



Periodization of social housing in the city of Guayaquil (1970-2017): The evolution of public policies and the State's housing action

Periodización de la vivienda de interés social en la ciudad de Guayaquil (1970-2017): la evolución de las políticas públicas y la acción habitacional del Estado

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ABSTRACT Since the 1970s, the role of the State in housing production in Ecuador, particularly in the city of Guayaquil, has experienced significant transformations. In this article, a classification by period is proposed, highlighting the relationship between public housing policies promoted by the State and the resulting housing models. The central objective is to trace a genealogy of housing-related developments in Latin America since the 1970s, focusing on the evolving urban development models, with a specific emphasis on Guayaquil. The methodological approach involves formulating partial conclusions for each stage based on the interplay between public policies and housing actions, culminating in a general conclusion on the periodization of social housing in Guayaquil from 1970 to 2017.

RESUMEN Desde la década de 1970 hasta hoy, el papel del Estado en la producción de viviendas ha experimentado cambios significativos en Ecuador, especialmente evidentes en la ciudad de Guayaquil. En este artículo, se propone una clasificación por períodos, destacando la conexión entre las políticas públicas de vivienda impulsadas por el Estado y las acciones habitacionales que surgen como resultado de dichas políticas. El objetivo central es trazar una genealogía de los acontecimientos relacionados con la vivienda a partir de la década de 1970 en América Latina, centrándose en el cambio de los modelos de desarrollo urbano, ilustrado específicamente a través del caso de Guayaquil. El enfoque metodológico propone la formulación de conclusiones parciales en cada etapa, basadas en la relación entre las políticas públicas y las acciones habitacionales, y finalmente una conclusión general sobre la periodización de la vivienda social en la ciudad de Guayaquil entre 1970 y 2017.

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1. Introduction

In Latin America, between the 1930s and 1970s of the last century, the ideals of the modern project were received through the housing initiatives of state technical offices. These ideals were employed in strategies for solving social problems such as “social interest housing,” a term first coined at the First Pan-American Congress on Popular Housing held in Buenos Aires in 1939. It is also known as “employee housing” to distinguish it from workers’ and popular neighbourhoods (Romero, 2010). The main difference, in this sense, between Europe and Latin America is that in the old continent a “rental policy” was chosen for the working class, while in Latin American countries the focus was on “making the middle-class property owners” (Sambricio, 2012).

Between 1940 and 1980, the region experienced notable progress in terms of urban expansion and steady economic development, primarily due to agro-industrial exports such as cocoa and bananas in the case of Ecuador. However, with the arrival of the crisis in the 1980s, Latin America saw a decline in urban growth due to the close relationship between economic development and the development of cities (Gilbert, 1997). In this context of economic crisis, public policies and housing actions of Latin American states have notably transformed in recent decades, generating new models of urban development and housing projects.

The Ecuadorian state, represented on one hand at the sectional level by the Municipality of Guayaquil (GAD of Guayaquil) and its Directorate of Urban Planning and Territorial Management (DUOT), and on the other hand at the national level first by the National Housing Board (JNV)¹ and later by the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing of Ecuador (MIDUVI)², intervened in the city of Guayaquil between 1970 and 2017 through specific housing actions that represent a change in the production methods of Social Interest Housing (VIS) compared to previous models. These previous models include the public workers’ neighbourhoods promoted by the Social Security Fund between 1937 and 1948, and the small modern residential interventions also built by the Social Security Fund between 1948 and 1970 (Bamba, 2018).

The city of Guayaquil, a colonial port city with the largest population in Ecuador, shares some regional processes and periods that characterize the urban development of large Latin American cities. These include transformations in productive systems, the role of the state in housing and urban development policies, the instability and discontinuity of municipalities or mayoral offices, illegal land occupations and self-built housing, social inequality and spatial segregation processes, among others. This similarity in processes with other large Latin American cities allows for speculation about a possible periodization of Social Interest Housing (VIS) in Guayaquil within a regional framework. In these complex processes, three modes of living coexist and are closely related in the city of

Guayaquil: “opulent housing,” “popular housing,” and the neighbourhoods of “social housing” in the modern city (Ballent and Liernur, 2014, p. 47).

From the 1970s to the present, the role of the state in housing production has changed substantially in Ecuador, and this change is particularly evident in the city of Guayaquil. This article proposes a periodization of these processes by establishing the relationship between the public housing policies promoted by the state and the housing actions that are constructed based on these policies (Ortega and Bosch Meda, 2023).

There are studies in Ecuador that have focused on a historical review of social housing promoted by public institutions, and others that have analysed urban forms from a morpho-typological perspective. However, none have critically established a genealogy that delineates the concrete, and thus separable, relationships between public policies (the role of the state) and the resulting housing actions (urban-architectural projects), that is, between ideals and practices. The main objective is to generate a genealogy of what has happened with housing since the 1970s in Latin America, where there has been a clear shift in urban development models, through the specific case of Guayaquil.

2. Metodology

This is a historical research study that aims to establish a periodization of social interest housing in Guayaquil through documentary analysis. The focus is on housing produced by state and municipal governments through various agencies from the 1970s—when mass housing production began nationally in Ecuador under the JNV—until 2017—when Rafael Correa’s presidency ended—based on the evolution of housing public policies and the housing actions that these policies produce.

The relationship between social housing policies (including legal and regulatory innovations) and architectural projects has been recently studied by authors from different countries with the aim of finding projects that became precursors to specific actions and regulations introduced later and understanding how concrete public policies have permanently modified urban forms and building types (Martín Blas et al., 2024). At the local level, the recent study on the evolution of Social Interest Housing (VIS) in the case of Portoviejo by González Couret and Véliz Párraga (2019) presents a clear theoretical research method that allows for the identification of variables for the typological and morphological classification of each study period.

Three study periods are proposed, each with defining characteristics in the relationship between the role of the state in housing policies and the housing actions produced in the city of Guayaquil: 1. Clusters

¹ In 1961, the Ecuadorian Housing Bank (BEV) was created, with the Ecuadorian Housing Institute conceived as the executor of housing plans and the BEV as the financier of these plans. In 1973, the current National Housing Board (JNV) was established by Decree No. 162, R.O. 253, on February 23, 1973. The president of the JNV is also the president of the BEV, with the aim of ensuring the linkage between the implementation of housing policy and its financing.

² The Ecuadorian Housing Bank was a financial and credit institution in the housing sector that provided assistance and cooperation to the National Housing Board. According to Decree 1820 (R.O. 461, 14-VI-94), the National Housing Board was merged into the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing, which was created by Executive Decree No. 2 on August 11, 1992, during the government of President Arq. Sixto Durán-Ballén Cordovez.

and Neighbourhood Units (1970-1992); 2. Housing Subsidy Programs (1992-2001); 3. Segregated Urbanizations (2001-2017).

The method involves generating partial conclusions for each period based on the relationship between public policies—the role of the state—and housing actions—architectural and urban practices. These partial conclusions are synthesized into final conclusions, which aim to establish a genealogy of state housing actions in the city of Guayaquil from 1970 to 2017.

3. Results

3.1. Clusters and neighbourhood units: 1970-1992.

Large housing complexes: accelerated urban processes

The periodization of Latin American countries with the most advanced modernization processes does not align with that of Ecuador. In these countries, the peak of modern architecture in relation to housing occurred between 1930 and 1960, whereas in Ecuador, large modern housing projects emerged between 1950 and 1970. Starting from this period, the Ecuadorian state accumulated resources, especially from oil revenues, which allowed it to increase investment in infrastructure, state services, and housing construction. Additionally, the financial system expanded; between 1968 and 1977, credit provided by the Central Bank, commercial banks, and the National Development Bank doubled; and between 1972 and 1977, around 50% of gross fixed capital formation was attributed to the construction sector (Aguirre, 1984).

The previous period (1948-1970) includes collective housing projects that are modern architecture objects on a smaller scale, built by the Social Security Fund in central areas of the city with the involvement of locally renowned architects. This period (1970-1992) encompasses larger-scale housing plans constructed by the National Housing Board (JNV) and the Ecuadorian Institute of Social Security (IESS) in peripheral areas of the city, with the collaboration of teams of technicians hired nationally (Aguirre, 1984). With the creation of the JNV, a fundamental tool of the Transformation and Development Plan (1973-77), the state began to participate in a sustained and growing manner, not only in the circulation of housing but also in its production as a builder, although land development was always left to the private sector.

The state institutions responsible for undertaking this monumental task were the JNV through the Ecuadorian Housing Bank (BEV) and the Ecuadorian Institute of Social Security (IESS). The JNV built 35,766 housing units in Guayaquil over its 26 years of existence, averaging 1,375 homes per year, compared to the 6,033 housing units produced by the IESS over its 38 years, averaging 159 homes per year (Sánchez, 2015). Therefore, the JNV and BEV are the administrations that showed greater dynamism, targeting the lower socioeconomic sector with lower-priced housing; the IESS financed more expensive housing, showing lower growth rates and a more irregular pattern. The housing production of the JNV, from 1964 until its dissolution in 1992, had a quantitative and qualitative impact on the territory and Ecuadorian society. During this period, the responsibility for addressing the housing problem in Guayaquil fell to the state as the "executor" of public policy, managing the entire housing production process, from design to financing, construction, and supervision of the housing complexes (Acosta, 2009) (Figure 1).

The way to access these programs requires an economic evaluation of applicants based on their salary, which excludes low-income individuals or those with informal employment. In other words, access to housing, despite not being assumed as a state policy or having a Housing Law, is undertaken by the mentioned public institutions, with various actors participating in these processes, including military governments, which mostly respond to political and economic interests.

The importance of the JNV also lies in its influence on the urban process in Guayaquil: it sets trends in urban growth and in the socio-spatial segregation of these complexes compared to illegal invasions on peripheral land. The purchase of land from the "El Guasmo" estate by the BEV had a decisive impact on the construction of housing complexes in the southern part of the city and led to the emergence of new infrastructure such as *Avenida 25 de Julio*.

The housing complexes of the JNV were established on the periphery of the city, initially in the south during the 1970s, and from the 1980s onward, in the north. Planning attempts through ordinances and more or less elaborate plans often failed⁴, either due to the lack of continuity among city administrations and mayors or due to violent land invasions that undermined any medium-term projections. Although the housing production of the JNV was greater than that of the IESS, it never managed to provide housing for all the families that arrived in Guayaquil, leading many to resort to illegal land occupation and self-built housing as a means of survival.

In the 1970s, housing production largely occurred outside the public or private capitalist real estate system: 66% of the homes built belonged to the "informal" sector, with "self-production" predominating (Aguirre, 1984). The housing complexes were built socio-spatially segregated from informal settlements during the 1970s and 1980s, with even instances of direct occupation of buildings during the construction process, which are part of the conflicted history of housing production in the city of Guayaquil.

From the concept of cluster to the neighbourhood unit

La Atarazana is the first housing program of the JNV in Guayaquil (Rojas, 1988), and it represents a shift in approach compared to the Caja del Seguro projects. It consists of large blocks combining single-family and multi-family housing with services and green areas. This project is a transitional model in collective housing architecture, moving from the "unit of dwelling" concept to "mass programs" conceived from the idea of the "neighbourhood unit". The JNV housing plans come to be authored by a team of technicians who develop proposals at the national level that can be replicated in different cities. Additionally, the project establishes itself as the first social housing complex built in the northern part of the city, on land with minimal infrastructure.

The influence of the PREVI (Experimental Housing Project) competition in Lima (1966⁵) on the housing programs of the 1970s in Guayaquil is decisive. The idea that most influenced the multifamily block developments was the concept of the cluster, while the "patterns" system, which is self-manageable and timeless as proposed by Alexander, was introduced in single-family housing clusters with possibilities for progressive growth. Thus, from Las Acacias I (1974-1975) to Saucos IV (1985-1986), the number of single-family homes increased relative to multifamily blocks, eventually leading to the disappearance of collective housing in the later JNV projects of the late 1980s. In other words, collective housing gradually disappeared in favour of isolated single-family homes. Between 1975 and 1976, there was a peak in investment due to allocations established by the national government with oil revenues, which directly influenced the developments of *La Saiba II* (1974-1976) and *La Pradera I* (1975-1976) (Bock, 1988) (Figures 2 and 3).

The large housing complexes of the JNV address the need for standardization and mass production of homes under two fundamental premises: establishing order in societal living patterns and controlling urban expansion. The role of the state is to create a new social structure linked to a "new urban order," for which national social housing plans are developed. The programs symbolize the power and ideals that shaped a modernized city where open spaces and community services (recreational and sports spaces, work centres, and transportation infrastructure), represented by the "civic centre," became symbols of the new social structures⁶. The zoning of functions and separation of buildings reflect the ideals of modern urban form present in the Athens Charter to counteract the congestion and unsanitariness of historic cities. The result is a significant expanse of open spaces that act as a negative space to the collective buildings positioned as objects on a large "empty canvas".

The disappearance of the state: towards a market-based housing policy

The housing programs known as Saucos are the last direct execution programs by the JNV. These housing complexes mark the final moment when architects and politicians worked together on large-scale housing plans and projects with a social vision. Specifically, Saucos IV, the last major project of the JNV, stands as a housing alternative to the uncontrollable illegal invasions in the northern periphery of Guayaquil, which had been occurring since the early 1980s. Regionally, a new market-based housing policy is taking shape, with the state no longer directly executing housing projects, a trend that begins in Ecuador from the 1990s (Figure 4).

During the 1980s, the transition from military dictatorship to democracy occurred, bringing about new paradigms known as "alternative or second-generation policies" (Huerta, 2013). These policies primarily aimed to eradicate "informal settlements" by involving their inhabitants in solving the problem. The involvement of "multilateral organizations" such as the World Bank was significant in supporting plans and programs for "serviced lots" and providing funds for neighbourhood improvement. In January 1980, the "Emergency Plan for Popular Housing in the City of Guayaquil" was proposed, which allowed for flexible proposals under the principles of "open urbanism," incorporating "prefabrication systems" as the only method capable of significantly reducing the housing deficit in Guayaquil (Aguirre, 1984). Two major "serviced lots" programs were developed: *Alegría* (in the North) and *La Floresta* (a BEV-specific program), which marked a definitive shift in housing policies and actions in Guayaquil towards a market-oriented vision where the State played a subsidiary role (Figure 5).

⁴ For more information on the plans and regulations of the study period, see Peralta, E., and Moya, R. (1979). *Guayaquil, Planes Urbanos (síntesis)* (Revista Trama 13-14, pp. 10-55).

⁵ For more information on the competition, see Land, P. (2015). *The Experimental Housing Project (PREVI)*, Lima: Design and technology in a new neighbourhood. Universidad de los Andes.

⁶ The characteristics of the housing complexes from this period (1970-1992) relate to the "multifamily complexes" (1947-1964) of the Mexican experience described in Canales, F. (2017). *Collective Housing in Mexico. The Right to Architecture*. Gustavo Gili.



Figure 1: Aerial view of the inauguration of the Las Acacias I housing complex. *El Universo*, October 8, 1974

3.2. Housing subsidy programs: 1992-2001

The change in the state's role from executor to facilitator

In 1992, under the government of *Sixto Durán Ballén*, Ecuador adopted neoliberal policies that transformed the state's approach to housing. These reforms included the modernization of the housing access system and a significant reduction in the state's role as a direct executor of housing projects. That same year, the Financial Institutions Law was approved, relegating the *Banco Ecuatoriano de la Vivienda* (BEV) to a secondary role and leading to the dissolution of the National Housing Board (JNV). In its place, the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing (MIDUVI) was created to centralize actions related to housing and urban development, thereby optimizing resources and reducing funding for construction.

In 1994, the National Policy on Urban Development, Housing, and Environmental Sanitation was formulated, serving as the ideological framework for the State's actions. This policy guided the actions of local governments and the private sector, providing support and coherence to the strategies, actions, programs, and projects within the sector. A significant aspect of this policy was the shift in the State's role from being a direct executor to becoming a "facilitator" of private sector activities (Acosta, 2009). In 1996, during the government of Abdalá Bucaram, the State undertook the construction of a portion of the last large-scale social housing project in Durán, known as "*Un solo toque*." However, this housing program was quickly invaded after Bucaram left the presidency, marking the end of the State's involvement in the execution of large housing plans in the city of Guayaquil.

Since 1998, the new role of the State has been solidified through its function as a facilitator of public policy via the Ministry of Urban Development and Housing (MIDUVI),

which supports the involvement of the private sector in construction and financing. To achieve this, the Housing Sector Support Program was established, funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). This period is characterized by the use of subsidy systems as a mechanism to address housing demand: the State takes on the role of providing subsidies to housing beneficiaries, while the private sector becomes the supplier of housing solutions. MIDUVI introduced the Housing Incentive System (SIV) to create a targeted "housing subsidy" aimed at demand as a tool to stimulate housing production by private companies, known as the "housing bond." This clearly expresses the public policy's goal of promoting the participation of construction companies in the provision of social housing (O'Donnell, 1993; CEPAL, 1998).

During the first period of implementing the housing subsidy (1998-2006), 45,712 subsidies were granted in Guayaquil, resulting in an average housing production rate of 5,079 units per year (Sánchez, 2015). However, this figure does not represent the construction of new housing but rather the relative improvement of existing housing conditions. It is important to note that during this period, the distribution of housing subsidies was made possible because the beneficiary families already owned land, which they had acquired informally, and which was regularized through the municipal public policy of land legalization. The issue of urban land ownership regularization, combined with the difficulties municipal planning faced in accessing

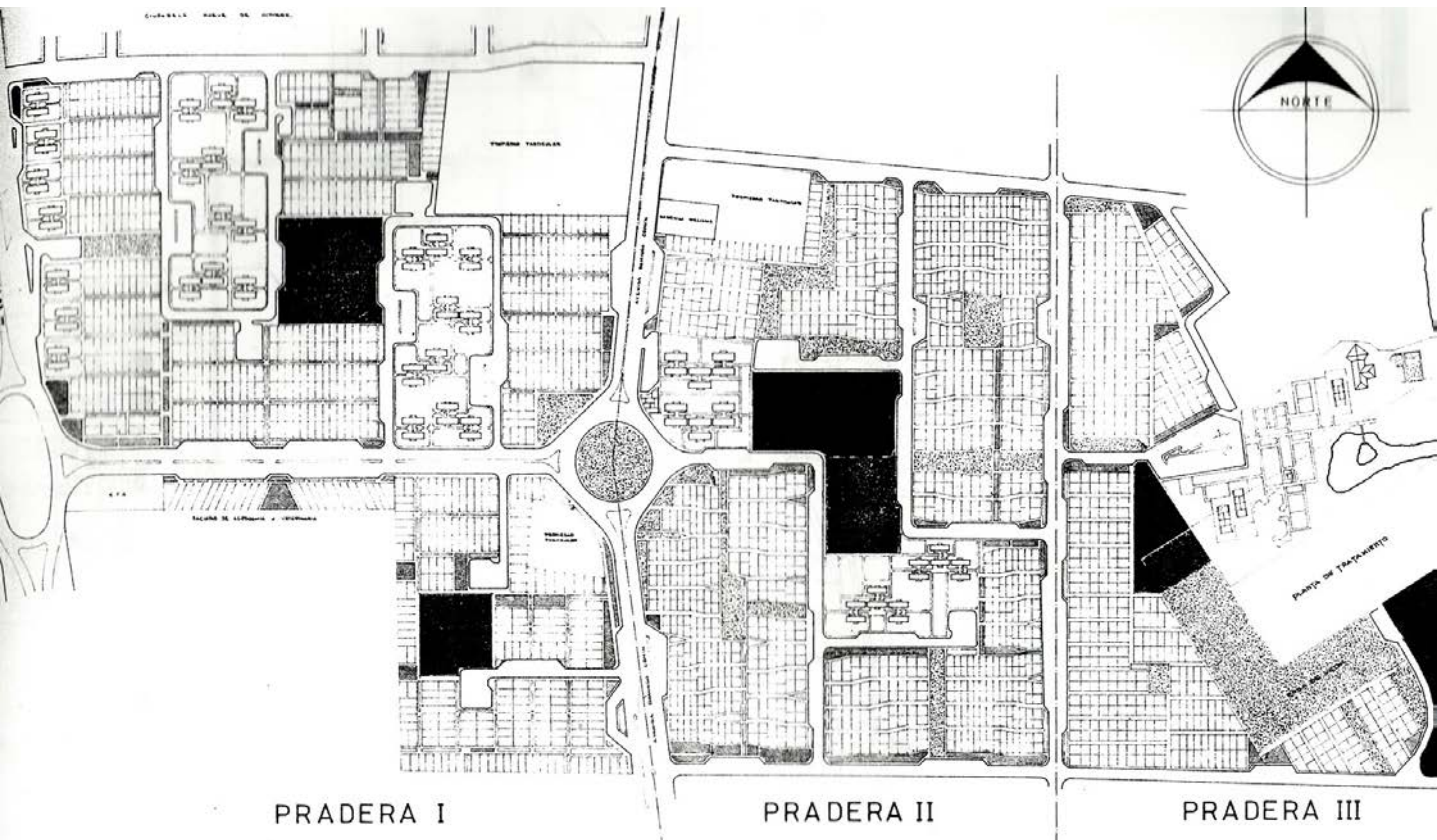
affordable urban land and the devaluation of the housing bond due to economic inflation, hindered the participation of construction companies in the production of social housing.

Segregated housing developments: 2001-2017

Mucho Lote: The beginning of segregated housing projects

During this period, Guayaquil continued its horizontal expansion, and the northeastern part of the city solidified as the location for social housing projects aimed at containing the growth of informal settlements. In 2001, the Municipality of Guayaquil issued the Ordinance Regulating Urban Developments of Lots with Basic Services, which aimed to produce social housing (VIS) for low-income populations in areas declared at risk of invasion, such as Narcisca de Jesús Avenue, Francisco de Orellana Avenue, and the road to Daule, among others (Sánchez, 2020). Additionally, the legal framework was established for private construction companies to take charge of building these housing solutions. This initiative materialized in 2002 when the Directorate of Territorial Planning of the Municipality of Guayaquil launched the Mucho Lote I. housing program, located next to Bastión Popular, one of the largest informal settlements in the northern part of the city (Figure 6).

Figure 2: Layout plan of the La Saiba II housing complex, showing the mix of housing types and grouping forms, 1976. Huerta, (2013). Leipzig



The selection of the site, 190 hectares divided into seven stages, was strategically made to prevent the spread of informal settlements towards Av. Francisco de Orellana, a significant area of urban growth (Sánchez, 2015). Part of the cost of Mucho Lote I was financed with a loan from the State Bank to offer 14191 lots, of which 30% were sold to beneficiaries to build their homes, and the remaining 70% were sold to private developers to offer. The constructed homes were sold unfinished to make them more affordable, with prices ranging from \$6000 to \$22000, which beneficiaries could finance by applying for the housing subsidy from MIDUVI (Sánchez, 2015). Although the housing plan was initially conceived to benefit people with lower economic capacity, the \$900 registration fee limited the number of applicants, ultimately benefiting the lower-middle class. All 5000 vacant lots and 9191 lots with homes were fully occupied.

The characteristics of *Mucho Lote I* contrast with the neighbourhood units of the 1970-1990 period in that the development is physically segregated by walls separating it from the surrounding area. Unlike earlier developments, where single-family and multi-family housing were mixed, Mucho Lote I prioritizes single-family lots with only residential land use. Originally, the offered houses, based on the lot size, included corner lots of 84 m² and middle lots of 72 m², featuring single-story layouts with living room, dining room, kitchen, and up to three bedrooms. This led to criticism due to the small size of the living spaces. In response, a new ordinance approved in 2005 allowed for the construction of two-story homes without increasing population density. This change enabled real estate developers to offer a variety of housing options without increasing the demand for potable water or sewage disposal (Figure 7).

In July 2010, the Municipality of Guayaquil began the construction of Mucho Lote II on five sites located along the Terminal Terrestre-Pascuales Highway. The municipality was responsible for urbanizing and selling these sites to private developers, who were then tasked with constructing and offering the homes. A total of 8000 homes were built, distributed across nine phases, and were delivered starting in 2013. Beneficiaries had the option to access loans from banking institutions and the IESS or apply for the \$5,000 housing bond from MIDUVI. However, due to the cost of the housing, this program once again targeted the middle class with salaries between \$600 and \$1000 per month.

Figure 3: Layout Plan of the La Pradera I housing Complex (1975-1976). Huerta, (2013). Leipzig

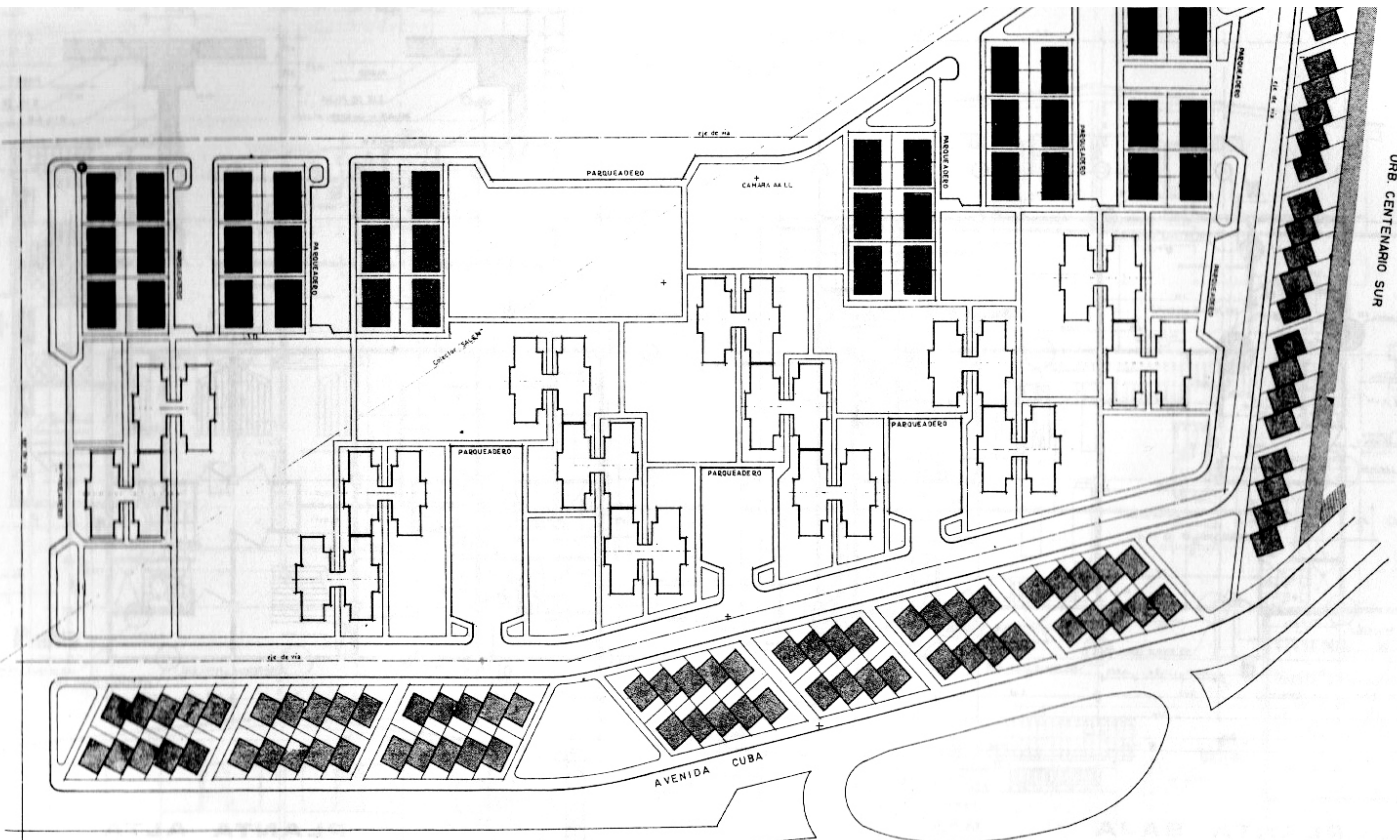




Figure 4: Diversity of typologies and clustering forms in the large neighbourhood unit of the Los Sauces IV housing complex. Huerta, (2013)

In 2011, the construction of the municipal project *Mi Lote* began, located on the *Vía a Daule* in the northeast of the city, in an area previously occupied by informal settlements. The project consists of 11,000 serviced lots, with a land value of \$2250. The beneficiary pays only half of this amount, while the municipality subsidizes the remaining 50%. The initial payment was \$75, with the balance financed in monthly instalments of \$25.

Both the *Mucho Lote* I and II plans and the *Mi Lote* project achieve the objective of preventing the growth of informal settlements towards the new urban roadways. However, they do not address the housing demand of the lowest economic sectors. Additionally, the private sector consolidates as the primary constructor and provider of social housing, benefiting from land already urbanized by the municipality at a relatively low cost.

***Socio Vivienda* programme: the government's bet on segregated urbanizations**

In 2008, at the beginning of Rafael Correa Delgado's presidency (2007-2017), a new constitution was promoted that recognized the right to decent housing, basic services, and a better quality of life. During this period, the value of the new and improvement housing bonds was doubled, and 60124 bonds were issued (Acosta, 2009). Under the National Development Plan 2009-2013, known as the "National Plan for Good Living," the *Socio Vivienda* Program was established. This initiative was aimed at addressing the needs of low-income populations who could not access private credit due to their economic situation (MIDUVI, 2014). The first phase of the urban and housing project began in 2009, on a 43-hectare area acquired by MIDUVI in the *Prosperina* sector, northeast of Guayaquil.

For its construction, a call for bids was launched through the state's public procurement portal, inviting over 7000 companies and independent professionals. Only 54 contractors were selected. Beneficiaries could access their homes through a plan called ABC (Savings, Bond, and Credit), which encouraged constant savings without the need for a guarantor.



Figure 5: Alegria serviced plots project, 1980-1991. Huerta, (2013)

This plan provided access to a plot with a home or apartment of at least 38,32 m² at a cost of \$13,000. The state subsidized \$6000, while the remainder was financed through scheduled savings and credit (MIDUVI, 2014). Socio Vivienda I represents one of the last interventions by BEV before its liquidation, as this entity, along with other financial institutions, was responsible for receiving the savings from the project's beneficiaries (Figure 8).

The single-family homes feature an open-plan living room, dining area, and kitchen, a bathroom, and two bedrooms, with a very small rear patio. In contrast to Mucho Lote I, the first stage of Socio Vivienda does include multifamily housing. The multifamily blocks consist of four identical apartments connected by a central common space, which houses the communication core and a light well. Each apartment includes a living room, dining area, kitchen, bathroom, and two bedrooms, with no option for expansion.

In 2012, the first stage of the *Socio Vivienda* program was completed with the delivery of 2211 single-family homes and 64 apartments for over 5000 families (Sánchez, 2015). Shortly thereafter, a series of issues emerged, including problems with the stormwater drainage system and a lack of infrastructure and road connectivity. This made it difficult for residents to travel to the city centre and southern areas, which are

key commercial and employment hubs. Additionally, the delivered homes did not support home-based activities, as there were no adaptable spaces for work workshops, and the streets could not be used for such purposes (Figure 9).

At the end of 2010, the government issued Presidential Decree 607, declaring 9300 hectares of land, informally occupied by numerous low-income families, as a security reserve area. Socio Vivienda II was created to relocate 3622 families displaced from the estuary banks. Located adjacent to the first stage in Nueva Prosperina, northeast of the city, this housing project consists of 3037 homes of 40 m² on 52 m² lots. Each home costs \$13500, financed through a state subsidy, while the land requires co-payment, with families paying \$900, and \$15 being deducted monthly from their subsistence bonus. The relocation was done "house by house" without distinguishing by size, condition, materials, or the number of families residing in the homes (Sánchez, 2018). Families previously living in precarious cane structures along the estuary saw an improvement in their living conditions, unlike those in more established areas with more durable buildings. However, the forced displacement and poor quality of the new housing quickly led to the emergence of a conflict-ridden area with some of the highest urban violence rates recorded in the city.



Figure 6: Site plan of Mucho Lote I. (2021)

In 2011, the development of *Socio Vivienda III* began to address the long-standing housing demand in Guayaquil. This phase implemented improved construction standards and universal accessibility criteria, as some of the beneficiaries included families with members suffering from disabilities. Similar to *Socio Vivienda II*, beneficiaries accessed the homes through a co-payment method, paying \$900 at the banks designated by MIDUVI. Starting in 2014, 344 single-family homes and 4 multifamily blocks with 128 apartments were delivered to 470 families. The houses each included two bedrooms, two bathrooms, a dining area, and a small patio, while the apartments had two bedrooms, one bathroom, a living room, dining area, and kitchen. Under the "*Plan Toda Una Vida*" (2017-2021), the Ministry of Housing took responsibility for the "social support" of the project's residents (MIDUVI, 2017) to avoid repeating the mistakes of previous phases, aiming to create safer and more inclusive communities compared to their predecessors.

In 2012, the MIDUVI developed the Ciudad Victoria project, which aimed to construct housing for 8,000 families displaced from invasions, including 3,622 from informal settlements in Monte Sinaí. Due to the residents' resistance to relocation and their inability to save for housing payments, only 800 families were relocated. These families faced a lack of infrastructure, basic services, and social support. Despite the government subsidizing part of the occupied housing due to high delinquency rates, Ciudad Victoria was poorly received, leading to a resurgence of invasions in the Monte Sinaí area (Sánchez, 2018).

With the MIDUVI housing programs, the state succeeded in providing housing to more vulnerable socioeconomic groups. However, these programs did not fully address the issue of invasions. The first phase, *Socio Vivienda I*, faced design and infrastructure issues. *Socio Vivienda II*, involving the forced relocation of former Estero Salado residents, became a problematic area with high rates of insecurity and violence. In response, *Socio Vivienda III* adopted a more social and technical approach for housing development. This stage marked the end of the period covered by Rafael Correa's presidency in 2017. The following figure summarizes these three phases (Figure 10).

4. Conclusion

The definition of certain morphological and typological characteristics of the public housing projects promoted by the JNV often reflected a policy of separation and segregation. These projects were intended for formal, legal employees, leaving out the informal, illegal housing population. The housing complex Las Acacias (1974-1975), while geographically segregated from informal settlements by the estuaries of the time, promoted a certain pretence of equality, diversity, and a shared lifestyle. In contrast, the state housing project Socio Vivienda I promoted by MIDUVI (2009-2012) created a physical barrier in the form of walls between its residents and the inhabitants of the informal settlement Monte Sinaí. The processes of segregation in public housing in Guayaquil have persisted with varying characteristics across the three studied periods, becoming materially more radical in the projects of the final period (2001-2017) through the use of barriers constructed from the project's conception, as seen in *Mucho Lote I* and *Socio Vivienda I*.

The first period (1970-1992) marks a significant shift in the role of the State as the "executor" of public policy, handling the entire housing production process through the JNV. The housing production managed by the JNV from 1970 until its dissolution in 1992 involved financing, construction, and supervision of housing complexes, resulting in a notable impact both quantitatively and qualitatively on the city's

growth and living conditions. The "lots with services" programs, on the other hand, represent a transition towards a definitive change in housing public policies with a market-oriented vision, shifting the State's role from an executor to a "subsidiary" one.

This new role of the State as a "facilitator" is clearly manifested in the second period (1992-2001), during which the subsidy system is introduced as a mechanism to address housing demand. MIDUVI's public policies encourage private sector participation in the financing and construction of housing. In this political framework, the construction of housing by the private sector is established as an alternative through the Ordinance Regulating Urban Developments of Basic Services Lots, which aims to address illegal invasions on the northern periphery of Guayaquil and somewhat regulate the population of low-income residents.

Finally, in the third period (2001-2017), the State, represented by MIDUVI with Socio Vivienda I and by the Municipality of Guayaquil with *Mucho Lote I*, becomes a "promoter" and produces housing that is occupied by families from more vulnerable socioeconomic strata. However, it fails to eliminate the invasions, which continue to be a viable alternative for habitat production on the northern periphery of Guayaquil.

Figure 7: Aerial View of Mucho Lote I. (2024)



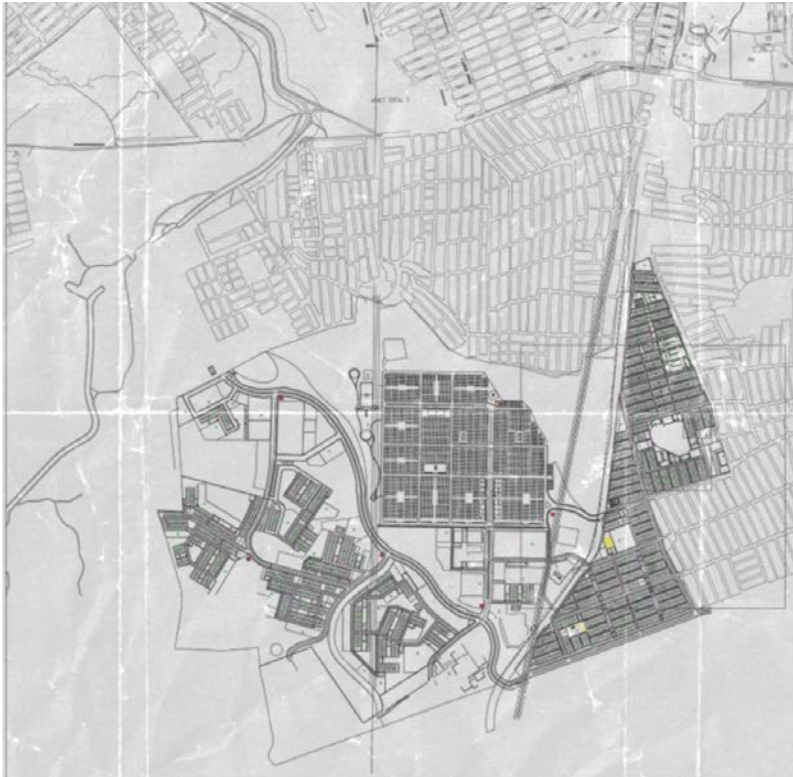


Figure 8: Implementation plan of Socio Vivienda stages I, II and III. (2021)

In conclusion, we can say that the role of the state in relation to public policies and the framework of housing programs evolves from a holistic “executor” role, responsible for the entire housing production process in the first period (1970-1992), to a “facilitator” or “subsidiary” role in the second period (1992-2001), and finally to a “promoter” role, becoming part of the real estate market machinery in the third period (2001-2017).

Regarding the evolution of urban morphology in housing projects produced by these state policies and actions, there is a clear progressive socio-spatial segregation relative to the immediate environment and a fragmentation of the existing urban fabric. This evolution starts with relatively autonomous urban forms and progresses to closed neighbourhoods with clearly marked physical boundaries.

Conflict of Interests. The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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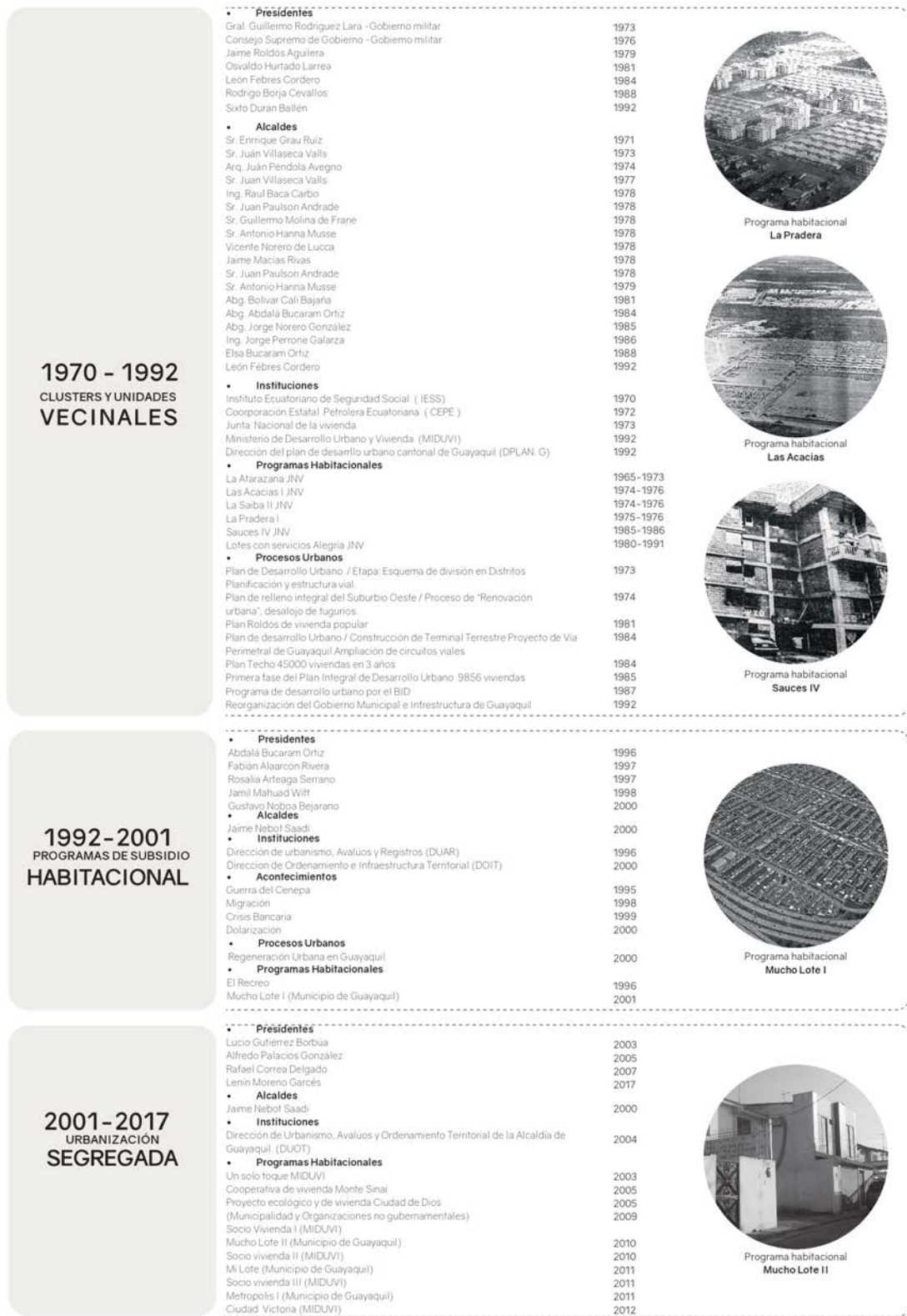


Figure 10: Timeline of the three study periods with key events. (2024)



Figure 9: View of Socio Vivienda I area. (2021)

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