Over the years, they have been implementing jurisdiction of new settlements according to their emergence.

What kind of interests do they represent?

Although these zonal administrations are the mediators

between the local government and the people, they represent the interests of the government. These interests are based on improving the living conditions of people through legalization, which means that these zonal administrations control people's interventions that ensure the integral development that the Municipality talks about.

What is their role in the policy?

They are the gatekeepers. These actors are those that even if they have no direct interest in the issue, can stop the process. In this case, they can apply their knowledge and legal resources to enforce pre-acquired commitments in the process.

What are their resources?

Their resources are legal. They use their "powers" entrusted by the law.

Social organizations

The emergence of these human settlements in the DMQ was the result of a social organization that was always striving for better living conditions. From that time until today, informal settlements' inhabitants have been joining efforts to achieve common objectives. They organize themselves by creating cooperatives and improvement committees that elect a president/legal representative who is the spokesperson when is needed.

How do they frame the issue of informality?

They are the informal settlements' inhabitants, who have ways to prove the ownership of the lands in which they inhabit but they are not recognized as city's inhabitants. Usually, they organize themselves as a way to join forces and be heard by authorities.

How do these actors' frames change over time?

Their role changed over time due to the regularization process. As part of it, they started being the affected people and then they become the beneficiaries of the procedure. Moreover, their organization status has been gaining important roles in the process, from delivering forms to comply with the process to fighting for their rights to be part of the city.

What kind of interests do they represent?

They advocate for the interests of working-class people and/or poor people living in informal settlements. Essentially, they defend the idea of being recognized as a part of the city because

of the location of the plots in which they live within the urban area.

What is their role in the policy?

They are the allies. These actors are those who share with the promoter and/or director the interest to solve the problem. They are the main beneficiaries after the implementation of the formalization policy's implementation.

What are their resources?

Their resources are social capital/relational. They improve trust and sustains quick cooperation and problem solving.

Land Traffickers / Clandestine developers

They are the beneficiaries of the city's informal development. They usually promote illegal occupation of lands in risking areas, invasions, and subdivisions of plots. In fact, they not only promote the illicit settling but also sell lands at higher costs. Moreover, these lands do not always belong to them, which gives rise to scams because the same plot are sold to one or more people without even owning it.

How do they frame the issue of informality?

They take advantage of informality and poor people looking for cheap parcels of land with the hope of becoming part of the formal city. Essentially, they sell plots without access to basic services and infrastructure at prices lower than those established by the formal market. In addition, in many cases, they sell the same plot to different people while providing a receipt with no legal validation and then disappear.

How do these actors' frames change over time?

The activity continuous being the same, although the ways to access to potential lands to be sold- changing over time due to regularization process. In fact, they consider offering higher prices for illegal lands that are close to regularized ones.

What kind of interests do they represent?

They advocate for their own economic interests, in which they take advantage of entire families that are looking for ways to satisfy their basic needs.

What is their role in the policy?

They are the filters. These are indirect actors or non-actors. Although they do not have specific goals as part of the policy, somehow, they intervene in the process. In fact, they are

benefited from the public policy implementation without being an active part of it.

What are their resources?

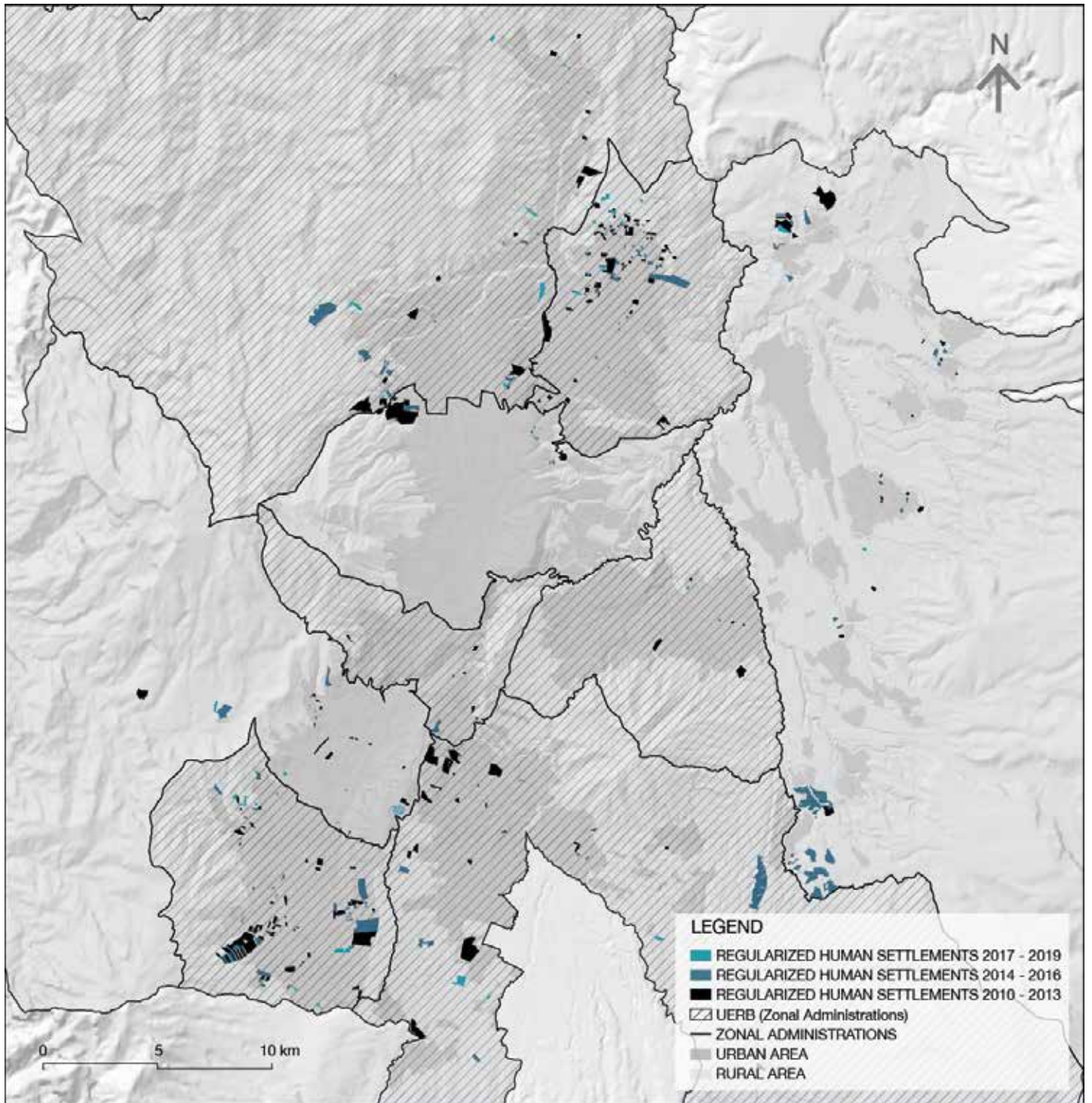
They do not have neither specific goals nor resources because they are indirect actors.

4.4.5 Regularized human settlements in the territory

As it has been said, many are the reasons why informal settlements emerged, but the focus in this part of the study is to see the number of formalized settlements over time. As shown in table 6, since the implementation of USV and UERB, the number of regularized human settlements tended to grow over the years. Talking about the difference between both institutions, while between 2001 and 2008, 98 human settlements were regularized, between 2010 and 2014 there was an evident growth in this number since 135 human settlements were regularized (Vélez, 2016). Moreover, between 2014-2019 and 2019-2021, the new numbers of formalized human settlements were 293 and 258, respectively. Today, the Metropolitan District of Quito shows a number of 686 human settlements as the formalized ones since 2010, the year in which the UERB was created. In fact, the noticeable increase in regularized neighbourhoods demonstrates how their emergence is increasing, causing one to consider the city's rampant growth as a reality that repeats itself over time.

Year	Number of regularized human settlements to date
2001	280
2008	378
2010	616
2014	751
2019	1044
2021	1302

Table 6. The number of regularized human settlements since the implementation of USV and UERB. Sources: Vélez, 2016; UERB, 2021; MDMQ,2021. Author's elaboration 2022



Map 5. Regularized human settlements from 2010 to 2019.
 Source: Author's elaboration based on data from UERB, 2021.

According to previous local governments, the entity's success lied not only in the annual increase of these numbers due to the efficient management that this represented but also in the decrease and eventual abolishment of these human settlements due to the effectiveness that this brought by contributing to the city's-controlled growth. Although both options sounded promising for the entity, the most likely outcome would have been its disappearance as an example of proper management of these human settlements. However, Paúl Muñoz, the institution's executive director dismisses this notion because the city will continue growing, and with it the presence of informal settlements too.

Noteworthy, the idea of a mayor granting title deeds to people who have been living informally for decades has been deemed a politicized activity (Photos 11 & 12.). Not only after the process but also as part of the campaign proposals to gain supporters.

According to Muñoz, the legalization of these human settlements is a topic in which many political parties want to be involved due to recognition that the implemented policy represents. However, he ensures that the institution and the legalization of these human settlements do not have a political tinge.

“Some political parties have tried to access confidential information regarding informal settlements to propose their legalization as one of the main aspects to work for as part of their campaign towards the leadership of the city” (Muñoz, 2021).

These political parties are involved in the dynamics of the neighbourhoods in some way. To be more specific, many of the leaders in the neighbourhood are active members of various political forces. As a result, they may not only act as representatives of the aforementioned political forces, but they may also request benefits such as the acceleration of the neighbourhood's regularization process or the completion of public works projects that benefit the neighbourhood (Interviews, 2022).

Notably, no data is indicating which political parties are opposed to formalization. On the contrary, it is easy to identify different positions of various political parties that see the formalization process as a good opportunity to stand out from the crowd while also gaining people's approval and support as representative figures of the city.



Photo 11. Former mayor of the city granting title deeds to a beneficiary. Source: Secretariat for territorial Coordination and Citizen Participation, 2021.



Photo 12. Quito's Metropolitan Mayor granting title deeds to a beneficiary. Source: Secretariat for territorial Coordination and Citizen Participation, 2022.



Photo 13. People receiving their title deeds. Secretariat for territorial Coordination and Citizen Participation, 2022.

4.5 After formalization

The regularization of the settlement does not imply, in any circumstance, the legalization of the existing buildings on the properties or the economic activities that are carried out on them, for which the beneficiaries must comply with what is determined in the regulations in force for these cases (Metropolitan Ordinance No. 001, 2021). For this reason, the entire process is centred on formalizing the plots by evaluating their land tenure and ensuring that there is no inappropriate land use. Having in mind this, it is important to highlight that the human settlement is recognized by the Municipality, but beneficiaries have to comply with pre-acquired commitments to have the rights to mortgage or sell their properties.

4.5.1 Complying with the pre-acquire commitments

When the regularization process is finished, the beneficiaries must comply with the terms and conditions determined in the corresponding regularization ordinance.

“The Municipality of Quito, through the UERB, provides free legal advice to citizens, with the aim of speeding up the issuance of reports and other pertinent procedures for the legalization of neighborhoods” (UERB,2021). While the entity pays for the application process and legal advice, another fee, such as infrastructure upgrade, must be carried by the process’s beneficiaries due to the new condition of their plots, which become private property after regularization. As part of the process, the beneficiaries should do the infrastructure works they committed to do as part of the procedure.

“The regularization process is integral... it includes the entire phase of recognition, social, legal, and technical analysis, the technical part of issuing the ordinance, individual property titles, and the process of services provision.” (Muñoz, 2021).

For Paúl Muñoz, the Executive Director of the UERB, the institution is part of the entire process that regularization implies. However, he highlights that the beneficiaries must organize themselves to manage the implementation of infrastructure after the legalization of their lands because these plots have been converted to private land. To be specific, the ordinance that is issued as recognition of the legalized human settlement- considers specific conditions of execution of infrastructure works in 5 years by the beneficiaries.

They promised to execute some infrastructure works as part of the “integral regularization”¹ that the Municipality wants to achieve.

As part of this pre-acquired commitment by the new legalized settlements’ inhabitants, the Metropolitan Ordinance No. 001, through article 3722 exposes the following:

- Of the development of services and infrastructure. - The execution of the infrastructure works in the de consolidated human settlements will be carried out within the term and conditions determined in its regularization ordinance; however, its execution term will not be greater than five years, and this term may be extended for a maximum of an equal period.

The Metropolitan Municipality, by law and as part of the regularization process, will build the necessary public support systems in the areas subject to the regularization process, particularly concerning the safe water service, adequate sanitation, and comprehensive waste management. All infrastructure works may be executed through individual or concurrent management, with the following modalities:

1. **Municipal or public management:** Public infrastructure work carried out by the Municipality, Parish Council, Provincial Council, or any entity of the central government. The Municipality and the metropolitan companies must obligatorily place in their annual budget a specific item that covers the provision of basic services carried out by them, for the sectors that have been subject to the regularization process, investments that are recovered through the collection of the special contribution for improvements, following the provisions of article 5692 of the COOTAD (Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy, and Decentralization).
2. **Direct management:** Public infrastructure work, executed with the exclusive contribution of the beneficiaries of the work, without investment from the public sector. These works, once completed, will be inspected by the municipality before their delivery and no special contribution payment will be generated for improvements, as determined in article 5703 of the COOTAD (Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy, and Decentralization).
3. **Co-management:** Infrastructure work that has the participation of the community and the Municipality, whether in economic contribution, materials, or labor, before the signing of a co-management agreement. In this case, the provisions of article 2814 of the COOTAD (Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy, and Decentralization) will apply to the contributors, consequently, they will be entitled to exemption from the payment of the special contribution for improvements.

To ensure the compliance of infrastructure works, the plots will be mortgaged in favor of the Municipality of the Metropolitan District of Quito and zonal administrations will monitor the execution and completion of mentioned works. Moreover, these entities must report the progress to the General Secretariat for territorial Coordination and Citizen Participation, to have monitoring of works and grant the compliance of the planned improvement for these settlements. Unfortunately, as Luis Albán, a geologist in charge of issuing risk control reports for settlements and a member of the Metropolitan Risk Management Directorate, explains, this is a deficient part of the process that only works adequately in a few cases due to a lack of monitoring on the part of zonal administrations.

The infrastructure works are completed in the majority of cases, but in others, the works are delayed, resulting in costly fines for the beneficiaries.

Finally, once works are completed according to the plan, schedule, and what the ordinance says, the Municipality lifted the mortgage and concede the entire rights of the properties to the owners.

4.5.2 Owning property titles and living in the same conditions?

On the one hand, according to the General Secretariat for Territorial Coordination and Citizen Participation, the fact of granting title deeds to the owners- ensures access to basic services, infrastructure, and public space. On the other hand, inhabitants, think that more than ensuring their access to basic services, it can be said that the title deeds' possession gives them hope that someday the municipality will consider them as possible beneficiaries for the implementation of works (Interviews, 2022).

Analyzing a formalized human settlement – Atucucho

Although the entities related to informality management in the city ensure that the scenario changes when formalization is done, it is important to consider the perspectives of the main actors involved in this process. Notably, to understand the reality of human settlements that were legalized, a consideration of a specific human settlement was needed. That is why looking for a case in which legalization had been applied some years ago, Atucucho, was ideal for the goals of this research.

Location



A self-made human settlement

The name of the neighborhood comes from the Atucucho ranch, in which the informal settlement developed itself. Its physical development was produced through self-construction, mingas, and social organization. Moreover, it had been a long process of 20-year recognition and legalization from the 90s. However, its origins date from the 80s when some popular leaders had invaded some rural areas. Rancho Alto and San Jacinto were other settlements part of the farm that together with the Atucucho were the target for the widespread of informal settlements. In 1996, the settlement was recognized as an inhabited area where inhabitants own their lands without a legal document of property. From this point, the municipal institution could charge Atucucho's inhabitants for the legalization of their lands and the provision of documentation. This process had some obstacles due to the currency change in the country, and some owners could not pay for their lands triggering disconformities among neighbors.

Even though the neighborhood was born into the informality, there were various management processes in charge of its inhabitants. Constructions, services, and even infrastructure were organized by the whole participation of its inhabitants without a strong presence of the municipal government. Many of the neighborhood's inhabitants were linked to the construction sector making much more helpful the provision of infrastructure and services. Today, according to the municipal government, Atucucho is considered a legal neighborhood since 2012. Nonetheless, some areas are still informal and many of its inhabitants claim service and infrastructure provision.

Inhabitants' points of view

A site visit was conducted with the primary goal of understanding the dynamics of these human settlements on the territory. The best option was to create a protocol of questions essentially providing information about their own experiences and perceptions as follows:

QUESTIONNAIRE – ATUCUCHO’S INHABITANTS

Date:

Name:

Age:

1. How long have you lived in the neighbourhood?
2. What did motivate you to live here?
3. What do you think are the positive aspects of your neighbourhood? And the negatives?
4. What do you think about the role of the *Regula Tu Barrio Unit* in the formalization process?
5. How do you believe the neighbourhood changed after the municipality formalized it?
6. Do you believe the regularization process brought the people of the neighbourhood together?
7. In your experience, do you think that the fact that this neighbourhood has been regularized encourages people to continue to populate adjacent neighbourhoods?
8. Have you considered selling your property now that your neighbourhood has been formalized by the municipality?
9. Would you be willing to leave your neighbourhood for one with better living conditions than this one?
10. How were infrastructure works carried out after the mayor granted the title deeds?
11. How do you imagine your neighbourhood in 10 years?

ENTREVISTAS A LOS MORADORES DEL BARRIO ATUCUCHO

Fecha: 23 marzo de 2022

Nombre: Maull Tapia

Edad: 54 años

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en el barrio?

25 años

2. ¿Qué lo motivó a vivir aquí?

No tenía donde vivir y ya estaba con familia.

3. ¿Cuáles cree usted que son los aspectos positivos de su barrio? ¿Y los negativos?

- Ha crecido mucho y ya cuenta con servicios básicos.

4. ¿Qué cree usted del rol de la Unidad Regula tu Barrio en el proceso de formalización?

Es muy bueno pero ya no han venido hace mucho tiempo.

5. ¿Qué cree usted que cambió en el barrio después de que el Municipio lo formalizó?

El agua potable, ya no la tomamos del grifo comunitario.

6. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de regularización unió a la gente del barrio?

Si muchísimo.

7. Según su experiencia... ¿cree que al ver que se regularizó este barrio hace que la gente siga poblando barrios aledaños al suyo?

Claro que sí.

8. ¿Ha pensado en vender su propiedad ahora que su barrio está regularizado por el Municipio?

No, nunca.

9. ¿Estaría dispuesta/o a abandonar el barrio por ir a uno donde las condiciones de vida sean mejores que las de aquí?

No porque aquí tengo a mi familia y mis amigos.

10. ¿Cómo se llevaron a cabo las obras de infraestructura después de que el alcalde les entregó los títulos de propiedad?

Lentamente y con mingas.

11. ¿Cómo se imagina su barrio en 10 años?

Mucho mejor y con transporte.

Maull Tapia
//

ENTREVISTAS A LOS MORADORES DEL BARRIO ATUCUCHO

Fecha: 23 marzo 2022

Nombre: Jorge Estupinán

Edad: 37

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en el barrio?
37 años.
2. ¿Qué lo motivó a vivir aquí?
Nací aquí.
3. ¿Cuáles cree usted que son los aspectos positivos de su barrio? ¿Y los negativos?
Lo bueno es que ya hay agua, sin monte y ya es mi casa.
Lo malo es la inseguridad.
4. ¿Qué cree usted del rol de la Unidad Regula tu Barrio en el proceso de formalización?
No regresaron después de que hicimos la formalización.
5. ¿Qué cree usted que cambió en el barrio después de que el Municipio lo formalizó?
Organizamos mingas para seguir mejorando.
6. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de regularización unió a la gente del barrio?
No, ya después de eso ya no hay la misma unión.
7. Según su experiencia... ¿cree que el ver que se regularizó este barrio hace que la gente siga poblando barrios aledaños al suyo?
Sí porque ya hay más barrios por aquí cerca.
8. ¿Ha pensado en vender su propiedad ahora que su barrio está regularizado por el Municipio?
No. Ya está mejor mi lote.
9. ¿Estaría dispuesta/o a abandonar el barrio por ir a uno donde las condiciones de vida sean mejores que las de aquí?
No porque aquí me gusta.
10. ¿Cómo se llevaron a cabo las obras de infraestructura después de que el alcalde les entregó los títulos de propiedad?
Con la organización del barrio.
11. ¿Cómo se imagina su barrio en 10 años?
Más organizado y seguro y limpio.

ENTREVISTAS A LOS MORADORES DEL BARRIO ATUCUCHO

Fecha: José Pila
Nombre: 23-03-2022
Edad: 40

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en el barrio?

20 AÑOS

2. ¿Qué lo motivó a vivir aquí?

NECESIDAD

3. ¿Cuáles cree usted que son los aspectos positivos de su barrio? ¿Y los negativos?

LA UNIÓN

4. ¿Qué cree usted del rol de la Unidad Regula tu Barrio en el proceso de formalización?

ES MUY BUENA.- NOS AYUDA MUCHO

5. ¿Qué cree usted que cambió en el barrio después de que el Municipio lo formalizó?

SUBIERON DESPUES DE LA REGULARIZACION

6. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de regularización unió a la gente del barrio?

SI UNIO, A TODOS

7. Según su experiencia... ¿cree que el ver que se regularizó este barrio hace que la gente siga poblando barrios aledaños al suyo?

CLARO SE SIGUEN POBLANDO

8. ¿Ha pensado en vender su propiedad ahora que su barrio está regularizado por el Municipio?

NUNCA

9. ¿Estaría dispuesta/o a abandonar el barrio por ir a uno donde las condiciones de vida sean mejores que las de aquí?

NO

10. ¿Cómo se llevaron a cabo las obras de infraestructura después de que el alcalde les entregó los títulos de propiedad?

CON EL BARRIO QUE SE ORGANIZO

11. ¿Cómo se imagina su barrio en 10 años?

LINDO Y GRANDE.

ENTREVISTAS A LOS MORADORES DEL BARRIO ATUCUCHO

Fecha: 23 de Marzo del 2022

Nombre: Fernando Parco

Edad: 26

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en el barrio?
25 años
2. ¿Qué lo motivó a vivir aquí?
La necesidad de tener un lugar donde vivir
3. ¿Cuáles cree usted que son los aspectos positivos de su barrio? ¿Y los negativos?
Mayor organización, coordinación y la parte negativa es que hay una creciente en la inseguridad
4. ¿Qué cree usted del rol de la Unidad Regula tu Barrio en el proceso de formalización?
Sí, aunque hay muchos trámites y el tiempo de respuesta es muy lento
- X 5. ¿Qué cree usted que cambió en el barrio después de que el Municipio lo formalizó?
6. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de regularización unió a la gente del barrio?
Aún está en el proceso de regularización y eso conllevó a una mejor organización y trabajo directivo
7. Según su experiencia... ¿cree que el ver que se regularizó este barrio hace que la gente siga poblando barrios aledaños al suyo?
Cree que sí pero deberían realizar las diferentes obras para evitar inconvenientes en cuanto a riesgos y asentamientos
8. ¿Ha pensado en vender su propiedad ahora que su barrio está regularizado por el Municipio?
En el momento NO
9. ¿Estaría dispuesta/o a abandonar el barrio por ir a uno donde las condiciones de vida sean mejores que las de aquí?
Mientras se sigan haciendo mejoras y más obras para el barrio, las condiciones de vida mejorarán por lo tanto no habría necesidad de abandonar el barrio
10. ¿Cómo se llevaron a cabo las obras de infraestructura después de que el alcalde les entregó los títulos de propiedad?
Aún no cuenta con escrituras o los títulos de propiedad, aún se encuentra en el proceso de regularización.
11. ¿Cómo se imagina su barrio en 10 años?
Con todas las obras realizadas así como los escrituras individuales

ENTREVISTAS A LOS MORADORES DEL BARRIO ATUCUCHO

Fecha: 23 Marzo 2022

Nombre: María Horacho

Edad: 43.

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en el barrio?

20 años.

2. ¿Qué lo motivó a vivir aquí?

La necesidad

3. ¿Cuáles cree usted que son los aspectos positivos de su barrio? ¿Y los negativos?

La unión que tengo casa propia

4. ¿Qué cree usted del rol de la Unidad Regula tu Barrio en el proceso de formalización?

es muy lenta la gestión pero tengo esperanza -
que nos pongan atención

5. ¿Qué cree usted que cambió en el barrio después de que el Municipio lo formalizó?

Si avanzado para lo que queramos antes

6. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de regularización unió a la gente del barrio?

Si nos unimos para realizar mingas, imogoras en nuestro
barrio

7. Según su experiencia... ¿cree que el ver que se regularizó este barrio hace que la gente siga poblando barrios aledaños al suyo?

no porque ya estamos al tope

8. ¿Ha pensado en vender su propiedad ahora que su barrio está regularizado por el Municipio?

No y No

9. ¿Estaría dispuesta/o a abandonar el barrio por ir a uno donde las condiciones de vida sean mejores que las de aquí?

No por que mis hijos sean grande aqui
y todos nos conocemos

10. ¿Cómo se llevaron a cabo las obras de infraestructura después de que el alcalde les entregó los títulos de propiedad?

que no tengo

11. ¿Cómo se imagina su barrio en 10 años?

Todo urbanizado y mas seguridad

ENTREVISTAS A LOS MORADORES DEL BARRIO ATUCUCHO

Fecha: 23-03-2022

Nombre: Narcisca Guiza

Edad: 38 años

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en el barrio?
16 años
2. ¿Qué lo motivó a vivir aquí?
no tenia donde vivir.
3. ¿Cuáles cree usted que son los aspectos positivos de su barrio? ¿Y los negativos?
la union de los vecinos
Falta seguridad.
4. ¿Qué cree usted del rol de la Unidad Regula tu Barrio en el proceso de formalización?
Si hay presencia.
5. ¿Qué cree usted que cambió en el barrio después de que el Municipio lo formalizó?
Servicios Basicos
Adquirido.
6. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de regularización unió a la gente del barrio?
Si une.
7. Según su experiencia... ¿cree que el ver que se regularizó este barrio hace que la gente siga poblando barrios aledaños al suyo?
Siempre hay necesidad.
8. ¿Ha pensado en vender su propiedad ahora que su barrio está regularizado por el Municipio?
no
9. ¿Estaría dispuesta/o a abandonar el barrio por ir a uno donde las condiciones de vida sean mejores que las de aquí?
no tengo las posibilidades
10. ¿Cómo se llevaron a cabo las obras de infraestructura después de que el alcalde les entregó los títulos de propiedad?
hizimos con mingas
11. ¿Cómo se imagina su barrio en 10 años?
que haya transportes
mas comodidades.

ENTREVISTAS A LOS MORADORES DEL BARRIO ATUCUCHO

Fecha: 23/03/2022

Nombre: Ana Lucía Bautista Cotacachi

Edad: 24

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en el barrio?

15 años

2. ¿Qué lo motivó a vivir aquí?

Se vino con su esposa.

3. ¿Cuáles cree usted que son los aspectos positivos de su barrio? ¿Y los negativos?

P: organización del barrio, casa propia

N: Seguridad. Inundación por desastres naturales.

4. ¿Qué cree usted del rol de la Unidad Regula tu Barrio en el proceso de formalización?

Nunca ha escuchado de Regula tu barrio.

5. ¿Qué cree usted que cambió en el barrio después de que el Municipio lo formalizó?

Sí, para mucho bien. Más unión y mejor desarrollo económico.

6. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de regularización unió a la gente del barrio?

Sí, los une mucho.

7. Según su experiencia... ¿cree que el ver que se regularizó este barrio hace que la gente siga poblando barrios aledaños al suyo?

Cree que no, ayudará. Por que en muchos años eso no ha pasado.

8. ¿Ha pensado en vender su propiedad ahora que su barrio está regularizado por el Municipio?

No. Planea que sus hijos crezcan aquí.

9. ¿Estaría dispuesta/o a abandonar el barrio por ir a uno donde las condiciones de vida sean mejores que las de aquí?

No. Ella sí se ve viviendo aquí.

Recibe apoyo de su familia de Oravalo.

Ya a la loma por comida o medicina cuando lo necesita.

10. ¿Cómo se llevaron a cabo las obras de infraestructura después de que el alcalde les entregó los títulos de propiedad?

11. ¿Cómo se imagina su barrio en 10 años?

Sin hierbas, sin riesgo de vivir, ayuda con gradas. Ayuda con adoquinado.

ENTREVISTAS A LOS MORADORES DEL BARRIO ATUCUCHO

Fecha: 23/03/2022

Nombre: Alejandra Quasco

Edad: 34

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en el barrio?

20 años

2. ¿Qué lo motivó a vivir aquí?

mis papás me trajeron

3. ¿Cuáles cree usted que son los aspectos positivos de su barrio? ¿Y los negativos?

no encuentro aspectos positivos

desastre naturales, falta de unión y falta de seguridad

4. ¿Qué cree usted del rol de la Unidad Regula tu Barrio en el proceso de formalización?

Nunca asen nada

5. ¿Qué cree usted que cambió en el barrio después de que el Municipio lo formalizó?

creo que si va a ser bueno que se formalice

6. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de regularización unió a la gente del barrio?

No

7. Según su experiencia... ¿cree que el ver que se regularizó este barrio hace que la gente siga poblando barrios aledaños al suyo?

Si x que ya estaría todo formal

8. ¿Ha pensado en vender su propiedad ahora que su barrio está regularizado por el Municipio?

Si x problemas personales

9. ¿Estaría dispuesta/o a abandonar el barrio por ir a uno donde las condiciones de vida sean mejores que las de aquí?

No x que tengo mis amistades

10. ¿Cómo se llevaron a cabo las obras de infraestructura después de que el alcalde les entregó los títulos de propiedad?

Si para el alcantarillado que nos toco asen minga

11. ¿Cómo se imagina su barrio en 10 años?

sin monte micosita de dos piso

con calle bien echas

ENTREVISTAS A LOS MORADORES DEL BARRIO ATUCUCHO

Fecha: 23 - Marzo - 2022
Nombre: Rocío Toaquiza
Edad: 51

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo en el barrio? 34

2. ¿Qué lo motivó a vivir aquí? x es propio

3. ¿Cuáles cree usted que son los aspectos positivos de su barrio? ¿Y los negativos?
q ya tenemos servicios básicos
lo malo no tener trasporte a nuestro barrio

4. ¿Qué cree usted del rol de la Unidad Regula tu Barrio en el proceso de formalización?
esta detenido el apoyo alrededor de 10 años

5. ¿Qué cree usted que cambió en el barrio después de que el Municipio lo formalizó?
el adoquinado de la calle principal

6. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de regularización unió a la gente del barrio?
si unió a la gente

7. Según su experiencia... ¿cree que el ver que se regularizó este barrio hace que la gente siga poblando barrios aledaños al suyo?
si

8. ¿Ha pensado en vender su propiedad ahora que su barrio está regularizado por el Municipio?
Nunca

9. ¿Estaría dispuesta/o a abandonar el barrio por ir a uno donde las condiciones de vida sean mejores que las de aquí?
No

10. ¿Cómo se llevaron a cabo las obras de infraestructura después de que el alcalde les entregó los títulos de propiedad?
Muy pocas

11. ¿Cómo se imagina su barrio en 10 años?
igual

Rocío Toaquiza





Photo 14. Interviews to the neighborhood's residents.
Source: Cordero, E. Cordero, G., Ortiz, P., 2022 .

All of the interviewees have a story from the initial moments of informality, in which some have invaded the land and others had purchased through unaware illegal processes. There are different perspectives regarding the neighborhood, but the common denominator is that formalization has been quite beneficial for them. Social organization, legal documentation of the property, and an improved neighborhood are the main positive aspects Fernando highlighted and that have helped the neighborhood and its inhabitants within the struggle to be part of the legal dimension of the city. Wanting to continue in the neighborhood and a sense of belonging demonstrate the interest inhabitants have to legalize their properties. This denotes that the lack of a relevant housing policy is producing serious problems for the city and rampant soil consumption.

During the interviews, it is evident that the inhabitant's understanding about formalization is a mere bureaucratic procedure where the fulfillment of documentation is the only way to achieve their legalization. Indeed, the involvement of the local government in the process of formalization is bent through the UERB.

Some argue that this institution helped then to regularize the neighborhood, and their job ended at that point. The lack of services and infrastructure are the main aspects that UERB has not worked yet. Furthermore, the production of self-built dwellings and other settlements is the result of the inefficient Intervention of the local government to tackle informality. Many know that an informal settlement with some organizations and some years of existence is the key factor to legalizing their properties.

The political discourse is reduced to documentation provision that guarantees people a regular land with certain services. In short, this is the panorama some inhabitants have in front of the phenomenon. A self-organized neighborhood with formal documentation is an example of the continuing appearances and legalization of new settlements.

Between legal and illegal human settlements- current situation

Although the interviewees explained the dynamics of the neighborhood, a photographic register is required to frame its current reality. The following images demonstrate how the neighborhood is shaped from various perspectives. Notably, not the entire neighborhood has been formalized. While the main avenue of the regularized part of the neighborhood is equipped with infrastructure, recreational areas, and houses in good condition, as one moves away from it, incomplete interventions and very precarious housing conditions become evident.



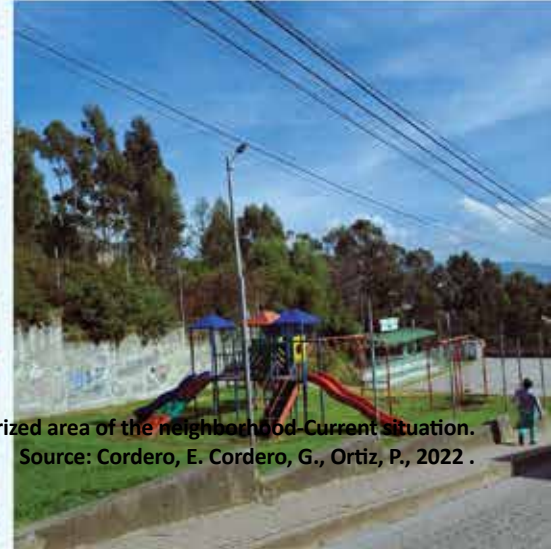


Photo 26. Regularized area of the neighborhood-Current situation.
Source: Cordero, E. Cordero, G., Ortiz, P., 2022 .

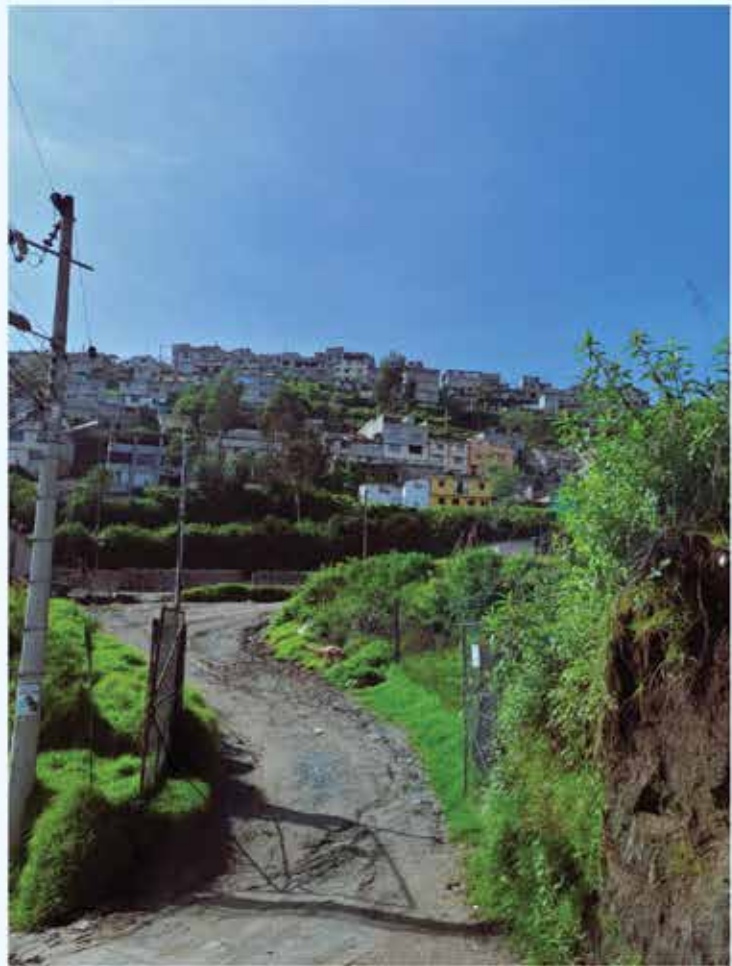




Photo 16. Informal area of the neighborhood.
Source: Cordero, E. Cordero, G., Ortiz, P., 2022 .

Growth of informal expansion across time

One of the main issues in the process of formalization in charge of UERB is the proliferation of new informal settlements surrounding those that have been legalized. A clear example is the neighborhood of Atucucho. Due to the lack of data and information from the governmental institution, the study was focused on the analysis of the informal settlements using historical aerial views. There were taken two settlements beside Atucucho that have grown substantially after the Atucucho's legalization in 2012. In the following aerial view, the zone 1 denotes a drastic urban consolidation after the second decade of the twentieth century. Specifically, in 2003, it is visible

scattered buildings, while in 2012, there is a substantial increment in building production. And today, the map shows a conglomerate urban area with few empty spaces.

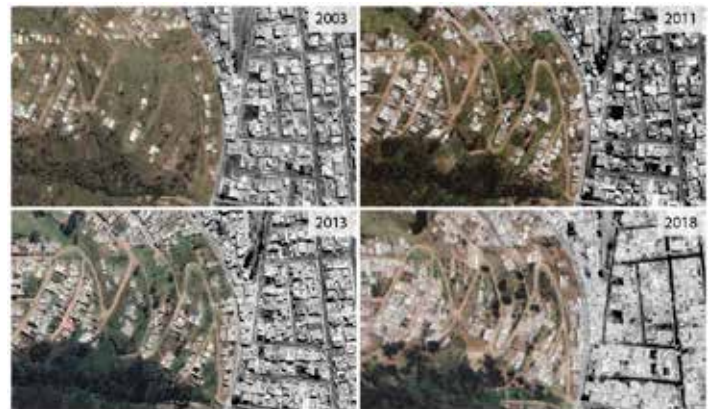
Whereas the second zone, located just to Atucucho's right, the change has been more progressive within an improvised urban tissue. Because of its monology and topography, the consolidation of this area has been slower than the previous one. However, the influence of Atucucho's regularization has produced interest in the people that continue settling over informality. These two analyses demonstrate that implemented policy is encouraging the widespread of new settlements.



Map 6. Informal settlements beside Atucucho. Left zone 1. Right zone 2.
Source: Google Earth, 2022.



Map 7. Informal settlements beside Atucucho. Zone 1.
Source: Google Earth, 2022.



Map 8. Informal settlements beside Atucucho. Zone 2.
Source: Google Earth, 2022.

Does legalization lead to an increase in land values?

To understand the relevance of the formalization in the new reality of these human settlements, an analysis regarding land value was made and it showed the map xx and tables xx- xx.

Within the same line of the research, it was developed an analysis of land value in which some legalized neighborhoods' land value was examined together with a formal neighborhood over the time. The formal neighborhood, Bellavista, has had a land value increase quite similar to the general trend of the whole city. In 2013, its value doubled in respect to 2009, while in 2017 the trend is almost the same because of the economic recession the country was experiencing. Moreover, the other two neighborhoods, Sta. Anita and Atucucho, have a regular trend without any abrupt change after their regularization. Meanwhile, S. Jose Obrero neighborhood had had a notorious change in its land value after its formalization in 2016. In almost three years, its value doubled, and this had been kept until today. In short, after the analysis, this has not been an indicator that after legalization land value increases nor a potential source for land speculation. It is evident that infrastructure conditions, service provision, and location play an important role in land value without considering the legalization of land.



Figure 26. Land value over time - Rancho Alto neighborhood.
Source: Author's elaboration based on data from UERB, 2021



Figure 27. Land value over time - Atucucho neighborhood.
Source: Author's elaboration based on data from UERB, 2021



Figure 28. Land value over time - Bellavista neighborhood.
Source: Author's elaboration based on data from UERB, 2021

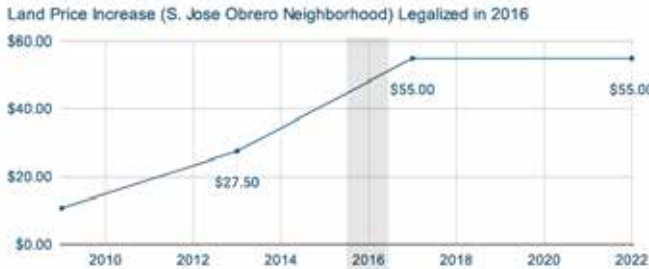
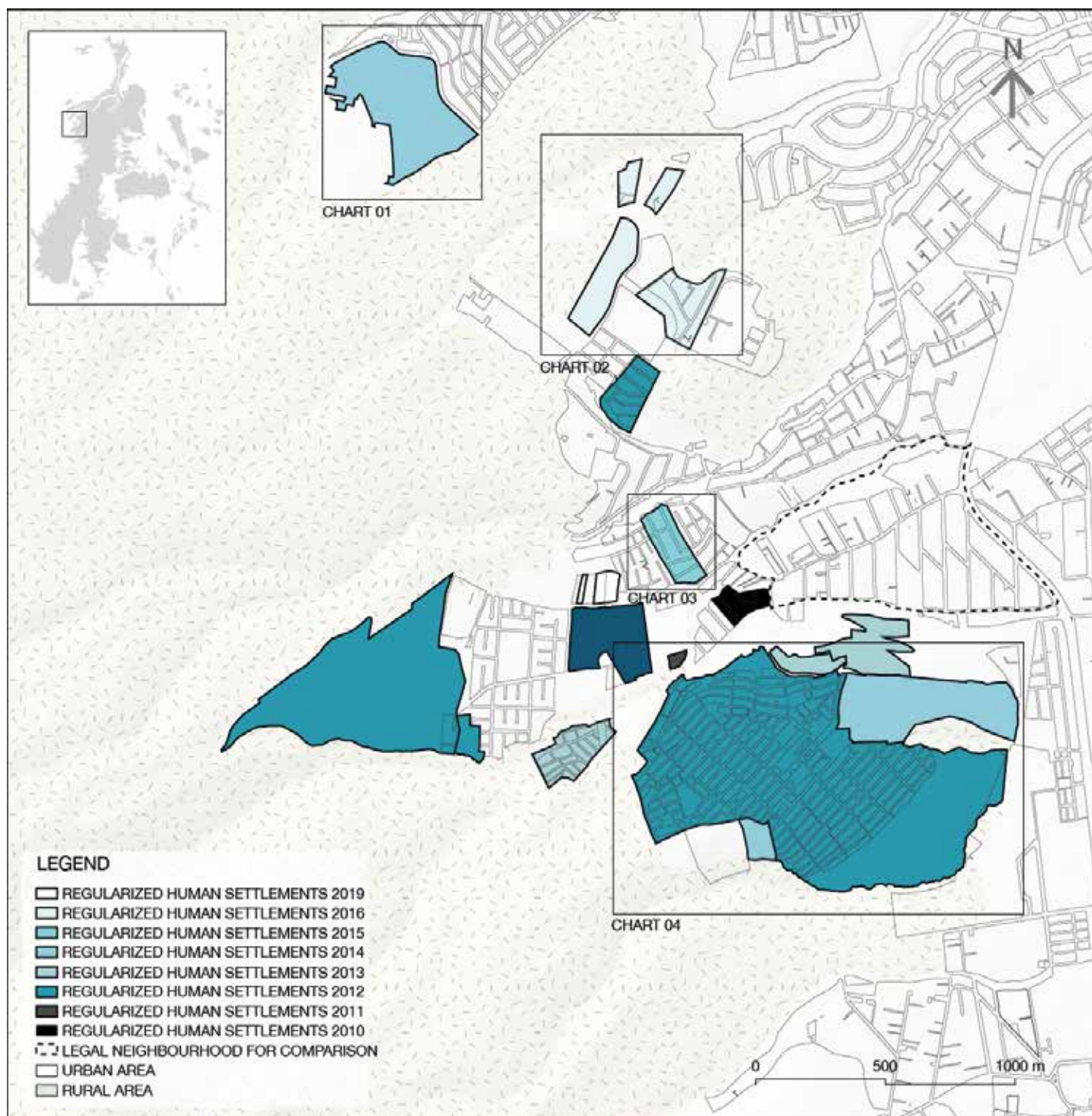


Figure 24. Land value over time - S. Jose Obrero neighborhood.
Source: Author's elaboration based on data from UERB, 2021



Figure 25. Land value over time - Sta. Anita Alta neighborhood.
Source: Author's elaboration based on data from UERB, 2021



Map 9. Regularized human settlements around Atucucho from 2010 to 2019.
 Source: Author's elaboration based on data from UERB, 2021.





Photo 17. Atucucho neighborhood.
Source: Author's photo.

CHAPTER: CONCLUSIONS. SOME PERSPECTIVES TOWARD AN INTEGRAL UPGRADING

5.1 Answering research questions

5.2 Lessons from applied public policies in Latin American cases

5.3 Opportunity areas towards an actual upgrading

Population is continuously growing within cities. And in the case of Quito, as previously exposed, the idea of occupying vacant lands within the borders of the urban footprint- has been part of the city for many years. The informal occupation of these lands is not only a current reality but also its predictable future if there is not current planning policy that seems to be able to provide housing to the most disadvantaged social groups. Although applying this perspective to city planning is easier said than done, the design and implementation of better public policies is to be considered a good attempt toward achieving the desired conditions.

5.1 Answering research questions

While applied formalization policies in Quito have been recognized as a way for involved social groups to be included in the city, various dimensions have not been considered along the way of its implementation. As a result, and to summarize emergent results of the research, I will respond to the questions I put forward from the beginning.

1. What was the problem framing the local government used to legitimate and support formalization policies in Quito?

When it comes to providing people with the right to a dignified life, the roles of the state and the municipality are disjointed. While the national government has as one of its goals the provision of housing and basic services, the local government sees land use regulation as its primary role in the city. Considering that the municipality should guarantee a dignified life for people who inhabit the city, the role of the local government in issuing policies to deal with challenges that the city could be facing- is essential.

Although problems such as rising land prices, housing deficiency, urban segregation, presence of land traffickers, and occupation of risking zones- are aspects that the local government considers as relevant problems of the city, issues that are tackled in the framing of the goals of formalization policies are the informal land occupation, lack of services in informal settlements, and lack of agility in the processes of informal settlements' recognition by previous administrations.

Authorities, administrators and policymakers that are part of the municipality, and even the mayor of the city consider that objectives focused on increasing numbers of regularized settlements annually, streamlining the informal settlements' formalization processes, and facilitating information about the procedure to citizens- are the best options to face the challenges surrounding informality. In fact, it could be said, that the wrong conception of its role as a regulatory

entity is the root of these administrative and bureaucratic goals that are far away from dealing with the real problem of informality in the city. Notably, the UERB has been shaped as an accounting entity with management autonomy, which somehow presents discordances when considering it as the institution that oversees the management of informal settlements. In particular, the municipality delegated this responsibility to the UERB under certain parameters that must be met by orienting its nature to focus on land use regulation. In doing so, it emphasizes the institution's nature as one that is limited to collecting papers and granting titling deeds.

2. How these framings were integral and integrated into the understanding of formalization policies? What was their general level of effectiveness in reference to the implementation of policy goals it legitimized?

While it is true that formalization was deemed the best option for dealing with informality in Quito, the considered framings fall far short of comprehending the pertinence of formalization policies in integral and integrated ways. To be specific, the effectiveness of formalization in Quito has been measured in terms of the numbers of deeds issued by local government in power. And although authorities talk about enhancing citizens' living conditions by granting title deeds, there are many needs that they overlook after recognizing these settlements as part of the city.

An analytical and reflective consideration of the main issues and challenges that informality brings to the city- would have been an effective way to think about proposing accurate ways to manage them. In doing so, a perspective that would have considered many factors around the informal land occupation- would have resulted in an integral process that would have the capacity to be integrated with other initiatives. This is not the case in Quito, where neither a multi-scalar approach nor the legacy of the implemented policy is considered. Indeed, the nature of the current politized and administrative process- results, on the one hand, in an incompletely treated phenomenon that only considers plot formalization. On the other hand, in a large event in which the mayor grants titles to citizens while ignoring a genuine improvement in the quality of their lives. In other words, the procedure ends when titling is completed by giving rise to process titling for new settlements instead of following the managing of previously regularized settlements- to guarantee access to public services, execution of public works, and a real improvement in living conditions.

Notably, the public entity is in charge of only regularizing the lands, without taking into account the state of the existing buildings or the economic activities that take place on the mentioned plots. As a result, there is no real improvement after its implementation.

Hence, the consideration of this policy as a disarticulated one gives rise to the emergence of new settlements with the same or even worse features.

3. Does the issuance of legal titles support the decline in the production of new informal settlements in Quito?

To begin, it is important to reflect briefly on the fact that, since the establishment of the institution in charge of formalization processes, the abolition of informal settlements has not been one of the considered goals. Hence, saying that titling policy will stop the emergence of informal settlements would be a fallacy. Even though granting titles deeds mean the conclusion of many decades of fighting for recognition as part of the city, it does not guarantee the solution to this complex phenomenon as informality is.

Although the main information provided by the entity is documented indicating changing quantifications of formalized settlements, it was easy to recognize the rampant growth that those informal lands have experienced. This expansion is visible not only when analyzing the dynamics of the city's expansion, but also when looking at its landscape. Although formalization policies are not the primary reason for the urban footprint's continued expansion, the emergence of speculation, the presence of land traffickers, and the expectations that being near a formalized settlement bring- are all part of the reality for the proliferation of these informal settlements.

The appropriation of spaces from their inhabitants is another important factor in explaining the growing tendency of these human settlements. For instance, stories of triumphs and adversities told by interviewees- reflect joy, sadness, and a sense of belonging to the neighborhood that goes beyond getting a title deed. Notably, these people share common ideals and values, and in most cases, they act with the meaning of a family-centered model in mind. In doing so, they see titling as a good way for future generations to inherit their "house" (even though they are only getting title deeds to their lands). Furthermore, because of the sense of belonging that residents of informal settlements have for the neighborhoods in which they were born, grew up, and raised their families-, a strong desire to remain exists. Basically, they are part of organized communities that in some cases have been benefited from the entity, and in others, they are still living in conditions of informality maintaining the faith that one day the municipality will consider them as an eligible part of the city to be legalized. Thus, these realities could be viewed as an incentive to remain on the periphery and fight for their rights.

In this context, titling could be viewed as a less expensive way of dealing with a complicated public matter in a city that has struggled

with informality over the years. Indeed, in this ever-changing and ever-expanding city, a disjointed policy that addresses only a few aspects of the overall problem appears insufficient. As a result, the lack of an analysis of informality at various scales is the primary reason for overlooking an important dimension that could provide clues to dealing with the challenges that the phenomenon brings to cities. This dimension is characterized by the absence of a housing policy. To be more specific, informality is a phenomenon that deals with the Land and Housing market, and in the case of Quito, the lack of a serious effort to produce housing for the city's lower-income and migrants was one of the key factors that encouraged informality. Notably, if authorities do not consider providing housing for the poor, they will settle in available areas of the city without considering risky or informal areas.

5.2 Lessons from applied public policies in Latin American cases

Many people have studied informal settlements in the hopes of formalizing them as an effective way to deal with this phenomenon. It appears obvious that formalization policies should consider specific goals such as granting ownership recognition to dwellers and providing them with access to basic services and dignified living conditions. However, it is easier said than done, particularly in Latin American countries where informality is part of the urban imaginaries and financial management has long been questioned.

While De Soto's theory is highlighted as one of the accurate solutions from a developing country's perspective which deals with high poverty levels and difficulty to access the formal housing market, the implementation of formalization policies in an isolated way, seems to be inefficient. In fact, it was shown in some Latin American countries that formalization policies just meant having possession of papers due to inefficient management of formalized areas after the procedure in most cases.

The cases studied contributed to this research because they are comparable cases with Quito due to the similarities in their contexts. Although the analysis surrounding informality could be similar between them, they manage this phenomenon based on different approaches according to different realities to get desired conditions. Hence, after considering aspects that were potential references in terms of shaping policy perspectives, some considerations emerged.

The Peruvian practice

The approach of this policy is very similar to the one that Quito is implementing through UERB.

- **Similarities:** The similarities are not only in the main goal of legalizing land tenure, but also in the expected outcomes, in which the local government does not monitor the formalized settlements after the formalization process is completed.
- **Differences:** The main difference is the nature of the process. While in Perú the adopted public policy has an individual nature, in Quito it has a collective one.
- **Lessons:** Although the policy has been achieving their main goal of legalizing land tenure in a massive scale, it is important to reflect about the cruel reality of many people that live in precarious conditions after their implementation. This example has demonstrated that getting title deeds does not ensure a real improvement in the quality of life of their inhabitants.

The Brazilian practice

The approach of this policy converges at some point with the one implemented in Quito.

- **Similarities:** The similarities are not only in having formalization of land tenure as part of the goals to be achieved but also in the collective nature of the process.
- **Differences:** While the approach of the implemented policy in Quito- is focused on the main aim to recognize land ownership, the policy approach in Brazil aim to achieve land ownership at the beginning and at the same time, an integral urban and social upgrading.
- **Lessons:** The Brazilian case has been regarded as a case study that contributes to considering not only plots and their regularization, but also their inhabitants and their needs. The Brazilian practice considers socio-spatial integration, improved living conditions, and significant public investment as relevant outcomes of the implemented public policy. Furthermore, this policy emphasizes on the effectiveness of social participation at various stages of upgrading processes, which undoubtedly should be considered in the case of Quito.

The Chilean practice

The approach of this policy is very different from the one that Quito implements to deal with informality.

- **Similarities:** The common feature between the policies applied in both cases- is their collective nature. Both consider social capital as an essential element of the process.
- **Differences:** While the main goal of the implemented public

policy in Quito is to achieve the legalization of land tenure, the Chilean practice has been showing how its main goal is focused on improving welfare of families.

- **Lessons:** The implemented policy in Chile demonstrates the relevance of implementing housing and at the same time, thinking about social initiatives. Both are part of a holistic approach, which has been seen as a policy that handle effectively the emerging social problems.

Notably, because of the prevalence of informality in these developing countries, the implementation of land titling policies has become a common practice in Latin America. However, the various approaches of the presented cases- have been useful in understanding not only the presence of multiple options that a city has to deal with informality but also the significance of diverse dimensions that are not considered relevant problems in Quito's current situation.

Although many aspects of the policies implemented in Quito differ from those applied in the case studies, taking into account their successes and challenges has been critical in shaping Quito's desired future. Thus, improving current policies does not appear to be an impossible task; on the contrary, it could be considered an attainable goal.

To sum up, through case studies, the importance of public policies such as titling, upgrading, and housing was exposed. Indeed, their nature as state interventions was highlighted as the cause of the improvement or degradation of human settlements and their inhabitants, depending on the case. Furthermore, these case studies demonstrated that in order to deal with challenges that informality brings to cities it is important not only the implementation of policies that ensure the provision and implementation of basic services and needed facilities but also effective social participation at various stages of upgrading processes. As a result, public policies achieve their goal of reaching expected outcomes not only from the perspective of what professionals believe is required to manage the phenomenon but also from the actual needs of the involved actors. Notably, a portion of this successful policy implementation was revealed in the case studies examined, but a consideration of different dimensions- depending on the context in which policies will be implemented- will be essential when discussing social capital in different cities.

5.3 Opportunity areas towards an actual upgrading

As described in this chapter of the research, emerging facts and curiosities, challenges and issues, and strengths and weaknesses

regarding informality and the implementation of formalization policies in Quito- have all been shaping the critical perspective previously exposed. However, it is essential to provide some areas for research and policy reflection to reform the current policy to deal with this phenomenon that has become a part of the city over time. Consequently, some final remarks will be presented to contribute to the conversation surrounding this topic. In fact, to reform this policy, these are some key perspectives and pathways that I will suggest following.

That the phenomenon of informality and the presence of informal settlements in cities are public issues difficult to abolish is a fact. However, once the problem is understood in a specific context and the ways to face it are a little bit clearer for many resetting the stake and designing articulated policies that include people in the process, will be seen as manageable tasks. When considering redefining the stake, I mean, it is fundamentally changing the content of the decisions that will be made when designing public policies. For instance, talking about the institution that is currently overseeing the implementation of formalization policies, some general guidelines towards an integral upgrading could be considered. Clearly, recognizing these human settlements as part of the city is a good starting point for giving them access to implied rights that used to be denied when belonging to the informal city. However, the implementation of formalization policies should be integral in a way that ensures an improvement in the quality of life of informal settlements' inhabitants and at the same time does not incentive new informality. For these reasons, changing the stake is essential, from titling to an integral upgrading, the active involvement of actors that are related to the scope of this social and political activity will be essential to grant a real upgrade in living conditions.

It is worth noting that, after identifying relevant dynamics that formalization policies overlook in Quito, this study could be viewed as an input of key dimensions to replicate or avoid- depending on the context and circumstances. In fact, part of these key dimensions that should be improved and replicated could be considered: ensuring public investment, implementing preventive responses, and thinking about integral processes that ensure conscious intervention to manage informality in cities.

From the reestablishment of the problems and goals that are framing the current policies to integrating formalization policies with other ones, the evaluation of the nature of these policies will be essential to improve current conditions. It is important to identify the causes of informal settlements' presence at different scales. In doing so, it will be easier to understand their reality and help them to face the problem from the root. In fact, the emergence of some issues has an explanation through historical processes. In the case of Quito, the imposed segregationist growing model of the city, and

the implementation of policies that overlooked informality could be considered the key to failure. Although urban plans do not reflect decision-making processes, they should provide precise guidelines centered on freedom of action concerning collective welfare. This perspective will make it possible to achieve inter-institutional relationships, through which, the integration of formalization policies will be complemented with housing policies, ensuring the right to a dignified life for citizens. In other words, changing the isolated actions of national and local governments surrounding ownership recognition and housing provision will allow authorities at various scales to complement their actions toward the implementation of preventive urban policies that will ensure not only formal access to urban land and housing but also people's participation throughout the process.

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