

WORKING PAPER 272

DEPENDENCY, MIGRATION AND EDUCATION AT A
COMMUNITY LEVEL IN HIGHLAND ECUADOR.

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March 1980

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In this paper we seek to identify the extent of internal differentiation within selected rural parishes in highland Ecuador with respect to migration patterns and schooling and consider to what extent these differences are satisfactorily explained by the existence of dependency at a local level. In the discussion of the impact of these differences on people in different parts of the localities it will become evident that the differences are clearly identifiable and may be of considerable importance for the examination of contemporary patterns of rural development.

I. Dependency in theory and in practice.

The growth in importance of the analysis of dependency relations is traceable to the concern of a group of radical scholars, including several Latin Americans, with the nature of underdevelopment in Latin America and elsewhere. They saw this dependency to be the consequence of the subordination of growth and economic change in non-industrial countries to world capitalist forces emanating principally from Britain in the nineteenth century and the U.S.A. in the twentieth century. The writings of Paul Baran, Pablo González Casanova, Rodolfo Stavenhagen and Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán in the late 1950s and early 1960s all identified the existence of dependent relations not only between but also within nations and the most important stimulus to the debate came from the writings of Andre Gunder Frank. Frank has argued that underdevelopment is the logical consequence of the growth of the capitalist system to encompass other world areas which are developed for the benefit of the dominant nations. He suggests that the different economic and geographical sectors of an underdeveloped country are not isolated from the world capitalist economic system but are a part of it. One explanatory model of this development of underdevelopment is that of metropolis-satellite relations where Frank has suggested that there is:

"a whole chain of metropolises and satellites, which runs from the world metropolis down to the hacienda or rural merchants who are satellites of the local commercial metropolitan centre but who in their turn have peasants as their satellites."

(Frank, 1967, pp. 146-7)

An important component of dependency theory is its historical specificity and much of the support which has strengthened this theory comes from the examination of the historical development of different situations. Much

of the debate has concentrated on the importance of the identification of the roles of different interests in the perpetuation of underdevelopment and the persistence of non-capitalist forms of organisation in developing countries rather than on the extent to which it was relevant at different scales of analysis. Sociological discussion has long since passed beyond the consideration of development within a dependency framework to emphasise the importance of the articulation of different modes of production and their relations with patterns of circulation and distribution.

Although the focus of intellectual debate is elsewhere a structural dependency framework for the consideration of specific situations is heuristically valuable whatever its inadequacy in explaining internally-generated development. Necessarily associated with dependency is the role of different central places and, in rural areas, the relationship between town and country. This issue has been examined in detail elsewhere (Preston, 1978) but although the nature of relations between centres of different size is understood the exact consequences of this relationship in specific geographical areas are seldom documented. The relations between settlements reflects their respective political and economic power. Modernisation theory suggests that disadvantaged areas develop as a result of lack of contact with more advantageous areas and that as contact increases there is a trickling down of benefits to the less developed areas. A contrary argument is that the lack of congruence in the interests of small and large centres would usually lead to faster development of the largest and the progressive pauperisation of the lesser centres.

The importance of the examination of central places as centres of domination is the greater since a major early theoretical advance in human geography was the development of an explanation for the spatial arrangement of central places by Walter Christaller. A major criticism of central place theory is that, while it explains the rational organisation of settlements as they have developed under capitalism, it can not purport to describe a system that ensures the maximisation of either social or regional equality. Thus in no sense can a particular spatial pattern of settlement be analysed without reference to the political context in which it exists. The existence of a central nucleated settlement in association with a market place does allow the provision of both goods and services and encourage the development of political and administrative organisations. Grass-roots demand for a central settlement has even emerged as a consequence of a redistribution of power in rural areas of Bolivia (Preston, 1970)

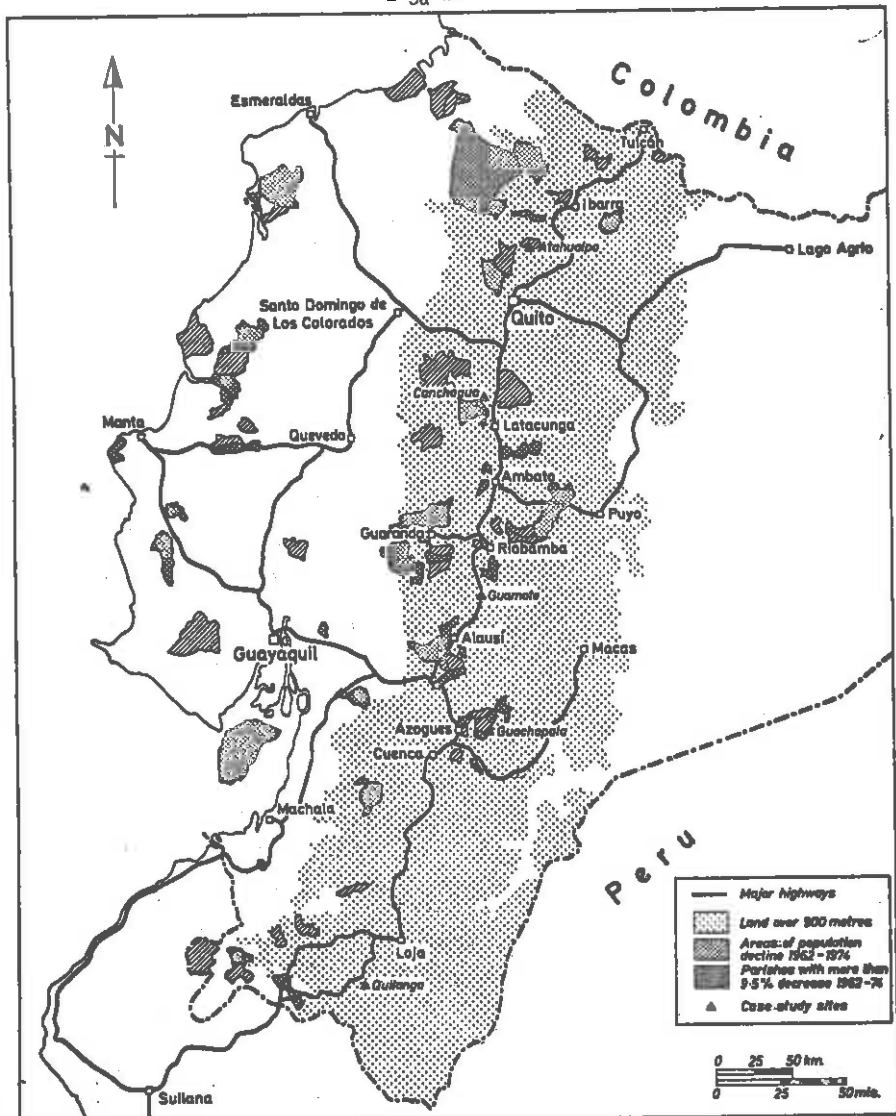
although this was not associated with a major movement of farmers from outlying districts to live permanently in the village. Instead the village has become a symbolic centre whose central services were available and through which many people passed during a day or a week even though they lived elsewhere. The emergence of new nucleated settlement as a consequence of the action of rural people may suggest that low-order central places are beneficial for all participants. They do act as magnets for both people and commerce and eventually may develop as a separate entity rather than as an adjunct to the rural dispersed settlements. They can then represent interests different from those in the countryside and consequently control over micro-regional decisions passes from rural producers to urban-oriented people and a rift develops between rural and urban people.

Johnson suggests that the separation of town interests from regional interests is based on the development of the market system which "frustrates any really progressive and equitable integration of town and country" (Johnson, 1970, p. 85). Market places facilitate sales of rural produce and stimulate demand for 'modern' manufactured goods as part of

"... a system of markets in which producers ... must be content with a role that is passive, docile and unrewarding." (Ibid., 86)

However, we shall demonstrate that the separate identity of the town interests does not solely rest on the development of a period market. The basis of the development of nucleated settlements is the need for services that serve a large population but whose provision is centralised so that the outlying population can perform various tasks in a single journey minimising the effort involved. The provision of schooling, medical facilities, religious services and administrative functions in villages is associated with the need for access to a sufficiently numerous population and their demand for more modern housing, piped water, electricity, perhaps sewage and refuse disposal. In some circumstances, those involved in providing services and in local government may come from the locality although teachers, doctors or extension agents would be appointed from elsewhere.

Over time and as the size of the settlement grows it is more likely that the administrators and decision makers will be identified with the village or town interests and less willing to recognise the importance of the interests of country people who comprise the majority of the region's population. From this emerges dependence at a local scale where the centralisation of newly available facilities leads to inequalities of access -



Map 1

which is a reflection of the distribution of the population and unavoidable - and the purposive improvement in central facilities without an associated or equal improvement in rural areas.

The consequences of unequal development at a local level are similar to those in relation to regional inequalities. People perceive with increasing clarity the differences in social and economic opportunities between central and peripheral places and they migrate to local centres; their children may travel frequently to the local centres to school or to shops and many subsequently leave the area. As the differences between town and country grow, country people become progressively more conscious of being 'backward', a view constantly reinforced by outsiders who have dealings with them. The extent of the negative effects of local dependency on rural populations seems very serious; it is seldom discussed in either dependency and rural development literature and thus merits both documentation and examination.

2. Field investigations

The data presented in this paper were collected primarily in 1975 and 1976, for a project which was financed by the British Overseas Development Ministry and the University of Leeds. This included a study of five case study areas, in different provinces, believed to be representative of the Andean region of Ecuador and which were characterised by high level of emigration over the last two decades (see Map 1).

Questionnaires were completed at interviews with a 20 per cent sample of the occupied houses in the different parishes of the case study areas in 1975-6. The questionnaires were designed to identify patterns of migration in the highlands, the characteristics of those who did and did not migrate and any impact that these may have had on local farming. A follow-up study of 10 per cent sample of two of the five parishes, financed by the Social Science Research Council was realised late in 1978, to identify attitudes of local people to education and their awareness of its importance in rural emigration.

During the initial field work, two levels of difference in migratory behaviour and characteristics were identified: those between the different parishes and those within a particular parish. This paper sets out to explore these internal relationships with an analysis of education and some characteristics of migration in association with place of dwelling relative to the parish centre.

To do this the interview data have been classified in two ways. Firstly according to the district in which the informant and his family lived and secondly according to the distance of the district from the centre of the parish. Four zones were identified by the time it took to walk from them to the centre of the parish. Zone I included the parish centre and those families who lived less than ten minutes travel away from it. Zone II comprised those who lived more than 10 minutes away and less than thirty minutes away. In Zone III were those who would take between thirty and forty minutes to walk to the centre, and Zone IV included all people who lived in greater isolation than this. Quilanga and Atahualpa parishes had all four zones, while Guachapala only had three. Descriptive statistical techniques were used to analyse the data using SPSS computer programs.

Before examining the different patterns of migration and educational experience within some of the case study areas, some understanding of the political and administrative structure of rural Ecuador is desirable. The smallest unit identified by rural people is the parish district, often determined topographically; it frequently consists of several isolated houses with or without a clearly established centre. Each parish is composed of several such districts one of which has become the social, commercial and political centre to which people from the other districts have to come to trade and for services of all kinds. The priest is usually resident at the parish centre, the offices of the magistrate and the parish clerk and the registrar are there as are schools and medical services. Neighbouring parishes are grouped administratively to form a canton and the centre of one is designated canton capital. It offers similar services as the other parish capitals to its own rural periphery but also provides certain administrative services for its dependent parishes. One such canton centre becomes the capital of the group of cantons that comprise a province; while continuing to provide services to its own parishes, it acts as a major regional centre and also provides a direct link between the rural population, through the parishes and cantons, and the national government in Quito. Offices of the different national government ministries are located in the provincial capitals which implement national policy at a provincial level. The principal government representative in the provincial capital is the Prefect. The Sub-Prefect has responsibility at canton level. Within the parishes the Teniente Politico (this translates as political governor), administers justice, collects tax, and controls the police.

3. Education and dependency

By modernisation theorists, education is perceived as one of the processes by which the disadvantaged members of dual societies can enhance their opportunity to obtain greater social and economic equality. Education is said to prepare people for full participation in modern, industrial or service sector employment and so contribute directly to the modernisation of a developing nation's economy (for research on the impact of education and indeed modernity, see Inkeles, 1977). Dependency theorists, concerned that education provided in developing societies does not permit the least fortunate to aspire to social and economic equality with the elites, argue that the educational system of any nation is yet another mechanism for maintaining the existing social and economic stratification and even for strengthening the hold of the minority over the mass, through control of knowledge, coupled with control of the economy (see Bourdieu (1973), and Carnoy, 1974). The historical structuralists, including dependency theorists, deny the influence of the individual or of locally produced change on dependency relations and attribute their formation and maintenance to social forces and economic relations. This in itself prevents any process of social change, such as schooling from being effective, until the relations of production are first changed. In the case of former colonies, the new national elites have adopted, but scantily adapted, the education systems of their European colonisers and so reinforce the alien cultural values (Remi Olignat, 1971; Al-bak and Kelly, 1978). In Andean America, the education system, still modelled on that of Spain has increasingly adopted the values of the U.S.A. as economic and cultural dependency have increased through this century. Thus, education is both structurally and ideologically a system that is dependent on other societies. Internally, too, the centralised system ensures the dominance of the large community over the small, by the unequal distribution of resources and the consequent unequal access of different sectors of the community to facilities. This has long term consequences for the opportunities that are made available through education to different sectors of the population and for the continuance and reinforcement of internal domination.

Analysis of both census and survey data reveals that the average years of school experience of the population of Ecuador diminishes as size and social and political importance of settlement decreases. This is exemplified in Table 1 in which data for one province, Loja contrast the educational experience of the whole province with that of one canton within it and of one of the parishes within the canton. These data are representative of the

Table 1. Educational Experience.

Education level	Parish	Canton	Province
Higher Ed.	-	0.2	1.1.
Secondary Ed.			
Grades 4-6	-	1.0	3.5
Grades 1-3	1.7*	2.6	8.0
Primary Ed.			
Grades 4-6	38.1*	38.6	42.0
Grades 1-3	73.9*	74.7	75.3
None	25.4	23.5	23.0
Not known	0.7	1.8	1.7
Total population aged over 6 yrs.	3,455	22,834	273,733

*These cumulative percentages indicate the proportion of population with experience of each of the different levels of education.

Source: INEC, III Censo de Población, Loja Provincia, Gonzanama Canton, Quilanga Parish.

of general patterns of education in the country as a whole, and are in no way peculiar to the example given. In the example, the educational level of people in the canton is greater than in the parish and less than in the province, at every stage of education, but the difference increases sharply at secondary and tertiary levels. This distortion is caused by the concentration of the highest educational facilities in the provincial capital and decreasing provision in the cantons and parishes. Within the same parish, Quilanga, which was one of the case study areas, the people who had most education were those who lived in the centre of the parish: those who lived in the outlying districts had, on average, less (Table 2).

Table 2. Schooling in Quilanga.
Mean years of education.

Location of home	Total Population	Non-migrants		Returned migrants	
		N=		N=	
Parish centre	5.9	57	5.4	27	6.3
Outlying districts	4.5	202	4.4	131	4.7

Source: Survey data, 1975.

A survey of attitudes to education in the parish, showed that parents esteemed education for improving their children's opportunity of obtaining non-agricultural employment. This attitude was found to vary in different parts of the parish. What did vary was the level of occupation desired: parents, speaking of children still at school, had higher aspirations if they lived in the parish centre than if they lived in the outlying districts (Table 3).

Table 3. Parental aspirations for children's future employment.

Zone in parish	Desired Occupation		
	Farming or Domestic Affairs	Salaried or wage employment Unskilled	Skilled
Parish centre (Zone I)	-	2	15
Near centre (Zone II)	5	10	10
Middle distance (Zone III)	9	11	2
Far distance (Zone IV)	9	15	7
Sample size	N= 23	38	34

Source: Survey data, 1978.

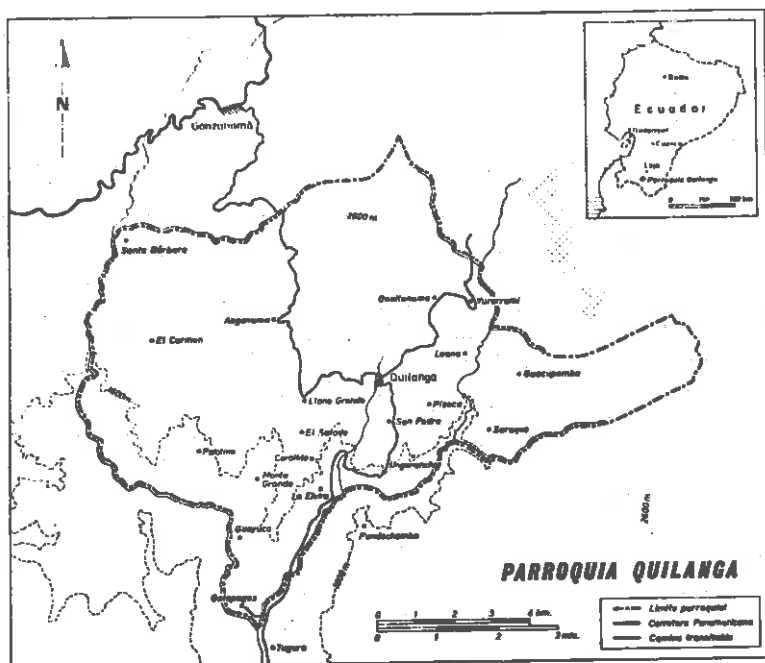
The existing employment patterns in the parish mirror these orientations. Forty-three per cent of the children of informants who lived in the parish centre, who had left school, had non-agricultural employment. Only 45 per cent were employed in home based activities, whether agriculture or domestic affairs. Away from the parish centre less than 17 per cent had non-agricultural employment and more than 80 per cent were farmers or housewives. The proportion of those who had skilled employment was much lower in the districts than in the centre (Table 4).

Table 4. Occupations of informants' children, who had left school.

Occupation	Parish Centre	Outlying Districts	N=
Home-based employment	22	154	176
Salaried or wage employment	21	32	53
Skilled	10	8	
Unskilled	13	37	
Non-agricultural self-employment (Artisan or merchant).	5	5	10
	N= 48	191	239

$\chi^2 = 24.4$ d.f. = 2 p = 0.0001

Source: Survey data, 1975.



Map 2

A further indication of the impact of unequal educational facilities within the parish is observed in relation to migratory experience and its association to both education and place of residence in the parish. Not only had the majority of migrants more educational experience than non-migrants, but also both outward and return migratory flows were most important in the parish centre than in the outlying districts (see Table 2)*.

In Quilanga parish centre, a village of some 700 people (INEC, 1974), there are two complete primary schools, each with six teachers, a recently opened secondary school, with fourteen teachers, a new nursery school and a night school where adults can learn handicrafts. Three thousand six hundred people (INEC, 1974) live in the rural periphery of Quilanga in 31 outlying districts. In 1978 there were district schools in eighteen of these districts. Four had two teachers, the remainder had one. The schools with two teachers were able to offer all six grades of primary schooling. Those with only one teacher were attended often by thirty and more children of different ages, and could only offer the first three or four years of schooling. The factors which determined this unequal distribution of schools in the parish seem superficially easy to identify, but the extent to which settlement size or local pressure affect school allocation in the districts is not easy to ascertain. Now there seems to be no real choice but to locate municipal new services in the village centre, where they are most easily accessible to the greatest number of people. However, it is undeniable that the very size of the parish centre is a consequence of the location there of essential services, such as the church, traders, craftsmen and schools, as well as, more recently, shops and more government services. Gradually, people from the outlying districts have come to live in the centre to take more advantage of its facilities and so the settlement which numbered half a dozen families in the early years of the century, has grown to its present size[†]. On it are dependent for all goods and services that they cannot, or no longer, provide for themselves, the majority of the parish who live in the outlying districts.

The recent designation of the village as the centre of a Nucleus for Educational Development (see Min. Ed, 1978, for a summary of the state of the modernisation programme in Ecuador) is due, in part, to its status as a social and economic centre, but also because it had already been selected as the

*The association of educational experience and migratory experience were with place of residence in the parish were both significant in χ^2 tests at the 0.001 level. Similarly significant relations were observed in the two other large case study areas, Atahualpa and Guachapala.

†This process of migration from the districts to the centre, often to occupy houses of villagers who have migrated elsewhere, seems to continue today.

centre of an area of intense agricultural and social development by PREDESUR (Proyecto Regional para el Desarrollo del Sur), as part of an international plan for the development of the frontier region between Ecuador and Peru. The priest had encouraged PREDESUR to come to Quilanga, offering to rent a large tract of hillside for use as an agricultural livestock experimental station. Quilanga, compared with other parishes, is now well endowed with schools, but without nuclearisation, which would not have come about without the presence of PREDESUR, it is unlikely that the secondary and nursery schools in the village, or the newest primary schools in the outlying districts, would have opened yet.

If the location of principal services in the parish centre can be explained in terms of its size, this is not the case when seeking to explain the distribution of schools in the different outlying districts, many of which have similarly sized populations. Villages remember that the introduction, in 1958 of the first district schools in the parish had been in no small part a consequence of the intervention of the then parish priest, who supported the demands of the local people at the Ministry of Education Office in Loja, and at the municipal office in Gonzanama. Two of the three schools were inaugurated in comparatively wealthy coffee growing districts, Loana and Yurarrumi (see Map 2), which suggests that local power and status may have been of importance in influencing, not only the priest but also the officials. (This is likely to be the case in Loana, from where it is no great hardship for local children to walk to the village schools.) At the time of the inauguration of these schools, those in the centre did not yet offer all six primary grades* and primary education was still a valuable credential on the labour market. The most recently opened district schools, 1978, in El Salado, Corallillo, El Sauce and Saraque, all very poor districts, offer a maximum of four grades. They post-date the opening of the secondary school in the village, at a time when even complete primary education is of increasingly limited value in acquiring skilled employment. The opening of these schools has done little to lessen the differential education of people in the parish, since before their inauguration facilities in the centre of the parish had already been increased to their present level. The schools at Saraque and El Sauce are among the most remote from the parish centre and it is suggested that the poorest districts of the parish, as well as some of the most isolated districts, were the last to be granted fiscal schools by the Ministry of Education. Some children, especially from nearby, walk from the districts to

*Until 1964 primary education in rural areas consisted of grades 1-4. In towns it was 1-6.

complete their primary education at the central schools. A few have enrolled at the secondary school but many parents, even if they claim to be prepared to meet the expense, are unwilling for them to walk home along the mountain paths at night.

The unequal provision of educational facilities between the centre of the parish and its periphery can be explained as a function of its size and status in relation to those of the different outlying districts. It is suggested that size and status will continue to account for what is generally a widening gap between school facilities in central and peripheral districts. The unequal distribution of schools in the different districts is also seen to be a function of their economic status and its consequent social prestige, rather than of the size of settlement or its distance from the centre. However, the provision of schools in both the centre and the outlying districts has also, to some extent, been due to the intervention of prominent individuals from the village able to influence the decisions of those responsible for the allocation of resources.

People living in the outlying districts of the parish are well aware that they have considerably less access to educational facilities than their fellow parishioners in the centre. They also consider that what education they do receive is of an inferior quality. They know that teachers in the district schools are usually in their first posts and that they will not have been trained to cope with several grades simultaneously. They recognise too that the teachers will have accepted rural employment unwillingly believing themselves to be more suited to work in town. As a result, local people expect the teachers to absent themselves frequently and to seek a quick transfer to a new post. In an Educational Nucleus, such as the one at Quilanga, the district teachers are conscious too of inferior status, for according to the constitution of the Nucleus, they are expressly under the tutelage of the teachers in the central schools (Min. Ed, 1973). They inevitably resent the authority that this gives them. Their resentment is heightened by the way in which teachers in the central schools tend to monopolise the few teaching resources supposedly available to all, and thus impede their use in the districts. They feel that their low status is exemplified in their lack of power within the nucleus in that at the monthly meetings, held in the village schools, they cannot outnumber town representatives on the nucleus committee and, in addition, all the officers are prominent villagers.

Thus, not only do increases in the provision of educational facilities in the outlying districts fail to reduce the gap between the quantity of educational available there and in the centre, parents, teachers and probably the children too are convinced of its inferior quality. All believe this to be in some measure a direct result of the dominance of the centre over the periphery.

Modernisation theorists identify increases in individual modernity as one consequence of educational experience which may affect the extent to which a person is innovative or dynamic (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). This has implications for the reinforcement of the profound inferiority experienced by many people in rural areas who live away from centres with generous educational facilities. They frequently complain of exploitation and abuse from those who live in the village, including teachers and development agents, which they associate with their lack of education. Villagers regularly make pejorative references to the backwardness and lack of civilisation of those who live in the districts. This asserted inferiority, strongly associated with low educational opportunities, is reflected in the future orientations and employment patterns already observed in the different areas of the parish.

Unequal employment opportunities between the centre and the periphery mean unequal income. Those who will earn more will come from village families and so contribute to its growth as a commercial centre. One effect of this will be a weakening of the dependence of village traders on returns from trade in agricultural produce from the districts as a major source of cash. This may have far reaching implications for trade relations and prices within the parish that will adversely affect the district farmer. But it cannot be claimed that the economic balance of the community will be upset solely because of the impact of differential education on its recipients' future incomes. When teachers, and other development agents, high income groups in the rural environment both dependent on external cash resources, total more than ten per cent of the village community, as they do currently in Quilanga, they themselves provide a very considerable commercial stimulus and so contribute directly to the increased economic dominance of the centre over the periphery.

Finally, while inferior education in the outlying districts leads to increased social, psychological and economic dependence on the parish centre, the effects of comparatively high levels of educational provision in the centre weakens the dependence of village people on traditional trade and

labour relations in the districts, but incorporates them, more than willingly, in new dependent relations with the state. This occurs indirectly as traders themselves become dependent on the monthly pay cheque which is spent in village shops from teachers and other agents from the government. More directly, those with regular employment, wage or salaried, who come primarily from village families, become increasingly dependent on the state for welfare benefits to which their salary entitles them. This is one result of the absorption of the values conveyed by the educational programmes of the state and its teachers who have already been processed by the system. The status of these people in relation to the outlying districts has been reinforced but at the same time through economic and cultural integration they have become increasingly dependent on the services of the nation. The relationship of district people to the state is economically unchanged or even possibly worsened as a result of unequal educational provision. However their continued demand for more school facilities and number of employed indicates their own willingness for greater integration and social and economic participation.

4. Internal differentiation

The categorisation of informants according to the locality in which they live and its accessibility to the parish centre may enable some differences in the characteristics of the population of different zones within parishes to be identified. Accessibility was selected as a variable of importance because some internal differences were most likely to be related to isolation. If there were differences that could in some measure be a consequence of the action of the parish centre on the hinterland then these would be most clearly visible if information was ordered according to ease of access to the parish centre. Accessibility was selected rather than linear distance because it enables account to be taken of highways enabling people from distant areas to visit the centre easily.

Data relating to the amount of land owned by farmers shows striking differences according to the isolation of the zone from the parish centre and these differences are consistent in each of the case study areas. The area of land owned increased with distance away from the parish centre and, while in two cases the parish centre farmers owned less land than others, in the third case (Atahualpa) centrally located farmers owned more than the parish average but the area of land owned increased from 1.8 ha in the zone adjacent to the centre to 3.5 ha in the middle distance and to 4.0 ha in the furthest zone.

Data on the adoption of agricultural innovation shows that the number of innovations adopted increases in relation to the distance away from the parish centre. This may be related more to the area of land owned than to isolation and a separate examination of factors related to the adoption of agricultural innovations showed a strong and consistent correlation between the area of land owned and innovation adoption. Since innovation adoption is usually considered to be related to information and awareness of practices elsewhere (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971) the increase in innovation adoption further away from the parish centre may be surprising. However, in an area of minifundia where much of agriculture production is for family consumption, experimentation is only engaged in when there is adequate land to provided for the family's needs.

These data provide little evidence of the existence of a dependent relationship between centre and periphery. They could suggest, on the contrary, that there is a greater freedom of agricultural action in the further districts with more land. Only in the case of Atahualpa have townsfolk more land than those nearby and even in this case farmers in both of the more distant zones own more land than the townsfolk. Information on land-ownership and innovations is possibly less likely to demonstrate the subordination of the periphery than information on commercial transactions which were not collected. Research on small towns' influence on innovation in highland Bolivia has already shown that small towns are not necessarily important centres for information relating to agricultural practice (Preston, 1978, Chap. 2) and thus we may conclude that dependency is relatively weak in the field of agricultural innovation.

5. Migration

Data on the migration of rural people from different parts of the case study areas reveal striking differences with regard to both the extent and destination of migrations. Since migration is a consequence of the perception of the inadequacy of one particular environment in comparison with another and involves movement it may be an indicator of the dependence of one area on another. In order to seek links between migration and possible internal differentiation of rural populations reflecting different degrees of dependence we shall look at the difference in the rates of migration from different zones of case study areas and at the different destinations chosen by migrants.

The extent of migration

Data are available to indicate the extent to which our 20 per cent sample of occupied houses showed present residents to have had migration experience after marriage. Our sample informants also identified the present residence of children of informants which therefore gives a measure of those people who have left the community. Other data were collected, reported in a more detailed examination of migration characteristics (Preston, 1978a), based upon enrollment lists of parish centre schools and registers of births but neither provides information which identifies migration from specific zones within each case study area arranged according to their accessibility from the village settlement.

Data from the three case studies in which the sample interviewed was large are shown in Tables 5 and 6 and demonstrate that the proportion of people migrating is greatest in the parish centre and decreases further away. This tendency is not entirely consistent because in Guachapala - a small densely

Table 5. Migration experience.

Case study	Centre	Zone		
		Near	Middle	Far
Atahualpa	33	39	65	63
Guachapala	60	64	55	-
Quilanga	71	85	83	64
WHOLE STUDY	49	60	70	64

Table 6. Migration of children of informants.

Percentage of children over 14 years living at home in 1975-76.

Case study	Centre	Zone		
		Near	Middle	Far
Atahualpa	41	58	75	67
Guachapala	37	55	45	-
Quilanga	47	82	58	75
WHOLE STUDY	47	57	67	73

populated parish - a greater proportion of informants living in the zone adjacent to the parish centre had migration experience than those in the centre. This may possibly be associated with the long established and wide-spread character of migration here in comparison with other areas.

The pattern of migration of children of the sample households, although representing a separate population group, demonstrates very similar internal differences, especially when aggregating all case studies. However the decrease in the proportion of people absent from the community is more apparent in the zones furthest from the parish centre although these differences are less consistent than those identifying return migration (Table 5). The difference between the small proportion of non-migrants living in the parish centre and the much larger proportion in the outlying districts is still very evident.

The direction of migration

Recent migrants from the case study areas have travelled largely to urban centres, both regional capitals and national metropolitan centres but those who migrated more than ten years ago went mainly to other rural areas. In the last decade there has been an increase in return migration from towns but most of those who return still come back from other rural areas, in particular from the western margins of the Andes (known generically as the montaña).

When destinations of returned migrants are examined with respect to the location of the respondent's home within the parish it emerges that migrants from the parish centre have travelled largely to urban areas - both those who have returned and those still away - while those whose home was in the outlying districts have predominantly gone to (or are now living in) other rural areas. These data are summarised below (Table 7).

Table 7. Migration destinations.

Percentage of people who migrated to a rural area.

All case studies	Zone			
	Centre	Near	Middle	Far
Returned migrants	44	69	77	79
Absent children of migrants	23	30	51	39

Dependency and migration

Dependency at the local level that this paper examines is associated with differences between districts within civil parishes which are, in part, a reflection of the extent that social and economic development in peripheral districts is linked with that in the parish centre. The principal link between migration and dependency lies in the interpretation of the situation which is associated with migration. Migration data for several parishes

reflect a generalised view of many individuals and families over a considerable period of time (as long as 50 years perhaps) of the adequacy of the place where they live. The evaluation of the need for migration is strongly influenced by external factors. Inadequacy can only be identified by an individual if he or she knows of an alternative situation that is judged adequate just as poverty can only be identified by comparison with comparative wealth rather than in isolation. The principal sources of knowledge of life elsewhere are previous migrants, news media and visitors as well as from previous individual experience travelling to other areas. The parish centre acts as a clearing house of much information, travellers pass through it, vehicles deliver and collect passengers there and its inhabitants have a wider range of contacts with other places and with visitors than do inhabitants of any other part of the parish. The image of modernisation, the pursuit of which stimulates much migration, is powerfully projected by parish centre dwellers who proclaim, in countless conversations, their own cultural superiority over the less fortunate denizens of the outlying districts. This is enforced by the attitude of officials and visitors - often representing regional and national government agencies - towards inhabitants of far-off districts which they demonstrate by always visiting the parish centre and rarely more than one adjacent district, preferably traversed by the access road to the centre. We have previously indicated the way in which the school system likewise discriminates between parish centre and periphery.

The sharp differences which exist between educational opportunities and aspirations in central and peripheral locations in the parishes, and which are reflected in different degrees of migration to distinct destinations are a consequence of the dependence of the periphery on the centre for the provision of services, especially schooling. The periphery is also dependent on the centre for the feeling of social and economic inferiority which is a powerful encouragement to emigration. The unequal nature of the relationship between village and rural hinterland is believed to be ingrained in society and rather than seek to foster political action to counter this some rural people move to areas where such rural-urban interaction is less observable (colonisation zones) or irrelevant (large cities). At the same time people in the parish centres, feeling their inferiority to canton capitals or regional centres likewise migrate to larger urban centres occupying a superior position in the urban hierarchy.

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