

PLANNING FOR INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT. PUBLIC POLICIES, ECONOMIC GROWTH AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS IN SANTA ROSA (ECUADOR)

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ABSTRACT

Ecuador is immersed, since the adoption of the 2008 Constitution, in a process of economic, social and political changes, following the steps on their path to a more equal, post-extractive and democratic society. The main tool for this purpose, the National Strategy for the «Buen Vivir» (Good living) and the Change in the Production Model emphasizes new ways for producing, consumption and self-organization. Although Ecuadorian Constitution comprises these ideas and the Ecuadorian Government has promoted different programs and strategies, there is a limited analysis about the local manifestations of these policies. In this way, this paper proposes a study of the local strategies developed in a medium-size city in the south of Ecuador through the analysis of the local networks and the initiatives of local actors for developing strategies oriented to this end. Interviews and statistical data (demographic, economic and social data mainly) are used to confirm the level of accomplishment of these objectives. Thus, the existing local networks and the path of the city of Santa Rosa may explain the different level of recent socioeconomic changes taken place at local level instead of Central government policies.

Keywords: Development Policies, Path Dependence, Local Actors, Ecuador

JEL Classification: H53, H75, O21, O54

1. INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

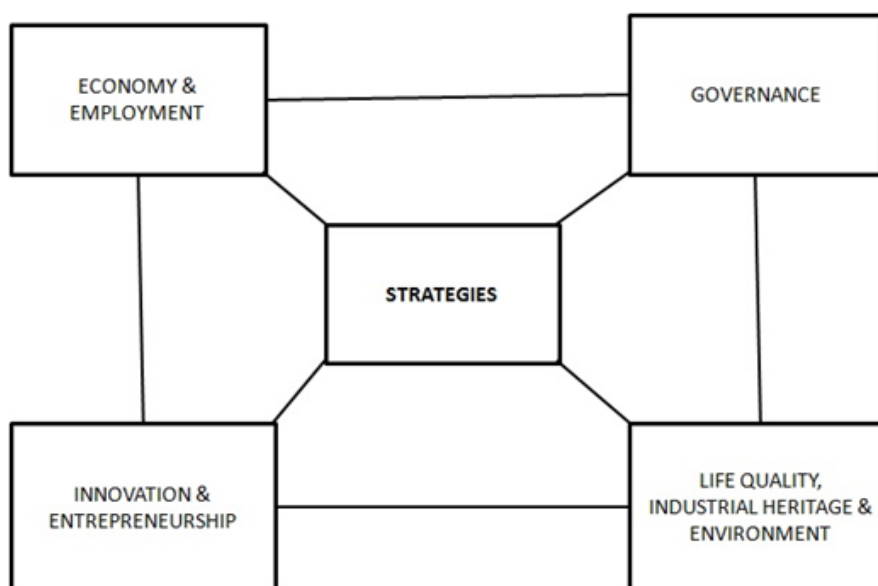
The persistence of high rates of poverty, inequality and insecurity in Latin America is a constant that must be faced, especially in the urban areas of the region. This problem usually appeared in a context of neoliberal policies following the adoption of the “Washington Consensus”. However, the XXI century has begun with major changes in Latin America. Besides the emergence of Brazil as an international actor, there is the coming to power of “new left” governments in several countries and an international context marked by the commodities upward price, very favorable for these countries. This has led to a reconfiguration “outward” and “inward” in all countries. In the first case, the first solids steps towards supranational agreements such as Mercosur, the Pacific Alliance or the Andean Community were given, after decades of internal disagreements. In the second case, there have been changes in the political and territorial management. On the one hand, new governments have initiated measures aimed to mitigate the effects of three decades of neoliberal adjustments, increasing state presence in a contrary process to the one done in other regions such as Europe. On the other hand, there has been a decentralization gradual process, continuing the trend of recent decades, which has granted more autonomy and responsibility to local and regional authorities. On both counts, improvements in forms of

territorial management and agreements have been essential, so that there is now a greater dynamism in relations between Latin American countries and, in parallel, local actors have begun to gain prominence as proactive elements of development. In this sense the key to redefine social policy in Latin America is the space of cities, being municipal governments the forefront to drive these changes.

From this perspective, this article seeks to analyze the translation of changes in territorial management in local areas, based in the case study of Santa Rosa, in Ecuador. Studies on territorial development have gradually incorporated the local dimension of development for more than twenty years ago, when the GREMI (Groupe de Recherche Européen sur les Milieux Innovateurs) began to elaborate these issues, focused on the capacity of local actors to build innovative spaces. Strategies to achieve this configuration of innovative territories from the point of view of integrated territorial development can be interpreted in many different ways. In this article, it has been decided to use a reading based on the main objectives of the measures (Méndez 2010). Thus, these strategies can be directed towards: [i] The economy and employment development; [ii] The improvement of governance and collective management of the city; [iii] The social and economic innovation; and [iv] The improvement of quality of life, the environment and the heritage restoration (Figure 1). Thus, the first ones would be linked to issues such as new industries promotion and economic clusters formation or conversion of traditional sectors to promote economic competitiveness and job creation. The second ones may be related to networking through the development of a culture of cooperation and governance mechanisms. This, than can be achieved through conciliation agencies, incentives to citizen participation or supra-government initiatives, are considered a key element in today's urban development processes (Kooiman 2003). The third type of strategies would be linked to strengthening the innovation structure of a territory by promoting technological centers, spaces for entrepreneurs and business centers. Also, by creating links between research work and economic sectors or by urban promotion (Scott 2006, 8-9). Finally, the fourth type of strategy is related to both, measures aimed at improving urban infrastructure and living conditions of residents, the renewal of the housing stock, as the improvement of the environment or the recovery of historical heritage (Musterd and Murie 2010).

This reading of the development strategies emphasizes the evolution experienced by each city after the "relational turn" suffered by the social sciences in the mid-nineties. In this sense, special attention is paid to local trajectories as economic or social structures inherited through the concept of "*path dependence*" proposed by the Evolutionary Economic Geography. A *path dependence* process or system is one whose dynamics evolves as a result of the own trajectory that follows the system (Martin and Sunley 2006, 399). That is, decisions made in the past affect the ability to make new choices, so that the dynamics of a city is not considered a rigid sequence, determined by the technology or the past, but a kind of "road map" in which certain directions are displayed, more easily identified than others (Walker 200, 126). Closely related to this is the concept of "lock-in" which refers to the persistence of inefficiencies in the systems or economies because of the path followed.

Figure 1. Interpretive perspective of local development strategies



Own elaboration from Méndez (2010)

In the case of Ecuador, there was a major break in 2007, when Rafael Correa became president of the Republic, opening a new period in which a number of changes occurs within the framework of what has become known as “the Citizen Revolution”. With this, the role of the State, will now have a more active influence in all spheres of society, imposing new guidelines in the political system, the economy and social policies, representing a radical shift in the course of the country compared to the previous decades, markedly neoliberal (Ramírez, 2009). Among the political changes taking place since 2007 in the country, it can mention some milestones such as: [i] The adoption of a new Constitution in 2008. In it, comprehensive rights are recognized to workers, poor persons, disabled, women, homosexuals, indigenous and ethnic minorities. [ii] The creation of new ministries and administrative structures to implement these rights: the Ministry of Social Inclusion, of Planning, Production Jobs and Competitiveness, etc. [iii] The nationalization of different companies in strategic sectors. It is considered that the State should have control of communications, energy resources or strategic sectors and proceeds to seize and nationalize companies in these sectors, large and underused farm buildings belonging to people related to drug trafficking or fraud to public finances. [iv] SENPLADES, the National Secretary of Planning and Development, it is created in charge to developing the broad guidelines of economic, urban and connections to the country with the aim of achieving these goals of economic development and territorial cohesion. [v] In this regard, it is the biggest investment made in infrastructure throughout the country’s history. New airports are created, the road network is improved, historic railroad after decades of neglect is recovered and put at work and major ports are expanded, with the aim of structuring the country and provide greater productivity to Ecuadorian companies.

These actions have an economic goal: changing the country’s role in the global economy and changing its productive matrix, one of the priorities of the current government (Senplades 2012). To do that, four key strategies are proposed: [i] Change a “primary-extractive” model to one adding value to the products. The aim is to stop exporting raw materials (especially oil) and importing manufactured goods, starting transformation of these products within the country and to move to export them as manufactured goods with added value, making launch an industry sector that in 2001 occupied 10.3% of the active population and in 2010 only 9.7% the population. [ii] In parallel to this, it seeks to encourage new

industries, technologically advanced and environmentally sustainable: renewable energy, pharmaceuticals, petrochemicals, tourism, etc. to help diversifying sources of income. [iii] Thirdly, it is intended to reduce imports of goods and services, moving to produce them in the country. To accomplish this objective, it is intended encouraging the creation of business in Ecuador. This will be accomplish by creating tariffs on certain products through measures reminiscent of the imports substitution model, put in action in the region during the 60s [iv] Finally, attempts are made to diversify the markets to which it is exported, placing greater emphasis on Latin America and emerging countries such as China and reducing dependence on the north American market.

Among the social policies pursued by the government of Correa was the National Plan for Good Living (PNBV it Spanish acronym), a four-year plan that seeks to improve the living conditions of the population by meeting needs that go beyond economic growth: decent work, energy sovereignty, equality, social cohesion, political decisions, comprehensive safety. After an initial Plan (2009-2013) a second Plan (2013-2017) was derived from the establishment of 12 national targets that should be accomplished to achieve the Good Living society of. These objectives, relating to political, economic and social transformation of the country must be achieved through a series of policies and targets with the 2017 horizon (Senplades 2013). To this end, funds have been allocated to improve the public education system and the creation of a public health system at all levels. Politically the implementation of participatory mechanisms and a process of political decentralization are contemplated in order to bring the administration closer to the citizen.

Programs were also carried out to provide minimum living conditions for the poorest families and to integrate people with disabilities. The first of them, the Human Development Bond is an Ecuadorian direct cash subsidy that was implemented in September 1998 for the poorest families. The Correa government increased the mensual bond to \$ 50 in 2013, with plan beneficiaries' 1.9 million people nationwide. The second one, the Manuela Espejo Mission is an intervention program for people with disabilities on four key areas: education, care, prevention and inclusion (Moreno 2012, 322). After identification and location of persons with disabilities in the country, tasks of attention were carried out (through the delivery of technical assistance and affordable housing), prevention (through early detection of potential disabilities) and inclusion (provided by a labor legislation reform that requires companies of a certain size to have a minimum percentage of disabled persons). Both programs have been internationally recognized for their effects on inequalities reduction.

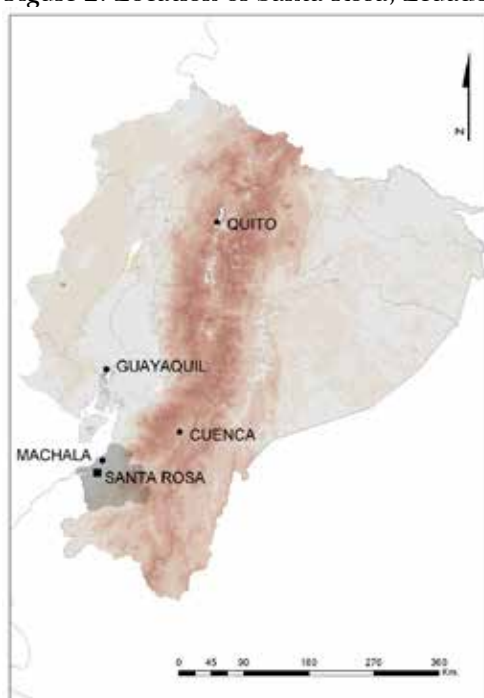
After six years of implementation, all these measures have already some visible results on issues such as poverty reduction (which, according to the National Institute of Statistics and Census decreased by 11% between 2007 and 2013). Reduction of inequalities: Ecuador was the Latin American country that has better performance in terms of the Gini index (Table 1) or the behavior of annual GDP, which was higher than the regional average in most years (Table 2). Although social, economic and political developments of the new government seem clear, there is not strong evidence that these changes are also transferred to the local level or are achieving the objectives of PNBV or that are changing the productive matrix in that scale. Therefore, it seems appropriate to make an approach through the case study and with research methods that combine statistics with qualitative techniques. In this sense, the canton of Santa Rosa has been chosen as a case study, a space that has received significant attention by the national government, as will be seen below, and which shows in parallel a clear continuity in local government. External actors and, above all, local ones have today an important explanatory weight in the policies adopted and the trajectory of local areas. Therefore, the research presents an analytical-interpretive approach that combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies. First, it uses a range of sources (previous studies, planning documents, news from the local and regional press...) with economic,

demographic and social statistics, with the intention of locating the local path of Santa Rosa. However, the main source of information used as a reference for the interpretation of the analyzed revitalization strategies is the performance of a dozen interviews with local and supra-local actors. These belong to different domains (political, economic, journalistic, social movements...) and institutions (public, private, associations). Their input has been instrumental in the development of this research. From the fieldwork and the results of interviews with local actors, the undertaken development and revitalization strategies are developed and interpreted and the results thereof are checked.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY: SANTA ROSA

Santa Rosa Canton is located south of Ecuador, in the province of El Oro, near the border with Peru and adjacent to the provincial capital, Machala (Figure 2). Although Santa Rosa was founded in the early seventeenth century, for many years it remained a as a town having almost no economic activity. However, shortly after the discovery of gold mining in the region, it became in the forced passage of trade, which greatly facilitated its development. In this sense, the city has its main in is establishment as a place of transit of goods and people, both to the mining area of Portovelo and Zaruma as to Loja in the east and to Peru in the south. As result of this strategic position, during the war between Ecuador and Peru in the early 40's, Santa Rosa was occupied by Peruvian troops on July 5, 1941 and remained invaded for seven months until February 1942 The city was bombed and Peruvian troops looted and burned it leaving the town virtually destroyed. The civilian population had to flee to the province of Guayas or to El Oro elevated areas. After the war, there was the launch of banana cultivation in the 50s (Robert, 2009), and shrimping, ten years later. This involved a population growth, people came attracted by the labor supply by these companies, and Santa Rosa is currently the third core population of the province, behind Machala and Pasaje with 69,036 inhabitants.

Figure 2. Location of Santa Rosa, Ecuador



Own elaboration

As shown in Table 1, today the employment of this canton is mainly concentrated in the primary sector (from agriculture, livestock and shrimp farming) and tertiary (through trade and public administration). Thus, the primary sector (agriculture and mining and quarrying) employs more than 32% of the total workforce (37% if we disregard the undeclared or new workers), which contrasts with a city settlement of nearly 70,000 inhabitants. The service sector, which receives almost half of the local workforce, is still at the beginning of its development, with a heavy weight of the commerce sector, followed by public administration. Meanwhile, the construction and industry appear poorly developed, indicating a weakness in the ability of this canton in the secondary sector that generates a higher value added and indirect employment. When comparing the sectorial evolution from 2001, it can be seen that agriculture has decreased its participation in the distribution of employment by 8%, even though the total number of workers has increased. The rest of the activities showed modest variations, highlighting growth of industry and construction and, especially, of other activities related to the service sector (hotels, domestic service, real estate...) that in general, have little value added.

Table 1. Total Population and Percentage by industry in Santa Rosa (2010)

Activity brach	2001		2010		%
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Difference
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	8.358	38	8.598	30	-8
Mining and quarrying	176	1	499	2	1
Industry and distribution of water, gas and electricity	1.042	5	1.795	6	1
Construction	1.180	5	1.686	6	1
Wholesale and retail	3.371	15	4.533	16	1
Public administration, health and education	3.651	16	4.387	15	-1
Other service activities	2.032	9	3.866	13	4
Undeclared	2.254	10	2.346	8	-2
New worker	138	1	1.105	4	3
Total	22.202	100	28.815	100	0

Compiled by us from INEC data (2010)

An important element of Santa Rosa has been the provision of investment or development projects by the central government. In the canton have been built or are planned several highways to Peru and to Machala, intending to connect this city with the border crossing Huaquillas-Tumbes and the regional capital, as part of a highway that extends from Huaquillas to Quito through Guayaquil. Secondly, 2010 supposed the closure of the airport that existed within the urban center of Machala and the opening of the Regional Airport of Santa Rosa, northwest of the city. The investment, which involved an outlay of \$47 million, does not seem to have recovered by the time, considering that the expected number of annual travelers contrasted with an average of about 4,500 per month and only one operational route with two daily flights to Quito. Thirdly, stands out the building a bi-national bus terminal in Santa Rosa whose works are already advanced. The State Bank gave a loan to Santa Rosa Municipal Government of more than 6 million dollars to build this infrastructure, estimated to benefit more than 28,000 passengers per year. The terminal will be located next to the airport and will have 34 platforms, shops, food court etc. so that an ordered traffic can be set up, to and from Peru and Loja,

Finally, the central government is planning in collaboration with the provincial government, the construction of an industrial eco-park in Santa Rosa. For this project have been allocated 1,000 hectares of land of which, 300 will be used in the first phase, to try to capture large-anchor companies that generate auxiliary industries. It is estimated that the project can generate about 3,000 direct jobs and 20,000 indirect jobs in industries processing agricultural products, which will generate added value to the production of bananas, coffee, cocoa and mainly shrimp.

From the point of view of local initiatives, following the pattern of the introduction, we have been able to find in Santa Rosa, development strategies that would focus on the above four aspects (figure 1). First, among those strategies aimed to economic development and job creation, stands out on one side, the weight that large infrastructures (airport and bus station, roads, etc.) would have for attracting investment. Although its development is still limited and nascent, it is considered that the startup of the terminal will have a positive effect on job creation, by now; the airport's capacity for job creation is less than it was expected. In any case, the construction of these works has also generated a significant number of jobs, which would have led to even migration from Peru to work on them. Although mostly the regional or provincial governments have financed the works, the local government has played an active role in searching for these partnerships, and in generating facilities for such initiatives.

Secondly, in the case of the promotion of governance and collective management of the city, despite that apparently mechanisms for citizen participation has not been found, it is evident the initiative from the local government to collaborate with other supra-local institutions. On the one hand, the Ministry of Industries had created there an Office of Economic Development with the intention of carrying out local projects. This Ministry also worked with the Provincial Council, the Technical University of Machala and the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Aquaculture and Fisheries. It was also found a willingness to work with the central government, who is the one who carried out the airport and has designed the industrial eco-park in collaboration with the provincial government. On the other hand, the work of the bus station has been run with funds from the State Bank of Investment that has also subsidized a work for flood control in the city. This, however, does not necessarily imply the need to implement mechanisms for citizen participation, mechanisms that do not seem to be well developed in the city, despite the statistical data that are discussed below. In this regard, it seemed significant that three local associations, one environmental and two social, in the city has been identified, but at the moment to contact them for interviews as part of the fieldwork, it was found that all three had been dissolved.

Thirdly, among those measures related to strengthening the structure of territorial innovation, compared to the absence of technological centers and universities in the city, highlights the work the office of entrepreneurship, which is configured as a training center for entrepreneurs. This organization has developed workshops on business plans for micro entrepreneurs and has tried to assist in channeling business plans. The problem is that there are no grants to start the business. In some case it has made arrangements with local banks to provide credit, but the problem is they do not easily give loans to entrepreneurs. Other institutions as the Chamber of Commerce have also organized training courses, but they noted that the acceptance among the local population is not very positive, attending them even more people from outside than from the Santa Rosa canton.

Finally, if we refer to strategies related to quality of life, environment and urban planning, Santa Rosa starts from an intermediate position compared to other districts of the province with 61.4% poverty by unsatisfied basic needs in 2006 (table 2). However, in 2010 reached the third best position regarding this indicator within fourteen cantons (just behind Marcebelí and Piñas), so that its evolution was one of the best of El Oro. Some causes of this

improvement have to do with the combined action of local and supra-local agencies. Among the first, would be the provision of facilities and urban renewal carried out by the local government, which took the initiative to acquire an asphalt plant and machinery to carry out a renovation of 15 km of urban roads per year, having reached an improvement city vial of 60%. Meanwhile, the national government would have undertaken the construction of new classrooms and renovation of schools. Despite this, there could still be problems of pollution in rivers, by mercury and by discharges wastewater that the municipality does not treat

Although the interpretation of these strategies may have multiple readings, in this case, ours will be according to issues related to the National Plan for Good Living and Change in Matrix Production. In the first case, most indicators have behaved in a positive way, such as the percentage of poverty previously commented. In this regard, Table 2 shows that between 2006 and 2010, the percentage of poverty due to unsatisfied basic needs, increased in 6 out of 14 cantons, with special virulence in Huaquillas, Balsas and the capital, Machala. Conversely, a decrease of this indicator in eight cantons was observed, led by Santa Rosa, but in any case, it fell to 50% of people affected by it. Another important set of indicators related to the levels of quality of life can bring more light on these issues (Table 3). In this regard, a series of data referring to the evolution of Santa Rosa, in comparison to those of its province, (taken from the 2001 and 2010 Census of Population and Housing), show how in this period the percentage of homes without electricity, sewer service waste collection, potable water, private shower or private toilet facility, declined more in Santa Rosa than in El Oro. The studied canton clearly approached to the provincial average in all the above indicators. Furthermore, data related to roof, floor and walls conditions of the houses, not available for 2001, already reflect an equal or better position of them in Santa Rosa than in El Oro.

Table 2. % Poverty by Unsatisfied Basic Needs in the cantons of El Oro (2006-2010)

Canton	2006	2010	Difference
Machala	49,5	56,9	7,4
Arenillas	69,3	71,8	2,5
Atahualpa	61,7	59,3	-2,4
Balsas	60	69,6	9,6
Chilla	86,5	84	-2,5
El Guabo	71,9	74,3	2,4
Huaquillas	61,1	73,9	12,8
Marcabelí	65,8	52,9	-12,9
Pasaje	55,1	59	3,9
Piñas	59,2	56,1	-3,1
Portovelo	59,8	59,5	-0,3
Santa Rosa	61,4	56,6	-4,8
Zaruma	63,7	62,8	-0,9
Las Lajas	79,6	71,7	-7,9

Compiled by us, using data from the Provincial Road Plan of El Oro Government (2006) and INEC (2010)

If we look at the issue of territorial governance, which is one of the cornerstones of the National Plan for Good Living, Table 4 shows that the county seems to have developed a better management and participation of its citizens is Santa Rosa. It is always among the best positioned canton in the province in terms of increased strength in the public participation

component, availability of participatory Local Development Plans, mechanisms for consultation and accountability, even surpassing the capital in three of them, and being the best positioned in the first, which would demonstrate a breakthrough in another element of the comprehensive territorial development.

Table 3. Indicators of quality of life in cantons studied (2010)

	Santa Rosa	El Oro	Sta. Rosa	El Oro	Santa Rosa	El Oro
	2001		2010		%	
Percentage of households without electricity	7	5	3	3	-4	-2
Percentage of households without sewer	43	43	32	35	-11	-8
Percentage of households without waste collector car	39	31	19	14	-20	-17
Percentage of households without drinking water	18	25	12	21	-6	-4
Percentage of households without private toilet facility	37	31	25	23	-12	-8
Percentage of households without private shower	42	39	35	32	-7	-7
Housing with bad condition roofs	-	-	14	15	-	-
Housing with bad condition walls	-	-	11	11	-	-
Housing with bad condition floors	-	-	13	14	-	-

Compiled by us from INEC (2010)

Table 4. Levels of citizen participation in the Cantons of El Oro

	Strength component of citizen participation	It has a Participatory Local Development Plan	Application of consultation mechanisms	Mechanisms of accountability
Arenillas	57	25	65	30
Atahualpa	10	5	5	5
Balsas	5	51	5	5
Chilla	33	90	50	55
El Guabo	10	5	40	5
Huaquillas	69	60	55	55
Las Lajas	65	80	80	70
Marcabelí	50	100	95	100
Pasaje	72	75	45	60
Machala	60	60	90	60
Piñas	50	60	75	80
Portovelo	59	52	65	50
Santa Rosa	82	70	80	80
Zaruma	45	77	43	43
El Oro	48	59	57	50

Compiled by us from data of the State Bank: <https://consulta.bancoestado.com>

Secondly, regarding the change in the productive matrix discussed before, the evidence found in Santa Rosa remark that, despite progress, there has been no radical change in the production model, heavily dependent on the banana and shrimp. On one hand, it seems that the development of these sectors has decreased the level of employment requiring, having led, in the words of an economic actor, to the decline in the commercial sector by

reducing consumption. To this problem it should add the fact that proximity to Peru is seen as negative, since this country traders come to sell their products cheaper or to work for lower wages than Ecuadorians. On the other hand, most productive aid and loans have been granted to projects related to agriculture such as bananas and coffee. This makes the ability to affect change in the production model proves weak. However, a political actor noted that in the past year had been about six ventures related to the transformation of this raw material, being at that time also organizing other ventures related to the textile sector. On the other hand, business innovation was still in a very precarious state in the county, because those companies with investments in areas such as waste management (0.39% of total) , research and development (0.17 %) or training and education (1.88%) were minor (Table 5) something which, however, is a common situation in the country. Unfortunately, the lack of availability of data on this scale on imports and exports limits the interpretation of the change of the productive matrix, although the evidence collected in the work field and sectorial statistics are not very positive.

Table 5. Companies that made investments for innovative processes or products

	Santa Rosa
Expenditure on waste management	9
Expenditure on research and development	4
Expenditure on training and development	43
Total enterprises	2281

INEC (2010)

3. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The cities have become the key elements of catalyzing territorial development strategies promoted by the governments, having taken the helm of the management of local areas after having undergone a process of political decentralization. In this sense, not only large Latin American cities are the protagonists of urban regeneration strategies, investment for economic growth or innovative policies from social and cultural fields. The cities of intermediate size sometimes inspired by these initiatives and on other occasions by implementing innovative ideas, today are also protagonists of territorial development.

In the case of Santa Rosa, this paper has shown the importance of fighting against certain social (lack of facilities, poverty and poor quality of life) and economic problems (significant weight of agriculture, lack of business innovation, etc.) that are at the bottom of policies aimed at achieving the National Plan for Good Living and the change in the production model. In this sense, the work of planning developed by the Central Government has been coordinated with the actions from local institutions, which has had positive consequences. The most obvious improvements have taken place in the field of housing, urban planning and living conditions, areas where there have been important advances. In the case of change in the production matrix, from sectorial change or the introduction of innovations in processes and products, the evidence found, lower than in the case of social elements, show a minor incidence of development policies in this regard.

This leads us to two basic issues. Firstly, the need of improving the mechanisms and economic statistics at the local level, since it is priority to track their trends. Secondly the validity of the case studies and local trajectories in studies of urban, economic and social geography, as are relevant to explaining the evolution of these aspects and, finally, the need

for new cases helping to refine the research methodology and carry out comparisons between case studies at national and regional level.

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