

CEPLAES-WORLD BANK POVERTY GROUP

CONSULTATION WITH THE POOR IN ECUADOR FINAL REPORT

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The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the World Bank, its Board of Executive Directors, or the governments they represent.

Preface

This study is part of a global research effort entitled *Consultations with the Poor*, designed to inform the *World Development Report 2000/1 on Poverty and Development*. The research involved poor people in twenty-three countries around the world. The effort also included two comprehensive reviews of Participatory Poverty Assessments completed in recent years by the World Bank and other agencies. Deepa Narayan, Principal Social Development Specialist in the World Bank's Poverty Group, initiated and led the research effort.

The global *Consultations with the Poor* is unique in two respects. It is the first large scale comparative research effort using participatory methods to focus on the voices of the poor. It is also the first time that the World Development Report is drawing on participatory research in a systematic fashion. Much has been learned in this process about how to conduct Participatory Poverty Assessments on a major scale across countries so that they have policy relevance. Findings from the country studies are already being used at the national level, and the methodology developed by the study team is already being adopted by many others.

We want to congratulate the network of 23 country research teams who mobilized at such short notice and completed the studies within six months. We also want to thank Deepa Narayan and her team: Patti Petesch, Consultant, provided overall coordination; Meera Kaul Shah, Consultant, provided methodological guidance; Ulrike Erhardt, provided administrative assistance; and the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex provided advisory support. More than a hundred colleagues within the World Bank also contributed greatly by identifying and supporting the local research teams.

The study would not have been possible without the generous financial support of the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID), numerous departments within the World Bank, the Swedish International Development Agency, John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and several NGOs.

The completion of these studies in a way is just the beginning. We must now ensure that the findings lead to follow-up action to make a difference in the lives of the poor.

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Table of Contents

Background	1
TOTAL	4
WELL-BEING	9
RURAL WELL-BEING	9
SITE	11
SITE	12
The land as a source of well-being	13
WELLBEING URBAN SECTOR	32
PRIORITIES FOR THE POOR	53
INSTITUTIONS	70
Methodology	70
Rural Sector	70
Urban Sites	79
GENDER RELATIONS AND WELFARE	91
Methodology	91
RURAL SITES	91
URBAN SITES	95

CONSULTATION WITH THE POOR IN ECUADOR

World Bank, Poverty Group

Background

When we made the proposal to carry out this study we expressed that Ecuador of this past years was sunk in a deep economic crisis where the policies of adjustment had been the most frequent solution. Starting in January and up to this time of the year the situation of the country instead of improving has worsened. The economic crisis, according to the experts, is the worst of the last three decades.

During the first days of March the sucre was devaluated 35% in relation to the US dollar and this depreciation appeared likely to continue. President Jamil Mahuad in an attempt to offer a solution to the financial and economic crisis decreed Monday March 8 as a holiday for all banking transactions, which was followed by a national strike of activities decreed by the workers' unions, which in turn the government decreed as a legal holiday, a day which marked the fifth of one banking holiday week. To straighten things up the President announced a drastic economic plan: he took measures of fiscal nature, froze bank deposits and sent to the National Congress a series of urgent bills pursuing private involvement in State owned companies. These actions have had serious effects not just on the economic standing of all Ecuadorians but also on the political instability and on the loss of credibility of democratic and even financial institutions. The current study concerning well-being and poverty fits just within this atmosphere of uncertainty, insecurity and instability that we find ourselves into.

During the past five years important research work has been done to acquaint us, in a more precise way, of the diverse and complex characteristics that poverty in Ecuador is attaining. Studies such as the Ecuador Poverty Report¹ carried out by the World Bank in 1995, the "Geography of Poverty" carried out by the United Nations Development Program and by the Technical Secretariat of Social Affairs (SISE) in 1996, helped us outline some premises to carry out this study:

- a) There is a clear tendency towards the increase of the impoverished population in the country, in rural and urban areas.
- b) In accordance with data from IDB, Ecuador has one of the highest indexes for concentration of wealth in Latin America, and it is the Latin American country with the smallest acceptance of democracy as form of government.
- c) Ecuador is a country with great ethnic and cultural heterogeneity. In the poverty map elaborated by SISE it is possible to notice that the impoverished areas are inhabited by indigenous and black population.

¹ Banco Mundial/1995. Ecuador Poverty Report, Vol. II. Working Papers. Report No.14533-EC. Washington D.C.: The World Bank

- d) Most of the population is made up of men and women that don't see a promissory future. Therefore we anticipated the probability that juvenile delinquency, gangs and urban violence would respond to the absence of a vision of future .

In spite of this quantitative data, whose analysis are primarily sustained in an estimate of family expenses, we don't know anything about what the poor think, about their operation, about their capabilities to reach what they have set as goals for well-being . It is also important to add parameters to account for the vulnerability and risk to which these population groups are subjected. To make sense out of these it is specially important not only to acquire an empiric base on which to support the policies but also to evaluate the work that the State, the International Organisms and the NGO's have been carrying out with the purpose of diminishing the poverty.

Objective

The purpose of this study is to make public some of the perceptions, feelings and values that poor men and poor women have regarding their current situation and regarding their vision of future and their ideal of personal and family well-being.

Methodology and process

To carry out this study we relied on the participative investigation methodology developed by the study team "Consultation with the Poor for IDM 2000-01" from the World Bank. The methodology sets out from the assumption that "the poor are true experts on matters concerning poverty" therefore the investigation strategies should be based on the reflections that these people do about their reality.

The guiding principles of the methodology "Consultation with the poor" that were applied in Ecuador are the following ones:

- a) Let local people act as partners in the acquisition and analysis of data. All through the work in different places an effort was made for the participating men and women to be the ones who defined, described, analyzed and expressed their perceptions over the study topics. The discussions were enriching and they were also a space to improve the reflection over their situation and the situation the country is going through.
- b) In most of the chosen places, specially rural ones, there are development institutions at work. As will be evident from its contents this work will prove useful for the evaluation and promotion of new actions.
- c) Use a frame sample with geographical representativeness and diversity. Ethnic and geographical diversity is characteristic of Ecuador. As we will show the groups chosen for the study will evidence that diversity and also take into account the distribution of poverty.

- d) Launch a significant effort to disseminate the outcome of the study. Once the study is finished CEPLAES will carry out a national workshop where the results will be presented to different Government Institutions, International Agencies and NGO's

Process

The acquisition of data, analysis and information synthesis were carried out in the following stages:

- 1) Study teams were hired. The groups were integrated by four women and five men, anthropologists and sociologists averaging 28 years. Training was given on the study topics, methods and report formats. Training lasted one week. Field work was carried out during the training proces, the work guide was discussed and some of its contents were modified .
- 2) The primary acquisition of information was made by three teams that were distributed in the highlands, coast and the Amazon region. Researchers played the role of facilitators of the reflection process which usually lasted four days. Information gathering took place while Ecuador was going through the national crisis and it is clear that such context affected not only the logistics but rather became the semantic axis which marked the whole work.

TABLE 1.1 Composition of the Discussion Groups at the Study Sites

Site	Poor				Other			Subtotal	Total
	Men	Women	Youths	Subtotal					
Rural Sites									
Voluntad de Dios	15	15	17	47	No so poor			6	53
					Men 3	Women 3			
10 de Agosto	10	20	16	46					
Río Chico de Paján	11	20		31					31
Tumbatú	5	10	13	28					28
Tablas	10	9	14	33					33
La Calera	11	36	10	57	Poor Boys	Poor Girls	Not so poor	12	69
					5	4	3		
Caguanapamba	7	16	6	29	Men not so poor 1			1	30
Juncal	12	26		38					38
Urban Sites									
Atucucho	11	10	6	27	No so poor			35	62
					Men 5	Women 5	Youths 25		
Paján	17	44	30	91					91
Nuevas Brisas del Mar	20	33	44	87					87
Isla Trinitaria (Precooperative Andrés Quiñonez)	19	29	20	68					68
TOTAL									537

TABLE 1.2 Composition of Individual Study Cases at the Study Sites

SITE	Poor				Other			Total
	Men	Women	Youths	Subtotal			Subtotal	
Rural Sites								
<i>Voluntad de Dios</i>	1	1	2	4	Their situation has improved		1	5
					Men 1	Women		
10 de Agosto	2	4		6				6
<i>Río Chico de Paján</i>	1	1		2				2
El Chota (Tumbatú y Tablas)	3	2		5				5
<i>La Calera</i>	2	2		4	Their situation has improved		1	5
					Men 1	Women		
Caguanapamba y Juncal	3	2		5				5
Urban Sites								
Atucucho	1	1	2	4	Their situation has improved		1	5
					Men	Women 1		
Paján	3	1	1	5	Their situation has improved		3	8
					Men 2	Women 1		
Nuevas Brisas del Mar	2	3	1	6	Their situation has improved		2	8
					Men 1	Women 1		
Isla Trinitaria (Precooperativa Andrés Quiñonez)	1	2	1	4	Their situation has improved		3	7
					Men 2	Women 1		
TOTAL								56

- 3) The information gathered at each site was synthesized and organized by the study groups. The report was discussed over with the team director, some points were corrected and a final version was elaborated. Data was not disseminated in the communities at that moment; however, copies of the reports have been sent to many places where work was done.
- 4) Information gathered in all sites was discussed in a workshop with the participating researchers.

Selection of sites

The guidelines considered for the selection were: region, geographical location, location according to the poverty map, ethnic group. Sex and age criteria are spread across the whole sample.

Study Site	Zone	Region	Ethnic Group	Activity
Isla Trinitaria. Guayaquil	Urban	Coastal	Multi-ethnic	Informal workers, wage workers
Atucucho Quito	Urban	Highlands	Multi-ethnic	Informal sector, private employees
Nuevas Brisas del Mar.Esmeraldas.	Urban	Coastal, North	Multi-ethnic	Informal sector, wage workers
Paján, Manabí	Rural and urban	Coastal, Center	Mestizos	Small farmers, wage workers
Caguanapamba and Juncal. Cañar	Rural	Highlands, Center	Indians	Small farmers, wage workers
La Calera. Imbabura	Rural	Highlands, North	Indians	Wage workers, craftsmen
Chota Imbabura	Rural	Highlands, North	Black	Small farmers, wage workers
10 de Agosto Napo	Rural	Amazon, Center	Indians	Small farmers
Voluntad de Dios Sucumbíos	Rural	Amazon, Center	Indians	Small farmers

The book "Geography of poverty in Ecuador" (1996) analyzes the social inequalities that exist in Ecuador through a comparison of the purchase level of the population and among regions and sectors of the country. For our study we chose those places where there is a greater incidence of poverty according to this classification.

Percentages of Poverty and Indigence in the study sites

Province - City or Community	Percentage of indigence	Percentage of poverty
Cañar - Juncal	37.9	90.6
Esmeraldas -.Esmeraldas	5.5	33.4
Guayas - Guayaquil	11.2	51.4
Imbabura - La Carolina Lower basin of Chota River	44.2	96.5
Imbabura - Cotacachi La Calera	44.4	94.4
Manabí - Paján	28.8	82,0
Napo - Archidona - 10 de Agosto	69.7	93.5
Lago Agrio - Tarapoa Voluntad de Dios	70.1	96.7
Quito - Atucucho	9.4	61

How is this report organized?

The current text consists of four parts that although interrelated are independent of each other. The first one "Exploring well-being" analyzes which are the categories of well-being and poverty used by the men and women with whom we worked. Which are the expressions of unrest, which are the opportunities they have and which is their vision about the future. The second part refers to the priorities that poor people have

and to the criteria used to establish such precedence. It is clear that the parameters used to establish the precedence varies according to gender. The third topic relates to the analysis that participants make on the institutions that work with them. Finally, the fourth part analyzes how gender relations have changed and how the situation of poverty has influenced these changes.

TABLE 2.1 Urban Sites

	ATUCUCHO	PAJAN	NUEVAS BRISAS DEL MAR	ISLA TRINITARIA
TEAM	2	1	1	1
SEASON	Winter rainy	Winter	Winter	Winter
REGION	Highlands. Quito Metropolitan District. Northwest	Coast. Manabí. Paján. Head of the Canton	Coast. Esmeraldas	Coast. Guayaquil .Precooperative Andrés Quiñonez
POPULATION (aprox.)	8.400	6.731	1.100	1600
MAIN OCCUPATION FOR MEN	Construction workers, plumbers, carpenters, employees.	Occasional wage workers, traders, small farmers	Fishermen, weight carriers, informal traders	Bricklayers, vegetable croppers, fruit croppers, professional drivers, seasonal laborers
MAIN OCCUPATION FOR WOMEN	Household maids, washerwomen, informal saleswomen	Dressmakers, small traders, handcrafts	Household maids, washerwomen, traders, nurseries.	Cooks, dish washers, occasionally at shrimp factories
SOCIAL GROUPS OF IMPORTANCE	Catholic (75%), Evangelic (25%) Mestizos (90%) Black (10%)	Catholic (50%) Mormons, Adventists, Jehova's Witnesses, Baptists (50%)	Catholic (90%), Evangelic (10%) Black (95%) Mestizos from Manabí (5%)	Catholic Evangelic Mestizos from Manabí Black
KEY GEOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS	Slopes and hillsides of the Pichincha prone to landslides and collapses. Absence of sewage produces flows of black waters which flood the surroundings.	Total absence of sewage and garbage collection causes flooding, black water spills and infectious cores.	The neighborhood is crossed by Barrio by a canal that carries infectious black waters. Total absence of sewage. The dwellings stand on top of a canal opening and the neighborhood has experienced serious flooding caused by the high tides from El Niño. Total mangrove cutting Region affected by oil spills	Island surrounded by three tidelands contaminated with liquid, solid and toxic waste, parcels stand on top of a hydraulic landfill of sand and pebbles Disappearance of the mangroves.

WELL-BEING

RURAL WELL-BEING

1. Well-being, phrases and definitions

Well being in rural areas can be defined by certain characteristics such as being the owner of a house, having a job, food, facility services, good health and some animals . In some cases, the land is also mentioned as an important factor that points out good living conditions.

“To stop being poor and stay here, I guess there must be everything, electricity, water, everything. [For example] my uncle has everything, he [satisfies] his home and farm needs, he has animals, live stock.., he has everything since he is the one who has worked the most, and he also came first...” (Woman’s Interview, 10 de Agosto, site).

“We would like to have everything, electricity, potable water. These things can be found in the town...”(Report Voluntad de Dios)

I ask him , how does he sees good living and he answers: “being in good health and earn one’s bread..., someone who is alone can earn it but among three or four is very difficult because there is not enough” (Pajan’s Report. Río Chico de Paján. Man’s interview Report Paján).

2. Well-being, the experience, feelings and attitudes

Within the indigenous and black groups, the experience of well-being is permeated by their ethnic and peasant condition. The feeling of exclusion due to the lack of government attention is clearly demonstrated.

It is important to verify the power that means to belong to an ethnic group, such relative homogeneity that enables the existence of the communitarian world. They feel that being an indian unifies them in their condition of poverty and in the opportunities to improve their way of life (Researchers comments, Voluntad de Dios).

“We suffer in the countryside because we haven’t received any help from the different governments. We don’t receive anything. They don’t want to help us. At least here we have some products, we can’t sell them and our products are purchased very cheap. We cannot satisfy the needs of our children, we all suffer. We need to study, there is no capacity”. (Woman interview. Voluntad de Dios report).

3. Well-being and Ill-being Categories

We can observe in Table (3.1. rural) that within the three groups, three or four terms are used to designate the different well-being and malaise categories. The other three groups only use two terms. In relationship to the categories we can observe the following:

The terminology used to designate the different categories of the persons who live better or worse is not always closely linked to the context that is the community map. In such sites as 10 de Agosto, Río Chico de Paján and Juncal, it is mentioned the ones “who have the most”, “the owners of the land” and the “mestizos”. These are persons who don’t usually live in the site, they hardly know the place and they frequently are not part of the same culture. In the case of Río Chico de Paján, it is evident the difference which is made between “the ones who are here-residents” in the workshop and “the owners of the land”, farmers who don’t live in the region. Juncal is another interesting example, where the “mestizos” category, came after the map was finished as an acknowledgement that the mestizos have recently arrived to the place, meaning that they are from outside:

Before, the mestizos were very few, but now there are more, it seems that it is a good place to stay, they live near the road (path)....(Cañar Report, 1999:9).

TABLE 3.1: Definitions of well-being, categories and criteria (Rural Sites)

SITE	CATEGORIES	%	CRITERIA
Voluntad de Dios	1. "The normal ones": Not so poor	82%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They own livestock, pigs, and a large number of hens • They own more hectares of coffee and have rice cultivations • They have more money because some have a permanent job • They own a chain saw
	2. The poorest	18%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They don't own any land • They have many children • They have less working opportunities • The children cannot further the education
10 de Agosto	1. Those who have more	13%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wooden houses with zinc roofing • They have more work • They have more than one property • They have more cultivated land
	2. Those who have less	53%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They live 2.5 kms away from the main access road • They live in a small house made out of roof tile or "chonta"(hardwood palm tree) • "Low scale crops" (low yield)
	3. Those who have next to nothing	2%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Younger children and bachelors • They don't own a house and live with their parents
	4. Those who don't have anything	32%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They don't own property • They don't own a house
Río Chico de Paján	1. The land owners	24%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have enough for their food • They own livestock • They cultivate coffee, oranges and bananas
	2. The residents	58%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They only own the parcel, they don't own any land, they lease the land and they cultivate beans and peanuts • Day laborers men and women • They raise small animals • Small dwelling, with zinc roofing
	3. Those who don't own a house	18%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We don't own a house
Tumbatú	1. The forecomers	25%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They own a parcel/plot • They own a house made with cane and mud "bareque"
	2. The renascent ones	75%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They don't own a house; they rent • They don't own a parcel; they work in a small piece of land given by their parents • They earn a daily amount • They go out to work.... to Quito
La Calera	1. The "more or less"	2%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They own two floor houses • Cows • More parcels • A job, almost a fix income
	2. Those who have less	98%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They own houses made out of roof tile, block, or mud • They don't have a stable job, they are journeymen in building constructions and farms • Women migrate and they work as maids • They have more children, from 6 to 10

SITE	CATEGORIES	%	CRITERIA
Juncal	1. Old parents	20%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They own a parcel because they have inherited • They have small animals • They have a medium size house • They have one or two cows
	2. "Mestizos"(gen. app. to white and indian)	23%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have a house • They have more land; and a ranch/property outside the community • They have cattle raising; and pasture ground • They cultivate potatoes, corn, wheat, barley • They are merchants
	3. Recent ones	57%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have a small piece of land given by their parents • They migrate to the coast in order to have something to eat • They study

The second category is known as "those who have less" or "those who are here-residents". They are the common inhabitants of the site among whom we find to the persons who participate in the workshop.

The third and fourth categories point out to "those who don't have anything." They are the persons who don't have any land or house and that are excluded from the community because they belong to another ethnic group. This is the case of 10 de Agosto site.

Those who don't have anything are such couples formed by a mestizo woman with a man coming from the outside, in general a mestizo or settler. Since within the Quichua culture, the women are not subject to inheritance and the residence is determined by the father, the women who marry men from the outside remain not only without land but without a place to live (Report 10 de Agosto).

In the other three sites Voluntad de Dios, La Calera and Tumbatú, it can be observed that the terms are closely related with the context that is the site map. There are only two words here to differentiate to the persons and as explained in the narrative analysis, the persons who made the maps at the beginning, refused to establish the differences among the members of the community.

In these sites, the category known as "the poorest", applies to those persons who become separated for a given reason, from what they consider the normal life situation of the people from the site. The differences among "the normal ones or the ones not so poor" compared with "the poorest" or those called "more or less" are rather degree differences.

In the same rural Table 3.1, it can be observed that it is possible to classify the persons in another way. This implies to work with the generational differences, meaning "old parents" and "the forecomers" (Tumbatú and Cañar) versus the "renascent ones" and the "recent ones" that are the sons and daughters from the forecomers. These terms are generally used not only in relationship to wealthiness, but to the symbolic power that

these ones have within the groups. Perhaps this explains the fact why in Juncal, the participants men and women, placed to the mestizos of the town, who apparently have more, in a second place and in the first place to "old parents" (See Rural Table 3.1.), meaning adult men and women or old indigenous people.

TABLE 3.2: Proportion of homes/population in the poorest category in accordance with the different groups in every place (Rural places)

LOCATION	Poor Groups				Other groups	Comments
Voluntad de Dios	The poorest 18%		"The normal ones" Not so poor 82%			
10 de Agosto	Those who don't have almost anything 2%	Those who don't have anything 32%	Those who have less 53%	Those who have more 13%		
Río Chico de Paján	The residents 58%		Those who don't have a house 18%		Those who own the land 24%	
Tumbatú	The re nascent ones 75%		The forecomers 25%			
La Calera	Those who have less 98%				Those more or less 2%	
Juncal	Old parents 20%		Recent 57%		"Mestizos" 23%	

Characteristics of poverty and well-being

As it can be observed in rural table 3.1 and during the interviews, in all rural sites studied, well-being is defined in terms of having or not having property (land, house and animals), work or children.

The land as a source of well-being

In most cases it can be noticed that to have or not to have land is the first criterion mentioned as a feature that differentiates to the persons. In some places to have this good by itself is a wealth symbol; for example in "Voluntad de Dios", one of the participants when referring to the history of the Spanish settlers, said: "They took away the land, established "haciendas" and became rich".

The size of the land is another criterion that indicates well-being. For example, in "La Calera" where the properties owned are not larger than 50 square meters (1), the possession of land is not by itself a criterion of well-being since all have a piece of land

where they cultivate some products for their internal consumption. The differences arise with those who have more land. In the Amazon region where the productivity of the land decreases as it is used in agriculture, the idea is to have “more than one farm” or count with cultivated land.

A third aspect which can be observed is that in four out of the six rural sites, to have or not to have land is closely linked to age. The parents, “old parents” in Juncal, “the forecomers” in Tumbatú, “the ones who have more” in 10 de Agosto refer to such parents or grandparents who have good extensions of land or well located and have to capacity to give them to their children and grandchildren.

The nascent ones are young people or young couples that in general due to their youth don't have the chance to get their own lot since there is no availability of land. Chota Report.

A criterion of poverty is not to have a house/dwelling

Since having a lot is often a criterion of well-being, not to have a house is a criterion of poverty which is used in five out of the six sites. In some cases the quality of dwelling is just a referral to locate the persons in the different categories. On the contrary, in sites such as Tumbatú, the better quality of living and the materials used in the construction are not characteristics of well-being. According to women, these are signs that in a certain moment they had money to build the house. This is independent from the fact that they are or are not wealthy today. (Chota Report, 1990).

In most cases the association that exists between not having a house or lot is present in such categories that point out to the poorest of the poor. It is also interesting to observe that to this association factor, is attached the criteria of migration or working outside.

Live Stock and Farming/Cultivation

In four out of the six rural sites, the possession of bovine cattle is a criterion of well-being. On rural Table 3.1, it is possible to note that such persons known as the ones who have the most, are those who have cattle. This type of property is directly associated with the size of the land: “more land”- “cows”, cattle raising and pasture ground”.

Old parents have somewhat more land, a small dwelling, a lot, one or two cows and they give their children some land so that they can work. The mestizos are those who have more land, cattle, pasture ground, house. (Cañar Report, 1999).

Cultivation of land is another criterion used to differentiate the persons. In five out of the six sites studied, cultivation of land is mentioned as a well being sign. In “Río Grande de Paján”, we can see that one of the criteria used to differentiate to the “owners of the land” from the participants in the workshop, is that the wealthiest “cultivate coffee”, orange, bananas”, which are demanding products in the local and international market.

On the contrary, the residents cultivate peanuts and beans, the first one for the local market and the second one for their own consumption. At 10 de Agosto site, the difference between those who have more and those who have less is crop production: The first ones have "more production" and the poorer "less production". One of the ways to guarantee not only the survival of remote rural sectors but also to encourage the families in a monetary way, is to cultivate products that have a market demand:

I have worked very hard, cultivating "naranjilla"(a fruit) and this helped me to maintain my family and children. Since everything was expensive, I used to buy rice, sugar and eggs in the market. I also raised chicken and pigs (Interview Joaquina. 10 de Agosto Report).

Paid work and economic encouragement of the family

Several studies on urban-rural migration in Ecuador show that agricultural and cattle raising practices are not anymore the main source of income for peasants in the three regions of the country,². Now the major income comes from wages earned at farms or in the cities. This can be the reason why in five out of the six sites to have or not to have a job is a criterion of well being and poverty. In the groups that have more, the criterion used is a "fixed job", meaning that the criterion of well being not only is to have a job but to enjoy stability. On the contrary, the poor are described as persons who earn a "daily wage" and who "don't have a stable job". In such sites as La Calera and El Juncal, international migration has been an important source of well being and this is related to the masculine sphere since the men are the ones who generally leave the homes and women stay to take care of the land. However, several studies have shown,³ that within women the rural-urban internal migration is also very high.

This is the larger community of the canton. In the green area, we find corn for internal consumption. The people work in the cities, everybody migrates..." Most of them, go to work outside the town. Only the weavers remain in the community. (La Calera Workshop. La Calera Report, 1999).

Having a lot of children is a sign of poverty

This criterion was present in three of the six places; however, it is interesting to note that this factor is closely related to land owning. As we may note, this factor is evident in 10 de Agosto, Voluntad de Dios, La Calera and Tumbatú, places in which, as we stated, the Indians and blacks have serious problems with land distribution. In the three cases, there is parceling of productive units among family members. The farm belongs to the father; when he died it was divided among his sons (the Amazon case) and among the men and women in the Sierra region. As a consequence of the parceling, the pieces of land received by each are small and therefore inadequate to invest in farming for market production. In this context, the number of children is important as a welfare criterion.

² Several works can be consulted such as the following ones: Rodrigo Sierra for the Esmeraldas region, Fernando Guerrero for the Chota River basin, R. Rhoades et al., for Nanegal.

³ In Unifem's work it is pointed out the high migration rate of indigenous women.

And where they live. To whom the land belongs.

The owners are the parents, the parents have land, space, and floors and there is where their children build their homes and live with their families. The land still belongs to the parents and therefore it is like a loan. And with luck the land will be theirs, their entire live and may be left as inheritance ... (Tumbatú Workshop. Chota Report 1999).

4. Differences among the needy

As stated below, when the Indians and blacks were inquired on the differences among the poorest, at first they stated there were no differences, "we are all poor". This may be related to the fact that they feel ethnically excluded (because they are Indians or blacks); however, when insisting on this question, on either a group or individual basis, they recognized that there were differences among them.

Red Color was used to label "those who have almost nothing", in the Quichua language "lushti or Puri". After the work, almost at the conclusion, the participants decided that in their distribution of categories another important factor was missing. As may be noted on the chart, reference is made to those who have nothing. This was made based on the social exclusion criteria. This group comprises married women with men who do not belong to the community and therefore, these couples, that is, the participants actually have nothing. (10 Agosto workshop. 10 Agosto Report).

When asked, "Who lives better or who lives worst?", they responded: "We are all poor and live the same. The older parents have a little bit more of land, a small house, one or two cows, and they give their children a bit of land to work (Juncal, Workshop Cañar Report).

"The color red is for those who are worse off because they don't have any resources, no work, the community is large but behind ... It is the biggest community in the canton The color green means crops, maize, for self consumption; they work in the cities, everyone migrates The majority goes to work outside the community; only our fellow weavers remain in the community.... We can say that in Calera everyone lives in the same conditions. The ones who live in the center have a little bit more, bigger houses, they live better, because they migrated, they travel". (La Calera Report).

“Here we are all the same Just because you have a car does not mean you are better than anyone.” “Here we all eat rice and beans.” (Chota Report).

I asked, “Does everyone have the same amount of land, does everyone have the same amount of money to send their children to school, to feed them, for their health?”

“With regard to this point I would have to make a difference. In that aspect there is a little bit of difference. For example: few people have land and the majority do not have land.” I asked: “And where do they live. Who are they?”

“The land belongs to their parents, the parents have land, have their space, have houses and have given space to their children to build their homes to live there with their families.” (Chota Report. Interview man.)

5. Unrest caused by what people say

The inability to purchase food, to give a good education to children, lack of medical attention and unhealthy conditions are the key forms of expressing their unconformity with the situation in which they live.

“Certainly our farming is little; all the products, things bought from stores, are expensive; it is hard to live, we work and earn little money, buy few things or products; products are scarce, there is no money and we feel poor. If there were money (Cañar, Woman interviewed).

“There is no where to work ... we get sick and we don't have money to get cured, we don't have medicines because they are expensive ... The Government makes everything expensive ... there is no land ... there is no money We don't have livestock to work, we have to get loans We are poor, forsaken, we cry, we have only sorrow. We don't have money to buy fertilizer, seeds, everything is in dollars We don't have anything to eat Everything is so expensive; it was better before ... (Juncal workshop. Cañar Report).

Young adults feel even poorer; they don't have their own land to work and to build their houses, the land belongs to their parents and there is a lot of children. That is why they wish to go to Lago, Tena, Quito, to work and study. However, they do not have much hope in achieving these goals; they do not trust the government; they feel they have been discriminated against and predict the future will get only worse. (Commentary researches, Voluntad de Dios Report).

“We live poorly because of sickness, because of pollution, because of the oil companies, we get sick with fever, sometimes the children have eruptions; they get sick easily, sometimes because of food; because we are poor there is no money to buy food; now everything is very expensive, you can’t buy noodles, oil or salt, that’s why some days we don’t eat and just have chicha, because there is no money...” (Voluntad de Dios Report).

If you did have money, what would you do?

“Buy things from the store, for the week, without money we have to sell our animals, beg for money and go into debt or otherwise look for work in Guayaquil, in the coast, as an officer, wage workers.” (Cañar Report. Interview woman).

When asked on his current situation, the man responded: “Its dark, cruel, alarming, because of the highways and because of the financial situation, because of the extremely high prices.” (Paján, Rio Chico de Paján, Report. Interview man).

6. Who are the rich? How are they seen? How are they perceived?

The majority of the rich are migrants that have live in the communities or are mestizos who live in the community. It is interesting to note that the differences are not made with regard to millionaires who live in the city or hacienda owners. They refer to the individuals who are physically or culturally close and who have more money. For the people from Voluntad de Dios, having more depends most of all on the job capacity because it is directly associated with the people who have more are the ones who cut down the forest and therefore have more possibilities of turning forest land into fertile land.

The mestizos who have more land, have more cattle, have pastureland, a house. The newly arrived do not have land to work, some live with their parents when they give them a parcel of land to work, or the majority migrate and earn money to buy things and some return to the community and even study.” (Juncal workshop. Cañar Report).

“In this community there are people that have a little more, some have little, not a little more, depending on the whether they work more. If they have saws, they can get lumber; others have businesses; here there are only four who have more because hey have more; they have cattle, a pig, chicken; no one has a TV because its not of much use; people do have equipment. The ones that have the least, have only a small house and products from their harvest...” (Voluntad de Dios Report).

“Actually almost everyone is in the same financial situation, except for two families that have their own property here in the community; but they do not live here. They live in Ibarra; they are mestizos. They live better off.” (Chota Report).

7. Tendencies within and among categories

In general terms, for the majority of poor farmer groups, their lives have improved. The main factor for this evaluation is presence of infrastructure works, such as highways, electricity, schools. On the other hand, they believe the future will be worse because the financial situation is bad.

“I think they are ok. Before they were even poorer; the majority of us do not have work and people only would work for wages; now each parent has a farm; we did good with the little work we had; we plant crops and made some money ... I think people have more now, before they didn't have as much as they do today ...” (Voluntad, Young adult interviewed).

The group from La Calera stated that “its always been like this”. They also stated the same for “those who have less.” However, the last group that said the future “would be worse for those who have less”, which are the majority. (La Calera, Report).

I inquired on whether they lived better before. They answered that “because of the highways, we live better, but still suffer because of the economical situation.” (Paján, Río Chico. Interview man).

8. Causes (macro changes)

Bad government

For the majority of the groups, this is the source of poverty. The government is assessed as bad because it does not distribute wealth; because there are no policies and lastly because the government allows corruption to flourish.

... Money does not reach the needy ... Because the Government does not define any policy; every time there is a new government, the policy changes ... We can't get married. I was left in the streets; you can't harvest Poor education cannot be improved; getting to be the leader is not a matter of merit; they are bad professionals. Each government has a different work plan that cheats the people; for example, the solidarity bonus There is no food; malnutrition is more widespreadeating habits change There is no power to make claims to the government ...less production prompts more migration (Juncal workshop, Cañar Report).

... Our country is capitalist and therefore there is no economic authority. The Government does not really govern; the rich are the ones that govern. They are always devaluating the currency. Everything has gone up by 50%. This is a big cause of poverty ... The farmer's words are not heard and his product not valued... The press does not inform on collective rightsWe are never told of communities that make plans ... There is a lot of us who don't know public rights, above all Our products are devalued; everything is imported. Low

prices of our products ... Lack of organization; we never get together to claim our rights Lack of reforestation; too many trees are cut down. Degradation of the soil; the soil continues to erode (Juncal, workshop Cañar Report).

“The causes of poverty started about 500 years ago; we have always been exploited; within the communities there is no support from the central government; the Indian communities have been forsaken; these are the causes; since the arrival of the Spanish; Tahuantinsuyo, from the United States to Chile, was all Indian. Since the Spanish came, we have been exploited; now the communities have been forgotten; according to the technical evaluation, the Cotacachi canton has the highest percentage of poverty in the province. There are 44 poor communities in Otavalo or Atuntagui. Illiteracy in the communities is another cause. You can't get a job in a private or public company and you can't earn a fixed salary.” (La Calera, Interview man).

“The government raised the price of gasoline and now it costs us more to transport and we no longer make a profit. We don't make enough money ...the currency is worth less.” “Poverty affects us because of the foreign debt.” (Chota Report. Tablas Workshop).

We don't have money to buy fertilizer, seeds, everything is in dollars ... we don't have anything to eat ... everything is so expensive; when things were cheaper, it was better ... The Government should reconsider and not raise so much the price basic commodities The Government should have more compassion for the poor and not increase the price of electricity ... What's going to happen next? Will we be left without electricity? They should pay the teachers to come teach ...They should find a way to give the poor jobs.” (Juncal Workshop. Cañar Report)

Corruption

Corruption in the government, president, congressmen, bureaucrats, is mentioned as one of key factors of poverty.

.... Too much corruption We don't have money, that's why we go into debt ... we don't have a place to live, we sell our animals..... (Juncal, Workshop. Cañar Report).

... A lot of money of the people enters customs and instead of executing works, they steal everything ...The Government should end and they should demand money from abroad, they should ask for money on behalf of the small-scale farmers, in the name of education ... (Juncal, workshop report).

“The government should make sure the congressmen do not steal.” (Chota Report. Tumbatú Workshop).

“Another cause of poverty is the high cost of living; taxes that we still do not understand what they are for. We don’t know what we have to pay taxes on and what we don’t. There has to be compliance. Bad timing, bad planning, which we have never done.” (Chota Report, Interview man).

No jobs

In six of the seven places studied no jobs was a repeated cause of poverty. “No work” means in each case not having job opportunities to earn a salary or wages because farming does not generate enough money.

The causes may be unemployment, the community is too large, there is no work and there is nothing more than small orchards; if we had job opportunities, we would not have to migrate in order to live. (Margarita interviewed. La Calera Report, 1999).

The father is the one who migrates more, but some couples migrate; husband and wife leave without their children. They leave their children with the grandfather or grandmother and that is worse because the child is raised without love and affection. (Interview man. Cañar Report).

Lack of Education

Lack of education was noted in five of the seven rural sites as a cause of poverty. Education is understood as access to a school, high school and university but also interpreted by indigenous groups as formal or informal training to improve certain codes and knowledge of the mestizo culture and is frequently associated with training. Apparently, education is perceived as a cause of poverty in view of two reasons: a) men and women without education cannot get good jobs; b) men and women without education are an easy target for fraud by businesses.

“Poor quality of education; high school graduates are not well prepared; they just start to learn; they don’t teach well. Nothing taught is interrelated. Before strays new everything about everything ... (Juncal, Workshop. Cañar Report).

“Because we had no schooling we are almost illiterate. Sometimes we cannot even speak Spanish; we can’t add. Store owners cheat us, because the Indians don’t know how to count or anything else. They buy at the prices they want and pay less. They cheat us because we are not educated.” (Woman interview. 10 Agosto Report).

9. Causes of Micro-Changes. What is said.

The low prices received for products on the market and the lack of loans for agriculture are frequently mentioned as poverty factors. In five of the seven rural locations they were identified as the second cause of poverty. The most frequent reasoning behind this selection is that, to achieve a good harvest, it is necessary to buy farm implements such as fertilizers and pesticides, and be able to sustain the cost of delivering your production to the market. Production costs are therefore high and intermediaries pay little. In other words, farm production on these plots is not profitable.

(Merchants) pay low prices. The *colonos* also suffer.... They are also affected. We get along well with the *colonos*. We agree on what prices to pay the merchants. Although in Lago (Agrio) they pay higher prices, there is no equality with the merchants (intermediaries who buy the products directly at the farm). (Interview Serafina. Report Voluntad de Dios).

How much more, how much less doesn't matter. If you have a loan you'll be able to continue farming. This is what we do here. There are people who cannot plant their plots because they don't have the resources to do so. If you have the money to plant, but not to cure (use agro-chemicals), you'll lose. (Interview Esperanza. Report Tumbatú).

Our production is not being bought. It is expensive and prices are low. Therefore, there is not enough money. This is bad because nobody helps us. (Report Voluntad de Dios)

(Merchants) pay low prices. The *colonos* also suffer.... They are also affected. We get along well with the *colonos*. We agree on what prices to pay the merchants. Although in Lago they pay higher prices, there is no equality with the merchants as in Lago. (Report Voluntad de Dios)

I live in the third row where we don't have the means to get our products out. There are no roads. One works in vain because we lose the plantains and manioc grown on the farm. The cost of a mule is almost the same as the cargo it carries. We are taken advantage of by the owner of the mules. There are no profits for the producers. (Report 10 de Agosto).

We need roads. We need help because we cannot get our products out. (Report 10 de Agosto).

Poverty results from the absence of loans. For example, with a loan for agriculture... some people have more, others less land where to farm, but no one has the resource to plant... This is the only reason. It is the only reason. If we had loans to buy powder and seeds we would improve ourselves. (Report Chota. Interview Woman from Tumbatú).

“In the communities there are no solidarity organization to bring financial support for productive projects. They have not visited the communities or the people. They have not taken into account public offices; They have not even seen them. They have not focus on the communities. (La Calera, Interview Man).

They don't give loans because we are a community abandoned by the governmental authorities. They don't consider us. We seem not to exist, we are an imaginary community. They don't consider us as peasants, but we do live here in this town called Tumbatú. If we had loans we would improve. (Chota Report. Interview Woman from Tumbatú).

Alcoholism

It is seen, especially by women, as an element that generates poverty in the families.

“Men will sell any product, even cheaply, to buy liquor. Afterward they abuse women. They don't progress.” (Report 10 de Agosto. Interview with woman).

No attention from local governments

The reasons are various. No sectional governments have yet to do a productive project in the community, to reduce existing migration. Some companions have small plots of land, half hectare to one hectare in size. They don't cultivate it because the investment in agriculture is high and the profits are low because of the losses. This is a reason for high migration. There is no technical assistance. The soil is eroded. The crops are always the same. There are no crop rotations. The soil does not respond. Farmers lose their motivation. After investing so much they have no products to show for. Some men prefer to work in some factory to sustain their family. This is also a cause. (Report La Calera. Interview with man).

If you like, the cause of poverty is the sectional governments of the last decades. On the other hand, we have lost are harvests for the past four or five years. Farming has always been our way of life. (Interview whit man. Cañar Report).

I ask. Any other cause for poverty? I would suggest the sectional governments, the present situation and the lack of trust of the people of the town, or rather their egoism. The economic crisis generates disunion between the people. In this morning's activities, in our group of men, we have said that poverty brings lack of trust and incomprehension. If it is not controlled; if there is no reflection, even homes can be broken up. (Chota Report. Interview, man from Tablas).

In the communities there is no solidarity organization to bring financial support for

productive projects. They have not visited the communities or the people. They have not taken into account public offices, They have not even seen them. They have not focus on the communities. (La Calera, Interview Man).

10. Impacts / Consequences of Poverty

Death for lack of medical attention and alcoholism are seen as evident consequences of poverty.

...We have abandoned traditional medicinal practices. Now everything costs money. If a poor *runa* (indigenous) gets sick, in the hole he goes... He dies, no less... We are no different that laying hens. There is no land to buy. Plots are smaller and migration high. Land is expensive. Our neighbors have dollars so the prices of everything raise... we are with problems... Better to die..." (Report La Calera. Interview with man)

The consequences of poverty are many. Poverty produces alcoholism because there is no work. People loose their motivation and get drunk. People here drink a lot... too much. Friends drink almost every day. I don't drink that much anymore, only during events. When I was young I would drink more. Now, I only drink during festivals or indigenous community celebrations... (Report La Calera. Interview with man)

11. Security

Definition and people's perceptions

In rural areas, insecurity is generally associated with delinquency. In the majority of sites, this has not been a problem. However, when investigating further we notice that insecurity is related to the uncertainty about the future, Especially in places where climatic phenomena periodically affect the communities.

I ask if they feel secure here. They say they live in tranquility. I ask if they feel secure with the El Niño phenomenon. They say: "there is no security whatsoever, no support... Now, people have no where to live because their homes were washed away... They have no money to build a new one... No one helps us here. (Paján Report. Río Chico de Paján. Interview with Man).

12. Opportunities

New opportunities

One source of opportunities is the link generated between the men and women from the communities and the non governmental organizations or international institutions. These institutions frequently offer training and new social networks that offer new possibilities of progress.

"After college I returned to the Community and worked for a NGO that worked in forestry, agriculture, native and exotic plants. Lately, I have been working in the National Institute of Agro-pastoral Research"

In College, did you study agronomy?

"Yes. I'm an agronomist and I'm working in this field"

What were your activities with CARE?

"In the beginning, producing plants in the nursery. Afterward, they gave me the opportunity to study fruit culture in Europe, in Italy".

How long have you worked with CARE?

"With CARE, about 8 years"

Who paid for your fellowship?

"The Provincial Union of Cooperatives, communes of Cañar"

How did you become related with them?

"They had some collaborators, among them a Nun who was in contact with the cultural attaché. I was in Europe for 7 months. I studied Italian for 2 months. Then I went to Florence, Benetton, Milan, Torino, Sicily."

When you were younger, did you think you would be able to achieve this? How do you think you achieve this?

"I never imagined. I had the opportunity to graduate from College. I was asked to collaborate in the management program in conjunction with UPCCC. Through this work, I made friends among the leaders. They gave me this opportunity and I took part in the project and collaborated."

Do you think your life quality has changed?

"Yes of course, when my wife and I got married we had nothing. I was 19 years old and my wife was twenty when we got married. She was in her fourth year of College and I had graduated and was working, She had to study and I was living with my parents. All of my income did not suffice to maintain her and my brothers and mother. My father had died. Afterward, I build a house for 3 million. This came from my own efforts and my wife had a small business. As the elders say, when one buys mother earth, mother earth will provide the strength to keep buying. I then bought 3 hectares in Shu, with cows for meat. It is not very satisfactory since I spend more time studying."

Tell us about your experience?

"We are poor and I grew up poor. I studied here, always with my mother. My mother would feed us corn, always. Corn is what we produced. There was never any bread. Toasted corn instead of bread with sweetened water. This was our breakfast. That is when I was young. We never had bread, rice like today. We only had corn flour. I lived like this. When I finished college I would work throughout the holidays to save money to buy the implements (pens and pencils, books) because my mother had 6 children: three women and three men. I am the eldest. I could see she had no means. She would cry because she could not provide me with what she would have liked to. I would not ask because I knew she couldn't. I would wait for the holidays and work wherever I could find work and try to save money. I would work anywhere and do anything. I was not ashamed of working. I worked in construction. In the fields, harvesting, driving. I would always try to save for the school utilities they asked us for at the beginning of the school year. This is how I finished college. I could not go to university because I had no means for that. My brothers and sisters were now grown up and I had to help educate them. I was afraid that if I failed the money would be spent with no results. My brothers and sisters also had needs, so I did not have the valor to continue studying".

When I left school I went to work in a blanket factory in Quito. However, I saw no progress in working there. We would work day and night, 13 or 14 hours a day with very low wages. I stayed 9 months. Afterward, I had always wanted to travel. I had friends in Otavalo who traveled with handicrafts. I was going to go with an uncle but for some reason I didn't go. I went with a friend who was unknown to me, but I took the risk. We went to Germany to sell handicrafts. I was 20 years old because I had made my military service for 2 months. I did not have the means to travel, but I took the risk. I was there for 11 months. It gives you money, but the environment is very difficult. I suffered to the point of crying

Why did you cry?

"Because I had no where to sleep. I had been working for three months with two friends. We got a car, some handicrafts and merchandise to sell. After four months we finished paying what we had bought on credit. The airfares were paid for, so we were relieved. We sold our merchandise at open markets. It was prohibited but we still did it quietly. I would go to a square and my companions to others. One day my companions were caught by the police and they were deported back here. They kept the car. I was somewhere else and found myself alone. We would meet in the afternoon and would sleep in the car. I went to a place close to Denmark. I went there but I did not know where to go. Nights were cold and it rained, I had all these handicrafts. There were small cabins for people to change at the beach. I went to sleep there. It was hard and sad to be all alone. Not to have any friends or family to talk with. Trying to speak their language is hard That night, I cried. I told my self I would continue to work because I had come for that reason. If I was going to be here, I would struggle to be well. I went to a friend I had. I traveled by train and bus to Hamburg because he lived there. Afterward, I worked with other friends. Again I took the risk of selling my merchandise on a square where it was prohibited, but I wanted to progress. I spent another 7 months like this before coming back here because the ticket's time limit was coming ending.

Afterward, I had a girlfriend and we got married. It was not planned because I was giving money to my mother to help with my brothers and sisters. I tried to fix up a house the Banco de la Vivienda had given us. I made my home there. Got some things because we had nothing, not even a bed to sleep in. Later, I went to Colombia. We exchanged the stove and the land title for money to go to Colombia. We lived there 21/2 years. Now we have our things and we are always trying to improve our situation".

Are you better now than before?

"Yes. I believe I'm better, a lot better than before"
(La Calera, Interview with young man).

Opportunities and Poverty

When reviewing the various reports, we notice that men and women from the sites associate the lack of opportunities to the lack of education or of good education. Education is particularly important amongst the indigenous people who see it as a means to get out of poverty. According to some of the participants, only by acceding to college or a superior technical education like agro-forestry, ecotourism, and pisciculture offers you profitable employment and the opportunity of building your own life. Another way of getting out of poverty for the Indigenous people is with family planning.

Although we work in the fields, we don't get much money out of it. We don't buy corn or coffee. When I was a young girl we were also poor. Now that I'm married at least I get... Jaja! Jiji! (Voluntad de Dios Report, Interview with woman)

I would have liked to study engineering or architecture, but now that I have a family I have to struggle to progress with my children. Even though I have not studied, I would like my children to get that opportunity and be better than I. So they won't lack anything and suffer like I had. (Report La Calera, Interview with man).

From early on I was very alert. I was always spying on the meetings of adults. I was always attentive. I have always been involved in the needs of my community. This is why when I finished primary school I was chosen as health care promoter for my community. As a reward, we would get medication and small items to help care for the sick. However, on my own initiative, I would take my bags and pay for my own fair to participate in the training the mission would give to us. (Voluntad de Dios Report Interview with man).

What do you think is need for a person to improve their economic situation? "First of all, I think a young person or family who wants to improve itself is to plan for the children. Second, always try to transmit this gift or thought about improving oneself, this mentality about making progress. If one falls or faces some difficulty, one must try to solve it and try to move forward. Another thing, if one is working and has necessities, one should try to spend the least possible and save for when the money can be used for something worthwhile. (Report La Calera. Interview with man.)

Migration

In the case study of Cañar, Chota and La Calera, temporary or permanent migration to other countries is generally seen as a source of opportunities. Men are generally who will risk going to a foreign country.

Opportunity for Women

There is nothing for women to work at here, no micro-businesses. Women from the community care for the children; cook for her husband and bring the food to him, nothing else. If women could work some time outside the home, it would be good help for the husband. The family would have two incomes instead of just one. It would be good if we could get some training. Someone to say: Let's do things this way, change your lives. For example, it would be good to have a sewing workshop here to occupy our time and not stay home with anything to do. It would be good for the economy". (Chota Report. Interview with woman).

13. Exclusion

Discrimination still exists. Before, it was easy to discriminate against Indigenous, use them as workers, and force them to work or give them only small loans.

Was discrimination worst before?

Yes. Before you would have to call a person "Sir" or "lord", this has changed. They would ask to be called "master" or "boss" (patroncitos). If the man was called Roberto, you would have to call him "Master Roberto". This was a form of discrimination that affected the Indigenous people in rural areas.

In school, were the children discriminated against?

Yes. The teachers would discriminate against the children. They would say: "You are an ass, if you can't do this" "you're a beast". They treat them badly. We were discriminated against at school. (Cañar Report. Interview with man)

14. Violence

Causes of violence

In the two Amazonian locations it can be said that there is no violence between the members of the communities since working with them would have been more difficult. For most people, violence is given at home and depends on each family. For the Indigenous people of the Highlands, assaults and robberies are a fact of life.

Poverty is accompanied by illiteracy and vandalism. They also exist in the communities. People have no work so they meet to plan robberies and assaults. In the communities, this is not so frequent. Not like in the big cities. There are robberies, alcoholism, and drug addiction. Here in the community there is no drug addiction. (La Calera Report. Interview with man)

Forms of Violence Against Women

The mixture of poverty and alcoholism is viewed as the source of violence against women. This situation is generally given in most locations and the indigenous people (men and women) often think this is a vice proper to their ethnic group.

Amongst the Indigenous population, machismo is more frequent between the young. When young men marry and form a couple, the massacre of women generally starts. Sometimes the woman who for some reason has done something wrong or something is missing. She must be like a barricade. It was worst before, they did not go to school. When they were 9 or 10 years old they were already young women. Since they were young women, it was said they should not be sent to school. She could become pregnant or something like that. Parents did not want to send them to school because they were afraid. This is not as frequent since women are now leaders. The massacre of women is not as frequent I think. Women are not hit as often. (Interview with man Cañar Report).

Yes, there are abuses. I have seen friends loose their heads. They become like drugged. With alcohol and when drink we think we are the kings of everything. These are very grave problems. This has to do with poverty and unemployment. People don't have work to do so they drink. (Report La Calera, Interview, Man)

15. Men's Survival Strategies

As we have already mentioned, the first male strategy of survival is migrating to cities (Quito, Guayaquil) where they find wage labor in construction. Another group, especially indigenous, is dedicated to international commerce and travel regularly to Europe or other Latin American countries. This strategy is successful because women and children completely take care of activities on the farm.

I've asked who tends the store and the farm if he spends so much time out of the community. He answered: "Without my wife I could not have done all that I have accomplished. She has always helped and supported me in everything. She works and cares for the farm, the children, shops for the store. She sometimes hires workers to work with her. I feel bad leaving with so much work but I have responsibilities. (Report Voluntad de Dios. Interview with community leader, man).

Children have also recently begun to migrate for a living. The woman stays behind and they come to visit every weekend. Ten years ago we were not very preoccupied for education or doing something for the parish. We were more preoccupied with surviving and getting food. Now we are more preoccupied for education. (Juncal Report).

In La Calera, you can signal out those who migrated from those who didn't.

Those who have traveled to sell handicrafts in the exterior are “those who have”. (Work shop, Report La Calera).

I’m a merchant and today I’m here. Since the season was bad I came back. Last year I was in Chile. The year before I was in Colombia. I was selling Handicrafts in Chile and clothes in Colombia. I also sold handicrafts, knitting, shirts, sweaters, rugs, bracelets made here”. (La Calera, Interview with a young man).

Indebted

Getting into debt is another form of survival, especially for those linked to artisan labor.

How many times have you indebted yourself?

Many times because I have a large family that I have to maintain, especially in May when kids start school. Thank god I have some handicrafts that are woven. I got ponchos and skirts.

Where do you sell these products? In El Cañar.

Where did you learn your trade? Here, many years ago... 12 or 15 years ago. There was an institution in Ambato, my wife learned to weave carpets and they gave training. They brought thread. Some of us learned to make rugs but it wasn’t good. We did not market this. Nobody would buy them and we had nowhere to sell them. (Interview with Man. Cañar Report).

16. Women’s Survival Strategies

In some places, where male migration is high, women’s survival strategies are related to household reproduction activities and small scale farm production.

“Nobody is here to help. I do many things: food, money, and work. There is no work” (Report 10 de Agosto).

“Women don’t go anywhere to work”

I only plant *naranjillas*, coffee, and corn” (10 de Agosto Report).

“I have to think about what I will do, where I’ll find the money to do it. When one is poor, he doesn’t have anything... School will soon start and we do not know what to do... Alone I cannot do anything. I feel sick. Men have to leave to help the family... I have a son who cannot work because he is sick. I have no money to buy the medication. We have no money to pay the utility bills (water, electricity)” (Juncal, Workshop. Cañar Report).

For widows and single mothers survival is even more difficult, not only because they cannot count on the money provided by a husband, but also because they feel they are not respected.

The only work option for us is to plant *naranjillas*, coffee, and corn”. “I’m afraid of men. They are so mean. Some treat me badly. They don’t respect me because I

don't have a man. They speak to me as they wish". (Report 10 de Agosto).

Survival Strategies, Social Agents, Organizations, Individual Agents

The poor living in rural areas identify as the main organizations that support their survival strategies are linked with the Church and some international institutions.

When I lived in another area we worked with the Lutheran Commission in Cañar. They are religious, evangelists. Then Plan International came. They supported us with electricity and agriculture, training, machinery, weavers, and barley. Another internal institution did work with children. A short time ago there was an Evangelist Church. They also help with small amounts for children. They gave bursaries. They came twice a week and thought the Lord's word. However, they had no material or money to buy Bibles. They did not stay long. They left because of administrative problems with the Church and ourselves. They had said we had to do a big workshop to become productive". (Interview with a Man. Cañar Report).

Tendency	Voluntad de Dios	10 de Agosto	Río Chico de Paján	Tumbatú	La Calera	Juncal
More poverty			X	X		X
Small increase in poverty	X	X				
Without changes					X	
More well-being						

WELLBEING URBAN SECTOR

1. Welfare: Statements and definitions

For the poor in urban area work and education are crucial and interrelated in defining welfare. On one hand, they think that education will enable them to access better remunerated jobs. On the other hand, parents who have a good paying job can provide their children with a good education. Having your own home with some commodities, that won't flood, with beds and blankets are part of their conception of wellbeing. Health is another important element in the idea of living well. Health is frequently accompanied with the need of free medical services.

Wellbeing is education. Studies are a fundamental part. Economically I have no wellbeing. My ambition is not to have a big cement house with all its commodities if my family is not in order..." "Progress is not only economical, there is progress in health and education. If a person that received no education and dedicates himself and learns to read and write, he progresses. He can get a better income or communicate with his children". (Report Isla Trinitaria, Interview with man).

I ask what it means to live well. He answers: "To have work to be able to have... Without any work you cannot acquire anything, not even tranquility... When having a job, one works... If not, one is not tranquil and has no commodities". I asked him what he means by commodities. "Having money. When you have money you can buy and acquire what you need. When you have no money you cannot do anything". (Interview with a man. Nuevas Brisas del Mar Report).

"I have no means to pay for a doctor, an injection, or anything". (Report Isla Trinitaria. Interview with Olimpia).

When asked what had improved in his life, she answered: "Not only the material things... Learning to love a child, a husband is what happiness is all about... I'm not a person who yells or hits anymore... I now dialogue and converse... The best is when parents sit down and speak to their children... Before, he (my husband) would abuse me, not physically but with words. Now he respects me. He changed his attitude towards me... We both changed. This was achieved with training, pure training".

Referring to living well she said: "In many families everything seems well, fulfilled... Nevertheless you cannot know how the heart is, how it will be treated. Maybe there is money, but to me the best is comprehension, even if there is no money. I think the middle class has everything but there isn't any love. It is better to have comprehension". She also mentioned that money is important because without money you cannot eat, but she gave more importance to non material things.

On expectations: "The most important is to be respected". I asked her if there would be more money: "Poverty is generalized, not only in marginalized neighborhoods, but also in the rural sectors. I know there is no money but it is necessary to work to bring children some food. Life was easier before. People earned less but things cost less". (Report, Isla Trinitaria. Interview Pricilla)

“To live well means to have good health... and a job with a normal basic wage to ensure my needs... or to be able to get what I would like... things... a house”. I asked him what type of house he would like: “a simple house, just one floor... Not to big and without to much luxuries. I don’t like houses with too many things... Just a little. A simple and mixed house”. I asked him what he considered too many things. “For example a living room set, dinning room set, refrigerator, television, etc. I’m not preoccupied for these things... Only a simple house with a kitchen and a television, sometimes you enjoy that, a tape recorder maybe, an iron, blender, nothing more”. (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with a young man).

I asked Gladys what its means to live well: “To have the commodity of a home with its basic elements like a bed, dinning set, some furniture, to be able to care for the children, an education”. -Have you sent all your children to school? “Two have finished primary school. I cannot send them to College (high school). There is no money for it. I have 3 more in primary school... I have very little economic resources”. –I asked her what it means to have a house that is fixed up: “I imagine a house that is finished and nice... everything is in order. To have a place to sit, sleep and rest. A bed for my children to sleep in, where each child would have his place. I feel that it is bad for them to all sleep together... Girls with boys. All of this is commodity. Having a place for things, where they can rest and be separated”. (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with adult woman).

I asked him what its means to live well: “I don’t know how rich people live but I live well with my mother, and brothers... When money ends, with the helps of the brothers we get along”. –I insist and he answers: “To have work, no too much but enough to live well”. (Paján Report, Interview man).

2. Wellbeing, prestige, freedom, rights

In the urban neighborhoods of the coast, prestige with neighbors is to have a television, sound system, and a house in good condition.

I asked participants to draw on the map indicating the differences within the neighborhood. I asked them how people lived in the neighborhood, how the houses are. A woman answered: “Some homes are fixed up, with a floor and cement fence. Other houses are falling down... All roads are overgrown with weeds. Some people live better than others: they have food to eat; eat three meals a day; they can cure themselves when sick. Showing a house on the map she adds: “The woman who lives here, lives well. Her husband is a butcher, and makes a good impression on the neighbors”. (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Workshop).

3. Wellbeing and ill-being categories

Table 3.1: Definition of wellbeing, categories and criteria (Urban locations)⁴

LOCATION	CATEGORIES	CRITERIA
Atucucho	1. Those in the middle, the ones who need the least	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They own a house • They have a skilled occupation , steady work, and job in stable institutions, enterprise or store • Two or three floor slab house, with all the comforts • They can do family planning
	2. The poor; the ones who need the most	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One floor slab house, lean-to, zinc or eternit roof; in some cases the house is rented • They don't have anything inside the houses; they live in rooms • There is no family planning, many children • It is very difficult for them to get a job • They don't have any training • They leave the children without care when they go out to do some type of work • They frequently get sick
	3. The poorest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They hardly eat (flour, potatoes) • Women are by themselves • They don't have a way to progress
Paján	1. Wealthy people; rich persons from the city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They own land • They own livestock and large coffee plantations • They have good houses, good cars • They have enough money
	2. Middle class	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are teachers, professionals, merchants and public employees • They have money only for their basic needs • They own a house
	3. Poor people from the city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are journeymen or peasants • They have small houses or don't own any at all • They don't have money to cover the basic needs • One floor houses, made out of cane and zinc roofs
	4. People from the appropriation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Houses made out of plastic and mud floor • They don't have any crops • Flooding can occur • They are journeymen, they don't have a stable job
Nuevas Brisas del Mar	1. Poor who are somewhat better; and have good houses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have a big house, floor, a good bed, color T.V., furniture, refrigerator, sound system • They have a stable job, store, and a business • They have money to eat, to get cured, can eat three meals a day , and they have comfort • They have boats

⁴ See Annex 1: Percentage table.

LOCATION	CATEGORIES	CRITERIA
	2. Poor who are worse; the poorest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Houses made out of cane, the zinc is destroyed, the houses are falling down • They barely eat two meals a day • They live on the floor and are crowded • They fish, they are loaders in the markets, they make coal • They don't have a job
	3. Worse than the poor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One meal a day and sometimes none • They don't have anything
Isla Trinitaria (Andrés Quiñonez, Pre-cooperative)	1. The less poor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They earn better • They have hydraulic filling • They have a yard to wash the clothes, to keep the animals and the bathroom • Two meals a day • They have a skilled work, and occupation
	2. The poorest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They suffer eviction • Big families • Their dwellings stand on top of the water at the peer/embankment or in the far end • One meal a day • A house made out of cane • Less opportunities to get a job • Garbage, contamination • They are from Esmeraldas

Local Terminology

Atucucho, Nuevas Brisas del Mar, and Isla Trinitaria are peripheral neighborhood of cities such as Quito, Guayaquil, and Esmeraldas. Paján is a small town in the Province of Manabí. When examining the local terminology in Table 3.1, we notice at least three elements. The first serves as a referral point of view taken by the inhabitants to characterize themselves. In all three cases, the starting point is their own neighborhood. The least poor in their classification are those who are “from the middle”, “those who require less”, “the poor who are doing a little better”, or “the least poor”. In the case of Atucucho and Nuevas Brisas del Mar, there is a third category for those inhabitants who are “worse than the poorest”. This group is designated as “the paupers”. In Paján, the categorization begins with the rich from the city. They mostly refer to the rich *hacendados* who do not live in the town. For the poorest, there are two categories: “the poor of the city (town)”, those who are poor but have basic infrastructure, and “people of the invasion”, who are considered the poorest of the poor.

In the second element of the terminology, participants from the three neighborhood do not perceive great differences between each other. They start with the assumption that all poor share the same deficiencies and difficulties.

Who live better?

In general, there is very little variation in the economic conditions. In those

conditions, we struggle equally. We are equal here; the rest is pure appearance. There are houses made of cement, cane, or mixed. We are all poor here. We all have the same job opportunities. We don't have the same ideology, this why there is no harmony. (Report, Isla Trinitaria, 1999).

According to interviews and the analysis of the narratives it is possible to detect the starting point as a sentiment of common identity and equality. They share the fact that they all live in a suburban neighborhood that lack basic services, unsafe given their geographic location (on mountain slopes, estuaries), unhealthy, and very violent given the gangs who also live there. In other words, people live there because they cannot afford to live somewhere else. Therefore, they all share in the problems that affect the neighborhood.

In El Fondo (an area of the neighborhood), they are poorer than most, because many people live in one house. It is also more dangerous. However, not even the houses made of cement are safe [with all the violence]". (Report, Isla Trinitaria, 1999)

A third aspect observed in the four locations is that, the category of the least poor corresponds to the first inhabitants of the neighborhood. They are the ones who generally initiated the invasion, that appropriated a "solar" and who, with time, built their homes. On the opposite level, the new neighbors must insert themselves in the neighborhood under difficult conditions, when the properties almost always have owners, and when land are unoccupied, they are generally not fit to live on. This is certainly the case of Isla Trinitaria, Nuevas Brisas del Mar, and Paján. The inhabitants who now live on the shore of the river or of the estuary are migrants who have arrived a year or two ago, when they were expelled from the rural areas because of the El Niño phenomena or drought. In the three marginalized neighborhood of Quito, Guayaquil, and Esmeraldas, it coincides that they are groups of black families, the poorest of the poor.

*It was impossible to get more precise results since the participants varied in proportions.

Characteristics of Poverty and Wellbeing

Differing from rural areas where wellbeing is clearly define in terms of "having and not having goods (land, animals, house), jobs, and children, classification in urban areas is based more on peoples possibilities and a location of the poor in terms describing their ill-being or bad situation.

Not having a house is a criterion that determines extreme poverty.

As I have mentioned before, in neighborhoods created as a result of an invasion, most of the first inhabitants posses at least a small plot of land and a home. The measure of the poverty of a neighbor is that he/she doesn't have a place to live. This criterion is only present in the category of the "poorest of the poor". They are the single women of Atucucho, the single mothers who work as domestic employee and the black migrating

families recently settled in El Fondo de Isla Trinitaria who do not have homes.

The quality and belongings as a criterion for wellbeing.

The quality of the home and the commodities it offers is a criterion that serves to differentiate the least poor of the poor. Good homes, Homes with tiled roofing, large homes, luxurious homes, homes with an area for washing, belong to those who have the least needs. The poor have a house made of cane, in bad condition, or half built.

It sometimes rains and the house is wet. It is burdensome when everything is wet, with is mud on the floor. My house is half made of wood planks, half dirt. The part that is made of dirt becomes wet. My house is not yet finished building. (Interview Gladys, Report, Nuevas Brisas del Mar, 1999)

Besides the quality of the home, the number of possessions found in the house also serves as a criteria for classification. "There are homes with nothing in them", "They live on the soil", "Their bed are quite luxurious", "color television, furniture, refrigerator." They are goods that serve to locate people in one category or another. They are also symbols of wellbeing:

What type of house would you like?

"A simple house with just one floor. Not too luxurious because I don't like home with too many things. A simple house, a mixed house.

What things are too many?

For example, a living room set, a dinning room set, refrigerator, and television. I would like a house with a kitchen, maybe a television, they are sometimes useful, a tape recorder, an iron, and a blender. Nothing else. (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with young man).

Stable work compared to wage or informal labor

In the same ways that the commodities serve as a measure of poverty, the type of employment is another indicator. The least poor have stable employment, their own business, a profession or specialty. In opposition, the poorest of the poor have no job stability. The people located between these two categories correspond to the day workers, shoremen, informal workers or merchants, etc.

Having your own business is a way of escaping being poorer.

"Selling needles is not a business. A business is a pharmacy or a pool hall. Something you can live off". (Report Isla Trinitaria, 1999)

Despite the distinctions made between types of work and the valorization attached to a stable job, many men and women agreed that job security and stability was not synonymous to wellbeing. It was mentioned that it is very common to not getting paid, especially in times of crisis. So this type of jobs can also become insecure.

Eating only once a day

In the four urban sites, the number of meals a day is also a criterion to distinguish the poor from the poorest. “Eating the basics (flour and potatoes)”, “eating one meal a day”, “they lack to sustain themselves” are often enounced to describe the situation of the poorest of the poor. Differing from rural areas where family gardens can help cover at least the most basic food requirements, in urban areas, if the men and women cannot get hold of money there are not many other ways to gain access to the needed food. Food insecurity is sometimes dramatic:

If we take the last two years, children go [to school] without breakfast. Sometimes I have some 20,000 sucres. If I serve breakfast, I don't have enough for lunch. (Interview Gertrudis. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar, 1999)

These people (the paupers) are not well dressed and have no personal hygiene. They only eat pasta soup and corn; sometimes a potato” (Atucucho Report, 1999)

The bad environmental conditions as a criterion of extreme poverty

In addition to the characteristics tied to eating only one meal a day, there are those that are related the severe environmental conditions in which the poor live. People are “sick with frequency”, “there are floods”, and “garbage and pollution” are representations that help define the lives of the poorest people. When examining Table 2.3 we see that in the four invasion neighborhoods of the coast, there are no sewer system, and that the sewage water are leaked directly into the estuaries, where a mangrove forest used to grow. Now these locations count many homes. Atucucho, a suburb of Quito, is built on the steep slopes of the Pichincha mountain. Every winter, the risks of land slides are evident.⁵ Sewage water flows in open channels along side the roads. All these neighborhood are in high risk areas.

Before [the invasion], we lived in water and all the garbage went into the estuaries. Living badly is not only not having access to education. We don't have a healthcare center. At the end of the XX century, we are still using septic tanks. We have to use the bathroom, and then throw everything in the ocean. (Interview, Yoli, Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar, 1999)

4. Differences between the poor

They were asked again: Who lives better? “ The people who live better can easily be counted, 5 or 6 families”... In the end, they are all the same: poor (Report Isla Trinitaria)

First they said nobody in the neighborhood lives very “well, well”. Afterward they referred to the security of the neighborhood, to the gangs. “They steal and kill... If you carry money the clean you out... If you don't give it to them, they kill you”. The

⁵ A week before this study was done in Atucucho a mother died when a land slide washed away her precarious home.

group was more disposed of speaking about their problems and not so much about their living conditions. I had to insist. They insisted that the poorest are those who have “large families, many children”. Finally, after recognizing that they were all poor, they divided themselves into two categories: The poor who are better and the poor who are worst. They were presented into a matrix (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Workshop).

You know when someone is poor when they keep their children locked up. Children are abandoned because they have to find a way to bring food home... They have no means of progressing. They are responsible people, but they don't have any means. Others can progress but they don't do it because they are careless”. “The poor have more children... They don't let women care for not having too many children. They don't consider her. They say: “What God gives...” Men think: more children, more macho”. (Workshop. Atacucho Report)

5. Ill-being: What people say

The lack of money, the unhealthy environmental conditions, the lack of food caused by its high cost, and employment insecurity are the main causes for the bad living conditions in the marginalized neighborhoods. For others, living badly is not having unity within the family.

“We are the poorest. We are condemned to living in a house made of cane. We don't have enough to cover our basic needs... I mean there is not enough for food... It is different for a professional. We are only masons and plumbers. We receive only a small weekly wage”. Someone else adds: “The reality is, this country is fucked... I have a stable job, but I haven't been paid for over a month. The advantage of living here is that we don't pay rent”. Another adds: “I'm a gardener and I do mason work. I provide education to my children. I distribute my money. My goal is to have a house made of cement. (Report Isla Trinitaria, Workshop Report)

I ask if he feels he is living well? He answers: “Not very well with the prices of everything being so high. We cannot live well under these conditions. We cannot buy anything. To pass your life you go from here to there, we struggle with life”... I asked if he is working. He says: “I don't... I do but far away... in the fields”. I asked him if there was work in the fields. “There is no work now. There is no one... There is no work anywhere... If you work, they don't pay you. I just came back to get my pay... Nothing... Anyway, life is bad because even if you've worked they don't pay you. This is how we live here... That's it”. (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar, Interview with adult man).

I asked if he feels like the majority of people here. "Yes, we are all in a bad situation. Last week and the week before were worst than ever. We are desperate. As the saying goes: If you have for rice, there is nothing for butter... If we buy sugar, we cannot buy anything else... It has been a while that I haven't bought meat... I can't afford it". (Interview Paján, Interview man from the Invasion).

"There are times when my second husband does not get paid. We even had to sell some of our things. At home we need 5 pounds of rice. Now we can only afford 3 pounds. Children are not satisfied, but they live". 21 people live in her house. When women elaborated the map, she emphasized her home. "Poverty is difficult... Before, with 10,000 sucres, when money was worth something I would eat with my children and buy them clothes. They would lack nothing. Now, even 20,000 sucres aren't enough. We now eat garbage. Life is hard". I ask her what can be done about this hard life? "It is depressing. There are times that I'm very depressed. I sometimes feel like committing suicide... go out running... to do what I sometimes have in my head... To see the children asking things, see them crying, and not even having for a bread to give them... Life is sad". (Report Isla Trinitaria. Interview Olimpia).

Environmental conditions in which people live in the urban neighborhoods of the coast are a constant source of discomfort for men and, especially, women.

"Andrés Quiñonez forgot to fill this area. (A comment of the youth about what they have eared, since they were young when the waterway was filled). This is why the people who live here are in water. Children fall into the mud. The river (Estero Salado) is full of garbage. For children you can put the poles that are there. People have no bath. All the garbage goes into the river. It is dangerous because of the tides. The water flows inside. You cannot make your house bigger or better". (Workshop Report, Isla Trinitaria).

"We are sinking. Houses are made of cane and destroyed zinc sheets". Another woman adds: "We live one on top of another". The facilitator asked the woman to explain what she means. "We don't have beds... It is not right for children sleep men and women... That they should have to sleep on the floor". (Workshop. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar)

I ask her what it means to live badly. "When you lack everything. For example, if we have for food, today we eat. If not, we go to bed with an empty stomach. It sometimes rains and the house is wet. It is burdensome when everything is wet, with mud on the floor. My house is half made of wood planks, half dirt. The part that is made of dirt becomes wet. (My house) is not yet finished building. (Interview Woman, Report, Esmeraldas)

I ask her what it means to live badly: "When you don't get along with your family". I ask if there have been problems like the lack of food at her house. "Yes".

Therefore, I ask how did they overcome this. “We got a (loan or credit) from people with more possibilities or people with a business”. (Paján report, Man from the town).

6. The Rich (who are they? How are they viewed? How are they perceived?)

The rich are identified as persons who have the best basic services and, in the majority of cases, live in the same neighborhood.

“Those who live on main street have houses made of cement and blocs. They have fixed jobs in factories or stores. They sometimes even have a phone line. Their house is of 2 or 3 floors (Atucucho workshop report).

7. Tendencies in and between categories

Generally, the inhabitants of the marginal neighborhoods of Quito, Guayaquil, Esmeraldas and Paján think that goods used to be affordable: food, clothes, education for children. The future for some is uncertain, for others it will be worst.

The work group says that 10 years ago, there was only one category of people: the poorest and they all share the same privations. They mentioned that in the last 10 years, only a small percentage of people have shown progress. They would now be “the least poor” (Report, Isla Trinitaria, Comment workshop).

“Before coming here (*Dimas is an immigrant from the Province of Los Rios*), I earned 10,000 sucres per week. It was more than enough. Now, clothes are expensive. What I have now was given to me. Everything goes to buy food”. Did you eat better in the past? “Like I said, a fish was cheap... meat now costs 10,000 sucres per pound, and they don’t even give you full pounds. Before we could spend on other things, not only on food”. I asked him how he viewed his future. “Before we were few, now it is little what they pay. We need a government with a high level of intelligence to improve this country”. Do you believe, Don Dimas, that the future will offer better opportunities? “It’s going to be the same. The Bible says that you must give to those who don’t have anything... People used to help. They don’t anymore”. (Report, Isla Trinitaria, Interview with man)

Some people have said: “You cannot think about the future, because you have to survive the present”. They did not mention the criteria of wellbeing for the various categories; they preferred to specify what was going to happen in each one. They all coincided in that the future would bring more poverty. (Report, Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Workshop with youth).

I asked about life 10 years ago. "Ten years ago, I lived like I do today. I believe that God left me like this: poor. I cannot acquire anything. I have worked and still cannot acquire anything, except for my children to study. Before it was easier, at least for food, the education of the children, to buy a shirt, or a dress. Now, everything is so expensive, I cannot do this. My grand-son has lost his father and mother. The child is six years old and I cannot get him to study, because I cannot afford it. It is very sad for a child to grow up like this". (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with adult woman).

I asked her about the future. "If things don't change the future will be worst. If this year doesn't change, the next will be worst and life will be sad, especially for someone with so many children". (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with adult woman).

8. Causes (macro changes). What is said about the causes.

The lack of work and, therefore, the lack of money are the most frequently mentioned causes.

In the interview, I asked: Why does poverty exist? "Because in this system there is unemployment. To get a job now you have to be graduated. You have to struggle when you are in school to be able to graduate. Men without a profession can't find work. They can only get low paying jobs. They are asked for the military service card, recommendations, and many things... They keep looking for work, but there is none. This is why there is delinquency. If there were jobs we would not have any delinquents. If there was a good source of employment I would go to work, my husband would work, and all the men who are unoccupied". She also adds: "One has to confront poverty alone. I would like for everyone to have the same. It is not that we should have two refrigerators, but a nice house and not being afraid of falling in the ocean. Those who have money eat good food". "When someone wants to go to the center, if he doesn't have 2000 sucres, he cannot go... This why I stay home". ". (Report Isla Trinitaria. Interview Olimpia).

When identifying the causes of poverty, all participants mentioned the lack of proper employment as its main cause, inflation, and government mismanagement. For the participants, it was difficult to identify other causes for poverty. Those mentioned so far were widely repeated. There was also a strong tendency to consider the present crisis as a reason for their poverty (Report Isla Trinitaria. Workshop).

I asked why life was so hard. " Because now you cannot get any money. You cannot eat well. Before I would go to El Salado to search for clams. I would get all dirty with mud but I would bring some food back home. Now you cannot find food in the estuary. When the El Niño came, I went searching but found nothing". (Interview woman. Report Isla Trinitaria).

9. Corruption

For many inhabitants of the urban neighborhood, the corruption of the politicians is useful since they know that only during electoral campaigns they show an interest for their problems. It is during this period that they can resolve some of their problems. They know that they cannot do it before nor after the elections.

In relation to the water problem, they mention that it could be solved during the election campaign. "Water is a political tool. The tubing is already installed and the work is done. The politician who wants to self promote will give the drinking water". ". (Report Isla Trinitaria. Workshop)

10. Impacts/ consequences of poverty

For the urban poor, delinquency is usually a direct consequence of poverty.

"The lack of work leads us to delinquency. In turn, it limits the possibility to educate our children or get help at the hospital". (Report Atucucho, Workshop)

11. Security: Definition and people's perceptions

The people living in the marginal neighborhood of Quito, Guayaquil or Esmeraldas perceive that they have no security whatsoever.

"Insecurity is total. The police or laws are absent. A cement house is no longer safe. All those who live on the boardwalk are in a bad situation. Leon Febres Cordero came and destroyed the homes. The houses on the boardwalk will be relocated. There is a rumor about the homes on the boardwalk. From El Salado to the communal house there are some 50 meters and everything will be moved to Puerto Lisa". (Report Isla Trinitaria. Workshop).

Causes of insecurity

The most frequently stated cause for insecurity is the poverty that makes violent people of men and fathers.

The question was: Do you have insecurity problems here? "There are times when my father is upset or out of work, he throws my brother and I out of the house because we cannot find work. It is because there is no work, we cannot find any when we search. He sometimes kicks my mother out also". I ask what they do in such cases: "My brother goes to the shrimp farm and stays there 20 or 30 days. I go to my aunt. My mother goes to her brother". I ask if her father mistreats them when he throws them out. "Yes, when we come home late, he beats my brother and I. He locks the door on us when we arrive late, at seven. We have to come in early". I asked if some improvement could be made to the house. "Everything is in

disorder. It's a real disaster. Sometimes, we want to help my father, but... We will never progress this way. We he is like this, we all just disappear. When they want to send money for materials, cane, whatever... you can't because he spends everything. He buys a shirt or food for himself. When you come back after three days, there is nothing left. It is all spent". (Report Isla Trinitaria. Youth Workshop).

Forms of insecurity

For men and women insecurity is not only related to delinquency. Part of insecurity is the fact of not having the land titles legalized. A third cause for insecurity is tied to the environmental conditions. Tides, the El Niño or the strong winter rains can knock to the ground the fragile constructions and leave them without a roof.

This man has a cement house on the boardwalk. Respecting the problem of eviction he states: "I'm putting all my efforts into this [business] but the mayor wants to redo the boardwalk. He wants to shoot us and move us some 50 meters away. We have lost our business. All those sacrifices and efforts for nothing. I had even stopped eating and dressing properly to build this business (he is thinking of building storage space to keep the mollusks he sells). The mayor came and evicted us because we did not have any land title... We wanted to find a solution... We wanted a paper that would give us some rights, but they said there were none at this time... The mayor said that those who have a document could come and see how much would be given for the building. Those who have a document will get something. I have no papers. I have no money because I have risked everything on this. I risked.. I cannot stop working while waiting to be evicted from a place that I built. How does my family eat if there are no income. There is no work. The mayor or whoever evicts us will leave me in the streets". I ask him if he feels uncertain about his future. "Insecure? My life depends on the good will of the mayor. What can I do? To whom can I protest?" (Interview Man. Report Isla Trinitaria).

I asked the man if he had suffered abuse, discrimination, and marginalization from other people. "I can't complain. They have not harassed me. Only once, when I was seated... a gang came... I received two shots (he shows them to me)... They got the wrong person". (After the interview he told me how he had been attacked twice by gang members when he was fetching water in the early morning). (Interview with adult man. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar).

12. Opportunities

Opportunities and poverty

In difference with the poor from rural areas, the men and women from the marginal urban sectors sense they don't have opportunities. This is do to their lack of education that makes them less competitive on the job market. Another factor that limits finding good work is living in a neighborhood that is considered dangerous.

When asked about the opportunities, the people of Trinitaria say: “I feel we have the same opportunities (as any other). One has to be intelligent, alert and honest. Although it seems that with honesty it is more difficult to acquire what you want, but not impossible. The place is ripe for those who come and want to cultivate and harvest. There are difficulties but it is possible”. (Isla Trinitaria Workshop. Interview with man)

I ask if Black people have less opportunities. “Of course, if someone needs help, he never thinks that you could help... but, if a corn has fallen one has hands to pick it up. However, they tell us, lend this to me or pond it or sell it. But as a marginal race, no one wants to do it”. (Isla Trinitaria. Interview Olimpia).

I asked him since he is expecting a child he sees more opportunities to achieve the wellbeing that was discussed. “Sometimes, but I see it will be difficult. I think that if I don’t study this year I feel that I will change my ways... I’ll have a child and I will have to feed him. If I cannot find work I don’t know what I’ll become”.⁶ I ask him if he feel that opportunities have been opened or closed to him. “I feel that they have closed. Before, I had work from Monday to Saturday, and another job on Sunday. When I no longer wanted to work there I could sell the newspaper. Now, I cannot even do this. These opportunities no longer exist. I think that life is more complicated and there are no longer any opportunities for me”. (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with young man)

I ask him about his life before, when he lived in a rural community. “It was more difficult. I had to walk and had no money. Living in Paján is easier. When I studied, I’d have to walk for an hour and a half. I would ride my bicycle every day. I spent five years walking. Only this year”. I asked him what opportunities he had. “I thought of studying at the university in Manta. This year I cannot enroll, but next year it is going to be possible because my brothers want me to study”. (Paján Report, Youth from the town).

Requisite to increase opportunities

Education and training are viewed as a means to increase opportunities. Although they do not directly state it, another way of improving one’s life is through relations in a social network or with other social classes.

I ask him about his life ten years ago. Does he think his life has improved? “Before, we used to rent... In material things, we did improved because I now have my own house. My husband works in commerce so this has helped us. I’m a leader in the community. I also direct the daycare. With a little money here and there we built our house. I received training with other people who want to live with dignity. The authority have forgotten about this area as if it didn’t exist”. (Report Nuevas

⁶ In an informal conversation he stated that if things continued to worsen, he might follow the path of some of the neighbors: traffic drugs.

Brisas del Mar. Interview with adult woman).

“When I was a child I would sometimes cry. One night I would sleep, but not the other. This is why I say God has always been with me. I opened the door and ran away. A short time afterwards, I found work with a Colombian family (domestic employee). It was like my family there. I entered their service when I was 12 years old and left when I turned 18. I brought up their children. I left when they were grown up. They help a lot with my education. When I left them, I did not last a year. I got married. Before that my godmother, or the man and woman I worked for, helped to study to become a commercial secretary”. (Report, Atucucho. Interview with adult woman)

“Poor people don’t have sufficient preparation and it is more difficult to find work. Education is very important. Almost every family has a child in high school, some at university. Parents make many efforts to educate their children. Education is a way to get out of poverty. Some of our children prefer vagrancy to studying. They prefer to make a little money now and not pursue an education”. (Report Atucucho. Workshop).

13. Government policies and strategies

Impacts of opportunities

The solidarity bonus given to mothers living in poverty during the last trimester of 1998 is worth some 20US per month. Although this bonus was in place during our fieldwork, it has not been mentioned as a way of helping them palliate their necessities. The only government aid that was mentioned explicitly were the small houses for those who lost their homes during the El Niño.

I asked how he now lives. “A little uncomfortably because when the El Niño came this year, the house was weakened. Its supports are outside a little. I went to rent a house but it was worse than here. I would get wet. There were scorpions, many insects. I was paying 50,000 sucres. I was there for four months. I was desperate. I had signed up for a house with Midubi, a government company. (An institution attached to the Ministry of Government that gave homes to the people most affected by El Niño). They gave me this house. I thank God even if it is small. We are somewhat uncomfortable, but at least I’m not renting”. (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with adult woman).

14. Exclusion

The exclusion felt by the inhabitants of the marginal neighborhoods is because they are Black and for belonging to sectors represented as dangerous and a refuge for delinquents.

She mentions that “people here are racists because when they see that one is Black, they only think in how to marginalize that person”. I ask her: How are you marginalized? “To marginalize is, for example, when they whisper “this black family lives there”, “these Blacks sons of Miss Olimpia (her), the Black (name of the person). I tell them my color is not important because I will never ask them for a peace of green plantain, so they can say whatever they want”, “People whisper about Black... When one is Black they thing because they are White they are worth mores... Therefore we are marginalized, They don’t consider us, as if we were despised”. I ask her how is she not considered? “Lets say, people pass by but don’t return a salute. Sometimes, when we suffer something they don’t participate. They don’t share our pain. They think it will not happen to them.... I mean the death of my children”. She continues with her dramatization. “People say: “no, the one who died is Black, Black”. “We are all human beings”. She is a healer. When someone is sick, she helps to cure them. “So, I tell them when I touch them with these black hands... when a child has been eyed (cursed) or has a colic: “Black are always good for something”. “In my region, Blacks and Whites are equal. They each lead their own lives. However, here it is racist”. (Report, Isla Trinitaria. Interview Olimpia).

Regarding the people who are not from the neighborhood, from other parts of the city, or when you look for work, or when you go somewhere, do you feel excluded or marginalized? “Yes, because many people from other parts believe that all those who live in the lower neighborhoods are gang members, drug addicts, or thieves. This is why I feel they think wrong things about me”. I ask him how this was manifested to him, how he felt it? “ I felt it... I saw it... I know some people have thought this about me... It is difficult for people who live up there that there are still people living down here who do not do bad things. They think that all those who live here in the lower neighborhoods, especially the youth, are members of gangs”. (Report, Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview young man).

I ask her if she ever felt marginalized or excluded from society? “I wanted to wash clothes so we went to a lady further up. She asked me: Where are you from? – From Brisas del Mar. –No. I don’t want anything to do with people who live down there. Sometimes, they don’t want to give us work because we are not sufficiently prepared, or for living down here. Is there is a theft, they say: “Everybody there are thieves”. A sometimes have to fight to defend my neighborhood”. (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview woman).

I ask him if he feels that the invasion area is marginalized (excluded), if people consider them? “To this moment no. I don’t know what the mayor has been doing or the president of the neighborhood. During the elections, the first thing the president promise was a good neighborhood”. I ask him if he thinks that his present personal situation is because he is not taken into account? “Almost no one takes us into account. I have been living here three years and nothing has changed. Everything is worst”. (Report Paján. Interview man from invasion).

Changes needed to stop exclusion

I ask if she thinks that people could do something by themselves to reverse the situation? “No. By themselves, no. If one doesn’t have work, how can he (she) change? Who is going to look for you (who will give you work)? Only if God takes pity on us” (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with Woman).

15. Vulnerability: Who is vulnerable?

In Isla Trinitaria, families that have no land titles and subject of possible eviction feel vulnerable and incapable of solving this problem.

They say: “There is no hope of someone to help us.. I wanted a loan, but they are requiring the land title, but I can’t”. Again, we notice the importance of land titles for the people, to ensure their home, as collateral for a loan, or to create a bigger home or a business. “The people who got a loan had their land title”. (Isla Trinitaria, Interview with a man).

Vulnerability due to violence is a sentiment felt by both men and women, especially by the youth.

I asked about the security problem. She says she has never been assaulted nor robbed by the gangs. However she tells the story of her children who were murdered:

“One (child) because he didn’t want to accept a drink from a drunk so he shot him. The other one participated in a robbery and was killed.”. She mentions that “the gangs come from other neighborhoods, but they don’t bother me, but they do sell drugs. (She means that it is their business). They steal from the main street. I cannot say nothing about them because they have done nothing to me”. (Report, Isla Trinitaria, Interview with Olimpia).

I ask if there is insecurity in the invasion? “There are people who like things that don’t belong to them. You cannot just leave things. They’ve lost the shoes of a kid that live nearby. They have done nothing to me and I leave my door open. We tell the thieves not to steal. They say: “God made me this way, I will die this way. Delinquents are not a problem (by delinquents he means major felons, murderers, rapists). I live here so I don’t try to resolve the problems in other

homes. Sometimes, when they fight because of treason, they don't do it man to man, they use machetes". (Report Paján. Interview with man from Invasion).

16. Tendencies of violence

Based on the feelings of the urban poor, violence is not something that is going to end soon. Gangs are only another manifestation of the corruption that exists everywhere. Another reason that has been stated about the lack of possibilities of curbing the violence is that people grow up in that environment and are linked to it early on.

I asked, how and who can solve the problem of violence, delinquency and gangs? What will happen to the gang members? "I think that gangs will never disappear. Maybe they will diminish, but not disappear. There is corruption everywhere. It comes from all the way up, from the governments who hold the country in their hands. They are responsible if the people down here act the way they do". (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with young man).

"Small kids carry knives. A gang member here is only 8 years old. There is another one who is 11, and the other is 12. The three of them go out to rob. They steal from the smallest children, those who go to school, or those who have nice things, a cap or shoes". (Workshop. Report Atucucho).

Causes of violence

I asked. What does it depend on for the gangs to disappear? "The gangs would diminish if there was a good source of employment and more opportunities for the youth". (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with young man).

Changes

I asked if it was possible for the youth not to become involved with the gangs? "Finding ways to dialogue with the youth, like you are now doing in the neighborhood (the workshop). Making them understand about life and how it should be lived, planned, etc. They should try to study more because it is something that they often lack. They lack an education. They don't know what is going to occur in the future. They seem to think that they will only live in the present, with no future. Therefore, you have to give the youth a chance to change, see a future. If you give them hope, a future, maybe they will think differently, and leave the gangs". (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with young man).

17. Violence against women

In regards to the problems affecting women, they said: "Some men are lazy. They don't work, smoke the money, or abandon their families. This is how women suffer most. We have to see about water, food, and the other things that are necessary for the home. Some men are not interested in anything. They live their lives doing nothing. We have to be marginalized because we are honest. There comes a time

when some women cannot handle it anymore. Some leave and separate from their husbands.

18. Survival Strategies

Type of survival economies

The subsistence economy of the urban poor is based on small informal businesses, artisans' workshops requiring low investments. It is common for women to combine domestic work with the preparation of food for the market.

"The last six years have been difficult because my parents did not support me". "They did not have land, they were day laborers". He left the place where she had been working to finish high school. He asked his employer for a loan, and he sent him to a provider of goods. "I then set up a small business, I rented a space at the market, where I sold some small items of basic necessities". I asked him if he did well? He said that in the last year he spent in the house of her employer, he managed the business for him. "Therefore, as I was well liked in the business, and people knew me, they bought from me. The important thing is to have a good personality and to give the client good service. (Paján report. Interview with adult man from the town).

"Once married, my struggle for survival began in a small room with my husband. Right away, I became pregnant with our first child and almost again with my second. My husband worked from an early age as a carpenter while he studied at night school. I combined my pregnancies with occasional work. We had difficulties even paying for the room that we rented. We sometimes sacrificed on food to be able to pay for my husband's studies" During those years, her husband worked with his brother in the carpentry workshop, where he built his first house. María begins her first business, cooking for the men of the workshop. They are then thrown out of the society and find themselves on the street. "We then started over with our own means. We moved to Atucucho and set up our own carpentry shop. I say we, because I was always beside my husband working with him, no matter how hard the tasks were. We have shared the work without differentiating between man and woman. (Report Atucucho, Interview with an adult woman).

Who do they turn to in times of crisis?

To ask for money or consumer goods are the most common ways of getting out of a crisis.

We placed the word “CRISIS” on the billboard and asked them to whom they turned to in such moments?. “**To God**”. We discussed this for a while and then decided it was not a solution to the problem. “**To the bank for a loan**”. We also discussed this and concluded that the banks have many requirements to hand out loans. “**People who loan money**” They are also called loan sharks. “**Ask for Work**” However there is no work now. “**Delinquency**” This way of confronting the crisis appeared at the end, despite the fact that Paján is not a site where violence is a problem. They recognize that this an alternative that is born out of desperation. (Workshop. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar).

To end the workshop, the facilitator asked the group: Who do you turned to in times of crisis? “To friends who have more resources. Although almost no one lends you now”. “To the employer” “To the president of INNFA”. “The mayor”. “To the Nuns at San Felipe Neri”. “To the family”. “We sell some of our belongings: tables, benches, chairs, television, and chickens”. (Workshop Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar).

To end the workshop, the facilitator asked the group: Who do you turned to in times of crisis? “To a loan shark and pass shame, to rich people, and there is no one else”. “Sometimes turning to the family is worst. We sometimes receive more help from individuals than from the people of the neighborhood”. “During the El Niño, the Nuns at San Felipe Neri helped with some food, clothes”. “The Lion’s Club also helped with second hand clothes”. “We asked the municipality but did not receive anything”. (Workshop. Pajan Report).

Illegal activities as economic activities

I asked them what they thought of the gangs. “I think the gangs come because there is no work and for the enormous amount of free time the youth have. Kids don’t study anymore, they just stay in the streets with nothing to do. Sometimes there is nothing for their families to eat and they go out to do bad things. There are no other way to provide food for their mothers and brothers and sisters. I think that gangs come from the lack of work. Although there are some people who do it because they have nothing else to do and they like this life. They think this is the best of lives and choose to live it that way”. (Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar. Interview with young man).

19. Survival Strategies for Women

“We must find ways to make some money. In the neighborhood we received two courses: One on hydroponics cultures and the other on raising chickens. We are now three or four women who practice these teachings. The others do not do it anymore. They are not consistent. I would say sometimes that people are lazy”. (Report Atucucho, Interview with an adult woman).

“The situation of women in Atucucho is difficult because you work for a quantity of money that is insufficient; because some mothers work has domestic employees for 250,00 sucres per month. You know how much the bus fare cost these days, they have little money left for anything else”. (Report Atucucho, Interview with an adult woman).

20. Survival Strategies, Social Agency, Organizations, and Individual Agency

Throughout the investigation, it was possible to ascertain that the institutions linked to the Catholic Church are viewed by the men and women as those that most help have provided for their survival.

When we discussed Father Smith (Catholic Church), people spent more time describing the activities and attitudes of this person. He represents a solution to many of the people’s problems. He is perceived has one of the few persons who will provide help in times of crisis. Father Smith is seen as the most important person in the community. The help provided by the Church under the guidance of Father Smith are the following: Social labor (hand out money, medicine, food, etc.) Father Smith is also linked to institutions such as the Civil Registry. He has organized health care brigades with the women in the neighborhood and with other institutions. He has organized workshops and round tables on healthcare, dress making, and beauty care. The Church is presently building the school. Olimpia, one of the interviewed women has said: “The Franciscan Father sometimes helps me with some medication, but you don’t bother him everyday”. (Report, Isla Trinitaria, Commentary).

Main Tendencies in poverty and well-being (Urban locations)

Tendency	Atucucho*	Paján	Nuevas Brisas del Mar*	Isla Trinitaria* (Precooperativa Andrés Quiñonez)
More poverty	X	X	X	X
Smalll increase in poverty				
Without changes				
More well-being				

PRIORITIES FOR THE POOR

Methodology

To identify the immediate problems faced by the men and women with whom we work; we used a map of the community in which participants were asked to locate what they considered the main problems affecting them. Later, people working in pairs discussed and prioritized these problems. In other locations, we used problem analysis as a means to begin participatory research activities. It is important to underline the high acceptance of this methodology by the people in the various locations in which we work. It also contributed to strengthen relations between investigators and participants.

In elaborating Table 4.1, only the seven most important problems for each site have been taken into consideration. It has been possible to divide the groups in men and women only in the case studies of Tumbatú and Tablas (Chota).

Rural Area

For the seven rural communities where we undertook this study, some thirty-seven elements were considered priorities. The element most frequently stated by the participants is the lack of drinking water (See Table 4.1). Lack of food, lack of sanitary facilities, bad road conditions, sickness and health and the absence of an healthcare center follow in terms of the most frequently stated problem.

Priorities for the Poor

Table 4.1: Prioritization of the main problems faced by the poor, by rural communities

PROBLEM	Voluntad de Dios	10 de Agosto	Río Chico de Paján	Tumbatú		Charts			La Calera	Juncal
				Adult women	Adult men	Young women	Young Men	Adult men and women		
Lack of family planning		1							5	
Unemployment		2								4
Lack of money	4	3			3			5		
There is no money to take care of the sick		4								
No money to educate the children/ Lack of education		5								2
Lack of food/ bad nutrition		6		7				3		4
Lack of drinking water	4	7	6	5					4	5
Toilets		7	3			1		7		4
Diseases/Health	1					5			2	3
Bad government	2									
Lack of medicine	3				5					3
Pollution	4									5
Teachers	5									
Abuse	6									
Lack of electricity	6		5							
Disorganization/ Divisions in organizations									1	2
Medical Center			1	4	5				3	
Fumigation of flies, Water purification									5	
Community Hall						6	2		6	
Sewers						5	2	7	7	
Lack of bridges				1						
Lack of loans				2						
No institutional support				3						
Lack of machinery				6						
Lack of transportation			4		7					1
Bad roads/ no roads			4		1	3	1	6		1
Lack of land			7		2			1		
Lack of savings					4					
The land doesn't produce anymore					6			2		
There is no stadium						2	2			
No daycare			5			4				
Lack of irrigation						5	3	4		6
Malnutrition										4
Migration										7
Lack of housing			2							3
No implements for agriculture			5							
Alcoholism	4									

1 = Problem ranked highest. The problem importance decreases as the assigned number increases

1. Inability to Access Capital and Loans

Although they are not stated as first priorities in any of the sites, the lack of funds, the difficulty of generating savings and the absence of loans to develop agriculture and access machinery, they are however problems that affect four of the seven sites where migration, as a means of gaining monetary resources for the household, is limited. In locations such as La Calera and Juncal lack of money has not been mentioned as a problem. Most families from these communities have male wage labor in the cities as their first means of subsistence.

The lack of access to loans diminishes the peasants' abilities and forces them to accomplish agricultural activities inefficiently since they cannot use adequate seeds nor buy the needed implements or pesticides.

There is a lack of money for seeds, remedies (fertilizers), and machinery: Again this is a problem that has long repeated itself in the black communities of the Chota - Mira Valley. The soil lack of productivity is in itself limiting. Men and women have indicated that an access to loans to buy fertilizers, pesticides and chemicals in general would contribute to transform this precarious situation (Commentary, Researchers, Chota Report).

"They don't manage money very well, this why they are like this. They spend everything at once. They take the money and don't spend it on things that will be useful at home." (Interview, Man, August 10th report) According to the interviewee there is bad management of resources by the people from the community. He suggests that, differing from his practice, people spend their resources not by investing in household goods or other useful supplies or animals to gain other resources. He mentioned buying chicken or cattle to resell them for profit. He considers training to be of vital importance for community development and advises people accordingly (Commentary, Researchers, August 10th report).

2. Food Insecurity

Bad nutrition: Participants have indicated that this problem is linked to the soil's low productivity. The area produces mainly beans, tomatoes, corn and fruits. These comestibles in addition to rice constitute the basic diet of the population of Tumbatú (Commentary, Researchers, Field Report, Chota).

"Here, we eat *chonta*, manioc and plantains. There is not much hunting because animals no longer exist. There is no fishing, but there are lots of people. There are those things in other places. We eat meat twice a month when we buy it. We mostly buy vegetables and seawater fish that cost five thousand per pound. Sometimes, when there is no food, we drink *chichita*" (Interview Women, August 10th).

3. Agricultural Problems

Not enough land: Throughout the communities this is one of the most important problems, especially for the new generations that are dependent on their parents small land extensions. Unproductive fields: Soil degradation due to the excessive use of chemical fertilizer result in low productivity. Lack of irrigation: Traditionally, these fields have been managed without any form of irrigation. As people often mention: "before, rain would come at the precise moment. Now, we never know when it will rain nor when the sun will appear." As we can see, the climatic factor, which at other times was an allied of farmers, has now lost the constancy that could be depended upon. Farmers now see irrigation as an alternative strategy that would enable them to positively manage their productive cycle (Commentary, Researchers, Field Report, Chota).

"...There is drought, and no irrigation..." "...migration, there is no one to work here... there is no respect for women left alone... they move to the United States and abandon their home..." (Workshop commentary. Cañar Report).

"Our product is not bought, it is too expensive. If we lower it, then there is not enough money. This is grave. Nobody helps us, only the FOISE, but it only helps the sick.. Patients get chickens. We don't get anything..." "They pay low prices. It is the same for the *colonos*. They are also affected. We get along well with the *colonos*. We agree to sell our products at the same price to the merchants, even if in Lago we get a slightly higher price. There is no equality with the merchants, in Lago there is..." (Interview women. Voluntad de Dios Report).

4. Environmental Problems

Another problem would be that women sell things on street corners and we have a problem with the garbage they generate. They sell things in bags. When they are finished, they throw away the garbage. I am trying to find some garbage bins so there won't be garbage in the streets and the community will be healthy. I have asked the municipality to facilitate the garbage truck to recollect garbage on Monday and Thursday, but we have no where to leave the garbage. Many visitors pass through here and the first thing they see is the garbage.

"There is pollution. There is a milk processing factory that is always polluting the river..." (Workshop commentary. Cañar Report).

"We live badly because of diseases, because of pollution, petroleum, because of the company. We get sick with fever and sometimes children get rashes. They just get sick for no reason. Sometimes it's because of lack of food. We are poor. We have no money to buy or to feed ourselves. Now, everything is so expensive that we can only buy pasta, salt and oil. Some days we have nothing to eat but the *chichita*, because there is no money..." "Before, there were no camps and we were fine because there was no sickness. This is all... these are our main

problems...” (Interview women. Voluntad de Dios Report).

5. Infrastructure

The men of Tumbatú and Tablas as well as the women from Cañar consider the lack of roads or bridge to be their main problem. From their perspective as farm producers they find not having adequate roads and means of transportation impediments to getting their produces to the markets. It is interesting to observe that, in the case of Juncal where the group is mostly made up of women because of male immigration, women are in charge of farming and commercializing food products.

Transport and roads should be located first because we have no means to get our products to the market... there is a need for urbanization within the parish. There are no improvements made because it is closed (it is impeded) that we have a location to sell our products. (Juncal Workshop. Mainly Women. Cañar Report)

We lack means of communication here, this is a real problem. A community without communication has no way out... (Antonio, Cañar Report)

The men of Tumbatú and Tablas and the women from Tumbatú who sell their products, mainly tropical fruits, at the Ibarra market consider the lack of roads and bridge to be their first problem. In Voluntad de Dios, Río Chico de Paján and to the young women of Tablas (Chota) the main problems are related to the lack of a sanitary infrastructure (toilets, latrines, drinking water, sewage) and health care. In the other locations, although they are not considered problems of importance, they were nonetheless mentioned.

Lack of road: The population of Tablas is affected by the lack of a road that would enable them to improve the contacts with other populations. It is important to mention that the population is not focalized in the lower area, making it necessary to reach it by foot. This particular setting is due to the fact that the community existed long before the construction of the Pan-American Highway (Salinas – San Lorenzo) and people used to mobilize by train. The main elements of the community were moved closed to the highway, the population live some distance from it. (Commentary, Researchers, Chota Report).

Lack of Latrines and sewage: Although this problem has been mentioned, it was not given any immediate priority. As people have said “there are still lots of fields for ourselves... we can find a solution to the sewage problem”

Lack of daycare: This problem was felt in the measure that it affects mostly women. Although it was not considered an immediate priority, it was deemed important to the general development of the community. (Commentary, Researchers, Chota Report).

Another problem that the Community faces is related to the children. Many

children need diversions. We have no playground for children. It is a worst situation at the household level. I have tried to process a petition to receive playground equipment, because children need fun activities to grow up healthy. (Interview Man, Report La Calera).

“...There is no electricity... the network needs to be amplified since electricity does not yet reach every home...” “... The road does not reach all houses, there is no means to get the products out.. ... there is no transportation from here... only cargo” “There is no drinking water in all of the community ... there is need to amplify we a new network... there are water reserve tanks but they are insufficient...” “..There is no sewage... We need courts because there are lots of people, so we need a bigger one. (Workshop commentary. Cañar Report).

“We need better means of communication. This is also a problem. A community without communication has no way out. Another problem that we have is with the institutions, not the international institutions but with the government institutions. They have forgot about our parish and it affects us gravely”. Why? Can you explain?

“the forgetfulness of the government is what has been most accomplished. We have a health care center, but we need a doctor. Another petition is that they provide us with a recreation park for children. This is secondary, but they are needs that have to be fulfilled by the municipality or the Provincial Council. We have been affected by them. When we have made petitions they have told us that we were not from their political party so we did not deserve anything. They manage a lot of politics here. This affects all our community. Maybe it affects other communities as well. (Interview, Man, Cañar Report).

“The works for drinking water have stopped. Now they say we have to do the paperwork all over again. Nobody gives us anything. They say there are no funds. Only the projects have helped us. (Interview Women, August 10th).

“There are no good roads. To get the products out of the farm you have to use horses, but those who don't have a horse cannot do it.” (Interview Man, Report August 10th).

6. Health

In La Calera, diseases, lack of water, lack of environmental improvements and pollution were considered the main problems. This is due directly to malnutrition and deficiencies in community organization. Children, boys and girls, have been mostly affected. Women are most affected by the lack of drinking water. Since their spouse migrate during the week, they must get this vital liquid from the higher areas. When talking about pollution during the workshops and formal interviews, people referred mainly to the fact that persons (mainly women) leave garbage on the street and that there is no recollection system.

A problem that has not been mentioned during the workshops and formal interviews but

that has been often stated during our visits and informal conversations is related to the pollution and flies caused by Cotacachi's Municipal Garbage Dump is located in the vicinity of the community. The indigenous from La Calera accepted this presence in exchange for a football field that remains partly finished. The men and women who participated in the workshops made no mention of this subject. It may be because the mayor is indigenous and his member of a political organization that counts on many members from the leadership of La Calera.

"There is lots of cough, bronchitis, and diarrhea... People ask for full attention. They want a fulltime doctor working with us." (Woman, Report August 10th).

7. Education

"There is a general lack of education. There is no community college... The youth are ill behaved... they go into the school... they bother the elderly... there are rapes..." (Workshop commentary. Cañar Report).

8. Government

"We've ask and received some things, like the classrooms for the school. They were built by Petro-Production. We also asked for an electric generator of 100 lights but they won't give us that. They want to give us gasoline, but we don't need it. We are still demanding..." It seems that Petro-Comercial (the state own corporation responsible for the extraction and commercialization of petroleum products) has offered a deal, but the members of the community did not accept the offer. It is said that the president of the community had signed a contract without the consensus of the community. (Commentary, Researchers, Voluntad de Dios Report).

9. Social Problems, Drugs, Alcoholism, Suicides.

"Another example of problem is that youth aged 14, 16 years old are now drinking. I don't like this because they have not received an education. Without being invited they find themselves with friends who say lets go, and they cause problems. I have seen this. They should be brought up with a sound mentality so that when they are grown up, they will be well. They know that drinking sometime affects people. I know this, although I face these problems. I also drink because I lack education..." (Interview, Man, Report La Calera).

“Assaults, crimes between the people from the community. I think the most frequent crime is committed by people against themselves. They lack initiative. They take poison and die”. Tell me more about this. “Those who want to kill themselves. Men and women over 25 years old”. Have you ever known why they committed suicide? “The reasons are sometimes simple ones. Sometimes because there are fights between husband and wife. Because this boy or girl don’t like them. Reasons like these. (Interview man. Cañar Report).

“Many drunks...” (Commentary. Workshop. Cañar Report.)

“When men drink they get into fights. When drunk they take poison and die.” (Man, Interview. Report August 10th). Alcoholism was also mentioned during interviews. When drunk, men get into fights and some excesses, conduct men to attempt against their health. (Commentary, Researchers. Report. Volundad de Dios).

10. Problems between Men and Women

Sometimes, mothers abuse their children. Fathers are very negligent and do not help mothers. Children cry and, as men, we tell them to breast feed them so they will stop crying. Sometimes it is not like that. Children sometimes cry because they are sick. They cry a lot for this reason. I have tried to find a solution to this problem. I hope that we could form a committee of men and women to help bring up children with natural medicines or medication. (Interview, Man. Report La Calera).

“In the indigenous population, amongst the young mostly, there is lots of machismo. When boys marry or form a couple then begins the massacre of women. Sometimes it happens because there is something the woman has not done properly or something is missing. For them, this situation has become like a form of barricade. Before, it was worst. Women did not go to school. Before, when girls were 9 or 10 years old, people would say they were now women. Therefore, parents would think that young women could not care for themselves and would not send them to school. Parents would say that the girls would become pregnant and wouldn’t send them to school. They were afraid. Things have changed because many women are now leaders. Now the massacre of women is not so frequent. Women are not beaten up as often. (Interview woman, Cañar Report).

A comment was made about the problems women faced in their organization. Leaders were often changed and during meetings, women would “discuss and discuss without anyone supporting the women’s organization” (Interview woman, Report Volundad de Dios).

The subject was again discussed with Miss Serafina. She explains that she used to be a leader in the women’s organization, but house work and the difficulties made by her husband have made her loose interest in the meetings with the

Huarmiguangurinas. She commented that from the 14 women of the community, only 4 had finished primary school, the others are illiterates. They do not know how to read or write. These women are those who do not participate in the meetings of the *huarmis*. Maybe because of shame. (Commentary, Researchers. Report Volundad de Dios).

11. Tendencies

Was there more discrimination before? “ Yes. People would treat each other as “sir” or “master”. This no longer occurs. They would ask people here to call them “master” or “chief”. For example, They would call Roberto, “Master Roberto”. This was a form of discrimination that would affect the indigenous people. “

Are children, boys and girls, discriminated for an education? “Teachers would also discriminate. They would say, “You are an ass, this why you can’t”. “You are an animal”. Treating us badly in school is a form of discrimination.” (Interview Man, Cañar Report)

“Ten years ago the problems were worst. We believe that education will be better in the future... Ten years ago housing was better than now. There was more space. Today, houses are only a place to be... We hope that houses will improve. Before, food was also better, because we did not consume chemicals... The future will be worst if technologies are not applied. Ten years ago people were more united. Ten years ago there was more work here. The future will not be good for us. There were no toilets ten years ago. We hope they will be improved in the future... Ten years ago we did not have pollution problems, but I think it will be even worst in the future. There was no sewage system before, maybe in the future... Ten years ago, the young people were behaved, now they are bad. This will continue to worsen. The behavior of the youth will worsen. Ten years ago there were no rapes like today. This will worsen because the young people are ill behaved... It is true that many youth go to the Coast and learn... to rape. I think rapes do not exist there because they are cared for by the authorities. It used to happen here but not any longer... I think there are rapes here because women get drunk... Young men often accompany drunk women. It should continue this way in the future. It may even be worst... People being abandoned did not occur ten years ago. There should be more in the future. Transport was worst ten years ago, but hopefully road will improve in the future. Electricity services were few... The future should be better. Ten years ago people drank more than today. However, people would drink *chicha* and not hard liquor. There won't be football fields in the future. Maybe, we will be urbanized in 10 years time. (Workshop commentary, Cañar Report.)

12. Social Organization

It is interesting to see that this is a problem is a priority for two of the seven groups. In both cases it is given first priority. People consider social organization the origin of all other problems.

Now, there is discrimination amongst Indians. What is worst is that we are learning from other indigenous. Corruption is now fashionable in our organization. There was no corruption before. There used to be institutions that would help us with projects, but they were embezzled. If we protest what they have done, they say they will create another organization. We are also learning the bad practices of the State. They are learning from Dahik, Verduga [State secretaries who were charged for embezzling government funds]. (Interview Woman. Cañar Report).

When observing Table 4.1 we see that the petition for improved organization is made by communities with high immigration and with a tradition dating back centuries of community organization. This problem is not mentioned in the indigenous communities of the Amazon, where organizations are seen as a source of support and power. It is not a priority for the communities with no organizacional experience, such is the case of Rio Chico de Paján, Tumbatú, and Tablas.

“I had a big problem because of the organization. I was its president and people did not collaborate. During the mingas, few people would come to work. The government of Alarcón gave us the sewage system.” (Interview with man. La Calera Report)

“... There is a problem with culture. Young people migrate and forget...” ...There is a problem. Organizations are continuously dividing themselves into smaller ones. This is very bad. (Workshop commentary, Cañar Report.)

Another problem affecting the community is that neighbors don't want to participate in making the community better. They don't want people to improve. They don't collaborate. They want to live has they did before. This is a great part of the problem, but not 100% of it.” (Interview with man. Cañar Report)

13. Migration

Migration is viewed both as a problem and a survival strategy. It is seen as a problem when families, children and wives, have to take charge of all farm activities. It is seen as a strategy when it becomes the only option for families to get cash resources.

“Migration is a problem that affects us a lot. Migration is the root of many family problems. When husbands are absent, someone intervenes in the wife’s life, they become lovers, more problems are generated from this situation.” (Interview man, Cañar Report).

What happens to the children, boys and girls, in a household that has these problems? “Children are often left aside and they don’t take on the same responsibilities when the father was there. Is it the father who migrates? Fathers most often migrate. There are cases where couples have migrated without the children. The children remain with the grand-mother or grand-father. This is worst, because children grow up without their parents affection. We have seen this problem in the community. Another problem affecting the community is that neighbors don’t want to participate in making the community better. They don’t want people to improve. They don’t collaborate. They want to live has they did before. This is a great part of the problem, but not 100% of it. This is a change from the past. We have done the work during the last ten years. (Interview with man. Report from Cañar)

Urban Sites

Table 4.2: Prioritization of the main problems faced by the poor, by urban community

PROBLEMS	Atucucho		Paján		Nuevas Brisas del Mar		Isla Trinitaria (Precooperative Andrés Quiñonez)	
	Adult men	Young men	Appropriations Mixed adults	Town Mixed adults	Mixed youths	Mixed adults	Mixed youths	Mixed adults
There is no work	1		1	2	1	1	1	
Water		3	4	2		3	2	3
Gangs					2	1	3	2
Crime	4	7	6				4	2
Drugs and alcohol		6	6		1		5	
Pollution / Garbage			7		4	5	6	4
Diseases / Health	3						7	
They will evict us								1
Unsuitable education	2							3
Lack of police protection		4				1		5
Mosquitoes cause epidemics /No fumigation			6					6
Lack of organization	5							7
Damaged streets / Flooding of sewers				6	3			7
Legalization of land ownership	6							
Sewer system	7	1	5					
Lack of income		2						
Landslides		5						
There is no Health Dispensary					1			
Open sewer					2	2		
Flooding of houses by the river			3		2			
There is no park or playing field					5			
There are no bathrooms nor latrines						4		
There is no food			2					
Poverty				1				
Lack of housing / Wrecked houses				3				
The school playground has overgrown weeds				4				
Damaged electric fixtures aren't repaired				5				
The slaughter house doesn't work				5				

1 = Problem ranked highest. The problem's importance decreases as the assigned number increases

The lack of work is without doubt the main problem faced by the men and women from the marginalized urban sectors. Table 4.2 indicates the list of problems is more homogenous than what was observed in the rural area. This is mainly due to the fact that 3 of the four sites that we studied share common basic characteristics such as the lack of infrastructure, social and health problems.

1. Unemployment

According to most people in the group, being unemployed is the source of all other problems. However, during the reflection exercises, unemployment is not the first problem that is raised. In the four neighborhoods, the men and women who participated in the workshops indicated environmental conditions and violence as the first priorities. Unemployment becomes important when problems are discussed and prioritized during the plenary session. It is during these discussions that participants indicate that unemployment served as a catalyzer for all other problems.

The lack of work drives us to delinquency, limits our children's education possibilities or to receive proper care at the hospital. (Men's workshop. Atucucho Report).

2. Environmental Problems

This is the second most important problem. Many of these problems are rooted in the ill location of the neighborhoods. On the Coast, they are often located on the shores or directly in the inlets, with the added results of flooding during the rain season. Roads and trails fill with mud, mosquitoes, and garbage.

Garbage: It is interesting to note that the young people referred to garbage as "pollution" while adults did not use this term. This problem was discussed throughout the workshop, without any apparent solution. We believe that the community not only blames itself but also the municipality for not being clean. The water from the inlets is highly contaminated with solid (garbage, dead animals and decomposing, etc.), liquid (sewage), and toxic wastes from Guayaquil's industries. (Commentary. Researchers. Report from Isla Trinitaria).

"There is garbage that is polluting our water... The river has risen and garbage flows in it. There is a pipeline for sewage." Another boy stated: "These black waters [sewage] are polluted and dirty. When it rains the roads are pure mud" (Youth workshop. Report from Nuevas Brisas del Mar).

In the lower area roads need to be fixed... When it rains, there is water waist high. Water had rose to the third step of my house when Civil Defense came to help. The pestilence was bad... lots of microbes. A channel carries sewer water from the city. To whom do we protest? No one listens... The problem is that we are not united. (Interview with a man of an invaded settlement, Paján Report).

"(The lack) of water also affects us, but not as much as the gangs".

“The sewage water (from the channel) goes directly into the river, but the lack of drinking water forces us to use the water from the river. It is dirty water for the children”. “ The pipeline (channel) affects us during the winter season because the water has no escape.” (Workshop report, Nuevas Brisas del Mar Report).

3. Infrastructure

The lack of drinking and piped water is a problem that was mentioned from the very first day. It is important to underline that the participants' preoccupation was not about the facility offered by a water pipeline, but on the fact that water is dirty. However, when they referred to the water distribution system (with hoses) the mentioned that it was a problem. (Researcher's Commentary. Report Isla Trinitria)

Water is another problem. The neighborhood does not have drinking water. It only has water that comes in a tube from the Rio Nono. (Interview. Man. Atucucho Report).

“The roads in this part of this area (invasion), which is lower, have to be fixed... When it rains there is water waist high. It reached me at the third step of my house (houses are set high)... Here, Civil Defense came to help some families... the pestilence was bad. Many microbes. A channel carries sewage water that brings water here. No one complains... Who do we complain to? One or two complaints, no more... The problem is that we are not united to forward our complaints and to call on those who could support us. Some people say yes, others say no when it comes time to meet... Therefore, we do not know how to find solution to this problem”. (Interview, man from Invasion. Paján Report).

“The cobblestones (for the roads) is more important than latrines because we cannot go out in the streets...We have to use boots”. (Workshop Report. Nuevas Brisas del Mar Report).

Another set of problems is linked to the lack of basic service infrastructure in the neighborhood. Both the youth and adult groups have mentioned the sewage system. This problem was ranked high in the group of problems related to basic services. Another important problem in this group is related to drinking water. People view finding a solution to this problem a first priority (the first place was given to the water service institution in the groups of institutions). References were made to the dirt roads that are not covered by cobblestones and those become full of mud or are flooded when it rains. There are no sewers, toilets nor latrines. (Researchers' commentary. Esmeralda Report).

4. Health

The area suffers conditions of total unhealthiness. Diseases like the flue, malaria, dengue, typhoid fever, colera, and others that aggravate during the winter months, when water stagnates in pools. It is interesting to note that healthcare was never mentioned as a problem, although it was commented that the healthcare center in the neighboring pre-cooperative did not open during the night. (Researchers commentary. Report Isla Trinitaria).

5. Education

“Children have gone. They reach second grade (high school) or first grade and then abandon”. Why? “Various reasons. Family lacks the economic means. Many have to shine shoes for a living. I work in a school that is near here. We started out with 30 students and finished with 20. There is a desertion of five to ten students per level”. (Interview Teacher. Nuevas Brisas del Mar Report.)

6. Insecurity

Men and women from Isla Trinitaria find that the police do not support them. The young people see in the police force more as a problem than a solution. There is widespread police abuse. It is interesting to note that they trust the military and the navy. While accomplishing these research activities last January, the City of Guayaquil was under marshal law to fight crime. Militaries were responsible to control the situation. However, this was to be a temporary solution in the area. (Researchers’ commentary. Report Isla Trinitaria).

This man has his cement house on the boardwalk. It was said about the eviction problems: “I’m putting all my efforts into this [business] but the mayor wants to redo the boardwalk. He wants to shoot us and move us some 50 meters away. We have lost our business. All those sacrifices and efforts for nothing. I had even stopped eating and dressing properly to build this business (he is thinking of building storage space to keep the mollusks he sells). The mayor came and evicted us because we did not have any land title...We wanted to find a solution... We wanted a paper that would give us some rights, but they said there were none at this time... The mayor said that those who have a document could come and see how much would be given for the building. Those who have a document will get something. I have no papers. I have no money because I have risked everything on this. I risked.. I cannot stop working while waiting to be evicted from a place that I built. How does my family eat if there are no income. There is no work. The mayor or whoever evicts us will leave me in the streets. (Interview Man. Report Isla Trinitaria).

“Gangs affect us because we cannot leave (our homes)”. Workshop. Atucucho Report).

“The (police) precinct is to detain gang members... If we had a precinct there would be no gangs”. “Work is needed for the kids so they won’t have to steal”. “The kids are affected by this... Some steal because there is no work while others do it because they are too lazy to work”. (Workshop Report. Isla Trinitaria).

“Gangs from this side of the street stand on the corner to defy those on the other corner. They curse each other... Your Mother! Yours too!... It begins this way. Now it is calm but it used to be bad”. –What has changed? “I don’t know. It is more tranquil now. Many have died. They have killed each other. –Is it dangerous for people to live here, near the river? (houses are built on the river). “Yes, it is dangerous when the river over flows because everything is put here. Do you now what I mean?” –Yes. It is land filled. “Your right. The water washes it all away... Can’t you see that all of this used to be part of the river. It flooded often when the Niño came. Water would enter here. It was all a river then. All these houses were flooded. Water levels were high. When the water raises, houses are leveled”. (Interview Women. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar).

Who are most affected by the problems: children, youth, elderly, or women? “The young people because, for example, a well dressed kid with a cap and shoes cannot go out because on the street corner they are watching him and steal everything from him. I had a nephew. I told him often not to go out there because they don’t know you. I, who live here, never go there because it is dangerous. Well, It was Christmas and he got ready to go out. It was early, about seven when he came back dirty. When I saw him I knew he had been robbed. He had no shirt, no cap, but he said nothing. The other day I asked my son about it. He said. They took his shirt, cap, and watch. During Christmas a girl had gone out with other girls. It was about three in the morning when the girl was screaming. We got up. She was holding on to the window of Yoli’s sister’s house. The boy said. She is my wife. Nevertheless, Yoli’s sister said: “Whose wife. This girl is not your wife because you don’t have a wife”. She let the girl in and locked the door. On the street corner there were five boys waiting to rape her. (Interview Women. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar).

Delinquency impedes people to leave their house after eight o’clock. Weekends are always marked by injuries and deaths. (Interview Man. Report Atucucho).

7. Social Problems, Drugs

Gangs “consume powder (cocaine residues), glue (which is cheaper)...” “ There are dead and injured every weekend” “This is all caused by the deranged people from the gangs. Each neighborhood has its gang. For examples: “Los Dinos, Los Pipi Parado,” etc. People don’t go dancing anymore because gang members are always present and there are often murders”. (workshop. Report Atucucho).

8. Tendencies

In general and not only in groups, we have noticed great despair in finding solutions to the problems. To use the inhabitants own words: People have lost faith and feel abandoned by the institutions that could help them. (Researchers' Commentary. Report Isla Trinitaria.

INSTITUTIONS

Methodology

To obtain a list of institutions and evaluated them we proceeded with two resources: First, we asked participants to draw, around a circle that represented the community, all the institutions that were for some reason close to them. En other groups, we used a brainstorming technique with the instruction to name all the institutions that help resolve problems. It is possible that the problem exercise was related to the analysis of the institutions. It also contributed in blinding the participant's perception of the institutions. However, this is not constant in the study.

Rural Sector

When observing Table 5.1, we find that some 42 institutions intervene in the five rural communities in which we worked and are important for the people who live there.

INSTITUTION	Voluntad de Dios	10 de Agosto	Tumbatú		La Calera	Juncal
			Young women	Young men		
Misión Carmelita	1					
Huarmihuangurina	2					
FEPP	2					
FOISE-CRS	3					
Provincial Council	4	3		4		5
Municipality	5	4	2	2	5	5
Oil industry	5					
School / High School		4				
Town council				5	1	
Help in Action					2	
INNFA					3	
FISE				5	3	
DRI Project					4	
Keloc-SECAP					5	
Bishop's Office			4	7	6	
World Vision			1	1		
Ministry of Health			3	4		6
"Izquierda Democrática" Party			5			
Social Security			6			
Combonian Nuns			7			
CARE				2		
FECONI				3		
CESA				3		
PESA				3		
FODEMI				5		
COMPLADEIN				5		
Peace Corps				6		

INSTITUTION	Voluntad de Dios	10 de Agosto	Tumbatú		La Calera	Juncal
			Young women	Young men		
Parochial committee				6		
International Plan						1
C.A.R. Project (River's High Basin)						2
ORI						3
UPCCC						4
Bilingual education	6					6
Chuichun Project						6
Alto Chacayacu		1				
Community Council		2				
Health Dispensary		4				
Foin (Swiss Red Cross)		4				
Gran Sumaco Project		5				
Ministry of Public Works		6				
Catholic Church		7				
Evangelical Church		7				

1. How are people perceived and Why?

It is possible to find amongst the sites we have studied men and women who have a good perception of these institutions that helps them resolve some of the problems they have defined as priorities. However, the institutions that are interested in accomplishing activities that do directly respond to the population's interest are view as not useful or not very interested in their problems.

“First we have Plan International, drinking water, latrines, Electricity... After this, we had ORI. They supported, more or less, with daycare for the children. They still support us... Provincial Council built the schools, fields, communal house, roads... Another is the CARE project. This project comes from the government and does community works, like the channel, training, caring for cattle, crops, technical assistance, family gardens... There is an organization called UPCCC (Provincial Union of Communities) that is supporting organizational activities. (Workshop. Cañar Report)

“Support has been received and is being received by the Ministry of Public Health who constructed the healthcare center, but did not supply a doctor. BEV supports with housing. With a small quantity of money we can buy a roof... Chinchun Project supports the environment, as does the Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry of Bilingual Education supported the Training Center. The Priest also offered support, but not anymore. Center for Handicrafts... AINCA (Indigenous Association of Suscal / Cañar has supported with childcare, building centers to be used has daycare, organizational training. Ministry of government supports Environmental cleaning”. (Workshop. Cañar Report)

From the presentation made by the participants we underline the following: “The

town council is the center because it manages with the various NGOs... Inside the circle we find Help by Actions, who has done a lot for us. It has helped us in health and infrastructure... DRI-Cotacachi is helping with a pork project. It helps the community and mixed associations... INNFA, is helping everyone in the community with education for children 0 to 2 years old, and 6 years old... Kellogg, Canada, is training young people in various areas. Agreement with the Maqui Maniachy Foundation and the Municipality and UNORCAC is training masons, carpenters, artisans, ranching, animal management... The church is also supporting us. It helped us with housing, loans, built homes after the earthquake... talks to children on health... It also helps us economically with a loan of 200,000 sucres that we pay in six months with an interest of 50,000 sucres. The municipality also helps us, that's why we put him there. He has given us lights for the volleyball field, an amplifier... CONAIE supports us in self-management. It has been working for the Indians in the Constitutions. ASOTAG, supports through PRODEPINE in production and commercialization... FEPP supports self-management, with loans for handicrafts, ranching, production and commercialization. They support us and consider us. ... SWISSAID has supported 17 other communities but not ours. We hope that they will consider us. MAG has done nothing for us; it never even came here. They do not know our community. They only come when diseases affect the animal. It is purely business because they have money for training of the community but they don't do it... UNORCAC, with self-management...

The Hierarchy of the institutions was given with the use of the Maize technique. This has enabled us to dig deeper into what institutions offer the most help.

World Vision: "They gave us water, the communal house, school implements, communal store, sewers. They left for discussions amongst themselves."

Municipality: "Should support us more... However, it helped us with machinery, made a park, sport fields... Ministry of Public Health: "Send a doctor, equipment, health care center, and auxiliary equipment."

Church: the priests and nuns give us presents at Christmas. Clothes were given by a religious group. "Izquierda Democrática⁷: gave us a bell and sewage, I think. Only when the need something they come. IESS: has a healthcare center in Chota, where it cares for its affiliates. PESA (Ecuadorian Program for Food Security): It is beginning a new program here in the community. It has done nothing so far" (Tumbatú workshop. Report Chota.

⁷ Izquierda Democrática is a Political Party. IESS, stands for Ecuadorian Institute Of Social Security.

2. Evaluation Criteria

We've asked participants: "When is an institution good and bad?
They answered: "Good when it supports the community and shows interest...
Bad when they only offer minimal help and then does not want to do anything..."
(Workshop. Cañar Report).

An Institution is good when it helps the community... It is bad when it doesn't help the community. (Workshop. Report La Calera)

"I think that institutions that come with politics are bad. They make people believe they are not politicians and want to help people and the community. Other institutions only come when there are elections. They say they will give this or that. These institutions only come for political maneuvering. They cheat us, do us no good and lie. People don't believe them anymore. For example. Three or four months before the elections they come and offer this and that. However, in the moment of truth, after the vote and we ask for what had been promised. They don't give us anything. They have done this bad thing. (Interview Man. Report La Calera).

They must know about the reality of the community
That they don't disappear half way in the support process.
That they be trustworthy
That they be accessible
That they comply with what they offered.
That they don't delay the process
That they don't discriminate against the Indians. (Youth workshop. 10 de Agosto Report)

That they are not corrupt. It is important that they be trustworthy, honest. Amongst all the institutions that have come here they have made impositions or have marked some sort of hierarchy: "We are better than FEPP, or we are better than World Vision". –What other characteristics should have a good institution? First they have to be trustworthy, not corrupted. Corruption is what hurts us most in this country." (Interview Man. Chota Report)

3. Variations by gender and age

Criteria to evaluate institutions:

Be trustworthy
Remain in the community
Not be corrupt
Not be fake
Not only come when the need us

That they respect us
 That they serve us well
 (Workshop with young women, Tumbatú. Chota Report)

That the leaders not be from a desk, but know the reality
 With a will for service
 Be accessible
 Look for the participation of the community
 Have clear functions
 Be honest servants
 Not lie
 People from the community
 Give people their due importance
 (Workshop with young men, Tumbatú. Chota)

4. Tendencies

Institutions that received a better evaluation and tendencies in Voluntad de Dios.

INSTITUTIONS WITH BETTER EVALUATION	NOW	10 YEARS AGO
1. Carmelite Mission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medical attention • Training • Reference for the very sick • Catechisms with a pastoral animator 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first to come • Medicine y treatment of malaria • Catechisms • Construction of the communal house
2. Huarmihuangurina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training for women • Gender leadership. • Organizational reinforcement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The organization did not exist
3. FEPP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livestock Loan Management • Training in family productive micro-projects • Breeding chickens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did not collaborate
4. FOISE-CRS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integral Health Brigades • Vaccination Brigades • School Dentist Brigades • Community First Aid Kit • Reference for the very sick • Treatment for tuberculosis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land legalization • Organizational reinforcement. • Recognizing ethnic identity
5. Provincial Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Latrines • Sports fields 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Classrooms • Housing for teachers
6. Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pumps • Road maintenance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No support
7. Petroleum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do not comply with what they offered • Do not respect agreements • Pollute water, soil, plants and animals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construction of roads
8. Bilingual School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many strikes • Professors do not go to class. • Bilingual Jurisdiction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only one teacher • Lived in the community and came to class

(Workshop Report Voluntad de Dios).

5. Control and Accountability

After the presentation, participants were asked to qualify the institutions on a scale of ten. For this purpose the technique of the maize was used. Grains were given to the group and were placed in each institution. The explanation went as followed: “Plan International receives 8 grains (or a mark of 80%) because it has done more than any other institution. ORI receives 5 corn because it worked in four sectors with the children... Project CARE get 60%, 6 grains, because it brought good projects in infrastructure and training. UPCCC, 40%, 4 corns. Because it is a main organization. Provincial Council gets 3 corns because it helps this sector before. Ministry of Public Health receives only 2 corns, 20% because it works in reforestation. Bilingual education receives 2 corns (20%) because it help with the Vocational Center... Environmental improvements get 10% because it is just beginning... BEV 1 corn, 10% because it help a little with houses. MAG 10% or one corn because it is collaborating with the process of communal fields... Church, 10% because it used to work with handicrafts. AINCA 10% because they supported the ORI daycare. . “We gave IEOS 0 because there is an institution but it doesn’t do anything. UNICEF =% because it has brought no support. CREA 0%, Same thing, it does not support. INEFAN, 0%, no support. INIAP, 0% does not support us. AIEC 0%. An Evangelist Organization that has offered us no material support, only spiritual. CODENPE 0%. They have just gotten an office. Government 0%, There is no support from the government.” (Worksho. Cañar Report)

Foundation Natura: They do not help but say we have to protect the environment. They should help to reforest and agro-ecology. BEV and the Ministry of Housing do not help. They say they do. They should consider other provinces. SISAPACARI. Good productive projects. They help us a lot... INCAMAQUI, Manages productive project for its affiliates. They are just beginning” “Politicians offer no support, they just offer to. They should at least help us in getting self-management. Ministry of the Environment does not help us. They only go to Cuicocha Lake, but do nothing for the communities. “FECD, three communities were asking for a pork production project. After a year and a half, they refused us. SWISSAID supports 17 other communities but not ours. MAG has done nothing for us; it never even came here. They do not know our community. They only come when diseases affect the animal. It is purely business because they have money for training of the community but they don’t do it... UNORCAC, with self-management...(Workshop. Cañar Report)

6. Impacts on Welfare

What are the most important institutions? (The municipality) helped build the communal house. It gave us the roof. It also helps to build the sport field and the latrines. "Project FOIN Swiss Red Cross "helped us construct the healthcare center". The Provincial Council "constructed the college and community school". The Community leadership "If the president doesn't do anything nothing gets done. Lately most presidents have not done anything." (Interview Women. 10 de Agosto).

7. Government

The State institutions that are considered by the men and women are those that provide infrastructure for environmental improvements and roads (FISE, Project DRI, Ministry of Public Works); those are responsible for health (Ministry of Public Health, Social Security, Healthcare Center); those that care for the welfare of children (ORI, INFA); those that are dedicated to education and training (SECAP, School, College, Bilingual Education Program). These institutions occupy various positions within the hierarchy, but they are not generally ill perceived. It is interesting to mention that there are no gender differences in giving priority to the institutions that provide the community with infrastructure.

"The school and college are better because the leaders and the professor do good planning before the school year begins". "Now, they are uncomfortable because the institution did not do the needed works. With the sacrifice of the community we accomplish this, because it is with education that we can improve ourselves". (Interview. Male Leader. Report 10 de Agosto).

8. Religious Organizations

Generally, the religious organizations that are present are the Dioceses and the religious communities who work in the area. The activities they accomplish are related to training, spiritual and economic support, The position they occupy varies from one community to the next. For example, In Voluntad de Dios, they hold the first position while in Juncal and 10 de Agosto they occupy the last. Although they have a good concept of the Catholic Church in 10 de Agosto, people are not clear on the support it brings.

The Mission (Carmelite, Catholic) coordinate (with FOISE). When there are weddings the Mission helps us. When there is pollution it also helps us. (Interview Serafina, Report Voluntad de Dios).

Another institution like the Dioceses, that is the church, thinks about and really helps the people from the community. Some comply. Some have been here for years. They have been here since I was 14 or 15 years old. For example, after the earthquake they began to help offering homes. They were small but it was

help. Now they are working with mothers, the women's group because most of us here are poor and have no money to buy things that cost a lot. These people have given us loans which are easy to repay. These are institutions that have helped us and that have thought in the welfare of the community". (Interview, Man. Report La Calera).

9. Local Governments

"The municipality and the Town Council have given us works" ". (Interview. Male Leader. Report 10 de Agosto). Although he did not specify what were the works that had been given by these institutions. However, other sources have said that the Municipality contributed with the necessary funds for the construction of the communal house and the Catholic Church. The provincial Council contributed to the building of the school and college. (Researchers' commentary, Report 10 de Agosto).

10. NGOs and International Organizations

Three of the international organizations that have worked in the Studied communities have had programs to improve hygiene infrastructure. They also occupy a dominant position in the hierarchy of institutions (Plan International, World Vision, CARE). In some cases they have also offered training.

11. Association or Grassroots Organizations

Generally, these organizations occupy an important position in the hierarchy of institutions. In some communities they have done important labor. They are also points of reference for organism that intervene in the development of the area. They are institutions that were given important symbolic representation: "UPCCC, 4 corns because it the seat of our organization".

"UNORCAC is an institution of the Indigenous people of Cotacachi. Another institution is FISE, but I have not seen it this year. Another institution that has helped us a lot is the Municipality. It has given us sport fields and has started constructing a stadium that has yet to be completed. The Municipality has given us these public works. (Interview Man, Report La Calera)

“Now it depends on the leaders. Some leaders do not manage things well because they lack training. They have not been managed well. Accounts have been ill-managed by past leaders. Lately they are formulating general balances”..” People are now collaborating with the leaders. Others say the accounts are not done properly”... “People have worked in mingas, but we cannot see the work progressing. People are preoccupied”. ” (Interview. Male Leader. Report 10 de Agosto).

“Before, there was no medicine nor did patients receive medical attention. Thanks to FOIN and the Swiss Red Cross, this problem has been overcome. Now people receive the benefits of healthcare”. (Interview. Male Leader. Report 10 de Agosto).

Criteria defining an optimal institution

CRITERIA	Voluntad de Dios	10 de Agosto	Tumbatú		El Juncal
			Young Women	Young Men	
They should be aware of the state of affairs in the communities		X		X	
They shouldn't vanish in the middle of the assistance process		X			
They should be reliable		X	X		
They should be accessible		X		X	
They should fulfill their offers	X	X			
They shouldn't take so long		X			
They shouldn't discriminate against the natives		X			
Good communication	X				
They shouldn't be corrupt / Honest officials			X	X	
They shouldn't go away			X		
They shouldn't raise false expectations			X		
They shouldn't come only when they need us			X		
They should respect us			X		
They should assist us			X		
They should have will to serve				X	
They should seek the involvement of the community				X	
They should have clear roles				X	
They shouldn't deceive us				X	
People should be the root of the community				X	
They should give people their due importance				X	
They should help					X

Urban Sites

Table 5.2 indicates that some 59 institutions have been mentioned in the nine work groups from the four urban neighborhoods in which we worked. Nineteen Of these institutions belong to the State and are distributed among the various neighborhoods. The presence of the Municipality and its entities are mentioned all four neighborhoods at least ones. In the same way the Catholic and Evangelist Churches are present in every neighborhood. The hierarchy of institutions defined by the nine groups have given the highest ranks (1) in two occasions to the institution responsible for drinking water, in four cases to the State Hospital, once to the church, once to an international institution, once to the school and college, and once to the Municipality. State institutions being predominant in the area, we have classified them according to their activities. It will be in relation to this classification that we will analyze the other institutions.

INSTITUTION	Atucucho		Paján*			Nuevas Brisas del Mar		Isla Trinitaria (Precooperative Andrés Quiñónez)	
	Group 5: Adult men	Group 6: Young men	Group 6: Mixed Adults	Group 7: Mixed Adults	Group 10: Mixed Adults	Group 5: Mixed Adults	Group 7: Mixed Adults	Group 6: Mixed Adults	Group 7: Mixed Adults
Water Works Company		2					1		1
Civil Registry									2
Electric Power Company	3	5		4	9		3		3
Municipality	2	2	1	2	10	6			4
Telephone Company									5
Hogar de Cristo							3		6
Hospital del Niño								1	6
SOLCA									7
Fire Department			8	10					7
Women's Commissaryship								10	8
Parish priest / Church	1		4						8
Police / Police Jailhouse		4	6						8
Army								2	
Navy								2	
Hospital del Guasmo									10
Hospital Vernaza								3	
Evangelical Church	6	3						4	
School / High School	3	3			1		3	5	
Community House	6							6	
Maternity								7	
APROFE								8	10
Health Dispensary	2	2				2	2	9	
INNFA	3		5	7			5		10
Committee for Development	3	3							
Civil Defense	4								
Neighborhood League	4								
International Childhood	5	1							
Ministry of Social Welfare	6	6							
Ministry of Health	6	6							
Water Usage Committee		4							
Cock fighting ring		5							
Hospital Pablo Arturo Suárez		1							
EMASEO		2							
911		2							
Red Cross		4							
Banks		5							
DNI									9
F.B.N.O.Q		6							
Hospital Delfina Torres de Concha						1			
President of the Neighborhood Committee						3			
ORI						4	4		

INSTITUTION	Atucucho		Paján*			Nuevas Brisas del Mar		Isla Trinitaria (Precooperative Andrés Quiñónez)	
	Group 5: Adult men	Group 6: Young men	Group 6: Mixed Adults	Group 7: Mixed Adults	Group 10: Mixed Adults	Group 5: Mixed Adults	Group 7: Mixed Adults	Group 6: Mixed Adults	Group 7: Mixed Adults
Foro Permanente de Mujeres						5	6		
Homero López (Congressman)						7			
Carlos Saúd (Congressman)						7			
Provincial Council						8			
Fundación Natura						9			
Ministry of Public Works		6				10			
Petroecuador						10	7		
Proyecto Salesiano							6		
Malaria Control							6		
Banco de Fomento			1	6					
Hydraulic Resources Committee			2	5	6				
Patronato Municipal de Salud			2	9	3				
Madres de Felipe Neri			3		2				
Community Bank			7	8					
DRI Project			9	3	7				
Hospital de Paján				1	4				
Mayor					5				
Social Security					8				

What do people perceive and Why?

Institution	Criteria
Drinking Water (INABRONCO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's necessary • Embezzle • Bad services • Unaccomplished • Must insist (for the paper work)
Healthcare Center	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's necessary • Have to go to the healthcare center in San Pablo (There used to be a center in the neighborhood, but it was transferred to another sector. This is why people comment that this service had "been stolen") • When there are implements costs are covered, if not people have to pay • It is cheap • When possible medication is free • The attention is not permanent, from 8 a 12. In the afternoon, only the dentist provides attention
Electric Company	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Repair the electricity when it is needed • There are always delays • They only do half the work
Home of Christ	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides low cost housing that is paid monthly and based on the person's income • They are helping those who lost their home during El Niño 1997-1998). • A project that benefits the poorest, people have who have nowhere to go.
School Madre del Salvador (Public School)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help to pay the school fees • Give scholarship • Some women volunteers of the Lion's Club who provide breakfast with the support of the Church
ORI (Organization for the Rescue of Infants)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women who work leave the children in the daycare. They receive breakfast, lunch and refreshments. They receive food and care. • Provide medical support to the children with problems • It's free • They are friendly • They are good professionals • They teach children • Provide some school implements • At Christmas children receive toys, candy
INNFA National Institute For the Family and Children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide little help • Provide help to the handicaps • If you have a problem child they send him to Quito • INNFA help those who are lucky • Enlist children in school or daycare
Salesian Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help children with their tasks • Help children to find work
Women's Forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide small loans • Help women to start their businesses
Sanitation (Control of Malaria)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The fumigate when they think of it • The same night they had fumigate there were flies
The Refinery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cause prejudices, bad odors, pollute the air. It is close by. • It also benefit with job • Does not provide the people of Esmeralda with jobs • Receive claims and damages but there is still no work • There are sometimes fires. The life of people is in danger
Yoli Marquéz (President of the Neighborhood's Committee)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have received nothing from the neighborhood Committee, I'll thank them went we get water • I got an electricity meter • They got the house I live in • I don't trust them • Four families live in my house. The committee did not want to help

(Workshop Report. Esmeraldas)

Institution	Criteria
Hospital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bad service. • It's important • They should change the personnel (<i>personnel has been working there for years and should be changed or retrained so they can offer a better service</i>) • The administrative department needs training • There shouldn't be privileges for anybody.
Committee for Hydraulic Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need better water treatment. • Political appointees in the institution "They earn money without working"
Municipality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly political appointee • They should change from the mayor to Jamil (<i>president of Ecuador</i>) • The personnel should get training • Bureaucracy should gain in agility
Municipal Health Center	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Receive free healthcare services • We receive attention from Monday to Friday • Replaces the hospital when it is on strike
Project DRI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help our brother in agriculture • With their help, we get our product from the rural areas • The only international institution that supports agriculture
Electric Company	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They charge too much per volts • Help when we need them
Development Bank (Banco de Fomento)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are inefficient • I go there for my supplement (aid against poverty)
Community Bank	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support women • Provide talks about healthcare • Have provide low cost doctors and pharmacies
Firemen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lazy and political appointee

(Workshop, 9 women, 1 man. Report Paján Central urban area)

1. Evaluation Criteria

When establishing the priorities, the participants were unanimous in giving the more importance to basic services: Drinking water (ECAPAG); Electric company; Municipality; Firemen; Civil Registrar; PACICTEL. ECAPAG dominate the hierarchy of the institutions that provide services. The criteria for the valuation of an institution over another are presented in the following. No hierarchy was established for them. The selection of an institution over another is linked to the possibility they offer to resolve the most pressing problems. They let aside considerations like efficiency, honesty, cordiality en the treatment of clients. Low costs, gratuitous or discounts against work in social services, were another important criterion in the retaining the institutions linked to health services. (Researcher's commentary. Report Isla Trinitaria).

A hierarchization was given with "elimination by pairs" method. That left as the main criterion that an institution must first be responsible; that is, if it begins a task it must finish it. If a persons realizes a job, he or she must do it well. Another criterion that was emphasized is related with the implements and tools. People commented that it serves no purpose to have no discrimination, good professionals, and cordiality if they are no implements and tools to work with: "an hospital without medication", "a constructor without machinery", or "when we need

to process paperwork and there is not even a typewriter". (Researcher's commentary. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar)

"No matter what, an institutions should not privilege someone over the other"

"Help without being affiliated"

"Provide jobs"

"Should be professional and friendly"

"Personnel should be from the area and not from other places"

"They should teach children something"

"Must be free"

"Must be accomplished" (Urban workshop. Pajan Report)

That it is possible to get improvements for the community with facilities

Openness

No lies

No politics

They must have capable representative

They must have knowledge of social problems

They must deepen their investigation of the problems. (Workshop of adult men and women. Report Atucucho).

2. Variations in the perceptions

"The municipality... does not support us when we ask". " To family members... they brought their land and they all progressed. "To God". "Civil defense helped us, they brought us to stay in schools, colleges, they gave roofs, coats, boots and shoes"" "To friends". "To the boss who gave them a loan. We don't all have one (a boss)... family support" (. (Workshop of 1 adult man and 9 women. Report Paján).

3. Control and Accountability

I asked them how the institutions worked in the area: "Sometime the attend your needs, sometimes not. First they see your face and the decide if they attend you... If they like you... or if you don't go with money to (corrupt them), then they don't attend you... This has been going on forever... This is why poor people cannot get help. (Interview with man from urban area, Report Paján).

4. Friends and Neighbors

When asking who they referred to in times of crisis or when they needed it most, the group mentioned they turned to family. The youth stated that they turned to their parents or family. On of the interviewee said: "What do you do? How do you get food when there is no work? ... I go to my uncle and he'll help me with something, and I bring it home. I will help my uncle with anything. My uncle will then give me money, apart from what my mother gives me. My father goes to his

friends. They help him with thirty or forty thousand sucres". It was asked again to whom they would go for help. They said they went to see Father Smith (priest in the Catholic Church). "He helps with money, food or any other small thing". (Workshop. Report Isla Trinitaria).

"To any friend who can help me with my problem, especially my mother". "To some friend who has the means... To the priests at the college Madre del Salvador". "In times of crisis, the only person that gave me a hand was Yoli. Thanks to her I found this small job working as a community mother". "I ask help to the women's Forum". "Some friend who can give me work". "I pond anything with a friend" "A friend gave me work on a boat". "First I ask God, then my mother". "I get credit in the store" (Workshop. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar).

5. Authorities

The mayor is bossy.

"Do you know how politician live?" There was a politician who talked about helping the people, once he has made his money, Where is he now?" He takes his share and then they change him. Here we don't even have a green banana to eat." (Interview man. Report Isla Trinitaria)

6. Government

Thirteen State institutions are responsible for healthcare and in some locations, hospitals occupy the first position in the hierarchy. Within this classification we consider the general hospitals, healthcare center, and the children's hospital. When we analyze the composition of the groups we find that women form the majority of participants. In the case of Isla Trinitaria and Nuevas Brisas del Mar, priority was given to institutions that provide healthcare services. Some groups of men also recognized the importance of these institutions.

In many places like Nuevas Brisas del Mar and the Invasion of Paján there are no healthcare centers in the neighborhood, even less a hospital. Mothers have to get to the closest center. People agree that the attention in these primary healthcare center is very good. Atucucho and Isla Trinitaria have no hospital close by and must travel long distances. The situation of some hospitals is summarized by the report from Nuevas Brisas del Mar.

Hospital of Guayaquil

Close by. The attention is good but doctors have not been paid their salaries for some time. (Workshop Report Isla Trinitaria)

Children's Hospital

Has a pharmacy. Good professionals and specialists. Good help for the children. There is a social worker when one does not have money for medication, they sell them at a lower cost. They must improve because they need a place for parents to stay when they accompany their children. (Workshop Report Isla Trinitaria)

INNFA:

Does good works and helps the poorest.

Hospital of Guasmo

It a good hospital but lacks doctors. (Workshop Report Isla Trinitaria)

Marine Infantry:

90% better than the police. They are trustworthy and successful. (Workshop Report Isla Trinitaria)

Hospital Delfina Torres de Concha: The criteria to define this hospital came from questions and answer. How should a good institution be like? Answers help us perceive the situation of this institution: "Must have the necessary implements, good doctors, professionals, and a good attention. "People yell at us and treat us badly". "The attention received depends on the person. If you're poor you'll bleed to death. If you're rich you'll get good treatment." "You must bring your own medicine" (Workshop. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar)

The Hospital: "If you're a friend of the doctor or nurse they'll attend you rapidly. The Municipal Hospital: "Many women go there". "They make you wait from eight in the morning to one o'clock. (Urban workshop. Pajan Report)

Public School: "About 80% of children are educated there. It is an alternative for us. INNFA. "Helps mothers and children by providing them with food security. (Workshop. Atucucho Report).

Ministry of Social Welfare: "Very political". "Ministry of Public Health: "They were the owners of this land and for this reason they have generated obstacle to the legalization of the land in Atucucho. (Workshop. Atucucho Report).

Women's Commissioner

"They are useful to throw husbands out of the house". (Man's opinion). "It gives women protection, but they must do more publicity. (Workshop. Report Isla Trinitaria).

7. Religious Organizations

The Catholic Church and particularly the priests from the neighborhoods hold a special place in the area. It is interesting to underline that the Church is valued not only for its material contributions, but also for its educational activities for

children. This is especially true where women are a majority in the group. The Evangelist Church: "Teaches good behavior and conduct, and communion". "They support children in economic aspects. At school they collaborate with the mothers". The Catholic Church: " has a healthcare center". "Give workshop for beauty and fashion". "When the priest is asked for help he accepts". "Father gives them money". (Report Isla Trinitaria).

In the four sites, priests are or have been present and have offered personnel help to the local population. This is especially valued by the people- Clear examples are Father Smith and the Bishop of Esmeraldas who have directly help young gang members.

Home of Christ

They provide cane houses

They cost little and are given at a time table of 20 years.

Cozy for the poor.

Very good.

Contribute with housing. (Workshop. Report Isla Trinitaria).

Father Smith

Help the people from the community with money, medicine, talks, and food.

Gives money for prescriptions

He is very charitable. People abuse him

Help materially and spiritually

He is a humanitarian. . (Workshop. Report Isla Trinitaria).

The nuns of Saint Philip Neri: "they've help with the invasion" (Workshop with women from the Urban area of Paján, Report Paján).

(They have chosen the church as the most important institution). "It is important for tradition, for principles. A priest who worked here was a pillar for the development of the community of Atucucho". "The priest was Rodrigo Paz. He got us electricity and water to Atucucho". He was a manager. In reality, there are still lots of support, but the present priest wants to figure. Improvement must have the fathers agreement". . (Workshop. Atucucho Reportsort).

8. Local Governments

The municipality is mentioned by the four groups because they feel its presence is important. However, the value attach to its actions is directly related to the public works it has accomplished. For example, in Isla Trinitaria the water service was considered good by the women: "It is necessary for everybody". "We are hopeful they will resolve the problem". It receives a good qualification because there are expectations that it will resolve the problem of water.

The Municipality will cause harm to many families who live on the Boardwalk of "El Salado". There are black hands in the Municipality (corruption). If you want to know about your land to get the ownership titles, you have to go to the

municipality. . (Workshop. Report Isla Trinitaria).

With a group of eight women and two men we worked on the subjects of problems. Since they had mentioned the Municipality as the institution that could find solutions to most of their problems, we asked them about the services it provided. They mentioned things like: "Some receive us, other don't (the personnel)". "It's awful, they don't help". "They look the other way". "They are abusive". "You must pay so they will help you". "They treat you like a dog". "The mayor slapped a woman who went to ask for his help". "The Municipality only benefit the people from the high classes". "They don't give anything here. They say it's because of the gangs". "When they are in political campaign, then the help". "When they land filled the river, we asked them to put a little more at the houses near the river because it was dangerous for the children. It is there that the mayor slapped a woman and said he would not help the people of Isla Piedad (where the neighborhood of Nuevas Brisas del Mar is located). (Workshop. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar).

"The Municipality, cares for the interest of the population".

"It his at least doing something to benefit the people. Some streets are being filled". " Help the people... when we ask, they help". "It does not collaborate and they are slow, they do help". "It is an institution that does not function very well despite the fact that it is managed by a professional (Licenciado)." "It has never worked well despite government support. It is to buy was he needs for himself". Many people who work there earn money by doing nothing. "On one side, good. On the other it considers the necessities. For the street they have done nothing. They don't attend the petitions". "Municipalities help our people who really need it. It is an institution that the poor need for economic support". (Workshop Urban area of Paján, Report Paján).

"It is because of Dr. Rodrigo Paz (ex-mayor of Quito) that we got electricity, water and a garbage collector. (Workshop. Atucucho Report).

9. NGOs

CAMI (Communal Houses of the Municipality. They bring medical attention, medicine and dentist. When they come here people think they are politicians. They need more publicity. (Workshop. Report Isla Trinitaria).

Project of United Nations (HABITAT). Work, Training courses. Built the communal houses. (Workshop. Report Isla Trinitaria).

Godparent Plan. Work with the Evangelist Church to sponsor children. They say it no longer exists. (Workshop. Report Isla Trinitaria).

SOLCA: (Society against cancer). It is trustworthy. They have fair prices. They have to improve social services because a lot of people go there because of their publicity. The bureaucracy is slow. They have a retiree section for those with

money and prices for the poor. (Workshop Report Isla Trinitaria).

APROFE: They have a mobile clinic. Provide good services. Help with consultation. Give family planning, which is important for women. They help us when we need it. They don't come anymore. (Workshop Report Isla Trinitaria).

International Youth: "They help some children. For the care it gives children it should get a 10. However, for them to sponsor a child we have to sell our poverty. Institutions must not use human being this way. They keep part of the money that come here".⁸ (Adults workshop. Report Atucucho)

International youth: "Always provides immediate help with medicines, small gifts for Christmas. For the youth, this support is important because "it is what is most directly seen". (Youth workshop. Atucucho Report)

10. Police

Generally, police occupy a lower rank in the hierarchy of institutions. For example, this was given by the youth of Atucucho and a majority of the women of Paján. The military is highly regarded by the women of Isla Trinitaria. They say of the military: "they come right away when you call them". "They care for the service stations during strike". They provide security".

In the majority of cases, police and the Immediate Auxiliary Post (PAI) are not well perceived. Police are held as corrupt. In some areas, the police is viewed as highly discriminatory against the poor, and foster corruption amongst the youth.

I think that in some moments, the police do a good job, but other times it abuses the youth... because. We are down here and unemployed. When we go to the city center to search for work, police think we are there to steal. For example, if they see someone they arrest him right away and take him to jail. Nobody says anything. (Interview youth. Report Nuevas Brisas del Mar).

The police are a necessary ill. They sleep and when they are needed you have to search for them and pass some money to them. They are like the traffic officers. You call them and they don't want to come. (Workshop Report Isla Trinitaria)

⁸ This opinion was given by one of the participants, Don José. He is not considered a leader. However, he has a clear understanding of the problems of his neighborhood. What he said concerning this institution was shared by the rest of the group.

Criteria that define an institution as optimal (Urban Locations)

CRITERIA	Atucucho		Paján	Nuevas Brisas del Mar	Isla Trinitaria (Precooperative Andrés Quiñónez)
	Adult Men	Young Men			
They should allow room to negotiate improvements for the community with ease	X				
Openness	X				
No deceits	X				
No intervention of politics	X				
They should have capable representatives / Good professionals	X		X	X	
They should have knowledge of the social problems	X				
They should deepen research on the problems	X				
Immediate assistance		X			
Effective assistance		X			
Visible results		X			
Responsible / Timely			X	X	
They should have the necessary implements				X	
They shouldn't discriminate / Nobody should have privileges			X	X	
Good manners / Friendly attitude			X	X	
They should offer working opportunities			X		
Their personnel should from town, not from elsewhere			X		
It should be free			X		
They should teach something to the children			X		

GENDER RELATIONS AND WELFARE

The difference between men and women and the way they exercise power differ according to culture and the greater or lesser relationship they have with the market. The ever changing market economy has, for the past ten years, transformed the work women and men inside and outside the household. Consequently, gender relations and the participation of men and women in collective activities have changed.

In the section, I want to demonstrate three things: First, the changes that have occurred in the activities of rural and urban women in the last ten years. Second, the manner in which these changes are related to solving the main problems mentioned in the preceding pages. Third, examine the way these changes affect the lives of women.

Methodology

This study about gender relations was done with a first activity in seven of the nine participating groups. It consisted in representing a “turned over tortilla” in which groups of women would imitate men in their daily activities and vice versa. The success of this representation depended on cultural characteristics. Some groups of men accepted these role playing while others refused to act out women’s activities. In some places, women refused to dramatize when men were present. An important benefit from this method allowed us to directly observe the existing differences between the discourse expressed during the workshops and the representations presented in these socio-dramas.

After the dramatization, men and women were asked to answer as a group to the following questions. What activities are accomplished at home? Who decides what at home? What activities are accomplished in the community? Who decides what in the community? What type of abuses do you face at home? What are the forms of violence you suffer in your community? We changed the term violence at home because the use of the word itself caused some resistance.

RURAL SITES

Are there any changes in the activities of men and women?

Changes in Domestic Life

When we carefully observe the activities accomplished by indigenous women from the Amazon (Voluntad de Dios and Diez de Agosto) we find that, ten years ago, they were closely linked to preparing food, cultivating the family manioc and plantain garden, raising poultry, and making handicraft. Women would manage these activities and receive the proceeds generated by the commercialization of the handicrafts and minor livestock. Today, men and women have stopped making these handicrafts. Furthermore, women help their husbands in cultivating the crops destined to the market. In these activities, women become assistants to their husbands or children, and are

subordinate to their way of working. The income generated with the commercialization of these produces is managed by the husband in coordination with the wife. Caring for the garden, an activity eminently feminine, is now secondary. Since women do not produce handicrafts, they do not have any income other than the resources coming from the sell of minor livestock in times of emergencies (sickness, death, or celebrations). Women find they have lost their ability to make decisions regarding the family plot. They have also lost valuable knowledge about natural medicine, but remain responsible for caring for the health and education of the children. Young women who remain unmarried or without remunerated employment migrate to the nearby cities to work as domestics in private households.

In places like La Calera and Juncal, the changes that have occurred in women's activities are made more evident because to the temporary or definitive migration of the men. More and more women take charge of farming activities. They are the ones who make the needed decisions regarding the household and agriculture. They feel the tasks to be demanding, and men tend to agree.

In truth, the socio-drama is very short. It is true that most men abandon their homes. Women now work the fields. Because of immigration, men only come home every three months. During this time, women have taken charge of everything. They pay heavily and endure this life. (Workshop in Caguanapamba. Cañar Report).

In addition to farming, women are responsible for fetching water, care for the sick, and take them to the clinic or hospital. The most felt impact resulting from the migration of their spouse is their gained ability to make decisions on what affects the family. Some perceive this responsibility as an increased work load. Others are satisfied with this situation and consider it a positive change.

“My husband works far away, this is why I decide things...” “I decide everything. For example I make the decisions for everything.” “Ten years ago it was different. We waited for the husband [so he would make the decisions]”. (Workshop in Caguanapamba. Cañar Report).

Men from the Amazon region have also changed their activities. Hunting and fishing as economic activities are now almost forgotten, especially in Voluntad de Dios where the presence of the petroleum companies in the forest have caused a significant disappearing of wildlife. These activities have been replaced by cattle ranching, forestry, and transforming the forest into farm land for the market economy production. In Voluntad de Dios, Men now help in household tasks by cooking when women participate at meetings or when they are absent. Decisions regarding the income generated by the commercialization of harvest products and the sell of cattle fall upon the men. Migration of the men from the community has greatly changed their lives. They sustain that they accomplish farming activities only when they return to the community.

Changes in Community Activities

Men and women from the Amazon region agree that the participation of women in

community meetings and activities has notably increased. They also observe that men maintain the same level of participation as they did ten years ago.

According to the women, their activities in the community have been considerably increased in the indigenous areas of the Sierra. Men attribute this increase in the participation of women is due to male migration. The Black women from Tablas find that their participation within the community has not changed, except for their participation in a women's group. It is interesting to indicate that one of the changes underline by the men and women of the three groups is the fact that women receive training. This training is given by assistance institutions. This training has help them gained more knowledge and loose their fear of speaking in public.

As for making decisions, it is possible to observe in the discourse of men and women a clear distinction between participating and taking decisions at meetings. Women participate. Men "make decisions" and "manage". This later term refers to the capability of the men to create relations with the institutions from which they require some support. Again, clear differences exist between the groups where migration is high. In these locations, women have taken direct charge of the communal activities and meetings. In the localities where male migration is not as important, women are only linked to these communal activities and meetings. In Cañar, Women's participation and actions have been strong due to male migration. They are the real leaders of the communities and sector institutions.⁹ In the Amazon region, women only passively assist at meetings.

Changes to the Lives of Men and Women, and the Main Problems

In the preceding pages, we have shown that the main problems of the poor in rural areas are directly related to the lack of a sanitary infrastructure that would give them access to drinking water, latrines, and medical care. Another problem is the lack of monetary income that would enable them to acquire products for basic consumption or the necessary implements for a more competitive agriculture.

In these rural locations we find that the response to these problems have given way to male migration to find wage labor in the nearby cities or to produce for the market economy. As we have seen, this situation has generated changes in the lives of men and women. On the one hand, women have increased their workload since they are now responsible for the farming activities that used to befall on men. They have, in some cases, neglected their own activities such as feeding the children and caring for the garden. On the other hand, men no longer help with the tasks of fetching water and gathering firewood. At the same time, women have increased their participation in community and second level organizations.

How can we understand these changes? I want to underline that the petition for a sanitary infrastructure is a demand that mostly comes from the women. With the work overload they suffer, they find it difficult to keep on fetching water and caring for the sick, who are a result of the deficient conditions they live in. Furthermore, they feel that if

⁹ In Suscal County, Province of Cañar, the mayor is the only woman of indigenous origin to be mayor in Ecuador.

they were to become sick themselves, life for the family would become very complicated. On the other hand, women who have taken charge of all the activities of the household feel that they need more support to alleviate their workload. For these reasons, infrastructures are view as a priority and women actively participate in mingas and other collective works.

Although, these problems are mostly felt by women, they become priorities because they are also perceived by the men and the general community. Men are often the ones who, with their management capabilities, obtain some form of support to these petitions. In other words, there is a strict relationship between the prioritization of problems and their legitimate in front of the whole community. Observing a contradictory example will serve to clarify this argument.

Domestic Violence Associated to Alcohol Consumption.

When one speaks of domestic violence, it generally carries a feminine sign and it is often associated to the husbands' drunkenness. Most groups conclude that very little change has occurred with the passing of time. Some women assure that changes are significant and are a direct result of their receiving training. It is evident that this constitutes a problem felt by women and lived by the men. It is possible to observe during the dramatizations, that almost all women represented their drunk husband hitting them

However, in setting priority for the problems, domestic violence does not appear. One of the reasons could be related to the fact that this is not a subject on which consensus exists. Although men recognize that women are subjected to violence, men and women believe it is conjectural and only obeys to the drunkenness of men. If domestic violence has diminished it is in part due to the fact that women have gained new powers, especially on the fact that they now manage more money, make decisions, and received training.

When analyzing the subject of institutions, we observed that the work accomplished by the NGOs in the area of training was not given any recognition because it does not fit within their prioritization of problems. It enables us to show that the training of women and their limited empowerment has not gained recognition because domestic violence is still not given the priority it should have in the life of the population.

URBAN SITES

Are there any changes in the activities of men and women?

When we examine the activities of the men and women from the poor neighborhoods of the cities, we find that women's tasks within the household have not suffered major changes. Women underline the fact that more and more women must also find work outside their home. In Isla Trinitaria, Nuevas Brisas del Mar and the invasion of Paján. These tasks are often increased because they have to fetch water from the tanker truck, dispose of the garbage, and make sure that bad weather does not destroy their precarious homes. Many women also work outside their home as domestic employees.

In the coastal areas (Isla Trinitaria, Nuevas Brisas del Mar and Paján), the management of monetary resources is generally done by the men, even in buying food. Women generally accompany their husbands who decide what products to purchase. This situation is made obvious when men are asked about their activities within the household. "Give for food", "Go to the market", "Buy the water, clothing" (Workshop report, Isla Trinitaria). In addition to managing resources, it is the responsibility of the men to provide leisure for the family. "Take her out on walks, Do anything she asks", "Take the children to the park". The masculine sphere of activities is strongly related to his purchasing power and the money they dispose of. This could be the reason why many have stated that the men's contribution used to be more, since it is directly related to the amount of money he brings home. Consequently they would help less in domestic tasks.

It is clear that some activities remain entirely of the feminine domain, and men refuse to take part in them or even act them out during the socio-dramas. It is not a coincidence that men mostly represented women in their domestic activities.

The decisions taken by women within the households are mainly related to the small children. One of the changes some women observe is they now have something to cook and eat. Another aspect is that women can now organize their free time. "I now decide when I can watch television". "I decide when to take a walk with my children". During these conversations, it was clear that many women are still ordered by their husbands. When discussing decision making, men often said that they decided everything. The general agreement in all of the studied neighborhoods is that men make all economic decisions, large or small.

Changes in Community Activities

Given the dynamic of the marginalized neighborhood, women say they have always participated in its activities. They have supported the mingas ever since they have been organized in the neighborhoods. Women seem to have been the instigators in demanding water, sewers, and health care facilities. "Women decide more because they participate more".

Neighborhood organizations are still functioning to demand services and improvements. They are mostly mobilized by the women. Fighting against crime is also a main preoccupation of women, especially in Nuevas Brisas del Mar.

Men, while they remain available to accomplish task that require physical strength, mingas and watch, appear to be more and more separated from community activities: "Play football". "Speak with friends", "get drunk" are some of the activities they described as communal.

Changes in the Lives of Men and Women, and the Main Problems

In the preceding pages, we have seen that the main problems for both men and women were related to the employment situation, environment and violence. In the urban neighborhoods we found that the response to these problems has been the insertion of women into wage and informal labor and crime. I would suggest that these changes have profoundly transformed the relations between men and women. It has also contributed to increase the insecurity of youth, especially of young women.

I have already mentioned the strong relation that exists between control and management of money and masculinity. We have also seen that women continue to accomplish task related to their gender, such as caring for children, preparing meals, fetching water, dispose of the garbage. While directly affecting the welfare of the family, the lack of money indirectly affects the representation of being a man. An unemployed man, is a person who cannot take his wife to the market, provide leisure for is family, nor offer clothing to his wife.

On the other hand, the problem link to environmental degradation is something that is directly in the hands of women. Men, when responsible to supply money, show little interest in community actions aimed at improving the conditions in which they live.

Finally, as we have previously seen, young women are most affected by the problem of the violence suffered in the urban neighborhoods.