

## Study from Higher Education of the subordinate integration of Manabí, to the domain of the national State



### Estudio desde la Educación Superior de la integración subordinada de Manabí, al dominio del Estado nacional

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#### Abstract

The present research work addresses the process of provincialization of Manabí in its jurisdictional bicentennial created by the Law of Territorial Division in 1824 due to the annexation to Gran Colombia, a precedent of “integration” to the republican project of State and national Unity of Ecuador since 1830. strengthened with the developmentalism of the 50s of the 20th century; The methodological underpinnings of historiographic documentary review determine the consolidation of the State by subordinating internal jurisdictions to the elitistly governed political, social, economic, territorial and civilizational domain, a vision that dissolves the ancestral community social construction replaced by postcolonial dominance in America. The results focus on the process of domination with profound consequences, inputs that aim to contribute to the objective contemporary balance of the adaptation and adoption of stateism foreign to the socio-territorial reality installed by a distorted peripheral creolism that creates structural

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backwardness and poverty without achievements of self-control. provincial at present.

**Keywords:** Integration, subordination, domination, National State, Manabí

### **Resumen**

El presente trabajo de investigación aborda el proceso de provincialización de Manabí en su bicentenario jurisdiccional creada por Ley de División Territorial en 1824 por la anexión a la Gran Colombia, antecedente de “integración” al republicano proyecto de Estado y Unidad nacional del Ecuador desde 1830, fortalecida con el desarrollismo de los 50 del siglo XX; los sustentos metodológicos de revisión documental historiográfica determinan la consolidación del Estado subordinando a las jurisdicciones internas al dominio político, social, económico, territorial y civilizatorio gobernado elitistamente, visión que disuelve la ancestral construcción social comunitaria reemplazada por el dominio poscolonial en América. Los resultados se concentran en el proceso de dominación con consecuencias profundas, insumos que pretenden contribuir al objetivo balance contemporáneo de la adaptación y adopción del estatalismo ajeno a la realidad socio territorial instalado por un distorsionado criollismo periférico creador de estructurales atrasos y pobreza sin logros del autodomínio provincial al presente.

**Palabras Clave:** Integración, subordinación, dominación, Estado nacional, Manabí.

### **Introduction**

With Ecuador's independence and annexation to Gran Colombia and subsequent republican foundation in 1830, it reinforced the internal jurisdictional structuring of provinces prioritised since 1824 with the Law of Territorial Division, creating 7 of the current 24 provinces, including Manabí. This bicentennial provincialism has not been attractive to Manabí in terms of development or progress, as it is imbued with the dynamics of its own social construction, rendered invisible by Spanish colonisation due to the lack of the desired metals, as well as biophysical limitations, disconnected from the national continent; once these mechanisms were overcome or rather forced, it was ‘integrated’ into the dominant National State in the 1950s.

This version is contrary if it is conceived as agreed with the ascended Eloy Alfaro president in 1895, Manabita who carries with him the

integration, once president, the installation of the national state with socio-territorial control was superimposed by means of the ‘emblematic’ secular education. Before the republic the usual connection of Manabí was with the north and south maritime of its population settled in the coastal profile to have developed knowledge in fishing, relating to the near Pacific until the arrival of republicanism that connected it to the provincial continent with two rail branches between 1909 to 1967 of: Santa Ana-Portoviejo-Montecristi-Manta and Chone-Calceta-Tosagua-Bahía de Caráquez transporting cocoa for export to the international market.

The isolation of Manabí from its state continent was maintained until the arrival of the post Second World War developmentalism by the hand of CEPAL in 1948, with which the state modernisation was installed, restructuring the space and integrating the whole territory to the national state; This ‘integration’ background was not agreed, but forced with disastrous consequences, altering the natural and social bases of its population and territory, copying and colonising the provincial continent, expanded to the neighbouring areas, continued with the invasive and extensive agriculture since the middle of the 19th century and strengthened with the successive agrarian reforms of 1964, 1973 and 1979.

The State and National Unity project is centralised, structuring domination by subordinating its fragmented jurisdictions into provinces, cantons and parishes, in which it installs the perpetual capitalist use of the territory with the consequent accumulation of capital in the hands of a few, distributing social and territorial poverty. Provincial bicentenary debated between the Chola-Montubia identities, ‘class contradiction, (which) has divided the white-mestizo society from within, where it was necessary to resort to local identities to seek principles of unity around the territory, local characters, outstanding milestones of history, where they have even appropriated local indigenous history, collected and written elements’ (RAMON, G, Torres, VH, 2004) in this case of Manabí; identities carrying abysmal backwardness that separate the province from globalisation and the fictional national development that structures insurmountable poverty in the medium term, fixed in the limits of legal-political fragmentation, hindering the cohesion and integration diagnosed in the present work, a substantial input that contains scope for forecasting the pending, necessary and effective provincial self-domination of Manabí.

## Materials and methods

The methodological underpinning of this paper concentrates on the analysis of the specific political historiography of Manabí related to the social sciences and the territorial variable; here we develop the influential dynamics in the formation and evolution of republican provincialism, specifically focused on the recent forced integration subordinated to the project of State and National Unity, inputs traced from the scattered and weak availability of relevant documentary review; This identifies key milestones of the significant impacts conducted in the logic of the domination of power actors with the consequent political-social and territorial subordination in the outstanding periods of the national state-building process; this approximate structuring balance: jurisdictional, population and power is useful the sense of the thematic research not only for the information it provides, but converted into substantial input for the pending debate of the Historical Agreement of Ecuador State in the: political, social, economic, ethnic, territorial required, coming to understand specifically the dynamics that have shaped the provincialism of Manabí that hinders and/or enables a viable self-mastery with polycentric character.

## Results

The province of Manabí was formed in 1824 by the Law of Territorial Division due to its annexation to Gran Colombia (1819-1835), an event that marked the before and after, circumscribed in its own confinement and subsequent state subordination; Its initial maritime relationship is with the north-south coast of the South American Pacific until the pre-capitalist republicanism of the early 20th century penetrated the provincial continent through the establishment of cocoa plantations accessed by two railway branches that connected it to the international market, a period reinforced by the state developmentalism of the 1950s, which integrated the entire territory subordinated to the incipient project of state and national domination.

The maritime relationship is due to the fact that the ancestral population settled in the marine profile subsisted on fishing until converting to the flourishing natural fibres of cabuya, mocora and toquilla straw (*corludovica palmata*); with these, the first two exported as raw material and used for the manufacture of tools for navigation, and toquilla straw, the basis for the hat industry since the last quarter of the 18th century (Dueñas, 1991: 15); 'due to the

importance acquired by the production and export of the toquilla straw hat, it determines the emergence of a small commercial bourgeoisie that founds its process of capital accumulation' (Zambrano, 2020: 104); a toquilla straw hat that in Republican times during the construction of the Panama Canal at the beginning of the 20th century was baptised as 'Panama Hat', a recognition that supports the recent important declaration, not of the hat, but of the 'knowledge of fine toquilla straw weaving' inscribed on 5 December 2012 (7. COM), where UNESCO includes it in the representative list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

Colonial sustenance of Manabí, which to the Republic of Ecuador influenced by the international market determines that,

'Its historical matrix is of a mercantile nature. This is very important to bear in mind in order to understand the different productive and social institutions formed. By definition, mercantilism constitutes a factor of individualisation or dispersion and not of unification in the social and economic aspect. Indeed, it does not generate a homogeneous economic market with uniform productive forms' (Zambrano, 2020: 13).

This 'regional integration, between the coast and the highlands, would be the basis for generating the conditions to achieve a characteristic of the national state, which is territorial integration, in order to consolidate not particular or regional interests, but national interests' (Tapia, 2023: 87). Assumption fulfilled in the consolidation of national domination, maintaining the structured elite and accumulation of local-regional and not national character; national domination for the social and territorial control given to the Armed Forces (FF. AA), without being transferred to the political elite, belatedly expressed in times of the irruption of the indigenous movement in 1990 with a nationalist, rather than plurinational, sense, and of the takeover of electoral progressivism from 2007 onwards, attempting to imprint a national sense resisted by the local-regional powers and elites led from enclaves not only of economic power, but also political power in Guayaquil, which subordinates the dispersed 'elite' of Manabí (Zambrano and Guillem, 2024: 3161).

Ecuadorian-style republicanism, which in 200 years has still not established the pending HISTORICAL AGREEMENT between state-society and state-territory, imposing a state of the elite over society and territory, adapting and resisting the implantation of state-territorial regimes, This incorporates a plurinational and intercultural character, but with dominant institutional devices without

unblocking the accumulated structural and conjunctural national, local and community conflicts.

The former jurisdictional Manabí resists the weak Inca-Spanish colonial penetration different from that of Andean Ecuador, a condition that allowed a certain ‘advantage’ for its social development rooted in the dispersed settlements that made subjugation difficult due to the decentralised mode of food self-sufficiency created, ending up succumbing to the 300 years of Spanish colonisation and subsequent annexation to the Bolivarian Gran Colombia and the current liberal Republic of Ecuador.

Gran Colombia is the jurisdictional manager of the 200 years of the provincial bicentenary; jurisdiction resulting from fragmented foundations of villas or ecclesiastical parishes for evangelisation and socio-territorial control, re-appropriated by the local independence movements of Guayaquil and Portoviejo in October 1820; independence movements neutralised and processed for the hierarchical control of Gran Colombia (1819-1835) through the Law of Territorial Division of 1824 (Ibidem, 3160); The usual logic of historical control and domination adhering to the old Latin proverb, ‘divide and rule’ of Cartesian foundation, to a big problem, divide ‘its solution’, with this ‘power aspires to control the entire space and preserves it in a state of “dissociated unity”, of fragmentation and homogeneity according to the maxim of divide ut regnes’ (Lafebvre, 2013: 419), where the vast territory that became independent from Gran Colombia had to be jurisdictionally divided into: departments, provinces and cantons in order to sustain the dominion; by dividing the territory, the demands ceased to be to the entire State, becoming only of the State divided into provinces and cantons; division not agreed for a better spatial organisation, but to impose the matrix of domination, superimposed for the case of Ecuador in the Departments of Quito, Guayaquil and Cuenca that put together the independent republic.

Ecuador was an early republic separated from Gran Colombia from 1830, in which jurisdictional provincialism was adjusted to the construction and domination of the national State, dissolving the Departments, re-establishing the provincial categorisation in a condition of legal equality; with this jurisdictional categorisation, ‘territorially homogenised the space, dissolving the differences, unifying diversity and simplifying reality’ (Pérez, 2016: 10); a mechanism of republican domination that hindered the achievement of solvent self-dominance with levels of development of national incidence for Manabí and of all Ecuadorian provincialism that would

have been overcome belatedly with the constitutional negation at regional level in 2008.

Maiguashca (1994: 357-358) synthesises these foundations of the national state project, referring to the role of central power in the process of national integration, proposing as a hypothesis the centrality of the state as a bureaucratic instance along Weberian lines, the main driving force behind national integration, using the dimensions proposed by Tarrow in reference to the process of formation in Western Europe and the impact that the centre has had on governments in the peripheries, based on three indicators: (a) political-administrative penetration referring to the creation of institutions to achieve military and administrative control; (b) normative homogenisation consisting of the creation of laws and; (c) the social incorporation of marginalised groups.

Maiguashca (1996: 185-223) approaches the relationship between the state and regional powers by identifying three cycles: from 1830 to 1925 Quito, Guayaquil and Cuenca became the epicentre of territorial identities, representing a setback for the consolidation of national unity; a second from 1925 to 1972, characterised by the presence of peripheral social forces whose influence favoured the central power and limited the consolidation of a strong national state (developmentalism); and the last with neoliberalism since the 1980s, losing all state perspective and surrendering to a planetary capitalism that favours the ‘freedom’ of the economic order, reducing state intervention and preserving private property and free enterprise (Polanyi, p. 125). 125 ), encouraging autonomist pretensions that continue to hinder the construction of the national state citing Seers (1976) and Prebisch (1983) by Polanyi (2016: 129-130) reflecting the global influence in the region through,

‘the continuity of dependency structures from the centres to the peripheries from early mercantilism to the new mercantilism of transnational corporations’. Thus, the post-war domestication and unleashing of capital is implemented in the global south, because mechanisms such as the financialisation of the real economy, grotesque income inequality and outsourcing by transnational corporations have devastated the social contract’.

In these gravitating cycles identified, prior to the installation of the developmentalist state, the centralisation of public revenues was achieved, which allowed the national government to define public works programmes, which were conceived with the institutional revolution of the young military in 1925 (Varela, 2023: 106),

articulating a new model of the nation-state, based on: 1. the imposition of the nation's interest, represented by the state over private interests, 2. the imposition of political authority, represented by the state, over private interests, and 3. the imposition of political authority, represented by the state, over private interests, and 4. the imposition of the state's authority, represented by the state, over private interests. The imposition of the political, centralist and institutional authority of the state as the apparatus of expression of the national over regional, social, party or group divisions, and over the play of traditional forces, and 3. the institutionalisation of the Ecuadorian social question as state policy, so that 'the existence of the state is the result of a formative process through which it acquires a complex of attributes that at each historical moment presents a different level of development' (Oszlak, 2011: 118).

Historical moments that establish the European Liberal State structured and organised by means of an institutional system of three powers: The State mutated from the initial Oligarchic National State project (1830-1950) with weak institutionalism and socio-territorial control; to the Developmentalist State (1950-1980), a superior form of capitalist economic and political organisation governed by the modern-industrial-urban statist bourgeoisie; to the Welfare State, contained as a whole by the State of the Welfare State (1950-1980), a form of economic and political capitalist organisation governed by the modern-industrial-urban statist bourgeoisie; the Welfare model, which is based on a set of institutionalised policies and rights with the pretence of protecting the population, linked to the Developmental model, which gave way to the Neoliberal model (1980-2007), which prioritises the market as a regulator or self-regulator of productive forces and social organisation without state interference, re-institutionalised in the Law model, a principle of governance where people, public and private institutions and the state are subject to the primacy of regulations made by public policies applied independently; basis of the Constitutional of Rights (2007 to the present), subject to constitutional justice without requiring specific norms to guarantee rights, coexisting with the Plurinational and Intercultural (1998 to the present) of indigenous cosmovision, 'the only alternative of contemporary social coexistence' recognised by the national domination of the existence of various nationalities within the same republic without sovereignty (Narváez, 2024).

A process that constitutionalises the state with structural domination of backwardness, poverty and subordinating the internal state without the adjectives alluded to achieving welfare, social or



territorial democracy, but rather the constitutionalisation of the state of the elite in accordance with Foucault (2006), emphasising that this ‘state monitors, controls and punishes the actors it dominates, and makes the hegemony of unitary-concentrated power felt. This practice is projected over time and with nuances in the rule of law, and only apparently diminishes in the social state’.

It is the entelechy of the plurinational and intercultural state that reinserts Manabí through the ascribed Montubian self-definition recognised by the 2008 Constitution (Articles 56 and 59); an accumulated-combined identity between the ancestral-colonial and the republican mestizaje that survives in the rural context, amassing agriculture that sustains subsistence food security in a ‘capitalist economy of the periphery’ (CEPAL, 2008, p. 32); it is in this perspective, in tune with this perspective, that Manabí has a ‘plurinational and intercultural state’ (ECLAC, 2008, p. 32). ); it is in this perspective in line with the constitutional plurinationality and interculturality that the Government of Manabí ascribes itself through Provincial Ordinance approved by Resolution No. 007-PLE-CPM-30-05-2022 states in Art. 1, to culturally recognise the territory of Manabí as a ‘Cholo-Montubian’ province; recognition extended to the ancestral Cholo people whose essence linked to the sea and fishing lacks constitutional category; identity categories that gain relevance, the Montubians registered in the census since 2010 declaring 19.18% of the population of Manabí, increasing to 33.6% in 2022; affirmative actions that demand a radical intercultural substantive participation that alters the state of domination for a diverse Ecuador and Manabí that reduces the chronic unsatisfied basic needs that reaches 71% (INEC, 2022) for the Montubios.

Mutations that consolidate the unalterable foundational common denominators, in: sustaining the system with institutional and normative frameworks of dominant liberal foundation and the dispute for access to and control of the government by dominant blocs or factions identified by Prebisch (1980) in ECLAC (2008) on the ‘dynamic key of the system’ with electoralism the only mechanism of democratic legitimacy creating false expectations of changes or transformations; mutations of their own and induced in constant crises, whose vicious exits do not alter the senses of domination arranged through social and territorial inclusions only of an institutional-normative nature.

State constituted: ‘(...) autonomous power is the product of the usefulness of increased territorial centralisation for social life in general’ (Mann, 2011, p. 55-78). A national state that required with

the decreed developmentalism of the 50s of the 20th century a leadership that should be ‘capable of exercising political, economic and cultural hegemony and produced in turn by this hegemony’ (Balibar, Etienne, 1991, p. 141), which makes the stable and balanced triangle work between: State, capital and labour that to Latin America, the Caribbean and Ecuador was induced by means of the extended package of the reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War to be applied with the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC, 1948); necessary for the extreme backwardness of the region that should improve and create favourable conditions for the exploitation and accumulation of international capital; premise-conclusion fulfilled, because none of the countries of the region, except Ecuador have solved their backwardness and poverty by institutionalising the structural inequality (Zambrano et al., 2024: 245), of state support promoted by Hayek (1920), early stripped by anti-state neoliberalism replacing Keynesian-influenced national development (1932), discouraging alleviating policies, only administrating social and territorial poverty, implanting the capitalist use in Manabí of accumulated and sustained poverty to the present.

This whole circuit is territorialised in the conformed fan of the ‘two differentiated ecological zones: the dry coast, which borders the sea from the Bahía de Caráquez towards Cayo and Machalilla to the south, and the humid coast which extends both to the north of Cabo Pasado and inland, merging with the always humid foot of the Andes’ (Dueñas, 1991: 14); dry coast, the original seat of the peoples with greater organisational homogeneity between the present-day Crucita extended to the south Jaramijó, Manta, Montecristi, Jipijapa and Puerto López; to the north between Bahía de Caráquez, Jama, Coaque to Coximies, now Pedernales, and towards the mainland: Picoazá, Portoviejo, Rocafuerte, Charapotó, San Isidro to Tosagua. The contemporary continental invasion of towns that extended the agricultural frontier from 1860 onwards with less organisational homogeneity in the northeast of the province in the current cantons of Junín, Bolívar, Chone, Flavio Alfaro, Pichincha and El Carmen.

A range without pretensions of forming sovereignty, confirmed by the local independence of Portoviejo in 1820, annexed to Gran Colombia, leaving only the symbol of independence, which in the republican domain consolidates the sense of internal ‘autonomy’ controlled by the centrist State; autonomy legalised in the constitutional normative framework since 1946, in force up to the present day.

These contexts that insert Manabí to the integration of the national State, reinforced with the irruption of Eloy Alfaro promoted president of Ecuador in 1895, taking with him to connect Manabí with Quito, without achieving it for having superimposed the foundations of the liberal State that guarantees individual liberties to the nascent Ecuadorian capitalism, achieving the tie for a greater participation of the coast (Guayaquil) with the sierra (Quito), agreeing to succeed each other and benefit from the political power in force at the present time; The so-called national state with a government 'independent' of hegemonic economic or religious groups and perpetual socio-territorial control with public education.

The connections, rapprochement and integration between human communities are connatural; that of Manabí with Quito has been a constant, which is why in the times of the mule tracks five Chonenses called Raidistas (a name that alludes to people who make long journeys, such as the Chone-Quito): Carlos Alberto and Artemio Aray, Juan de Dios Zambrano, Emilio Hidalgo and Plutarco Moreira on board a vehicle set out to mark the path of what is now the Chone-Quito road corridor (E38); an act that began on 6 December 1939, arriving in Quito on 28 January 1940; an event that motivated the government of the time to begin work on the construction of the Chone-Santo Domingo corridor until the Santo Domingo-Alóag corridor was consolidated in the 1960s.

Logic of connection, integration or territorial reaffirmation not resolved in the internal national State of Ecuador due to disputes between provinces, cantons and parishes, in this case the claim of belonging to the canton of El Carmen created on 3 July 1967 stands out; an event that took place on 4 December 1966, a day of demonstration by teachers and students motivated by the Provincial Council of Manabí who were determined to build schools in the sector in order to demonstrate and ensure that this territory is under the jurisdiction of Manabí. In the territorial dispute, adherents of the province of Pichincha destroyed the Dr. José Ricardo Martínez school, a trigger for Manabí to react, deciding to congregate in the area in protest against the attack and claim territorial ownership. The government in power imposed order on the protest with police force, the usual mechanism of state domination, resulting in the death of one student (Very Loo Zambrano); the rest of the demonstrators, who were not residents of the sector, left the area hastily, and the hasty return caused an accident in the vehicle that was transporting them, resulting in the death of 35 of them at La Virgencita km 52 on the El Carmen - Chone road.

The above does not resolve the delimitations for Manabí, closed this cycle through the electoral route of the bordering Manga del Cura with Guayas consulted on 17 September 2015, result favourable to Manabí; favourability superimposed by the original belonging or descent of the voters; the republic divides, but this event demonstrated, although the prefect of the day invested the provincial budget in campaign without taking into account the sense of identity, which is what ended up settling; blood being more powerful than the political-economic domination.

All of these conditions ‘integrated’ Manabí into the national state in exchange for a reduced PHIMA (Manabí Water Plan) with the Poza Honda dam (1969); PISMA (Manabí Integral Health Programme, 1965) agreed between the Government of Ecuador, UNICEF and WHO; a seaport and weak industrialisation with an enclave in Manta since the 60s of the 20th century; creation of the Technical University in 1952; state banking with the Central Bank since 1936 and the Fomento since 1962, constitutional creation since 1967 of the figure of the Prefect to direct the Provincial Council, with Manabí electing its first prefect in 1970; all devices that accommodate the reproduction of political domination and capital in the province.

This republican Manabí, made up of 22 cantonal parts and 56 rural parishes, is vulnerable and resistant to social cohesion and organised integration with/by a territory with provincialised governance. The cantonalist fragmentation is a direct consequence inherited and preserved from the ‘Spanish colonial Cabildo of control and local domain and urban centres, head of the republic with autonomous legislature (Ordinances) that solved daily problems without requiring real decision (nowadays of centralist decision). Useful in the colony, independence and republic as an effective mechanism of representation of the local Creole elites’ (Reig, 1985: 13-19), contributing to the state conformation sustained in local caciquismos; cantonalism as a juridical-political determinant in Manabí occurred in four stages:

- before the republic: Portoviejo 1820, Montecristi 1822 and Jipijapa 1824;
- with the republic: Rocafuerte 1852, Sucre 1875, Santa Ana 1884 and Chone 1894;
- in the consolidation of the modernisation of the state: Bolívar 1913, Manta 1922, Paján 1945, Junín 1952, 24 de mayo 1952 and El

Carmen 1967; and with the return of electoral democracy since the return of the republic,

- with the return of electoral democracy in 1979: Tosagua 1984, Pichincha 1986, Flavio Alfaro 1988, Pedernales 1992, Puerto López 1994, Olmedo 1995, Jama 1998, Jaramijó 1998 and San Vicente 1999.

Jurisdictional structure initiated in the colonial headquarters expanded from the central Portoviejo, extending statehood and capital, reproducing the fragmentation in the northeast of the province generated by/with the historical disconnection, creating 7 of the 10 cantons since 1979; without these having fulfilled the assumptions of improvement in the solution of structural problems of socio-territorial poverty, nor of municipal strengthening due to the complex governance between cantonal and/or parish pairs, less in the multilevel province-canton-parish (Zambrano, et al., 2022: 74); weakened municipalism as a level of government in Manabí, since a significant portion of these municipalities in the rural periphery of the northern province have physically and functionally closed their management, suffocated by indebtedness that exceeds their budgetary management capacities, restricted to fulfilling basic competences assigned to them, let alone aspiring to guarantee rights; the solutions to overcome this structural local institutional obstacle must stop the jurisdictional, institutional and jurisdictional fragmentation, agreeing on a better spatial organisation of local statehood endowed with high technical-political and essentially joint capacities.

Since the election of prefects in 1970 by constitutional mandate to govern provincialism, they have not become the necessary intermediate government between the national and local levels, because they have not been able to aggregate the interests of their internal jurisdictions of cantons and parishes and integrate them into the province, weakened in their management capacities and stripped of competencies re-centralised by the central state with the neoliberalism that promotes more market and less state in the national territory; Reinforcing Ecuador's constitutionalist neoliberal state control since 2008, here the GAD Manabí has been prevented from developing provincial deconcentration capacities, as well as effective mechanisms for socio-territorial participation with a progressive prefect that differentiates it as a democratic level of government, rather strengthening the institutionally dominant managerial approach matrix.

The integrationist pretensions of the provincial globality have been blocked without being fulfilled by those who institutionally should have done it, the provincial government with prefect or the created and multiplied regional development organisms (RDO): CRM (Manabí Rehabilitation Centre - 1962), JRH (Water Resources Board - 1967), CEDEM (Commission for the Development of the Northern Zone of Manabí - 2002); nor contributed by the scattered four public universities: UTM 1952, ULEAM 1985, ESPAM 1999 and UNESUM 2001; the common denominator of these devices are to bear the name of Manabí; the ODRs were assigned the endowment of the water deficit without achieving it and the universities to technically professionalize the invasive and poor agriculture, ending up in diversifying professions required by the market without having formed think tanks for the regional development of Manabí; The achieved, reproduction and deepening of the centralist-fragmenting logic as a constant weakening of provincial integration with consequent national domination.

In all this, the dynamics of the social impact of state republicanism in Manabí should be highlighted: the Montoneros or Chapulos and the Montoneras 'guarichas' forming Alfaro's revolutionary army, a heterogeneous composition of peasants and certain employers, militants and liberal ideologues who were 'training' as they went along, receiving military ranks later integrated into the regular army (Ayala, 2023); montonerismo was present before and after the assassination of Eloy Alfaro.

On the other hand, the incipient pre-capitalism of Manabí in the 20th century gave rise to cells of urban workers and artisans after the formation of the communist and socialist party in 1926; These organisations, which had no major impact, were limited to specific demands specific to the sector or spatiality, formed into trade unions, professional associations, teachers' unions (UNE 1944), students' unions (FEUE 1944 and FESE 1966), and extended to the peasantry, which formed provincial organisations coinciding or hand in hand with the return of democracy and elections in 1979 through development programmes aimed at small and medium-sized peasants: Fondo de Desarrollo Rural Marginal (FODERUMA) and the projects of Desarrollo Rural Integral (DRI), Programa Nacional de Desarrollo Rural (PRONADER), Programa de Modernización del Sector Agropecuario (PROMSA), Programa de Desarrollo Local Sustentable (PROLOCAL) - (Guerrero, 2012: 127), without these or with these altering the structural rural or agrarian-peasant poverty; these peasant organisations are: UPOCAM 1978, FOCAM and UNOCAM 1982 as a star product create the National Confederation

of Affiliates to the Peasant Social Security (CONFEUNASSC) of coverage and medical assistance with poor retirement pension; to this organisational fabric are added the organisations of urban territorial base (barriales); all dynamics emerged in the heat not of the essential social class belonging in itself, but product of accumulated backwardness, shortages and poverty of capitalism to the Ecuadorian,

‘In Manabí it is worrying, due to the scarce, diminished, disarticulated and demobilized organisational expressions of the civil society that has not radically demanded to the local State, but to the national State, because the latter centralised the sectorial worker-peasant expressions preventing the constitution of a local social movement; although the neoliberal tendency to continue decentralizing the social demand, without social action; in order to exist it must have a diversified sense that overcomes the capital-labor dichotomy, including the socio-territorial’ (Zambrano, et al, 2022: 86). (Translation. ‘In Manabí it is worrying, because of the scarce, diminished, disarticulated and demobilised organisational expressions of civil society, which has not radically complained to the local state, but to the national state, because the latter centralised the sectorial worker-peasant expressions, preventing the constitution of a local social movement; although the neoliberal tendency to continue decentralising the social demand, without social action; to exist it must have a diversified sense that overcomes the capital-labour dichotomy, including the socio-territorial sphere”).

Sentidos embraced in the local, being present in the national and regional post-colonial domain, perfectly adjusting an aspect that cannot be avoided in the process of emergence and consolidation of national states, is the hegemony exercised by the dominant class in power, through strategies of ‘concentration of territory, political and administrative centralisation (government, justice), the adoption of a “national” language and religion, which entailed the suppression, sometimes violent, of languages and beliefs, which were often subsumed in folklore’ (Carvajal, 2006, p. 199). 199).

Senses of the project of the national State of strong sensitive, romantic and attractive apology ‘national unity’, for Manabí was translated into the slogan, ‘Manabí one, Manabitas all’, or ‘Manabuno, Manabitas all’ political discourse with unifying tone of domination contrary to the evidence; it is not he or the same Manabita of the countryside with that of the city; of the peripheral canton of Olmedo with the central Portoviejo; of the one who lives in the centre of the urban centre, with the one of the marginal urban

periphery, etc. All of them only meanings of normative equality (equal before the law) containing the greatest socio-territorial inequalities not overcome by capitalist republicanism for having ‘inserted a politics of exclusion in the core of its liberal theories and practices since the 19th century, exclusionary practices present throughout the history of liberal capitalism and in its contemporary neo-liberal reconfiguration’ (Mehta, 1999).

Ratified in the current political-economic domination, a challenge not achieved, although since 1974 the configuration of ‘MANABITISMO’ has been promoted by Manabitas students and residents in Quito, aiming to revive the province by the abandonment of governmental centralism without containing elements of identity revitalisation; a substantial aspect that was born as a political-institutional product without transcending the deep Manabí, reinforced since 2003 by declaring June the month of Manabismo of obligatory travel to the 22 cantons organised by the provincial institutionality. In this period the ‘AUTONOMIST’ demand was also gestated, claiming a greater budgetary participation of the national treasury and a certain destiny with self-domination that balances, integrates and cohesions the national State, adapting a necessary autonomous regime; consultation favourably voted on September 17, 2000 (Diario El Universo, 2000), electoralist ‘will’ that succumbed in institutional arrangements without having altered the national domination.

The first (1963) and second (1974) agrarian reform, which destroyed all the primary forest in Manabí, forming a gigantic stain in the centre of the province of 247,422 ha / 13.11% of the total area of the province. 422 ha / 13.11% of the territory (GAD Manabí 2015: 73) of high risk without having provided natural protection for the eastern part of the territory in the nascent hydrography that retains runoff and erosion with severe repercussions in the middle and lower part invaded by extensive and intense agriculture and the disorderly population settlement extended to the unprotected marine profile privately walled by commercial real estate, reducing access to the weak beach tourism.

This reinforces a new mercantile economic phase, conceived as ‘a process of growth and structural change in the economy of a city, district or region, in which at least three dimensions can be identified: an economic one, characterised by a system of production that allows local entrepreneurs to efficiently use productive factors, generate economies of scale and increase productivity to levels that allow for improved competitiveness in the markets; a socio-cultural



one in which the system of economic and social relations, local institutions and values serve as the basis for the development process; and another, political and administrative, in which local initiatives create a favourable local environment for production and promote sustainable development' (Vázquez, 2002), a requirement for the necessary territorial competitiveness to support the market for the industrialisation of fishing and Ecuador's oil monopoly in Manta; a situation that led to the privatisation of public services, establishing the payment of fees for provision and services that increased public investment in port and airport infrastructure, roads, connectivity, water and public services for private improvement with some structuring of local planning.

Industrialisation also enclave of capital accumulation with the derivatives of fishing (tuna and sardine), such as oil (Fabrill and Ales); since the agriculture of perpetual primary state of cocoa, coffee and livestock accumulated large tracts of land, without having transcended to the present day; the outstanding agricultural products of historical significance in the provincial economy at the time: toquilla straw hats, cocoa, coffee and bananas significant items replaced by extensive and intensive livestock and short cycle of maize with low profitability and high use of provincial soil with severe edaphological consequences; extensive use of soil representing 13% of the national, distributed in: 13.5% in permanent crops, 17% in transitory crops, 33% in cultivated pastures, contrary to the reduced 7% of environmental protection which are mountains and forests endorsed to the excessive 20% of national livestock herd (INEC-ESPAC, 2023); endowed with a reduced infrastructure in irrigation for 60 thousand hectares covering only 6% of the land for agricultural use incomparable with its coastal peers: Guayas 68.1%, Los Rios 44.3% and El Oro 38.4%.

The representative sectors of the provincial Gross Domestic Product (GDP) part of the 14 registered by the Central Bank in the regional accounts, Manabí between 2007 and 2020 is 2.737 to 5. The agriculture, livestock, forestry and fishing sector has doubled from 20% in 2007 to 10% in 2020; manufacturing from 16.5% in 2007 to 18.9% in 2020, an increase of 2.4 points; the sectors that represent the state: 1. public administration, 2. education and 3. health in 2007 are 20% and 21.6% in 2020. The two sectors that generate the provincial production economy with their own resources are: 1. agriculture, livestock, forestry and fishing and 2. manufacturing, which in 2007 amounted to 36.5% and in 2020 will be reduced to 28.9%; 7.6 points less, sectors that should have increased their representation in the provincial GDP, affecting the generation of

income and consequently employment, thus endorsing greater provincial poverty; the other sectors are only services that make up the social and territorial division of labour.

In this order for the 22 cantons of Manabí, 13 have agriculture as a highly important sector of their economy, paradoxically they are the poorest with income per capita income below the provincial income which is 3,481 USD, much less than the national income per capita of 5,670.33 USD (Central Bank, 2020), nothing comparable to the peers that concentrate the national political-economic power in the same year: Pichincha 7,980 USD, Guayas 6,120 USD and Azuay 5,490 USD.

The inclusion of the identified sectors: public administration, education and health, which constitute the state, is due to the importance they represent in the economy in 2020, adding up to 21.6% of the provincial GDP (one billion USD); these are factors that accumulate capital in a few hands through public contracting without reinvestment that energises the real sectors of the provincial economy; concluding, the greater the state penetration, the less productive provincial generation, and therefore the greater the socio-territorial poverty.

In this logic of capital accumulation, tourism emerged at the end of the 70s of the 20th century in the backward Ecuador, an activity inserted into the national economy hand in hand with the visible attractive products in the cultural heritage of the historic centre of Quito and the natural ecosystem of the Galapagos Islands in 1978; Manabí did not meet the conditions of heritage attractions with UNESCO world standards, only Machalilla was declared a national park of environmental protected area without tourist profitability in 1979; Because of this key restriction, the 350 km of beach was set as an economic sector to be exploited, rather than developed, linked to the traditional gastronomic and handicraft treasure; beach tourism became a sector of the economy concentrated in the annual celebration of Carnival, transformed from religious to festive, extended to New Year and Easter, until 2016, increasing to 10 annual national holidays, added to the local-provincial ones; in spite of the above, Manabí does not manage to attract the massive beach tourism of the concentrated population of Quito and Guayaquil.

This contemporary evolution of the provincial economy in comparative and competitive advantages is concentrated among the cantonal peers of: Manta, Jaramijó, Montecristi, Junín, El Carmen and Portoviejo; the first three induced industrial enclaves with the

developmentalism, advantaged by the essence rooted in being towns of accumulated ancestral knowledge with fishing, weaving and handicrafts; In contrast to agriculture, which is not the main wealth-generating activity, although it covers the entire continental territory without becoming a comparative-competitive advantage, with the exception of Junín with its developed poultry food industry and El Carmen for its connection with the international market through banana production; in these Portoviejo is reduced to its centralist condition of provincial capital that parasitizes it.

This description of Manabí is shown in the range of its two population-territorial contexts; the ancestral one due to the level of organisation achieved, evidence of the advantages registered, and the other coinciding with the transition from the colony to the republic, subordinated to the poor agricultural development of the republic; the sea continued to be assigned to the population's food survival, until it became part of the economy with fishing and tourism. With the capitalist development of the annexed territory, commerce became sectors of the economy, extended to construction, transport and professional activities; the latter constituted in groups of economic power with heterogeneous interests, homogeneous only to small families; expressions of power without having any effect due to the weaknesses of the guilds that exerted pressure for economic benefit anchored to the local level through the traditional Chambers of Commerce that served as a political-electoral catapult.

This balance could be considered positive, but reality contrasts it, because before the integrationist development Manabí had extreme backwardness and poverty, a situation not overcome with the 'integration', only that nowadays the subordination connotes a greater dominant control in the territorial, institutional and normative aspects, making it equal to the rest of the country: territorial, institutional and normative making equal the population and territories in the structural inequality penetrated by contracting impoverishing consequences, where 'power does not repress, but normalises... power constructs our way of thinking, with this it also produces and reproduces realities' (Foucault, 1976).

Realities of domination, institutionally: powers, functions, organisms, levels of government, etc.; normatively: Constitution, Codes, Laws, Ordinances, Decrees, resolutions, etc., all mechanisms of socio-territorial control that have altered and continue to alter or dissolve the community-local social construction. Of the aforementioned state monopoly, the normative monopoly has been exercised since the 18th century, annexed to the bureaucratic

apparatus, which, if it is not imposed coercively, also activates the monopoly of violence that re-establishes the domination subjected normatively in permanent states of exception.

In all of this, the role assigned to the internal jurisdictions of the national state has been to fulfil the extension of domination and to dispute the budgetary participation of the national treasury between peers and between levels of government. A dispute that Manabí does not consolidate budgetary sustainability, let alone governmental self-control, hindered by local governors who concentrate their efforts on being attractive to the electoral scenario that will sustain them by aspiring to re-election or climbing to the positions of parish council president to councillor, from councillor to mayor, from mayor to prefect or assembly member.

Key mechanisms of structural centralism, the logic of power as Restrepo (2011) puts it, ‘power and marginality are organised, structured and distributed in space. Power always structures space’; a logic that does not depend on luck or chance, much less on potentialities, as the backbone is conceived in the fundamental centre-periphery contradiction of the central countries (USA and Europe), exported or transferred to the central countries. In Ecuador, in the periphery, it takes effect from the political centralism of the capital of the republic, subordinating the provincial capitals, from these to the cantonal centres and at the tail end of centralism the centre of the rural parish; centralism constituted in the imaginary of the power exercised not only in or from the capital of the republic towards its periphery, but the periphery reproduces it in each jurisdictional space. For this reason, the apparent centralism fixed in Quito makes invisible the centralism of the provincial capital towards its urban cantonal and parish centres; essential centralism of the socio-territorial control of domination.

In Manabí, the framework is implanted with undefined political-ideological populism, converted into an electoral strategy with rhetorical narratives containing promises of supposed solutions to the situations of backwardness and poverty crossed with the emotional frustrations of the electorate; Populism that has not translated into effective solutions in the exercise of government, reduced to simplifying the structural situation into shortcuts to complex problems that perpetuate the clientelistic poverty of the electorate; electoral populism that has become the protagonist of ‘personal charismatic bosses’ at provincial and local level, directly responsible for preventing the generational change that would form a different political-governing leadership. Populist electoralism is an

effective, long-lasting mechanism with disastrous consequences for the unalterable state of backwardness and poverty, as well as the contaminating polarisation that continues to weaken the weakened social fabric and the improvement of provincial state democratisation.

Consequences that reinforced the expansive colonization of the northern part of the province and the expulsion to the nearby border with the growing population reserve without being able to sustain it in the maternal territorial bosom justified by the dry cycle of the El Niño phenomenon between the 60s and 70s of the 20th century, enlarging the chaotic capital Portoviejo, the industrial enclave of Manta; extension of ‘integrated’ Manabitas as a reserve of workers required by the industrial fiction and urban growth of Quito and Guayaquil, including the middle class that had access to university studies without the effect of territorial return; with this, Santo Domingo de los Tsáchilas, southern Esmeraldas, El Empalme del Guayas and the mythical Amazon were taken over.

Process induced with and by the best post-colonial republican invention that implanted not only the centralist liberal State, but the annexed Nation constituted by communal diversities of Ecuador's socio-territorial ancestry; merging them sealed the inclusion of the dominant nation-state.

A nation-state imposed on various nationalities or ethnic nations enclosed in a pressure cooker, muffled and invisibilised in the denied essential diversity and difference; persisted in the neo-constitutionalism of 2008, although it includes the plurinational and intercultural, it prevents it from becoming fully effective. Because of this dominant structuring, the Ecuadorian indigenous cosmovision as,

‘Nationalities are claiming their right to be recognised for their differences, for their history and for their right to be different. They claim to be recognised as the legitimate owners of this continent, and that the state is another form of social control and domination, which did not recognise that these lands had inhabitants and that they were owners’ (Burbano, 2017: 32).

A historical claim where Manabí is a Nation lost in the ‘integrated’ dominant national State, struggling in a weak provincialism of effective capitalist use and abuse of the territory accumulating capital in a few hands, with the dialectic of the place of identity and roots; a debate favourable to the capitalist domination of Chola-Montubia ‘inclusion’ that continues without demanding the

implementation of an intercultural State different from the prevailing one.

Only probable with the recovered Nation of originating Latin etymology referring to birth, geographical, historical and cultural cradle of descent-blood descent, configurators of origin and common inheritance that makes rootedness, entailing sharing, distributions, even resolution of disputes such as the one that occurred in Manga del Cura in favour of Manabí; etymology compatible to conform the Manaba Nation; nation without political republicanism, but that which subsists beyond coexisting or not in the territory or jurisdiction of its own.

A nation that continues to ignore the constitutional negation of the Cholo of the equatorial coast by the prevailing mestizo domination; this Cholo knows more about ethnicity, unlike the Montubio compatible with republican capitalism; Cholo with material goods continues to be Cholo, his ethnicity is in his skin; Montubio with material goods, is an alienated cowboy made in USA; here the Montubio perspective is the civilising modernity and the whiteness of the Cholo-Indigenous Manaba.

This induced ethnic reason would qualify as constitutional justice since 2008 for the Montubio people, as long as it was differential, but this recognition does not dissolve the condition of equals in the dominant normative, because the recognition is of citizen character, that is to say individual and not the collective subject that recovers the social community construction interrupted in the republic, for this substantial reason ‘does not fit the definitions of Convention 169 of the ILO’, making it difficult to demonstrate the ancestral character of collective rights. So the risk of the recognised Montubia constitutional categorisation is to turn it into an element of domination linked to deterritorialised mestizaje, contaminating the Cholo by persisting in its civilising colonisation; Cholo that continues to resist in reduced territories or ghettos. How much of all this represents the identitary silences of the Manaba without contradicting domination; resigned silence in cultural inequality and poverty.

Silences based on the hegemonic and homogeneous Manabi ‘culture’ contained in narratives induced before, during and surely after with magical-fictional realism romantically musicalised in all genres adorned by rhymes that highlight: beauty, fecundity, depth, pride of supposed cantonalist rootedness highlighting potential icons of the population, culture and territoriality hovering between the

beautiful, brave and treasuring the gastronomic; rhymes of mythical nostalgia where the montonero Alfaro president stands out in Ecuadorian republicanism. Narrative, a powerful resource of power in tune with Foucault (1976) ‘it does not repress, but normalises... it constructs our way of thinking, with this it also produces and reproduces realities’, or more unrealities of reproducing patriarchal rhymes where power remains unchallenged, without being questioned, resisted, let alone combated to rectify a diverse and different Ecuador; only dominant catharsis.

This Manabí of bicentennial jurisdiction has been annexed and integrated without having constituted itself as a centrality of or in the national state, let alone a cosmopolitan or metropolitan province, because ‘integration’ was and is outwards; inwards, the integrated cohesion of its recent and dominant Spanish colonial amestization is still pending, in the republic extended to the European, Asian and minimally Arab since the beginning of the 20th century, settled in specific cantonal poles. Integration that adopts and adapts the structural social and territorial division of labour for capital exploitation with devastating consequences in its altered natural state and population poverty without hope of being overcome by and with the prevailing pattern of governmental domination.

All key institutional arrangements of supposed Ecuadorian-style state democratisation, reinforced with fictional jurisdictional autonomies without self-dominion that develop capacities for a better spatial-state organisation that revitalises internal differences and diversities; these would be vital in the Chola-Montubia identities with room to recover the Manaba Nation; if domination and capital were to process this form of spatial organisation, there would be better organised territories with effective self-dominion.

## **Discussion**

In Manabí, the ancestral millenary social construction maintains: a developed pottery, decentralised self-sufficiency and food delicacies with magical, mythical and romantic musicalised orality; constructions that succumbed, readjusting to Spanish colonisation, annexation to Gran Colombia and ‘integration’ to the republic, the result of which is Manabí provincialism subordinated to national domination with an altered identity that contrasts with the superficial nationality or nationalism of Ecuadorian nationalism.

Manabí is structured in multiple cantons and parishes with first, second and third categories containing structural asymmetries of complex territorial and population overcoming; jurisdictional

condition of false autonomy that hinders and weakens the adequate spatial organization due to deficient: social, technical, political, budgetary and management organization; key internal link that affects and resists the global link of integration with polycentric sense; cushioned with insufficient institutional arrangements in: agendas, plans, decrees, regulations, tables, etc., although it depends on essential degrees of solvency developed by the jurisdiction; to overcome backwardness and poverty it will never be by decree.

The process to which Manabí was ‘integrated’ institutionally consolidated the centrist State, without actors seeking to bring about changes or radical improvements; each level of government is closed in on itself without room for the relevant socio-territorial government, reduced to the governing actor without betting on improving the quality of political representation, nor by creating electoral districts since 2008, subject to populist electoral offers without translating into effective governmental exercises with key socio-territorial transformations that have room for the fictional system of social participation with powerful governmental accountability and binding social control; If these key aspects are not made viable, Manabí, its 22 cantons and 56 rural parishes will remain unchanged at the third provincial centenary.

The agreed ‘integration’ of Manabí into the domain of the national State has been for the demographic expansion that could not be sustained due to the internal biophysical limits and the accumulation of capital in a few hands, watering and populating Ecuador in specific identified spots; This is why Manabí cannot resist any more institutional arrangements of the national-provincial domination in its third centenary, but modifies structural situations that prevent the modelling of political, economic, social and institutional self-control, because identity is its greatest strength.

This identified structural situation of backwardness and poverty reproduced distracted (busy) actors claiming attention for deficiencies, leaving aside the demand to change the dominant status quo; Manabí in 200 years did not manage to create actors: social, political, economic provincial actors other than the temporary Alfaroism that ended up succumbing to the subsequent assassination of Alfaro.

The subordinate integration of Manabí to the national state, its causes and consequences are the product of models imported and imposed by the global civilisation in the social, political, economic, cultural and normative spheres, which in the medium term will not



be reversed or overcome by the will of the Ecuadorian Creole elite. The corollary of or for Manabí, if the current circumstances or situation continue to be dominantly conditioned by the mediate and immediate past, fertilised by the current powerful situations, nothing will be modified, let alone altered.

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