
The Latin-American and Caribbean Research Network Project
“Discrimination and Economic Outcomes”

What Emigration Leaves Behind:
The Situation of Emigrants and their Families in Ecuador

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Abstract

This study seeks to identify, measure and analyze possible discriminatory behaviors against international emigrants and their families in their home country in southern Ecuador (the city of Cuenca and the rural canton of San Fernando) and the potential social costs for the community. The impact of emigration income in Ecuador is enormous, the “diaspora” counts for the second most important source of income in the country after oil. Through a combined methodological approach (in-depth interviews, media analysis, and two surveys) we tried to elicit new insights into this, up to now, hidden type of discrimination in the country. Our main findings point out in the direction that a) emigration is perceived as a social problem, b) emigrant families are seen as economically “irrational”, they do not invest the remittances they receive in productive and sustainable activities; therefore, they do not contribute to the national economy. Emigrants are portrayed as “irresponsible” because they choose to abandon their families in search of better living conditions, and c) emigrant’s children are perceived as doing worse in school than their peers, as living outside the society, marginalized and self-excluded. The general perception is that emigrant children do not have a future in the country and they will most probably (try to) leave the country as their parents did. These discriminatory perceptions and attitudes toward emigrants and their families are the first step for the development of a discriminatory behavior. The observed kind of discrimination follows a cultural pattern: the closer the person to the dominant culture (urban, adult, married, well educated, high incomes, full employment) the more probable he/she is to discriminate emigrants and their families. Women show more discriminatory attitudes than men, what could be related to the ‘family sin’ charged to emigrants when they abandon their children, family and home country.

Introduction

The goal of this study is to identify, analyze and measure discrimination against international emigrants and their families in the southern area of Ecuador (the city of Cuenca and the rural canton of San Fernando), and its potential social costs. Up to now, the literature has primarily focused on the analysis of the migrants situation in the receiving countries (mainly the U.S. and Spain), and less efforts have been made on producing scientific knowledge on the effects of the phenomenon in their home country. Moreover, those studies addressing local effects of international emigration have emphasized its causes, development and consequences to the national economy, but discrimination against emigrants (in their home country and not abroad) is absent of the academic and public discussion, at least in Ecuador.

The impacts of emigration income in Ecuador is tremendous, the “diaspora” counts for the second most important source of income in the country, after oil, since 1999. Despite the economic relevance of this activity, emigrants and their families are frequently discriminated against. The recently coined term ‘resident’ addresses the sons, daughters and parents of emigrants. They are often portrayed as “problematic people”, likely to be engaged in criminal activities, with low education profile and with no future expectations other than leaving the country.

This report seeks to open up the discussion on discrimination against emigrants and their families in Ecuador, present in the media and people attitudes; and also to prevent state policy makers and NGO’s from discriminatory against this population. The research also aims to address a social and cultural approach to discrimination that we hope could contribute to a deeper understanding of discrimination in Latin America.

Due to the complexity of the questions that this project aims to answer, we propose to combine methods from different approaches to try to elicit new insights into this type of discrimination in the Ecuadorian’s society. We will focus on three specific types of data collection methods: in-depth interviews, media analysis and two population surveys. The benefit of using this mix methodology is the possibility to target a variety of social actors that have different roles in the phenomenon.

The main result of this study is that discrimination against emigrants is based on the following social representations: a) Emigration is a problem, b) It is a bad thing for the region (Cuenca and the nation), the emigrants themselves, and especially for their families, c) Emigrants are irrational, they do not use their remittances in productive and sustainable activities; therefore, they do not contribute to the national economy; d) Emigrants are irresponsible, they abandon their families and suffer a moral condemn, and e) Emigrant’s children do worse in school than non-emigrant children, they are not integrated to the society (marginalized and self-excluded) and it is probably they will (try to) leave the country as their parents did.

Finally, a patron of discrimination against emigrants has been established: The closer the surveyed is to the dominant culture (urban, high income, well educated, married, and elder), the more probable he/she will have a discriminatory perception about emigrants. Women have more discriminatory behaviors, as opposed to men, because the moral condemn against emigrants is center on familiar values.

1. Theoretical Framework

Ecuadorian people have a long history of spatial displacement when their way of living is challenged by economical and political crisis or to search better opportunities. During the ninetieth and twentieth centuries we observe important human mobility, such as people from the highlands migrating temporal or permanently to Guayaquil (the country's main port and the most industrialized city) to work on the harvest of “quinine” and banana or to work in Quito, the capital city of Ecuador.

However, international migration is a relatively new phenomenon that started in the south (this study's region) in the 1970's. Since that time social networks between Cuenca / the U.S. and Cuenca / Spain were created and more Ecuadorians emigrated; but it is not until 1999 that international emigration spread nationally, increased in 250% and became an issue for the public opinion. The main cause of this rise was the financial crisis that led to the bankruptcy of the bank system and the dollarization of the national economy in 2000 (Ramirez, Ramirez 2005: 70).

This recent emigration is mainly illegal and generates a completely new setting for Ecuadorians: people emigrate abroad, meaning that they have to face migratory laws from the host countries they go. Most of the rural emigrants will have an illegal status in the host countries, meaning that they will not be able to go back to their home country until they make a migratory status change, and have accumulated enough capital to start a business or take their family back. Therefore, international emigration leaves emigrant's family members by themselves a long period of time.

In Ecuador it is common knowledge that an emigrant needs to pay between 10.000 to 14.000 dollars to a 'coyote' (organizer of the illegal entrance to the U.S.) for the trip. If he/she succeeds in entering the host country, he/she will need at least two years of hard working in the hosting country to pay back his/her debt and release his land mortgage. Once paid, he/she will save money to send to its family. Thus, during two years the new head of the house (usually the wife and mother) has to support its family.

But migration does not end there. In Ecuador, the migratory phenomenon has reproduced an old practice of discrimination: that based on racial categories. Any approach to discriminatory practices in the Andean region, of which Ecuador is part of, must take into account the three categories that define the social hierarchy of this highly indigenous society: class, ethnicity and gender, as Rivera argues:

The superposition of the criteria of caste and class stratification had such a 'constitutive' influence, that even today it continues to structure relationships and perceptions among the different groups (1988: 68).

In this context, Ecuador inherited the dominance of 'white', western orientated elite from the colony. The impossibility to overcome racial discrimination left indigenous people (the majority of the rural population) in a precarious condition, confined in the rural areas with minimum incomes or stigmatized in the cities as inferior because of their ethnicity.

International migration gives indigenous emigrants the possibility to grant their families a higher economic income; nevertheless, this financial improvement does not grant them channels of social mobility, because the emigrant's family members are stigmatized as 'residents', new riches or a potential middle class that, in spite of their money, lack "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1999) or education, good taste, and western values that would equal them to "whites". Therefore, in this study we argue that this new phenomena reproduces old racist exclusions to avoid the 'resident' social and economic rise and perpetuates the status quo; however, we also propose that discrimination against residents cannot be reduced to an approach of postcolonial continuity (the updating of race or ethnicity as criteria for social hierarchy) because it is constituted in a new setting: a closer insertion to the global market throughout the working labor displacement.

At times of profound world market integration, postcolonial societies intensify their non modern forms of distinction (mainly race) to avoid becoming meritocratic, fully modern societies (individual merit as the basis of social mobility). Paradoxically, this always incomplete modernity is convenient to the market economy expansion because it produces cheaper labor source, worldly accessible. Therefore, discrimination against emigrants in their home countries and abroad becomes highly capitalist and modern, and not a trace of the (colonial, pre-modern) past.

As Balibar and Wallenstein (1992) have point out, race and gender are central categories to the world division of labor, because they increase the surplus obtained. Discrimination against international emigrants, as the case we present here, requires to be contextualized in the current geopolitical division of labor.

Under the context described, we would like to contribute to the theoretical debate on discrimination, carried out by the Research Social Network, by analyzing this practice as a social and cultural construction, that not only represents visible and measurable behaviors (face to face or institutional discrimination), but affects the society as a whole, its social hierarchy, channels of mobility, its collective imaginary, identities and vision beyond the short term (horizon). In more practical aspects, this discrimination would define, among other things, public affairs such as social investment (education, health, rural and agricultural development) and incentives to the production (agroindustrial business instead of low scale, peasant production). This is what we understand as "the social cost of discrimination", that although have not been measured in this work, can be arguably deducted.

Since international emigration increased, Ecuadorian state social inversion has decreased proportionally. If in 1991, remittances were \$109 millions, the same year social inversion reached \$ 513 millions. By 2001 the numbers were inverted, while social inversion was \$ 685 millions (a little high than a decade ago), remittances reached \$ 1415 (Ramirez and Ramirez 2005: 77), doubling the state caring of Ecuadorian people. This gap makes IBD said: "the most

efficient mean to combat poverty in Latin America does not come from governments or international cooperation but from emigrants' remittances" (ibid, our translation).

There can be many reasons for state social inversion stagnation, but the data collected in our media analysis and survey, suggests that public policy makers share an underestimated opinion about emigrants. Although emigrants have incomes to deal with their basic expanses (food, education and health), this population is portrayed as highly problematic and willing to abandon the country as their parents did or they can become marginal because of familiar disintegration, crime and acculturation. Moreover, emigrants are economically irrational because they do not invest their incomes in productive activities such as agriculture but on luxurious consume (houses, cars, clothing); therefore, it seems meaningless for the state to support rural development.

Despite emigrants' contribution to the national economy, poverty relieving, and its support of the costs of dollarization (ibid), public opinion considers them a national problem. This image is constructed mainly by the migratory effect on nuclear family. The discourse of family abandonment, the psychological consequences in their offspring, and their school performance constitutes the visible face of this stigmatization. Somehow, emphasizing family disequilibrium represents a powerful mechanism of discrimination because it appeals to the nation as a family (a frequently used metaphor of constructing patriotism and a collective feeling of belonging) (Sommer 2001). In this interpretation, international emigration challenges the nation-family as a whole, because it tears it apart, threatens its unity. Emigrants are not only abandoning their sons but their nation and doing so they are betraying this national family. Their support to their 'private family' and the national economy is shadowed to the light of their "sin", the moral consequences of their leaving.

What insights can this discourse of moral condemn show to our analysis? We started our field research with an analysis of the media, and the public discourses about emigrants, to contextualize a more factual measurement: discriminatory perceptions. In the following pages we present the interpretation of both types of data that probe our initial hypothesis: in the urban context (Cuenca) there are discriminatory perceptions and attitudes toward emigrants and their families. Moreover, we evidence that this discrimination follows a socio-cultural patron. The closer a person is to the dominant pole of the society (white/mestizo, westernized, urban, high educated, married, full employed) the more probable he/she will have stigmatizing perceptions against emigrants. The exception to this model is the genre category, where females (and not males in a patriarchal society) are more discriminatory. But, it can be explained by the moral condemn explained before. Emigration, as a familiar sin, is more sensible to women because it stands on the private sphere of the family and its values.

The main critique we could have from these results and the methodology used is that we did not measure discriminatory behaviors, but perceptions or attitudes that do not prove an actual discriminatory interaction. We acknowledge this weakness in terms of observable, individual behaviors, but we also consider that our social and cultural emphasis on discrimination could be our best contribution on the subject.

We understand discrimination as a ‘social construction’, a product of human practices that is not a natural essence of the human beings. This approach developed by the school of sociological phenomenology (Peter Berger y Thomas Luckmann 2001), privileges “common sense”, because in this sphere people constitutes worlds of meaning. Perception, therefore, is the first constitutive moment of reality, and of the social.

Nevertheless, this common sense becomes materialized or institutionalized with the time, and acquires a structure independent to individual perceptions. Social constructions are not only subjective perceptions but also objective social conditions, cultural values or concrete historical contexts. By this we mean ‘social disponibilities’ that in its turn are internalized by the people, and therefore conditions their practices, once of which is discrimination.

We do not want to say that social disponibilities determine individual behaviors; the social is not a world of fixed and immutable laws, but a space of interactions between the subjects (intersubjectivity), the specific situation of the action, and the subjects’ context (structures, social representations, history). As Bourdieu (1999) states, there is a “conditioned freedom”.

Social interactions, conducted in a setting of social disponibilities and individual freedom, are also based on force relationships. This point of view let us think on conflict in the level of face to face interactions:

“In human relationships, being whatever they might be –verbal communication, loving, institutional, economic relationships- power is always present. I mean, any relationship where one tries to direct somebody else behavior (...). These power relationships are mobile, they can be modified, they are not determined once and for all” (Foucault 1994: 125-126, our translation).

This exposition leads us to the conceptualization of discrimination as a social interaction that depends on: the actors’ perceptions about emigrants, based on common sense. However, this perceptions are not ‘transparent’ or natural, they are conditioned by the actors’ social disponibilities or what they have learned (internalized structure) about emigrants, and how this new category (resident, illegal) is related to old meanings (non while, uneducated, rural etc.). As we have said, this disponibilities condition but do not determine the (discriminatory) interaction. Individual freedom and the specificity of the situation (where it takes places, between whom and in which power balance, the purpose, etc) materialize the interaction.

These (inter) subjective and objective aspects configure the discriminatory interaction. To undertake the analysis on discrimination as a pure matter of individual choice, guided by rational actions denies its social and cultural dimensions or at least reduces it to a homogenous and universal social scenario.

Therefore, we consider that the approach taken by the mainstream economy should be complemented. What is called “statistical discrimination” (defined by a result of an information problem on the basis of appearance), discrimination based only on preferences of the individuals (taste), and self-exclusion (self-imposed discrimination), although are manifested by individual behaviors, preferences, rationalities, are socially and culturally conditioned.

Liberal economy presupposes that human beings' behavior is guided by rational intentions. By nature, humans act according to a rational calculus of means-ends, in a normal pattern or in case of social exclusion (discrimination). This anthropological conception of humans, defines actions as the result of rational decisions based on the knowledge and resources available, and selfishness or altruist motivations. History, as the accumulation of internalized representations in the subject, the situation of the interaction (power relationships, intersubjectivity, social meanings) are excluded of the analysis and with them, the possibility to understand social settings that promote or restrain potential discriminatory behaviors.

When this theoretical framework includes the social or cultural realm, it tends to homogenize it. The 'homo economicus', the individual acting in the means-ends rationality, is not a natural one, it is the product of a specific historical context: modernity and capitalism. The disciplines of anthropology and history have proven that in other cultural settings, human beings act according to other rationalities (social prestige, symbolic interchange, the community over the individual, etc). If we undertake the analysis of discrimination in Latin America, we need to consider that modernity and capitalism are not completed processes. Different cultural and social patrons coexist with modern values and the means-ends rationality.

Due to the complexity of the questions addressed in this research, we crafted a qualitative & quantitative mix-mode design to try to elicit new insights into this new type of discrimination in the Ecuadorian's society. The specific objectives were to obtain the necessary quantitative and qualitative information to identify, characterize, measure and recommend possible actions to overcome this negative phenomenon. We have conducted in-depth interviews in San Fernando (the rural area), and collected migratory news from the most important newspapers, one local and the other national. Finally, we have conducted a survey in Cuenca and San Fernando to measure people's perceptions and behaviors toward international emigrants (see annexes 1 for methodological details).

In the following pages the main results of this research are described and analyzed.

2. Results and Analyses

3.1 Qualitative Methods

3.1.1 In-depth interviews and Secondary sources of information

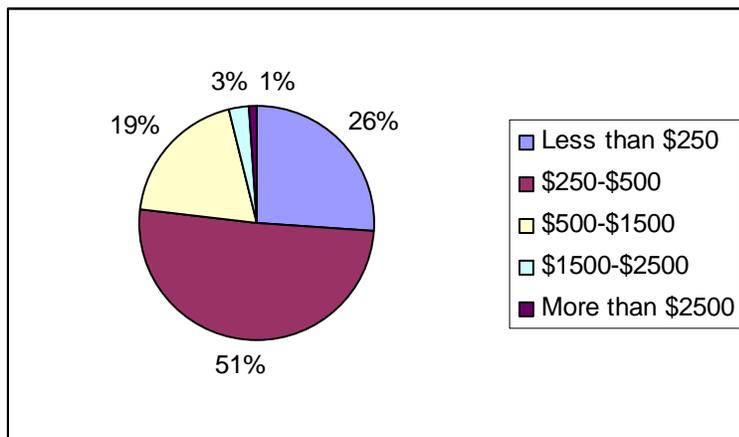
We conducted in-depth interviews in the rural town of San Fernando to initially approach discrimination against emigrants. According to the last census, 434 people (305 men and 129 women) had emigrated from San Fernando at the date of the interview, most of them between the ages of 17 and 27 years old (Cepal-Celade 2002-2003, cited in Censo Nacional VI, 2001). If we consider the population of San Fernando in 2001, this means that 11% of the total population left their hometown in search of better conditions in other cities of the country or abroad.

In the last decade, San Fernando’s main productive activity has shifted from agriculture to stockbreeding. This can be understood because the lesser workers it needs comparing to traditional agriculture, and because it offers everyday incomes to peasants (they sell milk to local traders). A migratory context (people leaving town, remittances, new cultural patrons), and stockbreeding activity generated a tendency toward the individualization of the peasant community, which is reflected (among other things) in the preference for paid-job instead of using any of the communitarian traditional sources available, and the rise of the town’s trading. But the question is: how does emigration impact San Fernando’s economy?

According to the study “Receptores de remesas en el Ecuador. Una investigación de mercado” (Bendicen & Associates 2003), the Ecuadorian emigrants working abroad send about u\$ 1,500 million monthly, which corresponds to approximately to u\$ 176 per household, as shown in the graphic:

According to this investigation, 46% of the people who receive emigration income gets it monthly and 27% every two or three months (idem). When asked about the destination of this money, 61% of the respondents said they use it to pay for living expenses, 8% said to invest in business, 8% for savings, 4% to invest in real estate, 2% in education expenses and 17% in costing some kind of luxury good or activity .

[Graphic 1: Percentage of Monthly Emigration Income \(“Remesas”\)](#)



[Source: Bendicen & Associates, 2003.](#)

There is no doubt that emigration income has a great impact at the national, regional and local level. It is almost equivalent to ten times the international economic help and five times the International Monetary Fund’s credit for 2001. It also exceeds government’s social investment in health and education. This situation is also very visible in San Fernando, where the interviewees agree that the local economy has improved a lot in the last few years (after the economic crisis of 2000 or the currency change, from *suces* to dollars).

Perception of the economic situation

Two are the key elements that appear frequently in the interviewee's speech, when talking about the economic situation in the town: (1) the dollarization of the economy in 2000, and (2) the international emigration.

After the dollarization, real estate prices raised significantly, while cattle and farming production's prices decreased. Some interviewees remember that before the dollarization, it was possible to buy a ranch, with the money obtained selling a few heads of cattle. They could also sell small animals (chickens, pigs, guinea pigs) to buy daily supplies like food and clothing. "*...Today nothing has price*" says one of the interviewee, meaning that with the dollarization of the economy, people have lost purchasing power, which is specially true for emigrant's families.

Before the dollarization process, the emigration income allowed a significant higher purchase power, once the incoming dollars were exchanged for the national currency "sucre". For example, emigrants could pay their debts due to the illegal emigration to local usurers ("chulqueros") faster, buy lands and build new dwellings for their families. Nowadays, it seems that cases of families who lose their lands because they are not able to pay the loans to usurers are growing fast.

"When I was single, I had quite a lot of cattle, thanks to my parent's inheritance. After I got married, I also had enough cattle, but my children grew up and they decided to emigrate, that was when I lost everything I had to the "chulqueros" (usurers)".

As a consequence, emigrants are left with few incentives to invest in their hometowns and prefer to put the money in activities in the receptor country.

Despite the consensus around the negative effects of the economic crisis and the dollarization of the economy, it seems to be an acknowledgement of the huge impact of the emigration income in the development of San Fernando. In 1990 San Fernando stopped being a Parish to become a Canton. Since then, the town's infrastructure development has been remarkable. The national government is responsible for much of the improvements, but also emigrants' contribution was critical. It's a common practice that emigrants donate money to build or repair churches, sport facilities and for community religious celebrations.

At the same time, a new socioeconomic hierarchy is produced by emigration. Although almost everyone in San Fernando has at least an emigrant relative, one can note some differences between the households who are the direct receivers of the emigration income (direct relatives) and those who do not direct income. Therefore, having an emigrant parent, brother/sister or son/daughter, places the household in a relative more favorable socioeconomic standard. The time of emigration and the emigrants' status in the receiving country (illegal vs. legal) are also important variables to be considered.

People who have emigrated more than five years ago usually enjoy the resident status in the receptor countries or at least have been able to paid their trip debts and have generally built a house in San Fernando or Cuenca. After these two expenses are covered, emigrant's family are free to invest in lands, cattle and other economic activities (public transportation, grocery, clothing stores, restaurants, usury, etc), and sometimes they also invest in the emigration of

another family member. If the emigrant has the status of resident or citizen of the receptor country, he/she can also visit his/her family in Ecuador and bring the 'cultural capital' accumulated to open a business or move his family to the nearest big city (Cuenca). This group constitutes the so called 'new riches', who enjoy a relative good economic situation, and can even compete with the local traditional elite.

The second group is formed by families with a recent emigrant member (less than 2 years). This group not only is not in the same conditions as the previous one, but also is more vulnerable than families with no direct emigrant members. In order to undertake the 'migratory adventure', the potential emigrant asks support to his/her family. According to what we learnt from the interviewees, once the contacts are made, the potential emigrant will need between \$10.000 and \$14.000, amount that is increasing due to more border controls and tougher immigration regulations in the U.S. and Europe. To obtain that sum of money, the families ask loans to usurers, mortgaging their lands and paying high interests (approx. 6.5% monthly).

Once the loan is obtained, the emigrant begins the long trip that if succeed, could take up to two months to arrive to the final destination. But many are not able to make it, if they are caught and therefore deported; they still need to pay half of the received loan to the usurers and "coyotes" (emigrants' traders). In this case, the family has to face the debt and the interests generated by the unsuccessful adventure.

If the emigrant manages to arrive to his/her final destination (after one or more unsuccessful attempts), it will take him/her one or two years to save enough to pay the debt and ensure the family's lands. Once this step is completed, the family members ("residents") living in San Fernando (and other parts of the country as well) will start receiving incomes from the emigrant member.

Having many households receiving incomes from emigration, San Fernando's inhabitants evaluate their local economy in a positive way. We find testimonies that generalize the economic improvement, usually from people with an emigrant relative, but there are also interviewees who emphasize the distinction between these families and the rest of the population. In the first group, we find statements such as:

"Everybody has enough money; because relatives send money from abroad (...) there is almost no poverty here. Everybody has lands, cattle and a place to sow. We are all more or less well-off", "many people have become rich because of emigration".

The other opinion group (the ones who do not receive money from emigrants) also make their voice heard:

"Here, people believe that because some have immigrated to the U.S., we all are wealthy. That is why local traders and merchants ask the highest prices, but we do not have money (and we buy in Cuenca)".

According to our observations, interviews and qualitative data (VI Censo Nacional 2001, III Censo Agrario 1997, and Catastro Rural de San Fernando 2005), San Fernando is far beyond a

region of wealthy farmers. The economic crisis of 2000 and the negative impact of dollarization in farming and livestock production could not be balanced by migratory incomes. What this income has done is a) reduce the impoverishment, by supporting families' expanses in food, house, health and education; and b) deeper the social hierarchy inside this rural society; few people are able to accumulate capital, buy land and expand their cattle farming business.

Investment sources for emigration incomes

What are the main destinations of the money received by “residents” in San Fernando? We suggest a typology of four categories: (1) housing and daily goods, (2) investment in production, (3) new migratory endeavors for other family members and (4) education. This classification assumes that the family has managed to pay the loan to the usurers.

Housing and daily goods

After paying the migratory trip loan, the first investment is generally to build a new dwelling that would be, in theory, used as a place to live by the emigrant at his/her return. Despite it seems confusing why someone who does not live in the place, and probably will not live there for many years to come, would want to invest in building a house there, emigrants do it because they affirm their wish of returning to their homeland.

Building a new dwelling seems to be a common practice in southern Ecuador. Driving along the road in the rural areas, one can easily see many new houses build in a new architectural, non traditional style. What is more, Cuenca's elites have constructed a discourse of discrimination against emigrant's new houses and what they call their “aesthetic”. Their concern is that the once idyllic rural landscape (the place of their estates –haciendas- and “*huasipungos*” -peasant servants-) is taking urban characteristics (Ordóñez, 2005).

When planning for the construction of the new house, emigrants usually send a picture of an American or European house they would like to have reproduced. Nonetheless, these pictures are mixed with local architectural elements to give birth to a new style, product of this blending. The Cuenca's elite also deem these constructions ‘irrational’, arguing that because nobody lives in those houses, they represent an irrational investment that dulls productive investments, as will be shown below in the media content analysis chapter.

Despite this imaginary against the emerging architectural style, new constructions are significantly boosting. We hypothesize that in doing so, emigrants are able to keep alive the idea of going back home (‘utopia of return’). In addition, it also has practical purposes; emigrants usually leave their family behind (wife, husband, children, or parents), therefore building a house for them constitutes a first relevant support.

“The Canton San Fernando and its recintos have gotten better, compared to some years ago. Before, there were no people or houses, but currently the number of inhabitants has raised and people have good houses”.

The apparent illogic of this new constructions (“ghost dwellings”) is not only criticized by the speech of the elites in Cuenca, but also among peasants in San Fernando.

“...emigrants invest in cars, lands, cattle and they build enormous and luxurious houses that are always abandoned. They want to show their economic power and compete with the rest to gain prestige”.

This is an important key element to understand emigrant families’ rational. If the hypothesis that we are witnessing the emergence of a new social stratum can not be rejected, then the high level of perishable and non perishable goods consumption and investment in luxury would be rational, since it is the expression of an economic strategy: to be part of the local-dominant class and from there, be able to establish social relationships to obtain privileges (from the City Hall, for example).

At the same time, it is necessary to consider that this new spending behavior is part of the new cultural values that the emigrants have assimilated in their new settings. Emigrants are most of the time settled down in high consumer societies, and they want the same for the relatives back home. One can easily see signs of this “transculturation”¹ in San Fernando, for example: groceries with canned food, urban-style clothing stores, restaurants, electronic supply stores, etc. Along with this consumer impulse, there is a stop set by some residents that see the need to back their traditional values.

“When a single son sends money, it is necessary to save. If possible, one has to buy a piece of land for him. We cannot waste their money (...). Some emigrants come with money, they also return with a business, a car, for example (public transportation business). My son came back, bought cattle, land and now he has a clothing store in downtown”.

Investing in Production

Unfortunately, we could not identify any additional source of information about San Fernando’s dairy production, number of head cattle any land register, that would allow us to compare possible changes in the last years. The 2005 Land Property Register (Catastro) is the only known information source.

Compared to the highland national average (8.39he.), and to the province’s average (Azuay, 6.14he.), San Fernando’s ranch average size is considerable smaller (2.89 he.) respectively. How it is possible to talk about emigrants’ economic accumulation with such a reduced ranch average size?

As stated above, Andean land ownership system is characterized by the possession of small pieces of land in different areas (usually in a variety of ecological areas). In San Fernando, the ecological level ownership has been lost, but we can still see the tendency to own many small

¹ We use ‘transculturation’ instead of the more common term ‘acculturation’ to avoid one side approaches to cultural change. Acculturation reflects only one-way change, from one culture to the other. Instead, transculturation implies cultural changes are always two-way transformation; a person mixes its own culture with the new one, he/she does not abandon his/her culture (Ortiz 1999).

pieces rather than a unique bigger ranch. The table below illustrates one typical case where different family members, (identified by the common Last Name and mother's maiden name) have multiple land properties.

[Table 1: Typical case of multiple land property, Chumblín 2005](#)

Name	No. of properties	Size (he.)
Adolfo	5	2,40
José María	3	2,00
Manuel Adolfo	4	2,00
Mariana	6	1,81
Mercedes	8	3,20
Rosendo	1	1,00
Total	27	12,41

[Source: Own, based on *Catastro rural de San Fernando, 2005.*](#)

From the table above we learn that even when these siblings own more than one piece of land (except for Rosendo), if we sum them up individually, each of them gets an aggregated of approximately 0.46 he. (4600 meters), what falls under San Fernando's average (2.89he.). If we analyze these siblings individually, we would conclude that they are poor because they cannot feed even a single cattle head (1 he. is needed). However, knowing the traditional family arrangements, (family networks) we know that in real they have access to 12.41 he.

Another interesting finding in the Catastro's analysis is a general tendency in San Fernando area to own two very different sized pieces of land, for example 0.5 and 35 he. Although we are unable to tell if this tendency in land tenant was always the case in the region, based on the in-depth interviewees we hypothesize that it has to do with the migratory phenomenon. It could be possible, that emigrants are sending money to invest in real estate and in the main local activity: cattle farming.

“...emigrants have been able to buy land, cattle and build houses”.

Based on the analysis of the in-depth interviews and the secondary data (Catastro) we can say that there are certainly cases of successful residents that are becoming landowners and cattle farming businessmen. .This families are also starting to compete for privileges with Cuenca's elites who still own lands in San Fernando.

“(Emigrants invest in) buying lands, houses, cattle and in improving grains crop. They also can compete with the estates, getting more profits with cattle farming”.

But this is not always the case. The time of emigration, working conditions and legal status in the receptor country, as well as personal skills of the emigrants and their families, are key determinant factors of the resident's current economic situation.

Even when we can not quantify these two groups (and it is not the aim of this research) it seems clear to us that the group of “successful” residents, (defined by ranch size) do have a great

impact on the local economy (in goods trade, real estate business, construction, etc) and on the social hierarchy as well. Residents and their emigrant members have imposed new values in the community (individualism, consumerism, changes in the traditional diet, clothing, music, etc). These new practices impact the youngest generations most and represent an important role-model to follow, which constitutes the third kind of emigrant's income investment in the region.

Investing in more emigration

After the first emigration member has established in the recipient country, and after he/she has sent money to pay the trip debts, and after a new dwelling has been build, the next step is most of the times financing a new emigrant. Wives, husbands and/or sons and daughters are the ones to follow. But, alike the first endeavor, this time the capital to pay for the expenses is provided by the emigrant and therefore there is no need to undergo an unfavorable loan this time.

Residents who have accumulated a decent sum (more than \$10,000) can also lend money to their indirect relatives, for what they charge them a maybe lower interest rate than usurers. Lending to indirect family members is the entry step into the usury activity, becoming a "*chulquero*" (the Ecuadorian term for moneylender).

The term "*chulquero*" is a very sensitive topic in San Fernando. It has both negative connotations, the one of usury, plus the illegality associated with the "*coyote*" figure (illegal emigrants' trader).

"Here in San Fernando is the reign of a network of corruption among the City Hall, the Property Registry, the City Court, and "*chulqueros*". A part of my land, obtained by heritage, was stolen by a "*chulquero*". This "*chulquero*" is my own brother, and today he is San Fernando's richest man. Everything started when his offspring emigrated and started sending money. This money was invested in high interest loans to the rest of the people who wanted to emigrate. In San Fernando there are other well-know "*chulqueros*" who live in Cuenca, but make their business here."

Investing in education

There are three schools in San Fernando, two public and one private, and only one high school center. Some parents send their teenagers to the high school in the closest Canton of Girón, in the understanding that it offers a better program education and also allows them to get a more urbanized culture (social relationships, music, clothing, language) that gives them a sense of urban belonging and different future expectations. Girón is a bigger town, with greater economic activity due to its strategic connection to the costal region. However, the cost of sending their children to study to Girón rises the education cost significantly, not only have to pay for everyday transportation (bus), but also the amount of time that the students can allocate in helping their families decreases considerable.

Finally, there are not universities in San Fernando or Girón. Students who complete high school will also get a technical level diploma in agronomy or veterinarian. But if they want to pursue a university degree, they must move to Cuenca. Once university students are settled down in

Cuenca, it is hardly unlikely that they come back to San Fernando once they obtain the degree. Working and living conditions are better in the third largest city of the country. Therefore, the highest education level in San Fernando is high school (14,7%), being elementary school the most common (70,6%). The average number of the San Fernando's urban population is 5,1 years, and 4.6 in the rural area, less than the required 6 years to complete elementary school. (See table below)

Table 2: Percentage of the population, aged 5 and older, by highest level of education attained and urban/rural area

<u>Education level reached</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>HTOTAL</u>	<u>1255</u>	<u>100,00</u>	<u>2275</u>	<u>100,00</u>	<u>3530</u>	<u>100,00</u>
<u>HNone</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>5,50</u>	<u>194</u>	<u>8,53</u>	<u>263</u>	<u>7,45</u>
<u>HAdults literacy teaching</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0,64</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0,18</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0,34</u>
<u>HElementary school</u>	<u>761</u>	<u>60,64</u>	<u>1733</u>	<u>76,18</u>	<u>2494</u>	<u>70,65</u>
<u>HHigh school</u>	<u>289</u>	<u>23,03</u>	<u>229</u>	<u>10,07</u>	<u>518</u>	<u>14,67</u>
<u>HPost high school</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0,48</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0,04</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0,20</u>
<u>HUndergraduate</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>3,75</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0,66</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>1,76</u>
<u>HGraduate</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0,00</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0,00</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0,00</u>
<u>HNot declared</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>5,98</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>4,35</u>	<u>174</u>	<u>4,93</u>

HSource: Own, based on VI Censo Nacional, 2001.

There are high opportunity costs of education in peasant families. They need their offspring's support to work in the fields and at home. There is the understanding that parents' responsibility is to send their children to school, but then it is good that they stay at home and help in the day to day work.

“As parents, we must send our children to elementary school, but then they have to help us in the fields”.

“Education is very important for our children. Unfortunately, money scarcity did not allow us to send our children to high school, or maybe to study in another region. That is why in these “recintos” there are not professionals, and because there is neither job nor land to produce, they have decided to emigrate. But our main responsibility is to send our children to elementary school, later they make their future”.

In addition, there is also a supply shortage of qualified positions in San Fernando. That could also be another reason why parents do not make more efforts in sending their children to high school once they have completed elementary education.

“Many students complete high school, but there are no jobs and they end up being farmers. How does studying help them then?”

“...high school education is for people with money, not for poor ones”.

“Going to high school or university takes a long time, I prefer to work”.

Nonetheless, there are incipient signs that the situation started to change, at least for some people. The first private and only private school in San Fernando opened very recently (2006) and teachers acknowledge that their students are primarily emigrants' children.

“Emigrants’ children study here, then they go to the university in Cuenca”.

Deeper views into this issue lead us to an apparent contradiction situation. In an interview with San Fernando’s high school rector, he firmly stated that emigration is the most important causal of school early desertion.

“Many teenagers drop from high school because they are planning to make the trip to the U.S. or Spain. If they do not leave immediately, they drop school because they want to work to save some money for the trip (...). They also think education will not make any difference when they work abroad”.

After considering the different factors, we hypothesize that emigration money has a positive impact on elementary school, but then turns into a negative effect in high school and university. Due to the fact that many of the emigrants’ offspring horizon is to join their parent(s) abroad, and because they implicitly accept they will be working in unqualified positions, there is no apparent utility in investing in middle and higher education.

Perception of the emigration phenomenon and Discrimination in San Fernando

As we have seen, the migratory phenomena is very complex because it embodies opposite situations: emigrants who can accumulate enough capital to become the local ‘new riches’ and deeper social differences in one extreme, and suffering, bankruptcy, and death for those who try to emigrate in the last few years. In education, it also involves better elementary education access, and at the same time, greater high school desertion and under-qualify labor source reproduction.

This complexity is also acknowledged by San Fernando’s inhabitants. They think that poverty has diminished because of emigration, and that many people has been able to buy lands and cattle, fertilize their fodder farms, and build new houses, all of which is bringing prosperity to San Fernando; but they also know it is a big risk, because today it is harder to enter United States or European Community than before. And they see and live how neighbors and relatives have lost their lands for the *chulquero*’s loans.

Putting these negative individual consequences aside, none of our interviewees consider emigration something negative to the region, except one statement that require a further analysis. Manuel is a taxi driver who works in Cuenca, and he has the following comment about emigration:

“Emigration brings regrettable things to emigrant’s children. They stay with their uncles or grandparents, but they suffer because they do not have the love of their parents. Unaffectionate grandparents mistreat children, although there are laws against it. Unfortunately there are not authorities who can punish this situation. Children are psychologically ill-treated and battered”.

From twenty interviews, this is the only one where the person makes such an explicit argument against emigration: it presents mistreat against emigrant’s children by their own families in a

very paternalistic and urban-style discourse. It coincides the interviewee works in Cuenca. Therefore, Manuel's statement is important to displace our attention to other context: the city of Cuenca and the public opinion about emigration, because the 'origin' of discrimination against emigrants and residents is constructed there.

As a preliminary conclusion of in-depth interview analysis, we did not find generalized practices of discrimination against emigrants or their families in San Fernando, or signs of residents' discrimination against non emigrants in this region. It does not mean there are no social conflicts between San Fernando's inhabitants, but those conflicts cannot be analyzed under the category of discrimination, because there is a sense of equality among them. What we could find is the rising of socioeconomic hierarchy inside this peasant society, which could bring more division and conflict in the medium term.

A peasant interviewee considers she was discriminated by the public apparatus (city hall, notary, court) because of a lawsuit against a "*chulquero*" she lost her property for an illegal (usury) debt, and she felt public authorities "were on the side of wealthy, because they have more money". Although this is a perception related to emigration (the loan was made for a trip abroad), it can be explained by the social context of the region. The interviewee is a peasant and the Ecuadorian colonial structure creates an authoritarian (with paternalism as its other side) culture against indigenous and country side inhabitants. Government corruption could also be involved, but it does not represent a case of emigrant's discrimination.

What could be more related to discrimination against emigrants are the following perceptions:

(Residents) "change physically and economically, they feel arrogant, and different from the rest, and they do not want to work".

"Emigrants are more arrogant and in any social event or meeting they exhibit their money, buying things or helping".

As we can see, San Fernando's inhabitants consider emigrants and their families can be arrogant because of their money, but their 'sense of superiority' does not affect the community, on the contrary it supports it. Emigrants can support church, assembly hall or sport camps repairing or building, and they definitely contribute to the religious celebrations:

(Emigrants) "participate as local celebration's priestes (hosts) to show their economic power. They do enormous investments in artist and fireworks".

Juan, the father of an emigrant explains this participation:

"Last year I hosted the celebration with my (emigrant) son's support. He supported the mass (and the celebrations that follows) to Saint Isidro, because he helped him in this way to United States. We spent in forty horses for the "escaramuzas" (a horseman performance), and prepare three head of cattle for the guests".

It seems that San Fernando emigrants maintain some kind of reciprocity that protects their public reputation. Emigrants are not discriminated in this region, in the contrary they are presented as

role model for the youth; they have succeeded in the endeavor many dream to obtain. It does not mean there are not problems, social differences create a hostile environment, where neighbors and relatives with equal situation time ago, perceive a rising hierarchy inside their society. Nevertheless it does not imply explicit discrimination.

This situation is different once one compares it from Cuenca. As the media content analysis shows, urban inhabitants have developed a very well defined discourse against rural inhabitants who emigrate abroad and their families who stay in the country. This discourse is characterized by a stigmatization that reinforces their exclusion despite emigrants' economic improvement. In fact, this seems to be the cause of such discrimination: urban elites are constructing a discourse to legitimize (peasant) emigrants' differentiation, because emigrant incomes can compete with their interests and place emigrants (and their families) in the same social spaces (schools, universities, neighborhoods, enterprises, etc).

In this sense, Cuenca-San Fernando discrimination represents a very interesting case to analyze, because a condition (emigration) valuable in one context (the homeland of emigrants, San Fernando) implies discrimination in the other (the city, Cuenca).

How do we approach this apparently paradoxical phenomenon? Our qualitative data has been useful to identify San Fernando's emigration perceptions, which suggest emigration is not a discriminatory category, although it establishes differences in the population (emigrant and non emigrant families), their economic income, and access to education, health and cultural capital (goods, music, food, etc). However media analysis gives us the 'other side' of this phenomenon: emigration became a category of discrimination against rural emigrants and their families in Cuenca.

3.1.2 Media Content Analysis

The previous In-depth interviews analysis showed that emigrants and their families' discrimination is a phenomenon that overflows San Fernando and Cuenca area. It is articulated to a more generalized discrimination: the one exert from urban Westernized (white) people to peasants and indigenous people. But at the same time, it contains a new element: this discrimination takes emigrants' recently acquired western values, their incomes and potential social mobility as stigmatizing symbols. Therefore, we find that the traditional discrimination against peasants and indigenous population is being (re)created in this new migratory context in Ecuador.

The performed media content analysis in San Fernando's closest big city (Cuenca) builds up on this statement. The discourse in the media contains explicit elements of discrimination against emigrants and their families in different dimensions: family constitution, social, economic and cultural spheres. This discourse portrayed in the media reflects the collective imaginary of the population and at the same time the collective imaginary shapes and informs the discourse.

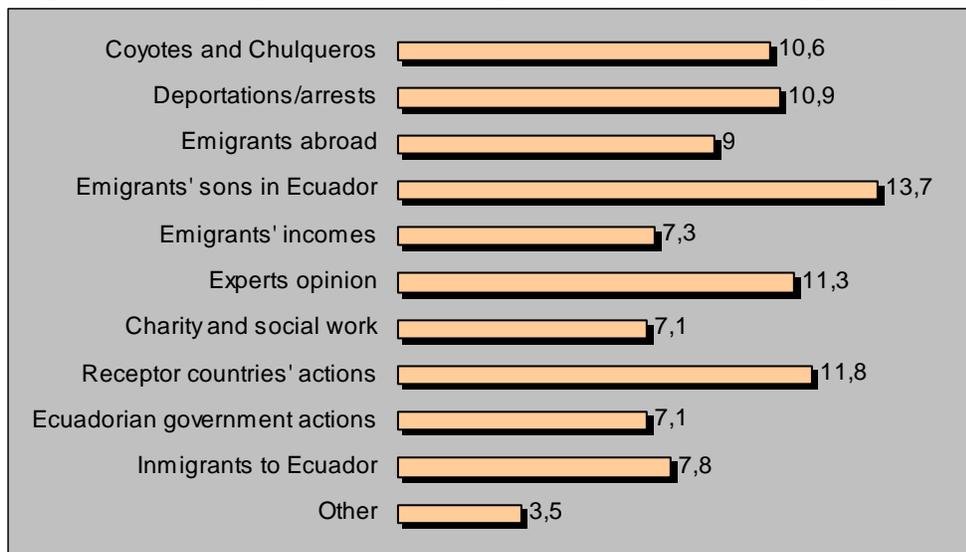
What is more, "Mercurio" has a supplement devoted to discuss issues on emigration, which is about one page long and appears with the newspaper every Thursday. Cuenca seems to be a critical component in the creation of a national discourse on emigration. Even in national

newspapers like “El Comercio” one finds that an overwhelming majority of the “migratory experts” come from Cuenca. In this way the local discourse generated in Cuenca is spread to the entire country by the mass media communication.

Emigration on the News

All news dealing with emigration was coded using the following 10 categories displayed in the chart below.

Graphic 2: Percentage of News on Emigration by theme/issue typology



Source: Own, based on media analysis content. September 2005-February 2006.

Following we include an analysis of the news by the introduced typology.

1) “Coyotes” and “Chulqueros” (10.6%)

As explained before, “coyote” is the emigrant’s smuggler; they are said to receive about \$ 14,000 per illegal immigrant to cross the U.S. border. “Chulqueros” are the local usurers who lend the required money to the potential emigrants.

News dealing with these two critical figures in the emigration phenomenon narrate unfortunate experiences of people who failed to cross the border and, if fortunate, were sent back home where they had to face the lost of their properties because they were not able to pay “chulqueros”. One can find different voices complaining about the mistreatment received by “coyotes” and “chulqueros”, the dangers that characterize the migratory journey, which has in many cases a fatal outcome.

It is not surprising, at this point, that there are no news talking about the successful cases, the ones who manage to cross the border, find a job in the recipient country and start sending money to pay the debt to the “chulquero” and to their families afterwards.

2) Arrest and deportation (10.9%)

Detailed descriptions of experiences of deportation and arrest complement the stories related to the “coyotes” and “chulqueros”. Here we find unsuccessful emigrants’ voices telling their violent experiences suffered when they were captured by the immigration authorities, put them under arrest and deported to their country of origin.

These emotionally charged testimonies aim to intimidate the Ecuadorian population about even considering the emigration as a possible future endeavor.

3) The Life of the emigrants (9%)

This is a more general category; it does not concern to the illegal and violent face of emigration as the two previous categories, but to life that awaits the emigrant abroad. Here we find news about emigrants’ social networks, job market in the receptor countries, the discrimination that they have to face in the receptor countries and their process of constructing a new identity in the new context. In this sense, for example, one can find articles dealing with religious peregrinations organized by Ecuadorian emigrants.

An interesting issue that appears in this section is the analysis of cultural transformation caused by emigration. With the suggestive title of “A dichotomy of evolution”, an expert’s comment reads:

“Ecuadorian women (living in Spain) are apparently trapped in a dichotomy of evolution, between a western society related to an imaginary of liberty and the Ecuadorian culture, associated with tradition. Therefore, they live in a thin line between modernity’s liberties and threaten of libertinage (“Mercurio”, Thursday October 20th2005).

According to our interpretation, the author identifies evolution with western modernity and considers that emigrant women find it difficult to articulate the freedom they find in the new culture with their Ecuadorian heritage. As a consequence, they are exposed to the risk of misunderstanding the modern concept of liberty and mistaking it with “libertinage”. A closer view of this statement could imply that the journalist is implicitly talking about the risks of prostitution that emigrant women face in the recipient countries. Here we can see two components of discrimination, the gender discrimination and the discrimination against emigrants, which in this case appear to strengthen one another.

Even when not all articles dealing with cultural changes in emigrant populations are as dichotomist, they all appear to acknowledge the abandonment of Ecuadorian traditional culture to embrace the values of the new culture. Elements of this discourse of ‘acculturation’ are also present in the media approach to emigrants’ children life, which is discussed in the next point.

2) Emigrants’ children in Ecuador (“residents”, 13.7%)

This is one of the most important categories in our analysis. The topic refers to the usually most negative consequences, identified by the media and the emigration experts, about the migratory

phenomenon. In many different manners, the addressed question sounds more of an attention call and a warning “what will happen to your children if you decide to emigrate?”

There are two approaches to this topic. One is to let the experts talk, professionals in social science, like social work, and psychology are frequently quoted. As well as representatives from the Catholic Church, priests and devotes, who analyze the devastating consequences of emigration in the familiar nucleus. The second approach, sometimes in combination with the first one, is to present the voice of emigrants’ children as testimonies. Their voices are heard in various seminars and workshops organized by NGO’s, the Catholic Church and local authorities.

After reading all articles dealing with the life of emigrants’ children, the main point appears to be that emigration represents abandonment of children. Repeatedly, emigrant parents are portrayed as irresponsible people who abandon their children and causing them psychological damage, low self-esteem, low educational performance, social and cultural problems, etc. It is also possible to find discourses relating emigrants’ children with school drop outs, delinquency, gangs’, drugs, criminal activities and suicides.

This portrayal of emigrants’ children transcend national borders and can be also found in international news communication, as seen in NPR: “Mexican migrants leave kids, problems back home report by Lourdes Garcia-Novarro (NPR News, Morning Edition, May 8, 2006).

“When Mexicans migrate to the United States, many leave their children in the care of extended families. That’s causing problems back in their home communities, with children doing poorly in school, dropping out or turning to crime’.

Although no conclusive evidence is presented, the statements serve to the objective of constructing a social imaginary of emigrants’ children as being different (in a negative sense) from their counterparts. It is not our research aim to evaluate the pertinence of such statements, but we do have to note though, that no scientific study is behind those assertions. In addition, it is dealing with only one side of the phenomenon; the impacts of emigration in the family, without taking into account its structural sides: lack of jobs, poverty, and the emigrants’ contribution to the national income. We propose that, by emphasizing only some of the multiple dimensions of this complex phenomenon, the media are (re)creating the traditional discriminatory behaviors against indigenous population in Ecuador.

The following examples tend to illustrate this idea. Some journalists refer to emigrants’ children as a “social problem”. In the quote above, an emigrant expert, who runs a Program for Youth in Cuenca, calls emigrants’ sons (and daughters) “marginals”

“Marginality does not only refer to poverty, there are many emigrants’ children who have money but are isolated. Schools have closed their doors to them because they do not live with their parents, that is marginalization and that generates low self-esteem” (“Mercurio”, Thursday, September 1st, 2005: 6B).

A new meaning of ‘marginal’ is introduced; which is not related to the economic situation but to ‘isolation’ and ‘low self-esteem’. In this discourse, emigrants’ children are called “marginal”

because –although they have money- they do not have their parents (isolated) or school support. This statement contradicts our preliminary findings that emigrants’ families in San Fernando invest in education comparatively more than their counterparts. We identified various private schools which aim this ‘new market’ in Cuenca and San Fernando. Even when there are reactions against this discrimination and ‘marginalization’ of emigrants’ children, it seems they are filtered according to the media dominant discourse.

“I don’t think we are a problem, but society has stigmatized us like that” (“Mercurio”, Thursday, November 17th, 2005: 6B).

“I think they want to have their houses, but they also hurt their families. They (emigrants) think money is all about but no money can buy happiness” (“Mercurio”, Thursday, December 8th, 2005: 6B).

We do not know whether the child quoted above is an emigrant daughter, but she reconstruct the dominant discourse: emigrant parents prefer money to their families well being.

“I think that some schoolmates fight against each other, they do not get along well. They are rejected because their parents are poor or rich and because they come from a different social class (“Mercurio”, Thursday, December 8th, 2005: 6B).

In the case above, the quote raises a topic that we have not previously identified in the media: emigrants’ children are also discriminated against by their classmates. “*Although they have money* (references to rich parents) they are “*not the same class than the rest*”. This child is undoubtedly reproducing his/her parents’ and close adults’ opinion regarding the issue.

The construction of the social discourse goes on, adding new elements to the emigrants’ children media portrayal.

“...In this testimony we see how they (emigrant’s children) assume roles that do not correspond to their ages. He (emigrant’s child) was forced to grow up, he was left on his own very young and he had to become an adult. His father left when he was 9, and his mother also left when he was 13. He has a hard life.” (“Mercurio”, Thursday, November 17th, 2005: 6B).

“Emigration is and will be a problem for all of our rural towns and regions (...) Fathers who live far away in different realities. Mothers, who face new circumstances, feel alone and unprotected because their husbands have forgotten about them. Children without their parents’ love, who grow up without (moral) values. Now many young people meet to drink, have sex and use drugs. This is caused by parents who thought emigration was going to resolve their economic problems, but I think their absence is much worse” (Speech by a Catholic priest in “Mercurio”, Thursday, November 24th, 2005).

Nonetheless, none of these discursive elements arose in the In-depth interviews conducted in San Fernando. The terms ‘marginalization’, ‘perversion’ “criminal behavior” (drinking and/or drug problems) were not among the interviewees’ concerns. They do mention that as grandparents it is

hard to take whole responsibility of a child, but this is a situation that they have live themselves as children. They were brought up by their grandparents as well. Emigration is not a new phenomenon in Cuenca's rural areas, but an old survival strategy. In addition, in the countryside it is a common practice to send their children to live with relatives in order to be able to continue their education after elementary school.

The image of emigrants' children as marginalized appears to be a urban creation, and we argue, tends to displace rural and peasant role model of emigration for its exclusion and discrimination. The popularity of successful emigrants in rural areas (their 'reciprocity' in religious celebration and public works) tends to be inverted in the urban context: "...they are no longer the 'best' godfathers a child can have (because of the loans or networks for a migratory endeavor) "...but loveless, irresponsible and ambitious parents, who can impact negatively Ecuadorian society as a whole".

This kind of discourse is also present in very well intentioned social workers and religious people, who have a vertical, racist and paternalist conception of the problematic. We propose that under this charitable giving, there is urban elite who see that their spatial hegemony is being threatened by emigrants and their families (residents). The 'new rich' (residents) can, for the first time, pay the same private schools that the elite pays; become their neighbors and probably their partners in business. Therefore, the elites feel the need to re-invent new elements to differentiate from this group. A new conceptualization of the peasant indigenous is created: they are still rural, primitive, they are irresponsible and abandoner, they let their children marginalized.

3) *Emigrants' income (7.3%)*

Another important approach to emigrants' negative stereotype is the criticism about their investments. Despite the governmental and international institutions reports on that the critical impact of emigration incomes ("remesas") on the alleviation of poverty in the receptor countries like Ecuador (CEPAL), there are still many emigration experts and journalists who continue referring to those incomes as "unproductive".

"Migradollars" do not reduce poverty. Those who receive that money consume them all, and what it is worse, they end up being dependent on them (...) Migratory incomes are invested in everything except for productive projects. That money is spent as soon as it comes ("Mercurio", Wednesday, September, 21, 2005).

"...este dinero no tiene que caer en saco roto" ("...this income should not be misspent") El Comercio (Tuesday, November 11th, 2005).

Emigrants' investments in building new dwellings have become another area of emphasis. Although the media acknowledges the importance of real state growing business in the area, they refer to these constructions with derogatory comments. They are seen as "ugly", "inadequate for the rural context", "dysfunctional", etc. The following comment on the case of a peasant family, who has an emigrant son, provides a good illustration. "... They have a house with a dancing hall and garage, but because the road does not get to the house, they have to keep the car in their

neighbor's garage. But they buy electronic supplies for the house and the last technological stuff.” (El Comercio, Monday, December 19th, 2005).

The stereotype of emigrants and their families as persons who “misspends” the money adds on the social construction of this negative image of emigration. Emigrants and their families are not only irresponsible and careless of their offspring, but also unproductive, superficial, a waste, and a dysfunction to the national economy. Only in some cases, this kind of attribution value model coexists with display of data about the contribution of emigrants' income to the national economy. but in this case, there is no recognition of emigrants' support to the national economy, aspect that could counteract the negativity of the displayed stereotype.

4) *Experts' Opinion (11.3%)*

In this space the academy presents its views about the migratory phenomenon. Because of its importance, there are many seminars, conferences and meetings about emigration, where Ecuadorian and international experts deliberate about its consequences and characteristics. Despite the participation of international researches and policy makers, these events (usually carried out in Cuenca) tend to portray the emigration phenomenon with the same characteristics as the one discussed in the media. In this sense, the influence of the Catholic Church is critical to articulate the migratory national discourse.

5) *Charity and Social Work (7.1%)*

There is a high level of similarity between the local experts' and the charity's opinions about the emigration phenomenon to the extent that they are usually intermixed. The Catholic Church and many NGO's that participate as experts also conduct social campaigns in the emigrants' name, the ones who were deported and the families cheated by “*coyotes*” and “*chulqueros*”.

6) *Receptor countries and governmental actions (11.8%)*

The voice of the receptor countries is also made heard in the media. These news tend to deal with new international and national regulations against illegal migration, the living situation of migrants in the receptor countries (Spain and United States mainly), and public policies that can help the emigrant population.

The official voice tends to be very bureaucratic and informative. No discriminatory element was found in this kind of articles.

7) *Immigration in Ecuador (7.8%)*

Finally, we could identify a topic, which even when was not part of our initial proposal, we think it helps to define the general picture of the emigration phenomenon: the illegal migration to Ecuador. A significant percentage of the news about emigration (7.8%) is dedicated to discuss to the illigan migration of Peruvians and Colombians to Ecuador. This other side of emigration is also part of Cuenca's and national public imaginary about migration. Moreover, this type of discrimination is not only present in urban context, but also in rural spaces such as San Fernando.

The topics covered are very similar to the ones found in the Ecuadorian emigration phenomenon: illegality, “coyotes”, deportation, violence, etc. But, alike to the Ecuadorian emigrants, the media does not devote space discussing the various aspects of the migrants’ everyday life.

3.2 Quantitative Methods

3.2.1 Results of the Population Surveys

The first part of the project consisted of the application of qualitative methods (in-depth interviews and media analysis) that helped us comprehend the social phenomenon of international emigration. Following, we conducted two population surveys (one in the city of Cuenca and the other one in the rural area of San Fernando) to test and quantify some of the qualitative findings in order to gain quantitative meaning.

The following tables and charts provide a general description of the main results of the surveys.

The surveys results indicate that the migration phenomenon is a relevant issue on people’s every day life. 21.3% of the respondents in Cuenca and 21.6% of respondents in San Fernando said that “Migration” was the most important problem currently facing their cities.

[Table 3: What do you think are the main 2 problems currently facing the population of \[Cuenca/San Fernando\]?](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
HPoverty	36.5	50.8
HEducation	9.2	6.5
HHealth care/Insurance	3.1	9.7
HMigration	21.3	21.6
HLack of Jobs	16.0	3.2
HDelinquency	13.1	2.2
HCorruption	0.8	0.5
HDon’t know/No answer	0.0	5.4
HTotal	100 (n=480)	100 (n=185)

H

Migration: some attitudes

The second set of questions tried to gain insight on respondent’s attitudes and opinions about the migration from different perspectives: overall, for migrants themselves and for their family members who stay in Ecuador.

[Table 4: Overall, do you think that international migration is a...](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
HHGood thing for [Cuenca/San Fernando]	37.5	47.0
HBad thing for [Cuenca/San Fernando]	52.7	40.0
HDepends	9.0	11.9
HNo answer	0.8	1.1

HTotal	100 (n=480)	100 (n=185)
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[H](#)

[Table 5: And for the migrants themselves, do you think that international migration is a...](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
HGood thing for migrants	40.2	48.1
HBad thing for migrants	51.0	40.0
HDepends	7.1	7.6
HNo answer	1.7	4.3
HTotal	100 (n=480)	100 (n=185)

[H](#)

[Table 6: And for their direct family members who stay in Ecuador, do you think that international migration is a...](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
HGood thing for [Cuenca/San Fernando]	14.8	25.4
HBad thing for [Cuenca/San Fernando]	77.9	63.8
HDepends	5.6	8.6
HNo answer	1.7	2.2
HTotal	100 (n=480)	100 (n=185)

[H](#)

The set of tables 3, 4, 5 and 6 give us a glimpse of the current attitudes of Cuenca and San Fernando's population about the migration phenomenon. The survey data finds the same results as the in-depth interviews, the population of Cuenca appears more critical of the migration phenomenon (53% say is a "bad thing for Cuenca") while the percentage drop to 40% in San Fernando. The same difference is found when respondents were asked about their opinions on migration from the migrant's perspective. 51% of the population in Cuenca think that migration is also negative for the migrants themselves, while in San Fernando the majority consider that is positive (48.1%). Finally, when interrogated about their opinions on migration from the migrants' family members point of view, respondents in Cuenca and San Fernando agree that is a "bad thing" for them (77.9% in Cuenca and 63.8% in San Fernando).

[Table 7: Do you think a child of an emigrant will have the same performance at school as a child of a non migrant, a poorer performance or a better performance?](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
HHSame performance	4.8	6.5
HHPoorer performance	83.3	71.4
HHBetter performance	1.5	2.2
HHDdepends	8.8	14.6
HDK/NA	1.7	5.4
HTotal	100 (n=480)	100 (n=185)

[H](#)

The table above shows that the media discourse against migrants and their family members who stay in the country is also found at the individual level, 83% of respondents in Cuenca and 71.4% of respondents in San Fernando said that a child of an emigrant will "do worse in school than a child of a non emigrant".

Migration: some facts

[Table 8: Is any of your family members currently living and working in a foreign country?](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
HYes	76.0	79.5
HNo	23.5	20.5
HNo answer	0.4	0.0
HTotal	100 (n=480)	100 (n=185)

H

[Table 9: Is your \[FAMILY MEMBER\] currently living and working abroad?](#)

	Cuenca (% Yes)	San Fernando (% Yes)
HFather	3.5	3.8
HMother	3.3	0.5
HSon	7.5	24.9
HDaughter	2.9	8.1
HGrandson	1.5	3.2
HGranddaughter	0.8	1.1
HSister/Brother	28.5	30.8
HBrother in Law/Son in Law	10.4	11.9
HSister in Law/Daughter in Law	5.0	8.1
HAnother family member (Grandparent/Uncle/Aunt/Nephew/Niece)	36.9	30.8
HTotal	(n=480)	(n=185)

H

The vast majority of the populations of Cuenca and San Fernando have at least one family member currently living and working in a foreign country (76.0% in Cuenca and 79.5% in San Fernando). In Table 9 we can observe that the population of San Fernando is relatively more affected by the migration phenomenon in quantitative terms. Almost a quarter of the population in San Fernando have a least one son outside the country. San Fernando's estimated migration figures surpass Cuenca's in all family member categories, except for "mothers". This could be a hint of different migration patterns between the two populations that we will further analyze.

[Table 10: Do you \(or other family members\) receive remittances from relatives who live in a foreign country?](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
HHYes	27.7	44.3
HHNo	48.1	35.1
HHDon't know/ No answer	0.2	0.0
HHDoes not apply	24.0	20.5
HTotal	100 (n=480)	100 (n=185)

H

As many other studies have found, remittances from migrants have become a key characteristic of Ecuador, 44.3% of the population of San Fernando and 27.7% of the population of Cuenca receives remittances from relatives who live in a foreign country.

[Table 11: How frequently do you \(or other family members\) receive remittances?](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
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HOnce a month	13.5	19.5
HEvery 2 to 3 months	4.6	5.9
HEvery 4 to 6 months	4.6	9.7
HOnce a year	4.0	8.6
HLess than once a year	1.0	0.5
HDon't know/No answer	0.0	0.0
HDoes not apply	72.3	55.7
HTotal	100 (n=480)	100 (n=185)

H

Due to the fact that migration and remittances reception are closely related in Ecuador, it is critical to understand the characteristics of the remittance flow –who receives the money, the frequency and how it is spent. Table 11 shows, the majority of the remittance receivers get a monthly amount, while a small percentage gets it less than once a year. In Table 13 we can see the population's perceptions about how migrants families spend the money they receive from abroad and in Table 13 we see migrants' responses to the question “How do you spend the money you receive from your family members working abroad?”

[Table 12: How do you think migrants family members spend the money they receive from abroad?](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
HOpen businesses	1.5	0.0
HBuild or buy a house	45.0	38.9
HBuy luxury products	17.9	11.4
HDaily consumption products	2.5	1.1
HBuy lands	5.8	20.5
HEducation for their children	2.9	2.2
HSavings	1.0	1.1
HDK/NA	22.5	24.9
HTotal	100 (n=480)	100 (n=185)

H

The survey finds evidence that suggest the existence of a generalized image among the population that migrant families misuse the money they receive building houses and buying luxury products. In Table 13 we can see that when the survey asks migrants family members how do they spend the money they receive from abroad, the majority report living expenses as the first destiny of the money and education as the second one.

[Table 13: How is the money spent?](#)

	Cuenca (%)	San Fernando (%)
HRegular expenditures (daily goods and clothing)	19.4	34.1
HBusiness investments	0.4	0.5
HSavings	0.4	1.6
HBuilding/buying house/properties	0.6	0.0
HEducation	5.2	3.2
HBuying luxury goods	0.4	0.0
HPaying debts	1.3	4.9
HDoes not apply	72.3	55.7

<u>HTotal</u>	<u>100 (n=480)</u>	<u>100 (n=185)</u>
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H

As the study “Remittance recipients in Ecuador: A Market Research Study” (Inter-American Development Bank, 2003) indicates, remittances in Ecuador are not primarily a mean of improving a family’s economic status, but they are a matter of economic survival. A clear majority of respondents (19.4% in Cuenca and 34.1% in San Fernando) indicated that funds from their migrant relatives go for basic expenditures such as food, rent and utilities. Secondly, remittances are used to pay debts, presumable money owed to “chulqueros” to pay for the migration journey expenses.

Table 14: How much discrimination there is against family members of people from [CUENCA/SAN FERNANDO] who go to live and work in another country? Would you say there is a lot of discrimination, some, only a little, or none at all?

	<u>Cuenca (%)</u>	<u>San Fernando (%)</u>
<u>HHA lot</u>	<u>19.6</u>	<u>5.9</u>
<u>HSome</u>	<u>15.5</u>	<u>9.2</u>
<u>HOnly a little</u>	<u>30.4</u>	<u>18.9</u>
<u>HNo discrimination at all</u>	<u>33.5</u>	<u>62.2</u>
<u>HDon’t know</u>	<u>0.6</u>	<u>3.8</u>
<u>HTotal</u>	<u>100 (n=480)</u>	<u>100 (n=185)</u>

H

The table above shows that the contradictory discourse elements about migration found in the qualitative stage of this study can be generalize to the urban populations of Cuenca and San Fernando. With the qualitative study we learnt that there were different evaluations about the same phenomenon of migration in the rural (town) and urban areas. More than one third of the household survey respondents in Cuenca said that there is “a lot” and “some” discrimination against family members of migrants (35.4%). Whereas at percentage drop to 15.1% in the population of San Fernando. More analytical work is needed to try to characterize and understand this difference in perception.

Table 15: What is more likely for a migrant child to do as an adult?

	<u>Cuenca (%)</u>	<u>San Fernando (%)</u>
<u>HFinish university</u>	<u>10.8</u>	<u>12.4</u>
<u>HWork as an employee</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>11.9</u>
<u>HJoin a gang</u>	<u>24.2</u>	<u>15.1</u>
<u>HOpen his/her own business</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>6.5</u>
<u>HMigrate (leave the country)</u>	<u>50.2</u>	<u>43.2</u>
<u>HDK/NA</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>10.8</u>
<u>HTotal</u>	<u>100 (n=480)</u>	<u>100 (n=185)</u>

H

Table 16: Agreement with the following statements...

	<u>Cuenca (%)</u>	<u>San Fernando (%)</u>
<u>H“People who leave their children behind to migrate are irresponsible”</u>	<u>54.2</u>	<u>43.2</u>
<u>H“Migrants children are not good students”</u>	<u>60.2</u>	<u>38.9</u>
<u>H“Migrants children are frequently</u>	<u>45.6</u>	<u>28.6</u>

<i>involved in illicit activities”</i>		
<i>H“Migrants children spend their money in luxury products”</i>	<u>91.4</u>	<u>82.7</u>
<i>H“Migrants children are losing their cultural identity”</i>	<u>89.6</u>	<u>77.8</u>

H

3.2.2 Population Surveys (Estimation Models)

Using the different questions from the survey questionnaire three blocks of probit models were estimated. In general terms, models were estimated. Which correspond to the perception of the existence of discrimination against emigrants’ relatives; the second group evaluates the degree of social integration of those relatives. And finally, making use of the question about contentment/satisfaction with life, we tried to model the impact on happiness levels of the fact of having relatives that have emigrated of the city. Those models were estimated separately, if necessary, for Cuenca and San Fernando.

Four models were estimated within the first group taking as dependent variable:

- 1) Discrimination1: Binary variable that takes value 1 when the respondent perceives there is much discrimination and takes value 0 when he/she perceives there’s some discrimination, little discrimination and no discrimination at all against migrants family members.
- 2) Discrimination2: Binary variable that takes value 1 when respondent thinks of emigration as something positive/beneficial for the city and takes value 0 when he/she thinks of emigration as negative for the city.
- 3) Califica: Binary variable that takes value 1 when the respondent thinks that the sons and daughters of emigrants would get lower grades than those with non-emigrant parents and value 0 when the respondent thinks the sons and daughters of emigrants would get higher or equal grades than those with non-emigrant parents.
- 4) Emigrate: Binary variable that takes value of 1 when the respondent thinks that emigrating is the most probable thing that an emigrant’s son/daughter would do and value 0 when respondent chooses any other option.

In general terms, a high perception of discrimination was not found in San Fernando, which determined that finally some models where not estimated.

In the case of the block of social integration the dependent variables chosen were:

- 1) No-participation: Binary variable that takes the value 1 when the respondent answers that he/she would never take part in any form of political demonstration and value 0 when respondent chooses any other provided option.
- 2) Social-participation: Binary variable that takes value 1 when respondent belongs to a political party/labor union, professional, commercial, sport or cultural association or any kind of voluntary organization.

For the last block the dependent variable was:

- 1) Happy: Binary variable that takes value 1 when the respondent answers he/she is satisfied or very satisfied with his/her life and value 0 when respondent chooses any other option.

As independent variables there were taken into account: age, sex, marital status, education, race, having relatives abroad, religion, number of home members, job characteristics, if the respondent receives money from relatives abroad (remittance), home income and deprivation level.

Table 17 shows the marginal effects of the discrimination models in Cuenca. Table 18 presents the marginal effects of the models of social integration, and Table 19 the marginal effects of happiness models for the same population.

Perception of discrimination

As it was mentioned and presented in the descriptive analysis, no important levels of perception of discrimination were found in San Fernando, so in one case no interesting results were obtained.

Citizens' perception of the existence of discrimination in Cuenca:

The signs of the significative variables show that women, older citizens, the more educated and citizens that receive remittances from abroad on a monthly basis perceive lower higher of discrimination in Cuenca. On the other hand, the level of discrimination perceived lowers for married individuals against other marital status, and with the amount of the remittance received home income. The more important marginal effects correspond to women (-), married (+), individuals with university studies (-) and receipt of a monthly remittance (-).

Perception of emigration as beneficial for Cuenca:

This model shows that women in Cuenca have a different perception in comparison with men, about discrimination levels as about the impact that emigration has on the city: for men emigration is beneficial and the marginal effect is of 19 percentage points. Individuals with high school education and full-time jobs have a negative perception of emigration.

Perception that sons and daughters of emigrants would get lower grades than those with non-emigrant parents

Variables representing women and divorced have a negative sign, meaning that their opinion is basically against that idea.

Meanwhile, the opinion on this statement becomes affirmative with age, university education, the ones who consider themselves as half-caste, full-time employees, and those who do not take part of a political party.

The most important marginal effects are sex (-), divorced (-), university (+), and political party (+)

Perception of emigrating as the most probable thing to do for an emigrant's son/daughter.

Marginal effects are positive and important for the individuals with higher education levels (high school and university) and half-caste. While being deprived of the goods that the survey took into account has a negative impact.

General considerations about discrimination models

Women have a mixed attitude towards different aspects that were researched about discrimination related to emigrants: they perceive higher levels of discrimination in Cuenca but consider it as beneficial for the city and do not find problems with the school grades of the sons of the emigrants.

In the case of people with university studies, they do not find high levels of discrimination but think that the sons of emigrants have problems with school grades, and that emigrating is the most probable thing to do for them.

In the particular case of individuals that find themselves as “mestizo” there is a strong perception of sons of emigrants as having problems with school grades, and that their destiny would be to emigrate.

With respect to income, it is interesting to point that the opinion that there is a high level of discrimination rises with the amount of the remittance received from abroad and with home income, while diminishes among those who receive remittances once a month.

Table 17: Marginal effects discrimination in Cuenca

	<u>Discri1a</u>	<u>Discri5</u>	<u>Califica</u>	<u>Emigrar</u>
<u>H</u>	<u>0.1823</u>	<u>0.3707</u>	<u>0.8668</u>	<u>0.4970</u>
<u>HSexo</u>	<u>-0.0895</u>	<u>0.1871</u>	<u>-0.1163</u>	<u>0.0725</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>HEdad</u>	<u>-0.0023</u>	<u>-0.0025</u>	<u>0.0024</u>	<u>-0.0009</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>HCasado</u>	<u>0.0810</u>	<u>0.0109</u>	<u>-0.0448</u>	<u>0.0628</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>HDivor</u>	<u>0.1257</u>	<u>0.0503</u>	<u>-0.1261</u>	<u>0.0344</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hsec</u>	<u>-0.0517</u>	<u>-0.1334</u>	<u>0.0245</u>	<u>0.1302</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Huniver</u>	<u>-0.1113</u>	<u>-0.1126</u>	<u>0.1110</u>	<u>0.1289</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hmestizo</u>	<u>-0.0068</u>	<u>0.0500</u>	<u>0.0766</u>	<u>0.1278</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hfamexter</u>	<u>0.0417</u>	<u>0.0894</u>	<u>0.0053</u>	<u>0.0189</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hintegrantes</u>	<u>-0.0033</u>	<u>-0.0079</u>	<u>-0.0093</u>	<u>0.0086</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hattend1</u>	<u>-0.0235</u>	<u>0.0276</u>	<u>0.0322</u>	<u>-0.0299</u>

<u>H</u>				
<u>Hfulltime</u>	<u>0.0393</u>	<u>-0.1072</u>	<u>0.0881</u>	<u>0.0502</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hpartime</u>	<u>-0.0095</u>	<u>0.0076</u>	<u>0.0599</u>	<u>0.0720</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hpublico</u>	<u>-0.0608</u>	<u>0.0448</u>	<u>0.0559</u>	<u>-0.0637</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hpartpol</u>	<u>0.0398</u>	<u>-0.0030</u>	<u>0.1161</u>	<u>-0.0652</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hmontoremesa</u>	<u>0.0002</u>	<u>0.0002</u>	<u>0.0000</u>	<u>-0.0001</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hunmes</u>	<u>-0.0962</u>	<u>-0.0810</u>	<u>-0.0785</u>	<u>0.0598</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hincomefam</u>	<u>0.0001</u>	<u>-0.0000</u>	<u>0.0000</u>	<u>-0.0000</u>
<u>H</u>				
<u>Hdepriva</u>	<u>-0.0001</u>	<u>-0.0656</u>	<u>0.0310</u>	<u>-0.1106</u>

H

Social integration in Cuenca

Table 18 shows the results of the model and the marginal effects of the models related to social integration in Cuenca: nopart and partsoci.

Would never take part in a political demonstration

Marginal effects show that there is an attitude against the statement of the question of women and those not currently taking part of a political party. Meanwhile, agreeing with the statement rises with age, meaning that older people are more reluctant to take part of this kind of activities and deprivation persons too.

Belongs or takes active part of any of the institutions mentioned above

Marginal effects suggest that people who take part of that kind of institutions are: women, divorced, people with high school education, with relatives abroad, and with full or part-time jobs, while the more deprived and older tend not to participate.

It is interesting noting not only the opinion that women in Cuenca have on discrimination, but also that they tend to be more active in community activities and appear to have more social conscience.

On the other hand, people with relatives abroad (10 percentage points marginal effect) and more deprived do not appear to participate or to be interested in activities of social interaction.

Table 18 Marginal effects of social integration in Cuenca

	<u>Nopart</u>	<u>Partsoci</u>
<u>HH</u>	<u>0.3639</u>	<u>0.2763</u>
<u>HHSexo</u>	<u>-0.1013</u>	<u>0.1739</u>
<u>HHEdad</u>	<u>0.0075</u>	<u>-0.0047</u>
<u>HHCasado</u>	<u>0.0696</u>	<u>0.0552</u>
<u>HHDivor</u>	<u>-0.0540</u>	<u>0.1559</u>
<u>HHSec</u>	<u>-0.0334</u>	<u>0.1016</u>
<u>HUniver</u>	<u>-0.0464</u>	<u>0.1114</u>
<u>HMestizo</u>	<u>0.0241</u>	<u>-0.0489</u>
<u>HFamexter</u>	<u>-0.0879</u>	<u>0.1071</u>
<u>HIntegrantes</u>	<u>0.0165</u>	<u>-0.0111</u>

<u>Hattend1</u>	<u>0.0220</u>	<u>0.0350</u>
<u>HFulltime</u>	<u>-0.0150</u>	<u>0.1615</u>
<u>HPartime</u>	<u>0.0433</u>	<u>0.1548</u>
<u>HPublico</u>	<u>-0.0906</u>	<u>0.1256</u>
<u>HPartpol</u>	<u>-0.1162</u>	<u>--</u>
<u>HMontoremesa</u>	<u>0.0001</u>	<u>-0.0002</u>
<u>HUnmes</u>	<u>-0.0129</u>	<u>0.0708</u>
<u>HIncomefam</u>		<u>0.0001</u>
<u>HDepriva</u>	<u>0.1292</u>	<u>-0.1080</u>

H* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

H

Happiness in Cuenca: Rather or very satisfied with life

Happiness models show some interesting results. Marginal effects suggest that happiness levels rise with university education, with the fact of being “mestizo” or white, with religiosity, part-time jobs and family income. These results coincide in general terms with the literature on these topics. Despite that, It is worth noting that being white or “mestizo” appear as a positive thing compared to other races. The negative effects on happiness of having relatives abroad and of deprivation and age, appear as the most interesting results.

Table 19: Marginal effects happiness in Cuenca

	<u>Happy</u>
<u>HH</u>	<u>0.7071</u>
<u>HHSexo</u>	<u>0.0207</u>
<u>HHEdad</u>	<u>-0.0028</u>
<u>HHCasado</u>	<u>0.0296</u>
<u>HHDivor</u>	<u>0.0775</u>
<u>HHSec</u>	<u>-0.0002</u>
<u>HUniver</u>	<u>0.1283</u>
<u>HMestizo</u>	<u>0.1745</u>
<u>HBlanco</u>	<u>0.2117</u>
<u>HFamexter</u>	<u>-0.1213</u>
<u>Hattend1</u>	<u>0.1143</u>
<u>HIntegrantes</u>	<u>0.0025</u>
<u>HFulltime</u>	<u>0.0705</u>
<u>HPartime</u>	<u>0.1057</u>
<u>HPublico</u>	<u>0.0886</u>
<u>HMontoremesa</u>	<u>-0.0002</u>
<u>HUnmes</u>	<u>0.0388</u>
<u>HIncomefam</u>	<u>0.0001</u>
<u>HDepriva</u>	<u>-0.1261</u>

H* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

H

Perception of discrimination in San Fernando

As it was mentioned and presented in the descriptive analysis, no high levels of perception of discrimination were found in San Fernando, so the model with *discr1a* as dependent variable

was not estimated. In this case, estimations gave depriva as the only significant variable with positive sign, meaning that more deprived people find higher levels of discrimination

Perception of emigration as beneficial for San Fernando

Although there were not good results found in general for this model, there are significant results of the variable “mestizo” and the one for relatives abroad. People that declare to be “mestizo” think of emigration as beneficial for San Fernando, while people with relatives abroad have the contrary opinion. Marginal effects are very important for both variables: +19 percentage points for “mestizo” and -24 for emigrants’ relatives. For the first, emigration appears as an opportunity while for the others it represents a high cost for the society.

Perception of emigrants’ sons and daughters as having a lower school achievement

Variables that correspond to sex and the amount of the remittance have a negative sign meaning that they are against the statement of the question. At the same time, it is affirmative for “mestizo” and political party.

Marginal effects show that the effect of being “mestizo” in agreeing with the statement is the most important: 25 percentage points.

Perception of emigration as the most probable future for an emigrant’s son/daughter

In this model, four significant variables with large marginal effects were found. Married citizens, with high school education, and public sector workers tend to agree with this statement (marginal effects +20, +24 and +31 percentage points respectively).

General considerations about discrimination models

Table 20 presents the estimated marginal effects of the discrimination models for the population of San Fernando. As it was mentioned, no high levels of perception of discrimination were found in San Fernando. Despite that, some interesting results concerning other aspects of discrimination were found. One is that the “mestizo” population (that represent a high proportion of the population) do not consider emigration as negative for the people, at the same time they think that emigrants’ sons and daughters would have lower grades. On the other hand, people with relatives abroad think of emigration prejudicial for the city.

Table 20: Marginal effects discrimination in San Fernando

	<u>discr15</u>	<u>califica</u>	<u>emigrar</u>
<u>Hsexo</u>	-0.0143	-0.1913	0.1338
<u>Hedad</u>	0.0015	-0.0045	-0.0012
<u>Hcasado</u>	0.1188	0.0759	0.2084
<u>Hdivor</u>	0.1103	-0.0971	0.1899
<u>Hmestizo</u>	0.1899	0.2506	0.0229
<u>Hintegrantes</u>	-0.0000	-0.0009	-0.0282
<u>Hattend1</u>	0.02245	0.1976	-0.2674
<u>Hfulltime</u>	0.0725	0.0592	-0.1188
<u>Hpartime</u>	0.0641	-0.0184	-0.0633
<u>Hpartpol</u>	0.0596	0.1774	-0.2704
<u>Hmontoremesa</u>	0.0004	-0.0005	-0.0003
<u>Hunmes</u>	0.1460	0.0400	-0.0035
<u>Hincomefam</u>	0.0000	0.0001	0.0000
<u>Hnoseguro</u>	--	--	--
<u>Hdepriva</u>	0.0259	0.0032	-0.1030
<u>Hsec</u>	-0.1232	0.0581	0.2426

<u>Huniver</u>	<u>-0.1245</u>	<u>0.1449</u>	<u>0.1658</u>
<u>Hfamexter</u>	<u>-0.2382</u>	<u>0.0451</u>	<u>0.0278</u>
<u>Hpublico</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>0.0193</u>	<u>0.3101</u>

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Social integration in San Fernando

Table 21 presents the results and the marginal effects of the models related to social integration in San Fernando: nopart and partsoci. Interesting results were found in the first case.

Would never take part of a demonstration and, political meeting

Marginal effects show that women, half-caste, public sector workers and those not taking active part of a political party, have a contrary position to that of the question. Meanwhile it becomes affirmative with age and for religious people. Again, women's attitude in both cities is interesting, as being very active in the community. The highest effect (+ 0.46) is for the religious, so the probability that a very religious individual took part in the activities of the community is very low.

Table 21: Marginal effects social integration in San Fernando

	<u>Nopart</u>	<u>partsoci</u>
<u>HHSexo</u>	<u>-0.1642</u>	<u>0.1750</u>
<u>HHEdad</u>	<u>0.0053</u>	<u>-0.0019</u>
<u>HHCasado</u>	<u>-0.0051</u>	<u>-0.0058</u>
<u>HDivor</u>	<u>-0.0181</u>	<u>-0.0247</u>
<u>HSec</u>	<u>-0.0502</u>	<u>0.2181</u>
<u>HMestizo</u>	<u>-0.1915</u>	<u>0.1272</u>
<u>HFamexter</u>	<u>-0.1587</u>	<u>0.1005</u>
<u>HIntegrantes</u>	<u>-0.0310</u>	<u>-0.0159</u>
<u>Hattendl</u>	<u>0.4614</u>	<u>--</u>
<u>HFulltime</u>	<u>0.1056</u>	<u>0.0987</u>
<u>HPartime</u>	<u>0.0792</u>	<u>0.1093</u>
<u>HPublico</u>	<u>-0.2489</u>	<u>0.1208</u>
<u>HPartpol</u>	<u>-0.3058</u>	<u>--</u>
<u>HMontoremesa</u>	<u>-0.0003</u>	<u>0.0001</u>
<u>HUnmes</u>	<u>0.0813</u>	<u>0.0878</u>
<u>HIncomefam</u>	<u>-0.0000</u>	<u>0.0001</u>
<u>HDepriva</u>	<u>0.0256</u>	<u>-0.0317</u>
<u>HUniver</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>0.2680</u>

H

3. Conclusions and Recommendations

The mixed mode methodology has enlightened our understanding of the emigration phenomenon in Cuenca and San Fernando.

First of all, the hypothesis proposed in this study, the existence of discrimination against residents has been proved. Moreover, the observation done during the in-depth interviews was corrected: discrimination is deeper in the city of Cuenca than in the rural area of San Fernando, as the survey has confirmed.

Public discourse about emigrants (in the media, migratory policies and social relive interventions) is similar to Cuencans' perceptions about international emigration:

- Emigration is perceived as a problem by different social actors

- It is perceived to be a “bad thing for the region” (Cuenca and the nation), emigrants themselves, and especially for their families.
- Emigrants are seen as “irrational” by others. The social imaginary states that emigrants families do not use their remittances in productive and sustainable activities; therefore, they do not contribute to the national economy.
- Emigrants are also portrayed as “irresponsible” because they abandon their families in search for better living conditions.
- Emigrant’s children are perceived as doing worse in school than non-emigrant children. They are seen as “not integrated to the society” (marginalized and self-excluded) and there is a general idea that these children will probably (try to) leave the country as their parents did.

This social representation about emigrants has its logical conclusion on the idea that emigrants do not contribute to the national development, but threaten its symbolic unity (the discourse of the national family).

However, this image about emigrants cannot be generalized, as we have learned in this study. There are significant differences between urban and rural contexts. Although San Fernando’s inhabitants perceive emigration is negative for the town because of its social consequences (children abandonment, threaten to emigrant’s life during the trip, debts), emigrants represent the prime example of success. They got a new life in United States or Europe, and they can support their family’s social rise in Ecuador and probably take them abroad.

In Cuenca, and probably in other Ecuadorian cities, this perception changes deeply. Emigrants are irresponsible with their families, unproductive, and their offspring would probably become marginalized and self-excluded from the society (gangs, school desertion, illegal emigrants, etc.) As it can be seen, the public imaginary, presented in the local (Mercurio) and national newspapers (El Comercio) coincides with Cuencanos perception about emigrants.

But, beyond this coincidence, what the quantitative results offer is information the profile of those that express discrimination against emigrants. Therefore, we have analyzed not only the social characteristics (social disponibilities) of the potential and actual ‘discriminators’, but we can further the interpretation to explanations about this behavior.

According to the data, it is possible to find a patron of discrimination against emigrants. The closer the surveyed is to the dominant culture, the more probable he/she will have a discriminatory perception about emigrants, as follows:

Patron of discrimination against emigrants

Variables	+ Dominant pole (more integrated)	- Subaltern pole (less integrated)
Residence	Urban	Rural
Gender	Male	Female
Civil status	Married	Single, divorced
Age	Adult	Young, elder
Ethnicity	Mestizo	Indigenous/ peasant

Employment	Full time job	Unemployed
Wage	High	Low
Remittances	None	High/monthly
Education	University	Basic

This diagram shows that the socioeconomic group more integrated to the society and closer to its dominant pole is potentially more discriminator against emigrants, and vice versa. This model functions for all the variables except gender. In Cuenca, women have more discriminatory perceptions about emigrants than men. This is related to the image of emigrants as morally condemn by their abandoning their (national and private) family. And women are more susceptible to be appealed by such a discourse.

What are the implications of this patron of discriminations? Ecuador's national project is based on the idea of an egalitarian (modern) society. The inhabitants are recognized as citizens with the same political (democracy), economic (meritocratic model, income and education), and cultural (mestizaje) rights.

However, the social hierarchy articulates modern categories of status (income, education, cultural capital) with race. The richest and more educated are usually mestizos, while the poorest are indigenous and peasants (rural mestizos).

Emigration threatens Cuenca's social hierarchy, because the incomes and cultural capital it offers to residents. Discrimination against emigrants is a social mechanism that controls this 'disturbance' in two ways. It reduces residents' social mobility and it also addresses emigrant's incomes investment to the economic sphere (commerce, service, real state) controlled by the elites.

What are the costs of discrimination? Discrimination against residents could increase school desertion or affect their educational performance; it reduces resident's social mobility, and their integration to society. Residents are unsatisfied with their lives in Ecuador and willing to emigrate abroad. Finally, public discourse of emigrants as economically irrational justifies government' lack of rural development policies and agricultural production incentives

From these conclusions, we would like to recommend:

- More research to analyze the economic consequences of international emigration, and the reconstitution of racial categories in Ecuador.
- Diffusion of this study's results to the government and NGOs working on international migration to prevent stereotypes against residents.
- Public campaigns to acknowledge emigrant's contribution to the national economy
- Laws against emigrant's discrimination (in schools, the media)
- Land and agriculture policies in order to improve rural development and prevent international emigration.

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Annexes

1. Methodological Approach

The first stage of the project consisted of the application of qualitative methods (Historical/Archival research, in-depth interviews, media analysis, and participant observation) in order to apprehend the social phenomenon of international emigration. Following, we tested and quantified some of these qualitative findings, using two population representative surveys.

1.1 Historical/Archival research

Secondary sources of information (published documents; newspapers; magazines; written records and previous studies) were used to analyze the public opinion state regarding the emigration phenomenon in Ecuador.

Data from the VI Population Census in Ecuador (2001) also proved to be very useful in the initial stage of the research to gain a better understanding of specific demographic characteristics of the population of Ecuador and San Fernando.

1.2 In-depth interviews

Given the subjective aspects involved in the discrimination phenomena is in the form of verbal and symbolic behavior, we conducted in-depth interviews to a convenience sample of the populations of San Fernando.

1.3 Media Analysis

In modern societies the formation and transmission of values is done primarily by the available means of communication. In the last decades, the role of mass media has become so relevant, that some theories have proposed that social problems are not an entity themselves, but are defined by what people think and say about them. They see the emergence of social problems through process of public definitions (Blumer 1971, Spencer and Kitsuse, 1973). In this approach, the media are considered to be at the same time a “product” of the society, and a technology to produce social images and stereotypes.

For example, Becker (1966) indicates that in an early stage of the social problem, some persons or group perceives a condition as a potential threat to their values. Widespread concern develops gradually after that person or group points out the condition to others and convinces them that it is a problem. When enough people become concerned with this problematic condition or characteristic, institutions are established and charged with the responsibility of monitoring, controlling, and eradicating the problem. These institutions are in charge of generating cases, information and data to support their claims. A process of validation and public definition of the problem has then being established. (Hubbard, DeFleur and DeFleur, 1975).

The signs and symbols were the units of analysis, rather than the intentions or aim of the communicators or the effects produced in the interpreter. It has been argued that the mass media may reinforce certain belief of specific groups in the society. In this sense, our objective was to study “what was said” in the printed press about migrants and their families, in order to understand what are the stereotypes and fantasies associated with that condition in San Fernando and Cuenca.

In general terms, the qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis. This technique does not aim to quantify the media content, but rather to approach it as a ‘text’/discourse, a dominant imaginary that constitutes stereotypes about residents and the migratory phenomenon in the society (upper and middle classes as well as emigrant’s families, who impose themselves the discriminatory criteria. This technique, developed in the Humanities complements the quantitative data, in the sense; it focuses on the hegemonic discourse and its cultural aspects that any discriminatory practice is based on.

1.4 Population Survey

Once the qualitative stage was finalized, we were in pretty good shape to go on to the next methodological step: the quantitative method. We implemented two population representative surveys (Cuenca and San Fernando) to try to test the statistical significance of the qualitative findings. The survey was designed to optimize costs and time constraints and maximize response rate and data quality.

The population surveys gathered quantitative data that was used in the estimation of ordered probit models to analyze the effect of the different dependent (explicatory) variables on the marginal effects of the levels of discrimination and/or on the attitudes and opinions towards discrimination and exclusion. The target of the models is to determine how different individual characteristics affect the formation of favorable opinions/attitudes towards migrants and their families or opinion about the existence of discrimination. This analysis was critical in the identification of the key variables related to discrimination, needed to design and recommend palliative policies.

2. Data

2.1 Qualitative Methods

2.1.1 In-depth interviews

Twenty In-depth interviews to peasants living in the rural area of San Fernando were conducted by the research team during March and April 2006. The selection criteria used was to be over 20 years old and live in the rural area of San Fernando. Another four interviews were conducted to “key informants” in the urban area of San Fernando: San Fernando’s Mayor, a member of city council, a teacher of the local School and the vice-director of San Fernando’s only High School.

An open ended questionnaire (guide) was used, which allowed for the questions to be tailored to different interviewees’ profile. The interviews were recorded (previous consent by the interviewee) and then transcribed and analyzed by members of the team.

2.1.2 Media analysis

The two city newspapers with the highest readership were monitored during six months, from September 2005 to February 2006. These are: ““Mercurio””, Cuenca’s most popular and with highest readership newspaper, and “El Comercio”, the first national newspaper. Our team identified, coded and analyzed all news talking about any aspect related to international emigration. In total, 424 articles were collected, from which 70% appeared in ““Mercurio””, while only the rest 30% were published in ”El Comercio”.

2.2 Quantitative Methods

2.2.1 Population surveys

Sample Design

The sample design used for the Migration Household Survey was a random sample of the urban populations of Cuenca and San Fernando. The first stage of selection was the census block, the second was the dwelling and the third stage consisted of the selection of the respondent among the household members. This sample design is self-weighted, what means that all the households have the same probability to be selected for the interview.

The reference frame for the sample was based on the list of blocks produced by the Ecuador 2001 Population and Dwellings Census. This list contains information about the geographical identification of each block and the number of dwellings occupied at the time of the census. Each block is identified with its province, canton, census zone, census sector and census block.

Canton is the second largest administrative and political division of the national territory of Ecuador (after Province). Census zones are subdivisions of the cantons and correspond to the legal sections existing in Ecuador. Census sectors are an intermediate geographical unit, a subdivision of the census zones (in urban areas sectors consist of a group of blocks). The census block is the smallest geographical unit. In urban areas we are talking about a block; in rural areas it is a perfectly clearly defined area of land that can be covered by a single enumerator during the population census.

Once blocks were selected in the first stage, a random selection of the dwelling was done by the interviewer with the following procedure: Once the interviewer arrives at the selected block, he/she will make a list of the private and occupied dwellings and then they will sort 4 titular and 2 substituting dwellings.

The following sample sizes were determined to guarantee a (plus/minus) 5 true value of the parameters to be estimated, with a 95% Confidence Level.

Table 22: Sample Design

	<u>Cuenca</u>	<u>San Fernando</u>
<u>HTarget population size</u>	<u>67,709 occupied dwellings</u>	<u>361 occupied dwellings</u>
<u>HConfidence Interval</u>	<u>95%</u>	<u>95%</u>
<u>HConfidence Level</u>	<u>5%</u>	<u>5%</u>
<u>H</u>		
<u>HSample Size</u>	<u>480 respondents</u>	<u>185 respondents</u>

H

Given the fact that the urban area of the Canton San Fernando has only one Censal Zone, four sectors and 73 blocks, the survey was applied in at least 3 households per selected block. In the case of Cuenca, the random sample threw the following censal sectors:

Table 23: Sample Design

<u>Number</u>	<u>Zone</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Sector</u>
<u>H1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>San Sebastián</u>	<u>6</u>
<u>H2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>San Sebastián</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>H3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>San Sebastián</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>H4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>San Sebastián</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>H5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>Bellavista</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>H6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>El Vecino</u>	<u>2</u>

H7	8	Hno. Miguel	8
H8	9	Hno. Miguel	2
H9	10	Machángara	7
H10	10	Machángara	9
H11	11	Machángara	2
H12	12	Machángara	1
H13	14	El Vecino	7
H14	14	El Vecino	8
H15	16	El Vecino	2
H16	16	El Vecino	11
H17	18	Bellavista	7
H18	19	Bellavista	4
H19	20	Bellavista	7
H20	21	San Sebastián	11
H21	22	El Batán	7
H22	23	El Batán	5
H23	23	El Batán	11
H24	24	El Batán	1
H25	24	El Batán	3
H26	24	El Batán	5
H27	26	Sucre	1
H28	26	Sucre	3
H29	26	Sucre	9
H30	26	Sucre	11
H31	28	Gil Ramirez Dávalos	1
H32	28	Gil Ramirez Dávalos	10
H33	29	El Sagrario	2
H34	29	El Sagrario	6
H35	29	El Sagrario	10
H36	29	El Sagrario	12
H37	30	San Blas	9
H38	31	Totoracocha	1
H39	31	Totoracocha	4
H40	33	Totoracocha	3
H41	34	Monay	2
H42	34	Monay	6
H43	37	Cañaribamba	7
H44	38	Cañaribamba	12
H45	39	San Blas	1
H46	39	San Blas	10
H47	40	El Sagrario	1
H48	40	El Sagrario	3
H49	41	Gil Ramirez Dávalos	6
H50	41	Gil Ramirez Dávalos	9

H51	43	Sucre	1
H52	43	Sucre	5
H53	44	Yanuncay	6
H54	44	Yanuncay	9
H55	48	Yanuncay	4
H56	48	Yanuncay	5
H57	48	Yanuncay	10
H58	48	Yanuncay	11
H59	53	Huayna Capac	8
H60	53	Huayna Capac	9

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Given the fact that the urban area of the Canton Cuenca has 53 Censal Zones and 552 Censal Sectors, the survey questionnaire was applied to 60 Censal Sectors with 8 surveys each.

Once the interviewer randomly selected the target dwelling, he/she made the first attempt to contact the household and to get a list of the household members (Name) with their dates of birth. In order to select a random respondent, the interviewers applied the “Next Birthday” selection method, which consists of selecting the individual who will have birthday the sooner.

Survey Questionnaire

The survey instrument was applied using a face to face, paper and pencil mode. The implementation took an average of 25 minutes in Cuenca and 30 minutes in San Fernando. The questionnaire contains 6 thematic chapters:

1. Introduction: General questions to “break the ice”. Likes and dislikes about living in that city, main problems of the city, etc
2. Migration: Attitudes and opinions about the migration phenomenon
3. Discrimination: Set of questions aiming to identify any possible discriminatory behavior in relation to the migration phenomenon.
4. Satisfaction with life: This set of questions intends to measure happiness and will be used to model the social and economic costs of discrimination against migrants’ families in Cuenca and San Fernando.
5. Citizenship: These questions measure the level of civil participation and community action and will also serve to model the costs of discrimination.
6. Socio-demographic: Finally a chapter containing the standard characterization of respondents.