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

What emigration leaves behind.
The situation of emigrants’ families in Ecuador

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

November 2005

Fundación Sur – Cuenca - Ecuador
Departamento de Economía – Facultad de Ciencias Sociales –
Universidad de la República Oriental del Uruguay – Montevideo - Uruguay

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Giorgina Piani and Maximo Rossi (Departamento de Economía-Uruguay)
1. Motivation

This research aims to shed light on the socioeconomic and cultural impacts of migration in the emigrant’s home country. Until now, the literature has primarily focused on the analysis of the recent immigrant’s situation in the host country, but it has given less attention to the effects on the expelling society.

Ecuador is one of the countries with the highest numbers of emigrants in South America. To study this case will allow us to apprehend the characteristics and social costs of a recent phenomenon in the South American region: illegal immigration of young men to the U.S. and Spain seeking better working conditions.

The economical extent of this diaspora represents the second source of Ecuadorian National Income, after oil. Despite the importance of migratory contribution to the national economy, the families of the emigrants suffer from discrimination. The recently coined term ‘resident’ addresses the son of an emigrant, abandoned by his parent, and supposedly engaged in marginal activities (delinquency, gangs, etc). Public opinion points out that residents are very likely to drop school and go through a process of “acculturation” in the understanding that their expectations are reduced to emigrate and work abroad, doing jobs for which they will not need any special qualification.

Women are also hit by this phenomenon, as adult men (between the ages of 20 and 40 years old) migrate and leave women as the head of their families. Therefore, women are responsible for supporting their family until the emigrant is able to send money, and they are in charge of their children’s education and guidance. These women enter the market and the public arena (unions, local committees) and confront their new role with fewer opportunities than men.

2. Description of the Project

We pursue to address the discriminatory situation that families of emigrants have to face in San Fernando, located in the highlands of Ecuador, in the State of Azuay, Cuenca.

San Fernando has a high concentration of rural population, with 1,395 of the total population living in urban areas and the vast majority (2466) residing in the countryside. 56% of the population of San Fernando is women and 48% men. The Masculinity Index is 78%, meaning that there are 78 men every 100 women, while the men-women ratio for Ecuador is 98%. In the young adult ages (20-39 years old) this situation gets even worst: with a 20% of the population being women and only 8% men. Yet, the population of San Fernando has decreased at a rate of 0.7% between 1990 and 2001 (Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos de Ecuador, VI Population Census, Ecuador 2001). These figures are clearly indicating the existence of an important migratory movement that has left demographic “holes” in the population pyramid.

This last “wave” of labor emigration started in Ecuador in the 90s as a reaction to the lack of working opportunities and general economical crisis, and aims basically at young men who emigrate to the U.S. and Spain seeking for better working conditions. Their families, mostly wife and
children, are left behind in a vulnerable situation, in a society that lives on emigration’s revenues and punishes it at the same time.

We pursue to disentangle this phenomenon of discrimination and to measure its social outcomes through five social dimensions:

1) Educational performance
2) Labor insertion: together with the educational attainment are two objective conditions that have the advantage that can be easily measured applying a household survey.
3) Cultural consumption: through the selection of cultural goods (clothes, entertainment, etc) and its degree of accumulation people show the dominant values of the group.
4) Feeding (choice of food): what we eat reflects not only our merely personal preferences, but talks about our cultural values. We will use the food intake habits to characterized possible differences between the population, trying to track any possible implications to the exclusion and discriminatory situation.
5) Expectations about the future: What we expect from the future has lot to do with the references and context that we see around. Are the “residents” having different plans for the future than then non-residents? If so, are these different expectations changing the way they perceive the present and their performance in the social context?

Some key concepts:

- “Emigrant”: for the purpose of this research proposal we understand the term “emigrant” as the person who leaves his/her home country to travel abroad (mainly the U.S and Spain) and stays as an illegal worker.
- “Resident” is the family member of an emigrant who still lives in Ecuador.

3. Literature Review

Ecuador has historically responded to economical and political crisis with population’s movements. During the ninetieth and twentieth centuries we observe important human mobility, such as people from the highlands immigrated temporal or permanently to Guayaquil (the country's main port and the most industrialized city).

The latest and most important wave of emigration started in the decade of 1990 and is characterized by its internationality and illegally components. This recent emigration 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 have accumulated enough capital to make a change when they return. Therefore, international emigration leaves emigrant's family members by themselves a long period of time.

Studies in the region show that an emigrant will have to pay between 10,000 to 12,000 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 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, we propose to study here, 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) or education, good taste, and western values that would equal them to “whites”. In this sense, this new phenomena reproduces old racist exclusions to avoid the ‘resident’ social and economic rise and perpetuates the status quo, as Ordoñez (2004), Soruco (2005) and other researchers has pointed out.

4. Methodology

Are the so called “residents” being discriminated in their communities? What are the social costs of this new type of discrimination that comes to accumulate to an already stigmatized social group?

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 new type of discrimination in the Ecuadorian’s society. We will focus on three specific types of data collection methods: historical/archival research, un-structured interviews and survey.

1) Historical/Archival research: we will use secondary sources of information, such as: published documents; newspapers; magazines; written records and previous studies to analyze the public opinion state regarding the “residents” in Ecuador. These sources of data will be analyzed using the content analysis technique to test the hypothesis that there are discriminatory attitudes towards the resident’s condition.

The content analysis 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 will complement the quantitative data, in the sense; it focuses on the hegemonic discourse and its cultural aspects that any discriminatory practice is based on.
We will also use the VI Population Census in Ecuador (2001) and other existing data collected by other institutions that have been working in the area. The analysis of secondary data will proof very useful in the initial stage of the research to have a better understanding of specific demographic characteristics of the population of Ecuador and San Fernando. Data from the Population Census will provide key inputs to implement the survey to the population of San Fernando.

2) **Survey:** We will conduct a face to face survey to the population of San Fernando, based on a Stratified Household Random Sample. The Questionnaire to be used in this survey will be specially designed to serve as source of information to:

   a. Provide empirical evidence of discriminatory behaviors towards “residents” in San Fernando.
   b. Measure the social performance of the population in San Fernando.
   c. Compare social outcomes (education attainment and labor insertion) of the residents to the non-residents in San Fernando.
   d. Get to know the cultural consumption (clothes, TV, music, books, etc) of people in San Fernando and compare the two groups (residents and non residents) in terms of these aspects.
   e. In addition to the classical and traditional questions that seek to gather information about income, education attainment, housing, and other relevant demographic data, the survey will add a bunch of questions trying to measure access to comfort. Such as: access to drinking water, electricity, heating, transportation, etc. These questions will help us to overcome the typical problems related to measuring income and will allow us to observe possible correlations between levels of living comfort and discrimination.
   f. Obtain information about the food preferences of San Fernando’s inhabitants, searching possible different behaviors between the two study groups.

Because it is difficult to conduct sample surveys on sensitive issues, many people will not answer questions if the answers might embarrass them, we will use a self-administered questionnaire as an effective way to guarantee anonymity while collecting information about discrimination.

The data will be collected using paper and pencil mode. The questionnaire will have a maximum of 20 minutes length. The recommended sample design is a list-assisted sample using the VI Population Census of Ecuador (2001).

3) **Un-structure Interviews:** The survey will allow us to identify the “residents” in San Fernando. Based on this list, we will randomly select some cases for a more in-depth study. We will conduct un-structure interviews to try to shed light on the motivational and psychological aspects involved in the resident’s condition and possible discrimination situation. As with the Archival studies, the un-structured or semi-structured interviews are recommended when the objective of the study is not an observable condition (age, gender, type of dwelling, income, occupation, etc) but a latent structure (discrimination, exclusion, etc).
The use of qualitative techniques is also recommended to obtain relevant information to design a good survey questionnaire. The Interviews and Archival Studies will allow us to get to know the specific terminology associated with the emigrant’s condition and the discriminatory situation possible associated.

One of the members of this research team (Giorgina Piani) has specialized in Survey Methodology at the University of Michigan – Ann Arbor (U.S.) and has vast experience in conducting and supervising face to face surveys in Uruguay and the U.S. (Please see attached CV).

5. Products:

The mix mode design aims to obtain the necessary quantitative and qualitative information to identify, characterize, measure and recommend possible actions to overcome this phenomenon. The use of this mix mode design will allow us to develop the following techniques of analysis:

- History/Archival research and Un-structured Interviews: Both methodologies produce information in text-form that is analyzed using the Content Analysis technique. The texts are “coded” using a code book specially design to identify dimensions related to the study object, in this case discrimination, exclusion, emigration, etc. With the application of these methods we seek to obtain information on how people refer to the emigrant’s families, what are the “words” associated with them, what are the emigrants’ family expectations, etc.
- The Survey will collect quantitative data that will be used in estimating Ordered Probit models, which allow us 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. This kind of analysis will be critical in the identification of the key variables related to discrimination, in order to design and recommend palliative policies.

6. Dissemination Activities

- Press Conferences to show the main results of the study and to present the media with some policy recommendations in Cuenca-Ecuador.
- Meetings with the local authorities and organizations of the society (neighborhood committees, non governmental organizations, etc) to present major results and policy implications.
- Organization of an academic Conference aimed to local social researchers and governmental institutions (Central Bank of Ecuador, Ministry of Development, NGOs) to draw their attention on the importance of cultural research to face the new migratory phenomena in Ecuador and the Andean region.

There is currently a great need for this kind of activities in Ecuador, particularly in the region of Cuenca, where the cultural setting of emigration has not yet been addressed. The lack of scientific knowledge about the causes and characteristics of this phenomenon generates the design of social and economical policies that do not address the cultural discrimination of
emigrants' families and, therefore, fail to prevent discriminatory practices and migration itself.

- Seminar in the University of Uruguay to disseminate the results of the studies in the academic field and to the public opinion.
- Publication of at least one article summarizing the main results in the series “Documentos de Trabajo” Departamento de Economía - Facultad de Ciencias Sociales – Uruguay
- Publication of articles in the Newspapers and Academic Journals in Ecuador

7. **Budget**

- Contributions of the IDB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resources</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td>1 Month</td>
<td>6,000 USD$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Assistants</td>
<td>4 Months</td>
<td>4,000 USD$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Honoraria</td>
<td>12 Months</td>
<td>24,000 USD$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travels</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,800 USD$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overhead</td>
<td>(20% of non professional honoraria)</td>
<td>3,200 USD$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12 Months</strong></td>
<td><strong>40,000 USD$</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Contributions of the research centers:
  - Fundación Sur will contribute with the working space (office) and equipments (computers, telephones, faxes, etc) as well as working materials.
  - Fundación Sur will contribute with the logistics and costs of organizing press conferences, meetings with the local authorities and the academic seminar.
  - Departamento de Economía will contribute with the cost of the publication in the “Documentos de Trabajo” series and the costs of organizing and hosting a seminar to disseminate the results in Uruguay and the Region.

8. **References that are not cited in the Call for Research Proposals:**


Demélas, Marie-Danielle. La invención política. IEP, Lima: 2003.
9. **References that are cited in the Call for Research Proposals:**

We find that the literature review mentioned in the Call for Proposals is very exhaustive and representative of the state of the art on discrimination measures. One of our team members has used this bibliography in different occasions in his work on gender and economic discrimination in Uruguay. (Please see attached CV).


Antonovics, Kate; Peter Arcidiacono and Randy Walsh (2005). “Games and Discrimination: Lessons from the Weakest Link.” Forthcoming at *Journal of Human Resources*.


Berhman, Jere; Alejandro Gaviria and Miguel Székely, Eds. (2003). “Who’s In...


Dovidio, John; Samuel Gartner; Kerry Kawakami and Gordon Hodson (2002).


Juhn, C., K. Murphy, and B. Pierce (1993). “Wage Inequality and the Rise in


Riach, Peter and Judith Rich (2004). “Deceptive Field Experiments of


Appendix – Team CVs

Project Leader

Ximena Soruco-Sologuren
Senior Researcher
Fundacion Sur (Non-governmental Organization)
Cuenca – Ecuador
Fax: (XXX) xxxxx
ssologur@umich.edu; fundasur@hotmail.com

Education

PhD. of Latin American Literature
Romance Languages & Literatures, University of Michigan
December, 2005

Master in Literature
Romance Languages & Literatures, University of Michigan
April, 2002

Bachelor in Sociology
Universidad Mayor de San Andres, Bolivia
December, 1999

Bachelor in Social Communication
Universidad Catolica Boliviana, Bolivia
December, 1998

Professional Experience

Professor
Social Sciences Department, Universidad Estatal de Guaranda
Cuenca, Ecuador
2004-2005

Visiting Professor
Master Program in Cultural Studies, Universidad del Azuay
Cuenca, Ecuador 2005

Researcher

Conferences

“Cholo Disruptions in Contemporary Bolivia”
“La chola como prostituta. Un análisis de la narrativa criolla, Bolivia 1900-1925”.
Encuentro Nacional de Historia Ecuatoriana, Universidad del Azuay - Cuenca, July 2004

“The Cholo Discourse. Bolivian narrative in the liberal time, 1900-1925”
Society of Latin American Studies (SLAS) Amsterdam, April 2004.

“Imaginarios urbanos. La hegemonía criolla en Cuenca, Ecuador”
Facultad de Arquitectura
Universidad Mayor de San Andrés. La Paz, June 2003.

“Teatro colonial andino, su empleo en la constitución de la narrativa Nacional, Perú y Bolivia”. Fraker Conference
University of Michigan, April, 2002

Publications


Los dueños del micrófono. Un estudio sobre audiencias y medios de comunicación en La Paz: PIEB, 2001 (co-author with Ximena Pabón y Esteban Sanjinés).


Research Fellowships


Languages

Spanish, English, French and Quechua (basic level).

Giorgina Piani Acosta
Research Assistant
• **M.S. in Survey Methodology.** University of Michigan - Ann Arbor. - April 2005.
• **Certificate in Economics.** Department of Economics – Social Science School – Universidad de la República – Uruguay. From 03/1997 to 12/1997
• **Certificate in Marketing Research** Universidad ORT (Uruguay). From 03/00 to 08/01
• **Bachelor in Sociology.** Social Science School – Universidad de la República – Uruguay. From 03/1992 to 12/1996

**Languages**

• **English**: fluency in reading, speaking and writing
• **Spanish**: native language.
• **Italian**: reading and speaking.
• **Portuguese**: reading and speaking.
• **German**: basic knowledge

**Computer knowledge**

• Microsoft Office 2000 (Word, Excel, Power Point, Access, Front Page)
• ArcGIS (Geographic Information System)
• STATA
• SPSS
• SAS
• SuperLab
• Knowledge in Software for Qualitative Data (Atlas-T / Nudist)

**Research Experience**

• **2005 Research Manager** – PRIME research Ann Arbor, Michigan USA
• **2004 Research Associate II** ISR – University of Michigan. April 2004-April 2005
• **2002 Coordinator** of the field work ‘Social living conditions in Uruguay’ for The World Bank. Number of cases in the survey: 2500 in the whole country
• **2001-2003 Junior Researcher** at the Project ‘Family arrangements and Social Performances in Montevideo – Uruguay’ Social Science School – UNICEF.
• **2000 Research Assistant** at the Project ‘The public-private conventions to provide substructure and services of environmental drainage: The experience of Salto (ROU)’ Social Science School – Universidad de la República.
• **2000 Research Assistant** at the Project ‘The Labor Market of musicians in Uruguay’ Social Science School – Universidad de la República.
• **1998-2003 Research Assistant** at Interconsult– Grupo Consultor (private firm of Public Opinion & Marketing Research)
• **1997-2003 Research Assistant** at the Department of Economics– Social Science School – Universidad de la República
• **1997-1998 Research Assistant** at the Project ‘Child Work Abolition in Uruguay’–UNICEF
• 1997-1998 **Research Assistant** at the Project ‘Building a data base and a Cost System for the Public Health Service in Uruguay’ Ministerio de Salud Pública – Programa FAS

• 1995-1996 **Research Assistant** in Socio economics Area National Statistical Institute – Uruguay

• 1998-2003 **Teaching Assistant** Economics - Social Science School (FSC) – Universidad de la República - Uruguay

• 1997-1998 **Teaching Assistant** in Labor Sociology, School of Law - Universidad de la República - Uruguay


• Co-author of the book *Labor Market and career of musicians in Uruguay* (June 2001). Departamento de Economía (FCS) – Sociedad Uruguaya de Artistas Intérpretes


• Several articles about public opinion and behavior for *El País* newspaper, Montevideo, Uruguay, between 2001 and 2002 (listed below):
  - ‘People and work’, January 20th. 2002
  - ‘The intention of leaving the country falls abruptly’, December 23rd. 2001
  - ‘Social Institutions and Credibility’, December 2nd. 2001
  - ‘Uruguayans are superstitious’, November 25th. 2001
  - ‘Uruguayans are light blue and gray’, November 4th. 2001
  - ‘Public Health has the poorest image’, October 21st. 2001
  - ‘Uruguayans are not good readers’, October 14th. 2001
  - ‘Better at home’, October 7th. 2001
  - ‘Uruguayans are great gamblers’, September 30th. 2001
  - ‘Education and Employment’, August 5th. 2001
  - ‘The majority think poverty has increased’, June 10th. 2001
  - ‘The intention of leaving the country is growing rapidly’, May 20th. 2001
  - ‘The majority is in favor of Abortion’, May 6th. 2001
  - ‘People think Private Education is necessary’, April 15th. 2001
  - ‘People prefer buying at big supermarkets’, March 25th. 2001
  - ‘Uruguayans prefer staying home instead of going out’, February 4th. 2001
  - ‘The majority will stay home on holidays’, January 21st. 2001

• 2002 – Fulbright Scholarship for Postgraduate Studies

• 2002 – Rackham – University of Michigan – Full Tuition Scholarship

• 2001 –CSIC Scholarship – Comisión Sectorial para la Investigación Cientifica, República del
Uruguay, to study the marriage arrangement in the Uruguyan society. The project ‘Who marries whom’ was selected among 38 to be financed with a total amount of US$ 4,000 for a 12 months period. CSIC is an Institution associated to Universidad de la República to promote scientific research in different areas of knowledge.

- Co-author of the article ‘The public-private conventions to provide substructure and services of environmental drainage: The experience of Salto (ROU)’, presented at the Environmental Inter American Conference, Chile, December 2001.

**Conferences**

**References**

**Bob Groves** (Supervisor)
Director/Survey Research Center - University of Michigan
bgroves@isr.umich.edu
Work1734764-8365

**Jim Lepkowski** (Supervisor)
Senior Research Scientist/University of Michigan
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**Steve Heeringa** (Academic Advisor)
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Máximo Rossi
Professor of Microeconomics
Department of Economics
Social Science School
University of Uruguay
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E-mail: mito@decon.edu.uy

EDUCATION

1976 Economist, University of Uruguay
2002 PhD candidate, Göteborg University

TEACHING EXPERIENCE
2003 - present Professor of Microeconomics, University of Uruguay
2003- present Professor of Labor, ORT University, Uruguay

OTHER
2000-2003 - present Coordinator Network on Inequality and Poverty for Latin American Countries. LACEA/IADB/WB
2003 – present Coordinator Microeconomics Topic Unit, Department of Economics, University of Uruguay

PUBLICATIONS

Articles


The consistent estimation of income elasticity of environmental amenities in Uruguay. Estudios Económicos, Vol 17 Nº 1, 2002

Working Papers
Las Preferencias Individuales por el Proteccionismo en "Economías Pequeñas", ¿Fundamento Racional? N. Melgar, M. Rossi & L. Rovegno

Comportamiento Médico: Una Aplicación a las Cesáreas en el Uruguay. L. Muinelo, M. Rossi & P. Triunfo


Uso del Tiempo en el Hogar: Parejas Desparejas. Z. Ferre, G. Piani y M. Rossi:

Religión. I. Rossi y M. Rossi

El Estado de Salud del Adulto Mayor en Uruguay. M. Rossi y P. Triunfo

De la Percepción de la Corrupción a la Coima: Un Puente Invisible. P. Moyal, M. Rossi y T. Rossi

Gastar en Cuidados Médicos: ¿Es un Lujo para los Montevideneños? M. Rossi y P. Triunfo
Participación femenina en el mercado de trabajo: efectos sobre la distribución del ingreso en el Uruguay. C. González & M. Rossi
El grado de conformidad con la vida: evidencia para las mujeres del Gran Montevideo M. Bucheli & M. Rossi
Segregación ocupacional de la mujer en el mercado de trabajo del Uruguay (1986-1997). Z. Ferre & M. Rossi
Evolución de las diferencias salariales entre el sector público y el sector privado en Uruguay. F. Rivas & M. Rossi

Work in progress
Citizenship attitudes to immigrants
Corruption in Latin America
Happiness in Latin America
Social Capital and Development in Latin American Countries
Religiosity and economics performance