

Klasse von kapitalistischen Großgrundbesitzern entstanden. Alle Entwicklungen in der Landwirtschaft müssen in Zusammenhang mit der sich verändernden Wirtschaftspolitik Nigerias gesehen werden, eines bedeutenden Ölproduzenten, der von den 70er bis in die 90er Jahre sowohl wirtschaftliche Hochs als auch Tiefs erlebte.

Eine allgemeine Schlußfolgerung ist, daß städtische Regionen gute Studienobjekte zur Identifizierung von weitreichenden landwirtschaftlichen Veränderungen sind, dies gilt sowohl für Nigeria als auch für andere Länder.

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Kenneth Swindell, Centre of West African Studies, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT; Großbritannien

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Lawrence A. Brown, Jennifer L. Mandel, and Victoria A. Lawson The Uprooting of People, Migration, and Labor Force Experiences: Ecuador 1982 and 1990¹

Introduction

Since the 1950s, migration has been a widespread phenomenon in Latin America. Explanations cover a broad range. Development models see migration as a response to wage, job opportunity, and amenity differentials which are continuously exacerbated as *modern* sectors grow and *traditional* sectors shrink (Brown 1991, Todaro 1994). Population pressure or Malthusian constructs see out-migration from rural areas as a response to rapidly increasing numbers of people relative to their resource base (Bilsborrow 1987, Rudel 1993). Political economy frameworks see migration in terms of shifting power relations between socio-economic classes (Brown 1991, Roberts 1978). Migration, or circulation also is seen as a central element in economic survival strategies (Roberts 1985, Stark 1991, Swindell 1995). While these various approaches have considerable validity, particularly when taken together as complementary perspectives, this paper moves beyond the general level they represent.

We consider actual events that have played a role in Ecuador, leading to a massive uprooting of people. These events, recapitulated in the paper's first section, include rural land reform; import substitution industrialization policies; and world market forces that led to the rise, then decline, of petroleum enterprise and collapse of activities such as the Panama hat industry. Natural occurrences such as *El Niño* and drought also played a role. The paper's second section considers consequences of this uprooting in terms of individual labor force experiences as they vary between migrants and stayers and, within each group, males and females. While focus is on Ecuador, the country is seen as a microcosm of many Latin American nations, where similar forces and consequences are found.

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Factors Underlying Migration in Ecuador

Ecuador is comprised of three regions: from east to west, the Amazon basin or *Oriente*, the Andean Cordillera or *Sierra*, and the coastal lowlands or *Costa* (Figure 1). The Oriente includes eastern slopes of the Andes and Ecuador's portion of the Amazon basin; comprises more than one-half of Ecuador's territory but only 3 percent of its population; is characterized by a rudimentary infrastructure and inaccessibility. The region was economically unimportant until 1967 when oil was discovered in its northeast portion, which in turn led to road construction, a pipeline to Quito and Esmeraldas, and agricultural colonization. The Sierra is a highland area containing the largest concentration of Indians, a long-standing settlement system (dating from the mid-1500s), and slightly fewer people than the Costa. Agricultural production, most often under traditional systems for domestic markets, includes barley, beans, potatoes, maize, wheat, beef, and dairy cattle. Ecuador's hacienda system, towards which land reform policies were directed, is primarily associated with this region. The Costa slightly exceeds the Sierra in population and is the focus of commercial production for export of banana, cacao, coffee, cotton, oil palm, rice, sugar cane, shrimp pisciculture, and commercial fishing (Blakemore and Smith 1983, Handelman 1980, Hanratty 1991, Instituto Geografico Militar 1982, James and Minkel 1986, Morris 1987, Odell and Preston 1978, Schodt 1987, World Bank 1984).

Ecuador's space-economy changed significantly since the mid-1950s. Total population grew from 3,202,757 in 1950 to 9,648,189 in 1990, an increase of 301.25%. The level of urbanization increased from 28.5% in 1950, to 34.6% in 1962, 41.4% in 1974, 49.0% in 1982, and 55.4% in 1990 (INEC 1990, 1992).

Hence, there was massive population growth, increasing population pressure on the resource base, and shifts from rural to urban locales. Also, the once dominant Sierra gave way to the Costa in population size, and migration to the Oriente increased dramatically (Brown and Sierra 1994, Brown, Sierra, Southgate, and Lobao 1992).

Land Reform is one of the major factors underlying these and other changes in Ecuador's space-economy. Legislation, principally in 1964 and 1973, addressed adverse aspects of Ecuador's landholding system, particularly those associated with the hacienda system. But it simultaneously assisted land owners by voiding their *social obligation* to peasants, favoring production efficiency, and accelerating the evolution of a wage-based, i.e. *commodified*, rural labor system. The outcome was minimal change in land distribution, but considerable modification to the structure of production as larger portions of haciendas were cultivated and capital-intensive techniques introduced (Blankstein and Zuvekas 1973, Brown 1991, Commander and



Figure 1: Informational Map of Ecuador

Peek 1986, Griffin 1976, Handelman 1980, Peek 1982). Peasants were expelled from haciendas, where *huasipungueros* decreased from an estimated 100,000 in the 1950s to about 2,600 in 1974. While many peasants became landowners, they received less desirable sites that averaged only 3.5 hectares in size; *minifundios* overall became even smaller (1.45 hectares in 1974); and small farm productivity stagnated or declined due to increasing population pressure, deteriorating soil quality, and macro-economic-policy conditions that adversely affected domestic agriculture (Lawson 1986, 1988).

Due to these circumstances, peasants became increasingly dependent on employment external to their landholding, but simultaneously, production mode changes related to land reform and mechanization reduced demand for agricultural labor. Economic rationality, which became an important component of landholder decision-making, also contributed in that financial obligation could be reduced by replacing permanent workers with temporary ones, an alternative facilitated by labor commodification (Commander and Peek 1986: 84–87; Peek 1982).

Import Substitution Industrialization Policies (ISI) are a common attempt to reduce imports of manufactured goods and replace them with domestic production (Gibson 1971, World Bank 1979, 1984, Zuvekas 1975). In Ecuador, this included agricultural pricing, credit, and subsidy practices that favored commercial over domestic production, and large over small scale-producers; maintaining urban food prices at minimal levels to facilitate lower urban wages; and monetary exchange rate policies (wherein the Sucre traded at a fixed, rather than floating, rate) which favored capital-intensive production. Hence, agriculture was overtaxed relative to other economic sectors; domestic, small-scale agriculture was particularly impacted, and the net effect of ISI, in Ecuador as elsewhere, was an urban-industrial-modern sector bias in development (Brown 1991, Lipton 1976, Todaro and Stilkind 1981, Tolley, Thomas, and Wong 1982).

Although *petroleum* extraction occurred in the Costa's Santa Elena Peninsula (Figure 1) during the 1930s, it was really the 1967 Oriente discoveries that impacted Ecuador's space-economy (Schodt 1987, Hanratty 1991). This initiated a period of unprecedented economic growth, during which the prominence of commercial agriculture was eclipsed (World Bank 1979). Throughout the 1970s, government revenues grew dramatically; the ISI process was enhanced by, but also became dependent on, massive inflows of foreign exchange from petroleum exports; growth in urban areas of the Sierra-Costa was spurred; and impetus was added to the rural restructuring already underway from land reform and ISI policies. Labor demand directly related to petroleum exploitation also grew considerably in the 1970s; for construction of pipelines, roads, buildings, and the like.

World economic and political conditions were of course a major factor in the petroleum's significance, but their *cyclical* nature is always a concern. Hence, just as specific commercial crops, and commercial agriculture in general, experienced both *boom* and *bust* eras, economic growth from petroleum slackened after 1979 due to worldwide recessionary conditions and declining petroleum demand/prices (World Bank 1984). Ecuador's petroleum export and production levels dropped, foreign exchange constraints grew, and terms of trade became increasingly unfavorable. These conditions, with uncertainties related to border conflicts with Peru and a change in government (Hurtado 1985, Schodt 1987), led the private sector to slow its rate of investment. In 1982–83, already stagnating agriculture was further weakened by collapse of the world market for Panama (Toquilla palm) hats, a major regionally-based economic activity, and calamitous natural events such as drought and floods that destroyed crops and marketing infrastructures. This particularly affected rural areas of the southern Sierra-Costa bordered by (more or less) Guayaquil, Cuenca, Loja, and the Ecuador-Peru boundary (Figure 1).

In the forty years preceding 1990, then, Ecuador experienced immense *socio-economic restructuring* in both rural and urban areas, unprecedented economic growth through the 1970s, and in the 1980s, economic devolution and imposition of *structural adjustment policies*. The result in terms of population movements was a massive uprooting of people, and dramatic shifts in population distribution.

Migration and Individual Labor Force Experiences

In this section, attention turns to impacts of the uprooting of people just described, as it relates to migrants versus stayers, and for each group, males versus females. Critical here is a *workforce categorization* that builds on earlier work by Lawson (1990) and Wright, Costello, Hachen, and Sprague (1982). We classify the labor force into nine occupational and four economic sectors of employment.

Basic data are all individual records from Ecuador's 1982 ($n = 8,060,712$) and 1990 ($n = 9,648,189$) Population Censuses, obtained through the United Nation's Centro Latino Americano de Demografía (CELADE) in Santiago, Chile. Records used represent economically active individuals above age twelve, the 1982 Census threshold for questions concerning economic activity ($n = 1,984,994$ for 1982, $2,994,070$ for 1990). Variables central to our categorization are the respondent's occupation (OCC), economic sector (ECSECT), and type of employment (CATEMPL). Using two-digit codes, the categorization spans 280 occupations, 35 economic sectors, and for type of

1. Classification of each individual in the 1982 and 1990 Census of Population is based on the intersection of three variables:

CATEMPL = Employment Category of Respondent (1 digit, 6 categories)
 OCC = Occupation of Respondent (2 digit, 280 occupations)
 ECSECT = Economic Activity Sector of Respondent (2 digit, 35 sectors)

2. Occupational Categories

Owner

Owens productive resources, employs wage labor
 CATEMPL = Owners; OCC = All

Self-Employed

Owens productive resources, works alone or with family labor
 CATEMPL = Self-Employed; OCC = All

Managers-Public

Managers or Foremen, employment in public sector
 Some decision-making control and control over work of others
 CATEMPL = Public Employment; OCC = Managers, Foremen

Managers-Private

Managers or Foremen, employment in private sector
 Some decision-making control and control over work of others
 CATEMPL = Private Employment; OCC = Managers, Foremen

High Skilled-Public

High Skilled occupation; employment in public sector
 Some autonomy in work
 CATEMPL = Public Employment; OCC = Accountants, Architects, Chemists, Doctors, Economists, Engineers, Firemen, Public Administrators, etc.

High Skilled-Private

High Skilled occupation; employment in private sector
 Some autonomy in work
 CATEMPL = Private Employment; OCC = Accountants, Architects, Artists, Chemists, Doctors, Economists, Engineers, Insurance Agents, etc.

Low Skilled-Public

Low-Skilled occupation; employment in public sector
 Little autonomy in work
 CATEMPL = Public Employment; OCC = Building Guards, Cooks, File Clerks, Miners, Train Conductors, etc.

Low Skilled-Private

Low-Skilled occupation; employment in private sector
 Little autonomy in work
 CATEMPL = Private Employment; OCC = Building Guards, Cooks, Farm Workers, File Clerks, Hair Dressers, Miners, Movers, Vendors, Wait People, etc.

Family

Non-wage/salary family labor; level of skill and autonomy varies
 CATEMPL = Family Employment; OCC = All

3. Economic Activity Categories

Primary: ECSECT = Agriculture, Extraction, Fishing, Forestry
Manufacturing: ECSECT = Construction, Manufacturing, Utilities
Commerce: ECSECT = Commerce, Finance, Hotels-Restaurants, Transportation-Communications
Service: ECSECT = Domestic, Education, Entertainment, Police, Public Administration

4. Workforce Classification; 36 Categories

Each of the 9 Occupational Categories is sub-divided into 4 Economic Sector Categories, yielding 36 Workforce Categories

Source: Draws on Wright, Costello, Hachen, and Sprague (1982); Lawson (1990)

Table 1: Workforce Categorization Scheme for Ecuador

employment, owners, self-employed, public sector employees, private sector employees, and family or paid-in-kind employment.

Table 1 outlines the scheme for categorizing individuals and details of each category. The nine occupational categories are *owner* (OWN), *self-employed* (SELF), *managers in the public sector* (MGRPUB), *managers in the private sector* (MGRPRV), *high-skilled workers in the public sector* (HIPUB), *high-skilled workers in the private sector* (HIPRV), *low-skilled workers in the public sector* (LOPUB), *low-skilled workers in the private sector* (LOPRV), and *family workers* (FAM). Economic sector of employment categories are *primary* (PRIM), *manufacturing* (MFG), *commerce* (COM), and *service* (SERV). Although our full classification intersperses these two sets to provide a thirty-six category classification, here each of the nine occupational and four economic sector of employment categories are treated separately.

Stayers Versus Migrants, 1982 and 1990

Figure 2 portrays the following computations, presented in *bar graph* form. Each group was treated separately; i.e. Stayers 1982, Stayers 1990, Migrants 1982, Migrants 1990. For economic sector of employment (Figure 2.A), the percent of a group employed in each economic activity was calculated; e.g., the number of 1982 stayers working in primary economic activities (in 1982) divided by the total number of 1982 stayers. Similarly, for occupational sector of employment (Figure 2.B), the percent of a group employed in each occupational category was calculated; e.g., the number of 1982 stayers who were self-employed (in 1982) divided by the total number of 1982 stayers.

Considering *economic sector* of employment (Figure 2.A), in both 1982 and 1990 a greater percent of stayers are employed in primary economic activities than are migrants; manufacturing shows no distinct pattern; and a greater percent of migrants are employed in commerce and service, although the contrast is much sharper for commerce. This is consistent with the observation that uprooting was greater in rural areas; stayers there retained involvement in primary economic activity; while migrants take employment in the full range of activities, particularly commerce which is readily accessible through self-employment. Interesting also is the high percentage of migrants in primary activity, an accessible sector through both self- and wage-employment.

Another relevant comparison is between 1982, representing the end of an economic growth era, and 1990 representing an era of economic devolution, structural adjustment policies, public sector shrinkage, and the like (Brown, Mandel, and Lawson 1995). Among stayers, employment in primary

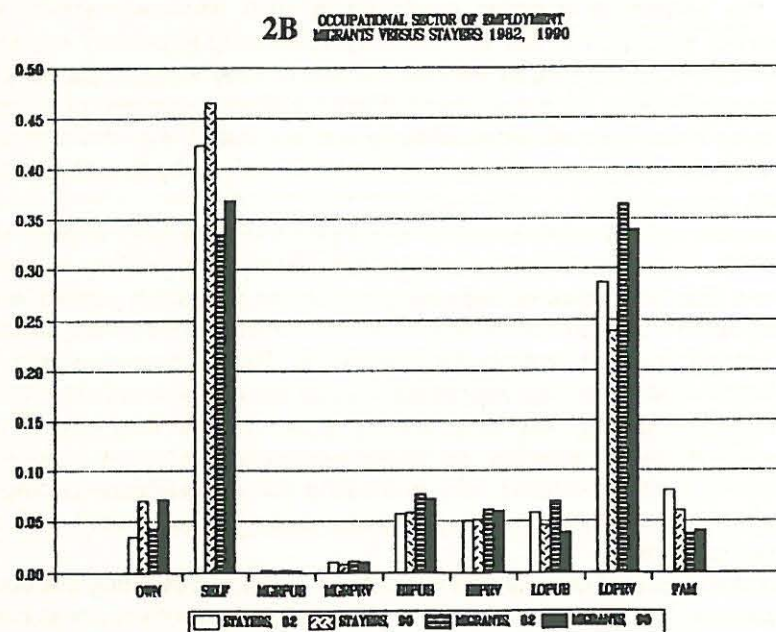
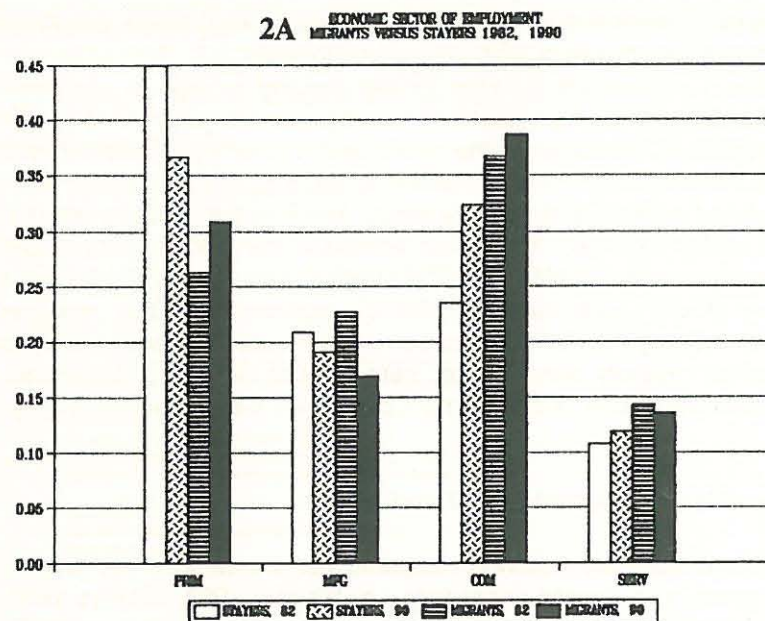


Figure 2

economic activity drops, and commercial activity increases, noticeably from 1982 to 1990. This reflects consolidation of rural-based enterprise, a major factor in the uprooting of people, and commerce's role as an outlet valve for under- or unemployment. Among migrants, growth in commerce also is observable, though at a lesser level than experienced by stayers, but migrant primary activity increases dramatically between 1982 and 1990. These findings support the earlier observation that consolidation of the primary sector led to wage-based employment, obtainable through migration. Also, between 1982 and 1990 migration to remote areas, such as the Amazon, increased considerably (Brown, Sierra, Southgate, and Lobao 1992). The 1982–90 drop in manufacturing employment, for both stayers and migrants, is consistent with economic devolution and structural adjustment.

Now turning to *occupational sector of employment* (Figure 2.B), in both 1982 and 1990 a greater percent of stayers are self-employed than are migrants; likewise for family employment, although that is a small percentage overall. By contrast, low-skilled private sector positions employ a higher percentage of migrants than stayers; likewise for high-skilled positions in the public and private sectors, although both are a small percentage overall. Also relevant is that most important for both stayer and migrant groups are self-employment (approximately 45% stayers; 35% migrants) and low-skilled private sector employment (approximately 25% stayers; 35% migrants); that is, approximately 70% of the workforce is employed in two occupational sectors! More generally, Figure 2.B indicates a higher proportion of migrants constitute wage-labor, than do stayers. This is congruous with the statement that labor commodification is an outcome of uprooting people, and economic imperatives are a driving force in both processes.

Comparing 1982 and 1990, representing economic growth and economic devolution eras, respectively, indicates a noteworthy increase in self-employment for both stayers and migrants, and significant decrease in low-skilled private sector employment. Among sectors of less overall importance, owners increase for stayers and migrants as does high-skilled employment in public and private sectors; low-skilled public sector and family employment decrease. This is expected in a shrinking economy where workers are forced to turn to their own means through self-employment or ownership, demand for low-skilled labor drops as enterprises become more economically efficient, but needed proficiencies shore up the demand for high-skilled labor.

Gender Differences Among Stayers and Migrants, 1982 and 1990

Figure 3 portrays computations similar to Figure 2, again presented in *bar graph* form. In this case, however, stayers are divided into males and females

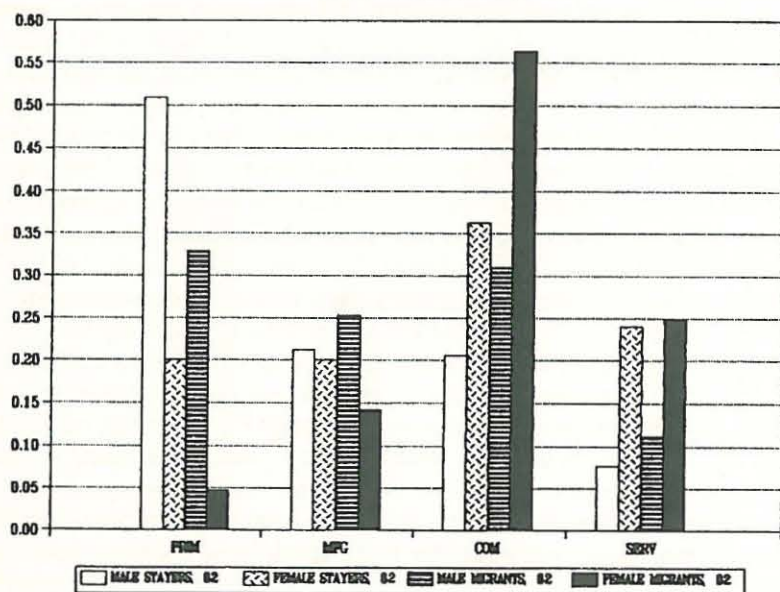
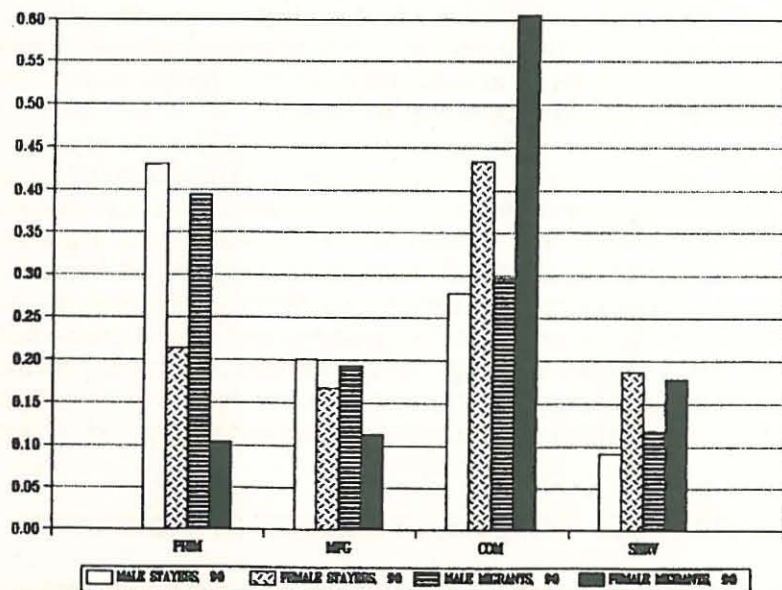
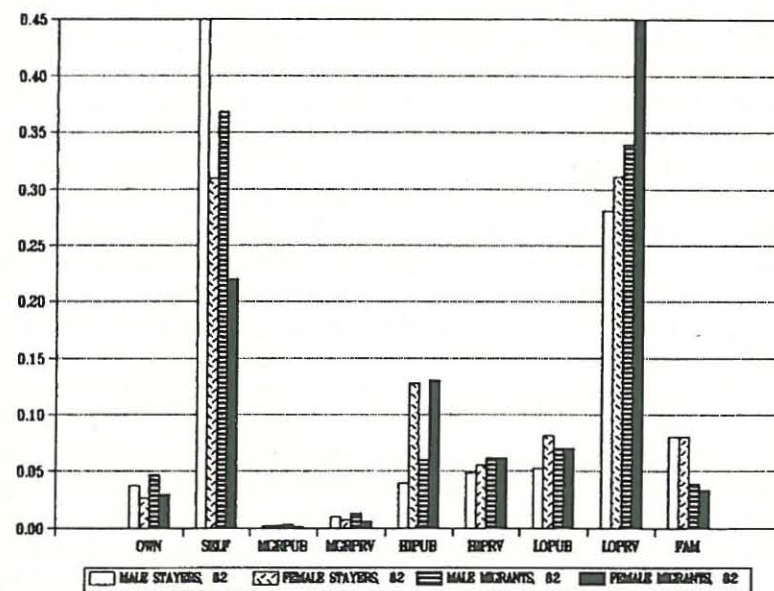
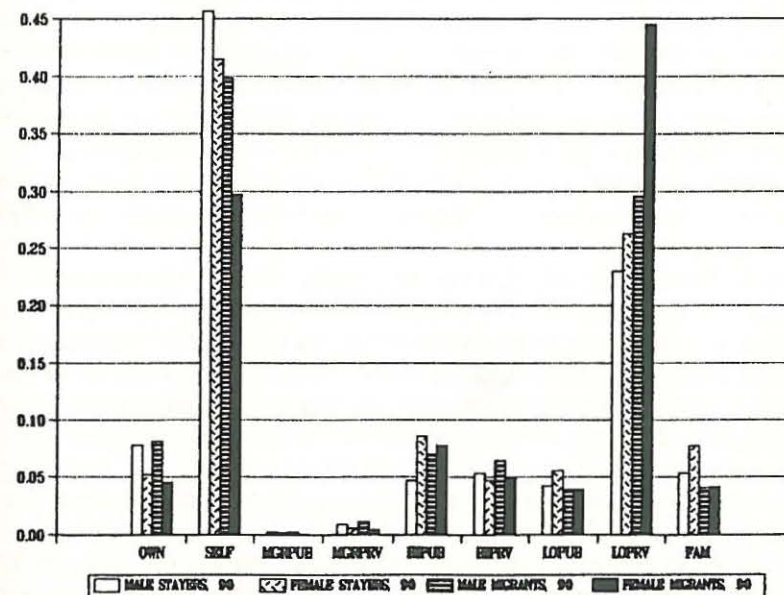
3A GENDER AND ECONOMIC SECTOR
MIGRANTS VERSUS STAYERS 19823B GENDER AND ECONOMIC SECTOR
MIGRANTS VERSUS STAYERS 19903C GENDER AND OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR
MIGRANTS VERSUS STAYERS 19823D GENDER AND OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR
MIGRANTS VERSUS STAYERS 1990

Figure 3

and likewise for migrants. Thus there are eight groups, each treated separately; i.e. Male Stayers 1982, Female Stayers 1982, Male Stayers 1990, Female Stayers 1990, Male Migrants 1982, Female Migrants 1982, Male Migrants 1990 and Female Migrants 1990. Economic sector of employment graphs are presented in Figures 3.A for 1982 and 3.B for 1990; occupational sector of employment in Figure 3.C for 1982 and 3.D for 1990.

Because the 1982 Census asked '*previous residence*' and the 1990 Census asked '*residence five years ago*', comparing the percent of migrants (or stayers) for those two years is not valid. We can, however, compare the percent of females in each year's migrant pool, which is 23.0% in 1982 and 29.4% in 1990. Hence, female migration increased, possibly as a response to changing economic conditions, shifts in opportunity, and consequent changes in social norms.

Considering the *economic sector* of employment in 1982 (Figure 3.A), primary and commercial activities are considerably more important than others. Among these, the primary sector is most prominent for male stayers and migrants; commerce for female stayers and migrants, but especially so for migrants. Among less significant economic sectors, service is more important for female stayers and migrants than others; manufacturing is equal among stayers but more important for male migrants, less so for female migrants. 1990 (Figure 3.B) shows a similar pattern overall, but differential effects among genders. Hence, the 1982 - 90 reduction in primary activity negatively impacted male stayers but positively impacted both male and female migrants; reduction in manufacturing negatively impacted male migrants; the increase in commerce was experienced by all groups except male migrants who remained at the same level as 1982; and the decrease in services negatively impacted females, both stayers and migrants.

In broad terms, then, commerce and service sectors are relatively more important for female stayers and migrants than for others; primary activity for male stayers and migrants; and manufacturing is equally important for all groups. In the cyclical downturn of the 1980s, however, female and male migrants became more prone towards primary activity; female migrants and stayers less prone towards services; and males less prone towards primary (stayers), manufacturing (migrants) and commerce (migrants). In terms of economic sector of employment, then, gender-differentiated impacts from the uprooting of people in Ecuador seem minimal. Gender differences are found under economic devolution-structural adjustment, but surprisingly, shifts among males are greater, either because they changed employment sector or entered the migrant pool.

Considering *occupational sector* of employment in 1982 (Figure 3.C), ownership, self-employment, and family employment are noticeably more important for male stayers and migrants than for others; the high-skilled

public sector for female stayers and migrants; and low-skilled private employment is most important for female migrants by a wide margin. 1990 (Figure 3.D) shows a similar pattern overall except in self-employment, which becomes most important for the female stayer group. Regarding differential effects among genders, the increase in ownership equally impacted males and females; self-employment increases had little effect on male stayers but positively impacted other groups; the decline in public-sector employment had a strong negative impact on female stayers and migrants, especially those in high-skilled occupations; increases in the high-skilled private sector primarily benefitted male stayers and migrants, not females; decline in the low-skilled private sector impacted all groups equally, except female migrants who had a similar percentage employed in both 1982 and 1990; and decline in family employment is especially notable among male stayers who, it might be hypothesized, took up supplementary employment in other sectors.

In broad terms, then, ownership, self-employment, and family employment are relatively more important for male stayers and migrants, but this shifts somewhat in 1990 when the importance of self-employment for female stayers surpasses its importance for male migrants; high-skilled public employment is noticeably important for female stayers and migrants in 1982, but this is seriously eroded by 1990; high-skilled private employment becomes more populated with male stayers and migrants by 1990; and low-skilled private employment is most important to female migrants in both 1982 and 1990.

Unlike economic sector comparisons, then, gender-differentiated impacts from the uprooting of people are evident. Self-employed, low-skilled private, owner, and family sectors are considerably more likely than others to involve informal employment wherein wages are low and workers have few if any benefits, government protection, and the like (Brown, Mandel, and Lawson 1995, Rakowski 1994a, 1994b). These sectors dominate Ecuador, employing slightly more than 75% of the work force in 1982 and 80% in 1990, and female participation is on the rise. In 1982 these sectors employed 82.5% of the male work force, 73.5% of the female work force; but by 1990 the proportions were 81.5% males and 82.0% females. In the cyclical downturn of the 1980s, furthermore, a shrinking public sector had strong negative impacts on female stayers and migrants who were employed in high-skilled occupations, a major source of formal employment. These findings support earlier studies pointing out that development tends to marginalize, rather than integrate, the female workforce (Faulkner and Lawson 1991, Mazumdar and Sharma 1990, Scott 1986).

Discussion

Population shifts resulting from the uprooting of people are reflected in all economic sectors and occupational categories. Shifts resulting from land reform include consolidation of rural-based enterprise; increases in small-scale, self-employed, and family based subsistence agriculture; and increases in low-skilled commodified labor. Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) strategies also increased commodified labor of both the high- and low-skilled variety, but demand was constrained by implementation of capital-intensive production modes. Opening the Amazon and petroleum extraction, on the other hand, increased low-skilled wage labor opportunities. What we see, then, is greater uprooting in rural areas, stayers there retained involvement in primary economic activity, while migrants take employment in the full range of activities, but particularly commerce which is readily accessible through self-employment. The high percentage of migrants in primary activity, which is an accessible sector through both self- and wage-employment, also is noteworthy.

With economic devolution, structural adjustment policies, and shrinkage of the public sector, wage-based employment opportunities decreased in all aspects of the economy. This is reflected by decline in public and private sector paid-employment; increased self-employment; and among economic sectors, decreases in primary, manufacturing, and service but an increase in commercial activities (an outlet valve for under- or unemployment). In short, there was additional impetus for workers to rely on their own means through ownership or self-employment. While this is one form of privatization, a desired outcome of structural adjustment policies, it occurred predominately in small-scale enterprise, often in commercial activities, and largely in the informal mode. Hence, from an individual perspective, impacts are likely to be deleterious; a finding applicable to many settings (Bourguignon, de Melo and Morrisson 1991, Cornia, Jolly, and Stewart 1987, Egwaikhide and Okediran 1991, Mustapha 1992, World Bank 1990). Detrimental impacts stem from a decline in formal-sector commodified-labor opportunities and increase in small-scale informal activities which have less job stability, government protection, and lower wages.

These shifts echo the diminishing returns to migration noted by Todaro (1994). Migrant wage benefits anticipated in development theory are overstated because their assumption concerning surplus-labor utilization has been offset by use of capital-intensive production modes, and formal sector opportunities have been diminished accordingly. Thus, migrants are driven to small-scale self-employment or low-skill low-wage positions in the informal sector. These results are evident in our analyses which show 1982 to 1990 shifts towards commerce and self-employment, and a decline in wage-based sectors.

Gender differences were not found when looking at economic sector; indeed in that context shifts among males were greater, either because they

changed employment sector or entered the migrant pool. In considering occupational sectors, however, gender differences are conspicuous, to the disadvantage of women. This echoes research concerned with gender dimensions of development such as Mazumdar and Sharma (1990), Scott (1986), and for Ecuador, Brown, Mandel and Lawson (1995). There is consensus that women are marginalized through development: both in growth periods and in economic decline when the process is exacerbated. The mechanisms are devaluation of traditional female economic roles and labor force segmentation that relegates women to lower pay, lower skill occupational activities.

In summary, then, uprooting of people in Ecuador contributed significantly to realigning the economy and shifting persons among economic and occupational sectors of employment. This remains evident in the 1982 – 90 period, even though that is at least forty years after uprooting began. Among economic sectors of employment, we see shrinkage in primary activity, suggesting economic rationalization of that sector. Decline also occurred in manufacturing, generally considered a key element for economic development. Growth occurred in commercial activity, much of which is likely to be informal and for domestic markets; services declined. Among occupational sectors of employment, there was growth in the owner and self-employed sectors, parity in low-skilled private employment; decline in the high- and low-skilled public areas. From a structural adjustment/development perspective, shrinkage of the public sector is positive, although it especially impacted female employees, but growth or parity in other sectors is likely to represent an increase in informal employment with lower wages, few benefits, and a lack of government protection. In terms of Ecuador's development trajectory between 1982 and 1990, then, this is not a robust picture.

Abstract

Über traditionelle Migrationstheorien hinausgehend untersucht dieser Artikel wie aktuelle ökonomische und soziopolitische Entwicklungen sowie Naturereignisse die Entwurzelung von Menschen in Ecuador seit den 50er Jahren bedingten. Lange Perioden wirtschaftlichen Wachstums und nachfolgende Rezessionen werden durch Volkszählungsdaten für 1982 und 1990 belegt. Aus diesen können Rückschlüsse auf die individuelle Arbeitssituation von Wandernden und Sesshaften sowie auf geschlechtsspezifische Unterschiede innerhalb jeder Gruppe gezogen werden. Entwurzelung von Menschen wirkt sich noch 40 bis 50 Jahre nach dem Initiationsereignis aus, und die Wirkungen treffen unterschiedliche Bevölkerungsgruppen unterschiedlich stark. Geschlechtsspezifische Unterschiede sind hoch signifikant in Bezug auf die Art der Beschäftigung und die Stellung in der betrieblichen Hierarchie,

weniger in bezug auf die Zugehörigkeit zu Wirtschaftsbereichen. Auch die Vorherrschaft und kontinuierliche Zunahme unregelmäßiger Beschäftigungsformen gehen daraus hervor, ein Trend der Frauen stärker betrifft.

Moving beyond traditional theories of migration, this paper considers how actual economic, socio-political, and natural events impacted uprooting of people in Ecuador since the 1950s. Major eras of economic growth and economic devolution are represented by Census data for 1982 and 1990. Through these, individual labor force experiences of migrants and stayers, and gender differentials within each group, are considered. Uprooting of people persists forty to fifty years after events initiating its occurrence, and differentially impacts each population group. Gender differentials are noticeably significant among occupational sectors of employment, less so for economic sectors. Predominance and continual growth of informal activities also is apparent, a trend which impacts women more strongly.

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Lawrence A. Brown, Department of Geography, Ohio State University,
Jennifer L. Mandel, Ohio State University,
1036 Derby Hall, 154 North Oval Mall, Columbus OH 43210-1361, USA
and Victoria A. Lawson, University of Washington, USA

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Swapna Banerjee-Guha

Involuntary Migration and the Associated Schism: Case of a River Valley Project in India¹

1. Introduction

A series of connotations have got associated with the concept and process of development especially in the present era which is widely termed as the era of development by several international organisations. An objective view of development would presuppose a process of distribution and redistribution from which inequality or equality arises. This view helps one to see much deeper than the manifest spatial pattern into the structural part and reveals how the society actually operates. Secondly, it suggests a space oriented consideration of human life opportunities. As space is a part of the reality within which life is lived, every decision to build or invest or every fall-out of that decision is spacebound having a bearing on the regional or spatial differentiation on human life chances. Hence a space conscious developmental view is important. As a natural corollary, it integrates development with a broader but fundamental question: development for whom and where? Or 'who' gets 'what' 'where' and 'how'? These questions relate development with people not just in a cursory manner but in a comprehensive way by positing people in their regional and local setting and analysing them in the backdrop of resource and environment. Indian population has specific locations in various settlements arranged hierarchically and, therefore, can be said to have hierarchical spatial positions. Further, due to historically obtained processes, development in India has a strong urban bias and a segmentary orientation according to the division of population groups on caste, religion, tribe and last but not the least, gender lines. All these groups having their own class positions in the vertical differentiative structure of various regions share the spoils of planning and development accordingly (Banerjee-Guha 1993). Development process in general and various development projects in particular, undertaken in different parts of the country, for the same reason, have different impact on these groups. In both urban and rural areas, due to a skewed developmental process large numbers of people especially from the deprived section have been displaced and become migrants only to suffer economically, socially and psychologically.

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