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Migration and Identity in Host-Communities: Global North and South Influence on Ecuadorian Identity

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MIGRATION AND IDENTITY IN HOST-COMMUNITIES: GLOBAL NORTH AND

SOUTH INFLUENCE ON ECUADORIAN IDENTITY

A Thesis Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

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August 2021

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In the South American region that encompasses Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela, patterns of human mobility have been predominantly influenced by various forms of internal conflict and limited economic prospects. The relative political, social, and economic stability which Ecuador has experienced in the region since the beginning of the 21st century, however, has made it a desired destination for many of its neighbor's displaced populations and opportunity seekers. Similar factors have also enticed certain populations proceeding

from areas of higher global development to settle into the nation's tranquil environment. These Ecuadorian circumstances allow two very distinct groups of individuals, who exist in a migrant condition – migrants from the Global South (i.e., Colombian, and Venezuelan) and migrants from the Global North (i.e., U.S. and European) – to become an influencing force on the attitudes and perspectives of the communities and members of the communities which have become hosts to them. The accounts that were gathered from 21 interviewees from two sites experiencing these conditions (Cotacachi and Otavalo) about each migrant group, themselves as a host-community, and the shared context of all three communities, allowed for direct comparisons of the factors that influence personal, communal, and societal identity narratives. Predominantly, the conditions attributed to the members of the Global South were negative and counterintuitive towards local aspirations, while the Global North's were mostly positive in nature, and beneficial. The strongest comparisons arising from the self-conceptualization of locals in an increasingly globalizing present and future, the relative and hierarchical standing which each migrant group has in this global context, and how each migrant community fits into the expectations of the locals' global narratives. The contexts of these contrasting migrant groups, and the local perspective of their condition and impact as migrants in their communities, provided a drastic comparison from which to explore how individual identity is shaped and negotiated in the Ecuadorian communities that experience both immigrant influxes.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

To better understand how identity is influenced in communities experiencing different

migration influxes and to address the way that conflict arises in this context, it is necessary to

examine the perspectives of host community members themselves as they internalize the

arrival of foreign populations, discern positive and negative aspects, and reconceptualize

their own identity and place in society. From the beginning of the 21st century, and much of

the previous, the migratory patterns of the South America region encompassing Colombia,

Ecuador, and Venezuela, have been predominantly influenced by various forms of internal

conflict and limited economic prospects within each state. However, the relative political and

economic stability which Ecuador has experienced in the last decade compared to its

northern neighbors, has made it a desired destination for many of their displaced populations

and opportunity seekers; similar factors have also enticed certain populations proceeding

from areas of higher global development seeking international ventures and the opportunity

to settle into the nation's tranquil environment.

The current conspicuous presence of these populations from contrasting backgrounds resettling into Ecuadorian communities presents an environment where factors shaping the identity narratives of the local individuals and communities become more discernable. The way in which the two migrant groups' context and migration as a whole are perceived by the host communities and handled in the local context creates an opportunity for introspection and insight into the individual, communal, and social conditions of the host communities. I relied on this unique condition which Ecuador currently holds in the region to explore how individual identity is shaped and negotiated in Ecuadorian communities in the face of different kinds of immigrant influxes, specifically the contrasting difference between immigrants from the Global South (i.e. Colombian and Venezuelan) and those from the global north (i.e. U.S. and Europe).

This study attempts to conceptualize the impact which these migrant communities have on the way in which local Ecuadorian individuals and communities perceive themselves. The conceptualization of how local individuals perceive themselves becomes highlighted by comparing local perceptions and broad narratives of the two migrant communities with themselves and with the local conditions, These comparisons emphasize various aspects of the local norms and society and place a spotlight on specific aspects which each individual presents as more valuable and subject to friction in the presence of the migrant influx. The result of these perceptions of community, self, and the impact of the migrant influx ultimately show that specific concepts which each individual holds in high

esteem, such as their role within their community, family, and society, become amplified in the presence of the migrant communities.

1.1 North-South Divide

History, geography, cultural links, trade networks, war and conquest, and a number of other factors have created narratives of civilizations and societies distinct from one another. The East-West dichotomy is a concept that is perceived to distinguish two distinct regions of the world, not necessarily along a geographical dimension, but more precisely classifying human societies along cultural, religious, and ethnic spheres[1]. The civilized/uncivilized narrative has also been historically present throughout the world dividing peoples of certain social and cultural norms with others whose distinct set of norms are perceived as inferior or undeveloped.[2]

As a result of post-World-War II ideological lines, the Three World Model became the most ubiquitous classification of global spheres throughout the second half of the 20th century.[3] Although this conceptualization divided the Cold War era world ideologically, it did so economically as well focusing greatly in states and regions of limited economic development as a target for the "first and second world" nations and spheres to influence and bring to their side, thus increasing the hegemony of one side over the other. This concept,

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[1] McNeil, "What We Mean by the West."
[2] Tarazona, "The Civilized and the Uncivilized."
[3] Wolf-Phillips, "Why Third World?"

along with its ideological delineations, became less relevant as a global perspective towards the end of the 20th century as the USSR and communist administrations across the world ended in various manners, however, the economic development distinction between different regions of the world remained.

The developed/undeveloped divide is now characterized as a Global North, Global South divide. The *Brandt Line* "created to illustrate international inequalities and the socioeconomic gulf that separates regions of the world, popularized in North-South: A Programme for Survival – also known as the Brandt report. Snaking across continents to divide the world into the richer North and the poorer Global South"[4] has been the most popular and recognizable ways to illustrate the current conceptualization of international economic inequality since it's conception in the 1980s.[5] When compared to various forms of developmental, or economic global standings continues to provide an accurate description of a global divide. Much like the east/west division, the north/south distinction is drawn from the generalized location of distinct regions of economic development or stagnancy. The nations of the Global North generally (but not necessarily), located in the northern hemisphere, are characterized as having stronger economies, greater accumulations of wealth, technological advancement, and political stability. The nations of the Global South, generally (but not necessarily), located in the southern hemisphere on the other hand are characterized by political instability, economic stagnation and being economically dependent

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[4] Lees, "The Brandt Line after Forty Years," 87.
[5] Independent Commission on International Development Issues and Brandt, *North-South, a Programme for Survival*.

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of the Global North.[6] These conditions have allowed the Global North to have greater power over the general direction of global politics and trade as they dominate the global markets. This north/south relationship is also heavily influenced by a legacy of colonialism and extraction; in the case of South and Latin America as a whole, its colonial and post-colonial circumstances can be attributed to much of its present social, political, and global situation.
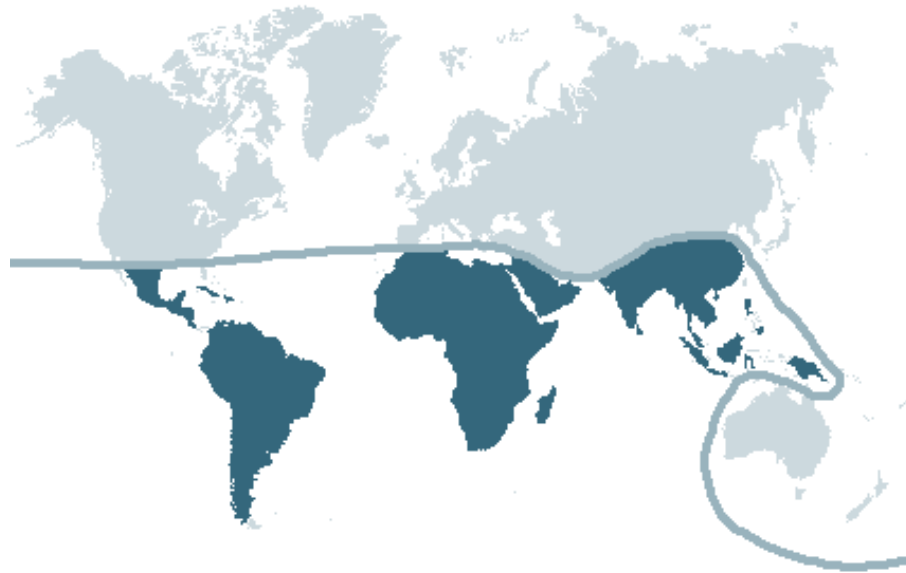
Fig. 1 The Brandt Line

Source: Royal Geographical Society (2010)[7]

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[6] Odeh, "A Comparative Analysis of Global North and Global South Economies."
[7] RGS.
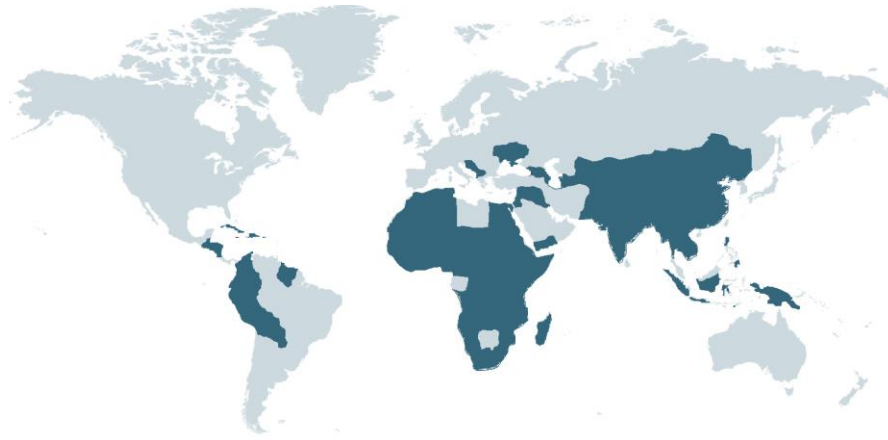
Fig. 2 Countries with a GDP (PPP) per capita <US$ 10,700 (Shaded) in 2010

Source: Royal Geographical Society (2010)[8]

The distinction between the conditions afforded to the citizens from each category's nations drastically shape their lifestyles, and when compared between the two regions, shows a disparity on a global scale. Any interaction between individuals preceding from different categories will be dominated by this distinction. It must not be overlooked that although the general conditions of both the north and the south are portrayed in a general manner, it does not necessarily imply that the experience of every individual preceding from each category will be the same, and the social conditions of everyone may greatly differ from the social conditions of the nation or region they precede from. This study will rely on the general portrayal of the north/south divide as it manifests in the perception of the interviewees.

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[8] RGS.

1.2 Ecuador

Fig. 3 Map of North-West South America (Ecuador Outlined)

Source: Google Maps, 2021

Named after its geographical location at the equator, Ecuador is located on the coast

of the northwestern region the South American continent, and is bordered by Colombia in the

north, Peru to its east and its south, and the Pacific Ocean to its West. Along with its

continental territory, the Galapagos Islands, about 1000km west of the nation's coast, are also

sovereign Ecuadorian land. Ecuador's geography divides the nation into 4 regions with

distinct peoples, features, dialects, and customs; from east to west: the *Amazonia* or *Oriente*

region marks the nation's Amazonian lands, the *Sierra* is dominated by the Andes Mountain

range, the *Costa* is characterized by all the coastal and flatlands west of the Andes, *and Insular/Galapagos* is made up entirely of the Galapagos archipelago.

Its People

In 2017, Ecuador's population reached roughly 17 Million, of which 8.3 million lived in the Costa, 7.5 million in the Sierra, 800,000 in the Amazonia, and 30,000 in the Galapagos. [9] According to the most recent national census conducted in 2010, the nation's demographic makeup is divided among 8 major self-categorizing racial denominations: Mestizo (mixed Amerindian and White) 71.9%, Montubio (mixed Amerindian and White distinct to the costal countryside) 7.4%, Amerindian (various indigenous peoples and nations) 7%, White (direct European descendance) 6.1%, Afroecuadorian (mixed Amerindian, White, and Black) 4.3%, Mulatto(mixed White and Black) 1.9%, Black(direct African descendance) 1%, other 0.4%.[10]

Ecuador's demographics are a product of centuries of historic interaction between early indigenous peoples and migrating, conquesting, and coexisting peoples from the Americas and abroad. This study focuses mostly on the nation's most populous ethnic demographics, Mestizo and indigenous, which share a complex history of subjugation, colonization, rivalry as well as coexistence and dependency with each other and with themselves. Presently, the dominant cultural norms reflect the Spanish and European

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[9] Ortiz, "Datos."
[10] INEC, "Estadisticas."

influence of the nation's colonial past, however the indigenous cosmovision and syncretized local practices have embedded themselves into the cultural norms of the nation, creating a cultural and national identity that has become truly autochthonous to the entire nation.

Census data shows that the percentage of indigenous population in the nation numbered 362,500 in 1990 and 830,416 ten years later in 2001. Compared to the rate of growth of the non-indigenous population of 22%, the indigenous population grew 129% at the same time indicating irregularities in the data.[11] While the data gathering methods certainly have an impact, this abnormality is attributed to a perceived shift in indigenous perception throughout the 90's that stepped away from narratives of indigenous inferiority and which prompting higher numbers of individuals to self-categorize as indigenous. There are 14 distinct indigenous nationalities in the nation accounting for 1.1 million individuals in 2017,[12] each with its own customs, beliefs, language, and history. Most indigenous populations continue to maintain their own communities in the Amazonian jungles, and the rural portions of the Andes and the coasts residing in various hamlets and towns throughout the region. In the Sierra, 21% of the indigenous population resides in the Mestizo dominated urban areas while continuing to maintain their cultural identity to various degrees and without necessarily assimilating entirely or at all into the broader culture.[13]

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[11] Chisanguano, "La poblacíon indígena del Ecuador."
[12] "Mundo Indígena 2019: Ecuador."
[13] "Mundo Indígena 2019: Ecuador."

La Sierra
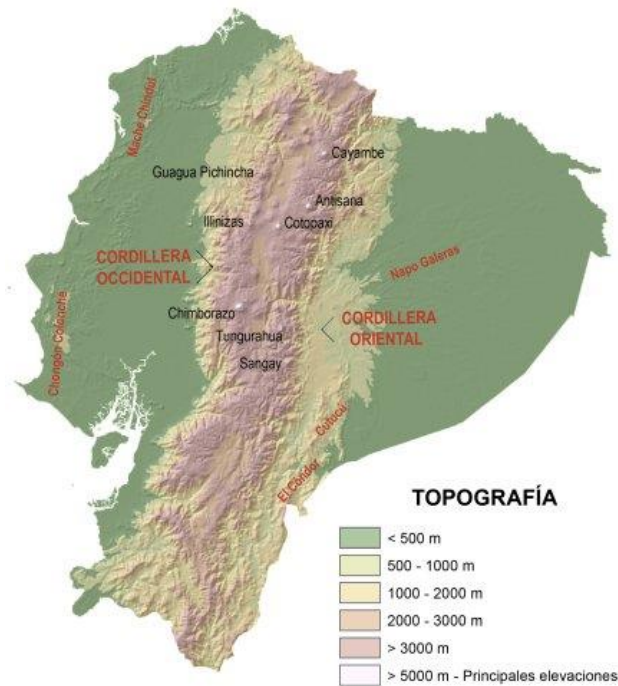
Fig. 4 Topographic Map of Ecuador

Source: Fungario QCAM, Pontifica Universidad Católica del Ecuador[14]

Running through the middle of the nation's continental territory, The Andes

Mountain range has dominated a major portion of the Ecuador's culture, image, and identity.

The rocky mountain range reaches as high as 6,263 meters above sea level and is

characterized by volcanoes, valleys, and lakes; its wide range of elevations allow for a

variety of unique ecosystems to exist within short distances. The same conditions also allow

for a great variety of secluded settlements and communities and for its 7.5 million

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[14] Varela and Ron, "Geografía y Clima."

inhabitants, *Serranos(as),* to develop local identities distinct from their close neighbors. This region is also home to the nation' largest category of indigenous peoples, the Andean Kichwas, making up 75.5% of the nation's total indigenous population.[15]

<u>Imbabura</u>

Located roughly 100km south from the nation's northern border with Colombia, the Imbabura Province is the second most northern province of the Sierra. The province's territory encompasses several prominent volcanoes and extend extends down both to the amazon basin and the costal lowlands. Its geography of hospitable valleys and fertile highlands, proximity to the nation's northern border and the nation's capital as well as its access to some of the most updated and expanded sections of the Pan-American Highway in the nation have made the province an area of high movement and development.

These same geographical factors have drawn peoples to the valleys and highlands of Imbabura long before Spanish or Inca conquests, making it the historical home of several distinct indigenous peoples and nations; the most numerous and prominent of which in the province being the Kichwa Otavalo. When compared to the national average of 70% mestizo and 7% indigenous, Imbabura's sits at 65% mestizo, and a substantial 25% indigenous population.[16]

[15] "Mundo Indígena 2019: Ecuador."
[16] INEC, "Resultados del Censo 2010 de Poblacion y Vivienda En el Ecuador, Fasiculo Provincial Imbabura."
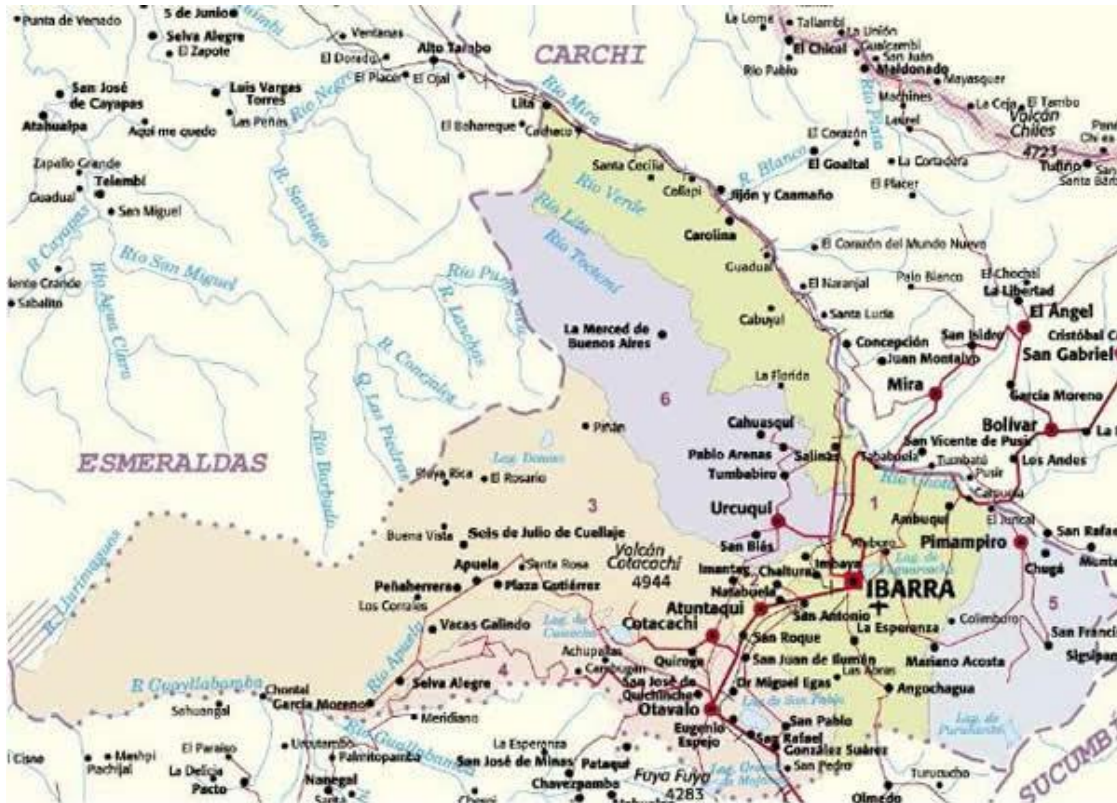
Fig 5. Provincial Map of Imbabura

Source: Global Business to Business, Ecuador Maps and Regions[17]

Cotacachi & Otavalo

Nestled among lakes and volcanoes, the inter-Andean valley where this study focuses

is home to the Otavalo and Cotacachi cantons and their respective capital cities of the same

name. Cotacachi canton's 40,000 inhabitants[18] are mostly settled around the city of

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[17] Global Business 2 Business, "Ecuador World Cities. Maps. Regions. Provinces. Municipalities."
[18] INEC, "Resultados del Censo 2010 de Poblacion y Vivienda En el Ecuador, Fasiculo Provincial Imbabura."

Cotacachi, which is quietly situated about 8km from the country's main highway and surrounded by sparsely populated rural areas. Cotacachi is separated by about 11 miles from Otavalo Canton's capital city, Otavalo, with a population of about 100,000 inhabitants,[19] also mostly settled close to the urban areas of the capital. While the Imbabura province already boasts an average of 25% indigenous population, the indigenous population comprises about 40% of the population of Cotacachi,[20] and 57% in Otavalo,[21] making the two cities stand out nationally and internationally as a hub of cultural diversity, and coexistence between the Mestizo and Indigenous populations. The historical ethnic diversity of both of these regions is also represented in their respective economies as the indigenous textile practices in Otavalo, and leather working heritage of Cotacachi have made each city recognized nationally and internationally for the production of these goods.

Población (habitantes) por grupo étnico							
Cantón	Afro	Awá	Chachi	Natabuela	Otavalo	Karanki	Kayambi	Mestizo
Ibarra	15748	793	5	236	541	8408	563	141675
Antonio Ante	768	8	10	1167	4353	24	1	33765
Cotacachi	1101	9	5	28	3117	43	14	21430
Otavalo	1041	1	8	20	37830	708	5809	42260
Pimampiro	1317	0	0	58	221	1078	22	9524
Urcuquí	1451	261	0	18	89	13	1	13030

Fuente: Censo de Población y Vivienda, INEC 2010

Table 1. Imbabura Population (inhabitants) by Ethnic Group in 2010

Source: Censo de Poblacion y Vivienda, INEC 2010[22]

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[19] INEC.
[20] Alcaldia De Cotacachi, "Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial Cantón Cotacachi 2015-2035."
[21] GAD Otavalo, "Actualización Del Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial Del Cantón Otavalo - Provincia de Imbabura."
[22] INEC, "Estadisticas."

Combined with the rich cultural diversity on display, the steady temperate climate, and natural beauty of the environment, the quiet alure of the entire region has enticed many individuals to seek out the tranquil lifestyle for themselves as made evident by the growing community of mostly U.S. retirees[23] that have selected Cotacachi as their new home. Meanwhile the city of Otavalo's presence along the nation's main artery has led to a much greater commercial presence in the area as well as making its residents witness to the nation's flow of human movement; its economic opportunities enticing many of the displaced populations of Ecuador's neighbors to stay and attempt to make a living there.[24]

1.3 Colombia

After enduring the constant internal struggle of guerrilla warfare and tactics for more than 50 years, a set of peace talks, referendums, and legislation began taking place in 2012, resulting in a signed peace agreement between the Colombian state and the most prominent figure heads of the most prominent guerrilla, the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*, FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia), along with other smaller militias in 2016. Although the demobilization following the agreement saw thousands of guerrilla and militia members voluntarily disarm and demobilize, several guerrilla groups remained active, including the smaller but more militant group *Ejercito de Liberacion*

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[23] Alcaldia De Cotacachi, "Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial Cantón Cotacachi 2015-2035."
[24] GAD Otavalo, "Actualización Del Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial Del Cantón Otavalo - Provincia de Imbabura."

Nacional, ELN (National Liberation Army), as well as dissident FARC groups which still control large areas of the southeastern portion of the nation.[25]

According to the 2010 census, out of the 181,000 foreign migrants in Ecuador, 89,000 were of Colombian origin, making up 49.45% of the migrant population in the nation.[26] In 2020 UNHCR reports that of the 69,897 (not including Venezuela) recognized refugees currently in Ecuador, more than 95% of them are Colombian.[27] Ecuador's Agenda for Human Mobility, shows Colombia as having the greatest migrant influx to Ecuador before 2015, and second greatest since 2016, numbering 75,000 until the end of 2019[28]. The presence of Colombian migrants in Otavalo is presently recognized by the Canton's Planning Agenda for mostly commercial means,[29] having a dynamic impact in the region's economy as Colombian goods, arts, and crafts become part of the market. In Cotacachi, the crafting of leather products has become largely dependent on Colombian raw materials representing a large portion of the $1,778,535 yearly leather trade.[30]

[25] Colombia Reports, "Illegal Armed Groups (Maps)."
[26] Loor Valeriano and Zurita Herrera, "Estadísticas y Distribución Espacial de La Migracion En El Ecuador Segun Censo 2010."
[27] UNHCR, "Ecuador."
[28] Consejo Nacional Para la Igualdad de Movilidad Humana, "Agenda Nacional Para La Igualdad de Movilidad Humana 2017-2021."
[29] GAD Otavalo, "Actualización Del Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial Del Cantón Otavalo - Provincia de Imbabura."
[30] Alcaldia De Cotacachi, "Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial Cantón Cotacachi 2015-2035."

Fig. 6 Border Integration Zone Colombia-Ecuador

Source: Plan Binacional de Integración Fronteriza 2014-2022[31]

Although the Colombian peace agreement with major guerilla groups marked a positive direction for the stability of the region, presently, security concerns remain unchanged due to the renegade FARC forces and the various other groups that did not participate in the peace talks. The economic opportunities and greater safety and stability across their neighbor's border continues to entice many Colombians to make the relatively short trip to Ecuador's northern regions.

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[31] Senplades, "Plan Binacional de Integración Fronteriza 2014-2022."

1.4 Venezuela

The social and political upheaval that followed the death in 2013 of the influential and divisive socialist Venezuelan leader, Hugo Chavez, along with global market conditions that plunged the price of oil, the nation's main export, created continuously worsening conditions for the nation. In 2013 the already rising inflation rates of the Venezuelan Bolivar of 40% would begin a catastrophic climb reaching rates of 6500% by 2018,[32] starving the social projects established by Chavez, crippling the national administration, and plunging the nation into chaos.[33][34] The ongoing economic crisis resulted in the day-to-day climbing of prices, the insolvency of the Bolivar forced widespread shortages of basic necessities and medicine forcing Venezuelans from all rungs of society to seek better days outside of the country.

Presently there are over 5.4 million Venezuelan refugees and migrants worldwide, about half of which are presently living under other legal forms of stay in the Americas, and over 800,000 asylum seekers with only 140,000 recognized refugees[35] According to UNHCR, more than 1.5 million Venezuelans have arrived in Ecuador since 2016, and by the end of 2020, Venezuelan migrants and refugees in the country will number over 400,000.[36][37] The Ecuador's Human Mobility Agenda places Venezuela as the top source of migrant influx

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[32] IMF, "República Bolivariana de Venezuela."
[33] The World Factbook, "Venezuela."
[34] Enciclopedia Britannica, "Venezuela - Services."
[35] UNHCR, "Venezuela Situation."
[36] UNHCR, "2020 Planning Summary - Operation: Ecuador."
[37] UNHCR, "2021 Planning Summary - Operation: Ecuador."

to the nation since 2016, totaling 384,000 by the end of 2019.[38] The harsh social and

economic conditions that developed in Venezuela led to highly informal and unpredictable

mobility from its displaced populations making it difficult to track their numbers from region

to region. However, the United Nation's Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs'

relief organization Relief for Venezuela shows in their September 2020 report that the offices

in Imbabura provided assistance to 2,751 refugees which have already received assistance in

previous months as well as to 205 new refugees and migrants. The Venezuelan influx has

been widely reported by news sources, often focusing on the harsh realities of the migrant's

conditions, and there is no shortage of news reporting crimes committed by Venezuelan

citizens throughout the entire nation.[39]

1.5 United States and the Global North

While the arrival of the Venezuelan population has dominated the attention of human

mobility in the nation for the previous years, United States citizens have registered the

second largest number of entries to the nation, making up 14.5% in 2018, and 19.7% 2019 of

all entries into the country. According to the 2010 census, 15,000 US citizens reside in

Ecuador on a permanent basis, with a median age of 19 years. Overall, 37% of US migrants

to Ecuador do so as scientists or researchers, 14.39% in managerial roles, 11.28% in sales,

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[38] Consejo Nacional Para la Igualdad de Movilidad Humana, "Agenda Nacional Para La Igualdad de Movilidad Humana 2017-2021."
[39] Pugh and Moya, *Words of (Un)Welcome*.

10.44% in administrative support roles, 9.33% as technical specialists, .15% in military occupations.[40] The US citizens make up 8.3% of all migrant presence in the nation, making it the third largest foreign community in Ecuador.[41] Ecuador's Department of Tourism also reports that in 2018, 1,471,968 foreigners arrived in Ecuador (excluding Venezuelans),[42] and that by 2019, influx from the prioritized markets would increase overall; highlighting the increase from the US by 15.1%, Spain by 15.8%, Germany by 4.5%, Canada by 10.6%, and France by 12.2%.[43] These catered markets are highlighted as directly beneficial to the nation as their influx is related to an increase in tourism revenue.[44] In 2015, Universidad Tecnica del Norte reported that the majority of foreign tourists visiting Otavalo were between the ages of 18 and 25, originating from USA 33%, Canada 13%, Germany 8%, Spain 6%, and a total of 18% composed of French, Australian, Greek, Italian, and New Zealand migrants.[45] Cotacachi on the other hand recognizes in their Planning Agenda that over the previous years a migrant influx of older men and women, predominately from the United States and Europe, have become permanent residents of the canton.[46]

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[40] Loor Valeriano and Zurita Herrera, "Estadísticas y Distribución Espacial de La Migracion En El Ecuador Segun Censo 2010."

[41] Loor Valeriano and Zurita Herrera.

[42] Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, "Movimientos Internacionales."

[43] Ministerio de Turismo del Ecuador, "Promedio de llegada de visitantes extranjeros a Ecuador creció 4% en 2019."

[44] Bastidas Benitez and Sandoval Realpe, "Boletín Informativo: Otavalo Cifras Turísticas 2015."

[45] Bastidas Benitez and Sandoval Realpe.

[46] Alcaldia De Cotacachi, "Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial Cantón Cotacachi 2015-2035."

Taking advantage of north/south presence in a nation that is considered part of the Global South along with the geographic and ethnic particularities of a unique set of communities in the highlands of Ecuador provides greater depth for analysis of social factors that would otherwise not be evident had the entire population of the region been more homogenous or exposed to a single prevalent migrant influx. The different flow of foreign traffic that has become prevalent in Cotacachi and Otavalo provided a unique look at the contrasting social perspectives of its diverse population and allow for greater depth when analyzing the factors that impact these distinct identity perspectives about themselves and their communities.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Social Theories

<u>Social Identity Theory</u>

The concept of *identity,* and how individuals and communities perceive it as something so crucial to their survival, shines out as a key factor contributing to the start and perpetuation of conflict in areas experiencing high levels of immigration. Beyond the perceived competition for physical space and resources, examining the identity factors that permeate the interactions between host and migrant communities can shape the understanding of why conflict has become a part of the migration context. The social identity theory frames identity as a concept that is constructed by social interaction and will therefore serve as a theoretical foundation towards understanding the way that migration has impacted the way Ecuadorian communities perceive themselves.

Originally conceived as a "theory of intergroup relations and conflict or cooperation"[47] the social identity theory has continuously expanded, yet remains grounded on intergroup relations, as Hogg explains, "what happens within groups is inextricable from and fundamentally affected by what happens between groups, and vice versa" (2016).[48] The field of intergroup relations concentrates on the social dynamics that arise between two groups of individuals, and how these dynamics directly impact the interactions within the groups themselves. Any interaction between two individuals will be impacted by the social layers that belong to each individual, extending from that individual interaction to the web of interactions that is part of each individual's life.

In the migration context, the theoretical foundations of the interactions of ingroups and outgroups can help to better understand certain patterns of aversion directed at outgroups. Hogg and Reid define the "regularities in attitudes and behavior that characterize a social group and differentiate it from other social groups" as group norms. [49] Their key assertions highlight the way that these norms are defined as fluid and dependent on context within the ingroup as well as compared to the outgroup. This suggests that individuals tend to interpret, internalize, and accept familiar social trends as group norms and develop prototypes for themselves and their community members, reinforcing their perception of these same norms, and in turn governing their own identity and behavior.

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[47] Tajfel and Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict."
[48] Hogg, "Social Identity Theory."
[49] Hogg and Reid, "Social Identity, Self-Categorization, and the Communication of Group Norms."

A widely accepted concept that has been identified by social identity theory is the pursuit of *positive social identity*, being identified as "favorable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant outgroups"[50] This perceived need for individuals to define themselves as being above others, socially or otherwise, creates a sense of competition and a rationalization of status as a scarce resource giving rise to *social competition.*[51][52] Social competition manifests as intergroup conflict due not solely because of the presence of an out-group, but for the social hierarchy that is the result of positive social identity seeking.

In this dynamic of group norms and social competition, the key factors attributed to the interaction between groups and the subsequent conceptualization of each other are the *status* of each group's social group standing relative to a comparable out-group, the kind of *permeability* or ability to move across group boundaries that is available to each group, how *stable* is the status hierarchical relationship, and the *legitimacy* of the status of each group.[53][54] The structure of beliefs and perceptions about themselves and others that can be discerned by operationalizing these four variables influences the stability and legitimacy of group identity boundaries.

In the case of migration, and the context of this study, social identity theory and its key concepts serve to identify and understand what characteristics have greater influence in

[50] Tajfel and Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict."
[51] Turner, "Social Comparison and Social Identity."
[52] Ellemers, "The Influence of Socio-Structural Variables on Identity Management Strategies."
[53] Ellemers.
[54] Hogg, "Social Identity Theory."

the definition of a collective prototype and therefore the alignment of individuals to certain norms of both the ingroup and outgroup. By analyzing the individual attitudes towards the contrasting outgroups and their impact on the individual and communal environment, the individual's perspective can demonstrate what specific factors, attributed to the variables above, have a greater impact in the context of the populations of Otavalo and Cotacachi. Relying on this conceptualization of the Ecuadorian perspective, the history and context of both outgroups can reveal a more grounded assessment of the impact and reality of the current state of global human mobility.

Contact Hypothesis

Credited to Gordon W. Allport, the contact hypothesis states that under the right conditions, interpersonal interaction leads to reduction of prejudice between majority and minority group members. [55] This psychological concept was originally presented at a time when the social fabric of the United States was being challenged and gears its concepts towards the racial disparities between white and black communities. Since its inception however, the concept has been expanded in circumstances other than its original racial framework of minorities and majorities and has been tested on a wide range of contexts in hundreds of studies. Pettigrew and Tropp's meta-analysis of the relevant research on the matter indicates that the wider application of the intergroup contact hypothesis does have an

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[55] Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice.*

impact in reducing prejudice, and that this impact can be generalized over a broad spectrum of settings that go beyond racial disparity.[56]

This study further indicates that Allport's claim that optimal conditions[57] of equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and authority support,[5859] are not necessarily required for reductions in prejudice to occur, but that the presence of these conditions greatly increase the positive effects of the intergroup contact.[60] The extent of this research, however, recognizes the downsides of relying on, as Dixon et al. points out, "rarefied conditions" [61] when referring to the optimal conditions theorized by Allport, which do not represent true interactions between two outgroups in the real world and therefore are not conducive towards understanding the shifts in prejudice that are at the root of the theory. Rather, this study will use these concepts as broadly accepted points of reference from which to compare the actual social conditions of one outgroup or the other in reference to each other and to the host conditions as they are perceived, internalized, and expressed by the Ecuadorian community members.

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[56] Pettigrew and Tropp, "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory."
[57] Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice.*
[58] Allport.
[59] Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory."
[60] Pettigrew and Tropp, "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory."
[61] Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux, "Beyond the Optimal Contact Strategy," 709.

2.2 Migration Theories

The main concern expressed by the contact hypothesis revolved around the social conditions and inequities between racial groups, and the strides being made to close such gaps. This type of social awareness along with the seemingly intrinsic human conceptualization of "us and them" that social identity theory adopts continue to expand as the nature of human contact evolves into the present global context. Stepping away from a purely social and psychological perspective, while still connecting these concepts into broader phenomena of migration and human mobility, requires acknowledgement and understanding of the political and economic state of the regions of the world involved in this study. To this effect it is necessary to examine two broad aspects of the global context, the historical interaction between regions of the world and groups of peoples, and the social, political, and economic relationship which they presently maintain.

Latitudinal Citizenship and Ethnic Disciplining

Maintaining the focus of this study on the nature and effect of human mobility against a background of local conditions brings attention to the present expressions of a globalized social system. In this dimension, the social conditions of individuals and groups are dictated by the relative standing of their region of the world in a global hierarchy. Therefore, it is vital to survey the perception, and meaning of the current global system and the implication that this carries towards intergroup interactions. Aihwa Ong presents *neoliberalism,* which is effectively an economic principle that seeks to limit the role of the government in trade and

exchange, as "a new mode of political optimization,… [neoliberalism] is reconfiguring relationships between governing and the governed, power and knowledge and sovereignty and territoriality."[62] This global relationship of nation-states and of the "governing and governed" frames the dynamic of global interactions around state centered influences that have an impact in the manner in which individuals and groups conceptualize, and have access to life opportunities and decisions.

Ong argues that analyses of globalization that rely on a ubiquitous perception of neoliberalism as a dominant force in the direction of large portions of the globe neglect to "factor in specific networks of capital and labor."[63] On a global scale labor and production are of key importance to the relationship between states, citizens, and migrants at different levels of production and exchange in the global system. Drawn from the present transpacific relationship of production, exchange and management – specifically the tech industry complex between the United States and several states in Asia and South-East Asia – Ong determines that physical and social structures are being shaped by these active conditions of a globalized market.[64] These *latitudes* come to delineate the different global conditions occupied by individuals in different positions of this relation of production.

The relationship of individual, state, and level of production reshapes the conceptualization of sovereignty and citizenship:

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[62] Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in-Citizenship and Sovereignty*, 3.
[63] Ong, 121.
[64] Ong, 123.

> Ong argues, citizenship as we have known is becoming disarticulated by a global logic of laissez fair. Mobile individuals with the right 'human capital' can now exercise citizen-like rights in diverse locations, while less mobile and skilled nationals can now be denied traditional citizenship entitlements.[65]

Under the current global conditions, the individual access to life opportunities and decision-making that is conventionally afforded to citizens within their nation states becomes less reliant on particular national membership, but rather on the kind of contribution that the individual has towards the benefit of a state in a globalized market system, and therefore its acceptance into higher levels of transnational labor and citizen rights. It is within the bounds of this potential to benefit the state and global market that the concept of a latitudinal citizenship moves beyond the bounds of state membership to delineate the capacity of acceptance and accommodation that is afforded to the individual, which in turn begin to resemble traditional citizen rights.

In Ong's example, the aforementioned 'right human capital' is demonstrated by a distinct, and growing, highly mobile class of entrepreneurs that have become vital to the transnational high-tech manufacturing complex, "Their bilingualism or multilingualism is merely part of their capacity to continually adjust with knowledge, speed, and skill to ever shifting conditions throughout their business networks"[66] This kind of individual represents decades of ethnic transnational entrepreneurship as a response to the delegation of high-cost production to low-cost labor markets. Similarly, to this entrepreneurial elite, Bailey and Mulder identify *highly skilled migrants* as "those international migrants who are viewed as

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[65] Castree, "Book Review: Ong, A. 2006: Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty."
[66] Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in-Citizenship and Sovereignty*, 125.

belonging to the upper part of the skills distribution (in terms of education and work experience in both the country of origin and the country of destination),"[67] and their growing presence as key towards growth and development. However, it is also highlighted that this growing wave of skilled professionals that has emerged from regions of the Global South are drawn towards the markets and industries already established in the Global North.

On the other hand, the peoples that make up the low-cost labor market lie along a categorically lower latitudinal level than the entrepreneurial elite which manage them. Whereas the managing elite is afforded access to global assets such as mobility and closer interaction outside their social and ethnic spheres, the unskilled producers remain locked within their social, ethnic, and labor prototypes regardless of the physical location. When discussing the conditions of the Asian migrant workforce in the United States, Ong states:

> many unskilled ethnic immigrants are hampered by language barriers and facing deportation, have difficulty breaking into the wider unskilled secondary labor markets. Such workers have no benefits and may as well be working in sweatshops in China or Vietnam.[68]

The global prospects of this latitude remain locked not only due to their limited human capital, but also in large part to their relationship to the global market and to the entrepreneurial class that inhabits a different latitude. Of great importance in this conceptualization is the ethnic dimension which, like citizenship, finds that the meaning and value assigned to it are influenced by global hierarchies.

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[67] Bailey and Mulder, "Highly Skilled Migration between the Global North and South," 2699.
[68] Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in-Citizenship and Sovereignty*, 128.

The ethnic membership of those who have achieved standing within higher global latitudes becomes an aspect that is leveraged against members of lower latitudes. The entrepreneurial elite tends to benefit from their ethnic membership itself as well as their understanding of social norms while at the same time benefiting the authority and legitimacy associated with their higher latitudinal standing. The added membership to higher latitudes of citizenship, composed largely of ethnically white business classes, grants ethnically non-white individuals "honorary whiteness" and thus legitimizes their managerial role over individuals of shared ethnic background laying on a lower latitude, perpetuating a global ethnic prototype around labor roles. This type of relationship displays a conceptualization of human mobility that revolves around levels of production, and which engenders new perceptions of citizenship rights on a global scale. While the transpacific industrial complex, which is a result of certain market conditions and the historical relationship of Asian and American markets with the rest of the world, similar kinds of production and labor relationships are present through the social and economic networks of other regions of the world that depend on each for similar reasons.

Although the exporting of raw goods that makes up a majority of Ecuadorian industry does not compare to the kind of industrial complexes that have been established between Asian and North American markets, the relationship that Ecuador has with markets of the Global North present similar conditions and share many aspects with those of the transpacific trade. The market and production conditions that categorically place Ecuador and its neighbors in the Global South, have not been the result of a global market solution to a

search for cheap production, but that of a trade relationship of raw product extraction. In this context the transnational relationship between the consuming markets of the Global North and the producing markets of the Global South have not had an industry parallel to the Asia-US high-tech industry. Therefore, a substantial entrepreneurial and multilingual class of ethnic Ecuadorians has not established itself along higher latitudes; instead, the presence of ethnically white business classes, investors and developers remain as guiding and managerial role models.

The Invisibility Bargain

Unlike the Asia-US relationship where certain Asian individuals are able to enter broader global spheres due to their ethnic, multilingual, and global minded individual assets, in an Ecuador-Global North relationship, it is the individual originating from a higher global latitude that is invited and accepted into the Ecuadorian market and social spaces due to their global assets and the ethnic link tied to these perceived assets. On the flip side, the presence of foreign individuals that are not part of higher latitudes, that do not display or carry with them the perceived global assets necessary to be invited into the local sphere, or which do not display the ethnic characteristics associated with these perceived assets fall within the same constraints outlined by Ong of transpacific migrant workers which live under precarious legal conditions, but in the case of Ecuador, not necessarily due to language barriers or limited skills. The comparison between the ethnically similar migrants of the neighboring migrants and the ethnically white Global North migrants brings up a deeper conceptualization of the

longitudinal citizenship concepts as the membership of each migrant group plays its role in the economic and labor market of Ecuador. Factoring in the kind of labor that is related with each kind of migrant presence and the access that is allowed to each population due to their role in the market clearly demonstrates the conceptualization of two categorically different types of global membership.

Drawing this perspective towards South-South market and migration patterns brings to light the individuals preceding from Ecuador's neighbors as they inhabit a space where their impact or perception in the Ecuadorian state does not fulfill the requirements of human capital or contribution that allows them greater opportunities and rights. In examining the dynamics between Ecuadorian society and the influx and sustained presence of Colombian migrants in Ecuador over the previous decades, Jeffrey Pugh argues that a type of bargain is struck between migrants preceding from Ecuador's neighbors and the Ecuadorian state and society, in which the migrants are tolerated so long as they limit their political presence, reduce their visibility as outsiders, and fulfill an economic contribution to the host country.[69][70] The aforementioned *invisibility bargain,* is largely influenced by the type of migration that has become commonplace in Ecuador over the recent decades, largely composed of Colombian, but more recently and on a completely different scale, Venezuelan citizens.[71]

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[69] Pugh, "Negotiating Identity and Belonging through the Invisibility Bargain."
[70] Pugh, *The Invisibility Bargain: Governance Networks and Migrant Human Security*.
[71] Pugh, Jimenez, and Latuff, "Welcome Wears Thin for Colombians in Ecuador as Venezuelans Become More Visible."

The relationship that is perceived, as the dynamics between Ecuadorian society and South migrants becomes evident, engenders a series of informal expectations which create vulnerability for the migrant, especially in "the ways in which nationality, class and gender can compound this marginalization," [72] as well as "the strategies migrants use to access the protection and resources they cannot claim directly from the state" [73] One of Pugh's main assertions highlights that although migrant and refugee status in Ecuador is expected to provide the extended protection which these vulnerable populations need, presently migrants in Ecuador largely rely on non-state actors to limit their vulnerability and secure access to their rights.[74][75] Drawing back to the concept of latitudinal citizenship, this condition illustrates the kind of limited access to rights, opportunities and decisions that is extended towards individuals of lower latitudinal spheres. From several perspectives, (economic, social, political) the Colombian or Venezuelan migrants in Ecuador do not carry with them appropriate human capital and do not contribute to Ecuador's economy in innovative ways in a global scale, and therefore are limited from accessing rights available to Ecuadorian nationals, or foreign investing elites. The invisibility bargain further implicates that the migrants themselves accept these barriers in exchange for a limited place in the labor market and society. Of noteworthiness in this exchange between Ecuador and its South immigrants that goes beyond the economic and labor dimensions are the ethnic and mobility aspects of

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[72] Pugh, "Negotiating Identity and Belonging through the Invisibility Bargain," 1005.
[73] Pugh, 1005.
[74] Pugh, *The Invisibility Bargain: Governance Networks and Migrant Human Security*.
[75] Pugh, "Negotiating Identity and Belonging through the Invisibility Bargain."

the interacting groups, not only as a representation of their global conditions, but as further restrictions to the migrants' place in a global environment.

2.3 Colonization & Mestizaje

In exploring the relationship between Ecuadorians and the populations of two drastically different backgrounds, understanding the established cultural ties that already exist in the Ecuadorian identity to these populations will also deepen analyses of how these ties manifest in society. These established relationships create several assumptions, all of which have to be confronted by the host communities as the relationships continue to develop.

Coloniality of Power

The relationship which populations of the South, specifically Latin America, have with the developed nations of the Global North and their populations remains primarily tourist and foreign investment focused, while at the same time deepened by a history of European colonialism, intervention, and the dominance of U.S. culture in the region. Anival Quijano argues that in post-colonial stages, this legacy failed to be surmounted in Latin America and continued to perpetuate colonial social perspectives and political organization, which culminated into the integration and acceptance of the social conditions and political systems of racial discrimination and Eurocentric primacy. The *coloniality of power* is

therefore a condition which becomes pervasive in the societies of Latin America to different degrees.

Quijano summarizes, "What is termed globalization is the culmination of a process that began with the constitution of America and colonial/modern Eurocentered capitalism as a new global power." [76] Presented with the current condition of Latin America in a globalized world, it is impossible not to take into account the long-lasting impact of a colonial past, and what is a clearly dominant Eurocentered perspective of modernity. Quijano highlights that the globally established myth of Eurocentric/Western modernity as the culminating point of societal evolution is the key aspect of a pervasive globalized mentality[77]. This was internalized in the minds of societies across the world first through colonization, and now through political, economic, and technological dominance of the Global North.

The European influence during the first post-colonial stages of Latin America carved the territory into its present states as the predominant ethnically white ruling elites followed the nation and national image building example of the European continent during the 1800's, however, in these efforts, "the coloniality of power still exercises its dominance, in the greater part of Latin American, against democracy, citizenship, the nation, and the modern nation-state."[78] Quijano highlights four historical paths that result from these efforts and limit the state's power in a global stage, as well as the extent of individual citizenship: limited decolonization, limited progress of colonial homogenization, failed cultural homogenization,

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[76] Quijano and Ennis, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," 533.
[77] Quijano and Ennis, 551.
[78] Quijano and Ennis, 568.

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and an imposition of "racial democracy" as a mask for the true state of racial

discrimination.[79] All of these aspects have resulted from an effort to achieve the western

modernity that the Eurocentric perspective advocated. While these may be attempts to

overcome the colonial past, they fail to acknowledge it and therefore stray from a nation-

building answer that makes sense. The historical experience of Latin America distorts this

effort as the Eurocentric perspective denies it. Quijano as a Peruvian citizen himself

expresses this common blindness:

> Here the tragedy is that we have all been led, knowingly or not, wanting it or not, to
> see and accept that image as our own and as belonging to us alone. In this way, we
> continue being what we are not. As a result, we can never identify our true problems,
> much less resolve them, except in a partial and distorted way.[80]

This idealized perspective of the European condition created several structures of

power which shaped and reshaped the direction of Latin America and its peoples and

materialized in efforts of nation-state building and hegemonizing national identity. This

identity, however, draws itself directly from the European example, and therefore attempts to

imitate it: "we possess so many and such important historically European traits in many

material and intersubjective aspects. But at the same time, we are profoundly different."[81] It

is this profound difference that both the nations, and peoples of Latin America have grappled

with for centuries and which presently continue to challenge the individual, communal, and

national identity of the peoples of the Latin America. While several factors such as

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[79] Quijano and Ennis, 598.
[80] Quijano and Ennis, 556.
[81] Quijano and Ennis, 556.

geographical adjacency, shared language, and historical heritage tie Latin America in a certain category, often portrayed in western understanding as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish leading to monolithic assumptions of cultural acceptance amongst populations from this area, the perspectives of the peoples of each nation continue to be synthesized and grappled with.

Mestizaje

Delving into the ethnic identity that is the result of the colonial past of Latin America naturally brings the perspective towards a view that the ethnic and cultural condition of the peoples of Latin America are a unique result of intermixing peoples. The term *mestizo* has become a habitual tool of Latin nation building narratives and ubiquitous in the perception of Latin Americans, as it is used to mean both a biological and cultural "mixing" of two distinct and homogenized European and Amerindian identities. This simplifies the human condition to a point where the meaning of the word simply denotes yet another homogeneous group.

The closeness developed by mutual exchange, combined with the distance created by local frictions are part of the pulsating nature of human interaction, which in turn develop into permutations of identity, culture, ethnicity, and an innumerable amount of other factors and dynamics that makes categorizing human interaction phenomena almost futile.[82][83] That is to say that the common use and understanding of the term mestizo overlooks the interaction

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[82] Cordova, "The Mestizo Mind. The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization."
[83] Gruzinski and Dusinberre, *The Mestizo Mind*.

and dynamics of humanity as a whole. Aguirre Beltran however, conceptualized the mestizo relationship as"

> The struggle between colonial European culture and indigenous culture… Opposing elements of cultures in contact tend to be mutually exclusive, confronting and opposing each other; but at the same time they tend to interpenetrate, combining and identifying with each other [84][85]

Serge Gruzinski's analysis of Beltran's concept of acculturation makes it clear that the vital portion of this relationship is not just the synthesis of the two identities, but the interpretation of one by the other, and of the resulting *mélange's*[86] the interpretation of the original identities. [87] In doing so, Gruzisnski argues that the mestizo term is perceived from a perspective of pure, and also opposing, human conditions materialized by the relative imbalance of power of European and Amerindian identities, and will therefore "mestizaje – makes reference to a civilization clash where two conceptual universes are displayed as incompatible"[88]

Taking toll of the factors that have resulted in the mestizo condition in Latin America, not just as an ethnic denomination, but as a relationship between the balance of power of European and Amerindian ancestors and the prevailing perspectives which have resulted in the self-conceptualization of individuals as well as entire evolving nation-states shows ambiguity of what is so sturdily defined as a mestizo identity. What may be oddly overlooked is that all ethnic and social conditions are a result of intermixing peoples, yet the peoples of

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[84] Gruzinski and Dusinberre, 20.
[85] Aguirre Beltràn, *El Proceso De Aculturacion*.
[86] Melange: A mixture of medley
[87] Gruzinski and Dusinberre, *The Mestizo Mind*, 20.
[88] Cordova, "The Mestizo Mind. The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization."

Latin America are pigeonholed into an identity narrative that relies almost entirely on this intermixing. What makes this situation somewhat unique is the resulting centuries of nation-state building that relied on a Eurocentered conception of political organization and societal order engendering a deeply engrained aspirational attitude to attain the legitimacy of the European condition.

2.4 Ecuador's Particularity

Presented with the rich context of Latin America's past, the resulting identity conditions of the majority of its population, the present global exchange of goods and services, and the deep societal implications of intergroup interaction, it becomes absolutely essential to understand in a broader sense what makes Ecuador's communities so distinctly unique.

Ecuador's Racial Hierarchy

As stated previously, the innate need for positive social identity creates a certain degree of incentive towards a stronger group image that is perceived as above or superior to others. Directly gauging this principle of social identity theory can be accomplished partially by observing the interactions of ingroups and outgroups or by examining how these relationships have influenced the present social structures. In Ecuador, this was shaped by the historical underrepresentation of certain ethnic or social groups, and by the precent systems

that fail to include them into the nation's political structure.[89] However, a more precise way to present a solid conceptualization of a racial and social hierarchy is by directly assessing the perspective of individuals in one group or another.

Roitman and Oviedo operationalize a racial hierarchy by interviewing members of higher echelons of Ecuadorian society and discerning their views. The data collected presents a series of mechanisms that Ecuadorian mestizos use to differentiate themselves from other ethnicities. [90] The study finds support on two aspects of racialization in Ecuador, one based on a more grounded perception of "true" ethnic alignment which is used to separate the mestizo from recognized ethnic groups, such as the Montubio, Indigenous, and Afroecuadorian, all considered to have lesser social capital, in large part due to an ethnocentric perspective.[91] While this conceptualization of the mestizo as above other ethnic groups is commonly understood to be a pervasive aspect of the Ecuadorian mentality, and which is presently being challenged by indigenous and afrodescendent social awakening, it still presents a clear display of the insidious nature of the coloniality of power's racialized supremacy aspirations.

The second social mechanism that is examined by Roitman and Oviedo is the hierarchization of the mestizo concept itself, "ethnic appellations, *cholo* and *longo* cannot be 'objectively' defined because they are polysemic terms created in colloquial exchanges"[92]

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[89] Cervone and Rivera, *Ecuador Racista*, 170.
[90] Roitman and Oviedo, "Mestizo Racism in Ecuador," 2781.
[91] Roitman and Oviedo, 2781.
[92] Roitman and Oviedo, 2780.

Both terms having unclear historical precedence are presently used with negative connotation, and as Roitman and Oviedo clarify, "Mary Weismantel[93] notes that the negative connotations of longo are so strong that the term can only be explained to an English-speaking audience as analogous to the offensive 'N-word'… the terms longo and cholo have a long history, but in this paper we turn to look at their modern, insidious use to sustain subtle racist structures"[94] These terms lacking a true ethnic connotation are therefore used as a tool to further racialize and liken a mestizo to an ethnic or social condition that is perceived to be lowered.

Pratto et al. presented *social dominance orientation,* as "one's degree of preference for inequality among social groups"[95] that is to say that there is the group based prejudice that "promotes superiority of one group over the other" [96] is not uncommon and it is done so to secure intragroup stability and cohesion. Roitman and Oviedo attribute this phenomenon to the mestizo struggle to hold on to the social capital of a perceived racial supremacy as the national narrative begins to acknowledge a plurinational, multiethnic state.[97] The historically racial scheme of mestizo and white primacy in Ecuador and the contemporary challenge of a homogeneous state has brought to light perspectives of the mestizo mindset that may not have been as present in social dialogue in decades prior. The racialized language that attempts to perpetuate social distinction and racial hierarchy within the citizens of Ecuador

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[93] Weismantel, "Cholas and Pishtacos."
[94] Roitman and Oviedo, "Mestizo Racism in Ecuador," Notes.
[95] Pratto et al., "Social Dominance Orientation," 741.
[96] Pratto et al., 741.
[97] Roitman and Oviedo, "Mestizo Racism in Ecuador," 2769.

are a clear example of a social perspective that will also apply to individuals from outside of the nation.

Multiculturalism v. Interculturalism

In few places other than Latin America is the perception of old worlds and new worlds clashing so clearly displayed by the self-conceptualization of its people, the perspectives of the contributing identity factors, and the practical applications of the internalizing new and old identity markers. This dynamic in Latin America resulted in a dominant class of European aspirational identities, each nation having distinct perceptions of what elite ethnic denomination is capable of ruling, and which class of ethnic impurity or intermixing should be relegated to the lower strata of society.

The nation-state strategy that was largely implemented across the Latin American sphere created a hegemonic mestizo image that served to forge a nation based on colonial charters and reinforced the legacy of Spanish castes through oppressive systems, discriminatory practices, and outright genocide. These efforts, although largely successful, proved incomplete, and the diversity currently present throughout Latin America continues to challenge the unified nation-state perspective. Felipe Arocena argues that although a peaceful multiethnic coexistence has been achieved through these means, this has also resulted in the partial acceptance of diverse ethnic groups, and that their history of suppression and current

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discrimination have not been properly acknowledged.[98] The resistance of indigenous groups, enslaved populations, and disenfranchised portions of society is a part of Latin America's past, present, and future, and the current grappling of these minority groups with the mestizo minded, state centered mentality display the large challenge to the post-colonial status-quo in society.

Felipe Arocena explores strategies of cultural resistance developed by ethnically discriminated groups in Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia resulting in deep shifts in the national identities of several nations that call for the inclusion of these ethnicities.[99] However these policies are crafted in the light of coloniality and eurocentrism, and therefore create systems of inclusion that are partially unstable and largely unsuccessful at addressing the disparity of a social class that has benefited from its racialized whiteness, and other classes that have been subjected to discrimination, forced integration, and neglect. The remedies adopted recently by states fail to address inequalities suffered and bring to question the relevancy of multicultural policies.

These same conditions have been largely present in the Ecuadorian perspective, while the 'pluri-national' country as a whole touts its indigenous, Amazonian and afrodescendent diversity, its efforts of political and societal inclusion have not yet achieved the ethnic inclusion and equality that they seek. In this effort however, the relationships of the largely autonomous and largely integrated indigenous communities of the Andes highlands with the

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[98] Arocena, "Multiculturalismo, Mestizage Y Nacionalidad," 30.
[99] Arocena, "Multiculturalismo, Mestizage Y Nacionalidad."

state and the vastly mestizo run political administration, present yet another step beyond multiculturalism that seeks to address the gaps in social cohesion.

John Stolle-McAllister defines this push in Ecuador as *interculturality,* "that is, a process through which the country's different cultural groups ought to seek out new relationships built on equality, respect, coexistence, and mutual learning to create the conditions for a more just and sustainable country"[100] Unlike the multicultural approach, which simply seeks to include "minorities" on a presently established system full of engrained colonial, white centered, western thinking approaches which have lacked the input of the marginalized for centuries, interculturalism seeks to fundamentally alter the engrained perspectives by challenging them with the perspectives of the historically marginalized.[101]

This contemporary intercultural vision coming from the Ecuadorian Andes is a result of centuries of indigenous resistance and, in more recent decades, of successful political organization of the various indigenous peoples of the nation. The struggle for recognition, and equality has also directly influenced the perspective of the indigenous population itself which have begun to successfully challenge the negative image of indigenous culture, identity, and lifestyle, and which now seek to achieve greater legitimacy through greater political power and representation.

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[100] Stolle-McAllister, *Intercultural Interventions*, 3.
[101] Stolle-McAllister, 9.

Ecuador, Plurinational State

It must be first mentioned that while political and social indigenous organization has been largely achieved through a united, (often times not so much) indigenous identity and agenda, "Indigenous culture was not (and is not) a homogeneous entity but like all cultures was a dynamic process, which was constantly engaged with and altered by other cultural processes"[102] However, the social and political conditions that all indigenous groups were subject to throughout Ecuador's history, placed all indigenous peoples and communities in similar situations of discrimination and repression. The conditions for organization around common interests which came to a head due to the nation's political liberalization of the 1980s, and the subsequent economic crisis to follow chiefly due to three factors: "preexisting organizational networks, political liberalization, and neoliberal state reforms."[103] The socioeconomic and political reforms of the end of the 20th century allowed for increased indigenous autonomy from established economic structures as well as increased indigenous political representation.[104] These were later followed by the establishment of the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (Confederacion de las Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador – CONAIE) and with it a more formal organization of indigenous peoples into distinct nationalities within each region of the country. This organization has been central to the direction of the CONAIE as it legitimized a *plurinational* conceptualization of the Ecuadorian territory.

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[102] Stolle-McAllister, 4.
[103] Jameson, "The Indigenous Movement in Ecuador," 63.
[104] Jameson, 64.

Since the conception of a national indigenous organization, the tides of Ecuador's direction have been strongly shaped by the coalition of its peoples, and presently "the importance and effectiveness of the indigenous movement have grown tremendously since the late 1980s, and this has forced government to ignore the indigenous only at their peril" [105] Jameson points out that this indigenous movement has been central to almost all national protests since its inception, and has been "instrumental in removing two Ecuadorian presidents" as well as placing one of them in power[106] Since its inception the political party established to carry out the ideologies of the indigenous movement, Pachakutik, has had a constant presence in representative chambers of Ecuadorian government. Their presidential candidate Yacu Perez, who had polled at a low third place throughout most of the recent campaign, came so close to entering the runoff (with a very real possibility of winning the second round against Rafael Correa's populist protege) that a recount was required before he ultimately lost to neoliberal center-right candidate Guillermo Lasso, who went on to win the election.

The continuous political organizing, challenge to the established systems, and successful protests have incited a kind of recovering sense of pride in the indigenous identity. However, just as the multitudes of peoples and perspectives that make up the indigenous movement challenge the status-quo, so do the encroaching global aspects challenge the

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[105] Jameson, 70–71.
[106] Jameson, 63.

indigenous perspective and reshape the perception of the indigenous identity within themselves, their communities, and on a globalized scale.

2.5 Ecuador and The Kichwa Otavalo

Assuming a broader sense of indigenous identity is problematic, however, this study focuses on a more concise population and what is also denominated as a singular indigenous nation, the Kichwa Otavalo. Their condition varies vastly from the condition of other nations of the country and must be highlighted through their distinct relationship with Ecuadorian society as well as in a global sense.

Indigenous Intercultural Dilemma

The broader engagement that the indigenous population has gained access to in the previous decades, has created a challenge of "integration" into the established systems. In specifically examining the Otavalo society and political administration, Rickard Lalander defines this challenge as a an *intercultural dilemma,* where the indigenous movement and leadership once engaged in the political and administrative sphere must step away from its role as ethnic leaders and towards cooperation in broader spheres of administration[107][108] The dilemma is drawn from the expectation of greater indigenous political participation along

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[107] Lalander, "Dilama Intercultural y Lucha Indígena en Otavalo, Ecuador."
[108] Lalander, *Retorno de Los Runakuna: Cotacachi y Otavalo*.

with the reality of representing the interests of the entire constituent population, forcing the indigenous leadership to step away from tenets of an indigenous based platform for successful administration of the territory. While the indigenous movement has brought several individuals to key positions of power such as Otavalo's and Cotacachi's current or recent Mayors, Mario Conejo, and Auki Tituaña, respectively, their failure to remain solely indigenous representatives has caused friction within the movement to take place.

The Mindala

It is widely accepted that trade practices existed in the northern Andes which predated both the Spanish, and Inca conquest, and which were permitted and subsequently adopted by the conquering empires.[109][110] These trade networks were headed by individuals which in fact did not fall under the leadership of any one indigenous clan, but that rather lived within the settlements and traded in partnership with its members.[111] The *mindala* was considered an elite group of tradesman which traded in rare and exotic goods and established mobile *tianguez* or marketplaces.[112] Even though society and the Ecuadorian state have continued to evolve with the passing of time, this tradition and social class continues to be represented by contemporary peoples: "contextualizing the mindala presently, shows the Otavalo producers, traders and exporters of artisanry, music and migrants tightly tied to the global market."[113]

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[109] Salazar, "Mindaláes, Mindalas y Cachicaldos," 1.
[110] Salomon, *Los señores étnicos de Quito en la época de los incas.*
[111] Salazar, "Mindaláes, Mindalas y Cachicaldos," 1.
[112] Salazar, "Mindaláes, Mindalas y Cachicaldos."
[113] Maldonado Ruiz, "Comerciantes y Viajeros."

These traditions and established heritage of traveling merchants continues to permeate the identity of the Kichwa Otavalo while adapting itself to the present global conditions.

Now traveling transnationally and on a global scale, the Kichwa Otavalos that take up the practice begin to stand out, much like the historical elite class of traders, as a privileged class of indigenous peoples that have the economic and social benefit of having access to transnational travel. While it is their artisanry which they now export and their indigenous identity that makes the exotic goods more desirable in the many metropolises of the world, their contextualization as humans and as travelers begins to pose a possible threat to a sense of true indigenous identity. Maldonado Ruiz expresses that it is:

> this common reality of the modernized original peoples that presents itself as an antithesis of the conceptions of social theory which relate to the classic notion of culture and identity which define such as a point of reproduction of specific behaviors, in themselves "unique" and immediately identifiable as a particularity specific of the defined group.[114]

The changes and influence which traveling Kichwa Otavalos face, places them under the pressure of seemingly opposing forces, embracing the contemporary globalized logic of trade and mobility and/or embracing an indigenous heritage of culture rooted in relationship to a specific place.

The kind of global influence that is seemingly unavoidable in all parts of the world impacts the Kichwa Otavalos just as much as it's mestizo neighbor, however the indigenous identity, historical legacy, and their peculiar relationship to the broader society creates a

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[114] Maldonado Ruiz, 11.

different lens from which this particular section of society views and understands what

migration means for their particular place locally and on a global scale.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Research Question

How is individual identity shaped and negotiated in Ecuadorian communities in the face of different kinds of immigrant influxes, specifically the difference between immigrants from the Global South (i.e. Colombian and Venezuelan) and those from the Global North (i.e. U.S. and Europe).

3.2 Positionality

The substantial increase of Venezuelan migration brought great attention to the conditions and impact that this was creating in the South American region, Ecuador being one of the many countries experiencing the phenomenon. As an Ecuadorian citizen residing in the US, I have been aware of certain frictions that arose from the Venezuelan influx, specifically in my hometown of Otavalo; I have also been aware, through personal experience, of the kind of treatment that European and U.S. foreigners and tourists experience in Otavalo. My familiarity with the geographically adjacent city of Cotacachi as

an increasingly attractive retirement location for a U.S. and European community while also experiencing a steady flow of tourist and Venezuelan migrant traffic also directed my attention to the site. As both a migrant and naturalized US citizen, my perspective on the clashing influences of migration in Cotacachi and Otavalo brought me to question how these local communities themselves have adapted to the contrasting influences, and how this is internalized and subsequently materializes in perspectives and interactions.

Language Considerations

Being born in Ecuador, spending the first ten years of my life in Otavalo, and maintaining close ties to the region, I was able to rely on my mother tongue, Spanish, and my knowledge of the local dialects and lexicon to conduct the data gathering process in a manner that was comfortable for myself and the subjects. All written information that was provided, and all interactions with the subjects took place entirely in Spanish. Although Spanish (Castellano) is the official language of Ecuador, several native tongues are still in use by the various peoples of Ecuador; the Ecuadorian state recognizes their legitimacy as official languages within the appropriate contexts. The indigenous Kichwa Otavalos continue communicate and practice in their ancestral tongue, Kichwa/Runa Simi. A majority of the indigenous population is bilingual, although there are certain sections of this population that are monolingual, either speaking only Spanish, or only speaking Kichwa. The many historical and social factors that lead to non-Spanish speaking adults are of great concern. Not only would this limit the amount contextualization that I, as a non-Kichwa speaker could

achieve alone, but for the purpose of this study, non-Spanish speakers were disqualified from being subjects as their mono-lingual condition carries several implications that go beyond the scope and context of this study.

3.3 Methodological Approach

The study aimed to conceptualize a range of factors that impact the individual and communal sense of being in Ecuadorian communities by drawing from the introspective narratives of community members, how they perceive themselves and how they conceptualize the factors shaping their worlds and identities. The entirety of the data in this study was gathered by a single researcher through a series of semi-guided interviews of community members from a wide array of sociopolitical and socioeconomic backgrounds consisting of various open-ended questions. This structure provided the flexibility needed for the interviewees to contextualize topics relating to their experience and to organically develop their perspective. This approach highlighted the difference and similarity of perspectives over the factors present in two relatively similar communities who have experienced migrant influx of populations from different backgrounds and produced data that is qualitative in nature. The interviews focused on the most contrasting immigrant backgrounds present in these communities of refugees or forced migrants from the neighboring countries and immigrants from predominantly affluent countries who reside in Ecuador.

Figure 7 displays the conceptual framework of this study. The dependent variable (orange) is the local self-conceptualization which was operationalized by analyzing the interviewees' perspective of the influencing communities. The independent variable (red & blue) being the contrasting migrant influx in the Ecuadorian communities is represented solely by the image that the interviewee has of their presence and influence, as well as the comparison of the contrasting conditions (purple). For the purpose of this study, self-conceptualization was operationalized as a factor that is shaped by the presence of the two migrating communities. The accounts of the individual participants were separated by subject of discussion and in reference to which community the discussion was taking place. Each account was in turn given an evaluation marker of Positive or Negative according to the nature of the discussion. By comparing the various topics of discussion along with the evaluation of the community in question and their impact on the individual, and community, it became evident how the local communities prioritized certain aspects of themselves and of the migrant presence.
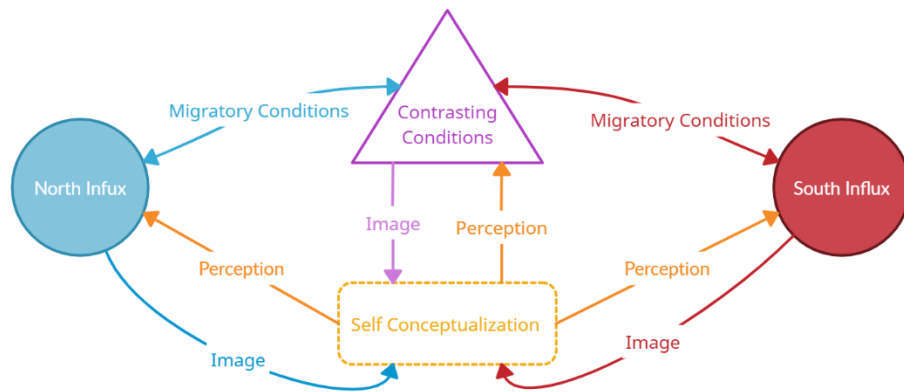
Fig. 7 Conceptual Framework

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3.4 Methods of Collection

<u>Eligibility</u>

-Residency: Have their primary home of residence be one (or both) of the research sites, or inhabit one (or both) research sites habitually throughout the year (attend school, work location, recreation location) for at least 8 months out of the year.

-Maintain the above conditions over the past 5 years at a minimum.

-Technology: Have the means to be digitally interviewed and receive digital correspondence without bringing any hardship or financial loss onto themselves.

-Language: Speak proficient Spanish

-Age: Be at least 18 years of age, no maximum age is specifically set

-Disqualifying: Individuals of advanced age, lacking decision-making capacity, minors, prisoners, and UMass Boston affiliates were entirely excluded from the research.

<u>Sampling Criteria</u>

Although this project seeks to examine the impact of foreign presence by community members, the study was not designed around interviewees having any kind of specific knowledge, link, affiliation, or any kind of direct interaction with migrants. The study seeks to analyze the general perspective of each interviewee on the subject regardless of how this perspective was conceived. The main condition under which this study operates only expects

that the subjects be part of the Cotacachi or Otavalo community, therefore the perspective of any member of the community is sufficient. For the purpose of this study, it was defined that qualifying individuals must either reside, or inhabit the physical territories of the Otavalo or Cotacachi cantons for a substantial amount of time for at least 5 years.

Otavalo and Cotacachi are exceptionally distinct within the context of Ecuador itself, as their ethnic makeup sets the entire region apart as a unique slice of the diverse Ecuadorian identity due to the substantial presence of self-categorizing indigenous populations in both locations. The selection process was evenly split between the two locations and was firmly directed at maintaining equal sex distribution across both sites, as well as maintaining ethnic representation between indigenous and mestizo individuals as close as possible. The minimum number of individuals necessary to have an even distribution of location, sex, and ethnicity factors would be 8, however the sample size was set at 20 as a convenient number that would allow for at least 2 individuals to represent the overlapping conditions. While the experiences and perspectives of the selected subjects would resemble, to varying degrees, the attitudes of the entire region or the nation as a whole, the study was not geared towards making generalized claims over the entirety of the population, rather it is designed to capture certain patterns of cause and effect displayed under these conditions.

Sampling Means

The entirety of the subject selection and data collection took place during the period between October and December of 2020. At the time, the global pandemic caused by the

COVID-19 virus did not permit face to face interviews to be conducted without eliminating unnecessary risks for both the interviewee and interviewer. The same conditions were present during the planning stages of the research and the decision to conduct the study entirely remotely and through digital means was made due to the uncertainty of the pandemic.

To reach the biggest population possible under these circumstances the Facebook platform was selected as a primary source to identify and make first contact with possible subjects. According to the Ecuadorian National Institute of Statistics and Census (INEC) the national average of home internet access has been steadily increasing, reaching 45.5% in 2019.[115] More recent data from independent sources, however, displays the present worldwide adoption of digital means due to the pandemic could put that number closer to 80% of the Ecuadorian population[116][117] at the time of this study. Of that rough 13.8 million Ecuadorians with internet access, 13 million maintain a social media account, 12 million of which were reported to be Facebook users.[118][119] Additionally, in 2016, 15% of Ecuador's Facebook accounts belonged to businesses, NGOs, community groups, and government agencies.[120] This did limit the study from having access to about 20% of the general population with no internet access, and about 5% of internet users who do not use the Facebook platform.

[115] INEC, "Tecnologías de La Informacion y Comunicación."

[116] Dávalos, "13 millones de personas tienen redes sociales en Ecuador."

[117] Del Alcazar Ponce, "Estado Digital Ecuador 2020 – Estadísticas Digitales Actualizadas."

[118] Dávalos, "13 millones de personas tienen redes sociales en Ecuador."

[119] Del Alcazar Ponce, "Estado Digital Ecuador 2020 – Estadísticas Digitales Actualizadas."

[120] Del Alcazar Ponce, "Estadísticas Facebook Ecuador."

Much like approaching individuals in person, approaching individuals via digital means poses a series of challenges that are much more difficult to overcome digitally. For this reason, participants were sought by reaching out to Facebook pages belonging to a broad array of institutions such as cultural and arts centers, educational entities, charity services, social groups, recreational groups, etc., who were more inclined to respond to inquiries.

Blind Spots in Sampling

Factors contributing to a lack of internet access are most likely – but not necessarily limited to or indicative of – limited economic conditions as well as the availability of internet access in a physical space. While the lack of participation from the 5% non-Facebook users is negligible, the lack of participation from individuals with no internet must be acknowledged as the nuanced perspective under these conditions will be entirely missed. However, the selection process did not seek to have equal representation from one aspect of society or another (besides sex and ethnic dimensions), therefore, actively seeking individuals without internet access was not of critical concern to reach the goals of the study and would have proven largely unachievable due to digital constraints and resources available for the study.

The ethnic makeup of the population of both cities was a major factor in the selection process and an active effort was made to have equal representation from both indigenous and

mestizo populations during the interview process. However, between 2%-3%[121][122] of the populations of both cities encompassed individuals who self-identify as white, mulato, black, afroecuadorian, montubio and others. The experience and perspective of these ethnic groups is largely unexplored by this study due in great part to the relatively small percentage of the population which they make up in this setting. Although their perspective is equally as important as any other section of society, their minor presence in the region could be a distorting factor when exploring their identity because they might experience the migrant influx in different ways than the majority groups. Retooling the study to take into consideration their minority presence or conducting a similar study in a setting where these ethnic groups constitute a larger presence would be more effective ways to examine their identity in the face of migration.

Interview Protocol

The interview protocol was designed to follow a general direction, however, maintaining the flow of the interview strictly to the structure of the interview outline was not necessary whatsoever. The direction of the interview closely followed the natural flow of the interviewee's answers. Sample questions were used as a guide for the interview, however their order, phrasing, timing, and relevancy varied from one interview to the other; not all the

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[121] GAD Otavalo, "Actualización Del Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial Del Cantón Otavalo - Provincia de Imbabura."
[122] Alcaldia De Cotacachi, "Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial Cantón Cotacachi 2015-2035."

sample questions were asked in every interview. Above all, the comfort of the interviewee, and flexibility remained a priority, the interviewee was made aware that they could skip briefly, or all together, any question they did not wish to answer. The right to withdraw from the interview and the entire research process at any time during, or after the interview were also reiterated.

The interview process was designed with the intent of gauging the effect which contrasting migrant groups (dependent) have on the host community's self-conceptualization, (independent).The goal of the interview process was primarily to allow each if the participants to define themselves, their environment, and their perspective of the differing migrant groups, in their own terms and under their own assumptions in order to gauge which aspects of the interviewees' identity became of greater relevance in their presence and what aspects of the migrants' presence impacted the interviewee the most. The interview process was divided into 7 seven sections, each building on the previous one (Appendix A):

A1 – Who are you?

This section was designed to allow the interviewee to introduce themselves and define themselves as they saw fit. The open-ended nature of the questions allowed for the interviewees to interpret them broadly and describe their conditions at the length they so desired. This is where self-conceptualization and prominent identity makers of the interviewee would be defined. This section also allowed me to build greater rapport with the interviewee and to ease them into expressing themselves more comfortably in the subsequent sections.

B1 – Who are they? First Group

Open ended introduction to the term *immigrant* was presented and subsequently explored with the interviewee, this was done with the intent of identifying which migrant population is most prominent in the mind of the interviewee at the time of the interview. There was no priming as to which migrant population to discuss first, and the interview would flow as naturally as possible into discussing the character of the first migrant presence that the interviewee brought up. The nature and character of the migrant population would be gathered by discussing why they were present in the region, and how they impact the country and society from the perspective of the interviewee as well as the interviewee's life; this is also when accounts of personal interaction would be gathered. This information was gathered with the intent of developing a general perception of the migrant group through the image presented by the interviewee.

An effort was made to maintain sincerity and openness on the part of the participants in order to gather accounts as close as possible to their true views by reminding them of the goals of the research, the sensitive nature of the topics, and the confidentiality of the process.

C1 – Compare and Contrast the First Group

This section was geared at allowing the interviewee to compare his or her situation with that of the migrants and further discuss their impact on the interviewee's life. The points of view over the contrasting situations with one group were expected to provide the richest content on the perspective of the migrant groups, and of the participant itself.

B2 – Who are they? Second Group & C2 – Compare and Contrast? Second Group

The interview would be directed towards the second migrant group, and a line of questioning similar to that of the first migrant group would take place to achieve the same goals as previously stated.

D – How are they similar or different?

Once both migrant groups have been identified and the perspective of the interviewee established, the interviewees were asked to compare both groups against each other, much like they had done with him/herself. This drastic comparison was done to, once again, attempt to extract the most salient and prominent aspects of the interviewee's perspective of the two migrant groups.

A2 – Who are you? Again.

To wrap up the interview, the interviewees would be asked abridged versions of the same questions about themselves from the beginning of the interview. The interviewees were directed to keep in mind everything that had been discussed previously and to provide any final thoughts. This was done so that the interviewee could reflect on the content of the interview and to identify any salient themes or changes in the self-conceptualization of the interviewee.

3.5 Methods of Analysis

The audio material that was gathered from the interviews was transcribed and processed employing a coding protocol tying descriptive and evaluative codes to the corresponding sub-components of the interview. The coding scheme referring to the respective section of the interview as well as the evaluative nature of the response were established prior to the coding process. The coding criteria for the subjects discussed by the interview took on a partially heuristic manner as a combination of descriptive, process, concept, emotion, value, and holistic coding elements were drawn from the content of the interview creating an expanding library of loose code. The coded data was then condensed into code groups to portray simplified conceptual perspectives on the presence, image, and impact of the two migrant communities as well as the self-conceptualization of the interviewee. Magnitude of relevancy was then portrayed by combining the conceptual topics of discussion with the co-occurrence of evaluative codes into a matrix. Representative quotes were selected to illustrate the most relevant, frequent and salient examples of identity perspectives and narratives. The various overlaps, conjunctures, and contradictions present in the representative quotes along with the evaluative matrix were then used to conceptualize the impact each migrant population is having on the interviewees.

Migrant image narratives were derived from seven aspects of the interviewee's perception: the reason why they are in the country/area/local community, their aspirations in this territory, the role which they play with their presence, the impact which their presence has on society, the country as a whole or on the interviewee and their community, and the

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general description and perception of the migrant image. These descriptions were split into

three categories linking back to the identification of migration attributed in some manner to

the North and South, as well as migration with no connotation of precedence.

Evaluative Matrix

Evaluative aspects were contextualized by synthesizing the occurrence of evaluative

codes into a matrix identifying the interviewee's perspectives of each migrant group and

categorized them into positive and negative aspects. This was done by assigning the

condensed codes into four aspects present at the time of evaluative connotations, what is

needed/wanted by the local, what is provided/available to/by the local, what is

needed/wanted by the migrant, what is provided/available to/by the migrant, and the result or

reason of this relationship attributed to the evaluation. Relying on the most common and

salient relationships depicted by the evaluative matrix, representative quotes were identified

to portray and restore context to the relationships.

Limitations and Obstacles

Although it would have been optimal for interview, transcription, and analysis

processes to take place concurrently, the limited time and resources available at the time of

the process did not permit this to happen. Very little overlap took place of each of these

portions limiting the amount of feedback across procedures that could take place and a

degree of oversight was lost when overlooked aspects appeared with stronger connotation in

latter coding sessions resulting in a lack of implementation of same aspects earlier on. However, the large degree of co-occurrence mapping that took place during analysis allowed for the verifying of consistency and the refinement of methods implemented during early stages of the coding and analysis process. This resulted in tighter interpretations of the raw data, as well as the implementation of later coding iterations into earlier portions of coding.

The original positive/negative evaluation scheme was developed to rely on the strongest outlying factors that would have been brought out during the interview. However, the more tepid and nuanced perspectives were not accounted and lacked representation. This was recognized earlier into the interview process and served to adjust the code protocol accordingly. This did not eliminate the limits in portraying the largely evaluative nature of all aspects presented by the interviewees. This was also resolved earlier on by maintaining close notes of the interpretative and contextual nature of evaluative codes. These notes were subsequently used to guide the evaluative matrix and added large amounts of dept to the final results as narrative descriptions were able to be more easily implemented along with the evaluative matrix to portray the complex nature of the content being analyzed.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1 Shortcomings of Research Design

From the 21 qualifying subjects, 18 interviews were held over Zoom video call, and 3 over a voice call through the WhatsApp platform. The subjective nature of the term "member of the community" that was part of the eligibility process was controlled for by delineating residency or constant presence in the two sites for 5 years, no requirements of birth, nationality or nature of presence were applied. This resulted in the inclusion of individuals of foreign origin becoming eligible as subjects and was originally a conscious decision to not limit the inclusion of any voices who have become part of the community in recent years. However, the inclusion of individuals of foreign origin who have a shared background with the migrating communities which this study relies on, presented a conflict of interest for the individuals. This resulted in the data of 2 interview subjects being omitted from the final results. Although the individuals of foreign origin who were interviewed have had just as much of a presence and impact in the two sites as Ecuadorian citizens or lifelong residents, the close relationship with the migrating communities presented data that laid outside the

scope of this study. The intersectionality of "community member" and foreign national presents a set of factors that need dedicated focus, and which could potentially reveal an entirely different layer of the factors being examined in this study, however, their inclusion in the study as it is currently designed would cloud the focus of the design.

4.2 North and South Prevalence

The interview process relied entirely on the preferred and unprimed direction which each interviewee wanted to take when prompted to speak about their experience and perspectives of immigrants. A majority of the interviewees more readily began speaking about migrants from the Global South, followed by a small percentage of Global North accounts, and lastly national and interregional migration. This was also followed by an overall 49% of the topics being discussed in context to South migration, 35% in Northern migration context, and 16% being given no specific connotation of origin or kind.
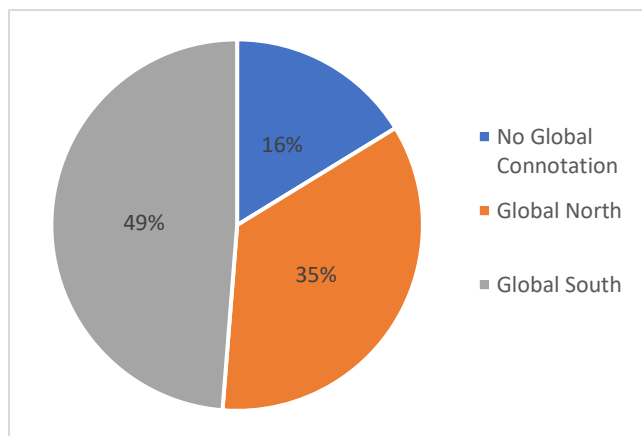
Fig. 8 Distribution of Migrant Group Occurrence in Discussion

Migration Origin	Number of Accounts
Indigenous	2
National/Interregional	2
North	3
Rural/Urban	1
South	11
Total	**19**

Table 2 Initial Migration Origin Discussion

This dominant focus on the topic of migration preceding from the Global South and the fact that it was the first topic of choice by a majority of interviewees was largely expected, due to the significant influx and nature of transit of Colombian and Venezuelan populations into Ecuadorian territory over the previous decades. The rest of the distribution of initial migration topics and discussion of migration with no global connotation are attributed to the lack of any direction given at the beginning of the interview and shows that Global North migration is also present in the minds of the individual interviewees as general migration topics between cities and regions of the country, topics which were acknowledged but were not further discussed. Regardless of what kind of migration was originally brought up, its global counterpart was directly introduced later into the interview; however, the difference between North and South topics remained skewed towards the South showing once again the prevalence of this kind of migration in the general narrative of the Ecuadorian communities.

4.3 Evaluative Matrix

As each interviewee discussed their own self-conceptualization along with the conceptualization of the different migrant groups, the direct connotation and evaluation with which each aspect was discussed became interconnected resulting in a matrix that compared aspects of needs, wants, and expectations of both the local population and the migrant population along with the resources which each group presented as available to themselves or by themselves. The comparison of the 4 aspects along with the positive, negative, and neutral connotations led to a cause and effect scheme which lent itself to comparisons about which aspects are present depending on the migrant population, and how both the local and migrant population react to each context. Appendix B displays this matrix in its entirety.

4.4 Context Distribution

While the majority of the interview process was dedicated to one migrant group or another, the individual context of each interviewee remained the background from which these accounts were gathered. The positive and negative connotation given to the different migrant groups and the perceptions which were behind them constituted a series of interactions between the local and migrant contexts as they negotiated each other's presence in a physically or conceptually shared space. The comparison of what is needed or desired and what is provided or available by both the local communities and the migrant communities further unraveled the local conceptualization of the migrant's place within their realities and the impact which they have in it. Although the circumstances and social spheres

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of each of the local interviewees varied drastically, the most prominent negative and positive aspects that aligned with the conceptualized image of the migrant groups remained consistent throughout. When broken down between North and South contexts, however, the impact and place which each migrant community holds in the local perception becomes clearly evident.

Combined Migrant Context

Figure 9 shows the most common answers by the interviewees regarding what is needed or desired when interacting with migrants were a sense of social stability, economic opportunities, and a sense of safety. What is presented by the locals in these circumstances heavily relied on the social, and communal expectations that make up the local social norms, as well as the availability of assets which the locals have access to as seen on Figure 10. As represented in Figure 11, these factors become present under the local perception of a general migrant need for economic opportunities, basic means of survival, and a desire for exotic experiences. Figure 12 highlights the local justifications of these needs with observations that migrants provide images of the north and the south, as well as the established assets which each migrant community has available to themselves.
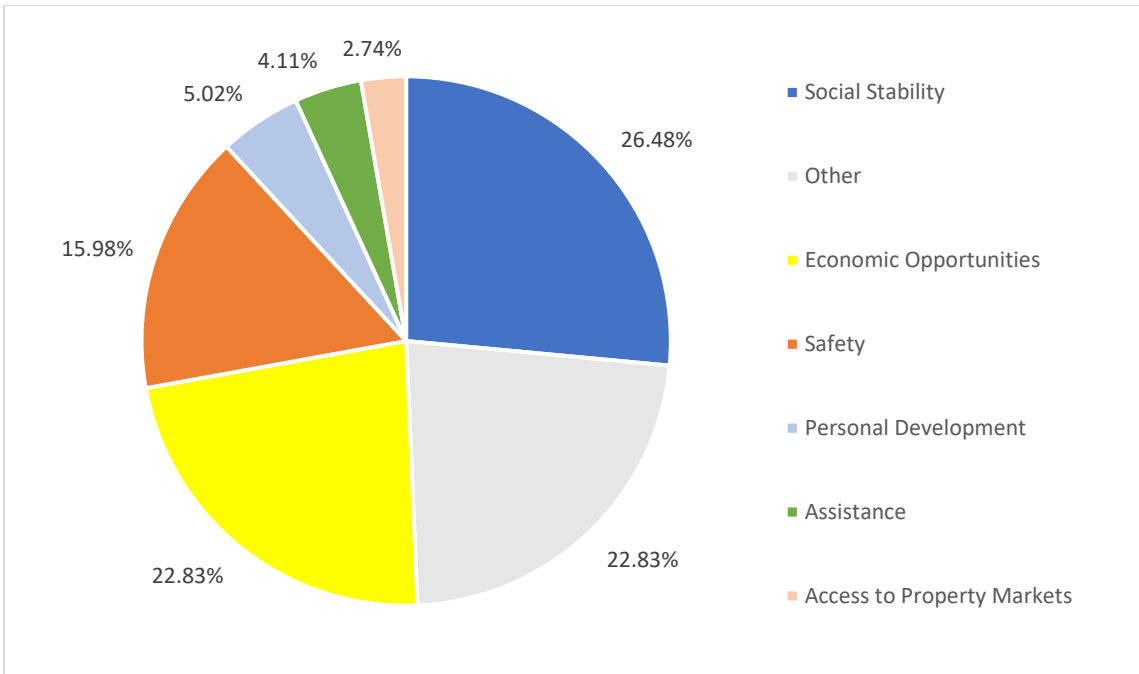
Fig. 9 Combined Local Need or Want
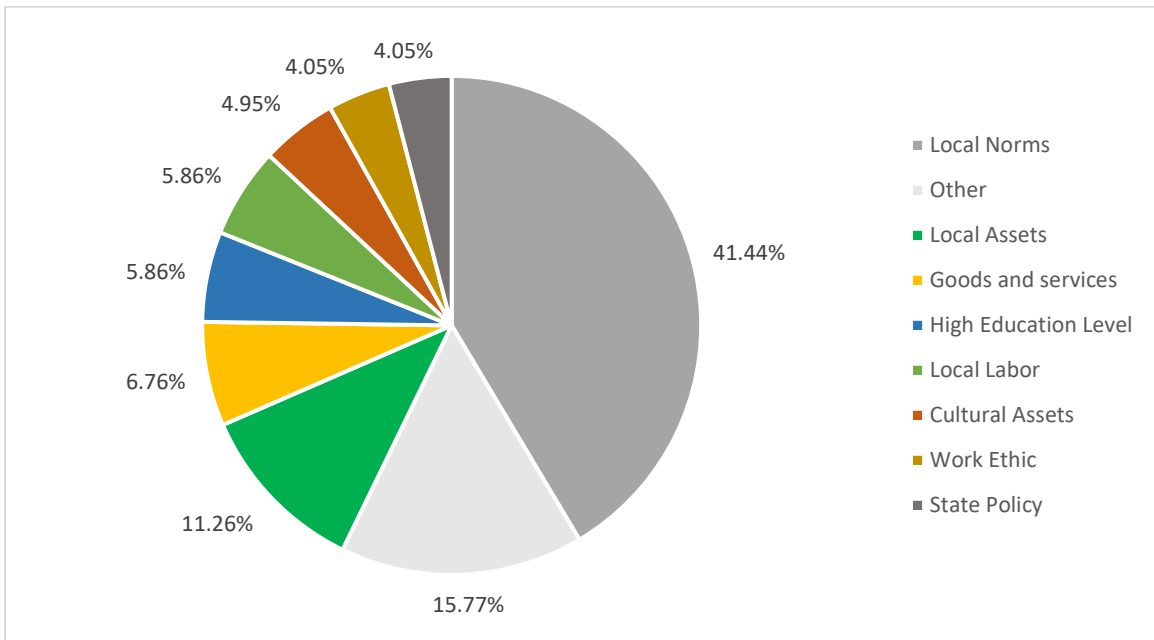
Fig. 10 Combined Local Provides or Has Access To

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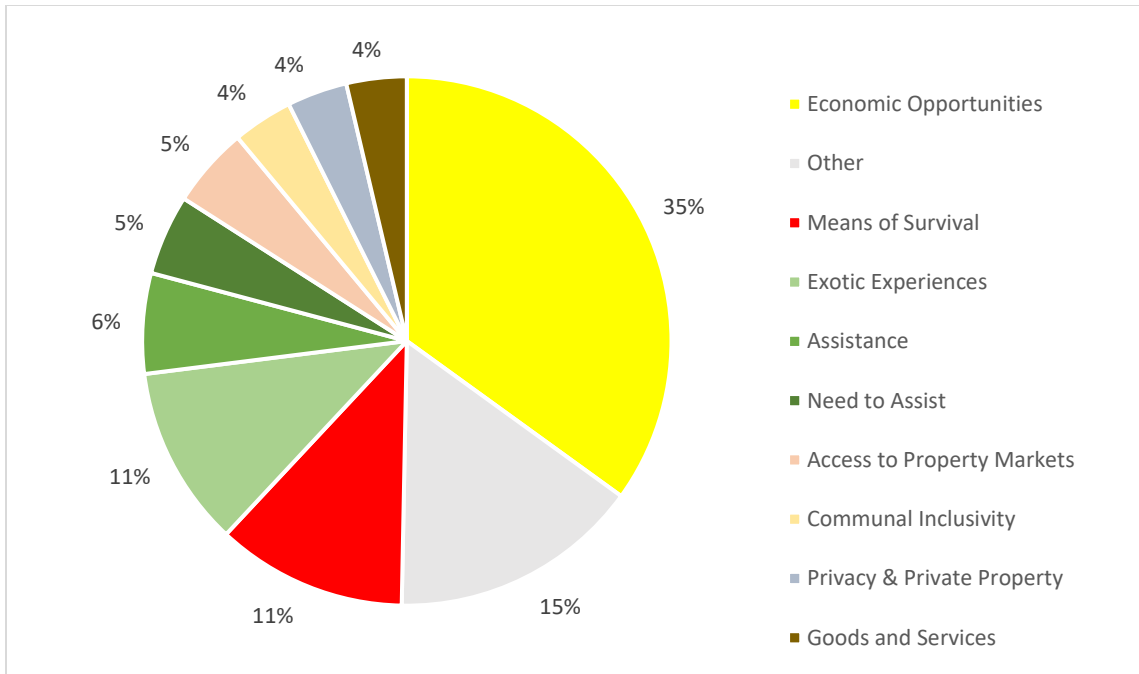
Fig. 11 Combined Migrant Need or Want
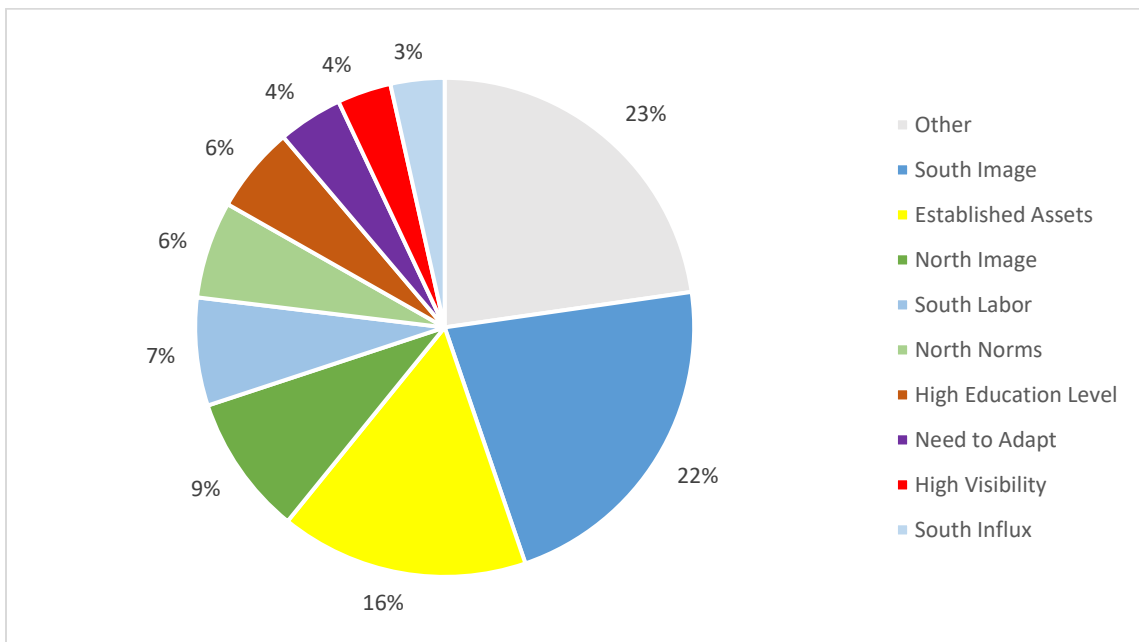
Fig. 12 Combined Migrant Provides or Has Access To

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North Context

Figures 13, 14, 15, and 16 show the need/provide relationship between local and

migrant communities when the topic of discussion is directly addressing the North context. In

relation to North interactions and perceptions, the strong sense of social stability that is

desired when relating to foreign influences takes second place and is replaced by a need of

economic opportunities. A stronger drive for personal development also becomes more

prevalent in this context. The aspects available to locals in this context are similar to those

presented to the migrant context in general. However, much like the need for social stability,

the presence of local norms shrinks substantially, and the presence of both local, and

specifically cultural assets become more prevalent. In this relationship, the aspects of

providing goods and services also increases substantially. Marking a clear break from the

combined migrant aspirations, the narratives created by the local communities clearly show

that North migrants are perceived to be primarily in pursuit of exotic experiences; these

expectations are followed closely by a kind of prevalent need or duty to assist. What is also

more clearly delineated is the kind of economic and transactional relationship that is

expected from North migrants as they become part of the local narratives. Continuing to

show the pattern of transactional relationships, the overwhelming expectation of locals from

the North communities is the kind of established assets and networks which they have

available as North migrants. However, the impact which the norms, customs, and general

image of North migrants closely follows the solely asset based relationship.

Fig. 13 Local Need or Want in North Context
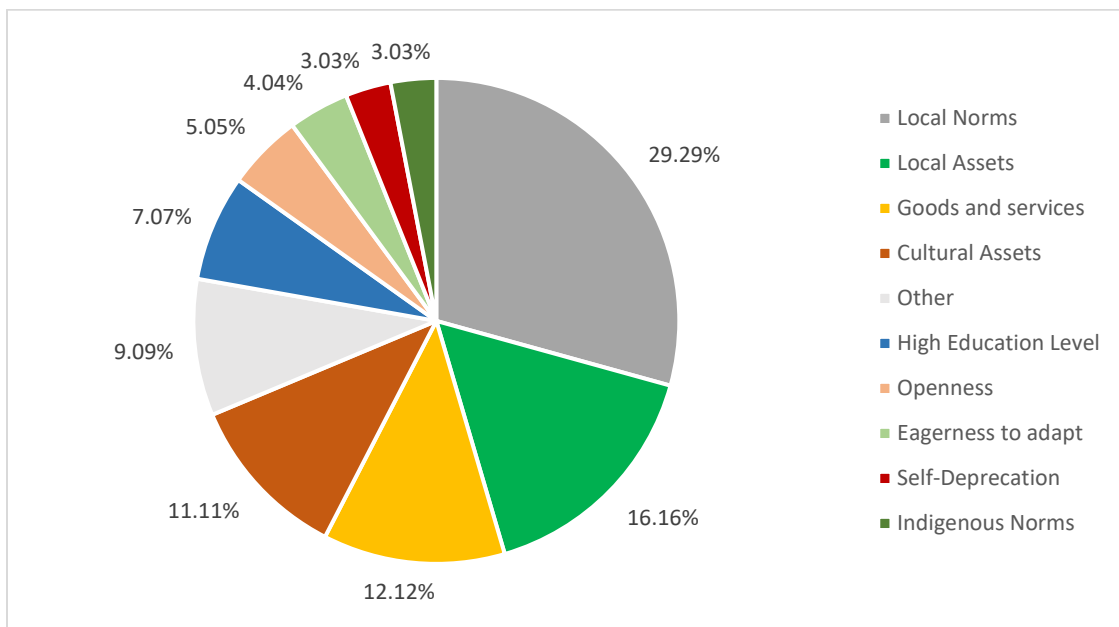
Fig. 14 Local Provides or Has Access to in North Context
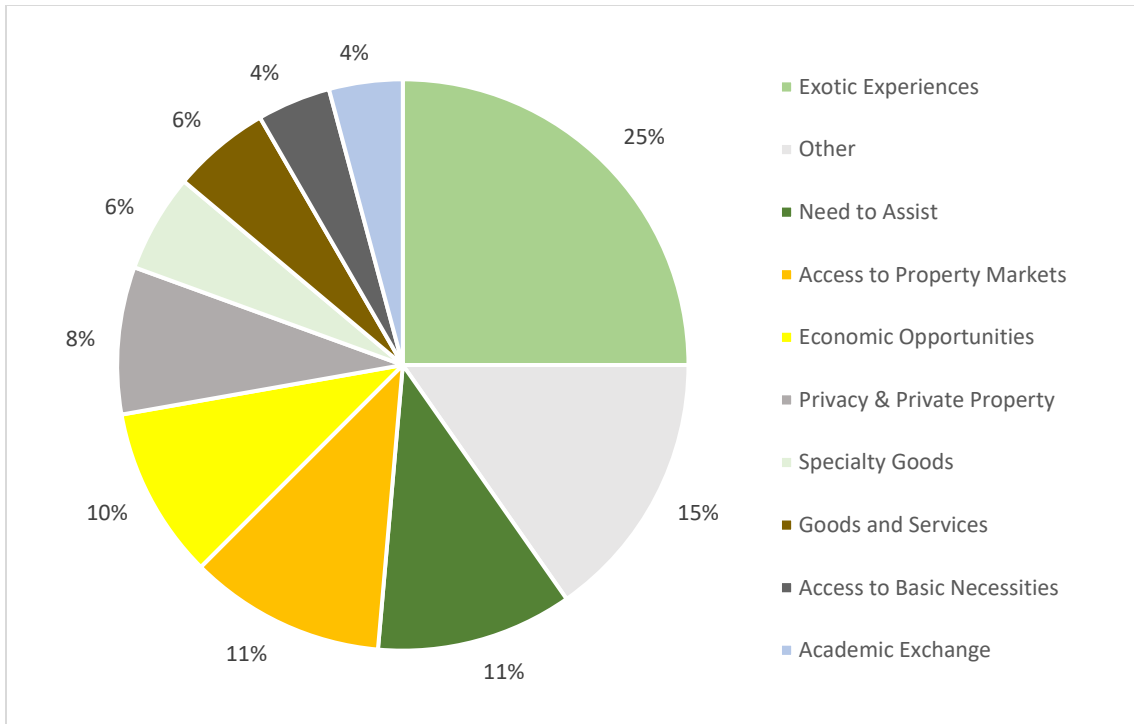
Fig. 15 North Need or Want
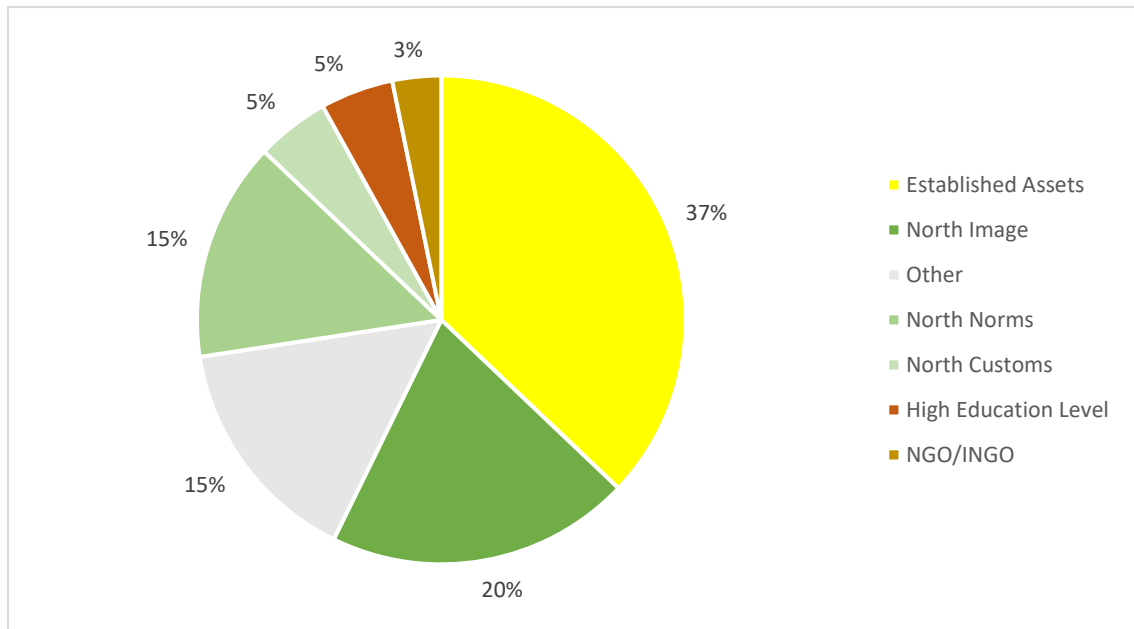
Fig. 16 North Provides or Has Access To

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South Context

Much like when the focus was placed on the North context, when the South context of discussion is isolated, a clear departure from general migrant perception is seen; figures 17, 18, 19, and 20, break down the most prevalent of these topics. Although the conceptualization of South migrants had been presented with more details and variety, the local context from which all of these narratives were presented boiled down to three prevailing factors. In the context of Southern migration, locals' safety, economic opportunities, and social stability were the most prevalent local needs or wants. When accounting for what is presently available or presented by local communities in interaction with South migrants, the key aspect at play was the importance and adherence to local norms. At a much smaller rate, the presence of local labor and local assets as transactional aspects were the next most prevalent aspects, however completely overshadowed by local norms. The local understanding of South migration reasoning and presence in the community was overwhelmingly devoted to a perceived need for economic opportunities, and to a slightly lesser degree, a more extreme need for means of survival and basic assistance from a position of deprivation or desperation. In these interactions the prevailing aspect which locals perceive from South migrants is their general image, presence, and impact in the country. This all followed by a substantial importance of the migrant labor force, and to a smaller degree, the practices that South migrants take up in order to adapt in their new reality.
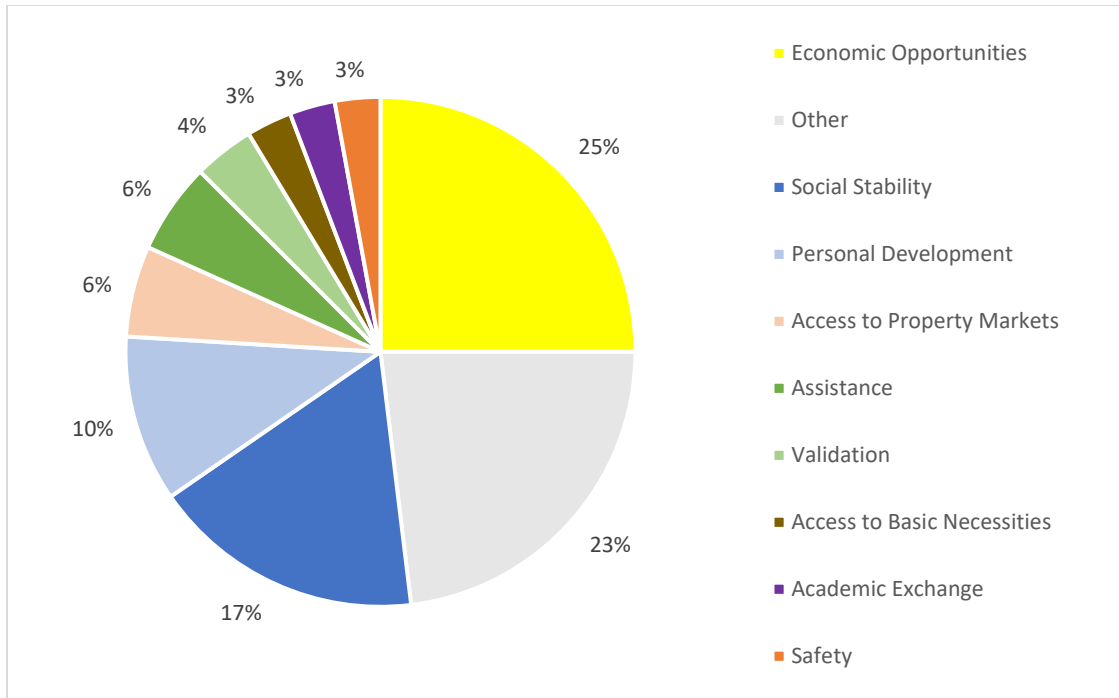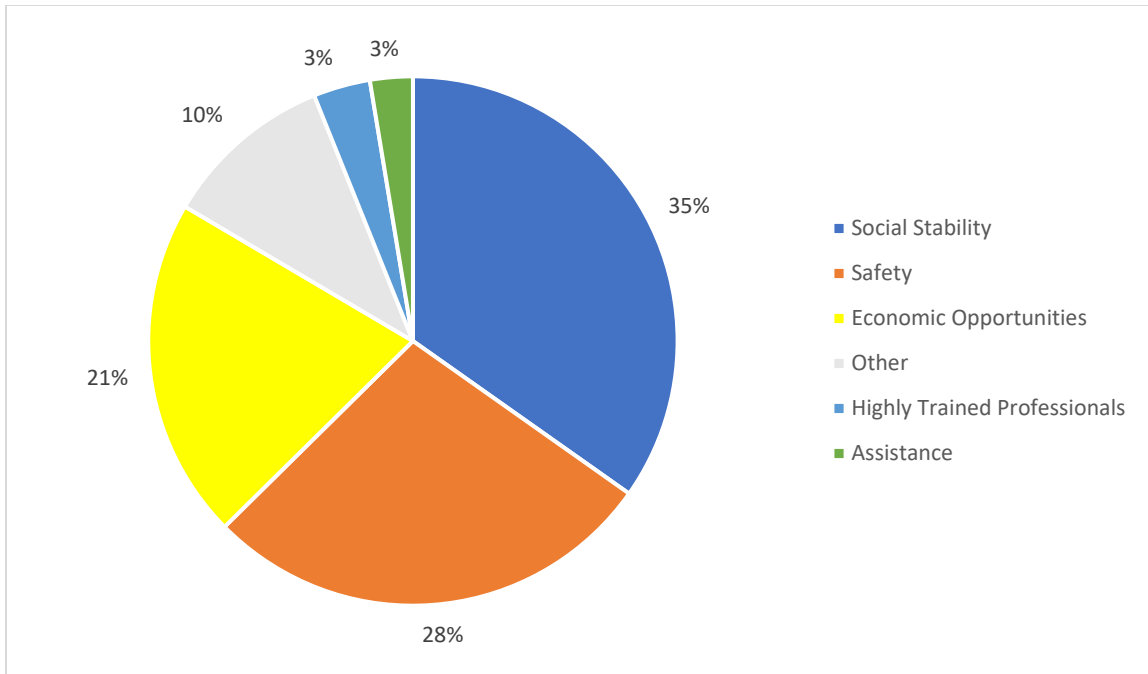
Fig. 17 Local Need or Want in South Context
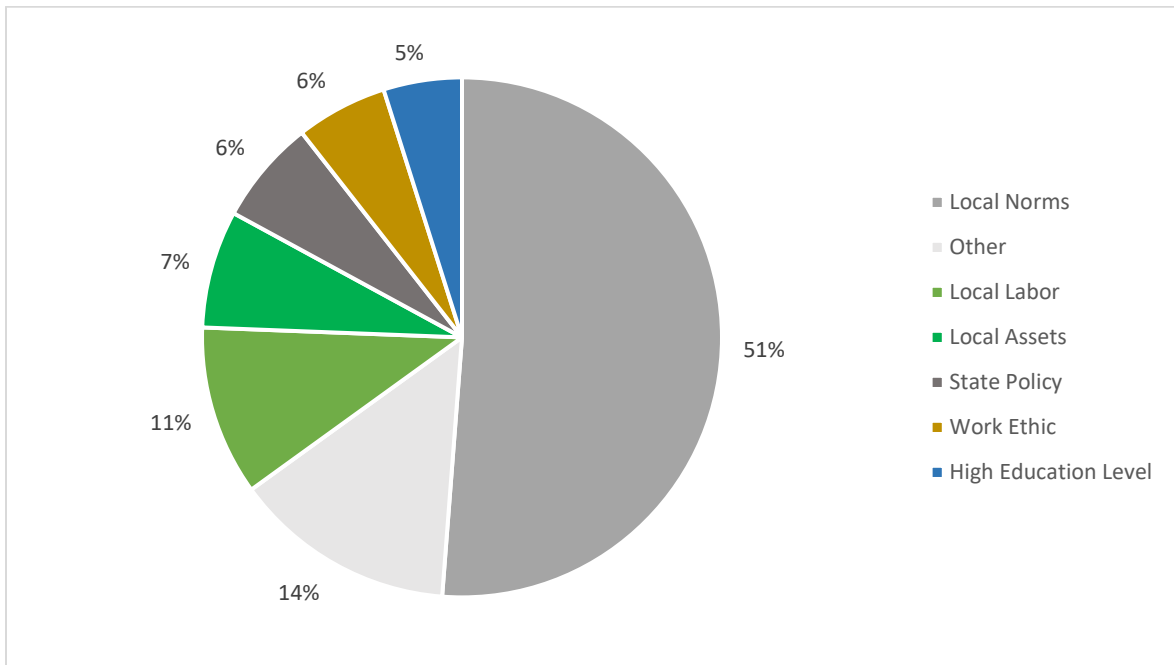
Fig. 18 Local Provides or Has Access to in South Context
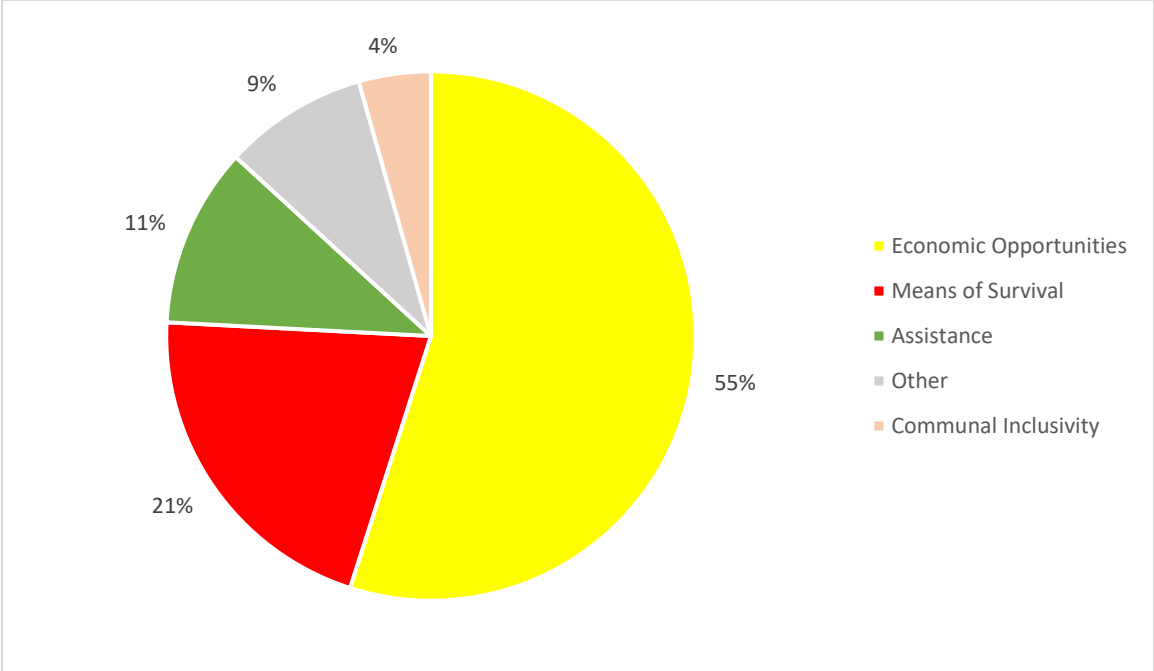
Fig. 19 South Need or Want
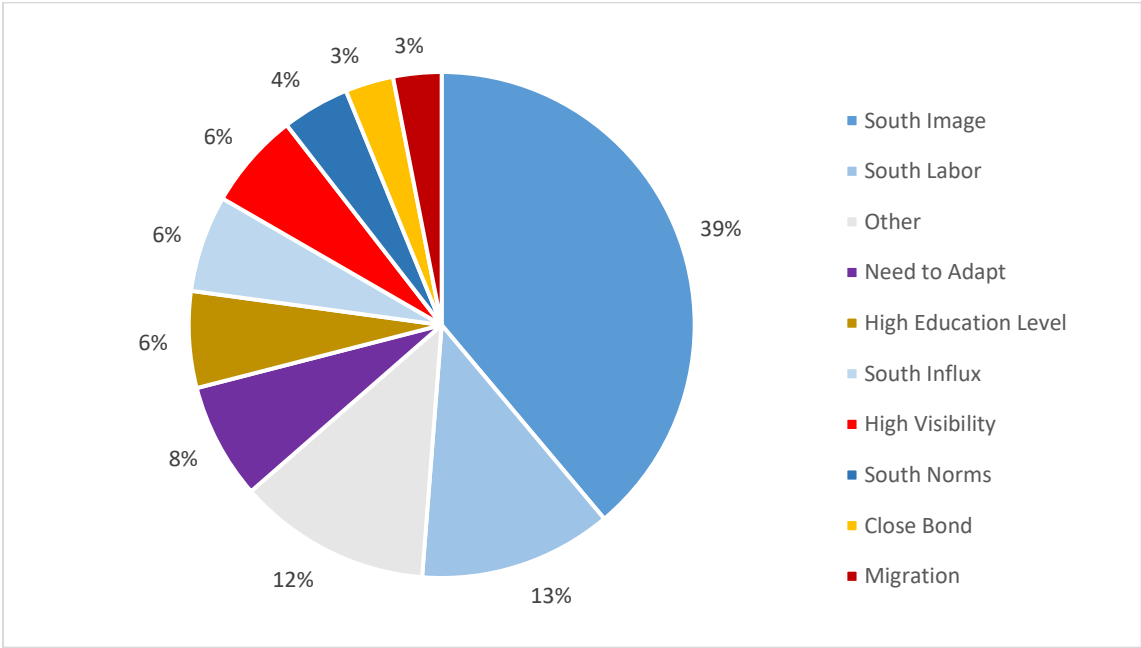
Fig. 20 South Provides or Has Access To

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4.5 Evaluation of Image and Impact

As the interviewees were asked to speak freely about the impact, image, reason, and role which each migrant group plays within the local context, negative and positive attributes and connotations were explicitly and implicitly made about these aspects of migrant presence. Once operationalized these positive and negative attributions show that the positive connotations are more readily attributed to North migrants than South Migrants. It is also clear that South received a greater number of evaluations overall. It is also important to highlight that although North was overall perceived in a positive tone, close to 1 out of every 3 connotations were negative, signifying that the overall attitude towards North is not as homogenous. Meanwhile only about 1 in 5 connotations were positive when discussing South, showing that there is a stronger consensus towards a negative image of South. There is also a relatively small number of neutral conditions, the most significant being, 1 out of every 16 referring to a limited impact or no impact at all.
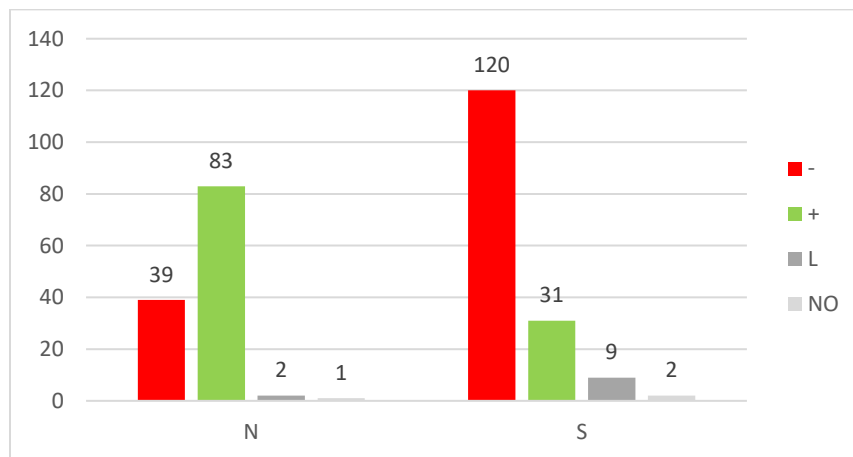
Fig. 21 Local Evaluation by Migrant Origin

Migrant Origin	Negative Impact	Positive Impact	Limited Impact	No Impact	Total
N	39	83	2	1	125
S	120	31	9	2	162
	159	**114**	**11**	**3**	**287**

Table 3 Local Evaluation of Migrant Origin

Migrant Origin	Negative Impact	Positive Impact	Limited Impact	No Impact	Total
Female	**100**	**53**	**2**	**1**	**156**
Indigenous	**48**	**19**			**67**
N	20	17			37
S	28	2			30
Mestizo	**52**	**34**	**2**	**1**	**89**
N	8	28	1		37
S	44	6	1	1	52
Male	**59**	**61**	**9**	**2**	**131**
Indigenous	**31**	**41**	**8**	**1**	**81**
N	11	26	1	1	39
S	20	15	7		42
Mestizo	**28**	**20**	**1**	**1**	**50**
N		12			12
S	28	8	1	1	38
	159	**114**	**11**	**3**	**287**

Table 4 Local Evaluation of Migrant Origin Distributed by Sex and Ethnicity
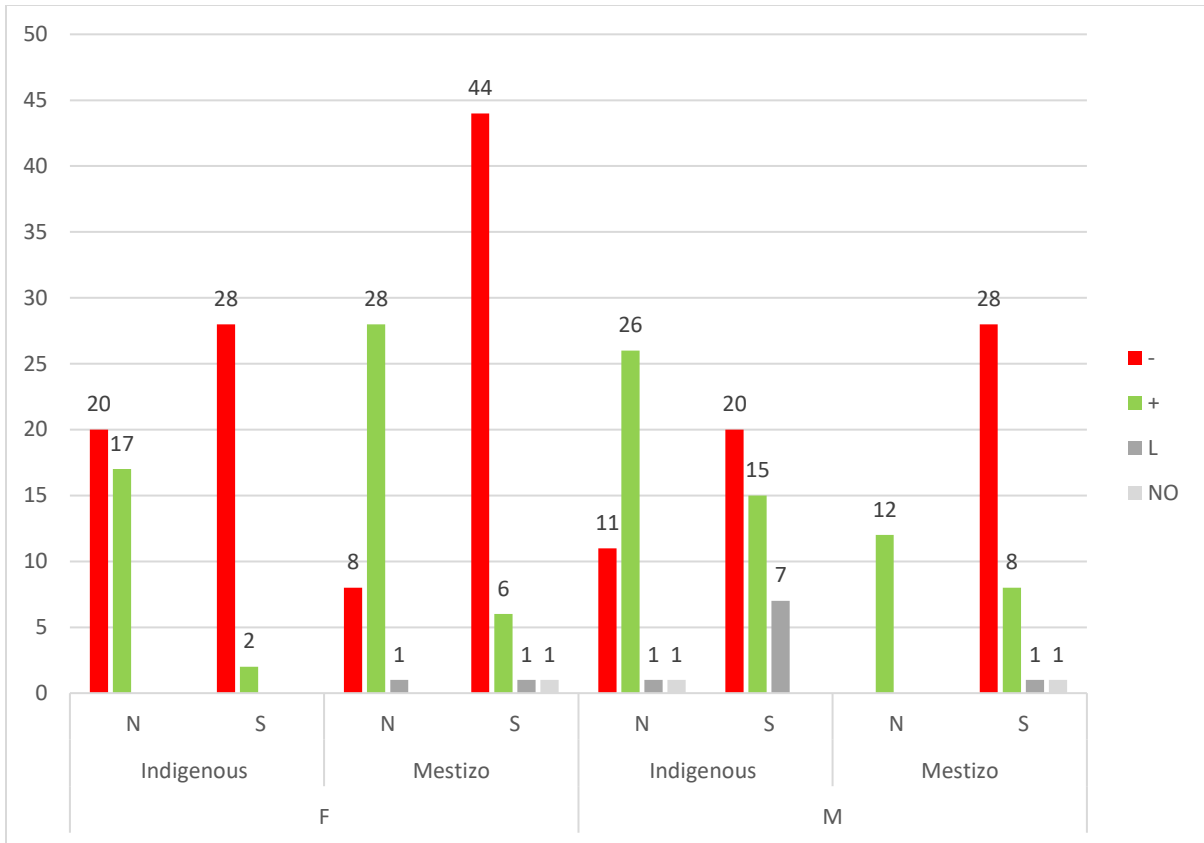
Fig. 22 Local Evaluation of Migrant Origin Distributed by Sex and Ethnicity

Figure 22 shows that when distributed among sex and ethnicity, each demographic consistently demonstrated positive affinities towards the North contexts. The most drastic conditions being the sharp distinction between positive and negative connotations of both Indigenous and Mestizo Females, and the entire lack of negative attributions by Mestizo males. Implementing the evaluative positive and negative aspects which were attributed to each migrant community to their prevailing narratives contextualized the definitive impact which was perceived by the interviewees.

North Accounts

Combined North Image and Perception

In the case of the North, locals perceived the migrants in three general images, as a constant flow of tourists passing through on a short term, retirees establishing themselves within the communities on more permanent basis, and various kinds of investors, contributing mostly towards economic, and academic development.

-Tourist and Investor:

"No, not personally. I do not have much experience with foreigners… none, actually. But on the other hand, that is very different, to me it seems like they come for tourism. Like, they help with development. Otavalo is a big plaza; I think that the name itself is a 'blanket for everyone.' You know that we have the biggest (artisan) market in all of South America 'La Plaza de los Ponchos.'[123] Then it seems to me that they come here more for tourism, for leisure travel, to get to know the plaza maybe. But… really, I do not have that much experience of them coming, except for a gringo that came here to build a hotel, a hotel close to home. There he created jobs. Helped the neighborhood. Today it is the same hotel, but it is for foreigners, well, they are the ones who move the world with their money too. What else can you expect from them, if it seems like among other foreigners, they are better received?"

Maria Magdalena. 54, Mestiza

-Retirees and Investors:

"Now I see that in Cotacachi there is also lots of immigration, especially of retirees from the United States, also Europeans. They have migrated and see a pretty site, a nice place, the cost of living is also low… and the climate is another aspect that we have here in Ecuador… It is a diverse country in nature, in people, it is a friendly country, safe too… then, I think that these people are the ones that have mostly migrated here to Ecuador… in Guayaquil, we

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[123] Plaza de los Ponchos: Biggest indigenous artisanal fair in the north of the country

also have people. They arrived, established their businesses, that was since around the 50s I think that they began to migrate to Guayaquil that is a principal place in Ecuador. That is what I can tell you in relation to migration here in Ecuador."

<div align="right">

José Luis, 43 Indigenous

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-Investors and developers:

"I'm talking about a foundation that is close, close almost inside of the community.[124] They have contributed greatly in the environmental field, in the education field, in the field of health, in the area of infrastructure, and in this case I am speaking about community homes that were gifted. They have contributed, besides that, with the visits from foreigners, well they also have helped, but to the English and mathematics students. Well, they have contributed in those areas, and that is positive for the communities and we have lived this reality, and that I do see, practically, we are feeling that reality, for example those are things that are favorable for our youth and for the community as a whole."

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Julio Cesar, 39, Indigenous

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Positive Attributions

The prevailing positive narratives which were attributed to the north primarily centered around the transactional opportunities which were available to North migrants, and the many forms of development which their presence in the nation has been linked to. These aspects of development, although mainly due to the assets available to the migrant, were also attributed to cultural and norm narratives associated with this particular group, not only due to the richness that is associated from cultural diversity and exposure to outside cultures, but specifically to the kind of culture that is associated with the North. The perception of hard

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[124] Comunidad: Translating to 'community' this term is ubiquitously used specifically to refer to indigenous communities.

working, polite, professionals who are good at managing money and whose life pursuits seem nobler in nature was accompanied by a discrete sense of admiration towards them. The kind of praise which was linked to these attitudes further influenced the local narratives as they internalized the admiration which was perceived coming from the North migrants as they inhabited the local space and sought the exotic experiences and goods which the locals had to offer. This sense of appreciation from a group of people, that in many ways is perceived to be in better condition, created a kind of validation in the minds of the local population.

-Economic Development and Positive Cultural Influence:

"Obviously there are foreigners from Europe, there are like, Americans, they come do their-- the same, they set up their businesses here and they do super well, and yeah it accomplishes that, they move the economy of our country, it helps the culture too, it enriches it a little more. I believe, or I think that they become spokespeople, spokespeople for our country, of what our country has to offer to foreigners.

Miguel Ángel, 24, Indigenous

-Providers of Economic Opportunities:

"…on one side, I believe it also helped. Let's say because there are also [local] families that work, let's say in the condominiums, it could be as gardeners, it could be housekeepers or whatever they [retirees] need, then on one side it maybe helped the family economy of some groups"

Luis Fernando, 30, Indigenous

-Hard Workers and Appreciation of Local Culture:

"I think that… where I was studying in Cotacachi, there are lots of North American people, yes lots of people that really like the culture here. And overall the North American people like Cotacachi, they have their big houses in Cotacachi. They love enjoying the art and the culture that they have there. And they have their enormous houses, they have palaces. And I think that they are people that worked, the North American people that worked all of their lives, I believe that they saved their money, and they come here to rest during, let's say, their last years already in their old age. I have not had any bad experience with the North American people, I have never seen anything really. Rather, I have seen that the people are truly polite, and I believe that even to them, we ourselves, let's say, sometimes take advantage of them, for example 'the gringo has money, we have to take advantage.' But from there, no negative experience, rather I see that they come to enjoy of the fruits of their labor now that they want rest.

María José, 24, Mestiza

-Providers of Economic and Academic Assets:

"…and positively, I see it this way, 2 or 3 years ago a group of foreigners, what they did was channel the topic of sponsorships for the young students to be able to study, well, that was done through the UNORCAC to have contact with the communities to identify families and children. They were working in like an effort to provide scholarships for the children. I think that is still going."

Martha Cecilia, 34, Indigenous

Negative Attributions

Broader Northern narratives tended to align with positive attributions which outnumbered and clouded the negative aspects; negative aspects which were attributed to the north surfaced however, when closer interaction with the group was present. In most cases, negative attributions were not as strongly linked to the assets and opportunities of the Northern presence, but by the way in which these assets tended to disrupt the local social

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conditions. One of the strongest negative narratives associated to the Northern presence was based on the ability of the migrant to use their assets to establish their desired standard of living within the local space, consequently disrupting both the local markets and established norms. The direct impact which the retiree community has had in Cotacachi, has primarily impacted the housing market, and with it the entire local economy as it attempts to cater to the affluent migrant needs and exploit their perceived wealth. In this manner, the closer interaction and influence of the Northern community has actually created a greater distance with the local community. This is due to the migrant community's foreign norms, their ability to easily disrupt the status-quo with their assets, and more importantly because they are perceived either to be fundamentally unable or uninterested to integrate and properly adapt to their new environment.

-Encroaching on Local Land and Not Adhering to Local Customs:

"But yeah, the retiree does dynamize the local economy, but does not want to learn, does not what to learn the customs, neither of Ecuadorians, nor especially the communities, because let's not forget that the urbanizations, the neighborhoods, the condominiums where they are located, those homes that are very pretty are inside of the communities of Cotacachi. And also the problem that I see is … it's the guarding of their [retiree] private property, their protection of all that walled off complex, that we are not used to, mainly in the communities. It's well and true, inside of the communities there is private property, but there are no high walls, these enclosures. We know from where to where belongs to each family, each person, but an enclosure is not used, nor a division with a tall wall. That breaks up the view of the rural zone of the communities. And also there have even been clashes in Cotacachi. Let's say something crosses over, a small animal from the communities, onto the private property of these foreigners and conflicts start, there have been conflicts, lawsuits even; I don't know how true that is, but there has been conflict"

José Luis, 43, Indigenous

-Inflation of the Local Property Market:

"Well, let's say that when they were first starting to come, there were some conflicts. Now like it has gotten better. But when they arrived the first problem that we had was the capital gains, like the increased cost of houses. So let's say for the plots of land that people normally have here, there is a housing value appraisal, and since they were foreigners they could easily pay for the lands. Then there was no access, like they [locals] did not want to sell to the same people from the community or the people from Cotacachi; instead, they would look for a foreign client, the ones that could easily pay double or even triple in some cases."

Luis Fernando, 30, Indigenous

-Specialty Consumers:

"For example, they come, here there wasn't a Tia [brand of grocery store], no Tia, you know… and the Tia came, and the small stores closed down, but the Tia is for, only for the gringos. Then, the Supermaxi [brand of supermarket], they do not buy at the open market, they should buy and contribute in that way to the economy of Cotacachi, and also support the people that produce because here there are farmers markets where the producers come out, and they [migrants] do not consume that… so it is something that I would like them to consume. Then what are they going to do in the gringo market, they go and bring their sausages from who knows where, their whatever kind of cheeses *laughs* well like that, their special breads…"

María Fernanda, 57, Mestiza

South Accounts

Combined South Image and Perception

Compared to the nature of the Northern descriptions, the local accounts of South conditions were more nuanced and descriptive, leading to detailed and overlapping narratives surrounding 3 specific conditions, a lack of assets, a lack of means to achieve these assets, and the sense of contribution which the migrants' conditions present to the local society,

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community and individual. These general conditions of the Southern presence create a wider variety of image prototypes than that of the Northern perception. Roughly there were 5 prevailing narratives of the Southern migrant: the criminal, the lazy, the skilled professional, the job thief and the downtrodden.

-The Criminal:

"…and I have heard that the majority of the foreigners that come here are young, and come for delinquency, like, they come here to do bad things, they come to rob, they come to trick people. And I have had some experiences here…"

María José, 24, Mestiza

-The Lazy:

"The way they act, the attitude that they have, I don't like them, let's say, about 3% of all of them have gone out and have looked for a way to get ahead, but by working. On the other hand, there are others that have searched for the easiest ways to gain, or for example a plate of food, or like 50 cents some 25 cents, but they have done that in a bad way. They stand in the corners; they sit down on the sidewalks and say 'please a bit of charity' so that they are given this or they are given that…"

Marco Antonio, 67, Mestizo

-The Skilled Professional:

"… later went the people that had fewer assets, but they were professionals, they had an academic degree, and they arrived in Ecuador to become part of the public sector, or the private sector. There are very good teachers and academics inside the universities of Ecuador, because we also forget that there were not that many professionals with 4ᵗʰ level degrees here in Ecuador. We could say that they got here just in time. The Venezuelan people

with a level 4 degree, and also medics, lots of medics came and just like that all other professions."

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José Luis, 43, Indigenous

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-The job thief:

"And in work too, like, because they work, and what they earned was for them a lot in comparison with what they were earning in their own country. Then saying, the work here now, the people from here [Ecuador] can't get a job, but they [Venezuelans] can.

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Marian Jesús, 65, Mestiza

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-The downtrodden:

"...because you can plainly see it out in the highway that they are walking, and you can see that they are all tired, then that is like a personal impact, it is hard, it's very hard. They are people that have month-old kids, newborns, walking, and rain, sun, and everything else, so then it's hard, very hard."

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María Fernanda, 57, Mestiza

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Positive Attributions

The relationship that local communities have with the migrant communities of the South often overlooked the positive aspects of their presence and heavily relied on the general narrative of negative consequences due to their presence. However, much like the relationship with the North, the aspects which were seen as positive when discussing Southern influence were transactional and focused on the impact and benefit which their presence has in the local space. The positive attributes which were given towards Southern

presence almost entirely regarded their impact as either cheap labor, or as highly educated

specialists. In these cases, close or direct interaction with the migrant community was

necessary for such narratives of mutual need or cooperation to exist. The lack of a deeper

dimension of character and culture when making positive attributions also shows the limited

interaction that exists between the local and migrant community, as the manner in which

these narratives and perspectives are developed do not permit further interaction.

-Mutual Assistance Through Employment:

"But the experience is that, the experience that I have is good up until this point because they have helped me, I have helped, and they have helped, there has been a mutual help with these people from Venezuela."

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Ana Lucia, 50, Mestiza

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-Cheap Foreign Labor:

"And help is, the fact that they would come, I belive that at one point they have helped the economy of Ecuador, before the beginning of the pandemic, so that it could move in a different way I believe. Many times, small buisnesses could not pay minimum wage. Many small Ecuadorian businesses due to, pfff, so much bureaucratic paperwork and so many very bureaucratic laws that the state has, does not allow small businesses to develop like they should. Then if you want to develop as a small buisness you sometimes need labor that is not that expensive, then there are those cases too of small buisness that have hired foreign labor, specifically Venezuelan, to establish themselves".

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Miguel Angel, 24 Indigenous

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-Academic and Medical prifesionals:

"I think that it's some good and some bad. Like I said, the Venezuelan professionals, the knowledge is important, academically, then, the experience which they have, and in the country they do contribute, contribute, and well I am very thankful for the doctor that treated my wife, a high risk surgery that went well, then how could I not be thankful to that person. Then that would be the good, the good of those people, with academic degrees, from an academic level with lots of professional experience"

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José Luis, 43, Indigenous

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Negative Attributions

The pervasive negative narratives which surround the Southern presence in the entire nation provided plenty of instances and examples of negative attribution. The most prevalent negative attributions, in many cases deriving from nothing more than the well-established general narratives, surrounded the increase in crime and loss of safety that is attributed to the influx of South migrants. This prevailing image of criminality was much more closely associated with the nature and character of the migrant community, often times also portrayed as lazy and underserving of aid; however, this was contradicted by the very visible impact which the cheap migrant labor is having in the local labor markets. A tangible sense of job displacement due to migrant labor was a commonly articulated factor being attributed negative connotations. The sense of threat to safety and social stability was also accompanied by the threat to economic opportunities and wellbeing showing that beyond a sense of social fear, there exists a strong sense of competition with this community.

-Loss of a Sense of Safety and Calmness:

"Like I had more or less said at the beginning about this, well one does not feel totally calm when you go out to the street, like one lost, not peace itself, but up to a certain point the calmness, because before you could go out, what do I know, at night at 8, 9 at night to run some errand or something that you need to do. And well, there were no issues, if you ran into someone in the street, generally it was the neighbors or some people that you know, but now, for example, we can find Venezuelan people, that one feels scared sadly, maybe it's not right, but one gets like that from all the things that are heard and seen. Then for example, here in Cotacachi recently a group of people tried to rob some stores. Then one sees and feels, if one sees them, sees what the people are doing, well one simply tries to distance or avoid them. Then yeah it is that, the loss of like part of the calmness that one had to be here in the city…"

María Elena, 47, Mestiza

-Cheap Wages Means Displaced Local Labor:

"… from a bus driver, in the bus that is working at a terminal, a young woman in the ice cream stands, at a restaurant, they have gone every place, not to mention construction. I tell you, the labor of a Venezuelan, you can pay him, 'do this little job, I need this construction, do this, do this other thing." And they pay $5, they pay the minimum, and for them it is a lot. Taking in consideration their salary [Venezuelan minimum wage], that's a lot. Then yes, it has an effect, especially with Ecuadoran labor.

María Magdalena, 54, Mestiza

-Well Established Negative Image of Lack of Contribution:

"Geez I don't know… like in a general level, I think they have taken a role of bad people that do not contribute to the city, that do not contribute to the country, that rather they do… I don't know, they do an evil to society, they are seen as socially bad here, that seems to be the role they have taken here within this."

María Isabel, 25, Indigenous

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-Delinquency And Local Job Displacement:

"Then they have helped…. At some point they have helped the economy of the country positively I would say, but…. Like I said, like there is also the other side of the coin, delinquency, many of the Venezuelans, I think out of a need to work charge very little, and have taken job opportunities from Ecuadorians…"

Miguel Ángel, 24, Indigenous

4.6 Direct Comparison Between North and South Conditions

As the interviewee narratives built their perception of each migrant communities' image, their understating of the conditions of both communities was also fleshed out by prompting the comparison of the two communities. These comparisons further highlighted the distinct conditions which each migrant community was attributed, and the place which they held in the minds of the interviewees. When asked to directly compare both migrant groups with each other, and the impact which they have, the main aspect that continued to resurface was the availability of assets which each group had and the reason for their presence within the local contexts. The vastly distinct conditions of each migrant narrative pits two very distinct sets of circumstances and asks the interviewee to make comparisons based on them.

Different

Any comparison made by the locals on the vastly different circumstances surrounding the presence of the two communities as they inhabit the local space focused primarily around

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the availability of assets which each migrant community is perceived to have. While the Northern migrants were perceived to be affluent and directly tied to potential economic opportunities and development, the Southern presence was more squarely focused on a sense of drain rather than contribution to any local fields. These comparisons were greatly based on the reason why the migrants were currently present, aligning Northern populations with tourism and investment, and Southern populations with some form of forced displacement. While these comparisons lacked much of the direct evaluative input that was seen when focusing on a single population, the comparisons provided a sense of acceptance, or rejection of certain aspects attributed to one community or the other. A key aspect that resulted from this comparison is the broad approval towards norms and characteristics attributed to Northern migrants while the character and attitudes perceived from Southern migrants were seen with disdain and disapproval.

-Economic Assets:

"The biggest difference, the economic factor obviously. The economy. That is the key point, the one migrant does not have money, on top of that, he migrates to a country that is relatively in development, not to say a third world country, which is Ecuador, let's say that it is in development in order not to speak badly about my country, and that we are moving forward. And the other, well, that migrant does come with security, with a steady solvency, that you know that they have a steady monthly income, you know they can spend. Then the main factor is economic, that would be the grand difference. And then the cultural level as well. The educational level is another factor."

José Luis, 43, Indigenous

-Physical Appearance and personal character:

"...and it's because, I'm telling you, different, look, the European is very respectful of the Otavalo culture, meanwhile the Venezuelan, he is not. He has, I don't know if you have noticed, the Venezuelans, they have a different, how do I say it, a sense of arrogance, right? 'It's the many Miss Venezuelas!' <chuckles> Then for those reasons, then, they see us as, 'oh, the Ecuadorian is ugly' well no, not us."

Carlos Alberto, 60, Mestizo

-Tourists v. Economically Displaced:

"Like see, the difference, the difference is that, well in that aspect how can I tell you, like, the gringos like the touristy stuff, they travel more for that reason. On the other hand, not the Venezuelans, they like I told you, they do it because of the economic situation of their country."

Juan Carlos, 23, Mestizo

Shared

      Once again, the vast difference between the perceived circumstances of the two migrant communities brought many interviewees to draw blanks when asked to find things in common or that are shared between the two communities. Besides the general sense of a shared human conditions, the few manners in which migrants were seen as similar was in the fact that they were migrants. This conceptualization of both communities sharing a similar common space as individuals who have left their home of origin and now reside within the bounds of another state was not very common as the stark differences between their conditions did not permit the interviewees to perceive them as equals in that manner.

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Accounts of being similar in this sense when directly asked to compare them were nearly completely absent.

-Nothing in Common:

"...mmmm no, besides that we are all human, I don't see any other way in which they could be similar"

<div align="right">

Jorge Luis, 43, Indigenous

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-Seeking Tranquility/Safety:

"Since they are more calm, whether it is the gringos trying to be well and live like a more calm life, and the others [South] like to have a more calm life in reference to the economic aspect outside of their countries, maybe not here in Ecuador, it's not like a booming economy, but here they will feel a little more calm compared to how they were in their countries, same as Colombians like I was saying. They will be calmer, at least they will have a certain accommodation I believe, it's because of that calmness, but a different kind of calmness."

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María Isabel, 25, Indigenous

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<u>Comparison of Impact on Country</u>

Focusing on the impact which both communities have on the county further highlighted two of the main attributions being given to the communities, the negative competitive nature of the Southern labor pool, and the positive economic impact tied to Northern presence. At the same time this comparison of impact once again highlights the contrasting situations of the two communities The extreme manifestations of the Southern

presence as merely fighting to survive, and the ways in which this community has adapted to their circumstances reflects against the Northern community and emphasizes the way in which Northern migrants have not had to adapt in this manner.

-Labor Competition v. Economic Influx:

"I say due to work, like the reason why they came here to say, to earn whatever they get paid… so then like that there is less work for the people here, many people lost their jobs, on the other hand the others didn't. They give, what is it, the tourism that they come here to do and the people help them. "

Mariana Jesús, 65, Mestiza

-No Harm v. Survival:

"I believe that the North Americans, I don't think they have come here to do anything bad in this country, I believe I have not seen that, on the other hand, the other community, it's like I was saying, they come here to try to survive any way possible, not caring about the cause."

María José, 24, Mestiza

<u>Comparison of Impact on Society</u>

Comparisons of the two migrant groups on their influence on society as a whole reinforced the more tangible aspects demonstrated by the previous section of the kind of influence which each group could have according to their situation. However, the broader sense of impact in society demonstrated greater implications that stepped away from the physical and tangible manifestations of their presence and into deeper assumptions of the place and nature of both migrant communities, as well as the local community in relationship

to them. The negative connotations that are attributed to the South and the positive

connotations attributed to the North become further galvanized by the local community as it

has internalized the experience and perspective of the migrant communities, reinforcing the

narratives which they have been exposed to.

-Ability to Contribute V. Basic Necessities:

"…from what each one can, they can, each group can contribute according to, to…. Let's say not only… like as volunteers, rather, there is always some, 'I'll give you" or 'I'll do this for something in return.' The Venezuelan has to do things for economic resources which is what he needs the most; on the other hand, the gringos, maybe, they contribute economically, but in return for a sense of wellbeing,"

Ana Lucia, 50, Mestiza

-Welcoming v. Rejecting Impact:

"That is the big difference, then, it's easier to show and say that they would be welcomed, the Americans, the Europeans, but without discrimination that it could also be said that at least the Venezuelans have only caused harm"

Marco Antonio, 67, Mestizo

<u>Comparison of Impact on Self</u>

The complex nature of comparing the impact on the individual self, limited the

number of accounts that were true direct comparisons of the influence and impact of this

kind. The difference in influence as it was attributed when discussing a single migrant

community clearly highlighted a general desire to acquire the assets and opportunities linked

to Northern influence. Southern influence, on the other hand, focused on the competition and

loss of safety due to their presence. These comparisons, when made directly, showed why

these attributions are so readily made. The unreliable transience that has been attributed

primarily to Southern imagery shows that a factor of their migrant condition that contributes

towards the distrust and fear of Southern presence is constant relocation. Although constant

mobility is also linked to affluent tourists, they are not perceived in an untrustworthy manner.

Rather, the residency of the retiree communities has become more prevalent and allowed the

communities to get to know their faces and accept their presence without fear.

-Sense of safety from long and long term presence:

"One feels no fear to run into an American or European foreigner in the street, and the same does not happen when one runs into a Venezuelan. When the gringos or the European people have lived here for a long time, well, they become part of the community and they are like a neighbor... that is there next to you and you get to know them, well at least you know they are there and where they live even if you don't know their name. This does not happen with the Venezuelans, in this case because many of them are here only passing through for a certain time, one month, two months and then they disappear, but in their place, others come, newer and newer ones, you can't identify them and say there are this many persons, it's the one that lives around the corner, no. Because they change very quickly. So yeah, the aspect of security that one has, like influences a lot in the way one feels inside their own city.

Maria Elena, 47, Mestiza

4.6 Comparisons of North and South Conditions with Local Conditions

Much like the comparisons between the two migrant conditions themselves, the comparison of the migrant conditions with the local conditions further reinforced the communal sense of "us and them" and brought forth a final layer of impact directly perceived by the interviewees. Overall, these factors were once again drastically different between North and South, showing that shared North aspects were perceived to be minimal while South aspects were much more likely to be perceived as being shared with the local communities. On the same note, the comparison of local and migrant conditions showed that the personal character was among the most distinct aspect when compared with both North and South conditions, however, the differences with the North were much varied, while the differences with the South were less diverse, but more prevalent.

North

Different

The positive, and partially negative, impact that is attributed to the Northern presence as a result of this community's perceived wealth and global access was a dominant topic of discussion when talking about the Northern influx. This perception of economic and other assets, however, was not actively present when direct comparisons between the Northern and local conditions were made by the interviewees. Rather, most of the comparison revolved around the many cultural and normative aspects that set the Northern population apart from

the local norms. These comparisons, although largely lacking direct evaluative connotations,

framed certain aspects of the Northern condition as a factor which has contributed to their

access to opportunities, and which provides an example to emulate for the local conditions.

However, it also becomes evident that their perceived highly individualistic outlook on life

clashes with the more communal minded local perspectives, especially when it comes to

indigenous communities.

-Personal Values, Assets, and Sense of Community:

"It could be that on one hand it's like their vacation here. They see it as a distraction, and on the other hand, for us it's our daily lives, we are here everyday going about our lives, it's our reality, that could be the difference…another thing is that even if it may very well be that in the communities money is necessary and everything, but it is not the most important thing. In the communities, there is this nexus of [mutual] help, of the mingas, of the… that is much stronger sometimes than the need for money. On the other hand, the people that come here generally think that with money they can do most things, things from their experience. I think that that could be the difference, I'm not saying we don't need the money, but there are other things.

María Carmen, 30, Indigenous

-Work Ethic, Professionalism, and Customs:

"Well our customs, the food, mmmmm lets see, I can say language. Like we like to go around in circles to say something, to ask for something. It's our own cosmovision, that sometimes does not get to the point, like a bit delicate; to ask for a private favor, you go around in circles and don't know how to say sometimes, or sometimes are overly thankful. But it;s our cosmovision, it's our way of being, our idiosyncrasy. On the other hand, the foreigner tells you 'I want this' and we do it, 'ready, today!' Like I told you, the customs, the culture is different, it affects, but it has a positive overall effect in some things. For example, the famous 'Ecuadorian time' that we have, and I'm sorry for that as well. The foreigner is very

punctual… he says, 'the interview is at 7' and you have to be ready 10 minutes early… then that is something positive, something positive that we should learn from."

<div align="right">

José Luis, 43, Indigenous

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-Fundamentally Distinct People:

"How can I tell you, like, as I told you I don't know… like they are very different people not like us… I can tell you… like, like some of them like it and some don't, like they have a different lifestyle, I tell you… in another place, like, it's like some of them like to be in the countryside and some don't, like I was telling you some like to ride horseback and others don't. There are so many things, well, like they don't like, not everyone likes it here."

<div align="right">

Juan Carlos, 23, Mestizo

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Shared

The positive impact and perspective being attributed to the Northern community revolved around possible economic and development impact which they can have in the community and lives of the community members. To a certain degree the negative impact attributed to them also stems from their economic abilities and access to more global opportunities. Both of these aspects however play no role within the conceptualization of the Northern community as similar to the local community. The prevalent narratives categorizing the Northern community as fundamentally distinct left no room for any common ground. Although this community is more readily accepted by the local communities for many reasons, the local communities fail to find much in common with them, and it shows that although their presence is perceived as generally positive, it provides little space for the local communities to perceive themselves as equals within this relationship. Similar to the

comparison between North and South conditions, the comparison between local and North

conditions shows that a social consciousness categorizes the Northern condition as distant

and mostly unattainable.

-Nothing:

*"mmm what they have in common… jeez … I don't know… what do they have in
common?…."*

<div align="right">

Luis Fernando, 30, Indigenous

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"Similar? No"

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Mariana Jesús, 65, Mestiza

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"what do we have in common? Truthfully, I don't know"

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María José, 24, Mestiza

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<u>South</u>

Different

The negative aspects of the Southern community are more readily associated with the

character of the community as it is compared with the local conditions. However, unlike the

comparison with their Northern counterparts, the comparison of Southern migrants portrays

the local perception of their character as a kind of opposite of the local norms. Perceived as

more outgoing and extroverted, these characteristics stem from a comparison to the

conservative and traditional norms of this region of the Ecuadorian Sierra. The same

characteristics are also highlighted due to the challenging conditions which this migrant

community faces. The outgoing, flexible and somewhat entrepreneurial attitudes that are

perceived from the Southern communities are seen as a vital part of the background from

which the community's other attributes are drawn. As beggars, criminals, hitchhikers, street

vendors or job thieves, this characteristic contributes to the variety of narratives being

attributed to the Southern community, and contrasts with the social stability which the locals

desire.

-Personal Character and Need to Adapt:

"They are more open, like they don't have much to lose, then they are more expressive, what do I know, they are more agile, they are faster. Then, here let's say no, between a foreigner that is quick to the punch, against an Otavaleño that is slower, that does not do much, like they see the difference and *bam!*"

María Magdalena, 54, Mestiza

Shared

Unlike the comparison with the Northern influence and condition which found no

common ground with the local, the shared aspects of the Southern conditions place the local

condition on the same basic level. As members of the Global South themselves, locals

recognize the plight of the migrant, the disastrous consequences of poor state administration,

and the daily struggle of economic hardship. This common ground is where empathy and a

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push to provide assistance comes from as the visible hardship of the Southern community becomes visible to the many members of the local community. However, this is also where the sense of competition between the two communities is reinforced as the local community perceives themselves to be in conditions not that different and sometimes just as difficult as those of the migrant community. In this crossroad both charity and competition appear as responses towards the influx and understanding and rejection appear as attitudes towards the community.

-Looking for Better Days:

"Something in common…. in common with my life, we are the same in that they have also come to Cotacachi from somewhere else to look for better days…"

María Fernanda, 57, Mestiza

"that… would be… always looking for better days for the family…. Fighting to join, join forces, join goals and thoughts, to be able to move forward, as much for the Ecuadorian family here as for the Venezuelan family, that is what unites them, then, it's that push to fight for a better well-being"

Ana Lucia, 50, Mestiza

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS

"I mean, we are actually comparing opulence with misery."

María Magdalena, 54, Mestiza

The reasoning of this study heavily relied on the drastic differences between the two

kinds of migrant populations that have become most prevalent in the minds of the local

communities of Cotacachi and Otavalo. The microcosm of Ecuadorian identity that is present

within these two sites allowed for the most extreme fluctuations in the social fabric,

manifested in distinct migrating communities, to be contrasted against some of the most

prevalent and iconic aspects of the Ecuadorian identity narrative. The accounts of those who

shared with me their perspective of these dynamics independently, and as an artificial

community of individuals gathered due to convenience, present an abundance of accounts.

They offer their understanding of an everchanging world, their desires as they meet the

expectations which society, their community, and they themselves have set, and the elements

present and missing to meet their challenges. These perspectives all articulate the real sense

of what it is like to be in the presence of change as it is embodied in the faces of individuals from a different place, with a different skin tone, a different tongue and a different way of seeing the world.

The prevailing narratives of contribution attributed to the North and drain attributed to the South as they are perceived by the local community members highlight the contrasting conditions of each community, heightening these comparisons and polarizing the comparisons with the local conditions. The internalization of these conditions by the local community members shows the global and historical nature of these relationships and the way in which the past and present influence their perspectives. The global demands which the local environment increasingly faces cause the community members to adapt in ways that rely on perspectives of a racialized global hierarchy which categorizes both the Southern and local conditions as completely different than that of the Northern condition, reinforcing the status quo of the post-colonial mentality of the nation.

These influences, however, are also met with resistance as the local identities not only reject aspects which do not benefit them in a global context, but which directly clash with the distinct perspective of the local communities, those aspects surrounding Indigenous identity cosmovision. The mestizo minded Eurocentric acceptance is also emphasized under these circumstances as they internalize the Northern desire for indigenous aspects that have been historically relegated to lower societal strata. In this complex tug of identity influences and aspects, it also becomes clear that under all circumstances, the direct engagement with outsiders worked to undermine pervasive narratives of positive and negative aspects of both

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migrant communities, as well as strengthening aspects of each individual's role within their

reality.

5.1 The North

*"mmmm…. What is shared. Geez, often there are many differences between a foreigner
[North] and a member of a specific Ecuadorian community. Many times, here in the
community, a foreigner shows up and is praised, it's like they are told here 'Wow it's a
gringo, wow it's a German, wow it's such and such' They are praised one way or another,
but I think that when one goes there [North] it's not so much, we [Local] are not praised."*

<div align="right">

Miguel Ángel, 24, Indegenous

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   The overwhelmingly positive attributions towards North migrants were largely based

on the kind of positive impact their presence has in aspects such as commerce, education, and

social progress as a whole, however, it is more vital to point out the context and undertones

with which these attributions were given. Time and time again, a sense of contribution was

part of the local perception of North migrants, but besides the anticipation that the assets that

are attributed to them are being leveraged by the local community in some way or another.

There remains a general understanding of their place and role within the space occupied by

the locals, as if the North's presence alone is an asset in itself. This accepted narrative of

North imagery and place, on a local and global scale, is also contrasted by the local

understanding of their own place in the world as compared to the North migrants: "They are

praised one way or another but I think that when one goes there [North] it's not so much, we

[Local] are not praised" This perspective of the fundamental distinction of the kind of

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reception which North migrants receive, and locals who migrate receive shows that in fact there is an internalized sense of supremacy attributed towards North conditions and self-deprecation towards local conditions that perhaps reflects a post-colonial legacy.

5.2 The South

"Let's see, they… More than affect us, well… what could… what happens is that if they don't, they come, they are foreigners [South], come looking for better days, but in the end turn into a burden for the governments, or for public policy, in some way they[State bodies] have to provide, what do I know, better conditions, or if not, I don't know if the governments communicate with each other and can work together on this but... I believe that for us, at a local level more than anything, if they [South] do not find better conditions of development here, where they are coming, obviously it's going to reverberate in negative ways to where, let's say, where they themselves are now. If they do not find food, the issues of clothing or health, then they can fall back in ways that affect… they could generate insecurity. When a person has nobody to count on, very few are the ones that find some way to work. But at the same time, some resort to violence, to robbing, things like that. That would be it, one issue, a negative impact inside of our locality."

Martha Cecilia, 34, Indigenous

Southern imagery on the other hand, consistently implied a sense of burden or threat, either on the economy, the job market, state bodies, or on society as a whole. This impact overall is very well understood by the local members of the community to be a result of the conditions which created the large influx of South migrants in Ecuador, and the manner in which these migrants have adapted to address their migratory conditions. However, this understanding does not limit the engagement of local norms and expectations on behalf of the locals when it comes to the impact they perceive as a result of this new migrant presence.

The manner in which locals crafted South narratives as their presence became more prevalent and extended has narrowed down and simplified to a general sense of disturbance of the local norms as the perceived impact became increasingly tied to delinquency. This rationalization directly linking crime and South imagery has become the prevalent narrative, while the non-negative aspects and attributes became the undermentioned exceptions.

These justifications of Southern imagery, however, are also contested by the substantial accounts of increased competition in the job market as a result of the large influx of individuals into Ecuador. As the most prevalent aspect of South imagery, delinquency was understood, but not justified, to be a consequence of a lack of resources such as employment opportunities, state assistance, and private and public spaces, which are available to the inhabitants of the region and the competition in which these inhabitants engage for them. While this reasoning becomes less relevant to the local perspective, the sense of competition in several aspects remain and are just as tangible as the sense of fear that is attributed to the delinquent South image.

5.3 Hitchhiking and Condominiums

"Well, the kind of arrival from each of the two groups is very different, I see them very different. A gringo gets here with all the comforts, and in few words, he gets here with money, he will not lack anything. On the other hand, the Venezuelan comes with little, hitchhiking, or comes, you can see it here and it makes you feel things, that they come here and they stop under a sunshade and they rest there. On the other hand, the American, from over there they come with their huge house here. And on the other hand, the Venezuelan no, if he comes, he has maybe enough to pay for a hostel or a little hotel, like a cheap one, maybe, and if not, they find somewhere to settle in. It is a big difference. I have not seen an American that has come to knock on someone's door to ask to spend the night, they arrive

here to their own home or travel before coming permanently to search for the space where they will eventually reside in. And everything with all of the amenities, on the other hand, the Venezuelan does not… the Venezuelan is poverty, definitely."

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María Fernanda, 57, Mestiza

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The comparisons made by locals between the North and South conditions were often difficult to articulate and drastic in nature. It was when these two seemingly opposite conditions were compared that the local narratives began to display the true distance between what is expected of each migrant group and what the reality of their world was. The dissonant space that was created by the comparison of the two contrasting migrant conditions showed a local understanding of how different the contexts of global citizenship meant. The key factor in this dynamic was demonstrated by displays of human mobility and the kind of "baggage" which each group carried with it. The North brought with it a sense of opulence, a standard of living, and expectations that surpassed those of the local Ecuadorian and which brightly illuminated a different sense of aspiration, one where international travel was not only easily attainable, but brought with it a layer of prestige against the context of the host region. The South migrant on the other hand brought with them misery; their misery was so severe that not only did it induce their transnational mobility, but it prevented them from adequately meeting the social aspirations and expectations associated with this kind of travel.

Placing the aspects of mobility side by side presented this dichotomy of what is desired, and what is rejected. Desired because of how the locals themselves almost naturally reacted to the Northern imagery, maybe not personally, but as a society recognizing that individuals from certain destinations were able to navigate international travel and stay in a

certain way which prompted the local population to react with an attitude of acquiescence towards them. There was also a rejection towards the opposite, towards the perceived improper means of transportation, and presenting oneself in a precarious way against the local social fabric. The Southern imagery, vividly presenting itself in the highways and busy roadways stood out against the local norms, many individuals questioning why someone would make the decision to expose themselves and their family to such harsh conditions, few questioning whether they would make that decision themselves, and a few more aware that it's quite possible that the course of history could have or will put them in that situation at some point.

5.4 Hierarchical Perceptions

"… it may well be that our neighbors that are coming start to want to generate some kind of economic role, work inside of public institutions here in Ecuador. But they easily start to fall into a segregation, because like 'you are Venezuelan, I am Ecuadorian, I also have my studies, I should have your position' then there is a social struggle… a struggle that there is not a clear hierarchy between Peruvians, Ecuadorians, Colombians, between all of South America for example, there is no hierarchy. But on the other hand, between the US, as an example, there is a hierarchy. Because if someone who comes from the US came to work here, well, they would accept him immediately and not the Ecuadorian."

Ana María, 24, Indigenous

Beneath the perceived imagery of the South condition, and the impact which it has in the region, the dynamic of competition remains the most relevant force dictating the relationship between locals and South migrants and displays a broader sense of where locals

find themselves on a global scale. As perceived competitors, the conditions displayed by South migrants can be perceived to be closer to the local realities than that of their perception of the North conditions. For this reason, any aspect that is different between locals and South migrants is more readily perceived with criticism, and any aspects shared by both locals and South migrants are not perceived to be of any benefit to either side since they do not provide an advantage on the global influence in the region or a grander global scale. This justification is directly attributed at times to the fact that Latin America in general lays at a certain level on a global hierarchy; any interaction between individuals of this tier does not have the beneficial impact that interacting with individuals from the global North or other regions of the world that are perceived to be advantageous would have.

The impact and scope of Southern presence in aspects that contribute towards the needs and desires of the local fabric is evident in the acceptance of highly experienced and qualified individuals into various professional fields. These aspects, much like Roitman and Oviedo's insights into the hierarchization of the mestizo image in Ecuador as an attempt to maintain or achieve higher social capital,[125] are also quickly reduced to a sense of competition due in large part to the similarities which locals find between their own conditions and those of the new professionals. The economic impact of unregulated Southern labor is also well understood and taken advantage of; however, the collateral impact on the labor market itself detracts in the eyes of the locals, eventually only focusing on the competitive aspect, and reduced opportunities for themselves.

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[125] Roitman and Oviedo, "Mestizo Racism in Ecuador," 2780–81.

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These factors are almost completely non-existent within the narratives of Northern presence and influence. A sense of competition with the North is not even perceived as a factor by the local perspective as their presence is mostly associated with contribution. The resulting dynamic between the role that the North and the South have in relationship to local conditions presents a set of tiers in which the local population and the Southern population occupy the same space, with similar circumstances, similar assets, and similar aspirations, and therefore struggle against one another for the resources available in that space. The North on the other hand is perceived to be in a higher space where they can, easily, provide what is desired by the lower tier.

This dynamic may be a result of the economic circumstances of each community, but it has permeated many unrelated and non-consequential aspects of the desirable and undesirable conditions of each hierarchical tier. The ethnic layer that is tied to the aspects of one migrant community or the other and the local conditions as well, becomes directly attributed and linked to each specific tier and becomes just as indicative as the economic and social circumstances of each tier and therefore is assigned the beneficial and desirable status which is a product of them.

5.5 Latitudinal Citizenship, Ethnic Disciplining and the Coloniality of Power

"Yes, I mean, well, this is how I think and I say, like what if things were different and if they [North] only came and did the same, [South imagery] like what would our reaction be, like in reality how would we act, would we say 'ugh, those gringos only come to take our food, or they come to' like I said 'they come to take our jobs, or only come here to beg' like would we

act in the same way? And that has always been my question, or is it because as Latin Americans we are not doing well…"

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María Isabel, 25, Indigenous

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The assumptions and perspectives of one type of migrant and the other were well grounded within their established roles, the North migrant was more naturally welcomed while the Southern migrant was almost outright rejected. The level of introspection upon the often intangible aspects of what it means to be a migrant varied from participant to participant, as the superficial aspects which contrasted the Southern and Northern experience often brought a sense of acceptance towards the implicit status-quo. However, this did not prevent various points of reflection whereupon the seemingly unchangeable circumstances of the migrant groups were switched. As Maria Isabel pondered "what if things were different and if they [North] came and did the same, [South Imagery] what would our reaction be…" Questioning the link between North imagery and the beneficial acceptance of their presence shows that this link is not only inextricable tied to the perception of North presence, but that if it deviated, it could potentially alter the hierarchical narrative presently attached to Northern presence and disturb the local self-conceptualization.

This level of understanding of how deep the acceptance of globalized and racialized images and the role which certain nationalities or regions of the world can occupy demonstrate a strong link with the conceptualization of a latitudinal citizenship. When compared to the trans-Pacific industrial complex, from which Ong formulates the term,[126] the

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[126] Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in-Citizenship and Sovereignty*.

North, South and local dynamics present in Ecuador are not on the same scale of production or exchange of goods. However, the characterization of the entrepreneurial elites which arise from Ong's scenarios and which have achieved a greater sense of mobility and relevance in the global context can be compared to a post-colonial Eurocentric racialized elite, one that is not as prevalent in the Ecuadorian circumstances, but that nonetheless remains an ingrained aspiration. These aspects of acceptance display characteristics of the coloniality of power which actually relies on a failed transition out of the colonial mindset and elevation of Eurocentric perspectives[127]. This hierarchical conceptualization of the Northern and Southern images continues to attribute a sense of power towards a certain racialized group which may or may not provide the beneficial resources which the local community has attributed to it, but nonetheless embody the elevated ethnic and cultural perception of progress, and cultural supremacy.

The coloniality of the interactions between the racialized white migrants and the racialized South American migrants also boils down to the dimension of labor which each sphere inhabits as the life opportunities which are tied to whiteness and which are tied to the local and national continue to be accepted by the local consciousness. A different dynamic prompted by a sudden role change would challenge centuries of well-established narratives where the traits, whiteness, and modes of thinking of the West and the North no longer align with desirable traits of opulence and global influence. If the Eurocentric perspectives in which mestizo minded narratives have thrived in Ecuador and South America in general were

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[127] Quijano and Ennis, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America."

to encounter a reality that no longer sustained a sense of Northern supremacy, the social reckoning of local populations would have to realign along the new status-quo. This sense of Northern supremacy, however, remains so deeply ingrained into the local narratives of their own place within this global hierarchy that considering a world where this is not the case is barely mentioned.

5.6 Northern Separation Narrative

"yes, yes because, yeah, they are people that help and all of that, but that do not mix themselves…"

Ana Lucia, 50, Mestiza

The general acceptance of the North population was prevalent, but not absolute, about one out of every three topics of discussion regarded the negative aspects which their presence created in the region. Besides the outright negative perception of their impact and influence, the sense of distance that exists between these communities and both the local and South communities deeply impacted the local social consciousness. While the numbers of long term "expatriates" and tourists do not rival those of the displaced Southern traffic, leading to less personal accounts of direct interactions, the narratives of their impact as a migrant community inhabiting the region remained equally prevalent in the general consciousness of the locals. The kind of interaction which the Northern populations have within the

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communities becomes characterized as distant, their hierarchical position so marked, and their engagement so limited with the general population.

The perception by the local that the North prefers to keep their distance is understood to be a result of their foreign norms, their ability, and their desire to do so. The distance that is created is only overcome by the absolute acceptance of their positive economic impact and of the networks and assets which are perceived to be available to them creating their perception as positive contributors. The distant yet ostentatious and influential entity has been rationalized by the local mindset as a presence that can and will keep its distance and has been accepted as such. The inability for both local and North communities to integrate into one another leaves a permanent effort to justify the existence of the two worlds existing within the same space. The narratives of hardworking individuals who are only seeking to enjoy their late years in a peaceful setting largely neglect the increasing difficulty in achieving the kinds of expectations linked to late stages in life for the North community.

These local narratives of the North condition become more prevalent due to the lack of context or meaningful interaction with the migrant community. This in turn becomes irrelevant as the dynamic continues to leverage Northern aspects that reinforce the narratives and perpetuate the distance between the two communities. The local narrative therefore adjusts and continues to justify the migrant presence, which backed by their economic and social contributions, develops a sense of acceptance and desirability of these migrants.

5.7 Countering Coloniality and Eurocentric Narratives

"…at some point, they [North] like… wanted to give their solutions to some problems of the community, things like that. But sometimes their solutions were good, other times they were like, either they were seen as too strict, or sometimes they [North] would say 'no, it's just that we are right', but they aren't always right…"

Luis Fernando, 30, Indigenous

As much as the distance that exists between the local and the North has allowed positive assumptions to permeate the imagery of the Northern migrant, the consequential interactions between the groups complicate the reality of sharing a common space. In this shared space of actual interactions, the narratives of North imagery become replaced with the sense of competition that is largely absent from most accounts of North perception. Under these circumstances the prevailing understanding of who North migrants are in the space they occupy is challenged by the social expectations and local norms which dictate proper and acceptable behavior; in these situations, the distance of Northern imagery is no longer relevant. What stems from these exchanges are the negative aspects perceived from Northern presence, the direct challenge to local social norms, the cultural clash, and the different perspectives which are implemented when looking for consensus.

In contrast to the perceived Northern impact and imagery as well as their hierarchical status, a real sense of intimacy and equality is created by the conflict itself. In such situations, the local has recognized that they are standing on equal footing with the North migrant, and will engage with them in such a way, by pushing back against their foreign expectations, by demanding that increased administrative attention is not awarded to the migrants, and by

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recognizing that they are not above the local population. This direct challenge to a broader

global and ethnic narrative only becomes present because, for a change, the Northern

migrants have shown that they want or need to participate in local matters.

5.8 The Kichwa Otavalo

"Well, I think that as a commune member, every moment we are playing a role. In every moment a commune member is active, he is aware of a communal minga,[128] every moment is keeping track of a reunion, of a community assembly, he is alert if there is an emergency that has to be taken care of, for example to say, one of these afternoons someone says, 'you know something, in sector so and so, there has been a cattle theft' the people sound the alarm here at max volume you could say, there are chats that get full of these messages, the community loudspeaker, well and so on and they arrive to help with this. Then if say a migrant or immigrant could do one of these misdeeds, at that moment it affects all of us."

Julio Cesar, 39, Indigenous

The representative voices of the indigenous communities of the region in this study,

whether belonging to autonomous rural communities, indigenous councils of urban areas, or

more "integrated" individuals within the larger mestizo society, all displayed a deep

belonging to a greater sense of community as an inherited part of their identity. Family

bonds, ancestral roots, communal involvement all linked the Kichwa Otavalo as part of an

entity that stands together.

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[128] Minga: Kichwa word meaning group or communal work. Taking part in the Minga is often a required and reciprocal responsibility in certain communities, predominantly indigenous. The word has been adapted into the Ecuadorian spanish colloquial.

The older and most staunch keepers of the traditions, emboldened by the increasing narratives of indigenous pride, the successful break into national politics, the economic success tied to their trade practices, and the fundamental impact which their collective efforts have had in the previous decade, continue to push for greater national recognition and political influence. The younger generations however, just as their predecessors, find themselves at the crossroads of an even greater gap between their heritage and their aspirations. While some see the increasing legitimacy of the indigenous image and movement as a valid cause to devote energy to, others see the expanding world around them and the opportunities which they desire, not solely as a member of their indigenous clanship, but as members of much broader and inclusive identity groups. Those who step away from orthodox practices and customs either by choice or because of assimilation and devote themselves to a lifestyle that is not so engrained in the communal mindset, do so while still choosing to embrace their ancestry. On many occasions, the drive to achieve external recognition outside the boundaries of their communities and their indigenous image, and within the fields of art, science, and academy, is drawn from a need to demonstrate what their ancestral communities are capable of.

The influence of foreign communities migrating into their world serves to amplify these indigenous identity dynamics. The influx of all outsiders, whether local or foreign from any point of the world and regardless of their circumstances poses a direct threat to the deep sense of community that is engrained within the indigenous identity. The broader narrative that exists of the South migrant as a dangerous threat to society serves as a catalyst for

greater execution of the communal identity as a mechanism of self-protection. The general

image of the South migrant is rejected by wary indigenous communities, as they are

perceived as a threat to property, and the social stability of the tight-knit indigenous

community. As Julio Cesar stated, "to say a migrant or immigrant could do one of these

misdeeds is to say, at that moment it affects all of us." The negative impact of smaller,

individual exchanges are amplified by the communal sense of belonging, perpetuating the

negative perception of South migrants while entrenching indigenous members further into

the communal mindset.

Similar to the drastic rejection of South migrants, the perception of North migrants

poses a significant threat to the indigenous sense of community. Unlike the manifestation of

South impact as a fear of dangerous individuals generalized to entire national communities,

the perception of North influence is seen as a subtle but increasingly impactful

encroachment. The power and influence which is behind the North imagery plainly manifests

in the lives and experiences of the indigenous communities as land which was once owned

by neighbors and community members is slowly turned into housing developments and

divided by tall walls and security cameras. Along with the communal identity is a bond

which the indigenous have with the land and the territories which they have inhabited, both

which are lost as foreign led development invade their surroundings in what is characterized

by some as a form of modern conquest.

Indigenous Identity Erosion

"But I believe also there is a kind of greater, of greater fear, of greater fear of segregation, of greater loss. That loss, I am referring to, what happens if we, start to leave this type of community, if we start to get involved with another kind of mentality. Just as much the ones from the South and the ones from the North that are very different, and we want to leave or strip away who we are."

Ana María, 24, Indigenous

Within the indigenous mentality, the kind of rejection of North and South migration is not only present due to the threat to their identity, social stability, and territory, but as a further reminder of the place which indigenous society occupies within Ecuador. The dilemma that is already faced by the indigenous identity is much like Lalander's description of the political predicament that indigenous leaders face as they are expected to represent the needs not only of their indigenous constituents but as elected representatives for a multicultural and multiethnic community.[129] The indigenous identity is pulled and pushed by the more insidious aspects of the dominant mestizo narratives of integration and rejection of indigenous aspects. This increases in magnitude as the presence of migrants from both Southern and Northern contexts become part of the local fabric. Foreign customs, both from the North and the South, become commonplace, accepted, and incorporated into the social fabric, leading local and indigenous actors to take another step back due to a fear of further indigenous identity loss.

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[129] Lalander, "Dilama Intercultural y Lucha Indígena en Otavalo, Ecuador."

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The opportunities that presented themselves to the previous generations of Otavalo Mindalas, their families, and their extended communities as they established themselves as world explorers and ambassadors of Ecuadorian and indigenous culture drastically shifted the identity and imagery of the indigenous population of the region. The close interactions with foreign peoples in foreign soil and exposure to outside cultures permanently shifted the expectations of themselves as individuals and members of this particular indigenous community. Generations later, children and grandchildren of the first groups of international tradespeople, have been directly impacted and benefited from this practice, raising their social and economic status, and prospering within the region. Along with the international trade, local exchange of cultural and ethnic goods with foreign tourists continues to be a major source of income for large parts of the indigenous population, especially in Otavalo. The economic benefit derived from these exchanges ties tourists and indigenous communities both locally and internationally to the point where the indigenous community now relies greatly on this relationship. And through these exchanges, the preservation of indigenous identity continues to be of concern.

The practical need to continue engaging in international trade, along with a newfound drive and opportunity to engage in international fields of science, art, academy, and politics further shakes up what it means to be a Kichwa Otavalo. When presented with the opportunities to learn a different language, the international dominance of English overshadows the importance of the ancestral Kichwa tongue. When introduced to foreign forms of art, dress and expression, the traditional customs begin to take a step back in daily

life. The integration into a global society where the distinct indigenous cultural resources are no longer a primary asset leads to a kind of neglect on the part of the indigenous community itself. The aspects of global integration, economic dependency, and indigenous identity loss become amplified by the presence of the two migrant communities. The corresponding responses to the image and impact of migrant influx are very different between the Northern and Southern presence, however these responses all encompass the reaction prompted by an underlying sense of indigenous identity shift.

While the communal sense of identity and connection to the land becomes threatened by the physical presence of foreign communities inhabiting these spaces outside the established and accepted local social boundaries, the growing uncertainty of the indigenous place within local and global society is also contested within communities and individuals. The Southern imagery of misery and deviance frames the communal bonds as a powerful tool against the harsh circumstances of economic and social collapse. The Northern influence on the other hand presents itself as an aspirational goal, having already experienced the world outside the bounds of Ecuador and the local communities, the influence of foreign scholars, investors, artists, and tourists, prevalently aligned with the North, inspires the indigenous individuals to pursue a world outside their own, all the while struggling to formulate an answer that balances their ancestral identities with the forging of their place in a global environment.

Although differences and of gender and role narratives were not directly explored in this study, it is also important to highlight the awareness of the perceived role which the

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indigenous women have as heightened by the presence of foreign influences. Comparing the

narratives surrounding the life experiences and expectations of the indigenous male and

female shows closer narratives of females, many of whom specifically identified themselves

as *warmi*[130]over any other gendering term, as carriers and protectors of the indigenous culture

and customs. In the context of this study, using the Kichwa over the Spanish term showed a

closer affinity towards indigenous identity self-conceptualization rather than just a gendering

term. These narratives remain consistent when comparing the rate of positive and negative

evaluations of foreign communities as only the indigenous females presented a majority

negative perspective towards both North and South migrants. As keepers of their culture, all

outside influxes were seen more commonly as a threat and the internalization of the migrant

influence triggered suspicion in one way or another, at its extreme being articulated as a

defensive stance against misuse or appropriation of their cultural pillars or complete cultural

loss due to adoption of foreign customs.

5.9 Mestizaje and Globalization

"Years ago, I was telling you, a European, to give him our music, a sanjuanito, a pasacalle, a albazo,[131] well, it was to deliver our culture, deposit it in his hand, which was rewarded with something economic…. In the same way we were the people that transmitted that respect towards them because we were giving them our music, we made them dance, and they wouldn't get tired. And in another case, during those times we said, 'let's record a little cassette tape to sell it to them,' and I remember, I think, it could have been some… mmmm

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[130] Warmi: Kichwa word for woman or female.
[131] Sanjuanito, pasacalle, albazo: Varieties of Ecuadorian folk music with various, African, European, Indigenous, Mestizo and Creole roots.

some $3. Then to sell them a tape, for them, they would say, 'I am taking something that comes from here'; we sold very well…"

<p align="right">*Carlos Alberto, 60, Mestizo*</p>

Local perceptions and interactions with foreign individuals show a deep sense of validation, especially from the mestizo population. Already belonging to a higher social and ethnic class of the racialized, Eurocentric, and post-colonial narratives, the perspectives of the mestizo showed a deeper sense of attraction and devotion towards the presence of North migrants. The mestizo group had fewer detractors regarding the North presence, since unlike the Indigenous populations, there was a smaller sense of invasion for them. When compared to the Southern presence, the affinity towards Northern presence became even more prevalent, assigning beneficial contributions to the Northern migrant presence and drain and negative aspects towards the Southern presence.

"Look, it's practically a compliment… going back again to why it's a compliment, it's not just a compliment to the local artisans, rather, it's a compliment to all of the people because in reality it's a very lucrative tradition that exists in the cities, and Otavalo in this case, with the arrival of tourists that come from every part of the world. And practically they are also flattered because that is necessary for the city, that the peoples keep progressing."

<p align="right">*Marco Antonio, 67, Indigenous*</p>

The perceived consumption of local goods and services by Northern migrants combined with the prevalent sense of the Northern populations existing in a higher global socio-economic plane manifested in the narratives of Northern presence by mostly the mestizo population with a sense of flattery and validation. The internalization that individuals

who belong to perceived higher societal, cultural, and economic spheres would participate in

the lives and experiences of local peoples invited a greater sense of joy and self-satisfaction

from the mestizo population that went beyond a general appreciation of cultural exchange.

All accounts lacked similar experiences involving individuals preceding from the Global

South, and demonstrated that these kinds of interactions are only relevant in context with

Global North. The kind of cultural exchange that is on display is also important, since it is

actually an exchange of goods and services, these being art performances, exotic experiences,

and artisan goods in exchange for an economic compensation, rather than a two way cultural

exchange. The economic transaction that takes place between the local community and the

Northern community steps beyond a purely transactional relation and into an exchange that

serves to legitimize the local practices in a global context. This relationship in turn prompts

local narratives to reinforce the transactional interaction between the two communities as it

manifests from a deeper desire to be recognized by the individuals who belong to higher

global tiers.

Legitimization and Cultural Asset Claiming

"Well, every individual is unique, we can't generalize, and… well… seeing our, well, those that come here …. The European foreigners, well they… seem to like to live in this land, they love it, yes… many of them have adopted the clothing of our indigenous people, I don't know if at some point, when they [indigenous] have their, had their festivals, the European women dressed as indigenous with clothing… especially in the dress of the women. Then it's something that is very impactful, see how, how they respect! How they accept the Otavalo culture, because they say 'that clothing is very pretty, very colorful, and it makes you feel happy' they would say."

Carlos Alberto, 60, Mestizo

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The North presence in particular, as it reinforces the global hierarchical narratives within the local mindset, also recontextualizes the perceived realities of the local populations. As North migration permeates the social context, their desires, values and expectations begin to reshape those of the local communities. The perception of Northern desire of a tranquil place surrounded by nature, and the display of these desires in the social, economic, and physical landscape of the Ecuadorian communities, inspires a greater sense of appreciation for these aspects by the local community. This heightened sense of appreciation manifests in a completely different manner within the South context as the appreciation for local resources stirs a sense of competition. The aspects desired by migrants from the South are more tangible in nature, perceived to be just as vital to the local population, and coming from a community which already inhabits many of the same realities as the local community. This in turn limits deeper aspiration for connection with the South migrant community and legitimization of the local conditions.

What is also highlighted by this relationship with the North, is the mestizo perspective of what their social assets are. The relationship between the mestizo and indigenous communities within the cautious balance that exists in Otavalo and Cotacachi continues to fluctuate as the local narratives of the indigenous and the general mestizo societies' place in relationship to each other continues to develop. Beyond the Northern migrants who desire a tranquil environment is the interaction that is perceived between the North and the indigenous communities; when presented with this relationship, certain boundaries that separate the two local ethnic groups begin to lose focus in the mindset of the

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mestizo. The desire for exotic experiences by the North presence is understood by the mestizo perspective to include their own condition, as they implicitly claim the indigenous identity as part of their own extended regional identity. This is done from a distance as mestizo social boundaries do not permit them to engage with the indigenous community in the same way as foreigners can.

Considering the identity aspects which are being negotiated within the mestizo mindset, [132] the struggle between the dual identities embedded within the Latin American mestizo is once again being influenced by the Eurocentric perspective that is so deeply instilled in the mestizo. The benefits and legitimization that is drawn from the indigenous interaction with communities of higher global standing entice the mestizo mind to embrace the exchange aspects presented by North presence towards the indigenous community without the mestizos themselves having to engage in any particular exchange that would subvert the local balance of power. In the exchange however, the mestizos are once again taking note from a racialized class of individuals which are now perceiving indigenous aspects as desirable within certain contexts

Identity Encroachment

"They [North] like… they like it but I don't know, it's kind of weird… and I tell you this in confidence, I don't like that they share the Inti Raymi[133] festivities with us, like, I'm not sure

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[132] Gruzinski and Dusinberre, *The Mestizo Mind*, 20.

[133] Inti Raymi: Celebration venerating the sun god deity, Inti. Celebrated during the summer solstice by many Andean indigenous cultures and communities. In the northern Ecuadorian Andes, the celebrations are

why, because I know that they see it very folklorized, and for me it's not that, like for me it's like Inti Raymi fills me, like it's a good energy, it's something new every year that we do it, for all of them it's like they see it like 'oh, let's go dance'. Only that. And well, it's only them [North]. There are also some other people, but it's what I feel more yes *chuckle*... yea that's what I think, that they don't understand, because they just show up to dance. And like, it's fine because in the end it's not that we are teaching them right either *laughs* it's like a festival that is very much my own and I think that to even participate in it, one has to understand."

<div align="right">

María Isabel, 25, Indigenous

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The mestizo characterization of local indigenous aspects and assets as their own or belonging to a group that encompasses both cultures and societies assumes that the perception of these aspects is also shared by the indigenous conscience. While the mestizos claim aspects of the indigenous culture of the region as their own, the indigenous individuals and communities which are actually engaging in the kind of cultural exchange perceive certain aspects in a problematic manner. The sense of "the other" existing around them and as part of the greater Ecuadorian society has been part of the indigenous struggle for recognition and legitimization in the national narrative. The dynamic forces of mestizo influence and indigenous heritage remain in the mindset of the indigenous populations as they continue to develop their broader sense of identity within national and global contexts. This awareness of the fluctuating indigenous identity challenges certain culture sharing practices in mestizo and indigenous relations such as the sharing or gifting of indigenous clothing items (tied directly to the ethnic and cultural identities of every indigenous nation),

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characterized by communal or clanship group singing and dancing in circles while dawning traditional and ceremonial outfits.

the pandering undertones of mestizos speaking Kichwa in political campaigns, and the well-established "blanqueameiento"[134] of indigenous peoples rejecting indigenous cultural norms in order to join the broader mestizo society.

In the face of the Northern influence, similar practices are perceived and negotiated by indigenous people in a similar manner as it is done with the mestizo exchanges. Unlike the sense of flattery and legitimacy which mestizos draw from North migrants' pursuit of exotic experiences and close interactions with the indigenous, the indigenous individuals themselves perceive this as yet another threat to their identity. The exchange of performances, goods and services for economic compensation falls within a specific context of beneficial economic gain towards those who offer the assets, however, the indigenous conscience of this commodification of these assets is ambivalent when it comes to the cultural and societal practices which the indigenous community engages in as part of their identity. When it is perceived that others chose to engage in indigenous cultural practices, especially without understanding the meaning of these practices, there is a form of rejection towards those attempting to engage in these practices, who are suspected of cultural appropriation.

Although the indigenous situation has greatly benefited from the trade practices of many of its members, these are aligned with practices that do not threaten their own sense of self. The cultural exchanges of the Kichwa Otavalo with all other cultures, peoples and

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[134] Blanqueamiento, or whitening: The belief that physical features, and behaviors that are attributed to or perceived to belong to individuals of European descent are desirable or beneficial, predominantly white skin, and can be achieved through cultural evolution and adoption, and marriage/reproductive practices that prize white partners in the goal of creating lighter-skinned offspring.

societies range from the sale of artisan goods in the streets of Bogota, to Swiss tourists hiking to visit the sacred waterfalls of Peguche, to grand presentations of indigenous music and dance in the halls of Kyoto. However, the folklorization and exotification of their image and the commodification of their identity as a good that can be traded continues to be debated and contested as these practices begin to inflict contradictions on their sense of identity.

5.10 Narratives from Direct Interaction

"… I had to work with some coworkers that were Venezuelans. Of course, they didn't show that, that negative character, they were always calm, they also enjoyed working, they liked to forge ahead because during the day they would work in construction, and in the afternoon, they would go out to sell their arepas [pastries]. That is a way to earn a living, and that is their right that helps them as a human being, there is nothing wrong with that."

Julio Cesar, 39, Indigenous

The original perspective of many of the interviewees relied on generalized narratives for their perspective on one migrant group or the other. These perspectives, however, would be challenged during the interview process as contradictions and conjunctions would be prompted by the many comparisons being made. Of great importance was the break between general perceptions of one migrant community or the other when compared with the personal experiences that some of the interviewees experienced in their lives. The positive Northern narrative was contradicted by the direct engagement predominantly experienced by the indigenous, but also by the mestizo communities at large as they encroached on the living space and impacted the cost of living in Cotacachi. Much in the same way, the few direct

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accounts of interaction with Southern migrants challenged the predominant negative

narratives of their defining characteristics. Besides generalized accounts which

acknowledged the positive and negative characteristics of all individuals preceding from all

parts of the world, the accounts of the local community characterized personal deviations

from the norm as exceptions that did not challenge the broader negative narrative.

The social conditions which prompted these shifts in prevalent narratives, even in

small instances, do evoke the optimal conditions upon which the contact hypothesis becomes

more effective.[135] However, when compared with the broader negative narratives of South

presence, or positive narratives of North presence, the simple engagement of migrants with

the local communities in any context proved enough to challenge these narratives. As

helpers, providers of specialized services, and coworkers, the direct contact with the

Southern migrants shortened the distance between the negative narratives of the Southern

presence and the realities of local and migrant struggles to maintain a desired standard of

living.

5.11 Migrants and Role Reinforcement

*"They at least, when we had that problem in the city of Ibarra… a Venezuelan man was with
an Ecuadorian woman and he… he murdered her. Imagine, the next day, our Venezuelan
students did not show up to school, in all other schools where they were attending. Because
they said that the Ecuadorians were going to take revenge against the Venezuelans. Then in
that moment, we[locals] said 'well if they don't come…' they [Venezuelan parents] call me,
they said 'he is not going to go because of what happened last night'. 'Don't worry' I said 'I*

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[135] Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice.*

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will have a chat with the students' then they have a, they had a bad concept that the Ecuadorian was going to take revenge for that situation, and it was not like that."

<div align="right">

Carlos Alberto, 60, Mestizo

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The amplification of factors already present in the local consciousness and narratives was common along all aspects of the migratory influx and influence on the local conditions. Of these factors, however, it is vital to point out that the role that interviewees saw themselves playing in their own lives became reinforced by the presence of one migrant group or another. Community leaders, mothers, fathers, teachers, students, workers, musicians, and all self-conceptualizations in between, exhibited a heightened sense of responsibility to fulfill what they saw as their place in their family, community and society when presented with the outsider influx. The extension of the positive social identity concept in this context did not necessarily stick to an abstract perception of supremacy when compared to the other group,[136] but took on a much stronger connotation. In many situations this role strengthening took a defensive stance to protect local assets. The impact which the Northern influx caused on the distribution of territory prompted individuals to organize and protect their land. The many forms in which Southern migrants adapted to meet their needs in many cases forced local organizers to engage with their constituents in stronger, often militant ways.

While the defensive stance shaped by a sense of threat was commonplace, less defensive reactions were also common as the migrant influxes reinforced the individual roles.

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[136] Tajfel and Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict."

Local activists recognizing the plight of the Southern migrants doubled their efforts to extend them the assistance they needed. Artists, students and academics were further enticed to pursue their tracks of interest by the presence of not only Northern researchers and scholars, but by the wave of professionals coming from the South in order to work together with individuals of these fields. The experience of Carlos Alberto, (during a rather unstable period of relations with the Venezuelan migrant community in Ecuador following the public outcry over a well-publicized crime committed by a Venezuelan citizen against his Ecuadorian partner) showed that his reaction to the crime was to fulfill his role as an educator of young children and de-escalate the situation at a level that was under his control. The experience of many individuals in similar situations as they attempt to come to terms with the impact from migrant presence in their local situations, in similar manners, embraced their established roles more strongly in order to meet the influence and impact of the migrant influx.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This research aimed to understand the impact which migration from the Global North and from the Global South are having on the Ecuadorian identity as it manifests in the perceptions and narratives of the communities of Otavalo and Cotacachi. As they inhabit the physical and social space of the host communities, the accounts of these distinct "others" and the social dynamics between the migrant and local communities showed how many identity factors and aspects of self-conceptualization within the host-communities become intensified as a result of migrant presence and influence. Along with the unique manner in which every individual negotiated these influences, the aggregated accounts of the interviewees reacted by attempting to protect their own sense of social stability, identity, and well-being. Historically internalized narratives of assets and development and the place and role which they play within their realities became reinforced while addressing the increasingly globalized nature of their present and future.

The study used the difference between the conditions exhibited by migrants originating from areas of higher economic development with those who proceed from areas

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experiencing various forms of instability as they are perceived by the individual and communal conscience of the host-communities which the migrants now inhabit. These contrasting conditions, often characterized as extreme opposites of one another, sharply defined the boundaries and conjunctures of the conditions, rejected aspects, and desired aspirations of the local community and presented clear examples of why certain narratives continue to be reinforced.

The Northern migrant carried mostly positive connotations, drawn from a historically racialized and Eurocentric acceptance in the South American and mestizo mindset, the various assets associated with their presence relating to economic and academic development, and their elevated standing within a hierarchical global conceptualization surrounding race, labor and productivity. The comparison of the local conditions with these prevalent narratives of the Global North migrant contextualized these interactions as primarily transactional as the local provided a variety of goods and services to the migrant in exchange for economic compensation. These goods and services manifest in the consumption of arts and crafts of indigenous origin and the demand for the exotic experiences surrounding nature and cultural events which Northern migrants seek in the Ecuadorian territories.

The Southern migrant, on the other hand, was generally perceived to be a more immediate influence overall, and with that increased presence in the minds of the locals came more diverse, energetic, and mostly negative connotations. The perceived lack of established assets and failure to contribute to the social and economic fabric of the nation rested heavily in the minds of the locals, exacerbated by the sense of fear and loss of safety which was

attributed to the Southern presence. This characterization of the Southern migrant was constructed around a perceived sense of general threat, primarily towards the conditions and assets which the locals want or rely on themselves. The underlying sense of competition for local resources behind the negative characterization of the Southern migrant was also reinforced by the relative standing which they currently hold on a global hierarchy of prestige, and economic and social development.

The contextualization of each migrant condition against the local condition demonstrated that the narratives assigned to each migrant group became increasingly relevant on a global scale due to the nature of the transnational movement of the migrants themselves. In this frame of mind, the local acceptance of aspects which brought their individual and local conditions closer to aspirations on a global scale reinforced the global narratives assigned to Northern migrants as positive. Meanwhile, the locals determined that interaction and exchange with individuals that do not provide these advantages on a local or global scale was neither necessary nor wanted overall, which led to a further distancing from Southern migrants, and limiting the desire for further interaction with the same community. This disdain for the Southern condition is also understood to be caused by the relative closeness that already exists between the local and Southern conditions and which places both communities in the same sphere of social, cultural, and economic influence. This similarity of Southern and local conditions when compared with the northern conditions thus shows the hierarchical structure that prevails in the local mentality. Southern migrants, Colombians, Venezuelans, Ecuadorians, and Latin Americans as a whole are perceived to be in the same

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global situation and belonging to a relatively lower sphere when compared with migrants preceding from Europe or the US.

The stratification of the North and South conditions, including Ecuador as part of the South, in the minds of the locals presents Northern impact as a global asset, not only due to their actual assets and ability to contribute, but due to the racial and cultural image and influence. The perceived assets and benefits which the North carries can be overlooked to the point where these factors may not even be necessary to prompt the positive acceptance of their presence. At times, the simple image and presence of the Northern migrant were enough to accept them into the social fabric of the local conditions. The failure to move past a colonial hierarchical mentality still manifests in the narratives of predominantly European and North American migrants which compose the image of the Global North in Ecuador and South America.

All of these narratives, however, are disturbed within the local fabric as more direct contact takes place between the locals and both migrant communities. The negative aspects tied to the South become less relevant in the face of real interaction between individuals of the communities, however the broader narrative of their presence does not disappear. Rather, these instances of interactions become framed as the exception to the rule. In a similar manner, the idealization and praise of the Northern image erodes when their presence runs in conflict with the same desired sense of social stability that is exacerbated by Southern narratives. When Northern migrants attempt to intrude on local aspects in such a way that their established assets negatively impact the local community, the local reaction replaces the

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positive image of the North with a similar sense of competition as that of the South and engages with the Northern community in an attempt to demonstrate that in this context they are on equal grounds.

When these migrant conditions are compared by the local, the extreme difference in their nature reinforced the framing of the narratives formulated by the locals. The contrasting conditions only presented a stronger reasoning for the locals to ground their perceptions of each migrant group. In this comparison, the stronger sense of who the locals are, what are their aspirations, and what role they play within their worlds also became perceived and articulated with added layers of conviction. Both the beneficial influence, and natural challenge to social stability which both migrant communities pose on the local narratives are met by the various individual self-conceptualizations. These local conditions are therefore amplified in relevancy, and thus prompt the locals to engage the local and migrant communities within their personal context in a more motivated manner.

The general nature of this research design, and broad acceptance of interview subjects uncovered nuanced dynamics that could not possibly be articulated concisely within the scope of this project. Although the relevance of every voice which took part of the research remained equally present throughout the analysis and discussion, it was only the most common and prevailing aspects that were explored in depth. The most significant aspect which deserves further attention within the bounds and scope of a similar research design is the difference between the mestizo and indigenous members of the local host community. Although the original design took into consideration and benefited from the fact that these

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two distinct cultures and communities reside side by side and experience the migrant influxes in their own way, studies devoted specifically to each local condition would benefit from the added context and attention to detail within each community which this project could not achieve.

The research also relied on general perceptions of Southern and Northern conditions as it did not prime the interviewees to talk about specific migrant groups from the beginning. Overall, the perception of each migrant community was based on the general perception of the place of origin and circumstances of mobility which are predominantly exhibited by the different migrating groups. Establishing stronger defining criteria for the migrant communities or narrowing down the scope to a single migrant community, while losing the contrasting aspect of the other community, would benefit from a more detailed development of the social comparison between local conditions and each migrant condition. It would also allow for a stronger and more concise definition of migrant imagery that could better take into account the country of origin and nature of migration.

The comparative nature of this research took advantage of the extreme manifestations of migration phenomena in the region. This comparison which was imposed upon the local consciousness throughout the interview process benefited from the clear and distinct conditions which each migrant condition exhibited to highlight salient local conditions within each migrant context. These drastic comparisons prompted interviewees to manifest a level of self-conceptualization that would not otherwise have been achieved, an aspect of social identity theory which could continue to be leveraged in order to explore social dynamics with

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an emphasis on a single ingroup being influenced by two separate outgroups. This approach can continue to shed light on aspects in a social group triad such as social narratives, power dynamics, historical relationships, and global contextualization of the various relationships.

As global conditions continue to shift the boundaries of cultures and societies across the globe, each community is forced to engage with one another in ways which contest the established narratives and the social and physical boundaries which govern their local realities. In the case of the northern Ecuadorian highlands, the influence and impact of migrants proceeding from the Global North and the Global South led to stronger engagements of the local individuals' relationships to their family, community and society within the aspirations and roles they play. The acceptance of established narratives in a local and global context gave way to relationships of convenience with the communities which could provide a perceived benefit in these contexts. A challenge to these narratives was also the result of closer and more direct interactions with the influencing communities as their impact was more closely felt and failed to align with the prevailing narratives. The constant push and pull of identity, character, aspirations, and background all met equally strong attracting and repulsing factors between the various migrant and local communities, which will continue to change in character and shape as the global conditions shift and the local perceptions adjust.

Topic A1: Self-Identity (Who are you?)

Who are you?

Where do you come from?

What is your place in society?

Where are you going? What are your goals? What is important to you? (precious/valuable)

FINAL QUESTION: How do you define your identity? Define your identity?

Topic B1: Image of Immigrants -first group choice- (Who are they?)

What is an immigrant?

In Ecuador, who are they? (Raze, nationality, physical aspect, job, etc.)

-Identify the first group of choice-

How would you describe an immigrant? Where do they come from?

Why are they here?

How do they impact the country?

What is their place/role in this country?

Is there a place (room) for them? Where? (Physically, economic, social, political) Where are they going? (goal)

What is important to them?

What is your experience with foreigners? (Do you know any foreigners? immigrants?)

How do they impact society? How have they changed society? (Political, social, cultural, religious, etc.)

Topic C1: Effect on self-identification (How does their presence make you feel?)

How are you different as them? How are you the same as them?

How does their presence affect your place in society? How does their presence affect who you are?

Finish line of questioning and redirect same questions towards other group

Topic B2: Image of Immigrants -second group choice- (What about second group?)

How would you describe (second group)? Where do they come from?

Why are they here?

How do they impact the country?

What is their place/role in this country?

Is there a place (room) for them? Where? (Physically, economic, social, political) Where are they going? (goal)

What is important to them?

What is your experience with foreigners? (Do you know any foreigners? immigrants?)

How do they impact society? How have they changed society? (Political, social, cultural, religious, etc.)

Topic C2: Effect on self-identification (How does the second group's presence make you feel?)

How are you different as them? How are you the same as them?

How does their presence affect your place in society? How does their presence affect who you are?

Topic D: Global North vs. Global South (how are they different or the same?)

How are immigrants from first group the same as immigrants from second group?

How are immigrants from first group different than immigrants from second group?

How do immigrants from the first group affect the country as opposed to immigrants from the second group?

How do immigrants from the first group affect society as opposed to immigrants from the second group?

How do immigrants from the first group affect your place in society as opposed to immigrants from the second group?

Topic A2: Self-Identity (Who are you?)

"With everything we have discussed in mind"

Who are you?

What is your place in society?

Where are you going? What are your goals? What is important to you? (precious/valuable)

FINAL QUESTION: How do you define your identity? Define your identity?

APPENDIX B

EVALUATIVE MATRIX

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	N	Access to Property	Local Assets	Access to Property	Established Assets	Cost of housing increased. Locals lose access to property market	-
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	N	Assistance	Local Assets	Need to Assist	Established Assets	North volunteers and provides expertise	+
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	N	Assistance	Local Assets	Need to Assist	Established Assets	North volunteers are an asset	+
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	N	Social Stability	Local Norms	Privacy & Private	Established Assets	North builds up tall walls to surround themselves in and separate themselves from locals, Self isolate	-
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	N	Social Stability	Local Norms		North Norms	Locals are eager to adapt foreign norms and customs	+
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Labor	Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	Locals are displaced from jobs	-
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Labor	Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	Locals are displaced from jobs, its cheaper to employ South	-

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	S	Goods and Services	Local Assets	Economic Opportuniti	Close Bond	South employees have been of great assistance	+
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	S	Goods and Services	Local Assets	Economic Opportuniti	Close Bond	Cooperation, South employees have been of great assistance	+
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	S	Safety			South Image	Crime: some South Individuals make the rest look back.	-
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	S	Safety			South Image	Keep distance from south, some South Individuals make the rest look back.	-
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	S	Social Stability			Intermarriage	Cultural shift in the future	+
Ana Lucia	F	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Norms	Locals are eager to adapt foreign norms and customs	+

Name	Ana Maria	Ana Maria	Ana Maria	Ana Maria	Ana Maria	Ana Maria
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous
N/S	N	N	N	N	N	N
Local Need/	Economic Opportunities	Higher Education	Validation	Validation	Validation	
Local Provide/	High Education Level	International Partnerships	Self-Deprecation	Self-Deprecation	Self-Deprecation	
Migrant Need/	Economic Opportunities					
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	High Education Level	International Partnerships	North Customs	North Image	North Customs	North Customs
Reason/ Result	Migrant is Readily accepted	Studying abroad, North	Interaction and intermarriage with the migrants cause lesser focus on local culture, customs and language.	Everything that is associated with the migrant is assumed to be superior	Eagerness to embrace foreign customs, holidays and celebrate foreign individuals	Individuals are eager to embrace foreign customs, neglecting local
P/N	-	+	-	-	-	-

Name	Ana Maria	Ana Maria	Ana Maria	Ana Maria	Ana Maria	Ana Maria
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous
N/S	N	N	S	S	S	S
Local Need/	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportunities	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportunities	Safety	Social Stability
Local Provide/	Goods and Services	Goods and Services	Goods and services	High Education Level		Indigenous Norms
Migrant Need/		Economic Opportunities		Economic Opportunities	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Established Assets	Established Assets	Limited Assets	High Education Level	Need to Adapt	Need to Adapt
Reason/ Result	Welcomed.	Professionalism and good pay are welcomed when working with or for North companies	Migrants do not Consume	Equal Competitors	" Bad business" is associated with migrant	Direct clash with indigenous population due to " hair cutting" business
P/N	+	+	-	-	-	-

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/Result	P/N
Ana Maria	F	Indigenous	S				South Customs	Individuals are eager to embrace foreign customs, neglecting local	-
Ana Maria	F	Indigenous	S		Local Norms		South Image	Loitering and a sense of trespassing create a negative image	-
Ana Maria	F	Indigenous	S		State Policy		South Influx	Lack of enforcement allows for migration to remain unregulated	-
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	N	Personal Development	Local Norms	Intermarriage	Established assets	Intermarriage with North is seen as an enormous asset	+
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	N	Validation	Cultural Assets	Exotic Experiences	North Image	Local is elated to receive positive response to playing music for North	+
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	N		Cultural Assets		North Image	North is seen to want closer exchanges with indigenous communities. Appreciate indigenous and local artisanship	+

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	N		Work ethic		North Image	North professionalism is appreciated	+
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	N		Local Norms		North Norms	North Respects Local customs	+
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Labor	Economic Opportuniti	High Visibility	Cheap labor displaces locals	-
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Labor	Economic Opportuniti	High Visibility	Cheap labor displaces locals	-
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	State Policy	Means of Survival	South Influx	Overpopulation and no control from the authorities	-
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Work ethic		South Image	South is seen as lazy or not too worried about consequences of daily lifestyle	-
Carlos Alberto	M	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms	Economic Opportuniti	Need to Adapt	South is making the best of the situation and adjusting	+

Name	Carlos Alberto	Carlos Alberto	Carlos Alberto	Carlos Alberto	Carlos Alberto	Jorge Luis
Sex	M	M	M	M	M	M
Ethnicity	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo
N/S	S	S	S	S	S	N
Local Need/	Social Stability	Social Stability	Safety			Economic Opportuniti
Local Provide/	Role Self	Role Self	Role Self	Local Norms	Local Norms	Goods and Services
Migrant Need/	Communal Inclusivity	Safety	Safety	Economic Opportuniti		Exotic experiences
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	South Image	South Image	South Image	South Image	South Norms	Established assets
Reason/ Result	Local role as teacher pushes for integration and acceptance	Locals recognize south is afraid of the repercussions due to individual acts of violence. Prompts openness	Locals recognize south is afraid of the repercussions due to individual acts of violence. Prompts openness	Competition between South, no cooperation	South is perceived to be prideful and to look down on locals	Provide guide services, connect through shared interest
P/N	+	-	-	-	-	+

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Labor	Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	South labor is cheaper	-
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Assets	Economic Opportuniti	South Assets	South goods are cheaper	-
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Communal Inclusivity	Local Norms	Communal Inclusivity	Close Bond	Personal connections, friendships and acquaintances with South individuals show they display good qualities unlike the rest of South	+
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Communal Inclusivity	Local Norms		South Norms	South Character is Warm and welcoming	+
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Communal Inclusivity	Local Norms	Economic Opportunities	South Norms	South warm character is an asset in salesmanship	+
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Safety			South Image	South prompts fear	-

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Safety	Local Norms	Means of Survival	South Image	Crime, and influences locals to commit crime.	-
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Assets	Economic Opportuniti	South Influx	Local sees the nation not in good standing, and believes South may see it otherwise	-
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Norms	South is too loud, partying, makes locals uncomforta ble.	-
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms	Means of Survival	South Image	Image is mostly negative, but there is empathy and understanding of conditions. The sacrifice they have made	-
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	Intermixing, intermarriage	+
Jorge Luis	M	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	Intermixing, intermarriage. Physical traits are desired	+

Name	Jose Luis	Jose Luis	Jose Luis	Jose Luis	Jose Luis	Jose Luis	Jose Luis
Sex	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous
N/S	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Local Need/	Academic Exchange	Academic Exchange	Academic Exchange	Access to Basic	Access to Shared	Communal Inclusivity	Communal Inclusivity
Local Provide/	High Education	High Education	High Education	Internalized Pandering	Communal Identity	Local Norms	Local Norms
Migrant Need/	Academic Exchange	Academic Exchange	Academic Exchange	Access to Basic	Privacy & Private	Privacy & Private	Communal Inclusivity
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	High Education Level	High Education Level	High Education Level	North Image	Individuality	Does not want do adapt	North Norms
Reason/ Result	Academic Field and Exchange is welcomed.	Academic Field and Exchange is welcomed. Cooperation	Academic Field and Exchange is welcomed. Legitimization	Prompts Efficient Government Action	Clash	North is not very interested in adapting, self-Isolation, closed off.	Segregation, Closed off, " Retiree Clubs"
P/N	+	+	+	-	-	-	-

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	N	Economic Diversity			Established Assets	North Retirees, Economic Improvement	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	N	Economic Opportunities		Economic opportunities	Established Assets	North Retirees, Economic Improvement	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	N	Economic Opportunities		Investigative assets	Academic Assets	North Retirees, Economic Improvement	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	N	Academic Fields		Investigative assets	Academic Assets	North Retirees, Economic Improvement	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	N			Economic opportunities	Established Assets	North Retirees, Economic Improvement	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	N				North Image	Welcomed	+

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	N			Economic Opportuniti	Established Assets	Welcomed	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	N		Local Customs		North Customs	Foreign professionalism is highly regarded	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	N	Economic Opportuniti	Goods and Services	Lodging	Established Assets	Economic Asset	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Economic Opportuniti	High Education	Economic Opportuniti	High Education Level	Competition	-
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Highly Trained		Economic Opportuniti	High Education Level	Academic asset	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Highly Trained	Economic Opportuniti	Medical Experts	Public Asset	Public Asset	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Highly Trained			High Education Level	Academic Asset	+

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Highly Trained	High Education	Economic Opportuniti	Highly Trained Professionals	Welcomed, Empathy	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Medical Experts		Economic Opportuniti	Medical Experts	Medical Field is welcomed	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Educators of High			High Education Level	Medics and professionals are welcomed	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Medical Experts			High Education Level	Medics and professionals are welcomed	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Safety	Local Norms	Economic Opportuniti	South Influx	Disorder, Begging	-
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Safety	Local Norms	Economic Opportuniti	South Influx	Loitering, Disorder, Prostitution	-
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Work Ethic	Economic Opportuniti	South Image	Begging, organized crime	-

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms	Economic Opportuniti	South Image	Homeless	-
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms	Means of Survival	South Image	Begging, Disorder, Lack of Local Acceptance	-
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S		Local Norms	Economic Opportuniti	Low Education	Lack of acceptance	-
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S			Means of Survival	Limited Assets	Compared to North, South is not as welcomed as migrant	-
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S				Food	Presence is appreciated	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S				High Education Level	Presence is appreciated	+
Jose Luis	M	Indigenous	S				Extroverted character	Presence is appreciated	+

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Name	Jose Luis	Juan Carlos	Juan Carlos	Juan Carlos	Juio Cesar	Juio Cesar	Juio Cesar
Sex	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous
N/S	S	N	S	S	N	N	N
Local Need/	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti			Higher Education		
Local Provide/	High Education	Cultural Assets					Local Assets
Migrant Need/	Economic Opportuniti	Exotic Experiences	Economic Opportuniti		Need to Assist		Higher Education
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	High Education Level	Established assets	South Labor	Close Bond	Established Assets	Tourism	
Reason/ Result	Academic Asset	Tourism is welcomed	South is here to work, their presence has not been that big of a deal.	South presence has no impact on local	Provide scholarships to young students	Economic Asset	Exchange students and interns wanting to learn from locals.
P/N	+	+	L	NO	+	+	+

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Juio Cesar	M	Indigenous	S	Access to Shared	Communal Organizatio		South Image	Lack of safety	-
Juio Cesar	M	Indigenous	S	Safety	Communal Organizatio		South Image	Lack of safety	-
Juio Cesar	M	Indigenous	S	Safety	Local Norms		South Image	Lack of safety and fear	-
Juio Cesar	M	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	State Policy		South Influx	Lack of migration and law enforcement, trespassing	-
Juio Cesar	M	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Influx	Justicia Indigena is used in extreme cases	-
Juio Cesar	M	Indigenous	S	Economic Opportuniti	Work Ethic	Economic Opportuniti	Work Ethic	Image of hard working migrant, looking for progress	+
Luis Alberto	M	Indigenous	N	Personal Developme	Cultural Assets		North Norms	Shared interest for education	+

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Luis Alberto	M	Indigenous	N	Access to Property	Local Assets	Access to Property	Established Assets	Cost of housing increased. Locals lose access to property market	-
Luis Alberto	M	Indigenous	N	Social Stability	Local Norms	Communal Inclusivity	North Image	North Holiday celebration is admired	+
Luis Alberto	M	Indigenous	S	Safety	Media attention		South Image	Crime, begging, makes local sad	-
Luis Alberto	M	Indigenous	S	Safety	Local Norms	Means of Survival	South Image	Lack of safety and fear	-
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Access to Basic	Local Assets	Access to Basic	Established Assets	Cost of living went up	-
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Access to Basic	Local Assets	Access to Basic	Established Assets	North consumption is much greater than local, water management is a communal process	-
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Access to Property	Local Assets	Access to Property	Established Assets	Cost of housing increased. Locals lose access to property market	-

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/Result	P/N
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Economic Progress		Need to Assist	Entrepreneurship	North wants to help, locals gain access to entrepreneurship	+
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Social Progress		Need to Assist	Entrepreneurship	North wants to help, locals gain access to entrepreneurship	+
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Social Stability	Local Norms		North Image	Slight friction	L
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Social Stability	Local Norms	Privacy & Private	North Norms	North self isolates, establishes own rules	-
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Social Stability	Local Assets	Access to Property	Established Assets	Locals access to lose territory	-
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Ancestral Territory	Local Assets	Access to Property	Established Assets	Locals access to lose territory	-
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N				North Image	No real impact, (there was an impact when locals migrated out)	NO

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	N	Economic Opportuniti	Goods and Services	Goods and Services	Established assets	North employs locals	+
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	S	Safety	Local Norms		South Image	News reporting of crime committed by South Individuals creates stereotype	-
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	S	Social Progress	Advocacy	Social Progress	Advocacy	South and local share similar social struggles	+
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms	Communal inclusivity	Low visibility	When they integrate, they are not seen or felt, they even participate in communal activities	L
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms	Communal inclusivity	Low visibility	When they integrate, they are not seen or felt, they even participate in communal activities	L
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	Stereotypes are present but those who have integrated prove them wrong	L
Luis Fernando	M	Indigenous	S		Local Norms	Assistance	Migration	NGOs provide assistance to those who pass through	L

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Name	Luis Fernando	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio
Sex	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo
N/S	S	N	N	N	N	N	S
Local Need/	Economic Opportuniti		Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportunitie	Economic Opportuniti	Safety
Local Provide/	Migration		Cultural Assets	Cultural Assets	Cultural Assets	Cultural Assets	
Migrant Need/	Economic Opportuniti		Exotic Experiences	Exotic Experiences	Exotic Experiences	Exotic Experiences	Means of Survival
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Migration	North Image	Established assets	Established assets	North Image	Established assets	Need to Adapt
Reason/ Result	South and locals have had to migrate due to poor local conditions	North is a contribution	Tourism is welcomed	Tourism is welcomed	North's presence and consumption of local culture is flattering	Tourism is linked to economic prosperity	Most migrants have resorted to delinquency
P/N	L	+	+	+	+	+	-

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Marco Antonio	M	Mestizo	S	Safety	Assistance		South Image	South cannot be trusted, they may be acting properly only with nefarious intent.	-
Marco Antonio	M	Mestizo	S	Safety	Local Norms		South Image	All South actions are seen with suspicion.	-
Marco Antonio	M	Mestizo	S	Safety			South Image	South Presence inspires fear, people hear about acts of delinquency	-
Marco Antonio	M	Mestizo	S	Safety	Local Norms		South Image	South is associated with crime, prompts fear.	-
Marco Antonio	M	Mestizo	S		State Policy		South Influx	Migration has not been done in a legal manner	-
Marco Antonio	M	Mestizo	S		Local Norms	Means of Survival	Need to Adapt	Begging, Child labor, Loitering	-
Marco Antonio	M	Mestizo	S	Work ethic	Means of Survival	Need to Adapt	South is seen working properly, but in very few places		-

Name	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio	Marco Antonio	Maria Carmen
Sex	M	M	M	M	M	M	F
Ethnicity	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Indigenous
N/S	S	S	S	S	S	S	N
Local Need/							Access to Property
Local Provide/	Local Norms	Work Ethic	Goods and Services		Local Norms		Local Assets
Migrant Need/	Means of Survival	Means of Survival	Lodging				Access to Property
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Migration	Need to Adapt	Need to Adapt	South Image	Close Bond	South Image	Established Assets
Reason/ Result	Venezuela is in a dire situation; their representative bodies have failed.	South is seen as lazy, do not want to sacrifice, earn a proper living. Have become too reliant on assistance	South's living conditions attract crime and drug dealing	South's presence and reason for presence is directly related to annoyance and discomfort	Small percentage of South work diligently and sacrifice for their future	South has only caused damage	Cost of housing increased. Locals lose access to property market
P/N	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Personal Developme	Eagerness to adapt		North Image	North presence provides new experiences	+
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Personal Developme	Eagerness to Adapt		Language	Improving English is an asset	+
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Personal Developme	Eagerness to adapt		North Image	North presence provides new experiences	+
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Personal Developme	High Education		High Education Level	North presence prompts local to strive for higher education	+
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Personal Developme	High Education		High Education Level	North presence prompts local to travel	+
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Personal Developme	High Education		NGO/INGO	Locals want to work for/with North	+
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Share Culture	Cultural Assets	Exotic Experiences	Established assets	Locals are glad to share their world	+

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Share Culture	Local Assets	Exotic Experiences	Established assets	Migrants look for nature and rural experiences	+
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Social Stability	Local Norms		North Image	Local is always looking for someone to blame	-
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	N	Economic Opportuniti	Cultural Assets	Exotic Experiences	Established assets	Tourism is welcomed, prompts economic diversity	+
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	S	Economic Opportunitie	High Education	Economic Opportunitie	High Education Level	Competition, South displaces local professionals	-
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	S	Economic Opportuniti	High Education	Economic Opportuniti	High Education Level	Locals become aware of South presences in high paying jobs	-
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	Local is always looking for someone to blame	-
Maria Carmen	F	Indigenous	S		Local Norms	Goods and Services	North Image	Migrant presence prompts business diversity	+

Name	Maria Carmen	Maria Elena	Maria Elena	Maria Elena	Maria Elena	Maria Elena
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo
N/S	S	N	N	N	N	S
Local Need/		Local Progress	Personal Developme	Social Stability		Economic Opportuniti
Local Provide/	Local Norms			Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Labor
Migrant Need/	Goods and Services	Need to Assist			Need to Assist	Economic Opportuniti
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	South Image	North Image	North Image	Local Respect	North Norms	South Labor
Reason/ Result	Migrant presence prompts business diversity	North has little stake in political/administrative direction yet contribute and are involved. Use their position to benefit the community	Provides open perspective	North is polite and follows the rules	North volunteers time and assets, its odd to see locals do so to the same degree	Cheap labor displaces local labor
P/N	+	+	+	+	+	-

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Maria Elena	F	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Labor	Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	Cheap labor displaces local labor	-
Maria Elena	F	Mestizo	S	Safety	Local Norms	Means of Survival	High Visibility	South has arrived in large quantities and is associated as a nuisance and crime	-
Maria Elena	F	Mestizo	S	Safety	Local Norms		South dialect	South dialect prompts fear	-
Maria Elena	F	Mestizo	S	Safety	Local Norms		South Image	Local does not feel safe walking alone at night after hearing news of South related crime	-
Maria Elena	F	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms	Assistance	High Visibility	Loitering and begging	-
Maria Elena	F	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	Colombia and Peru are not associated with negative behavior	+

Name	Maria Elena	Maria Elena	Maria Fernanda	Maria Fernanda	Maria Fernanda	Maria Fernanda
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo
N/S	S	S	N	N	N	N
Local Need/	Social Stability	Safety	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti	Assistance
Local Provide/	Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms	Goods and services	
Migrant Need/			Goods and Services	Goods and Services	Specialty Goods	Need to Assist
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	High Visibility	High Visibility	Established Assets	Established Assets	Established assets	Established Assets
Reason/ Result	South is associated with aggressive behavior, combined with large groups prompts fear	South is associated with aggressive behavior, combined with large groups prompts fear	North is demanding and overbearing	North is demanding and overbearing	North relies on big chain stores and not on local business	North organizes and provides assistance during dire times
P/N	-	-	-	-	-	+

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Maria Fernanda	F	Mestizo	N	Economic Opportuniti	Goods and services	Specialty Goods	Established assets	North relies on big chain stores and not on local business	+
Maria Fernanda	F	Mestizo	N	Economic Opportuniti	Goods and services	Goods and Services	Established Assets	North can be good customer	+
Maria Fernanda	F	Mestizo	S	Safety	Local Norms		South Image	Fear	-
Maria Fernanda	F	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms	Social Stability	Migration	Local recognizes south is just looking for better days	L
Maria Isabel	F	Indigenous	N	Exotic Experiences	Local Norms		North Customs	Locals are eager to embrace foreign holidays and customs	-
Maria Isabel	F	Indigenous	N	Social Stability	Local Norms	Privacy & Private Property	North Norms	North wants to establish its own spaces with its own rules to follow detached (above) the established community, self-isolate	-

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Name	Maria Isabel	Maria Isabel	Maria Isabel	Maria Isabel	Maria Isabel	Maria Isabel
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous
N/S	N	N	N	N	N	N
Local Need/	Social Stability	Social Stability	Social Stability			
Local Provide/	Indigenous Norms	Local Norms	Indigenous Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms
Migrant Need/		Privacy & Private	Exotic Experiences			Tranquility
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	North Customs	North Norms	North Norms	Capitalism	Capitalism	Established assets
Reason/ Result	Dislike for foreign customs being readily embraced	North self isolates, establishes own rules	North eagerly adopting and partaking in local customs without understanding their true meaning	Capitalism has pushed the north ahead.	Capitalism and North dominance has had negative impact in other nations	North's appreciation of local tranquility is understood and embraced
P/N	-	-	-	+	-	+

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Maria Isabel	F	Indigenous	N		Indigenous Norms	Exotic Experiences	North Norms	Engage in indigenous celebrations with lack of understanding	-
Maria Isabel	F	Indigenous	S	Safety	Local Norms		South Image	Crime and violence	-
Maria Isabel	F	Indigenous	S	Safety	Local Norms	Means of Survival	South Image	Crime is attributed to South, influences locals to commit crime.	-
Maria Isabel	F	Indigenous	S	Safety	Local Norms		South Image	It doesn' t feel safe to walk alone at night	-
Maria Isabel	F	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	Loitering and crime	-
Maria Isabel	F	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	No contribution , just drain on society	-
Maria Isabel	F	Indigenous	S		Local Norms		High Visibility	South has arrived in large quantities and in a very drastic manner, walking and hitchhiking	-

Name	Maria Isabel	Maria Isabel	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Jose
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Indigenous	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo
N/S	S	S	N	N	N	N	N
Local Need/			Economic Opportuniti	Safety	Safety	Social Stability	Social Stability
Local Provide/	Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms
Migrant Need/			Exotic Experiences			Exotic Experiences	Exotic Experiences
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Socialism	Socialism	Established assets	North Norms	North Norms	North Norms	North Norms
Reason/ Result	Socialist countries have had a downturn	Socialism in itself is not bad	Local is aware that North's resources can be exploited	North's presence is not associated with any bad aspects	North's presence is not associated with any bad aspects	Big Houses are seen in awe	North's want of cultural exchange is appreciated
P/N	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	N	Social Stability	Work ethic	Rest	North Norms	North is seen as having worked all their lives and deserving of their condition and rest	+
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	N	Social Stability	Local Norms	Exotic Experiences	North Norms	North's want of cultural exchange is appreciated	+
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	N	Social Stability	Local Norms		North Norms	North's presence is not associated with any bad aspects	+
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	N	Social Stability	Local Norms		North Norms	North's presence is not associated with any bad aspects	+
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	N		Local Image		North Image	Hard to fully welcome anyone if experiences with migrants lead to being taken advantage of	-
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	N	Economic Opportuniti	Local Assets	Exotic Experiences	Established assets	North's want of cultural exchange is appreciated	+

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Name	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Jose
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo
N/S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Local Need/	Assistance	Safety	Safety	Safety	Social Stability	Social Stability	Social Stability
Local Provide/	Local Assets		Local Norms		Local Norms	Work ethic	Work ethic
Migrant Need/	Assistance						
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	South Image	South Image	High Visibility	South Image	South Image	South Image	South Image
Reason/ Result	Local wants to assist, but is now more cautious of fully trusting South	Crime, begging and scamming	Loitering, homeless	South individuals who work hard and sacrifice are overshadowed by the negative aspects. Crime	They were received openly and now act incorrectly	Why can' t they work honestly and do good, all they do is bad	Crime. The local sacrifices, while South just steals
P/N	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	Local is aware of prejudices	-
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	S	Assistance	Local Assets	Assistance	South Image	Local provides assistance, South just takes advantage	-
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Assets	Assistance	South Image	Local provides assistance, South just takes advantage	-
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	S		Local Image		South Image	Hard to fully welcome anyone if experiences with migrants lead to being taken advantage of	-
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	S		Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti	South Image	South sees locals as lazy	-
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	S		State Policy	Assistance	South Image	South expects assistance	-
Maria Jose	F	Mestizo	S		Local Norms		High Visibility	The most visible and tangible aspects of South make all of south look back	-

Name	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Jose	Maria Magdalena	Maria Magdalena	Maria Magdalena	Maria Magdalena
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo
N/S	S	S	S	N	N	N	N
Local Need/				Assistance	Assistance	Assistance	Education
Local Provide/	State Policy	Local Image	Local Norms				
Migrant Need/	Assistance		Means of Survival				
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	South Image	South Image	South Image	NGO/INGO	Established Assets	NGO/INGO	NGO/INGO
Reason/ Result	Not only are they acting improperly, but the government provides them with aid	Hard to look past the negative and find things in common	South tries to survive by any means	NGOs are of great assistance	Sponsorships and scholarships	NGOs are of great assistance	Sponsorships and scholarships
P/N	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Maria Magdalena	F	Mestizo	N		Local Norms		North Image	There must be some bad individuals as well	-
Maria Magdalena	F	Mestizo	N	Economic Opportuniti	Cultural Assets		Economic Developme nt	Tourism + investments, migrants are welcomed	+
Maria Magdalena	F	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Labor	Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	Competition, physical attributes of the migrants makes them more desirable in service industries	-
Maria Magdalena	F	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportunities	Local Labor	Economic Opportunities	South Labor	Competition, migrants displace technical workers. Wages are lower, migrant worker is exploited	-
Maria Magdalena	F	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Labor	Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	Competition , physical attributes of the migrants makes them more desirable in service industries	-
Maria Magdalena	F	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Local Labor	Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	Exploitation of Migrant worker	-
Maria Magdalena	F	Mestizo	S	Economic Opportuniti	Goods and services	Lodging	Need to Adapt	Migrants can't be trusted, incite fear	-

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Name	Maria Magdalena	Maria Magdalena	Maria Magdalena	Maria Magdalena	Mariana Jesus	Mariana Jesus	Mariana Jesus
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo	Mestizo
N/S	S	S	S	S	N	N	N
Local Need/	Economic Opportunities	Safety	Safety		Safety		
Local Provide/	Local Labor	Local Norms	Local Norms	Local Norms	Eagerness to adapt		
Migrant Need/	Economic Opportunities						
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	South Labor	South Image	South Image	South Image	Entertainment	North Influx	Entertainment
Reason/ Result	Competition, migrants displace technical workers. Wages are lower, migrant worker is exploited	Migrants incite fear in the streets	A single act of crime from a migrant influences the image of the entire community	South Americans as a whole are not in great conditions	Street performers are not threatening	Compared to South, no negative effect	North musicians may take some attention from locals
P/N	-	-	-	-	+	+	L

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Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Mariana Jesus	F	Mestizo	N				North Influx	Compared to South, North has no effect	+
Mariana Jesus	F	Mestizo	N	Economic Opportuniti	Goods and services	Exotic Experiences	Established Assets	Tourism is Welcomed	+
Mariana Jesus	F	Mestizo	S	Access to Basic			South Influx	Overpopulation	-
Mariana Jesus	F	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Norms	South might be good people, bad people, there is no impact	NO
Mariana Jesus	F	Mestizo	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Norms	South is polite and gentle, not all, but many are respectful	+
Mariana Jesus	F	Mestizo	S			Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	South wages are higher compared to Venezuela	-
Mariana Jesus	F	Mestizo	S			Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	Displacing local work	-

Name	Mariana Jesus	Mariana Jesus	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Mestizo	Mestizo	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous
N/S	S	S	N	N	N	N	N
Local Need/			Economic Opportunitie	Economic Opportuniti	Access to Property	Access to Property	Coexistence
Local Provide/			Goods and Services	Goods and Services	Local Assets	Local Assets	
Migrant Need/		Economic Opportuniti	Specialty Goods	Specialty Goods	Access to Property	Access to Property	Coexistence
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	South Influx	South Labor	Established Assets	Established Assets	Established Assets	Established Assets	North Image
Reason/ Result	South affects, North does not	South accepts any payment, displaces local labor	Migrants do not readily engage in commerce with local markets, instead establish their own	Migrants rely on big chain stores rather than small businesses	Cost of housing increased. Locals lose access to property market	Cost of housing increased. Locals lose access to property market	Migrants bring their cultural dimension and readily share it with locals
P/N	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

Name	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia	Martha Cecilia
Sex	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous
N/S	N	N	N	N	S	S	S
Local Need/	Coexistence	Local Progress	Political Representati	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti	Assistance
Local Provide/	Spanish		State Policy	Goods and Services	Local Labor		State Policy
Migrant Need/	Coexistence			Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti	Assistance
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	English	Established Assets	North Image	Entrepreneurship	South Labor	South Labor	State Policy
Reason/ Result	Not speaking the same language	Migrants should use their position to provide better conditions for their community	Migrants are more readily assisted by administrative bodies	Locals are engaged into peculiar business with migrants	Competition, exploitation of migrants and loss of job opportunities for locals	Local job displacement in the construction industry	Migrants are perceived to receive assistance even before locals. Competition for assistance
P/N	-	+	-	+	-	-	-

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Martha Cecilia	F	Indigenous	S	Safety		Economic Opportuniti	South Image	Organized crime surrounding employment of South	-
Martha Cecilia	F	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms	Means of Survival	Need to Adapt	Poor living conditions, begging, child labor.	-
Martha Cecilia	F	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Assets	Means of Survival	Migration	Precarious migration conditions prompt local to second guess incentives to migrate	-
Martha Cecilia	F	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	Loitering, and begging is not accepted in urban areas	-
Martha Cecilia	F	Indigenous	S	Social Stability	Local Norms		South Image	Fear of the presence of outsiders in rural/commual areas	-
Martha Cecilia	F	Indigenous	S			Means of Survival	Need to Adapt	Failure to sustain basic necessities leads to crime	-
Martha Cecilia	F	Indigenous	S		State Policy	Assistance	Need to Adapt	Heavy reliance on state aid	-

Name	Sex	Ethnicity	N/S	Local Need/	Local Provide/	Migrant Need/	Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	Reason/ Result	P/N
Miguel Angel	M	Indigenous	N	Economic Diversity	Local Assets	Economic Opportuniti	Established Assets	North Assets allow the economy to move in a different fashion	+
Miguel Angel	M	Indigenous	N	Personal Developme	Openness		North Image	North presence allows for a new perspective	+
Miguel Angel	M	Indigenous	N	Social Developme	Openness		North Image	North presence allows for a new perspective	+
Miguel Angel	M	Indigenous	N	Social Developme	Openness		North Image	North presence allows for a new perspective. Makes local want to explore	+
Miguel Angel	M	Indigenous	N	Personal Developme	Openness		North Image	North presence allows for a new perspective. Makes local want to explore	+
Miguel Angel	M	Indigenous	N	Social Progress	Openness		North Image	North presence is seen as a cultural positive, and can be spokespeople for the nation	+
Miguel Angel	M	Indigenous	S	Economic Diversity	Local Assets	Economic Opportuniti	South Labor	Cheap labor has allowed local economy to move in a different fashion	+

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Name	Miguel Angel	Miguel Angel	Miguel Angel	Miguel Angel	Miguel Angel	Miguel Angel	Miguel Angel
Sex	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Ethnicity	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous	Indigenous
N/S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Local Need/	Social Stability						
Local Provide/	Assistance			Means of Survival	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti	Economic Opportuniti
Migrant Need/	Assistance	Means of survival	Economic opportunitie				
Migrant Provide/ Has Access To	High Visibility	South Image	South Image	South Image	South Labor	South Labor	South Labor
Reason/ Result	Local Empathizes, is prompted to assist	Some South establish businesses, others just whatever they can to live	Some South establish businesses, others just whatever they can to live	Crime	Low wages do provide an asset	South Labor is Exploited	South Labor is Exploited, displaces local labor
P/N	-	L	L	-	+	-	-

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