CONFIDENTIAL
87/GS/S

Ecuador

July 1973

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

CONFIDENTIAL
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

60

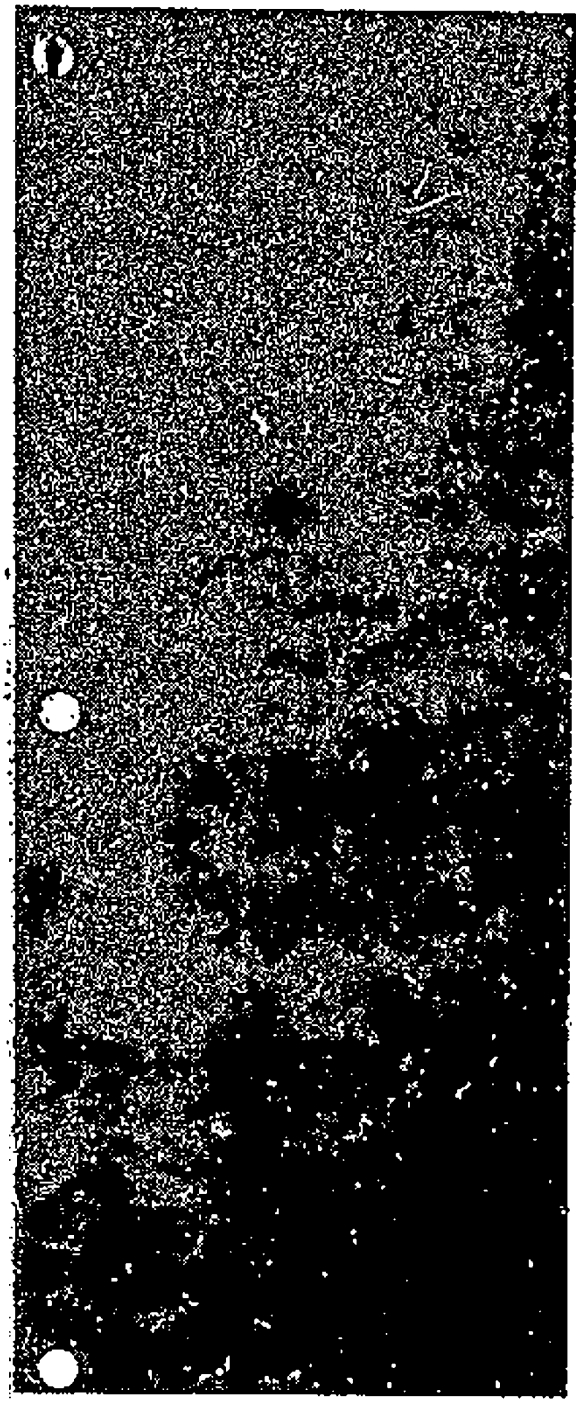
WARNING

The NIS is National Intelligence and may not be released or shown to representatives of any foreign government or international body except by specific authorization of the Director of Central Intelligence in accordance with the provisions of National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 1.

For NIS containing unclassified material, however, the portions so marked may be made available for official purposes to foreign nationals and nongovernment personnel provided no attribution is made to National Intelligence or the National Intelligence Survey.

Subsections and graphics are individually classified according to content. Classification/control designations are:

(U/OU)	Unclassified/For Official Use Only
(C)	Confidential
(S)	Secret



ECUADOR

CONTENTS

This chapter supersedes the sociological coverage in the General Survey dated September 1963.

FIGURES

The Society

A. Introduction (U/OU)

Among the least developed of South American countries, Ecuador is characterized by significant regional and ethnic diversity which has forestalled the emergence of an integrated national society. Three major geographical divisions provide the physical setting for these differences: the Sierra, a high plateau situated between the eastern and western Andean ranges which split the country from north to south; the Costa, a coastal region lying between the western range and the Pacific Ocean; and the Oriente, a sparsely inhabited jungle lowland stretching from the eastern range to the Amazon basin. Adding to the natural diversity imposed by climate and terrain is the juxtaposition of two main cultures, Spanish and Indian, each with distinctive forms of social and economic organization. Although Hispanic cultural traditions, including the Spanish language and the Roman Catholic religion, predominate in national life, the Indian heritage remains strong in the Sierra, and traces of African Negro culture are evident in the Costa. The indigenous inhabitants of the Oriente remain immersed in a way of life that has changed little over the centuries. Common to all areas, however, are the low living levels of the Indian and mestizo masses, which sharply differentiate them from the small white upper class which dominates social and economic life.

The basic patterns of modern Ecuadorean society were forged during three centuries of Hispanic colonial rule. Conquistadores invaded the region in 1533. Not finding the fabled wealth of "El Dorado," they restlessly moved on, but Spanish colonists and missionaries settled in the Sierra highlands and founded the colony of Quito. The country became a colonial backwater, supporting a semifeudal agrarian economy of large hacienda worked by subjugated Indians. In colonizing the hot and humid coastal region, the Spanish settlers imported a small number of Negro slaves from Africa to replace the Indians, who were rapidly dying out from disease and overwork. The resulting social structure, composed of a dominant white minority, a large unassimilated Indian element, and a growing mestizo group, has remained essentially unchanged to modern times.

Meanwhile, after an abortive independence movement in 1809, the territory continued under Spanish control until 1822, when it became part of Gran Colombia, founded by Simon Bolivar. With the dissolution of this union in 1830, the region became a separate state. In the mid-19th century the growth of export trade and commercial enterprises in the Costa produced new, more progressive elements which challenged the political, economic, and cultural dominance of the Sierra elite. Bitter antagonism and open conflict at the national level reflected the different traditions and interests of the Sierra and the Costa communities, the former a center of aristocratic conservatism with an economic base in large landholdings, and the latter a more open and flexible society dominated by business and commercial interests. In addition to regional dichotomy, contention among civilian *caudillos* and military leaders fostered a chronic political instability that has characterized Ecuador to the present day, hindering the enactment of long-range social and economic reforms.

Since World War II new pressures have muted regional hostilities somewhat, as rapid population growth generated increased demands for employment, housing, education, and medical services. Furthermore, as a result of improved transportation and communication facilities, more people are aware of existing inequities. Government efforts to deal with these problems have been largely ineffectual. After a

period of relative tranquility and democratic rule from 1948 to 1960. Economic opportunism and turpitude within the political leadership led to a new period of political chaos. The military junta that governed from 1963 to 1966 made some administrative and fiscal improvements, enacted agrarian reform legislation and a career civil service law, and prepared a comprehensive development plan. Initially, these measures engendered considerable optimism, but serious financial difficulties and failure to develop popular support forced the junta to relinquish power.

After deposing five-time President Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra in February 1972, the Nationalist Revolutionary Government has offended coastal commercial interests, labor unions, students, some elements of the armed forces, and numerous others who object to one or another of its policies. In addition, early popular enthusiasm over potential oil revenues to finance vast social and economic improvements has been dampened. Growing dissatisfaction with the slow pace of economic reform, the rising cost of living, and the increased difficulty of finding employment have further intensified the climate of political unrest and disunity that have traditionally impeded national progress.

B. Structure and characteristics of society (U/OU)

Ethnic and cultural divisions continue to characterize Ecuador despite almost five centuries of contact among the component population groups. Although Hispanic cultural traditions predominate, including the nominal adherence of almost all groups to Roman Catholicism, large numbers of Indians remain outside the mainstream of society, immersed in a way of life that has changed little since the Spanish conquest. Illiterate and apathetic, they have historically been used as a cheap labor force for the dominant white minority, who have thus perpetuated the deep social and economic cleavages originating in the colonial period. Further inhibiting the development of national unity is the difference in outlook between the whites and mestizos of the Sierra and those of the Costa. The former tend to be conservative, preserving in comparatively pure form the traditions and values of Spanish origin, while the latter, open to the changes wrought by foreign trade and industrialization, increasingly challenge political, social, and economic dictums of the past. The variations in ethnic heritage constitute an additional barrier to national integration in that they are responsible for marked differences in behavioral norms.

1. Ethnic groups

Because of extensive miscegenation and consequent blurring of racial lines, no precise delineation of the racial composition of the population is possible. Moreover, physical characteristics play only a partial role in ethnic classification, biological heritage often being overshadowed by sociocultural considerations. The mestizo category, for example, undoubtedly includes many acculturated Indians. Estimates of the racial proportions within the population are subject to wide variation. As of 1973 a common estimate is that 40% of the population is Indian, 40% mestizo, 10% white, 7% mulatto,[1] and 3% Negro. Almost all of the Indians are concentrated in the Sierra; only two minor identifiable tribes, the Cayapas and the Colorados (Figure 1), remain of those who once inhabited the Costa, and fewer than 75,000 tribal natives live in the isolated Oriente. Negroes and mulattoes reside almost exclusively in the Costa and whites mainly in the urban centers of the Sierra and, to a lesser degree, of the Costa. Mestizos are found throughout the country, although they are most prevalent in the Sierra.

Before the Spanish conquest, the peoples of Ecuador included a linguistically diverse highland population of sedentary agriculturalists, a coastal population consisting of closely related groups, and a number of nomadic tribes inhabiting what is now the Oriente. Although nominally ruled by the Incas since the early 15th century, the first two of these groups had in fact retained their social and cultural heterogeneity and, in many cases, their own local chieftains. After the conquest, much of the highland Indian population came under the *encomienda* system, inhabiting and working lands that had been granted to Spanish soldiers or colonists. Many of those who did not live on *encomiendas* were gathered into Spanish-style villages set up to facilitate tax collection and strengthen Spanish control. It is estimated that during the colonial period almost half the Indians lived on *encomiendas*, approximately one-fourth inhabited the villages, and most of the remainder escaped to inaccessible parts of the country. In some areas formal aspects of the indigenous political organization were retained, certain Indian chieftains being given local or regional power over their lands and people. As the population expanded, however, these enclaves tended to disappear, and a condition of serfdom was imposed upon most of the Indians. Eventually the demand for labor in nonagricultural pursuits led to their recruitment for the construction and maintenance of towns and cities and for labor in the textile factories and mines as well as on the land.

[1] The term "mulatto," as used in this chapter, refers primarily to Negro-Caucasian and Negro-Indian blends.

After independence the status of the Indians changed little. Tribute was still exacted from them as late as the mid-19th century, and imprisonment for debt was not abolished until 1918. Most of the Indians continue in a relationship of dependence upon the white and mestizo community, although considerable variation in levels of living, as well as minor cultural differences, distinguishes subgroups within the Indian population. The Indians of Otavalo, for instance, are noted for their success as weavers, and some have achieved a level of living equal to or surpassing that of neighboring mestizos. For many years, most of the Sierra Indians were attached to haciendas under some form of tenancy. A common arrangement required tenant farmers to perform 3 to 6 days of labor weekly for the landowner in return for the use of a small plot and certain privileges, such as gathering firewood or pasturing animals on hacienda land. In addition, the tenant might receive a small cash wage. In 1964 this system of land tenure (known as *huasipungaje*) was abolished, at least in theory, and many tenant farmers obtained title to their plots. However, because the plots are small and almost no credit or technical assistance is available, these Indians are likely to be as impoverished as they were before, and still largely dependent on the hacienda system for their livelihood. A small number of highland Indians continue to live in isolated settlements which have retained their independence since the conquest.

Only a few tribal Indian groups remain in Ecuador, most of them inhabiting remote jungle areas of the Oriente. The principal jungle tribes are the Jivaro, the Auca, the Zapara, and the Yumbo, all of which are simple cultivators, hunters, and fishermen and maintain only sporadic contacts with outsiders. In contrast to the peaceful Sierra Indians, most of the Oriente Indians are aggressive and warlike. Nevertheless, they have become vulnerable to exploitation as a result of the encroachment of settlers and land speculators in the area. Little has been done by the Ecuadorean Government to protect them from the intrusion of harmful outside elements.

Although mestizos in general share both the poverty of the Indians and the disdain of the whites, as a group they in no way identify their interests with those of the Indians. Many of the Sierra mestizos are subsistence farmers, others are town-dwelling craftsmen or tradesmen. The Costa mestizos are generally small farmers who cultivate rice, corn, beans, and pineapples; some work as wage laborers on the large cacao and banana plantations. The latter often migrate as economic opportunities shift, and many gain experience as workers in the urban centers, where

FIGURE 1. Colorado Indian male in customary garb. These Indians stain their bodies red and plaster their hair with a red paste. [U/OU]

they acquire a familiarity with urban ways while retaining rural ties. Whether from the Sierra or the Costa, mestizos almost by definition identify with the Hispanic element in national society.

The proportion of pure Negroes in the population has diminished steadily as a result of racial intermixing; they are not subject to overt segregation and frequently form unions with racially mixed persons. The first Negro slaves were brought to Ecuador from West Africa in the 16th century to work on cacao and sugar plantations on the coast, where most of the Indians had been exterminated. Many escaped their masters or were granted their freedom during the colonial period, and at one time Negroes set up an independent black community in Esmeraldas. Today Negroes and mulattoes live primarily in Esmeraldas, Carchi, and Imbabura Provinces, and many are found in Guayaquil and other coastal urban

FIGURE 2. Representative physical types (U/OU)

Negro women

Mestizo children

Mestizo men and boys

Indian women

White family

areas. African influences in religion, family structure, housing, diet, clothing, and music still survive among them in varying degrees. Most reside in rural areas, subsistence agriculture and fishing providing the basis for their economic life. Some of those living in coastal towns own plots of land on the outskirts, to which they travel by dugout canoe; in addition to a few cash crops, such as pineapples or bananas, they grow plantains and other fruits and vegetables for home consumption.

White Ecuadoreans claim unmixed descent from Spanish colonial forebears, who came from diverse social and economic backgrounds. The first immigrants included a large number of adventurers, many of whom intermarried with the Indians to form the beginnings of the mestizo group. Most of the later immigrants, including the younger sons of Spanish nobility, government administrators, and military men, sought to consolidate their positions through the acquisition of large estates. This element became a landed gentry and eventually acquired complete political, economic, and social power.

Among the small foreign community, the Lebanese, commonly referred to as "Turcos," have had the greatest impact on national life. Concentrated mainly in the port city of Guayaquil, they have achieved a considerable measure of success in commerce, and some have attained high political positions. To a lesser degree, the Chinese, also concentrated in the Costa, have prospered as shopkeepers and middlemen for the agricultural producers of the region. Regarded as hardworking and frugal, the Chinese have attained a comfortable level of living, but few are considered wealthy. U.S., British, and French communities, most of whose members are connected with diplomatic or business interests, are found in Quito and Guayaquil.

Because racial lines are blurred among a large sector of the population, there is considerable variation in physical type. The average Indian male is short and stocky, with a broad chest characteristic of highland-adapted peoples. Most Indians have straight black hair, high cheek bones, a prominent nose, and a dark skin of copper tone; in certain parts of the Sierra, however, the skin color is lighter, possibly reflecting some miscegenation in the distant past. At the opposite end of the spectrum are the whites of unmixed Spanish blood. Although mainly of Mediterranean stock, they encompass many physical types, including light-haired and light-eyed people of Basque ancestry. Between Indians and whites is the whole range of intermediate types represented by the mestizo population, varying according to the degree of Caucasian or Indian blood. In general, mestizos tend to be taller and of lighter complexion than the Indians. The Negroes of the Costa have retained West African physical characteristics, including Negroid facial features, a very dark skin, kinky black hair, and a well-proportioned body structure. Mulattoes are likely to have straighter hair and a lighter skin coloring. Representative physical types are shown in Figure 2.

Although no statistics on race were gathered in the 1950 or 1962 censuses, questions concerning language were asked in the earlier enumeration. In 1950, 18.5% of the total population age 6 and over spoke an Indian language as their primary tongue; almost half of these had a working knowledge of Spanish also. Nearly all the rest of the population were Spanish speakers. The native tongue of most of the Indian language speakers is Quechua. As used in the Ecuadorean highlands it is fairly uniform, with minor dialectal differences stemming from old tribal distinctions. Quechua became a written language soon after the Spanish conquest, and it is still used in written form to some extent. Oriente Indians generally speak languages unrelated to Quechua, most of which now also have written alphabets. In 1950 the highest proportion of Indian-language speakers was found in the Oriente provinces, where over half of the population spoke an Indian tongue, Jivaro being the most widespread language in the area. In the Costa, only the Cayapa and Colorado languages survive, and they are disappearing.

The official national language is Spanish. As spoken in the urban areas of the Sierra, it is close to the Castilian Spanish of Spain. Three distinct dialectal versions characterize the Sierra, the Costa, and the Oriente, a feature of the language shared with corresponding regions in neighboring countries. In addition, the language has experienced an infusion of Quechua words, and more recently of foreign words and phrases. In an effort to maintain the purity of Ecuadorean Spanish, the government in 1970 banned the use of non-Spanish words in company names and products. Many Ecuadorean Spanish speakers have some familiarity with Quechua also. Among the European languages taught in the schools, English now surpasses French and German in popularity.

2. Social structure

a. Class

The delineation of social classes rests on family background, wealth, and education. During the colonial period only two classes were distinguished: an upper class, the *gente decente*, composed of Spaniards

and Creoles (persons of European descent born in the New World), and a lower class, or *gente de pueblo*, which included Indians, mestizos, Negroes, and mulattoes. During the 19th century impoverished members of the upper class, together with mestizos who had acquired some degree of wealth and education, came to form an intermediate group which gradually grew in size and importance. The growth of professions, as well as the large-scale replacement of traditional farming by commercial agriculture in the Costa and the corresponding development of processing, shipping, and administrative centers further strengthened the middle sector. Meanwhile, the upper class, which had originally consisted almost exclusively of large Sierra landholders, expanded to include Costa families which had acquired wealth based on commercial and industrial enterprises.

Class distinctions are less rigid in the Costa than in the Sierra, where a long-standing tradition of social conservatism inhibits the acceptance of new elements by the upper and middle classes. In addition, the bulk of the Sierra lower class is tied to the land economically and traditionally. The opportunity for upward mobility is limited in all areas and is virtually impossible for the Indian unless he abandons his culture and adopts the traits of the Hispanic majority. Even when an Indian has obtained some measure of economic success, he continues to be relegated to an inferior social status. Military service, compulsory but selective for all males at age 20, has enabled some to achieve skills necessary for advancement, but the limited educational opportunity and lack of significant industrialization continue to restrict mobility both for Indian and other members of the lower class.

The small upper class, probably comprising no more than 2% of the population, includes both Sierra and Costa elements, which may differ in origin and in the source of their wealth but are united in the defense of their social position and economic interests. The wealth of the Sierra group, whose families trace their lineage to the conquest, stems mainly from the ownership of traditional haciendas, many of them derived from the extensive land grants conferred by the Spanish Crown during the colonial period. In addition to the large landowners, the Sierra elite includes members of the church hierarchy, some wealthy professionals, and a few high government officials. The newer Costa elite, based mainly in the city of Guayaquil, owes its wealth and position to the growth of commerce and export agriculture following independence. Considering itself the economic backbone of the country, the Costa elite tends to be more progressive and more receptive to the concept of assimilation.

As a whole, the Ecuadorean upper class does not exercise the degree of economic and political power characteristic of its counterparts in other Andean countries. Landholdings are smaller than those of the upper class of neighboring nations, and family fortunes are rarely as great. Although the elite dominates productive resources, business operations are largely in the hands of the middle class. Similarly, political power is exercised only indirectly by the upper class, although some of its members occasionally play a significant role in government or in the diplomatic service. The Guayaquil element is the repository of most upper class economic and political power. Much of the land owned by the traditional aristocracy in the Sierra is of poor quality and not highly productive, and the national leadership potential of this group has been declining steadily. Although they continue to dominate community affairs in the urban centers of the Sierra, many of the younger generation are much less involved than their forebears have been.

Most members of the upper class are concentrated in Quito and Guayaquil, but some reside in provincial capitals or on their haciendas. Upper class families live in large, well-furnished houses equipped with the latest modern conveniences. They employ servants, drive late-model automobiles, belong to exclusive social clubs, and whenever possible send their children abroad for higher education.

Attempting to emulate the upper class in its life style is a broad spectrum of middle class elements encompassing a wide range of occupations. Members of the middle sector, estimated to comprise 18% of the population, consider themselves to be at the margin of the elite. Some, especially those who have experienced downward mobility as members of once wealthy provincial families, appear to be white, but many have mestizo physical characteristics. The highest echelon of this class includes high-level bureaucrats, professionals, and politicians excluded from the upper class by lack of family background or wealth. Army officers generally come from the middle and upper middle classes. White-collar workers, prosperous small businessmen, teachers, and owners of medium-sized farms are also considered part of the middle class.

The most important criterion for middle class status is an occupation of a nonmanual nature. In addition, members of this group are expected to have substantial education, and to dress, talk, and behave in a "cultured" manner. The maintenance of appearances is of the utmost importance, and many families sacrifice the less visible amenities in order to live in a decent neighborhood, dress stylishly, and send their

children to private schools. On the whole, the middle class is conservative, preferring to accept tardiness in government and the loss of some freedoms to the uncertainty of political upheaval.

The mass of the population—about 80%—belongs to the lower class. Approximately half of this sector is unacculturated Indians, effectively isolated from the mainstream of national society and constituting a class within a class. The remaining portion is composed of mestizos, Negroes, mulattoes, and recently acculturated Indians, engaged in occupations ranging from skilled urban labor to subsistence farming. The skilled workers, who comprise the smallest component, are often denied entry to the lower level of the middle class solely by virtue of the manual nature of their work. It is largely this element which, through acquisition of wealth or education leading to a change in occupation, may eventually gain access to the middle class.

Other members of the urban lower class include unskilled laborers, domestic servants, chauffeurs and other service personnel, street vendors, and craftsmen. The vast urban slums which surround the city of Guayaquil are populated by the more impoverished members of this social stratum. A volatile group, the urban lower class is particularly susceptible to political agitation. The rural lower class, in contrast, is conservative and unlikely to press for social and economic reform. Consisting of subsistence farmers and rural wage laborers, this sector of the population has little hope of improving its condition.

Few forces presently exist which might integrate the disparate elements of the lower class—Indians, mestizos, Negroes, and mulattoes, both urban and rural. The mestizo remains inextricably opposed to any joint action with the Indian, from whom he attempts to maintain a wide social distance, and most of the rural population is unwilling to risk any action which might jeopardize its precarious source of livelihood. In cities and towns the organizations for group action are for the most part incipient, although some sense of cohesion appears to be emerging among urban lower class workers, who feel set apart from the rest of the lower class.

b. Family

The nuclear family, consisting of a man and wife and their unmarried children, is the typical household unit in Ecuador, but it is not unusual for households to include parents or unmarried brothers and sisters of the husband or wife. Among jungle Indians of the Oriente, the basic social unit is the extended family, made up of three or four generations residing in close proximity. Most Ecuadorians regard kinship ties as the prime source of emotional and material well-being, a concept with roots in both the Hispanic and Indian traditions. Among the upper and middle classes, status is derived in part from family background, and wealth and influence often depend on family affiliation. Although kinship bonds are strongest at the upper levels of society, cooperation among relatives is common in all classes. Exchange labor among Indians and mestizo peasants usually takes place along kinship lines. *Compadrazgo*, a ritual relationship deriving from the bonds formed between the parents and godparents of a child, extends the concept of kinship beyond the natural family. While declining in importance, the obligation of mutual assistance implied by the *compadrazgo* system remains an important aspect of social relations in most communities.

Only civil marriages are legally binding, but in the upper and middle classes marriage is usually solemnized before both civil and religious authorities. Formal marriage is the rule among all classes in the Sierra, but consensual unions are much more frequent in the Costa. According to the 1962 census such unions accounted for approximately one-fifth of all marriages in the country, as shown in the following percentages:

Civil status	Male	Female	Total
Single	45.5	39.2	42.4
Married			
Legally	40.2	40.7	40.5
Consensually	11.1	12.3	11.8
Widowed	2.6	7.1	4.9
Divorced	0.2	0.5	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Ecuador's high rate of illegitimacy suggests that consensual marriage is more prevalent than was indicated in the enumeration; many persons who declared themselves to be single were presumably living in consensual unions. In some provinces of the Costa consensual marriages are estimated to outnumber legal marriages by more than two to one, a situation which is at least partly responsible for the low incidence of divorce. Several factors contribute to the regional difference in marriage patterns. The stronger religious tradition prevailing in the Sierra inhibits the formation of consensual unions. Moreover, although the customary wedding festivities impose a major financial burden on the bride's family in both the Sierra and the Costa, the force of tradition usually overcomes this problem in the Sierra. In the Costa, however, expense is often a major deterrent to formal marriage. The dispersion of the rural population in the

coastal area is another factor, making it difficult for couples to reach an urban center to have a ceremony. No stigma attaches to consensual marriage or to the illegitimacy of children, and illegitimate offspring suffer no discrimination under the law.

While many consensual unions are stable, a substantial proportion of households in the Costa consist of a mother and her children, the father having abandoned the family. In such cases it is up to the mother to find the means to support her brood, and as the children become old enough, they are expected to do what they can to augment the family finances. In many female-headed households the children are the offspring of successive sporadic unions. Family stability tends to be weaker in the urban areas than in the countryside, where traditional attitudes concerning the role of the family persist to a greater degree.

At all levels of society men enjoy greater freedom than women, and within the family they make all important decisions. Male dominance is supported by legal provisions giving the husband final authority in family economic matters and in questions relating to child-rearing, although the wife is expected to keep the household running smoothly. In the Hispanic-oriented sector of the population, a double standard exists in regard to social activities and sexual mores, the male being allowed complete freedom in his leisure time, including the freedom to pursue extramarital liaisons as long as he does not neglect his family and maintains reasonable discretion. The social life of women, in contrast, is limited largely to contacts with relatives and a small circle of friends. Upper and middle class women who employ domestic servants often devote considerable time to religious and charitable organizations. Among the lower income groups women have little time to socialize outside the home. Those in rural areas help with farm chores along with their housework, and some contribute to family income by working at various crafts. In addition, marketing any surplus farm produce is generally a female occupation. Lower class urban women work outside the home when possible, and to this extent have greater freedom of action than those of the upper and middle classes.

Indians place less emphasis on the distinctive roles of husband and wife, although the tradition of male authority is equally strong. Indian women of the Sierra are accustomed to more independence than their white-mestizo counterparts enjoy. From an early age girls travel to nearby towns for marketing, and when they are older they may spend the harvest season in the Costa or seek permanent employment in the cities as domestics. The Indian wife is generally consulted in important family matters, and her opinion weighs heavily in the final decision. The double standard in sexual morality is unacceptable to most Indian communities, adultery being viewed as no less reprehensible for men than for women.

The upbringing of children varies according to class. Children of lower class families, whether urban or rural, are expected to undertake their share of domestic chores at an early age. In cities and towns young boys often take odd jobs or work in street trades, while girls may be left to care for infants or toddlers as the mother works. Little idleness is permitted once the child has reached age 6 or 7 and can assume a contributing role. Upper and middle class children, on the other hand, have few responsibilities other than to attend school. Education and manners are emphasized, as the child is prepared to assume his position in society. Adolescent boys of well-to-do families are allowed considerable freedom and, like their fathers, spend much of their leisure time outside the home. In contrast, adolescent girls are under close supervision, care being taken that they mix socially only with their peers. Dating is now acceptable in the more sophisticated urban circles, but friends and acquaintances of young girls are subjected to the sharp scrutiny of the family. In recent years an increasing number of upper and middle class girls have broken with tradition by seeking a university education, and some enter professional employment for a brief period prior to marriage.

3. Values and Attitudes

The value system of national Ecuadorean society derives almost exclusively from the Hispanic cultural heritage, with little or no influence exerted by the customs and beliefs of the large Indian minority. To the extent that Indians participate in this society, they must adjust to its norms, within the confines of their local communities, however, they adhere to the norms rooted in their own heritage. The basic values of the white-mestizo element have survived largely unchanged through several centuries, despite some differences in life style, depending on class, urban or rural residence, and region. While approximating values held by other Hispanic-oriented societies in the Americas, they have been less subject to the modernizing influences of urbanization and industrialization; this is particularly true of the Sierra, where traditional patterns of behavior are reinforced by the persistence of the hacienda system and the isolation of many communities from outside influences.

Fundamental to the ethic of the dominant white-mestizo sector of the population is the conviction that every person is unique and is endowed with an inner dignity that is both inalienable and worthy of universal respect. This concept embodies a strong sense of personal honor manifested in an exaggerated sensitivity to insult or slight. On another level, the preoccupation with individuality gives rise to an emphasis on interpersonal relations which tends to inhibit the development of institutional loyalties or of mutual cooperation for the common good. Trust and obligation are generally seen as residing in specific persons, particularly kinsmen, rather than in impersonal social entities. The family is regarded as an extension of the individual, is viewed as a bastion of support for him, and is expected to provide him with material and moral assistance whenever possible.

Far from promoting a belief in equality, the emphasis on individuality enables upper and middle class Ecuadoreans to rationalize social inequalities as inevitably resulting from the differing potential with which each individual is endowed. Clearly defined standards of behavior exist for each ranking in the social hierarchy. Those of high status, while accorded the power and privilege appropriate to their position, are expected to evince a friendly interest in lower class persons with whom they come in contact, particularly those who serve them. For their part, people of the lower class are expected to be unwaveringly loyal to their employers and to show deference to the wealthy and powerful.

A distinctive feature of the social tradition is a tendency to exalt the masculine role in most phases of life and to see that role as embodied in the highly stereotyped ideal of masculinity commonly known as *machismo*. The concept of *machismo* encompasses much more than simple virility; it includes such qualities as daring, both physical and intellectual, forcefulness, and a zest for competition. Taken together, these virtues provide an important yardstick against which men are measured.

The main goal of the average Ecuadorean is the attainment—or the conservation, if already attained—of wealth and status. It has been noted that most mestizos experience a "chronic demoralization," stemming from what they see as their inability to approach this objective or, in fact, to improve their lot to any significant degree. The feelings of insecurity and other anxieties thus engendered cause many to believe that they must live by their wits and, if necessary, at the expense of others. They have little concern for the welfare of the community. Preoccupied with basic personal needs, this sector of the population exhibits a lack of interest in planning for the future and a concomitant apathy toward government programs for economic development which might produce long-range benefits for them.

Perhaps the sharpest contrast between Hispanic and Indian values lies in the relative absence, in the latter, of stress on the individual and on self-expression. The premium placed on aggressiveness by the white-mestizo population is opposed to the Indian view, which emphasizes circumspection and conformity. Marginally involved in the economy, Indians are preoccupied with the struggle for a livelihood to an even greater extent than other lower class elements, the total family income usually being insufficient to maintain its members beyond the bare subsistence level. Impoverished and living apart from the mainstream of national society, they nevertheless have managed to retain certain positive values: a deep attachment to family and to the land and a sense of identity as Indians. It has been said that the highland Indian knows who he is, and knows, moreover, that his identity is in some way bound up with that of his community, and that he is willing to make sacrifices, if necessary, for its welfare. This is particularly true of those who live in the few "free" Indian communities, which are legally incorporated and entitled to administer their own affairs.

Indians generally regard whites and mestizos as hostile and exploitative and attempt to avoid contact with the national power structure and its representatives, preferring to work out their problems with their own leaders at the local community level. Indians tend to behave differently in the presence of whites and mestizos from the way they behave among themselves, sometimes appearing to be docile to the point of servility and quiet to the point of dullness. With their own people, however, they are convivial, talking and joking freely and showing none of the reticence that marks their behavior toward outsiders.

The values and traditional beliefs of those Indians who become acculturated to the national society are obviously transformed in the process of Hispanicization. Additionally, some changes in outlook are gradually being effected among certain sectors of the rural population, both Indian and mestizo, as outside influences are brought to bear. The agents of change include government technicians, reform-minded religious missionaries, U.S. Peace Corps volunteers, and others who are introducing new techniques and new ideas in rural areas. Other factors conducive to changing mores are the increase in educational opportunity and the growing use of the cheap transistor radio, which is expanding the horizons of many an isolated villager.

With a population deeply divided along ethnic lines and a long history of political instability and turmoil, Ecuador is far from being a unified nation. The Indian population, generally speaking, has little consciousness of nationhood, and even the white-mestizo majority is not considered to be particularly nationalistic, despite some feeling, at least on the official level, against what is regarded as foreign cultural penetration in the form of music, dress styles, and language accretions, and a tendency to be easily aroused by the exploitation of sensitive national issues. Ecuadorean patriotism is a holiday-type sentiment that is likely to fade quickly. Much is made of a patriotic anniversary, or of a day dedicated to the honor of a national hero, and on these occasions considerable attention is given to songs, dogma, and symbols glorifying the fatherland. A strong rivalry between the capital city, Quito, in the Sierra, and the largest city, Guayaquil, in the Costa, reinforces the regional dichotomy between the highlands and the coastal area and militates against the development of meaningful unifying relationships that could benefit the country as a whole. The level of civic consciousness is low, and the general public has only a limited interest in government.

Most Ecuadoreans are uninformed about and indifferent to foreigners and foreign societies, and attitudes held by the educated minority toward particular countries and their peoples are often determined by the policies of their governments as they affect Ecuador. Official relations with other South American countries are good, with the exception of Peru. Difficulties with Peru grow out of the longstanding conflicting claims of both countries to a large, sparsely populated area of Amazonian headwater territory. The dispute flared into open warfare in 1941 and led to the occupation of Ecuador's southern provinces by Peruvian troops before the Rio de Janeiro Protocol of 1942 brought an end to the fighting. Ecuador has constantly sought revision of the protocol on the ground that acceptance of it was forced, while Peru has insisted that it is a valid instrument. A second international problem stems from Ecuador's claim of territorial sovereignty extending 200 miles into the Pacific from its shores. During recent years this has caused considerable difficulty with certain other countries, mainly the United States, as U.S. fishing boats operating within the 200-mile limit without a license are subject to seizure. Ecuador has also been on record as a critic of the U.S.-sponsored Alliance for Progress, which some Ecuadorean administrations considered to be interventionist. In general, educated Ecuadoreans profess admiration for the "democratic spirit" and efficiency of Anglo-Saxons, among whom they include all English speakers; at the same time they consider Anglo-Saxons to be materialistic and unconcerned with what they regard as higher spiritual values. Additionally, Anglo-Saxons are criticized for alleged exploitative policies toward Latin America. Germans, too, are viewed as highly efficient, and also as superior to other peoples in scientific fields. Germans of Jewish background are usually distinguished from others, however. A significant degree of anti-Semitism, largely a heritage of strong Nazi propaganda during World War II, still characterizes some elements of the Ecuadorean population. In the late 1960's it was estimated that 2,000 Jews resided in the country.

Historically, Ecuadoreans have been pacifists, at times even to the point of neglecting national defense. Warfare is viewed as a last resort, peaceful rather than military means being preferred for the solution of international problems. Yet the people of Ecuador have demonstrated their willingness to fight tenaciously to defend their country, as shown in 1941 when Peru invaded Ecuador during the border crisis. Military service is compulsory, and the draft is equitably applied, evaders being fined according to the financial status of their families. A liberal exemption for students, however, allows most middle and upper class youth to bypass military service. Because most of its officers come from the Sierra, the military enjoys considerable prestige in that region. In the Costa, however, it is regarded as a bastion of conservatism and guardian of the privileges of the Quito elite. All sectors of society nevertheless associate military symbols with national honor.

C. Population (U/OU)

Because of a far greater reduction in the death rate than in the birth rate, Ecuador has experienced rapid population growth, especially since midcentury. At the beginning of 1973 its population was placed at 6.6 million[1]—a figure more than double the 3.2 million recorded by the 1950 census—and it was estimated to be increasing by 3.3% per year, a rate of growth second only to Venezuela's among the 11 South American republics. The burgeoning population, as yet unchecked by any effective family planning program, hinders official efforts to expand the economy and ease the widespread poverty, and the government is hard pressed just to meet the mounting demands for new jobs, additional housing, and

[1] All figures pertaining to population exclude the nomadic Indians.

improved health, education, and welfare services. Moreover, because ever larger numbers of women annually enter the childbearing age, the population can be expected to grow rapidly during the remainder of the 1970's and during the 1980's, whether or not the birth rate falls. In the Sierra, where almost half of the inhabitants live, including most of the Indians, population pressures have already reached a point where thousands of families are forced off the land each year. Although some of these persons seek employment in agricultural areas of the Costa or the Oriente, many migrate to urban centers, adding to the proliferating slum population that is increasingly a significant focal point of social unrest and discontent.

Population growth in Ecuador is wholly the result of natural increase. Immigration and emigration are not significant factors in population change, although in most years there is a small excess of emigrants over immigrants, thus reducing slightly the rate of population growth. Official vital statistics are inexact, because not all births and deaths are registered, but it is clear that the rate of natural increase has shown a general upward trend throughout most of the past 50 years (Figure 3). According to estimates, the birth rate declined 10% from early in the 1920's to the beginning of the 1970's. During the same time span, however, the death rate fell by about 62%, and the result has been accelerated growth. For at least the next decade and a half, the level of fertility is expected to remain fairly high, declining very gradually, as the pace of urbanization increases, and perhaps a bit more swiftly if family planning receives added emphasis and support. No marked reduction in the birth rate is anticipated, however. The death rate, still high considering the age structure of the population, probably will continue to decline, as health and sanitation programs are expanded, thus tending to offset any drop in the birth rate. In particular, the infant mortality rate is expected to respond to future improvements in health care. Although the figure of 70 deaths of infants under age 1 per 1,000 live births reported for 1971 was a marked improvement over rates of the early post-World War II years, the rate is still very high, reflecting partly the lack of access to health care in many areas and the fact that no more than one-fourth of all births are attended by a physician.

Should the present rate of growth persist, the population will reach 10 million in 1985. Many influential Ecuadorians welcome growth of such scope, believing that their country is underpopulated and in need of additional manpower if economic resources, particularly in the sparsely inhabited Oriente, are to be fully developed. Other leaders, however, are strong advocates of population control measures. To date, official attempts to cope with population problems have focused largely on colonization as a means of relieving overcrowding in certain parts of the country. No governmental family planning program has been adopted, although the Ministry of Public Health supports family planning in an integrated health program in most of its health centers. In addition, the armed forces have established family planning clinics in military hospitals, and the private Ecuadorean Family Welfare Association, founded in 1965, operates four clinics and collaborates with 15 others. Despite these initiatives, few women are aware of the availability of guidance on the subject, and fewer still seek it. Traditional viewpoints work against wide acceptance of family planning. Prestige has always been accorded large families, and most women remain reluctant to discuss such matters with health personnel. Its strongly conservative bent notwithstanding, the Roman Catholic Church in Ecuador has not been outspoken in matters relating to family planning, remaining fairly neutral in the controversy over population control.

The program of colonization, initiated in the 1960's by the Ecuadorean Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonization to alleviate population pressures in the Sierra, has had limited effect. Colonization of virgin land has occurred under both planned projects and

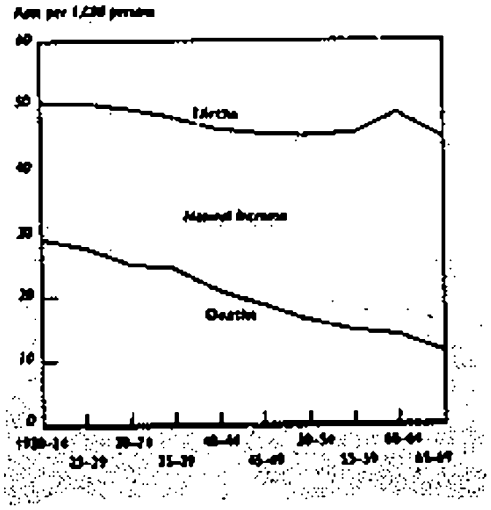


FIGURE 3. Ecuador (U/OU)

spontaneous settlement, which has taken place in both the Costa and the Oriente but the total number of persons involved has not been sufficiently large to achieve anything approaching the original goal. The lack of success in the colonization program stems partly from a shortage of funds and inconsistent political support and from the strong attachment many residents of the Sierra, particularly Indians, have for their home communities. The most successful of the planned schemes has centered on virgin lands in the area around Santo Domingo. This project, financed by an Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) loan, involves the legalization of property titles and the provision of agricultural and housing credits.

1. Size and distribution

Ecuador had an estimated 6,617,000 inhabitants at the beginning of 1973, ranking seventh in population among the 13 South American republics and accounting for about 3% of the total population of the continent. Neighboring Colombia and Peru both have a larger number of residents, Ecuador's population being about two-sevenths that of Colombia to the north and three-sevenths that of Peru to the east and south. Ecuador, however, is the most densely populated nation in South America. Despite large unpopulated areas in the Oriente, density had reached 62.6 persons per square mile at the beginning of 1973, slightly higher than in the United States (Figure 1).

Because approximately 96% of the population lives in the western half of the country, density varies markedly. It was estimated at 130 persons per square mile in the Sierra in November 1972 and at 124 persons per square mile in the Costa (Figure 3). In contrast, the Oriente had a density of only 2.5 persons per square mile, and the Galapagos Islands, 1.3. Overall, the heaviest concentrations of population are found in the intermontane basins of the Sierra and in the areas surrounding Guayaquil.

Reflecting settlement patterns established by the original Indian inhabitants and the early Spanish settlers, Ecuador's population traditionally was centered in the Sierra. As late as 1950, some 58% of the nation's residents lived in this region, compared with 40% in the Costa. By the early 1970's, however, the population of the Costa exceeded that of the Sierra, primarily as the result of migration from the latter to the former. Although there has always been some movement of persons from one region to another, such movement was restricted prior to 1950 by the rugged topography, inadequate transportation facilities, unhealthful conditions in the Costa, and the persistence of traditional social patterns that bound Sierra dwellers to their communities. As transportation and health conditions have improved, and as job opportunities have expanded faster in the Costa than in the Sierra, migration has increased. At the time of the 1962 census, 11.4% of the population lived in a province other than that of their birth. With the

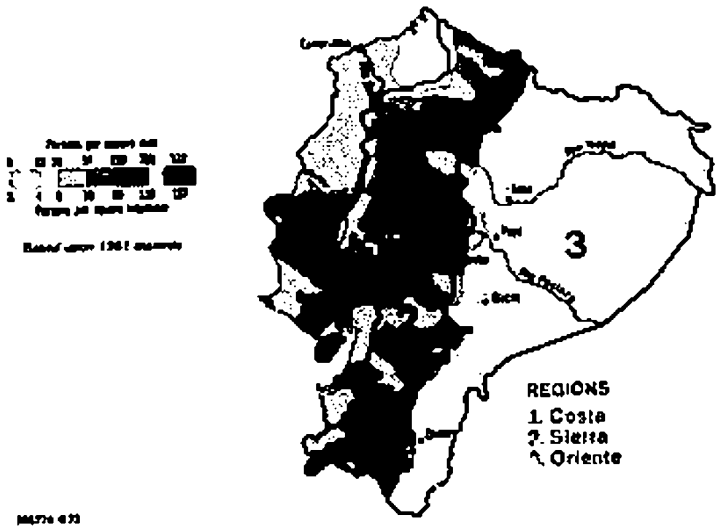


FIGURE 4. Population density and regional divisions (U/OU)

FIGURE 5. Estimated population, area, and population density, by region and province, November 1972 (U/OU)

REGION AND PROVINCE	POPULATION	PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION	AREA	PERCENT OF TOTAL AREA	PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE
Sierra	3,250,081	48.8	21,833	22.5	129.7
Azuay	522,373	7.5	3,011	3.8	107.3
Bolívar	168,612	2.9	1,247	1.2	131.0
Cañar	140,412	2.1	1,031	1.0	133.8
Carchi	123,923	1.9	1,363	1.3	91.0
Chimborazo	365,001	5.0	2,370	2.2	154.0
Cotopaxi	246,032	3.7	1,761	1.7	138.1
Imbabura	227,101	3.4	1,651	1.6	119.8
Loja	600,457	6.1	1,420	1.3	90.2
Pichincha	910,553	13.6	6,474	6.1	140.6
Tungurahua	307,330	4.0	1,227	1.2	216.1
Costa	3,242,212	49.1	20,278	21.0	123.7
El Oro	262,841	4.0	2,304	2.2	114.9
Esmeraldas	192,249	2.9	6,121	5.8	31.4
Guayas	1,525,618	23.1	8,208	7.8	185.8
Los Ríos	396,031	5.4	2,292	2.2	168.1
Manabí	876,518	13.3	7,306	6.9	120.0
Oriente	130,899	2.0	51,283	48.5	2.5
Morona-Santiago	41,358	0.3	18,345	17.4	2.3
Zamora-Chinchipe	30,078	0.5			
Napo	12,385	0.2	33,237	31.4	3.0
Pastaza	21,978	0.4			
Galápagos Islands	4,008	0.1	3,029	2.9	1.3
Total	6,596,301	100.0	105,655	100.0	62.4

exception of Pichincha, all of the Sierra provinces had lost population through migration. In contrast, three of the five Costa provinces, as well as the Oriente and the Galapagos Islands, recorded more in-migrants than out-migrants. Major provinces of in-migration include Guayas and El Oro—in the Costa and Pichincha. Migrants to Guayas and El Oro come both from the Sierra and from neighboring Manabí Province; those to Pichincha come almost wholly from other provinces in the Sierra. Guayas has received the largest number of in-migrants, reflecting the attraction of Guayaquil. Although the numbers are as yet small, more and more migrants, chiefly from the Sierra, are entering the Oriente as homesteaders. The discovery of oil in the northern part of the Oriente undoubtedly has increased the movement of persons in that area.

Intraprovincial migration reportedly is much more common than interprovincial movement; an estimated 90% of all persons who change the locale of their residence are thought to remain in the province of their birth. Also, there is seasonal migration from the Sierra to the Costa, farm laborers from the Sierra moving to the sugar and banana plantations in the Costa at harvest time and then returning home.

As a result of the increased pace of internal migration, urban areas have experienced rapid growth. Between 1950 and 1962, for example, the urban population rose by an average of 4.8% per annum, while the rural population increased by only 1.9% per year. In 1970 the proportion of the total population residing in communities designated as urban was 35%, compared with 28% in 1950, and it is projected at nearly 50% by 1985.[3]

According to estimates, at least 15 cities, 12 of them provincial capitals, had populations in excess of 20,000 as of 23 November 1972; all but two of the provincial capitals were growing at a more rapid rate than the population as a whole (Figure 6). The principal port, Guayaquil, founded in 1537, and Quito, the capital, are by far the largest cities (Figure

[3] Ecuador bases its definition of "urban" on administrative functions rather than on size. Thus, cantonal seats, as well as provincial capitals, qualify as urban centers regardless of size, and some localities with large populations are not regarded as urban because they are not the seats of provincial or cantonal governments. In 1962, 62 of the 95 communities considered urban had fewer than 5,000 residents; most exhibited more rural than urban characteristics.

FIGURE 6. Growth of cities with 20,000 or more inhabitants in 1972 (U/OU)

City	Population 1962	Population 1972	Average annual rate of growth
Guayaquil	510,804	679,036	5.0
Quito	351,746	575,116	5.0
Cuenca	60,603	80,836	3.0
Ambato	53,372	80,779	4.2
Machala	29,036	68,315	8.9
Esmeraldas	33,403	67,022	7.2
Riobamba	41,623	56,703	3.1
Portoviejo	37,228	52,111	4.0
Loja	26,785	41,181	4.5
Ibarra	25,833	39,991	4.5
Manta	23,622	[illegible]	
Milagro	26,149	[illegible]	
Tulcan	18,419	23,985	2.8
Babahoyo	18,418	23,796	3.7
Quevedo	20,602	[illegible]	

NOTE: Data for 1962 are from the census of that year; those for 1972 are estimates.
— Not pertinent.
na Data not available.

71. At current growth rates, both cities, annually swollen by the influx of migrants from the countryside, will double in less than 15 years. No other city has as many as 100,000 residents. Machala and Esmeraldas, the fastest growing cities in the years 1962-72, are ports, the latter being the principal export center for bananas and the terminus of the petroleum pipeline which extends over the Andes from the Oriente.

More than half of all urban residents live either in Guayaquil or in Quito. The Costa, with about 41% of its inhabitants residing in urban centers, is the most urbanized of the regions of Ecuador. About one-third of the inhabitants of the Sierra live in cities and towns; in the Oriente the proportion is about 13%. Guayas and Pichincha are the only provinces with more urban than rural residents. All others are heavily rural, with the exception of El Oro, which is experiencing fairly rapid urbanization and had only slightly more rural than urban residents in 1970.

2. Age-sex structure

Ecuador's population is very young. Furthermore, it is becoming younger. Whereas the median age was 18.1 years in 1950, it had dropped to 17.5 years in 1962 and was estimated at 16.1 years late in 1970. The figure for 1970 was more than 12 years lower than the median age in the United States.

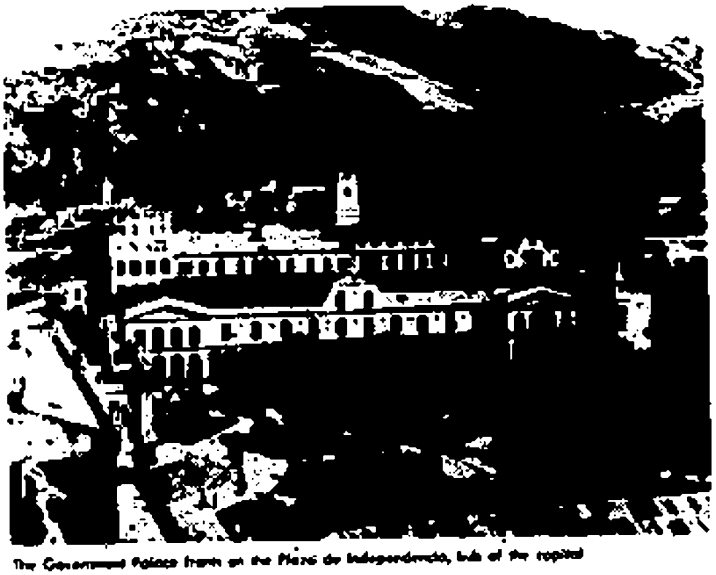
Of the total estimated population of 6.2 million in November 1970, approximately 2.9 million, or 47.6%, were under age 15, and 1.6 million, or 58.2%, were under age 20 (figure 8). In contrast, only 175,000 persons, or 2.8%, were age 65 or older, and only 581,000, or 9.4%, were age 50 or older. All together, 50.6% of the population were in the dependent ages conventionally defined as 0-14 and 65 or older, compared with 49.6% in the working ages (15-64). The resulting ratio of 1,017 persons in the dependent ages per 1,000 in the working ages was approximately 65% higher than that in the United States. In countries such as Ecuador, however, the formal dependency ratio overstates the actual degree of dependency, as many children under age 15 are engaged in some form of work, and many persons age 65 or over continue to work because of economic necessity.

According to 1970 estimates, the proportion of children and elderly persons was higher in rural areas than in cities, resulting in a dependency ratio of 1,010 in the former and 996 in the latter. The disparity stems from the higher birth rate in the countryside and from the migration of young adults to cities in search of employment and a better life. A comparison of the age structures, in percent, of the Sierra, Costa, and Oriente also shows some variation, as indicated below:

Age	Sierra	Costa	Oriente
0-14	45	50	48
15-64	51	48	50
65 and over	4	2	2

As estimated, the population is made up almost equally of males and females. In 1970, males predominated in all age groups under 25, and females in all groups above that age. Because job opportunities for females as domestics in urban households have attracted many women from the countryside, women outnumbered men in virtually all urban centers. In 1970 there were an estimated 93.3 males per 100 females in the cities, compared with 104.2 in rural areas. The sex ratio also varies by region, reflecting the out-migration of males from the Sierra to the Costa and the Oriente. Information on the sex makeup of the regional populations is limited to the census of 1962, at which time the Oriente had 116.9 males per 100 females, the Costa 103.5, and the Sierra 95.8. The highest sex ratio in the country in 1962 was in the Galapagos Islands, where there were 122.6 males per 100 females.

Guayaquil waterfront and commercial district



The Government Palace fronts on the Plaza de Independencia, hub of the capital

FIGURE 7. Guayaquil and Quito (U/OUO)

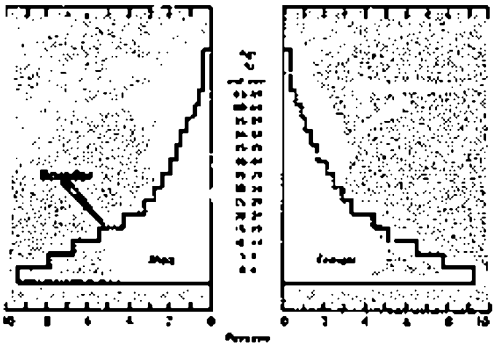


FIGURE 8. Age-sex structure, Ecuador and the United States, mid-1970 (U/OU)

D. Living and working conditions

Having improved only slightly since moderatory, the living conditions of most Ecuadoreans, especially the Indians and urban slum-dwellers, remain poor. Susceptible to numerous diseases, inadequately fed, clothed, and housed, and often deprived of access to basic social services, the lower class has little prospect of breaking the cycle of poverty, as the range of employment opportunities is narrow and pay rates are low. While conditions are markedly better for members of the middle and upper classes, the life style of many individuals in the middle sector has increasingly failed to measure up to expectations, a circumstance that derives largely from the erosion in purchasing power brought about by increased living costs and higher taxes during a period of stagnating earnings and restrictions on credit. As a result, on numerous occasions since the mid-1960's, low- and middle-income earners, often in association with labor and student groups, reformist clergymen, opposition political leaders, and even certain military personnel, have protested the inadequacy of living conditions, especially during shortages of essential consumer goods, and they have criticized the government for its alleged failure to institute the fundamental socioeconomic measures needed to insure a better quality of life. In late 1972, moreover, the low and middle class elements were joined by Costa entrepreneurs in criticizing the government's economic policies. (U/OU)

Hampered by a scarcity of funds and the disruption in socioeconomic plans and programs wrought by political instability, government efforts to raise the levels of living have been marginally successful, despite the allocation of increased proportions of the national budget for programs of social betterment. In 1972 close to one-third of all public funds was budgeted for such programs, as indicated by the following percentages:

Education	24.4
Health	4.7
Community development and housing	2.2
Social welfare and labor	0.5
Total	31.8

Government officials and private citizens alike are hopeful that a marked improvement in living conditions can be brought about during the 1970's through the investment of petroleum revenues. (U/OU)

Many Ecuadoreans, including those engaged in subsistence farming, who comprise some 80% of the rural population, do not regularly receive cash for their labor. Among those in the cash economy, wide variations exist in the amount of earnings (Figure 9); but incomes are predominantly low and have tended to rise slowly. According to the Agency for International Development (AID), the per capita income rose from the equivalent of US$217 in 1963 to $267 in 1971. Wage earners in agriculture are concentrated in the Costa, where plantation laborers engaged in export production earn three to four times the amount earned by their counterparts who supply the domestic market. Comparable disparities in earning power are found throughout the labor force. Unskilled urban workers, for example, earn about four times as much as rural wage laborers. While the typical urban worker earned approximately $700 per annum during the late 1960's, yearly incomes fluctuated widely in accordance with the levels of skill and responsibility, as indicated by the following amounts (in U.S. dollars):

Unskilled	300
Semiskilled	460
Skilled	900
Administrative	1,900
Technical	3,300

Reflecting a distinct correlation between earning capacity and the level of educational attainment, moreover, the earnings of individuals who have received training in institutions of higher learning are from 6 to 11 times the amount earned by those without formal schooling (Figure 10). (U/OU)

Although consumption patterns vary considerably according to locality and social standing, a 1966 survey of consumers in seven Sierra provinces showed that most families devoted 70% to 90% of their income for food purchases alone. The results of a 1967 survey

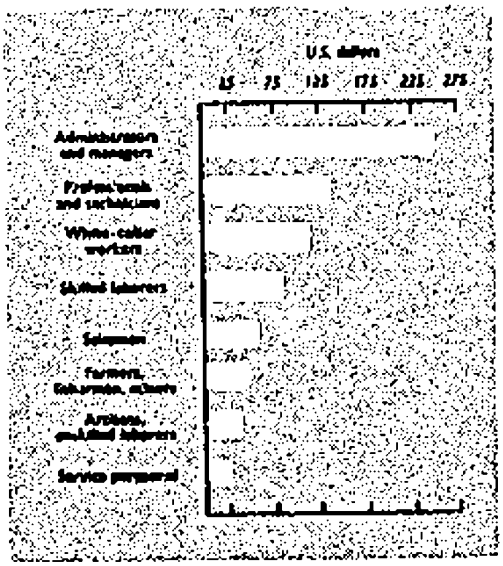


FIGURE 9. Average monthly income, by occupational category, 1968 (U/OU)

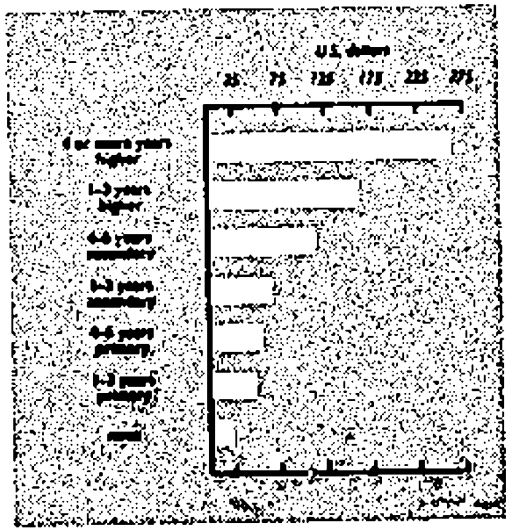


FIGURE 10. Average monthly income, by level of educational attainment, 1968 (U/OU)

of households to Guayaquil, however, are probably more indicative of the pattern of consumer expenditures in the larger cities. According to the survey, 52% of the household budget went for food, 24% for housing, 9% for clothing, and 15% for miscellaneous expenses. While the purchasing power among people living near towns is markedly lower than that of consumers in the main urban centers, there is some similarity in the patterns of household expenditure in the two types of communities. In rural areas, on the other hand, family purchases are normally limited to such processed consumables as salt, sugar, and coffee. Other needs, including staple foodstuffs and clothing, are often produced by members of the household or are received in payment for agricultural labor. Rural housing expenses are usually confined to the cost of electricity, if available, and fuel (mainly charcoal and kerosene). In Indian communities the family's single greatest expense of a lifetime might well be incurred by sponsoring a fiesta. (U/OU)

Conditioned by some two decades of price stability, since the mid-1960's consumers have been disturbed over the rising cost of living (Figure 11), especially in the aftermath of the 1970 currency devaluation, which was attended by the imposition of a 4% retail sales tax. Spearheaded by rapidly rising food prices, particularly for beef, milk, vegetables, and fruit, during the first half of 1972, the price inflation in Quito and Guayaquil amounted to 9% for an annual rate of 18%. (U/OU)

Mainly through the imposition of ceilings on the prices of basic items, namely foodstuffs and pharmaceuticals, the government has attempted to control inflation. During the last term of President Velasco Ibarra, moreover, the government operated a chain of retail stores catering to the poor and selling goods at prices 10% to 15% below those prevailing in commercial marketplaces. Also, with the aid of military vehicles, authorities in the two leading cities have engaged in selling goods at cost to slum dwellers and others living at the poverty level. Prior to the installation of the military government in 1972, these measures were largely ineffectual, as the price controls proved to be essentially unenforceable, and prices continued to climb in the face of a high and unabated demand for essential consumer goods, many of which were in short supply and subject to black marketeering or manipulation by speculators. While the military government has continued the practice of selling goods directly to the poor, it has applied strong countermeasures, including imprisonment and the imposition of fines, against merchants

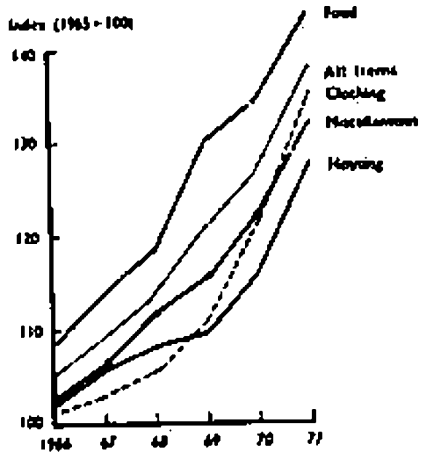


FIGURE 11. Consumer price index, Quito (U/OU)

who violate price guidelines. As a result, some shopkeepers have reportedly engaged in deceptive practices, including hoarding and selling goods clandestinely at inflated prices. The government has also extended for 4 years a prohibition on rent increases which was originally imposed in 1970 and liberalized income tax deductions for low wage earners. (U/OU)

While the smuggling of goods from Colombia and Peru has been a longstanding practice, price controls, coupled with the imposition of higher import duties, have stimulated an increase in contraband. Although most smuggled merchandise enters the country by overland routes, Guayaquil is also a major point of entry; an estimated 15,000 persons in the port city gain a livelihood through smuggling and related activities. Merchandise stocks in shops throughout the city were sharply curtailed in the wake of a vigorous crackdown against the contrabandists in 1972. (C)

Other criminal activities, including narcotics trafficking, robbery, and prostitution, have also preoccupied the authorities increasingly. Illicit drug traffickers generally employ the same routes and operating methods used by the smugglers of consumer merchandise. Additionally, however, raw drugs are processed in clandestine laboratories in Guayaquil for shipment abroad. While the use of opium is an old custom among members of the Chinese communities along the Costa, and Indians in the southern Sierra have traditionally chewed coca leaves, the use of marijuana and additive drugs has increased. As yet, however, domestic use of the so-called hard drugs has not become acute. In fact, alcoholism, especially among male Indians, is a far more serious problem, a major health threat, alcoholism is also recognized as being a leading cause of family disharmony and worker absenteeism. Formerly confined mainly to the lower class, smoking marijuana has spread among secondary and university students; the substance is reportedly smoked openly at public meeting places, such as discotheques and sports stadiums, and in jails. Marijuana and opium poppies continue to be cultivated domestically despite the enactment of a strict antidrug law in 1970. (U/OU)

Other antisocial activities, including street crimes and prostitution, involve a disproportionately large number of juveniles and appear to be a direct outgrowth of the heavy rural-to-urban migrations. While petty theft is an old problem, the incidence of armed assault, particularly of "Chicago-style" robberies, and of muggings has risen sharply in the two main cities. (U/OU)

I. Health and sanitation (U/OU)

a. *Health conditions*

Health conditions in Ecuador rank among the worst in South America. Although middle and upper class urban residents have access to modern medical personnel and facilities, they are not readily available to persons of low social standing, especially Indians, largely because few doctors and paramedical personnel are willing to accept the physical and financial hardships of service in rural areas. Health threats are especially severe in the tropical regions, where the climate is enervating and fosters the rapid propagation of disease vectors. In the cities, notably Quito and Guayaquil, existing health services and facilities for sanitation have been overtaxed by the influx of rural migrants. In the countryside, where many Indians and mestizos alike are ignorant (or distrustful) of modern medicine and inclined to attribute the onset of illness to supernatural forces, traditional *curanderos*, or "curers" (Figure 12), continue to play an important role. Although *curanderos* are usually knowledgeable in the preparation of herbal remedies, they have come to rely increasingly on the use of patent medicines. The strength of folk practices, the prevalence of illiteracy, and a widespread disregard for personal hygiene and sanitary practices constitute major obstacles to the improvement of health conditions.

Progress toward solving many of the nation's health problems has also been retarded by the low priority

FIGURE 12. Curandero performing a curative ritual. Incantations designed to drive away the evil spirits causing disease are an integral part of the treatment. (U/OU)

assumed to public health programs. Before 1961 when the Ministry of Public Health was created responsibility for the administration of such programs was dispersed among numerous agencies. Since its establishment however the ministry has continued to be plagued by insufficient funds and a lack of coordination among its constituent units which number about 50 including several that are administratively autonomous. The Social and Economic Development Plan for the years 1972-74 proposes to reorganize the health services and to invest a higher proportion of public funds in health programs. Nonetheless, because of insufficient domestic resources, continued support is required from external agencies including AID.

Infectious and parasitic diseases, many of which stem from poor sanitary practices, are among the major causes of death. In fact, more persons annually die from enteric and respiratory ailments than from all other causes combined. The following tabulation lists the 10 leading causes of death registered in 1970 and the mortality rate per 100,000 inhabitants.

	Death rate
Bronchitis, emphysema, and asthma	82.3
Enteritis and other intestinal diseases	74.8
Senility	63.6
Measles	38.2
Influenza	33.8
Whooping cough	28.3
Anemia	21.3
Tetanus	18.8
Cerebrovascular diseases	17.9
Tuberculosis (respiratory)	14.0

At least two of the leading causes of death—influenza and measles—seemingly attained epidemic proportions during the 1950s, although causing fewer deaths poliomyelitis and typhoid fever epidemics also continued to occur in some localities. Having previously ranked much higher among the leading causes of death, tuberculosis remains a major problem. Responsibility for detecting and treating the disease rests chiefly with the Ecuadorean Antituberculosis League (LEA), an autonomous public agency which operates a network of sanitaria and outpatient clinics and carries out a nationwide educational program.

Other major diseases include malaria and plague. Although local outbreaks of malaria still occur in the Costa during the rainy season, the disease is and large has been brought under control by the National Service for the Eradication of Malaria, with the aid of several external agencies. Plague, which is transmitted by rodents, including domesticated guinea pigs, continues to be endemic to certain areas, especially in the Provinces of Chimborazo, El Oro, Loja, and Manabí. Yellow fever and smallpox, both of which formerly ranked among the leading health threats, have been effectively controlled; incidence of the former disease having been reported during the last decade. The smallpox vaccination program has reached an estimated 85% of the population. Conversely, venereal diseases, notably gonorrhea and syphilis, have become an increasingly acute problem. Allergies and skin fungi are endemic to the two tropical regions, while skin cancer is not uncommon among inhabitants of

the Sierra. Substantially reflecting the lack of uniformity in health services, wide variation exists in the type and incidence of disease according to locality. Respiratory ailments, parasitic diseases, whooping cough, measles, and anemia are more prevalent in rural districts than in urban areas. Town and city residents, on the other hand, are more likely to suffer from heart and cerebrovascular diseases and from cancer than their rural counterparts.

The high death rate from bronchitis, enteric diseases, measles, and whooping cough in large measure reflects the prevalence of those diseases among children, whose resistance is lower than that of adults. Irrespective of cause, however, child mortality is high. Over one-third of all deaths occur among infants under age 1, while more than one-half of all deaths occur among children under age 5, both proportions being among the highest in South America.

The incidence of dental caries and periodontal disease is high throughout the country, largely because oral hygiene is not practiced by most people. Being somewhat less of a problem in areas where the water has a high natural fluoride content, such as the Oriente and the central portion of the Sierra, dental caries is especially prevalent among residents of the Costa, where sugar consumption is high, and in communities of the northern and southern Sierra. While ignorance concerning oral hygiene is a key element in the prevalence of periodontal disease, the scarcity of dentists and unavailability of public dental and oral health facilities also contribute to the problem.

b. Medical care

Despite having five medical schools which graduate an average of about 150 physicians annually, the ratio of physicians to population is the lowest in South America, a situation that results in part from the emigration of medical professionals because of local limitations on career opportunities. During the period 1962-68, for example, an average of 38 Ecuadorian physicians per annum emigrated to the United States. Capitalizing on the prestige which accrues to the holders of medical degrees, some physicians abandon the field, either partially or completely, in favor of careers in politics or entrepreneurship, thereby reducing the number of practicing physicians. Thus, the ratio of physicians to population remained essentially unchanged during the 1960's, while that of dentists to population declined somewhat (Figure 13). Conversely, paramedical personnel have become increasingly available, reflecting the greater dependence placed on their services within the public health system, especially for staffing rural facilities.

Medical professionals are heavily concentrated in urban areas. According to a public health official, during the late 1960's 82% of all physicians worked in the provincial capitals and other large cities, 15% served in small cities and towns, and only 3% were located in rural areas. In an effort to correct this maldistribution, the government has enacted a Rural Medical Plan requiring all medical school graduates to serve in the countryside for a prescribed period as a prerequisite for obtaining a license to practice. Available information does not permit an assessment of the plan's effectiveness. Because of low pay, few certified physicians are employed in the public sector on a full-time basis. In fact, most physicians maintain private practices and supplement their income by working part-time at public health facilities.

In addition to the five medical schools, there are three universities with dental schools and graduate nurse programs. All training facilities, whether for professional or paramedical personnel, are gravely deficient in terms of curriculum, faculties, and equipment. Virtually no research is carried out in any of the medical schools, and almost all faculty members are employed on a part-time basis. Having introduced changes designed to upgrade the paramedical fields, which formerly held little attraction, the Ministry of Public Health has succeeded in enticing an increased

FIGURE 13. Medical personnel [U/OU]

	Number			Number per 10,000 population		
	1960	1965	1970	1960	1965	1970
Physicians	1,400	1,858	2,875	3.4	3.2	3.4
Dentists	446	518	572	1.1	1.0	0.8
Graduate nurses	250	304	1,033	0.6	0.7	1.7
Nurse aids	**	1,819	2,429	**	3.3	3.9

** Data not available.

number of persons in train as nurses or medical technicians. Nonetheless, paramedical personnel remain in short supply, and most are undertrained. Few nurses aides, for example, have more than a primary education. To alleviate the problem of inadequate schooling, a variety of in-service training courses in such fields as epidemiology, nutrition, and health administration was initiated in 1972, and a training program for so-called health promoters (*promotores de salud*) was established. Recruited in rural villages and instructed in rudimentary health care and sanitation measures, *promotores* administer health subcenters in their respective communities.

In 1970, 109 major health care installations, including 107 hospitals and 92 clinics, were in operation. Having increased by some 5,000 beds during the 1960's, the total capacity of the facilities generally expanded at a faster pace than the growth in population, as indicated in the following tabulation.

	Number of beds	Beds per 10,000 inhabitants
1960	9,000	20.7
1965	12,034	23.0
1970	14,024	22.7

Reflecting the concentration of health facilities in the two main cities, the Provinces of Pichincha and Guayas contained over two-fifths of all hospitals and clinics and accounted for three-fifths of the total number of beds. As indicated by the following distribution of beds, the bulk of health care facilities available in 1970 was intended to accommodate patients requiring specialized treatment.

	Number	Percent
General purpose	4,137	29.5
Surgery	1,930	13.8
Obstetrics and gynecology	1,720	12.3
Psychiatry	1,466	10.4
Pediatrics	1,440	10.3
Tuberculosis	1,104	7.9
Transmissible diseases	631	4.5
Traumatism	454	3.2
Leprosy	218	1.6
Other or unspecified	923	6.5
All beds	14,024	100.0

In 1970, all but one of the hospitals were administered by government agencies. Over half (54) of the public facilities were operated by the *Asistencia Social*, a public welfare agency, while the rest were operated by the Ecuadorean Social Security Institute (IESS), the armed forces, the Ministry of Public Health, LEA, or other entities. By contrast, all but seven of the clinics were privately operated.

Hospitals and clinics by and large are limited to inpatient care. In 1970 outpatient services were provided through a network of 248 medical dispensaries, 47 health centers, and 61 health subcenters. Additionally, 70 miscellaneous health facilities were in operation; they included X-ray centers, blood banks, emergency aid stations, rural health posts, and infirmaries. As in the case of hospitals, the dispensaries are operated by a variety of public agencies; most health centers and all of the subcenters, however, are under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Health. Most outpatient facilities are staffed solely by a nurse or midwife. Within the purview of the Rural Medical Plan, the ministry has proposed the establishment of 300 health subcenters in rural districts during the 1970's.

While some of the private clinics offer adequate medical care, the quality of services purveyed at public health facilities is reported to be inferior. Persons in the upper income brackets normally prefer to travel abroad, especially to the United States, for surgery or the treatment of complicated illnesses. Most local hospitals operate below capacity because of understaffing and the shortage of equipment, particularly laboratory facilities. Several of the facilities were constructed in the 19th century and, except for the introduction of new equipment, have undergone little modernization. Twelve of the hospitals operating in 1970 did not have potable water, while three were without electricity. A renovation of facilities having a combined total of 3,000 beds was begun in 1970, and a plan to construct 24 small rural hospitals was announced by the Ministry of Public Health in 1972. The latter year also marked the inauguration of service by mobile units offering both medical and dental care, mainly in the Costa. For many years airborne emergency service has been available in the Oriente through the combined efforts of public authorities, both civilian and military; local medical care for inhabitants of the region, however, is confined chiefly to that provided by missionaries.

c. Sanitation

Contaminated water supplies and inadequate waste disposal methods are among the prime causes of gastrointestinal diseases, while overcrowded and otherwise unsatisfactory housing contributes to the high incidence of respiratory ailments. In rural areas many persons obtain drinking water from natural sources, including lakes, streams, and springs, which are often polluted by surface runoff, or because they are also used for other purposes, such as bathing, laundering, or watering livestock. Some rural

communities have wells, but the water drawn from them also is apt to be unsafe. Most cities have piped water, but it is generally unfit for drinking without prior treatment. Even so few people feel their drinking water, although the use of household filtration units has increased. In 1962 about 25% of the population was served by piped water systems, a proportion that comprised 62% of all urban residents and 6% of those in rural areas.

Only 21% of the total population was served by central sewerage systems in 1962—35% of all urban residents, but less than 1% of those living in rural communities. Sewage treatment facilities are nonexistent, and waste is discharged into waterways or dry rivers. In areas not reached by central sewerage, the indiscriminate disposal of human waste is common.

Toilet facilities, which are virtually absent in rural areas, were available in nearly 50% of all urban households at the time of the 1962 census. For the country as a whole, however, about two-thirds of all households were devoid of toilet facilities of any sort, as indicated by the following percentage distribution of households according to the type of facility available:

Private toilet	10.5
Shared toilet	12.2
Latrine or cesspool	10.4
None	66.9

Garbage and refuse collection usually is confined to urban business districts and to middle and upper class residential neighborhoods, which are also served by municipal street cleaners. Some collected waste is used as landfill, but most is simply dumped into ravines. In communities along the coast, especially in Guayaquil and its environs, liquid and solid wastes are discharged into rivers or estuaries to be carried out to sea. In Guayaquil and elsewhere, human waste constitutes the leading pollutant, as the contamination of air and water by industrial plants is not a major problem.

Because the enforcement of the National Sanitary Code is lax, sanitary practices are often ignored by food processors and distributors. Food storage facilities are inadequate, as they often permit the contamination of foodstuffs by insects or rodents; refrigeration is scarce. Most persons patronize open air markets, where foodstuffs are further subject to contamination by insects, dust, and handling by vendors and shoppers. Pasteurized milk and canned foods are available in the main cities, but their consumption is confined mainly to upper income families. Prepared foods sold by street vendors (Figure 14) have long

FIGURE 14. Indian woman selling prepared food on a street in Riobamba (U/OU)

posed a health threat, but efforts to ban the practice or to impose sanitary controls have been resisted by vendors and patrons alike.

2. Food consumption and nutrition (U/OU)

Nutritional deficiencies, often stemming from ignorance concerning the importance of a balanced diet, are related to the prevalence of poor health. Food consumption levels are substandard; the average daily calorie intake per capita being some 500 units below the 2,500 calories recommended by U.S. nutrition experts. While the average per capita intake of fats generally was found to be adequate during the mid-1960s, intake of protein was about 10% below prescribed standards. The bulk of protein, moreover, was derived from cereals and pulses; the supply of animal protein having been about one-half the recommended level. The shortage of other essential nutrients, however, was even more serious.

The diet varies considerably according to social class, geographical region, and urban-rural residence. Studies by the National Institute of Nutrition have revealed, for instance, that per capita daily calorie intake ranges from 1,450 to over 2,500, depending

mainly on the socioeconomic status of the persons surveyed. Nutritional surveys also indicate that calorie supplies are higher in the Sierra than in the Costa, but that the requirement for calories is greater in the former region, where more energy is required to perform physical tasks because of the high elevations and lower temperatures. Diets normally are better balanced in both tropical regions than in the Sierra. While the diets of rural inhabitants generally are more deficient and less varied than those of urban residents, some rural persons are better fed than those who inhabit urban slum areas.

The typical diet is based heavily on carbohydrates and is lacking in nutrients essential for normal physiological development. The most serious deficiencies are amino acids, calcium, riboflavin, and thiamin. The absence of iodine in the diet of Sierra residents accounts for the high incidence of goiter, which is estimated to affect upward of one-fifth of the region's inhabitants. Other evidence of nutritional deficiencies consists of physical weakness, low resistance to infection, inflammations of the skin and mucous membranes, mental and physical retardation, physical deformity, and anemia.

Effects of nutritional deficiencies are most readily evidenced among children, 30% of whom are estimated to suffer some form of malnutrition. The high rate of infant mortality is partially attributable to poor nutrition; many infants, especially in rural areas, are not weaned before reaching age 3, until which time they consume little solid food. Although few, if any, deaths result directly from malnutrition, it is being increasingly recognized as a major cause in the onset of illnesses leading to death.

In an effort to counter the debilitation and other problems brought on by poor nutrition, the government, in conjunction with various external agencies, is attempting to educate the populace in proper dietary habits. Additionally, the National Institute of Nutrition has a salt iodization program to combat goiter in the highlands. CARE supports a school lunch program which reaches 320,000 children, and Caritas sponsors a diet instruction program aimed mainly at low income families in Guayaquil. The latter is carried out at day care centers and maternity hospitals. Cooperative programs are sometimes interrupted by the inability of the Ministry of Public Health to fund the requisite administrative and transportation costs.

Although Ecuador is nearly self-sufficient in foodstuffs, their availability is reduced by contamination and spoilage, while poor transportation and marketing systems impede a more efficient distribution. Longstanding predilections for certain food items also limit the variety of foods consumed, thereby causing nutritional imbalances. Potatoes and corn are the staple foods in the Sierra, while the main meals of most Costa dwellers contain rice and bananas, or plantains. Hominy and dried, parched corn (*tostado*), which is often ground and sweetened with brown sugar to form a palatable flour (*mashca*), are major food items in the Indian diet. Except for onions, cabbages, and peppers, which are often included in potato stew (*locro*) or mixed into other dishes, vegetables are not widely consumed in any region. Chickpeas and lentils are the favored pulses. In addition to bananas, a wide variety of fresh fruit is available, principally in the Costa; this includes papayas, mangoes, avocados, pineapples, oranges, lemons, and chirimoyas. Meat consumption, which averaged about 27 pounds annually per capita in the early 1970's, is among the lowest in South America. In the coastal region beef is the principal meat, whereas a wider variety (*including pork and mutton*) is found in the highlands. Guinea pigs are a prime source of meat among the Indians; they also consume dried, smoked beef strips (*charqui*) especially while working in the fields or travelling. Many Indians raise chickens, but virtually all poultry is destined for sale in urban markets, as are eggs. Having amounted to 83 liters per capita, milk production was equivalent to the average per capita figure for all of South America in 1970.

3. Housing (U/OU)

A housing shortage is one of the nation's most acute problems. In 1971, the housing deficit, which included existing dwellings in need of complete restoration, was estimated to exceed 500,000 units, with an additional 40,000 units being required yearly thereafter merely to keep pace with population growth. Constrained by insufficient funds, public agencies have been unable to reverse the dual trend toward a deterioration of the existing housing stock and an ever increasing deficit, conditions that are especially grave in the larger cities as a result of the migrations of rural inhabitants.

Although characterized by extreme diversity (Figure 15), dwellings are generally inadequate in size and lacking in comfort and modern amenities. Most individuals live in one- or two-room rustic homes, the typical household having averaged more than five persons in 1962. Approximately two-thirds of all units have neither electric lighting nor running water. Living rooms often double as sleeping quarters, and kitchen facilities often consist of a small hearth located in a corner of the main room. Housing conditions in Indian villages of the Sierra are among the worst.

A typical chozo. Normally a single room, the chozo is a windowless dwelling built of adobe and has a thatch roof

FIGURE 4.5.
Representative dwellings (U/OU)

Reflecting the influence of Spanish colonial architecture, the homes of rural mestizos and of the more affluent Indians feature clay tile roofs, verandas, and outbuildings used for cooking and storage

Often accommodating several families, the huts of natives in the Orinoco are built of cane and poles and are roofed with thatch

There, families usually are crowded into single-room, windowless, thatch-covered huts (*chozas*). Unventilated and damp, the *choza* also frequently serves as a shelter for small domesticated animals, such as guinea pigs, rabbits, and chickens, which add to the unpleasantness of the dwelling as well as to the potential for the outbreak of disease. Soot from the stove lines the inside of the *choza*, and the presence of such vermin as fleas and lice is commonplace. In communities where the tradition of reciprocal work exchange remains strong, and residents can afford the cost of construction materials, neighbors customarily assist in erecting larger and more comfortable houses (Figure 16) than the *choza*.

The housing of slumdwellers in Guayaquil is perhaps inferior to that of the Sierra Indians. Sprawling over the floodplain to the west of the city, the slums consist of bamboo and lumber shanties covered with sheetmetal and raised on stilts (Figure 17), as the area is subject to tidal flooding. Housing an estimated 400,000 persons in 1970, the slums are unsanitary and virtually devoid of municipal services. Efforts to drain the area were abandoned in 1969 in favor of a landfill program, but settlers have continued to arrive and to erect their improvised dwellings on the wetlands at a faster pace than the land is reclaimed. In addition to the health hazards posed by the slums, the danger of death or injury from fire is substantial because of the high volatility of the construction materials in use.

In contrast to the situation in Guayaquil, most low-income families in Quito live in overcrowded tenements or adobe row houses in or near the central city. Much of the substandard housing in the capital is occupied by persons who could afford better homes, but such quarters are rarely available. As the overcrowding of existing dwellings has increased, many of the more recent migrants have been forced to

Constructed in the northern suburbs of Quito, residences of the upper class are noted for their varied, picturesque orientation styles

FIGURE 16. Using adobe and eucalyptus beams, Indians of both sexes aid in the construction of a neighbor's house (U/OU)

erect makeshift buildings on empty lots and along the hillsides on the outskirts of the city. Whether in Quito or Guayaquil, the homes of wealthy families stand in stark contrast to the dwellings of the poor. Although some upper class families in the capital still live in large Spanish colonial mansions near the heart of the city, most have moved to the suburbs. In both cities, modern, single-family houses and condominium apartments (Figure 18) have become popular among the more affluent members of society.

Public housing programs have been limited in scope and have made essentially no impact on individuals in the most dire need of help. The Ecuadorean Housing Bank (BEV), created in 1961 ostensibly to promote housing construction for low income groups, has catered almost entirely to middle class white-collar workers. The bank, moreover, funded the construction of only 7,000 units during 1963-69. On the average, homes constructed with BEV loans cost the equivalent of US$4,000 and require a down payment of $800. Mortgage criteria limit the acquisition of a dwelling to families having a minimum income of $1,000, thereby excluding most blue-collar workers, many of whom meet the income requirement but cannot afford the down payment. More than half of all public housing has been built with the participation of the IESS, which initially endowed the BEV. The acquisition of IESS-funded housing, however, is restricted to workers who are enrolled in the social insurance fund, which includes only a small segment of the labor force. Much of the private housing is built with funds obtained from mutual savings associations, which numbered 10 in eight cities during 1971. The associations lend sums up to $10,000, repayable over 25 years.

Urban renewal programs designed in part to make land available for public housing have been ineffectual mainly because of the high costs of real property and construction materials. A December 1970 property tax law aimed at breaking the hold which speculators have over unused urban land tracts has not been vigorously enforced, and land costs have remained too high for public housing projects.

4. Work opportunities and conditions

a. The people and work (U/OU)

Ecuador's generally poor economic resource base and its insufficient investment of agricultural export revenues in capital goods enterprises are the most serious technical impediments to providing the numbers and kinds of jobs needed to assure a decent livelihood and reasonable advancement opportunities for its generally low-skilled and underemployed work force. As it is, the single-minded concern of most employers with maximizing profits has prolonged the survival of primitive agricultural and handicraft technologies, various forms of debt servitude, usurious land rents, low wages, payment in kind instead of in money, oppressive working conditions, job insecurity, inadequate fringe benefits, and other practices typical of the *patron-peon* relationships. Combined with the debilitating influences of illiteracy, limited training opportunities, and fear of unemployment, these practices have conditioned the mass of workers to bear exploitation and deprivation with little complaint, to relinquish any semblance of self-confidence, and to abandon any hope of job advancement. In varying degrees these depressed conditions permeate the worklife of subsistence farmers, agricultural wage laborers, self-employed and small-shop artisans, and personal service workers—employment categories which embrace the vast bulk of the work force, including virtually all Indians and the majority of nonurban mestizos. The only elements of the lower class which enjoy work benefits to some extent approximating those characteristically found in a modern economy are certain industrial workers, skilled artisans, and clerical workers employed in larger manufacturing and commercial enterprises and in the civil service. Except for the landowning and entrepreneurial elite, only professional and managerial personnel, technicians, highly skilled craftsmen, and members of similar middle class occupations have realistic expectations that their jobs might serve as instruments to attain life's larger social objectives and value goals.

Among the various socioeconomic groups comprising the labor force, the most meager yield from work in terms of quality of life accrues to the Indians. Some

Shanties built on stilts over the flood plain. Garbage and human waste are dumped into the flowing, which also serves for bathing and other household uses.

Furnished with discarded crates and a hammock, the interior of this shanty is lined with newspaper.

FIGURE 17. Slum dwellings in Guayaquil (U/OU)

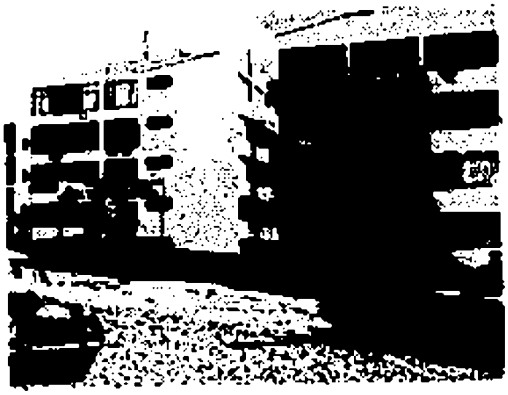


FIGURE 18. The Miraflores condominium development, financed by the Pichincha Mutual Association of Savings and Credit (U/OU)

ele out a livelihood through subsistence farming on small, rented, marginally productive plots, usually forced to supplement their income by hiring out as part-time laborers. Others attach themselves to a hacienda, where, in return for labor in the landowner's fields, they are allowed to till a small plot for their own benefit and in addition are sometimes given a small wage. In either case, their labor brings little more than the food needed for immediate consumption or for barter to obtain other elemental necessities—a system which effectively isolates them from the money economy and from access to modern consumer goods. During the planting and harvesting seasons they put in long hours made particularly arduous by the inefficiency of the primitive tools they use (Figure 19). Malnutrition reduces the physical energy the highland Indian can expend, diminishing his output and, together with the accumulation of life's insurmountable difficulties, inducing a state of apathy and frequent habituation to drink. Although the main forms of contractual peonage, notably the *huasipungaje*, have been outlawed, the Indian's continued dependence on the landowner for certain rights and services has worked to perpetuate the semifeudal character of their relationship. As a consequence of the outlawing of the *huasipungaje* system in 1964, for example, many former *huasipungueros* acquired small plots of land; however, as often as not they found themselves obliged to work without pay for the landowner in return for access to water, pasturage, and firewood on the hacienda. Entrepreneurs in the recently opened oil lands of the Oriente exploit the local natives by extracting labor in payment for goods advanced on credit.

Mestizo *minifundistas* typically own somewhat larger plots than do the Indians and on the whole are able to obtain a slightly better level of living from their labor. As a rule, working conditions and remuneration of small farmers and agricultural laborers in the Costa are better than elsewhere. In this region, conditions are likely to be the most beneficent on large commercial farms.

Few rural workers are in a position to demand increases in pay or improvements in working conditions or even to bring legitimate complaints to the attention of the local labor inspector. Conditioned by centuries of dependence upon the landowner, they cannot afford to risk the loss of pay or fringe benefits. In many areas, persons considered agitators are dismissed from their jobs, blacklisted, and thus forced to emigrate in order to find new work.

Manufacturing shops employing five or fewer artisans produce for rural dwellers most of those elemental nonfood consumer goods which are not crafted by the farm family itself. Because of the difficulty of wresting a living in agriculture, moreover, some rural families turn to the production of marketable items fashioned from local raw materials (Figure 20). The artisan in a typical small shop or cottage industry customarily sits on the floor of an inadequately ventilated and ill-lighted room or outdoors, weather permitting. Using primitive tools and deprived of adequate sanitary and safety facilities, such workers are subject to numerous job-related illnesses and injuries. While such artisans earn

FIGURE 19. Indians tilling the land with a primitive plow pulled by two oxen. Both wear the braid typical of Indians who have not been assimilated into mestizo culture. (U/OU)

FIGURE 20. Cottage Industry. Proceeds from the sale of home-made items are the only sources of cash income among numerous Indian families. (U/OUO)

more money than farmers and enjoy access to a wider range of social services, their long-term work rewards are extremely limited by the absence of opportunity for advancement. Today artisans are threatened by encroachments upon their traditional markets by the products of modern factories. Even small modern factories with a few laborers can produce enough consumer articles to supplant dozens of traditional artisans. In response, the small artisan increasingly is forced to lower his prices and hence his already meager level of living or, at the cost of his independence and pride of craft, hire his services to a modern factory, perhaps at the level of a semiskilled or unskilled laborer. Similarly, many farmers whose survival depended on the extra income derived from the sale or barter of simple goods crafted in their own households are losing their markets to machine-produced goods and increasingly are migrating to the city to take unskilled, monotonous positions.

Below the professional and technical levels, the only occupational groups enjoying reasonably modern standards of work incentives and rewards are manual and skilled laborers and white-collar workers employed in modern manufacturing plants, in construction, transportation, and communications enterprises, or in government service. These workers comprise approximately 10% to 15% of the labor force, and all but a small proportion are concentrated in Guayaquil and Quito. Among the benefits more likely to accrue to them than to most members of the laboring class are a certain amount of job security, union representation, training opportunities, and the existence of at least minimum standards of physical conditions in the work environment.

The traditionally high prestige which society has accorded to certain categories of professional and technical personnel, particularly in the medical and legal occupations, creates among the increasingly large numbers entering these fields expectations about pay and working conditions which still cannot be satisfied by the developing economy. The consequent dissatisfaction and disillusionment have not motivated professionally minded university students to opt for such fields as agronomy and veterinary science nor induced the surplus of medical practitioners in urban areas to relocate to the countryside, where their services are most needed. The government has failed to plan for a rational development of a professional manpower corps and to provide the incentives necessary to satisfy the ambitions of experienced personnel in professional and technical occupations. Consequently, increasing numbers of such personnel are emigrating to other countries in search of better opportunities.

Minors enter the labor force at an early age, although the trend is toward later entry and earlier retirement. In rural areas most boys are assigned small tasks at ages 6 or 7, and most every male over age 15 is a member of the work force. Some urban children under age 12 supplement the family income by working as bootblacks, street vendors, or messengers. Generally, however, city boys attend school and, hence, do not begin working until ages 16 or 17. Girls in both rural and urban areas enter the labor force at a later age than boys, however, many girls not officially recorded as economically active perform farm chores or supplement the family income by taking in laundry. Marked changes that have taken place since

the early 1960's in general attitudes about roles of the sexes in society have been reflected in an increased proportion of females in the labor force, in a tendency on the part of working women to remain employed beyond the traditionally sanctioned period—namely the interval between the termination of schooling and beginning of married life—and in the greater frequency with which women attend secondary school and higher institutions as a means of qualifying for career jobs. Discrimination against women in the labor force is still prevalent, however, particularly outside of Guayaquil and Quito, and is evidenced in such practices as paying them a smaller wage than is received by men for the same work.

The generally marginal remuneration Ecuadoreans receive for their work, especially in rural areas, precludes the accumulation of savings for annuity purposes and forces most members of the labor force to remain economically active until sheer physical disability renders them useless. Although some lowering of the retirement age has been noted in the post-World War II period, the census of 1962 revealed that fully 93% of all men over age 65 were still employed. Few women over that age were economically active, however.

b. Labor legislation (U//OU)

The Labor Code of 1970 integrated all existing labor statutes and was designed to eliminate the confusion which had previously characterized official involvement in labor affairs as a consequence of the myriad of constitutional, executive, and judicial pronouncements since the enactment of the first code in 1938. As elsewhere in Central and South America, however, the contemporary code provides a set of ideals rather than stipulations likely to be enforced. Historically the labor movement has wielded little political power and has generally been subservient to the government. Essentially, therefore, implementation of the code depends largely upon the attitude of the incumbent administration toward labor interests.

The enforcement of legal provisions concerning labor is a responsibility of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor. Operating on less than 1% of the national budget, the ministry is understaffed and lacks the expertise necessary to deal with most violations. The code is generally observed by industrial and agricultural enterprises in the Costa but is less likely to be taken seriously by the more tradition-bound employers in the Sierra. The preeminence of the patron in the Sierra often works to brand as disloyal those workers who resort to legal help in settling grievances. Most employers disdain dealing with workers' representatives. Both parties, moreover, tend to bypass government mediation, the employer because it would undermine his position of authority and the workers because they view the government as sympathetic to the employer. Often neither employers nor employees have a working knowledge of the basic labor law and of the health and safety practices it prescribes.

The standard workday according to the Labor Code is 8 hours and the standard workweek 44 hours; for overtime, nightwork, and weekend work, workers are legally entitled to premium pay. Despite these provisions, the actual number of hours worked varies considerably according to industry, having averaged about 46 hours weekly early in the 1970's. Persons under age 18 and women are barred from employment in hazardous or unhealthful occupations. The code sets forth standards pertaining to ventilation, cleanliness, machinery inspection, and other health and safety concerns to be observed by industry, generally, however, only larger firms adhere to them. Regulations in the code also establish procedures for organizing unions and prohibit their direct participation in national politics. The code provides that unions may strike after they have exhausted all possibilities of conciliation and arbitration and after giving 10 days' notice of their intention to declare a strike.

Fringe benefits required by law are numerous. All wage and salary workers, including temporary employees, are entitled to 15 days of paid vacation and to 11 paid holidays annually. In addition, workers are entitled to a percentage of their firm's profits (15% as of 1973). Although not required to do so by law, some employers pay the employees' income tax and cover their share of social insurance costs.

The code charges provincial commissions with setting minimum wages, which may be established on a local or regional basis or may be differentiated by occupation. In most instances, minimum wages are higher in the Costa than in the Sierra. The standard minimum, however, is often below the prevailing base pay and thus does not constitute a real wage floor. There is no automatic provision for cost-of-living increases, but the national government periodically decrees general wage increases to bring wages and salaries in line with the cost of living. A few firms have initiated the payment of family subsidies, although there is no mention of them in the legislation.

Arbitration and conciliation procedures provided for in the Labor Code are invoked most frequently with respect to issues involving wage increases, back

pay, job security, reinstatement, and provision of tools and equipment. All disputes are submitted to a tribunal composed of two employer representatives, two employee representatives, and the local labor inspector. The machinery actually utilized in the final determination of most issues has been described as "archaic." Generally, the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor plays an inordinate role, thus inhibiting the development of effective labor-management relations. In some cases, the minister himself or one of his aides personally intervenes in settling a dispute.

A legally recognized employee association representing 15 or more workers in a firm may undertake to negotiate collective contracts for its members. Although this right has existed since 1938, relatively few collective contracts have actually been negotiated. The estimated 150 contracts in existence in 1961—most of them in the Guayaquil area—represented a considerable increase over the number in operation a decade earlier. Many collective contracts are drafted unilaterally by the employer without consultation with the union and presented to the latter for approval or rejection. Such documents often are mere abridgements of the general provisions of the Labor Code. Only a handful of collective contracts have been concluded for workers in agricultural enterprises; the first one in the Sierra came into effect in 1970.

Government workers (including those employed by the semiautonomous agencies) are covered by the Civil Service Career Law rather than the Labor Code. The law permits negotiations concerning work regulations but prohibits collective contracts.

c. Labor and management

The labor movement is weak and ineffectual, its fortunes shifting with fluctuations in the national economy and changes in the national government. During the 1960's, when workers endured the effects of the high cost of living, rising taxes, and delayed wage payments, the labor movement, more often than not, focused its attention on such broad political issues as the nationalization of foreign-owned enterprises and the government's claim to a 200-mile territorial sea. On the other hand, in dealing with the bread-and-butter rights, which are the heart of collective contracts, it used such limited tools as petitioning government officials, issuing public protests, and, on occasion, organizing mass demonstrations. As a result, many workers have become disillusioned with the movement's efficacy. (U/OU)

The preeminence of agriculture in the economy, the high percentage of illiterates within the working class, and the nation's cultural dichotomy constitute major barriers to effective trade unionism. Even in urban areas, where the movement is strongest, the membership of unions is comprised largely of white-collar workers and self-employed artisans, among whom the distinction between labor and management is either unclear or nonexistent. Rather than attempting to engage in collective bargaining, therefore, unions frequently are satisfied to act as pressure groups vis-a-vis the local or national governments or as spokesmen for a particular faction of their membership. While unionism is gradually encompassing more and more plantation workers in the Costa, and several collective contracts have been operative in that sector, the tenacity of paternalism among hacienda owners in the Sierra, coupled with the traditional conservatism of the Indian peasant, has retarded organizational efforts. Nevertheless, union activity in rural areas has been stepped up considerably since the mid-1960's, and frequent disputes about jurisdiction have occurred among contending labor groups. Trade unionism, moreover, is expected to become firmly rooted among the rapidly growing force of petroleum workers in the Oriente. (U/OU)

Unity within the official structure of the labor movement has been hampered by ideological conflict between the three major confederations and by personality conflicts among their leaders. Concerted action by individual confederations, on the other hand, is hindered by infighting among the component entities. This divisiveness is graphically evidenced by the labor movement's inability to carry out an effective general strike. The problems are exacerbated by the precarious financial situation in which most unions find themselves. Because of the low income of most workers, unions cannot initiate compulsory dues systems. Devoid of adequate financial resources, unions can offer few services to their members, who in turn display a diminishing interest in union affairs. Few unionists, moreover, are versed in techniques of collective bargaining or organizing. Consequently, all three confederations depend substantially on their international affiliates for both financial aid and technical expertise. (U/OU)

Despite the existence of a liberal Labor Code, the labor movement remains largely dependent upon the good will of the government. Without recognition from the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor, unions may not engage in collective bargaining. An unsympathetic administration may impede the efforts of a union by delaying recognition, by nullifying its charter, or even by instigating mass purges and arrests

of its leaders. Moreover, the government, as the country's largest single employer, directly controls trade unionism's largest potential membership. Labor's voice in social and economic planning at the national level is limited to representation in the IESS and to three seats in the Senate, two on behalf of industrial workers and one on behalf of farm laborers. (U/OU)

Although the government has generally treated the three confederations equally, the public has varying perceptions of this performance as a consequence of frequently aired charges that favoritism has been shown in some instances, and that some unions have been induced by government authorities to compromise the interests of their memberships. The organizational weakness of the confederations is manifested in the absence of firm alliances between labor and political parties. While the leftist orientation of one confederation is Communist and another Christian Democratic, neither is beholden to the corresponding political party, and both include constituent unions which do not share the majority orientation. (U/OU)

The flexibility of labor in the face of changing attitudes on the part of the central government has enabled the movement to survive numerous periods of repression. Most labor leaders adopt a low profile when their freedom is restricted and become more militant as restrictions are relaxed. Except in the final years of the 1963-66 military junta, when increased labor militancy provoked sweeping restraints, the movement's strength and influence has generally increased appreciably during the recent years. Despite the personal popularity of President Velasco Ibarra among the working class, many unions were dissatisfied with the pace of reform that marked his fifth term (1968-72) and, hence, gave their support to the opposition. Subsequently, the initial enthusiasm toward the military government which displaced Velasco Ibarra quickly dissipated, and dissatisfaction, particularly with the performance of the Minister of Social Welfare and Labor, was accompanied by a mounting number of labor conflicts. (U/OU)

Although accurate statistics are not available, an estimated 10% to 12% of all workers were union members in 1972. Over one-half of all union members belong to entities that are unaffiliated with any of the nationwide labor organizations. In 1972, the largest group was the Ecuadorean Confederation of Free Trade Unions (CEOSL), with a membership close to 40,000. Founded in 1962, the CEOSL has experienced rapid growth, largely because of generous technical and financial help from its main international affiliate, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), as well as from the American Institute for Free Labor Development. In addition, CEOSL has benefited from the loss of influence experienced by its Communist-oriented rival, the Confederation of Ecuadorean Workers (CTE). Serious organizational problems accompanying the rapid growth of CEOSL have perpetuated its heavy dependence upon outside aid. (C)

The CTE, traditionally the dominant labor organization in the country, lost control over many of its constituent unions during the 1960's and suffered repression under the military junta in power during the middle of that decade. Growing disenchantment with CTE's overtly Marxist political stance resulted in a decrease of membership from 60,000 in the early 1960's to approximately 30,000 in 1972. Despite its close relationship with the Communist Party of Ecuador and its affiliation with the Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions, the CTE is not a monolithic organization, as significant numbers of the leaders and members of its component unions are non-Communists. (C)

The third of Ecuador's three labor confederations was called the Ecuadorean Confederation of Catholic Workers prior to 1972. In that year it changed its name to the Ecuadorean Central of Class Organizations (CEDOC) to mark its effort to dissociate itself from charges of conservatism and of domination by the Roman Catholic Church. The younger and more progressive elements of CEDOC have used their growing influence to bring the organization's ideology in closer alignment with that of its external affiliate, the Latin American Worker's Central. CEDOC claimed a membership of 18,000 in 1972. In 1971 the organization joined forces with the CTE in the United Labor Front, which sponsored an abortive general strike. Since coming to power in February 1972, the military government has strongly advocated that the three confederations work together in achieving common objectives. On May Day 1972 they marched together for the first time. All three confederations fear that in its recent offers of closer cooperation, the government was in fact signalling an attempt to impose tighter controls on the labor movement. (C)

Unique among worker organizations, the National Chauffers' Federation is a pressure group rather than a trade union. Strongly identified with former President Velasco Ibarra, it sustained a marked loss of influence as a result of the 1972 change in government. Nevertheless, the inclusion of most of the truck and bus drivers within its 40,000-man membership gives it the potential to paralyze commerce and, hence, an

influence equal to or exceeding that of most trade unions. Another powerful organization is the 15,000-member National Teachers' Union. (C)

5. Welfare and social security (U/OU)

Ecuadoreans have long depended upon their families in time of need. The Hispanic and pre-Columbian heritage emphasizes the tradition of helping family members unable to support themselves because of illness, old age, inability to find work, or other handicap. Family support extends as well to blood relatives and to ritual kin acquired through the system of *compadrazgo*. In rural communities the practice of reciprocal labor is still common for such tasks as harvesting and constructing a house. In addition, the Roman Catholic Church has always provided care for some orphans and indigents without family backing. It has also been traditional for agricultural workers to depend on the hacienda owner for emergency loans and other services.

With the growth of anticlericalism, urbanization, and agrarian reform, however, the state has gradually assumed responsibility for many welfare activities. As early as 1908, expropriated church-owned haciendas were administered for the benefit of state welfare programs. Today, the Social Assistance Board, a semiautonomous agency under the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor, operates these haciendas on a contractual basis, although they produce little revenue. With its major commitment to the welfare of children, the board maintains day care centers, foster homes, orphanages, and summer camps for needy children and manages the state juvenile correction homes. Limited human and financial resources, however, permit it to reach only a fraction of those in need. Because social work is a profession of low prestige and pay, it is difficult to secure trained welfare workers. Recently, the board has begun to attack the basic causes of child welfare problems. In order to encourage stable families with a solid economic foundation, it has established credit cooperatives and placed parents in occupational training courses.

Private efforts in the welfare field, including those of the churches, are also restricted by the inability of most agencies to raise sufficient funds for extensive programs. Ecuador does not have a strong tradition of voluntary agencies, although socially prominent women have long been active in welfare activities on a small scale. Among the private groups of this kind, the best known is the National Children's Trust, presided over by the President's wife. The trust administers several programs for poor children and engages in widely publicized fundraising activities, including annual telethons. The Red Cross is the largest and most active relief agency, operating blood banks and ambulance services in every province and extending aid to the victims of such disasters as floods and earthquakes. In addition, the Lions, Kiwanis, Rotary, and similar service clubs support a variety of welfare activities in Quito and Guayaquil. In both cities there are schools for the blind and deaf, the one in Guayaquil operated by the Lions Club. Rehabilitation of the physically handicapped is the concern of the Ecuadorean Rehabilitation Society, a private institution with an international reputation, founded by a Guayaquil orthopedic surgeon. The Roman Catholic Church maintains orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged, and other welfare institutions, and individual parishes often care for needy persons within the local community. Protestant missionaries provide many welfare services among residents of the Oriente. Most religious and other private facilities are funded in part by the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor.

The social insurance system, which dates from 1933, now includes benefits for accidents and illnesses, invalidity, maternity, old age, and death. Although coverage has expanded considerably since its inception, the system tends to provide additional benefits to the same groups rather than to cover more workers. Most persons enrolled are white-collar workers and skilled laborers in public and private enterprises, but self-employed professionals, the secular clergy, and domestic workers are also covered. Noncommercial agricultural laborers, self-employed artisans, and temporary workers are excluded, with the exception of a few that are enrolled in pilot programs in a limited number of localities. In 1970, 250,000 persons, or 12.5% of the economically active population, were affiliated with the system; their dependents were also eligible for maternity and survivors' benefits. In the same year, more than 13,000 persons received old-age pensions; some 3,000, invalidity benefits; and about 22,000, survivors' benefits. Social insurance is financed by an 8% deduction from the worker's salary and by a contribution equal to 9.5% of payroll made by the employer.

The social insurance system has suffered numerous bureaucratic vicissitudes since the final years of the military junta. Before 1970 it was administered by the National Social Security Institute, a semiautonomous agency under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor, but poor management led to its reorganization as the autonomous IESS. A new social security code, decreed in 1972 prior to the fall of

President Velasco Ibarra, was suspended by President Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, who placed the institute once again under the ministry and initiated another reorganizational study.

According to critics, the institute is a haven for political favorites, while the rapid turnover of managerial staff has resulted in administrative chaos. The institute has also been charged with diverting funds to government programs such as housing, which should be underwritten by other agencies, and with loaning large sums of money to the government for budgetary purposes. In its payments to the institute as an employer, moreover, the government is substantially in arrears. Together, these institute loans and government debts amounted to US$16 million in 1969. Meanwhile, service is characterized by long delays in medical treatment and in other action on claims.

E. Religion (U/OU)

During the colonial period the Roman Catholic Church served as the chief agent for the introduction and maintenance of Hispano-Catholic culture. Since independence its influence has waxed and waned, depending on the nature of the government, but in modern times the church has never fully recovered its former power and authority. Nonetheless, it is a mainstay of society, and the position of Catholicism as the national religion lies at the heart of cultural development. Historically identified with conservative political factions and with the upper class, the church in recent years has been split into traditional and progressive wings, in line with similar developments in other Central and South American countries. Although small, the reformist group is highly active and well organized.

Catholics perhaps comprise over 95% of the population. Most, however, are only nominal Catholics, particularly in the Costa. Protestants, on the other hand, are vocal exponents of their faith. In 1972 the Protestant community, proportionally smaller than that in any other country in Central or South America, approached 23,000, or 0.4% of the population. Protestant groups, however, are growing rapidly, primarily because of extensive proselytizing by fundamentalist sects. Small but unknown numbers of Indians in the Oriente practice primitive tribal religions, and some Muslims from the Middle East have immigrated to the Costa in recent years. There are also some 2,000 Jews, most of whom entered the country in the 1930's and 1940's to escape anti-Semitism in Europe. Although influential in the commercial sector, they have tended to maintain a low profile. In addition, a fairly substantial number of citizens are believed to profess no religion, especially in the Costa.

1. Roman Catholic Church

Spiritual values of the Roman Catholic Church, based on belief in ultimate reward and on faith in divine wisdom, tend to be highly prized in theory. In practice, however, religious precepts are customarily dissociated from daily affairs. Indeed, the overriding attitude toward religion is actually one of indifference or *pro forma* participation in Catholic ceremonials. Devotional practices are mainly the province of upper class women and of rising mestizos who adopt church affiliation as an accompaniment to social position. To most men excessive religious observance conflicts with masculine values. Religion in the lower class consists largely of traditional rituals (Figure 21), pilgrimages, processions, and holidays, along with devotion to the saints. In general, Catholicism is more deeply entrenched in the Sierra than in the Costa, where fewer than half of the population are baptized or married in the church, and anticlerical feeling, although not overt, is widespread.

The disparity between the ideal and the practice is illustrated by the customs of the fiesta, perhaps the major religious institution in the nation. Combining both the sacred and the profane, religious fiestas honor a town's patron saint or celebrate religious holidays, at the same time affording an occasion for several days of drinking and uninhibited revelry. Feasting and drinking with family and friends also accompany baptism, confirmation, and marriage ceremonies.

Among the Indian population, particularly in the Sierra and the Oriente, indigenous beliefs still influence religious practices although not to the same degree as in Peru and Bolivia. Nevertheless, in the mind of the Indian, little distinction is made between the aboriginal and the Christian components of his religion, and he sees no inconsistency in using talismans to placate native gods or in attributing illness or misfortune to supernatural phenomena. In rural areas many Indians and mestizos consult the local shaman during periods of personal crisis, and in some instances the shaman and the priest may compete for their allegiance. The beliefs of many educated urban Ecuadoreans, moreover, are imbued with mysticism and superstition. Rosaries, amulets, and crosses are worn for protection, and incense, holy water, and palm fronds blessed by the church are used to ward off evil spirits.

FIGURE 21. Funeral procession of rural residents. The Catholic Church in the background is ornamented with primitive designs. (U/OU)

Throughout the colonial period the Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown were closely identified under a system of royal patronage. Quito became the center of ecclesiastical activity, and religious art and architecture flourished. Until their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits were the intellectual mentors of the colony, but other orders, including Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercedarians, were also active. Indians were gathered in *reducciones* (settlements) for religious instruction and acculturation. In the 17th century, during the height of its power, the church founded the first schools and universities, introducing science and the arts, taught the Indians improved agricultural techniques, and established hospitals and charitable institutions. In addition, the church acquired extensive landholdings, became the colony's major banker, and organized the largest complex of textile weaving centers in South America.

With the advent of Independence and a republican government, the first Constitution recognized Catholicism as the official religion, and patronage, or the right to select high church officials, passed from the Crown to the President. Although many revolutionary leaders were anticlerical, the church commanded great respect and authority until well into the republican era. In 1862, however, the Conservative President Gabriel García Moreno, in an effort to make the church the chief instrument of national unity, signed a concordat with the Vatican increasing the church's power, including the transfer of patronage to the Holy See. These and other more extreme measures led to a strong reaction in the Costa where progressive forces were increasing in conjunction with rapid economic growth. Intense anticlericalism colored national politics, as coastal elements, infatuated with a spirit of liberalism and progress, made the church a target in a bitter political feud with the conservative highlanders. In 1895 the Liberals under Eloy Alfaro seized power, and they subsequently nullified the Concordat of 1862 and stripped the church of its powers. The Constitution of 1897 and subsequent laws effectively separated church and state and established freedom of religion. Although Catholicism continued to be recognized as the state religion, representatives of other faiths were permitted to enter the country. Other laws nationalized some church properties, established a system of secular public education, prohibited the immigration of foreign clergy, and granted Congress the right to select high church officials.

After the turn of the century the Liberal-Conservative conflict over the church gradually decreased, and by 1937, when a *modus vivendi* was reached between church and state, many of these measures had been substantially modified. The church, for example, was again allowed to establish schools provided state laws were observed and official curriculums used. Patronage was returned to the Holy See, but it was required to present the government with a list of candidates to prevent the selection of politically unsatisfactory prelates. In recent years, church-state relations have been generally cordial.

although progressive priests have been arrested on several occasions for allegedly fomenting disturbances among peasants and workers.

Although the Catholic Church in Ecuador is considered one of the most conservative in the Americas, the impact of the reform movement stemming from the Second Vatican Council has modified traditional attitudes toward involvement in social problems. Liberal members of the hierarchy include Bishops Proaño and Echevarría. The former is known for his work among the Indians, particularly through a network of over 400 radio schools. In 1970 Bishop Echevarría halted the restoration of a cathedral and diverted the funds to the construction of a hospital. More important, perhaps, in the mid-1960's the church initiated an agrarian reform program involving church-owned haciendas in the highlands.

Only about 10% of the priesthood, largely native-born, are active in the reform movement, but the group is growing, and its influence outweighs its numerical strength. Paradoxically, the movement is centered in Quito, the stronghold of conservatism, where the *Grupo de Reflexión* was founded in 1968 to provide a forum for progressive clergy. Also in Quito a number of Jesuits are associated with the Center for Social Action and Social Research, a liberal "think-tank" patterned after similar centers in other South American countries. The Jesuits have also promoted worker education and helped to implement the agrarian reform program.

A number of lay organizations are active in the cities, largely among upper and middle income groups. Stressing for the most part personal spiritual development rather than broad social action, these organizations include Catholic Action, the largest group, followed by the Christian Family Movement, the Serra Club, the Young Catholic Workers, and the Opus Dei. Some laymen, however, participate in the progressive activities of the *Grupo de Reflexión*.

Although the church no longer enjoys a monopoly in education, it still operates two universities and numerous primary and secondary schools, accounting respectively for approximately 20% and 40% of total enrollment below the university level. Catholic schools, generally considered superior to public institutions, are usually preferred by those who can afford the tuition. Because these charges have effectively limited enrollment to the children of middle and upper income groups, the church has established a few annexes to existing schools for the use of poor children. This effort has apparently increased class prejudice, however. The church also operates a number of charitable institutions, including hospitals, homes for the aged, and orphanages. A radio network, *Cadena Católica*, and several diocesan newspapers inform the public of church activities.

The administrative structure of the church reflects the predominance of the highland region. Two of the nation's three archdioceses are located in the Sierra, as are seven of its 10 dioceses and three-fourths of the clergy. Most parishes are also situated in the Sierra, which has approximately half the number of inhabitants per parish as the Costa. Mission territories cover the Oriente region, the Galápagos Islands, and the coastal province of Esmeraldas.

In proportion to its population, Ecuador has more priests than any other Central or South American country, although the number has declined since the late 1960's. In 1972 there were 1,416 priests, or one per 4,600 inhabitants. Most priests, however, live in the major cities: roughly two-thirds of those in the coastal region reside in Guayaquil, and over half of those in the highlands serve in Quito. As a result, many if not most rural communities have no resident priest. Unlike the clergy in many other Central and South American nations, the majority of priests and all but two of 22 bishops are native born. Foreign priests, largely Spanish and Italian, are generally assigned to the mission territories. Seminarians are recruited mainly from the lower middle and lower classes, many viewing the priesthood as a means of upward social mobility.

2. Protestant churches

Protestant missionaries began arriving after the Liberal Revolution in the 1890's but made few converts until the second half of the present century. Now growing rapidly, the community benefits from one of the highest ratios of missionaries to members in South America, approximately 400 missionaries being engaged in various religious and charitable activities. Most Protestants belong to fundamentalist sects (Christian and Missionary Alliance, Seventh-day Adventists, Gospel Missionary Union, among others), which proselytize chiefly in low income areas, such as the sprawling slums of Guayaquil, where numerous storefront churches have appeared since 1960. These sects have gained many converts among migrants from rural areas who find the newer churches helpful in making the transition to urban life. Protestant missionaries have also been active among the natives of the Oriente. In 1963, as a gesture of appreciation for these efforts, the government issued a special postage stamp commemorating mission activities.

With the exception of their work in the jungle missions, Protestants tend to emphasize spiritual

development almost exclusively and are not actively involved in many efforts to promote social change. Because the concept of ecumenism is not generally favored, moreover, liberal groups such as the World Council of Churches, to which the Episcopal Church is affiliated, have almost no influence, and there has been little dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church.

Since 1935 an interdenominational Protestant group has operated the most powerful radio transmitter in South America. Employing about 100 persons in its station in Quito, the *Voice of the Andes* broadcasts general-interest as well as religious programs. Protestant groups have also been active in missionary medicine, establishing at least two modern hospitals, one in Quito and one in the Oriente. They have also provided a few schools and other community services.

F. Education (U/OU)

Significant reforms in the educational system were introduced in the 1960's. Beginning with the military junta in power from 1963 to 1966, successive administrations have carried out both quantitative and qualitative improvements designed to make the system more responsive to socioeconomic needs. An impressive increase in enrollment occurred at all levels between 1960 and 1970, and two grades were added to a number of the traditional 4-year rural primary schools to provide them with the full 6-year course of study offered in urban institutions. Curriculum changes were initiated in both primary and secondary schools, and teachers were allowed greater flexibility in presenting materials based on differing regional and ethnic requirements. Change was less evident in higher education, where autonomous state institutions remained subject to disruptions resulting from a high degree of politicization among the students. The Catholic universities in Quito and Guayaquil, however, took the lead in providing progressive and innovative reforms which have aroused, for the first time, a competitive spirit among Ecuadoran universities.

The full implementation of reforms in the educational system has been hampered by inadequate funds, a scarcity of facilities and teachers, and a lack of continuity in educational policy resulting from frequent changes in government. Policy statements, including the most recent one issued by the Planning Department of the Ministry of Education late in 1971, tend to deal with vague general goals, largely because there has been no systematic research and analysis which would permit the development of practical guidelines. In addition, reform efforts have suffered from attacks by both the conservative upper class, whose members wish to maintain the *status quo* through the retention of a traditional, elitist form of education, and the extreme left, which hopes to subordinate educational objectives to political considerations and thereby disrupt the system. Public acceptance of the goal of orienting education to the nation's needs has also been limited, as most persons still value the concept of a traditional education in the humanities, law, or medicine over practical training in fields in which expertise is needed for the developing economy. Many teachers, moreover, are reluctant to adopt new methods, preferring the customary techniques of lecture and rote learning over modern approaches aimed at motivating students to think.

The legal basis for regulating education is found in the 1938 Law of Education and in the 1967 Constitution, which, in theory, makes 9 years of schooling—6 years of primary and 3 years of secondary—free and compulsory. The principle of free, compulsory schooling has long been established in Ecuador, but the deficiencies of the educational system and other factors have so far prevented attainment of this ideal. Opportunity for an adequate education is still the privilege of a small minority, despite the progress made during recent years. Educational attainment among the adult population is low, the number of years of schooling averaging approximately 3.5 in the late 1960's. The 1962 census revealed that of the 2.6 million persons age 15 and over, fewer than 80,000 had completed secondary school, and of these only about 30,000 had attended an institution of higher education for as long as 1 year.

In 1962 the literacy rate for the population age 10 and over was 70%; the proportion has presumably risen steadily since that time as a result of the expansion of educational opportunity. Literacy is lower in rural areas than in urban centers. This is particularly true in the Sierra, where a substantial sector of the rural population speaks only Quechua and drops out of school before literacy is attained. The proportion of literates is also lower among women than among men, the legacy of a long tradition of restricting education for females. Because of high attrition in primary schools, functional literacy, implying the completion of at least 4 years of schooling, is considerably less than the accepted literacy rates would indicate. Large numbers of rural children, in particular, drop out after 1, 2, or 3 years of schooling in order to help with farm chores. Parental apathy and poverty are other factors in the situation. Many parents are unable to afford the costs involved in school attendance, including expenditures for such items as transportation, school supplies, and appropriate clothing. Language is a further handicap

among some of the Indian population. The children of Indian families who speak Quechua at home enter school with a limited facility in Spanish. Unable to participate meaningfully in the classwork, Spanish being the language of instruction, these children tend to drop out after a few months of attendance.

The Ministry of Education has general authority over all schools below the level of higher education, with the exception of a few specialized institutions supervised by other ministries. It is responsible for formulating educational policy, imposing standards of instruction, controlling curriculums, and supervising examinations. Top-level positions in the ministry are filled by political appointees, but most of the employees are career personnel, many of whom are former teachers with little or no training in administration. In order to insure conformity with government regulations, contact between the ministry and individual schools is supposed to be maintained through a system of school inspection. The size of the inspectorate staff is inadequate for the task, however, and the difficulty and cost of transportation outside provincial capitals limits its access to rural schools. Institutions of higher learning are subject to the provisions of the Law of Higher Education promulgated late in 1970. The law reaffirmed the traditional concept of autonomy for universities and equivalent institutions, a principle long cherished throughout Latin America, but it also created the National Council of Higher Education, which functions somewhat in the nature of a supreme governing body.

Private schools exist at all levels of the educational system, accounting for about one-fourth of the total school enrollment. They are operated for the most part by Roman Catholic religious orders; a small but increasing number are nonsectarian. According to law, all such institutions must be authorized by the Ministry of Education and may be closed by it if they do not meet government educational norms or refuse to adhere to programs and curriculums developed by the ministry. The private schools tend to conform to legal requirements, and the ministry in turn exercises minimal supervision over their operations. Because they enjoy a reputation for providing better education than the public schools, private educational institutions are preferred by upper and middle class parents. Also, sending one's children to a private school, especially at the secondary level, is regarded as a status symbol. Private primary schools are required by law to provide free education, but the secondary schools charge tuition fees, which are high by local standards.

The educational system is financed through national, provincial, and municipal funds. Provinces and municipalities, in theory, are required to earmark at least 15% of their budgets for educational purposes; in practice, their contributions are much smaller. The share of the national budget allocated to education was 24% in 1971. Approximately half of the funds is expended at the primary level and one-fourth at the secondary level. The remainder is absorbed by postsecondary institutions, adult education, and general administrative expenses. State universities are largely dependent on a fixed percentage of general tax revenue and modest student fees, and private universities are financed by tuition and donations, supplemented by small government subsidies. In the face of increasingly inadequate funding for higher education, assistance in the form of loans, grants, and technical aid has been provided by various outside agencies, including the IDB, AID, and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

The educational system encompasses preprimary as well as primary schooling, but the preprimary sector is not well developed and is restricted to the larger urban centers. Primary schools in urban areas provide a 6-year course, and one of the objectives of the educational reform planners is to extend the 6-year program to all primary schools in Ecuador. As yet, however, most of the rural schools offer 4 years, or less, of instruction because of a continuing shortage of teachers and facilities. Secondary education, available only in the cities and larger towns, is provided in academic, vocational, and normal (teacher training) schools. The academic sector has two major divisions, a 3-year cycle of general studies and an advanced 3-year diversified cycle in which the student specializes in a particular area with a view to pursuing higher education. Vocational institutions offer courses of varying length in a number of fields, including mechanics, carpentry, domestic science, commercial and administrative science, and agriculture, and the normal schools train teachers for the primary level in courses extending over a 6-year period. In the normal schools as well as in many of the vocational institutions, students must undertake a basic course of general studies similar to that provided in the academic secondary schools. Higher education is available at a number of universities, technical institutions, and other postsecondary schools. The school year for all segments of the educational system was made uniform in 1972, extending from October through June.

School enrollment increased during the 1960's at a rapid rate, doubling at the primary level and tripling at the secondary level. Among children in the 5-14 age group, the proportion enrolled in school rose from about one-half in the early 1960's to over two-thirds in

Overcrowding constitutes a serious problem (C)

the early 1970's. Enrollment at both primary and secondary levels is heavily weighted to the lower grades: some two-thirds of all children in primary schools are concentrated in the first three grades, and almost three-fourths of those in secondary institutions are enrolled in the basic course of studies. Attendance among girls has been increasing steadily. By the 1959/60 school year, girls accounted for 48% of enrollment in primary schools and 45% in secondary schools. A breakdown of enrollment figures for that year, by educational level, is given below for both the public and private sectors of the system:

	Public	Private	Total
Preprimary	16,147	3,305	19,452
Primary:			
Urban	331,120	133,720	464,840
Rural	434,935	28,912	463,847
Total	766,055	162,632	928,687
Secondary:			
Academic	65,825	39,537	105,362
Vocational	28,405	22,593	50,998
Normal	12,228	4,998	17,254
Total	106,458	67,128	173,014

Although the number of schools has risen considerably since the early 1960's, school construction lags far behind increases in enrollment, resulting in a critical shortage of classroom space (Figure 22). In

FIGURE 22. Primary school classroom

The poor facilities of this rural school for Indian children are typical in the countryside (U, OUO)

the mid-1960's, double and even triple shifts were introduced in many schools as an emergency measure, a situation which still prevailed in 1972. In the older structures, which house a majority of the students, lighting and sanitation facilities are poor, and equipment and supplies are minimal. In some cases there are not enough desks and chairs to accommodate all of the children in a class. Overcrowding and a concomitant lack of facilities and instructional materials are particularly acute in the rural primary schools, but primary and secondary institutions in the urban centers are also inadequate to meet the rising enrollment. Few public secondary schools have the libraries and the laboratories necessary to supplement courses, and vocational schools are severely handicapped by a scarcity of shop equipment.

In the primary schools instruction has been centered traditionally on rote memorization of poorly organized material, focusing on the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Rural children, in particular, have suffered from emphasis on a curriculum that has little bearing on the realities of rural life. A reform was initiated in the mid-1960's in an effort to make learning more relevant to the lives of the schoolchildren. Practical studies, including homemaking and craft work, were introduced, and some rural schools eventually acquired demonstration gardens. At the same time teachers were urged to develop innovative classroom activities accentuating relationships between subjects taught. In addition, a program was begun in 1964 with the long-range objective of helping those Indian children who have only a rudimentary knowledge of the Spanish language. It involves providing normal school scholarships to Quechua-speaking Indians who have completed primary school, so that they may learn how to teach basic primary school subjects in the Quechua language. By 1972 the first of these students had finished normal school training and were assigned to a rural educational center being developed in Imbabura Province. One of a series to be established in areas of dense Indian population, the Imbabura center encompasses 22 satellite schools.

Despite official efforts to emphasize vocational and technical education, most secondary students continue to prefer the academic course, as occupations requiring manual skills are considered beneath the dignity of an educated person. The principal reform undertaken at the secondary level (1967) was to divide the academic sector into a 3-year basic cycle which includes some practical studies and a 3-year advanced cycle in which the student specializes in natural sciences, social sciences, classical studies, literature, music, or fine arts, presumably in preparation for higher education. Studies are oriented toward the theoretical, and texts are not standardized. Because most of those who enter secondary school drop out before completing the course, the basic cycle is intended to provide the student with sufficient education to enable him to secure gainful employment. Yet few of those who finish the basic cycle are able to find the white-collar jobs to which they think they are entitled, their incomplete academic training having done little to prepare them. Even those who graduate from secondary school, acquiring the baccalaureate diploma, find it difficult to secure anything better than low-level employment if they decide not to enter an institution of higher education. The overwhelming preference for white-collar employment extends to those who choose to go to vocational rather than academic secondary schools, reflected in the fact that most enroll in commercial schools which offer preparation for office jobs. In the late 1960's it was reported that more than three-fourths of all students in vocational secondary institutions were taking commercial courses. The business community is able to absorb only a fraction of the graduates.

A chronic shortage of qualified teachers constitutes a serious obstacle to educational expansion and reform. Although the number of teachers in primary and secondary schools more than doubled in the 1960's, the increase barely kept pace with the growth in enrollment at the primary level and lagged behind at the secondary level. The tabulation below shows the distribution of teachers, by level, in public and private schools during the 1968/69 school year:

	Public	Private	Total
Preprimary	226	143	369
Primary:			
Urban	9,153	4,199	13,352
Rural	10,131	943	11,074
Total	19,284	5,142	24,426
Secondary:			
Academic	3,791	4,356	8,147
Vocational	1,753	1,547	3,300
Normal	624	363	987
Total	6,168	6,266	12,434

Normal school enrollment for 1970 was reported to be almost triple that of 1960, a reflection of the government's efforts to relieve the critical shortage of qualified teaching personnel. In theory, the educational qualification for primary school teachers is completion of the normal school course; in practice, a minority of teachers has met this requirement in the

past. During the 1960's only half of the students entering such schools finished the course, and fewer than half of these became teachers, many finding more desirable employment in other fields. In addition, the number of teachers leaving the profession has been consistently high. As a consequence, it has been necessary to staff the schools with large numbers of persons who do not have the equivalent of a secondary education. In an effort to remedy the situation, the Ministry of Education provides inservice training programs leading to a secondary school diploma. The problem of adequate staffing is particularly serious in rural schools because of the reluctance of teachers to accept assignments in the countryside, where living conditions are much less attractive than in the urban centers. Most of those teaching in rural schools remain only until they can transfer to an urban institution.

The accepted qualification for teachers in normal schools and academic secondary schools is a university degree or its equivalent, backed by studies in educational science. In the mid-1960's fewer than one-tenth of all teaching personnel in such institutions were so qualified, but the proportion is believed to have increased considerably since that time. The only known requirement for teachers in vocational secondary schools is prior training in the field of specialty up to the level of instruction.

Available statistics on the size of the educational establishment at the level of higher education are fragmentary and confusing. Information from official sources for 1968 indicated the existence of eight universities: five state institutions, located in Quito, Guayaquil, Cuenca, Loja, and Portoviejo; two universities functioning under the auspices of the Catholic Church, one in Quito and one in Guayaquil; and a university operated by Catholic laity in Guayaquil. There were, in addition, two polytechnic institutes, one superior technical institute, and four other postsecondary schools. In 1972 a government source placed the number of universities as high as 15, representing an increase of seven over 1968. No supplementary data are available concerning the nature or location of the additional institutions, and there is some question as to whether all of them might properly be defined as universities. Enrollment in higher education has soared since the late 1960's. According to a Ministry of Education bulletin, total enrollment in all institutions of higher learning in the 1968/69 academic year amounted to 22,637—16,951 males and 5,686 females. As of 1972, the total was officially reported to be about 58,000, more than 2½ times the 1968/69 figure. The largest and most influential university is the Central University of Quito, which dates from the late 18th century, followed by the University of Guayaquil, established in 1867. About two-thirds of all students enrolled in higher education are reported to be attending one or the other of these institutions. Most students come from middle class families; the children of the upper class are likely to attend schools in Europe or the United States. The rate of student attrition is high, especially in the first year. In the mid-1960's it was officially reported that only about one-fifth of original first-year matriculants remained to graduate.

Most Ecuadorean universities are made up of self-contained faculties which constitute a system that permits little flexibility. Enrollment in a particular faculty implies the adoption of a special field of endeavor that allows almost no opportunity for collateral study. Moreover, the right to transfer credits between faculties is normally not recognized, so that a student shifting his field of specialization must make a new start, even if it involves repeating general courses. Curriculums and teaching methods tend to be formal; instruction is dominated by the lecture, and the views and interpretations of the professional staff are seldom questioned. Classes are large, and library and laboratory facilities are meager. The lack of a full-time teaching staff presents a major problem for the state universities. Because salaries are low, most faculty members hold one or more other positions which often take precedence over their university obligations. Few hold office hours or devote time to scholarly research and writing. In addition, many are not properly qualified for their teaching posts; some lack a university degree, and some are teaching in fields other than their specialty.

Programs of study vary in terms of course length, ranging from 3 years for accreditation of nurses and social service workers to 7 years for physicians. Most of the program are of 5 years' duration, leading to a *licenciatura*, the degree customarily awarded for the completion of undergraduate studies. Advanced degrees are obtainable after 1 or 2 years of further study. A large proportion of those who complete a given course do not graduate, because they fail to sit for the final examination or to submit the required thesis. A student in this category is listed as an *egresado*, a title which in itself carries considerable prestige. Traditionally, Ecuadoreans entering higher education have preferred to pursue such prestigious fields as law, medicine, economics, and, to a lesser extent, civil engineering, although many graduating in these disciplines fail to practice their profession. By the late 1960's there was some evidence of a slight shift

away from the traditional choices toward such needed fields as agronomy, public administration, education, and paramedical and technical specialties.

The University of Guayaquil projects a more forward-looking image than the Central University of Quito, reflecting the generally more liberal atmosphere of the commercially oriented Costa. Educators at the Guayaquil Institution have introduced a number of reforms, being careful to cultivate student and public acceptance of changes before they are implemented. Meanwhile, the Catholic University of Ecuador (Quito) and the Catholic University of Santiago (Guayaquil), although afflicted to some extent with the formalism and rigidity of the state institutions, have gained a reputation for useful innovation and have managed to achieve a degree of academic excellence. Ecuador's two polytechnic institutes, designed to train technicians in various fields, are also regarded as progressive, and they have generally succeeded in remaining aloof from the disruptions that have plagued the state universities.

Although student activists constitute but a small minority in institutions of higher learning, they and their followers wield considerable influence by instigating frequent protests and demonstrations, some of them resulting in violent confrontations with the police. The disturbances may be engendered by such school-related issues as poor facilities or disaffection with instructors, but they are often exploited by organized political groups for broader purposes. The major student organization, the Federation of University Students of Ecuador (FEUE), which has branches in most institutions of higher education, has traditionally been dominated by leftists, who often work in conjunction with politicians and labor leaders. With FEUE in the vanguard, students were instrumental in overthrowing the government in 1961 and again in 1966. Upon assuming power in June 1970, President Velasco Ibarra closed the Central University and the Universities of Guayaquil, Cuenca, and Loja in reprisal against students of those institutions who had taken to the street in protest against his administration. They were not reopened until January 1971.

The government established the Department of Adult Education in the Ministry of Education in 1962, and literacy training was made compulsory for all illiterates between the ages of 15 and 50. Subsequently, the National Literacy Campaign was launched, with the aim of combining literacy classes with basic education for adults. Functioning through small centers scattered about the country and aided by religious groups, Labor unions, the universities, and other entities, the program made significant progress in the early years of operation. One factor working against its long-range success is the failure to provide simple reading materials for those completing the course. Without this type of support, many lapse back into illiteracy within a short time. Other efforts in the field of adult education are localized, confined largely to urban centers. They include a limited number of evening classes for working youths who have dropped out of the regular educational system; vocational training for adults conducted by the municipalities of Quito and Guayaquil; and some basic secondary and vocational training courses for persons aged 15 to 50 offered in various localities in the Costa.

G. Artistic and intellectual expression (U/OU)

In modern Ecuador literature and the arts derive from the Hispanic cultural heritage, aboriginal influence surviving only in modified form in folk handicrafts, music, and legends. Although ceramics, stonework, metallurgy, and textiles reached high levels of development in the pre-Columbian era, no unified culture emerged, and the rich regional styles were largely lost. The Incas incorporated Ecuador into their empire in the mid-1520's, but, because they dominated the area for only about 8 years, their influence on the arts was minimal. During the colonial period, which extended from about 1533 to 1822, religious art was predominant, concentrated in Quito. In fact, until well into the 20th century Quito was a major center of Hispanic cultural expression in the New World. Toward the end of the 19th century, increased contact with European cultural movements resulted in a gradual shift from religiously oriented expression to secular forms, and Guayaquil, by the 1920's, became a cultural center in its own right. In recent decades literature and the arts have focused primarily on themes of social protest, particularly the plight of the Indian in a hostile social environment. Folklore, furthermore, has been increasingly recognized as an important source of information for ethnographers, and research on Indian legends, music, and linguistics has attracted numerous scholars.

Although artistic and intellectual achievement is admired, few persons are able to earn an adequate living from cultural pursuits. Given the low level of education, moreover, involvement in multiple activities is generally regarded as a social responsibility, and many artists and writers are employed in education, government, or business. Most books are

published by the universities and the *Casa de la Cultura*, an autonomous government agency dedicated to the support of the arts. Similarly, painters are largely dependent on the patronage of a sponsor, who may arrange an exhibition or provide financial backing. Only a small group within the upper and middle classes supports cultural activities, which are rarely successful financial ventures. The lack of monetary reward is matched by the failure of the artistic and intellectual community to influence the course of socioeconomic change, the problems of which have been one of its major concerns during the 20th century.

The *Casa de la Cultura* is the principal cultural institution. Founded in Quito in 1943, it now has branches in 15 provincial cities. In addition to publishing books and pamphlets, it issues five magazines devoted to literature, education, and science; organizes free concerts, lectures, and art exhibits; and grants scholarships for study abroad in the arts. Other functions include the administration of the National Library and the Museum of Fine Arts, and the preservation of historic sites. In recent years inadequate funds have limited the scope of its activities. The military government which seized power in 1972 has reorganized the *Casa*, subordinating it to the Ministry of Education, integrating its activities with the goals of the national development plan, and eliminating leftists from its leadership. In the same year the *Casa* prepared the nation's first 5-year cultural development plan. Designed to increase the publication of literary works and to stimulate greater activity in the realms of drama, music, dance, painting, and the plastic arts, the organization proposes to expend the equivalent of over US$37 million during the years 1972-77. Another group that has been influential in lobbying for government support of the arts is the Association of Young Writers and Artists. In addition, the Ecuadorean Crafts Development Center, a nonprofit institution sponsored jointly by the Ecuadorean Government and AID, has attempted to foster a more widespread interest in indigenous handicrafts.

Because archeological excavations have been limited, comparatively little is known of pre-Columbian art. The earliest examples are figurines of nude females wrought in terra cotta, produced in the Costa in the second millennium B.C. Pre-Columbian art, however, reached its peak from A.D. 400 to 1000, known as the Classic Age, which also marked the emergence of distinct regional characteristics (Figure 23). During the succeeding period, which ended abruptly with the Spanish conquest, the quality of art declined in some regions, while in others it remained on a high level.

The richest and most artistic works were produced in the coastal region. Notable artifacts recovered from the early period are pottery vases ornamented by the negative painting technique in which the background rather than the decoration is colored. Polychrome painting in three hues was also introduced. The first extant stone construction was found in the area of Bahía de Caráquez,* and it included temple mounds surrounded by crude walls, interspersed with stairways. The most advanced level of development, however, was reached in the Esmeraldas and Manabí areas. In the former region, gold, platinum, silver, and copper were used extensively in fashioning richly ornamented vessels, headbands and diadems, and jewelry. Esmeraldas craftsmen were also skilled potters, producing naturalistic ceramic figurines and pottery necklets. The Manabí region is noted for monumental stone carvings in the form of stone seats supported by crouching human figures, as well as bas-reliefs and simple statues carved from large stone blocks. Art in the Sierra and the Oriente was derived largely from the Costa. Even there, art forms were usually adaptations from Mexico, Peru, and the Central American countries.

Today, in the production of native handicrafts the esthetic factor is generally ignored except in articles intended for the tourist and export trade. The Otavalo Indians, considered the finest weavers in the nation, sell their wares throughout the hemisphere. Long famous as the home of the Panama hat industry, Cuenca is also a major center of arts and crafts, especially pottery, textiles, and basketry. Although the demand for Panama hats declined appreciably after World War II, native craftsmen still weave them from the toquilla fiber, usually in casual styles for tourists (Figure 24). Some of the finer classic models cost up to US$50. Woodcarving has also been kept alive by native artisans, some of whom have exhibited in the United States.

During the colonial period the Roman Catholic Church dominated architecture, sculpture, and painting, combining the varied influences of Spain, Italy, and Flanders. Almost upon their arrival, the colonists laid out streets and squares and made large-scale plans for the construction of churches, monasteries, and civic buildings. In 1534 the Franciscans established the first school of arts and crafts in the Americas to teach the skills needed by the

*For diacritics on place names see the map in the text and the list of names at the end of the chapter.

Polychrome pottery vessel

Figure of a man chewing a coca leaf

FIGURE 23. Pottery of the Classic Age (U/OU)

FIGURE 24. Woman weaving a Panama hat in the casual style favored by vacationists. Hats are made in numerous shapes and colors. (U/OU)

church. Indians and eventually mestizos were trained by European artisans and artists as bricklayers, carpenters, stonecutters, sculptors, and painters. Students often surpassed their mentors in quality and quantity of works, producing a large surplus for export. Many native artists were known by name. In general, church architecture and decoration were based on European styles, including Italian Renaissance, Spanish baroque, Byzantine, and Spanish-Moorish.

Quito contains some of South America's most distinguished 16th and 17th century buildings. In fact, its churches and cloisters are rich museums of the fine arts. Perhaps the most important structure, which served as a model for a number of edifices on the continent, is the Church of San Francisco, founded in 1535. Basically Italian Renaissance in style, the facade is separated into two stories, with Doric columns on the lower level and Ionic columns above. The church's monastery (Figure 25), constructed in 1580, was also imitated in succeeding cloisters as well as civic buildings and private homes of the well-to-do. Although essentially baroque in style, the monastery shows the restraining influence of the late Renaissance. Its rooms are arranged around a large open patio lined with two galleries, the lower one composed of Moorish arches supported by stone columns and the upper with smaller arches carried by simple wooden pillars. The Church of La Compañía (Figure 26), largely completed in 1699, is considered the best expression of baroque in the nation. Based on a complex plan, both the exterior and the interior are richly ornamented. Numerous churches and cloisters incorporating its design were erected in Quito during the next 200 years.

FIGURE 25. Main cloister of the monastery of San Francisco, Quito (U/OU)

Although largely of European inspiration, architectural decoration often includes motifs of native flora and fauna. In addition, some Far Eastern elements are evident in the designs, brought by Franciscans who had lived in the Orient. A notable example of church ornamentation is the carved polychrome ceiling in the Monastery of San Francisco, made male figures, made of stucco and painted, are based on 16th century Flemish engravings. The interior of the Church of La Compañía, on the other hand, features elaborate arabesque designs, as does that of the Church of San Francisco (Figure 27).

The sculpture and painting of the Quito School, as it came to be called, were thoroughly realistic, depicting accurate flesh tones, facial expressions, and clothing (Figure 28). In sculpture, the forms were carved from wood, covered with plaster, painted in brilliant hues, and adorned with gold. One of the most famous native sculptors was Manuel de Chili, known as Caspicara (the pock-marked one), who produced religious images of extraordinary anatomical perfection. The works of Miguel de Santiago, the most distinguished painter of the school, were executed in dark and dramatic tones reminiscent of the Spanish painter Francisco de Zurbaran. Scores of other artists, some of them women, contributed to the fame of the school. Many works have been exhibited throughout the world.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, architecture and the fine arts were influenced by European revival styles, especially neoclassical, and secular art became predominant. Foreign architects designed a number of public buildings, but activity in this field was limited until after World War II, when increased construction and the boom in residential housing provided a new stimulus to architecture in the modern international style. Following independence, statues commemorating national heroes were commissioned by the government, exemplified by the neoclassical monuments to Simon Bolivar (Figure 29) and to Jose de San Martin. Among the few contemporary sculptors, Jaime Andrade is outstanding.

Nineteenth century painting, including many portraits of national leaders, was largely overstylized and academic. Toward the turn of the century, however, European impressionism was introduced.

FIGURE 26. Elaborate baroque facade of the Church of La Compania, Quito (U/OU)

and landscape painting became popular. During roughly the same period a group of artists turned to the *costumbrismo* style, depicting romanticized natives, scenery, and customs. This attempt to develop a national art continued into the 20th century until the emergence of *indigenismo*, the realistic portrayal of the Indian, inspired by the Mexican Revolution. A group known as the May Salon of the Syndicate of Ecuadorean Artists and Writers, including Luis Alberto Heredia, the nation's best known primitive painter, was the first to rebel against romanticism by presenting the Indian in a naturalistic manner, the pastels of the impressionistic palette giving way to the strong, rich colors of the Andean setting.

Social protest became the overriding theme of the mestizo Oswaldo Guayasamin (b. 1919), an avowed leftist and the nation's most famous painter. Influenced primarily by the Mexican muralist Jose Clemente Orozco, under whom he studied, Guayasamin has exhibited internationally and won numerous prizes. His work ranges from depictions of Indians in the *indigenismo* vein to modern expressionism, which incorporates elements of suffering dominating the works of Goya, El Greco, and Rouault; Picasso has also been a major influence. Guayasamin's first period is best represented by a 102-work series, *El camino del llanto* (The Path of Tears), which focuses on impoverished Indians, Negroes, and

FIGURE 27. Main altar of the Church of San Francisco, Quito. The retable features ornate designs worked in goldleaf. (U/OU)

FIGURE 28. From the Quito school, this sculpture is known as the "Sorrowful Mother." Accurate flesh tones and poignant facial expressions typify Quito colonial art. (U/OU)

mestizo (Figure 30) under such titles as "Pain," "Death," and "Cruelty." His still incomplete second series, *La edad de la ira* (The Age of Wrath), extends this vision to a more universal frame, reflecting the history of mankind in terms of hunger, strife, and misery. One of South America's most controversial figures, Guayasamín has been highly praised for conveying a tragic intensity of feeling and strongly criticized for his revolutionary themes. Among a number of other well known contemporary artists the trend toward abstraction has predominated, but none has approached the expressive power of Guayasamín.

In the field of literature, the poetry, essays and local histories written by Catholic clergy predominated during the early colonial period, followed by a

FIGURE 29. Simón Bolívar monument, executed in the neoclassical style typical of the 19th century (UPOU)

trend toward secular writing emphasizing nationalism. The first major literary figure was the mestizo scholar and liberal Eugenio Espejo (1747-95), whose works reflect the impact of the Enlightenment. The founder of the nation's first literary journal, Espejo is best known for his attacks on the colonial regime contained in a series of bitterly satirical dialogues entitled *El nuevo Luciano o despertador de los ingenios* (The New Lucian or Awakener of Minds), which led to his persecution, imprisonment, and death. Like Espejo, the poet José Joaquín Olmedo (1782-1847) was recognized throughout South America. The most famous of his sonorous patriotic verse, modeled on Greek and Roman epic poetry, is *Victoria de Junín o canto a Bolívar* (Victory at Junín or Ode to Bolívar). In the years following independence, political concerns also dominated the works of Juan Montalvo (1832-89), considered one of Ecuador's greatest writers and a master of Spanish prose. As a champion of liberalism, Montalvo wrote fiery pamphlets attacking the Conservative dictators Gabriel García Moreno and Gen. Ignacio de Veintimilla. Perhaps his most famous work is a series of polemical essays entitled *Capítulos que se le olvidaron a Cervantes* (Chapters Cervantes Forgot). Montalvo spent much of his life in exile.

Various European literary and philosophical movements, as well as *costumbrismo*, are reflected in the poetry and fiction of the postindependence era. The early poets, influenced by romanticism, employed pastoral, historical, and religious themes. Later 19th century poets turned to *costumbrismo*, portraying, like the artists of the same period, local customs and daily life in a picturesque and sentimental style. *Costumbrista* poetry moreover influenced the nation's first novelist, Juan Leon Mera (1832-94), whose best known work, *Cumandá*, centers on Indian life and is written in a grandiloquent style. Unlike the political writers of the day, Mera's work expresses sympathy for the church and the landowning class.

In the early years of the present century the major poets were modernists influenced largely by the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío, but the melancholy tone pervading their poetry gives it a distinctive character. One of this group was Arturo Borja (1892-1912), who wrote *La flauta de oro* (The Gold Flute). Later poets turned to symbolism and existentialism, notably Jorge Carrera Andrade (b. 1903), one of the most prolific writers in the country, whose works include *Familia de la noche* (Family of the Night). Contemporary poets, however, have generally rejected European influence and stressed themes of social protest. Members of the Tzantzico movement (the name taken from the Jívaro word *tzantza*, meaning shrunken head), for example, have broken with the formalism dominating the first half of the century and are producing "committed works."

In general, throughout the 20th century fiction has also been imbued with compassion for the poor and resentment of social injustice. Employing a realistic style, novelists of the Guayaquil School have dealt with social conditions on the coastal plains, such as the plight of workers in the rice paddies. Among the most prolific is Alfredo Pareja Diez-Canseco (b. 1908), whose novel *El muelle* (The Wharf) is considered his

FIGURE 30. Artu Oswaldo Guayasamín. His painting "The Cry" (1951), from his first series, incorporates the social protest theme typical of much of his work. (UJOU)

best work. Imprisoned a number of times on political charges, he frequently criticizes in unsparing detail the injustices suffered by urban workers. Among numerous Quito novelists, most of whom are also social realists, the most famous is Jorge Icaza (b. 1906), whose experience as an actor and playwright is reflected in the dramatic tone of his works. In *Huasipungo*, a realistic novel of extraordinary impact, he bitterly attacks the exploitation of the Sierra Indian. Translated into 17 languages, it is perhaps the best Ecuadorean novel to date. Although overshadowed by the exponents of social realism, Pablo Palacios (1906-46) has contributed a rich vein of satirical humor to the novel in such works as *Un hombre muerto a puntapiés* (A Man Kicked to Death). There are also a number of promising younger writers. Literary criticism, moreover, is well represented in the prodigious work of Benjamín Carrión (b. 1898), a long-time director of the *Casa de la Cultura*.

Drama has never been a major literary genre, few serious playwrights having gained a solid reputation because of the difficulty experienced in having their plays published and produced. Colonial drama was essentially religious, designed to impart instruction in a popular vein. In the 19th century, comedies, historical dramas, and romantic plays predominated, many of which appear bombastic and flamboyant today. A few plays by Espejo, Olmedo, and Montalvo were staged, but most were not published until the mid-20th century. Although Icaza wrote numerous farces that were well received in the 1920's, his dramas questioning norms of behavior were not popular, and, like many other writers, he concentrated on the novel. One exception, however, is the work of Demetrio Aguilera Malta, who was established as a successful novelist by the 1940's. His play *Lazaro*, the study of a schoolteacher, is frequently produced. In recent years the only dramatist to achieve recognition throughout the continent is Francisco Tobar García (b. 1928), whose dramas and comedies deal with almost every aspect of social relations.

Music and dance are the least developed forms of cultural expression. In fact, the nation's richest

FIGURE 31. Otavalo Indian boys playing the rondador and the quena, indigenous musical instruments still used throughout the Andean region (U/OU)

musical heritage is derived from the pre-Columbian era. Among the indigenous musical instruments still used by the Sierra Indians are the *rondador*, a panpipe made of bamboo reeds (Figure 31), the *quena*, a clay or bamboo flute, and percussion instruments fashioned from hollow logs, gourds, and toucan beaks. The guitar, the violin, and the harp were introduced by the Spanish. African musical influence is evident in the Costa, particularly the widespread use of the marimba.

Indian songs are characterized by a plaintive, melancholy air resulting from the use of the five-tone scale, which is common throughout the high Andean area. Popular music today often combines both Indian and Spanish elements, diverse versions of a single song emphasizing one or the other in different regions. Among coastal Negroes, lyrics accompanied by the marimba often express social norms. Popular dances also vary considerably in mood and rhythm throughout the country, notably the *sanjuanito*, the national dance, and the *guaranda* and the *danzante*. Several dances are adapted from neighboring countries, such as the *chilena* from Chile and the *pasillo* from Colombia. In the *bambuco*, the most popular coastal dance, the problems associated with serial polygyny are acted out in an intricate number of steps performed to the accompaniment of the marimba.

Few composers of serious music are known outside the country, although their works are performed within Ecuador by the National Symphony Orchestra. Luis H. Salgado (b. 1903) has written two romantic

operas, *Cumanda* and *Eanter*, and has incorporated folk melodies into a symphonic suite entitled *Atahualpa*.

II. Public information (C)

Despite the problems posed by language differences, illiteracy, and poverty, public information media are fairly well developed and, in view of the nation's sharp regional and cultural dichotomies, serve as major vehicles of unity. The press, with a long tradition of independence from partisan or government control, is influential in shaping public opinion among the literate urban population. Although few newspapers have a nationwide circulation, many cities and provincial towns have daily or weekly journals. Radio, however, is the most effective form of communication, an unusually large number of stations transmitting programs to every part of the country. Television, first introduced in 1960, and motion pictures are more important as sources of entertainment than as channels of information. Informal communication by word of mouth remains the major means for disseminating local news and information among the Sierra Indians, particularly at the weekly markets. News from outside the region is often passed along by itinerant peddlers and bus drivers as well as by local authorities or the village priest.

In most respects Quito is the news center of the nation, although it is rivaled by Guayaquil for business and commercial coverage. The largest newspaper readership and most of the radio and TV audience are located in these two cities, along with 75% of the nation's telephones, numbering 103,000 overall in 1972. Illiteracy and low income levels inhibit access to printed materials and to television, especially in rural areas, but the introduction of inexpensive transistor radios has made the medium available to many poor families. Radio is the only medium, moreover, which reaches the bulk of the Quechua-speaking population; several stations, mainly those operated by the Catholic and Protestant churches, broadcast in the Quechua language. Other media use the Spanish language exclusively, with the exception of a few publications issued in Quechua.

Occasionally the government has restricted the dissemination of news, although the Constitution guarantees freedom of expression. Some newspapers have been temporarily shut down for refusing to print official news releases and announcements. The government has also cited the constitutional provision prohibiting the publication of news "contrary to the national interest" to silence dissenting editors and broadcasters. At times, moreover, the administration has violated the privacy of the mails in order to confiscate "subversive" printed matter. In 1972 the military government initiated a campaign against motion pictures and advertisements considered obscene. Provincial censorship commissions have also been established. In general, however, overt censorship has been sporadic and transient in nature and has not seriously impaired freedom of expression. The creation in late 1972 of the Secretariat of Information was interpreted by the media as a further threat to freedom of information. This official news bureau, modeled after a similar Brazilian agency, is expected to exert considerable pressure on the media in an effort to promote government programs.

Public access to information, moreover, is defended by a number of special interest groups, such as the National Confederation of Ecuadorean Journalists, the Ecuadorean Broadcast Association, and the National Journalists' Union, all of which have protested against violations of free speech and free press. Additionally, the large number of news outlets makes it difficult for the government to impose overall control.

Most of the publishing and broadcasting media are privately owned and commercially operated. The leading newspapers have traditionally been owned over long periods of time by single families, several of whom have an interest in television or radio as well.

The quality of journalism and broadcasting has benefited from the UNESCO-sponsored International Center of Higher Studies in Journalism for Latin America established in 1958. Located in Quito, the center offers short courses to professional journalists, as well as advanced courses to graduates of regular journalism schools. These facilities have enabled journalists in Quito and Guayaquil to achieve a fairly high professional level in their work.

1. Printed matter

In 1972, 25 dailies with a total circulation of almost 275,000 were published in 10 cities. Only six papers, however, all located in Quito or Guayaquil, had circulations of 20,000 or more (Figure 32). Of these, only *El Comercio* and *El Universo* were distributed throughout the country. Most provincial newspapers circulated less than 5,000 copies. The largest dailies give full coverage to domestic and international events and present a diversity of opinion while reflecting the traditions of Sierra or Costa regionalism. Guayaquil papers report more extensively on the economic and

FIGURE 32. Principal daily newspapers, 1972 (U/OU)

NAME	DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT	ESTIMATED CIRCULATION	REMARKS
El Comercio	1906	50,000	Morning paper. Published in Quito by the Mantilla Ortega family. Influential out of proportion to its circulation. Extensive international, national, and Sierra region coverage with a liberal pro-U.S. bent.
La Razón	19[illegible]	25,000	Evening paper. Published in Guayaquil by Jorge Pérez Concha. Largely circulates among workers. Left-of-center.
El Telégrafo	1884	25,000	Morning paper. Published in Guayaquil by Castillo family. Extensive commercial, local, and social news. Independent, right-of-center.
El Tiempo	1953	20,000	Morning paper. Published in Quito by Crespo family. Right-of-center orientation. Close to Catholic Church.
Ultimas Noticias	1938	35,000	Afternoon edition of Quito's El Comercio. Publishes followup to top national and local stories.
El Universo	1921	15,000	Morning paper. Published in Guayaquil by Pérez Castro family. Business and commercial news with liberal, pro-U.S. orientation.

commercial life of the nation, while Quito papers focus more on government activities. Although strongly nationalistic, the major papers are generally friendly to the United States. Their editorials, however, may criticize specific U.S. policies or actions. *Agencia Ecuatoriana de Prensa* and *Agencia Información Nacional* are national news agencies; in addition, most dailies subscribe to one or more of the international wire services, including United Press International, Associated Press, Reuters, and *Agence France-Presse*. TASS and *Prensa Latina*, the Cuban news agency, are used by leftist publications; both maintain correspondents in Ecuador. Papers of less than 20,000 circulation deal almost exclusively with local news, and some tend toward sensationalism in content and format, including extensive use of large-type headlines and lurid photographs.

A substantial number of periodicals are published, including general interest magazines and those devoted to sports, religion, and other subjects. In 1972 periodical circulation was estimated to total 217,000. *Vistazo*, the most popular of the general interest magazines, with a circulation of 30,000, is an illustrated monthly. The *Vistazo* complex, owned by the Alvarado family, also publishes several other leading magazines. Latin American editions of *Time*, *Newsweek*, and other foreign magazines are popular. Scholarly journals with small circulations are published by the universities and by the *Casa de la Cultura*, which are also the main book publishers. The low level of demand for books, however, restricts publication to some 75 titles per year, about 50 by the *Casa*, usually in editions of less than 3,000 copies. Authors are required to pay the cost of publication and advertising for books published by private concerns. A considerable number of books, particularly textbooks, are imported, largely from the United States and Spain. The university libraries, the National Library in Quito, and its branch in Guayaquil maintain the principal collections; none lends books for outside reading.

2. Radio, television, and motion pictures

Ecuador is said to have the largest number of radio stations in relation to population of any country in the world. For many years, because no license was required to establish a station, so many transmitters were located in certain areas that serious interference difficulties developed. Most of the some 250 stations in operation in 1972 transmitted on less than one kilowatt of power. The quality of programming is generally poor; many stations that broadcast news employ no qualified reporters, and there are few cultural or educational programs. Numerous

complaints, moreover, have been made about the practice of granting a large number of frequencies to a single concern. Radio, nevertheless, remains the most effective means of communication in the country, reaching even isolated areas. Over 1 million receivers are in use, some of them large, battery-operated sets that serve as a focal point of community gatherings in village squares or cafés. Several stations broadcast in Quechua and other local dialects.

At least 5 major networks, comprising over 100 stations, functioned in 1972. The largest of these, the *Cadena Nacional Ecuatoriana*, included 59 stations, followed by the *Cadena Amarilla, Azul, y Roja*; the *Circuito HCMQ*; the *Cadena Radio Ecuatoriana*; and the *Cadena Cetelica*. The *Voice of the Andes*, operated by the World Missionary Fellowship, Inc., broadcasts programs in 13 languages from the most powerful transmitter on the continent. It also distributes inexpensive tube and transistor radios pretuned to its frequency. While programming is predominantly religious, the *Voice of the Andes* also transmits news, educational programs, and public service presentations, such as legislative proceedings. The government-operated station, *Radiodifusora Nacional del Ecuador*, broadcasts official news and announcements.

Television is rapidly becoming an important means of communication, but the cost of receivers continues to limit this medium to the upper income groups. Since the mid-1960's TV sets have been imported in significant numbers; in 1972 about 60,000 were in use. Although TV sets are not yet common in such public places as bars and restaurants, more than 25% of the population of Quito and Guayaquil are estimated to be regular viewers. The number of channels has increased from one in 1961 to 14 in 1972—five in Guayaquil, three in Quito, four in Cuenca, and two in Ambato. Like the radio and the press, ownership tends to be monopolistic, more than half of the stations being controlled by a single enterprise. Programs consist of news, features, and imported films and serials, mainly from the United States and Mexico.

Motion pictures continue to provide a major recreational outlet for the urban population. In 1972 there were 220 motion picture theaters with a seating capacity of over 150,000. Most of the some 500 films imported annually are from the United States, while others originate in Mexico, Argentina, and various European countries. A Soviet film agency based in Quito distributes several Soviet and Eastern European films annually and sponsors film festivals through the *Casa de la Cultura*. There is no local film industry.

E. Selected bibliography (U/OU)

Beals, Ralph. *Community in Transition: Nayon, Ecuador*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1964. A useful discussion of various aspects of social organization in a Quechua-speaking community near Quito.

Cochrane, James D. "Ecuador: A Present-day Portrait," *Current History*, vol. 51, no. 303, pp. 264-69, November 1966. A valuable analysis of recent social, political, and economic trends.

Hurtado, Osvaldo. *Dos mundos superpuestos: ensayo de diagnostico de la realidad ecuatoriana*. Quito: Instituto Ecuatoriano de Planificacion para el Desarrollo Social. 1969. A descriptive and analytical study of social, economic, political, religious, and educational aspects of society.

Linke, Lilo. *Ecuador—Country of Contrasts*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. A general introductory work useful for its historical analyses.

Nett, Emily. "Functional Elites of Quito," *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 112-20, January 1971. An analysis of the impact of modernization on Quito's growing middle class.

Preston, D.A. "Negroes, Mestizos, and Indians in an Andean Environment," *Geographical Journal*, vol. 131, no. 2, pp. 220-29, June 1965. One of the few works available in English which compares the life styles of differing ethnic groups living in the same community.

Rubio Orbe, Gonzalo. *Poblacion rural ecuatoriana*. Quito: Talleres Graficos Nacionales. 1968. A descriptive study of rural Indians by a noted Ecuadorean sociologist.

U.S. Agency for International Development. *Land Reform in Ecuador*. Washington, D.C. 1970. A discussion of the 1964 Agrarian Reform Law with useful background information on rural living conditions.

Whitten, Norman E., Jr. *Class, Kinship, and Power in an Ecuadorian Town—The Negroes of San Lorenzo*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1965. A study of social change since World War II in a predominantly Negro port town on the northern coast.

Wilson, Jacques. *The Development of Education in Ecuador*. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press. 1970. A comprehensive analytical study of the educational system.

Glossary (u/ou)

Abbreviation	Spanish	English
BEV	*Banco Ecuatoriano de Vivienda*	Ecuadoran Housing Bank
CEDOC	*Central Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Clasistas*	Ecuadoran Central of Class Organizations
CEOSL	*Confederacion Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres*	Ecuadoran Confederation of Free Trade Unions
CLAT	*Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores*	Latin American Workers' Central
CTE	*Confederacion de Trabajadores Ecuatorianos*	Confederation of Ecuadoran Workers
FEUE	*Federacion de Estudiantes Universitarios del Ecuador*	Federation of University Students of Ecuador
IESS	*Instituto Ecuatoriano de Seguridad Social*	Ecuadoran Social Security Institute
LEA	*Liga Ecuatoriana Antituberculosa*	Ecuadoran Antituberculosis League

Places and features referred to in this chapter (u/ou)

	Coordinates	
	° ′S	° ′W
Ambato	1 15	78 37
Babahoyo	1 48	79 31
Bahía de Caráquez	0 38	80 25
Cuenca	2 53	79 54
Esmeraldas	0 59N	79 43
Galapagos Islands (isls)	0 30	90 30
Guayaquil	2 10	79 50
Ibarra	0 21N	78 07
Loja	4 00	79 13
Machala	3 16	79 58
Manta	0 57	80 44
Milagro	2 07	79 36
Otavalo	0 14N	78 16
Portoviejo	1 03	80 27
Quevedo	1 02	79 29
Quito	0 13	78 30
Riobamba	1 40	78 38
Santo Domingo	0 15	78 09
Tulcán	0 45N	77 43

NOTE—All latitudes are South, unless otherwise indicated.