
Social and Solidarity Economy in pursuit of '*Buen Vivir*' in the Andean Highlands of Ecuador

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Abstract

In Ecuador during the last decade a political paradigm known as '*Buen Vivir*' (BV) has become the cornerstone of a new notion of human wellbeing on which the government has based its policies. Although its genesis comes from an ancient indigenous way of living, '*Sumak Kawsay*' (SK), the BV concept is continuously evolving and has become a contested subject. In order to implement the BV principles, the Ecuadorian government introduced an alternative economic system known as Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE). The SSE term has been used to describe all kinds of economic activities in which social and environmental objectives are more important than profit.

The aim of this study is to investigate to what extent the introduction of the SSE and BV principles can explain the transformations occurred in Ecuador in the last decade, and how these transformations have influenced the lives of the people at the rural community scale. For this, an extensive review of the existing literature and empirical work, in the Andean highlands region, took place. The study draws upon primary data collected in the form of a survey, face-to-face interviews and focus groups with indigenous and non-indigenous populations from villages located in the Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces, the latter having the highest indigenous population of people in Ecuador.

This investigation utilized a mixed method design; thematic analysis was used for the qualitative data and a descriptive analysis for the quantitative data. This study suggests a strong association between the implementation of social policies based on the principles of BV, and a substantial reduction of levels of poverty and inequality in the country. The study also exposes the ambiguous relationship and overlap between BV and SK, which becomes more apparent when the government promotes a liberal agenda that focuses on individual rights. Meanwhile, SK emphasises ancestral thinking, which is eminently collective.

Dedicated to my dearest daughter Paula, my inspiration and strength.

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List of Acronyms

BV	Buen Vivir
CACTU	Cooperación de Asociaciones Comunitarias de Tungurahua
CDB	China Development Bank
CONAIE	Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
EE	Ecological Economics
ERPE	Escuelas Radiofónicas Populares del Ecuador
FEINE	Consejo de Pueblos y Organizaciones Indígenas Evangélicos del Ecuador
FENOCIN	Confederación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas, Indígenas y Negras
FEPP	Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ILO	International Labour Office
INEC	Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos
IRD	Integrated Rural Development
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization
MEF	Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index

MIES	Ministerio de Inclusión Económica y Social
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPOs	Non-Profit Organizations
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PSE	Popular and Solidarity Economy
PWB	Psychological Wellbeing
QE	Quantitative Easing
SBV	Socialism of Buen Vivir
SENESCYT	Secretaria de Educación Superior Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación
SD	Sustainable Development
SK	Sumak Kawsay
SSE	Social and Solidarity Economy
SWB	Subjective Wellbeing
WB	Wellbeing
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background

In this chapter, the research topic and an overview of the study will be introduced. For this, demographic and ethnic information of Ecuador will be presented. In addition, the chapter offers a comprehensive historical background of the country that reveals a colonial legacy of indigenous struggles, which is very relevant in order to understand the context in which this study took place.

During the last decades, the world has experienced significant improvements in terms of prosperity and reduction of poverty, however high levels of inequality persist in both the developed and in the developing world (World Bank, 2016). In Latin America, the high levels of inequality began with the Spanish invasion and continued after most countries declared independence from Spain (Williamson, 2015). During the 1980s and 1990s, the region experienced a severe economic recession that increased the level of unemployment and decreased the purchasing power of the population. In this period, it was commonly accepted that Latin America was in a permanent state of crisis (Max-Neef et al., 1991).

It is uncertain how and when exactly the region of Latin America failed to construct a more egalitarian society. However, one thing became certain during the late 1990s and early 2000s. After six decades of traditional development views, a new strategy to reduce the levels of poverty and inequality was required. After many years of implementation of neoliberal policies that included privatization, deregulation and structural adjustments promulgated by the Global North, Latin America decided to look back to some of the practices that were in place long before the Spanish invasion.

In the Andean region of Latin America, an ancient way of living known as '*Sumak Kawsay*' (in Kichwa language) or '*Buen Vivir*' (in Spanish) or 'Living Well' (in English) became the basis for a new regimen of development (Walsh, 2010). The concept challenges the western view of wellbeing and proposes an alternative way to organise the economy, in the form of a 'Solidarity and Sustainable Economy' (Acosta, 2015). This investigation focused on the dynamics between Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) and '*Buen Vivir*' (BV).

In order to understand the interactions between SSE and BV, an exhaustive review of the literature was carried out (Chapter 2). The analysis of the review indicates that the study of

the two concepts is relatively new; SSE, SK and BV became popular after the approval of the 2008 Ecuadorian constitution, when these approaches were introduced as part of the promise to end neoliberal policies and shift resources to marginalized sectors of society. To enhance the comprehension of the contributions of SSE and BV in the progress of the country and determine if BV represents an alternative to capitalist development models in Ecuador empirical work was anticipated. This empirical work was carried out with the actors who were experiencing the social policies based on the SSE and BV principles in the central Andean region of the country.

1.2 Study aim, objectives and research questions

The aim of this study is to investigate to what extent the introduction of the SSE and BV principles can explain the transformations occurred in Ecuador in the last few years, and how these transformations have influenced the lives of the people at the rural community scale.

In order to achieve the aim, four objectives were proposed:

- a) To explore and define how SSE has been implemented in Ecuador
- b) To identify in what ways BV became a political alternative in Ecuador
- c) To establish the distinction between BV and SK
- d) To determine how SSE and BV have influenced the progress of the country

In order to fully understand the concepts under investigation, four research questions were designed as follows:

- a) What is the working definition of SSE that has been put into practice in Ecuador?
- b) What are the strengths and weaknesses of BV as the political alternative in Ecuador?
- c) Are BV and SK two different concepts?
- d) Was the introduction of the SSE together with BV the beginning of a structural transformation in Ecuador?

1.3 Contextual information

Ecuador is a lower-middle income developing country (Weisbrot et al.,2017), sharing borders in the north with Colombia and on the east and south with Peru (Figure 1.1). The population of the country, according to the Ecuadorian National Office of Statistics (INEC) in 2010, was 14.5 million inhabitants in an area of 283.560 km². The same source projected, for the year 2020, an estimated population of 17.5 million. The country has four regions: the Coastal (Pacific Ocean), the Andes, the lowland or Amazon region and the Galapagos Islands.



Figure 1.1 Map of Ecuador and its regions (GeographicMedia, 2018)

1.3.1 Ethnic distribution

For the purposes of this study, the ethnic distribution of the country was considered especially important for two main reasons. On the one hand, the concept of BV emerged from the Andean indigenous way of living ‘*Sumak Kawsay*’ (SK). SK has been implemented in a country where, according to INEC, the majority of people consider themselves mestizo¹ and therefore the concept has been the object of a lot of opposition, especially from the so-called ‘white elite’. On the other hand, ethnic distribution was considered important because it assisted in determining which areas were more appropriate for data collection. In fact, one of the areas chosen, Chimborazo province, has the highest indigenous population in the country. In Ecuador there are five, well-recognized ethnic groups: mestizo, indigenous, afro-Ecuadorian, white, and *montubio*², the latter is a relatively new ethnic identity (Qeh, 2008).

In the 1998 constitution, Ecuador was defined as a pluricultural and multi-ethnic nation, hence social movements demanded from the government to obtain reliable information about ethnic distribution in the country (Martínez Novo and Torre, 2010). Since the 2001 census, a self-identity question to obtain data for ethnic distribution of the country has been used. The last census in 2010 (Figure 1.2) indicated that most of Ecuadorians identified themselves as

¹ Mixed population of Spaniards and Amerindians

² This ethnic identity emerged from the long history of Ecuadorian ‘*mestizaje*’ (mixed ancestry people process) and it describes people from the rural coast, with particular social and cultural features.

mestizo (72%). This ethnic group comes from a process that started with the European invasion in the 15th and 16th centuries. Van Cott (2014) indicates that during the Spanish occupation, approximately 90% of the indigenous population in Latin America disappeared. Colonization destroyed Mayan, Aztec and Incan civilizations during military campaigns, slavery processes and smallpox epidemics, decimating a population once estimated to be between 90 and 112 million (Smith, 1991).

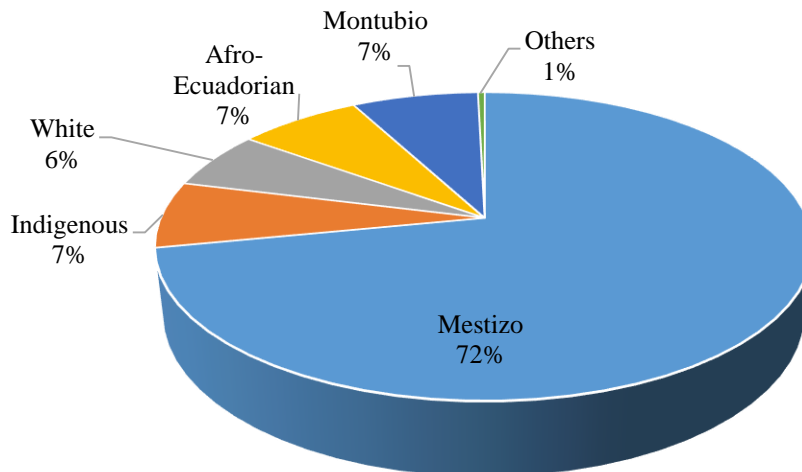


Figure 1.2 Ethnic distribution (INEC, 2010)

According to the national census in 2010, only 7% of the population consider themselves as indigenous. This figure differs enormously with the figures offered in an exploratory intervention study conducted by Radcliffe and Westwood (1996), in which the following ethnic composition was presented: 40% indigenous, 40% mestizo, 15% white and 5% afro-Ecuadorian. The *montubio* population was not reported in the study (Figure 1.3).

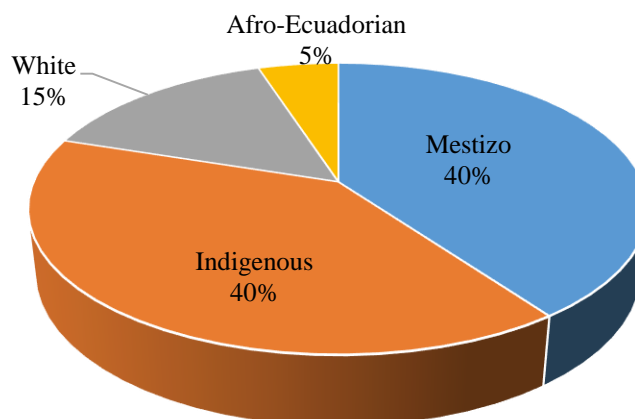


Figure 1.3 Ethnic distribution of the population of Ecuador (Radcliffe and Westwood, 1996)

It is extremely unlikely that from 1996 to 2010 the indigenous population of Ecuador decreased from 40% to 7%, whilst the mestizo population increased from 40% to 72%. Moreover, an estimation of the indigenous population in Latin America in 2006 indicates that the percentage in Ecuador was 43% (Van Cott, 2007); this figure is more consistent with the percentages presented by Radcliffe. However, it has been proven difficult to determine exactly what figures are accurate in terms of the indigenous population due to the inconsistency of the criteria, which will be described later, used to define who is indigenous and who is not (Salinas de Dosch, 2012).

One possible explanation for this discrepancy is the fact that in 2001 it was the first time a self-identity question was used to enquire about ethnic origin, which in practice means people were able to answer and choose their ethnicity regardless of their physical appearance, language, dress style, rural or urban origin and surname. Before 2001, the person who collected the information was instructed to pay attention to each individual and use their own judgment to pick the ethnicity of the respondents. It is possible that many of the people who had indigenous background decided to deny their heritage during the census. This could be explained by the racism towards indigenous people that have been prevalent in Ecuador since colonial times and it will be described in more detail later in this chapter.

Becker (2011) offers an alternative explanation for the inconsistency of the number of indigenous people in Ecuador. Becker argues that the people who do the counting (government officials, social movements, NGOs) could be influenced by their own definitions of indigeneity and political interests and this could have a big effect on the number of people considered indigenous.

1.3.2 The Andean highlands

The Andean highlands is a region, which is made up of more than just a group of countries in the western part of South America. What these countries have in common, apart from sharing the Andes mountain range, is a unique regional culture (Andolina et al., 2009).

During the research presented in this thesis, data has been collected from the Andean region of Ecuador. Indigenous people in South America have been traditionally associated with mountains, (the highlands) and this is more evident in Ecuador and Bolivia. Although Colombia, Venezuela and Peru are also considered Andean countries (Figure 1.4). It is necessary to make a distinction between countries, which are politically and geographically speaking part of the Andes States, and countries that are only geographically part of the Andes. Argentina and Chile are not members of the 'Andean Community of Nations', as they

have very low native Andean heritage, in fact, culturally they identify more with Europe, whilst Ecuador and Bolivia possess a very high native Andean heritage (Andolina et al., 2009).

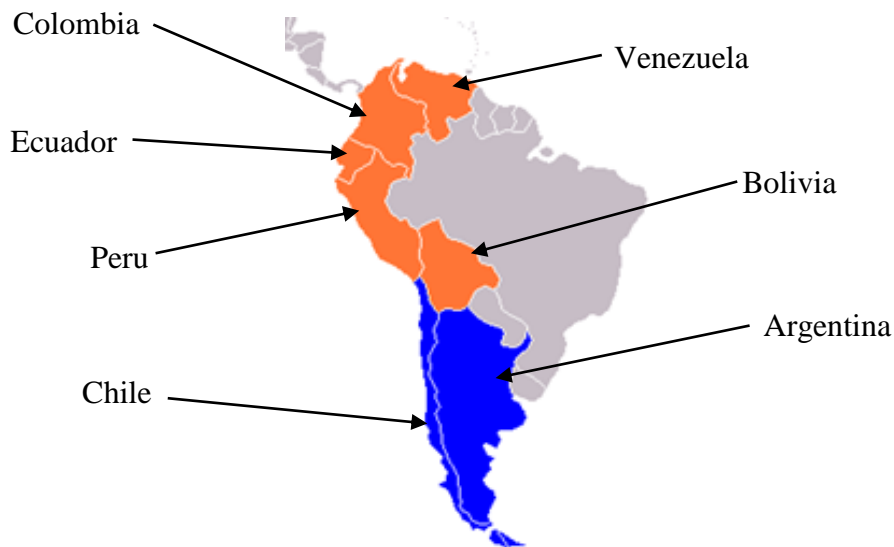


Figure 1.4 Orange countries are politically and geographically considered Andean and blue are only part of the geographical Andean region (WikiMedia, 2018).

For the study, three provinces from the Andean region were originally selected: Cotopaxi, Tungurahua and Chimborazo. Those three areas have both indigenous and mestizo populations who live very close to one another in the same political territory. This important feature made these communities very attractive for the purposes of the research. During the study, information was to be collected from both these ethnic groups to compare and contrast their views and answers in response to the questionnaire, focus groups and face-to-face interviews. It should be mentioned that Cotopaxi had to be dropped from the study due to an unexpected event associated with the activation of the Cotopaxi volcano. Chapter 3 will provide more details with regards to methodological adaptations during the fieldwork.

1.4 Historical background

The history of Ecuador can provide some insights for the understanding of the concepts related to this study. The most notable historical circumstances in which the concepts developed are associated with the colonization of the country by the Spaniards followed by the submission and exploitation of indigenous people.

Latin America has been considered one of the regions with the highest levels of income and wealth inequality in the world (Gasparini et al., 2011). However, during the last few years,

several improvements have been made in the region in terms of reducing inequality and poverty (ODI, 2015). Although, it has been argued that this sustainable development might be only a temporary phenomenon, especially in those countries, which have heavily relied upon oil extraction and processing (Székely and Mendoza, 2015).

In Ecuador, inequality has played a central role in the political arena; in fact, a better distribution of the country's wealth has been one of the most ambitious objectives of the country (Senplades, 2013). Whilst it has already been mentioned that the persistent inequality in the region may be attributed to colonial origins (Correa, 2012), others have indicated that another explanation for the inequality in Latin America lies in combination of numerous commodity booms and the absence of the 20th century great egalitarian levelling, which took place almost everywhere else (e.g. Williamson, 2015). Whilst there may be some disagreement with regards to the absolute importance of Latin America's colonial past, it is indisputable that indigenous people suffered and still suffer exclusion and discrimination, due to the establishment of elites and social classes (Salinas de Dosch, 2012).

1.4.1 Inequality and ethnicity

Racism is a well-documented and undeniable fact in Ecuador (Martínez Novo and Torre, 2010). In the country, only few people can be certain of their European descent. These people are called white-mestizo and have become the dominant ethnic group since colonial times (Torre, 1999). This could explain the reason behind the denial of any indigenous background by a large group of the Ecuadorians who in fact have indigenous ancestry, but prefer to be identified as white-mestizos.

Racial and ethnic terms such as white, mestizo and indigenous are social and cultural constructs, which are inextricably linked with privilege and inequality (Torre, 1999). Ethnic origin has become an important aspect for Ecuadorians, in fact, ethnic terms has been used as a form of 'discreditable stigma' (Goffman, 1963). To illustrate this point, it is worth mentioning the findings made by a North American team of anthropologists in the late 1960s, during a study conducted to investigate ethnic relations in the highlands of Ecuador. The findings of the research team can be summarised in the following astonishing statement:

Racism in Ecuador is institutionalised to a degree that would shock many oppressed peoples elsewhere.

(Casagrande, 1981, p. 261)

Walsh (2012) indicates that in Ecuador a fundamental and unresolved problem is the negation of the country's multi-ethnic and pluricultural nature. This negation has been behind the historical marginalization of aboriginal peoples who have been termed as '*indios*' (Indians) and the Africans and their descendants who have been termed as '*negros*' (Blacks). These two terms have a negative and derogative connotation and describe the two groups that have been placed at the lowest levels of society as a consequence of what Quijano (2000), has referred to as the 'coloniality of power'³.

Racial discrimination in Ecuador has been historically carried out by the '*criollos*'⁴ and the mestizos who became the oppressors of indigenous people forcing them to work in large farms that received the name 'haciendas'. The haciendas constituted the main mechanism to exploit and denigrate indigenous people in the rural areas of the Ecuadorian highlands. However, other forms of unpaid labour such as construction and textile industries were also practiced to a lesser degree (Postero and Zamosc, 2006). The hacienda system was a way of production that was also known as '*huasipungo*', a word from the Kichwa language that means 'house door'. '*Huasipungo*' describes a system in which landowners allowed their agricultural workers to use some land in exchange for labour (Glynn, 1984).

In 1934, a novel titled '*Huasipungo*' produced by Ecuadorian writer Jorge Icaza became one of the most important works of social protest against this system. The novel has been translated into over forty languages and it has been associated with the emergence of the '*indigenismo*' movement in Ecuador (Icaza, 1953). The '*indigenismo*' movement emerged in Latin America as an attempt to address questions of oppression and exploitation against indigenous people and it became a strong political force. The '*indigenismo*' ideology has a long history, which began with Bartolomé de las Casas, a Spanish historian, who presented for the first time in the 16th century a defence of indigenous rights and led several fights to end abuse, exploitation, and slavery. Many scholars consider de las Casas the father of '*indigenismo*' thought (Becker and Latin American Studies, 1995). The '*indigenismo*' movement was a form of protest popular during the 1930s and it became very widespread in Peru and Mexico, countries with large indigenous populations. Elite mestizo intellectuals and leaders from left oriented parties led '*indigenismo*' movements in Latin America. However, it

³ A concept connected with racial, political and social discrimination provoked by the European colonialism, which placed race and ethnicity as the basic criteria to classify the population in the power structure in Latin American societies.

⁴ Locally born people with Spanish ancestry.

has been questioned if this elite had a genuine concern about social justice or if they were getting involved for their own benefit (Giraudó and Lewis, 2012).

The *'indigenismo'* movement has been studied by several authors, one of the most prominent was the Ecuadorian scholar Pío Jaramillo Alvarado, who declared that the large number of indigenous people in Ecuador constitutes a serious problem. In fact, the 'indian problem' became a phrase commonly used for the elites to describe what they thought was a negative situation in the country due to the large amount of indigenous people (Lucero et al., 2003). This argument was based on the belief that indigenous people were related to the rural, the uneducated and the poor (Torre, 1999).

To overcome the 'indian problem', the *'indigenismo'* movement proposed that the indigenous people were to be encouraged to accept the introduction of western values and ways of organizing the economy and the society (Graham, 2010). This proposal has been considered a dreadful attempt to work towards assimilation and acculturation, a phenomenon widely recognised as the 'whitening process' (Espinosa Apolo, 2003). It is interesting to note that almost all *'indigenistas'*, not only in Ecuador, but in Latin American countries in general, have been white outsiders. There is one exception in Ecuador, an indigenous scholar named Segundo B. Maiguashca, who studied law and wrote a book in 1949, in which he described the fight against white racism and the struggles suffered by the indigenous people in Ecuador.

Notwithstanding the strong influence of the movement in Latin America, the *'indigenismo'* ideology did not bring any significant improvement to the oppression and exploitation suffered by indigenous people in Ecuador. In practice, *'indigenismo'* became a mechanism of the elites to repress indigenous aspirations to overcome the injustices they experienced (Becker, 2012).

The *'huasipungo'* system was abolished in 1964 after the introduction of the first 'agrarian reform', which was supposed to bring some justice to the indigenous population. However, this reform, together with the second version promulgated in 1973, were more rhetoric than reality and the situation in the rural sector did not experience any important change on the unresolved question of land ownership and concentration of wealth among the very few (Hentschel and Waters, 2002; De Zaldívar, 2008). In fact, the abolition of this system only reinforced the supremacy of the mestizos and proved that *'huasipungo'* had an enduring impact at many different levels, including society, religion and politics (Lyons, 2006).

The mestizo group continued to be the dominant ethnic group. Torre (1999) argues that the mestizo in Latin America is better defined by culture and not by phenotype including colour. Walsh (2010) indicates that in Ecuador the mestizo character has been traditionally exalted favouring whiteness and whitening, and taking the North as its model for development. The strong influence of the United States, especially during the Cold War, could explain why even nowadays, whiteness is highly appreciated and preferred, in particular among mestizo middle class families (Espinosa Apolo, 2003). These mechanisms of racial exclusion had been working in everyday life in Ecuador and constitute one of the numerous reasons behind the rise of the indigenous movement (Jameson, 2011).

According to Martínez Novo (2018), discrimination against indigenous people in Ecuador can be analysed from two different viewpoints: ventriloquism⁵ and public racism⁶. Martínez Novo argues that public racism is being used in modern times to silence indigenous people when ventriloquism fails. Despite the approval of the 2008 constitution, that supposed to bring justice and end discrimination against indigenous people in Ecuador, open racism has become more prominent between 2007 and 2017. This is a consequence of the opposition of the indigenous movement to extractivism. In fact, the BV has been described as a countervailing concept to extractivism (Broad and Fischer-Mackey, 2017).

1.4.2 The indigenous movement

The origin of the indigenous movement could be located between the 1950s and 1960s, as a result of the establishment of peasant federations, which were created to represent ‘indigenous interests’ (Yashar, 2005). In order to obtain the benefits from social governmental programmes, indigenous people needed to adopt two identities: peasants when they wanted to receive benefits from the government and indigenous once they were back in their communities and could continue with their way of living.

However, it has been argued that the roots of the indigenous movement can be traced back to the 1920s when South America experienced the formation of some labour movements looking to improve the conditions of the working class. These movements were influenced by the European immigration, which brought some Marxist and anarchist ideas to Ecuador, popular in Europe at the time (Salinas de Dosch, 2012). Labour movements began to consolidate in South America during the 1930s, as a result of a very turbulent period, which was aggravated by the Great Depression. The US was the principal buyer of Latin American products, and the

⁵ Ventriloquism is being used when non-indigenous people speak for indigenous people.

⁶ Public racism is used when governmental authorities refer to indigenous leaders and their organizations in a derogative way, projecting negative stereotypes.

crisis experienced in this country had a profound impact on the region. The Great Depression affected the volume of trade in Latin America, which declined by about 65% (LaRosa and Mejía, 2014). During this time, labour movements demanded more political representation and indigenous people saw the opportunity to propose a political project to end inequality and discrimination (Van Cott, 2014).

The indigenous movement origin has been also connected to the promulgation of the first Agrarian Reform in 1964. This reform received critical support from two religious facts: adoption of the liberation theology by the Catholic Church and promotion of evangelism. The role of the Catholic Church was instrumental for the consolidation of the indigenous movement in the highlands of Ecuador. This role was very different than the one played during the colonization period, when religion was used to justify oppression and marginalization against indigenous people and benefit the elites (Salinas de Dosch, 2012).

The introduction of liberation theology in Ecuador was decisive for the implementation of numerous changes that had a profound impact on indigenous people. The Catholic Church funded and conducted several projects in the Andean highlands based on the school of thought that the main responsibility of the church is the search for social and economic justice (Smith, 1991). One of the activities carried out by the Catholic Church was the training of young indigenous people who later became leaders of political parties and played key roles during the transition to democracy and the elaboration of the 2008 constitution.

The support of the Catholic Church was not enough to change the hierarchical system of social classification that allocated indigenous people in the lowest levels of society. The elite intellectual mestizos maintained their view of racial whitening as an index of 'progress' (Walsh 2012) and discouraged indigenous people from being part of political life. This position from the mestizo elites is responsible for the historical racist exclusion from political participation and development decision-making that indigenous people have suffered (Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006). Despite this opposition, however, indigenous organizations began to flourish between the 1980s and 1990s (Becker, 2011). During the 1990s, encouraged by the lack of support from the government, ethnic discrimination and the disproportionate amount of attention to the urban sector, the indigenous movement became very active (Salinas de Dosch, 2012).

The indigenous movement in Ecuador demonstrated a great capacity for mobilization and an extraordinary ability to negotiate (Jackson and Warren, 2005). The experience gained during the implementation of development projects, which were funded by the Catholic Church and

by international NGOs, was central for the expansion of the indigenous movement (Brysk, 2000). The work of Monsignor Leonidas Proaño, a Catholic bishop and also an important figure in Ecuadorian liberation theology is also noteworthy. Proaño was a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize and is well-remembered for passionately defending indigenous rights. He worked very hard to bring justice and to end oppression during the 1960s and 1970s (De Zaldívar, 2008). From this period comes most of the new generation of indigenous intellectuals, who later became the leaders of the indigenous movement (Novo, 2013).

The consolidation of the indigenous movement was institutionalized in the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE), formed in 1986 to gather all the indigenous groups from Ecuador and to organize collective actions to demand their rights and oppose neoliberal policies (Salinas de Dosch, 2012). The CONAIE is a unique organization in Latin America because it was able to integrate the two largest highland and lowland confederations at a national level (Lucero, 2008). The CONAIE, with the support of development agencies and NGOs, started to look for alternative ways of applying and understanding rural development (De Zaldívar, 2008).

During the 1980s, it became obvious that land reform was no longer the hegemonic paradigm of integrated rural development (IRD). International NGOs supported the CONAIE in the search of alternative development approaches. This support was highly appreciated by indigenous people and highly criticised by governments (Fisher, 1997). However, looking for a different way of applying and approaching rural development was not the main objective of the CONAIE. In fact, the long-term and more ambitious aspiration of the CONAIE has been the constitutional recognition of a 'plurinational state'.

The plurinational idea finds its roots in the literally plural character of the nation, in this context; plural refers to geographical and ancestral differences between indigenous people and non-indigenous people. This includes:

The relationships with territory and nature, the exercise of authority, and the practices of law, education, health and of life itself.

(Walsh, 2012, p. 105)

The 'plurinational state' and the control over territory represent the main demands of the CONAIE, although, the interpretation of what 'plurinational' and 'territory' mean has changed over time (Jameson, 2011).

The CONAIE had its momentum when in the 1990s it became a powerful force leading street mobilizations that repeatedly pulled down neoliberal governments (Becker, 2010). Over time, CONAIE has shifted its demands from economic concerns to an aspiration of being part of national politics (Kennemore and Weeks, 2011a). The indigenous movement has been debating whether indigenous people should participate in electoral politics; this is how a well-organized political party called '*Pachakutik*⁷' emerged (Becker, 2010). This political party played a key role in the overthrowing of the government at the turn of the millennium, when Ecuador experienced one of the worst economic crises of its history (Beckerman and Solimano, 2002). '*Pachakutik*' caught the attention of political elites through the paralysis of the economy, which occurred every time indigenous people blocked the main roads across the country and mobilised people for uprisings (Lucero, 2008).

In January 2000, the national army and the CONAIE decided to join forces and overthrow President Jamil Mahuad, who was accused of freezing the bank accounts of the Ecuadorian working class in order to protect wealthy bankers. In 2002, new presidential elections took place and '*Pachakutik*' decided to support Lucio Gutiérrez, a former army colonel who played a strategic role in the 2000 coup (Kennemore and Weeks, 2011a). Gutiérrez promised to fight corruption, reduce poverty and include indigenous people in his administration. However, he continued implementing the neoliberal policies that he said he would reverse, and despite some political gains of the CONAIE, Gutiérrez's government was overthrown in 2005 during street demonstrations (Becker, 2010).

In 2006, a new presidential election was held and a highly trained economist candidate named Rafael Correa won the presidency. During Correa's campaign, he promised a new constitution to change the structures of power in the country and abolish the neoliberal policies, in what he has called a 'citizens' revolution' (Becker, 2011). Correa won the election, without having experience in politics; his only involvement was obtained in 2005 when he was named minister of the economy for a short period. When Correa was appointed minister of economy, he implemented policies that were:

Nationalistic and antagonistic to international influences such as the World Bank, the IMF and the major international oil companies.

(Jameson, 2011, p. 68)

⁷ The name comes from the Kiwcha language meaning 'new country'. The official name is Pachakutik Plurinational Unity Movement-New Country.

More than a politician, Correa was an academic influenced by Catholic Church liberation theology; he wanted to gain the political support from CONAIE for his candidacy. However, the CONAIE wanted their own candidate for the presidential elections, and the support that Correa was looking for, was denied, something that, according to Becker (2017a), he never forgave.

Despite the CONAIE's lack of support for Correa's candidacy, the recognition of Ecuador as a 'plurinational state' became reality when the new constitution was approved in September 2008. The new constitution became the first in Latin America to recognise a country as a 'plurinational state'. Moreover, it established the concept of BV as the foundational principle of the new state (Caria and Domínguez, 2016). The introduction of BV into the Ecuadorian constitution was considered an important triumph of the indigenous movements.

However, tensions between the indigenous movement and the new government became evident soon after the approval of the constitution. Debates over mineral and oil extraction provoked a lot of pressure between indigenous movements and the government. In this regard, Humberto Cholango, president of CONAIE denounced the criminalization of social protest when some indigenous activists were charged with terrorism and sabotage during street demonstrations against the government (Becker, 2013).

The already damaged relations between indigenous movements and the government were exacerbated when President Correa decided to cancel the 'Yasuní-ITT Initiative'. This initiative would have prevented the extraction of the oil located underground in the Yasuní National Park, in exchange for monetary compensation from the international community (Rival, 2010). The Yasuní National Park is located in the Amazon region and it contains the Yasuní Man and the Biosphere Reserve in which the Waorani, the Tagaeri and the Taromenane, all Amazonian indigenous groups, live in voluntary isolation (Finer et al., 2009). External contributions were expected to come from multilateral organisations, NGOs, private business and individuals from countries around the world (Vallejo et al., 2015).

Ecuador's proposal included a contribution of at least half of the opportunity cost of the 846 million barrels that the country was prepared to keep underground. The initiative was applauded by many people worldwide and contributed to the recognition of Ecuador as the country with the ecologically most progressive constitution in the world (Lalander and Merimaa, 2018). The initiative also set the basis for a new and innovative mechanism of environmental justice (López Rivera, 2017). However, it has been argued that the idea of 'having oil underground' was not new, since it was already proposed by the 'First Congress of

Amazon Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador' in 1998, almost a decade before Correa proposed the 'Yasuní-ITT Initiative' (Delgado-Ron, 2018).

The project was abandoned on July 2013 due to a lack of interest from the international community. Ecuador's aspiration was to raise at least 3.6 billion USD and put the money in a Trust Fund administered by the United Nations Development Programme for the implementation of social programmes (Vallejo et al., 2015). The decision to withdraw the 'Yasuní-ITT Initiative' generated great opposition in the country, especially among indigenous people, who felt betrayed by Correa.

During Correa's decade in power, persistent tensions and disputes between government and the indigenous movements resulted in the fragmentation of the indigenous movement. For the 2017 elections, indigenous movements were divided into three federations, each one with different political views and organizational processes (Becker, 2017a). The smallest and most conservative federation, the Council of Evangelical Indigenous Peoples and Organizations of Ecuador (FEINE), supported Guillermo Lasso, a conservative candidate. Lasso was a wealthy banker and former finance minister who represented two right-wing political movements. The second federation, the National Confederation of Peasant, Indigenous, and Black Organizations (FENOCIN) backed the progressive candidate Lenín Moreno, who was Correa's former vice president and represented the hope of holding off the return of the political Right in Ecuador. The third, largest and more widespread indigenous organization, the CONAIE, had a more difficult position, since some of its branches supported Lasso, while others backed Moreno.

Moreno won the election with 51% of the vote, in a fiercely disputed presidential race, officially taking office on the 24 May 2017. Despite the narrow triumph, Moreno's election has been described as a breakdown in the continental drift to the conservative right that has been recently experienced in some countries in Latin America (Gerlach, 2017). Although Moreno was the candidate for Correa's political party, '*Alianza País*' (Country Alliance), deep political divisions quickly arose together with several accusations of corruption by high level officials from Correa's administration. The highest-ranking politician that was affected by these accusations was the vice-president Jorge Glass, who was sentenced to six years in jail for receiving bribes from Odebrecht⁸.

⁸ Odebrecht is a very large Brazilian construction company, which has admitted to routinely giving bribes to win government contracts in more than twelve countries, especially in Latin America.

The 2017 general election not only made evident a profound division within the indigenous movement, but also a sharp turn in the expected geographic vote. Lasso received overwhelmingly support from the rural highlands, a region that traditionally voted for progressive candidates, whilst Moreno's strongest vote was from the poor urban periphery in non-indigenous rural areas (Becker, 2017a).

1.4.3 Commodity booms

Ecuador has experienced four main commodity booms since it became independent from Spain. Williamson (2015) argues that one of the reasons for the high levels of inequality that Latin America is experiencing nowadays is the commodity booms. In the case of Ecuador, the first boom started in 1840 when the country began to grow cocoa.

Cocoa was produced in the coastal lands and made the country one of the largest producers in Latin America (Clarence-Smith, 1996). This allowed Ecuador to enter into international trade, but also established that the country's economy as being one based on the production of primary goods, also known as the extractive model (Zibechi, 2013). The dependency on primary goods was not the only problem that appeared with the production of cocoa. At the end of the 19th century, it was estimated that only twenty families owned 70% of land dedicated to the production of cocoa, which led to an oligarchic social structure (Thorp, 1998).

In the 1920s, the cocoa production represented 80% of the exports and the landowners became so wealthy that they decided to settle in Paris. In fact, the city of Vinces, one of the places with the highest cocoa production, was renamed 'little Paris', because everything in that city was brought from Paris to make the rich families feel comfortable when they visited their businesses. Even today in some parts of the coastal lands, when a person puts down others to make themselves feel superior, is called 'the great cocoa' (Correa, 2012). However, this bonanza came to its end when during the 1940s, the price and diseases of cocoa, made this product no longer profitable (Clarence-Smith, 1996). The production and exportation of a new product became imperative.

It was a North American corporation called United Fruit, which between 1940s and 1950s brought the resources to build small villages, and to introduce the machinery and technology to clear cacao trees and slowly start the cultivation of banana plantations (Striffler, 2001). This investment made it possible for Ecuador to quickly become the largest banana producer in the world and this phenomenon constituted the second commodity boom in the country. During the early 1950s, United Fruit attracted a great amount of migrants from the coast and

from the southern highlands looking for job opportunities (Striffler, 2001). This was the beginning of a new way of production in Ecuador, small and middle scale farms where agricultural workers received wages and housing in exchange for their labour (Correa, 2012).

The production of bananas provided employment for many agricultural workers and contributed to the economic growth of the country, which allowed the introduction of a new trade policy in the country: ‘Import Substitution Industrialization’ (ISI). This approach was enthusiastically promoted by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). The aim of the ISI trade and economic policy was to overcome the extractive model and move forward to an industrialization process (Correa, 2012).

However, by the mid-1950s the adoption of this approach seemed to create as many economic problems as it promised to resolve (Isaacs, 2016).

Despite the important contribution of banana production to the economic growth of the country, this crop alone was not enough to overcome the difficult economic situation that Ecuador was experiencing. However, the country witnessed a relief when the discovery and extraction of massive oil reserves in the Ecuadorian Amazon in 1967 led to unprecedented economic growth (Falconí-Benítez, 2001). This period, of economic growth, constituted the third and biggest commodity boom of Ecuador, better known as the ‘oil boom’ and lasted for approximately ten years (Figure 1.5).

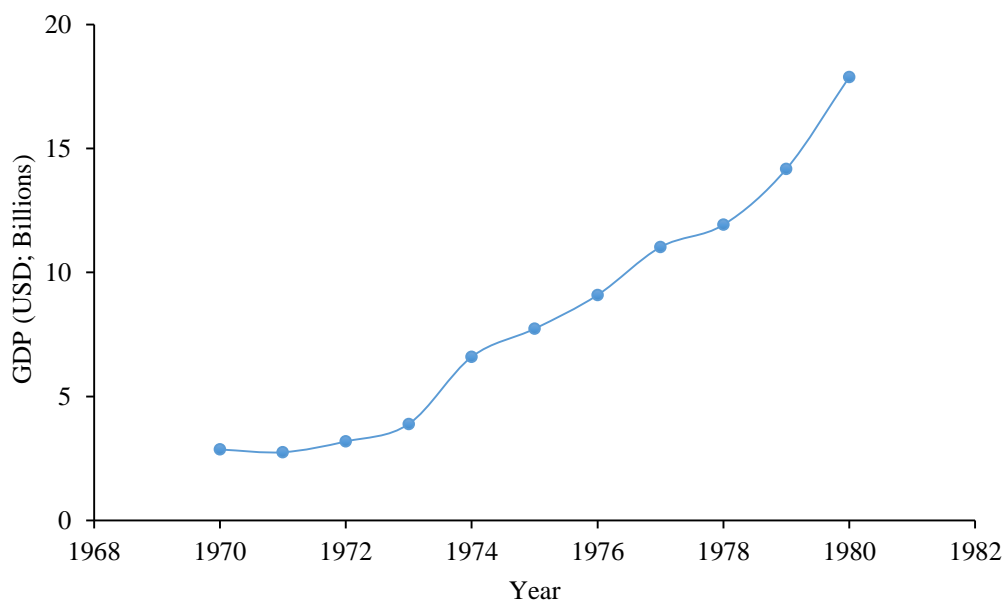


Figure 1.5 GDP from 1970 to 1980 expressed in billions (World Bank, 2015)

Economic indicators were very impressive (Figure 1.5) thanks to the revenue from oil and the advantages that came from the preferential treatment that Ecuador had through membership of the Andean Common Market also known as the ‘Andean Pact’. Extraction of oil not only brought prosperity, but also international bankers who were very keen on lending money, since the extraction of oil constituted a very reliable guaranty (Correa, 2012).

Ecuador and other Latin American countries experienced a dramatic increase in their foreign debt. Military dictatorships spent a huge amount of money to continue implementing the ISI model and establishing well-equipped armies (Falconí-Benítez, 2001). During the republican era of Ecuador and especially during the ‘oil boom’, military intervention and rule had played a central role in the political history of the country (Isaacs, 2016).

Despite the oil revenue allowing great investments across the country, two negative aspects should be pointed out. First, this growth had an undesirable impact on the agricultural and manufacturing sectors, which were affected by the ‘Dutch disease’⁹ (Fardmanesh, 1991). The second negative outcome was the concentration of investments in the urban sector (Waters, 1997). This provoked migration from rural to urban areas, especially Quito and Guayaquil, the largest cities in the country. As a consequence of this migration, the unemployment rate was growing together with the informal sector, also known as the grey economy. To this day, the informal sector constitutes one of the most difficult problems to address, not only in Ecuador, but also in the region (Tokman and Klein, 1996; Friedmann, 2018).

The economic prosperity from the oil revenues ended (Figure 1.6) when oil reserves declined sharply and foreign borrowing reached unmanageable levels. This crisis was aggravated when the country experienced the climate phenomenon ‘el Niño’ and an earthquake in the late 1980s, which destroyed an important section of the oil pipeline causing enormous losses (Correa, 2012).

⁹ The term was originated in the Netherlands during the 1960s, and it refers to the negative impact of a nation’s economy that occurs when one sector of the economy develops (usually a natural resource), which provokes an appreciation of the nation’s currency, making other sectors less competitive.

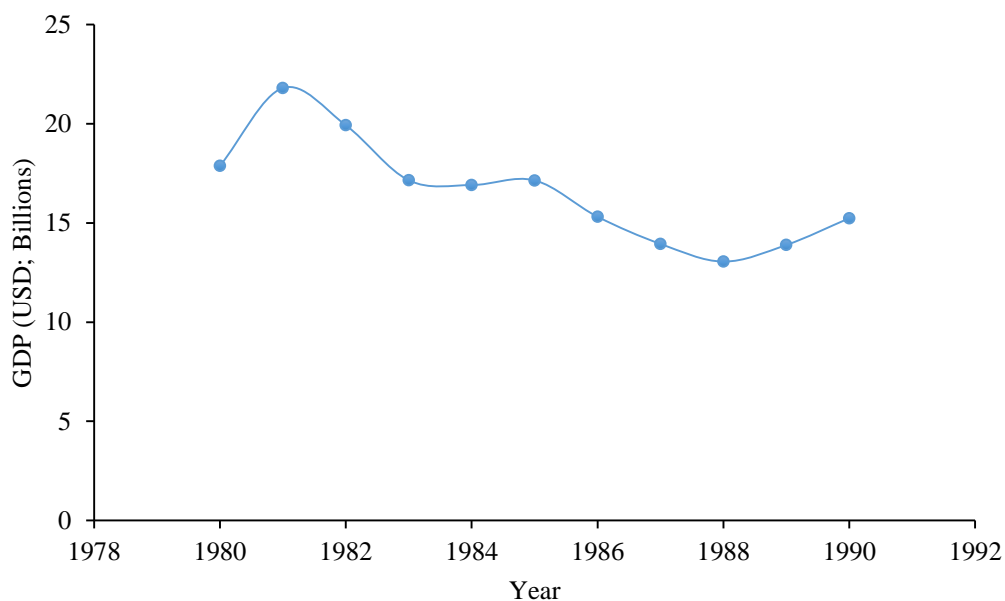


Figure 1.6 GDP from 1980 to 1990 expressed in billions (World Bank, 2015)

During the late 1980s, and despite the negative events that occurred in the country, Ecuador witnessed the fourth and smallest commodity boom, the production of fresh cut flowers for export. Traditionally, the fresh cut flower industry has been located in Europe and North America. However, during the 1960s and 1970s the highlands of Colombia became very attractive and soon developed into the second-largest fresh flower exporter in the world, after the Netherlands (Korovkin, 2003). Nevertheless, along with the tremendous success, the industry also experienced some difficulties, which made the Ecuadorian highlands the objective of flower investors, who saw the opportunity to relocate some of their business in a land that offered very low production costs thanks to the trade liberalization on exports (Sawers, 2005).

In the highlands of Ecuador, land reform had little impact on the distribution of land. Wealthy families decided to divest themselves of marginal land in order to use that land as dairy pastures (Whitaker and Colyer, 1990). This new use of the land forced agricultural workers to move to the low productivity lands on the steep hillsides. The displaced peasants later became employees in the flower industry (Sawers, 2005). In the early 2000s, most flower workers were rural women who were involved in peasant agriculture, household reproductive activities, and migratory domestic service (Korovkin, 2003). Flower companies created jobs in depressed rural areas, especially in the highlands; however, the contribution of the fresh cut flowers in the economy has been important but not significant (4.3%) compared to the oil revenue that the country generates (Figure 1.7).

Most recently, Ecuador has become an important exporter of shrimps and processed fish, which accounted for 13% and 4.7% of the total exports in 2016 respectively (OEC, 2018). Another commodity, which in recent years has once again become an important export product, is cocoa beans; although, this production is far from what the country used to produce at the beginning of the 20th century. Figure 1.7 depicts the main exports of Ecuador in 2016.

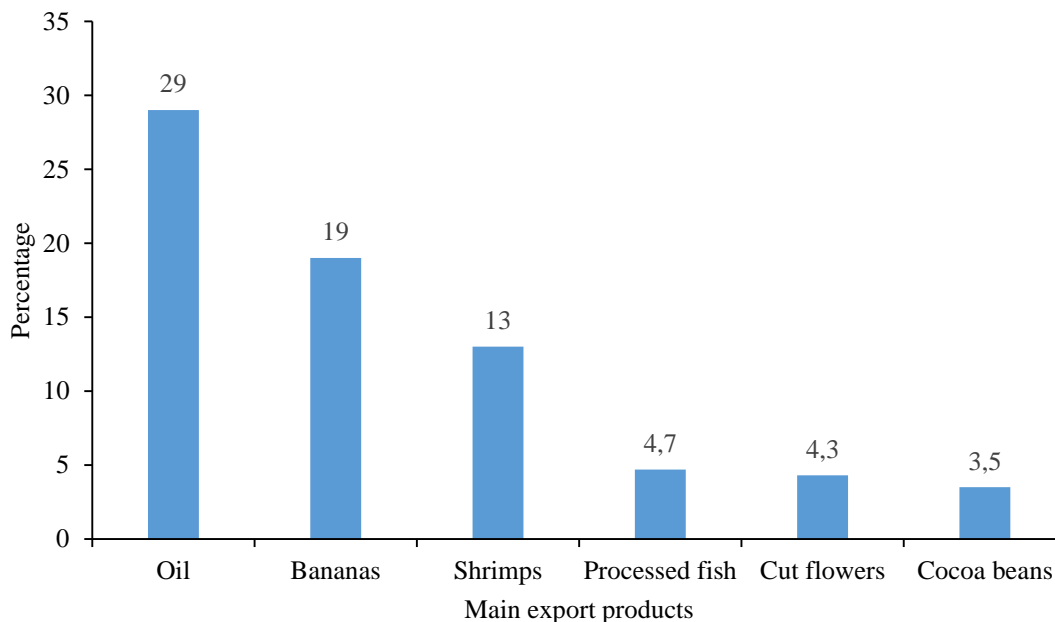


Figure 1.7 Main Exports in 2016 expressed in percentage (OEC, 2018)

1.4.4 Perpetual economic crises

At the beginning of the 1990s, the economic crisis not only affected Ecuador, but the whole region. Economies across Latin America became impossible to control. In fact, in the late 1990s, Ecuador's situation was described in this way:

...the country was plagued by perpetual economic crises, poor representation and political tension.

(Kennemore and Weeks, 2011a, p. 274)

Governments in Latin America were under a lot of pressure to introduce the macroeconomic measurements imposed by the 'Washington Consensus'¹⁰ (Williamson, 1990). The Ecuadorian government was very eager to implement the adjustments dictated by Washington, since the tendency in Latin America has been to please the US government to

¹⁰ The 'Washington Consensus' is a term first used in 1989 by John Williamson to describe the ten economic policies that international institutions based in Washington, such as the World Bank and the IMF considered appropriate to overcome the crisis in Latin America.

maintain its support and cooperation. However, and despite the adoption of the ‘Washington Consensus’, the economic situation did not improve. In fact, what happened in practice was a structural adjustment to implement free market economic policies together with an ideology to reduce the involvement and size of the state (Falconí-Benítez, 2001).

The period in which the ‘Washington Consensus’ policies were implemented has been labelled as ‘the long and sad neoliberal night’ (Correa, 2012). During this time, big cities in Ecuador were receiving more and more people from rural areas, highlands and lowlands who were trying to escape from the misery and poor conditions. This contributed to the rapid growth of the unemployment rate and constitute clear evidence of the failure of land reforms (De Zaldívar, 2008).

The economic crisis at the beginning of the year 2000, forced the Ecuadorian government to adopt the US Dollar as its national currency, a desperate move to restore some stability in the country. The government also intervened in the banking system, which collapsed and affected the savings of the working class in the country. Public savings were frozen, despite the government promising to do the contrary (Beckerman and Solimano, 2002).

The most significant social impact of the economic crisis and dollarization was the large amount of Ecuadorians who left the country to escape from the worst economic crisis that the country has ever experienced. Traditionally, Ecuadorian international migration was focused in the US, but between 1999 and 2000, an estimate of 267,000 people emigrated to different destinations in Europe, especially Spain and Italy (Jokisch and Pribilsky, 2002).

Fajnzylber and López (2008) indicate that the emigration of Ecuadorians had some positive outcomes such as the increase in the amount of remittances. Personal remittances became the second largest income in the country after oil production (Calero et al., 2009). In the year 2000, when Ecuador was experiencing its worst economic crisis, remittances reached their highest level 7.2% of GDP (World Bank, 2018). After the year 2000, remittances have continued to be an important source of income; however, their participation in the economy has decreased in relation to the percentage of the country GDP (Figure 1.8).

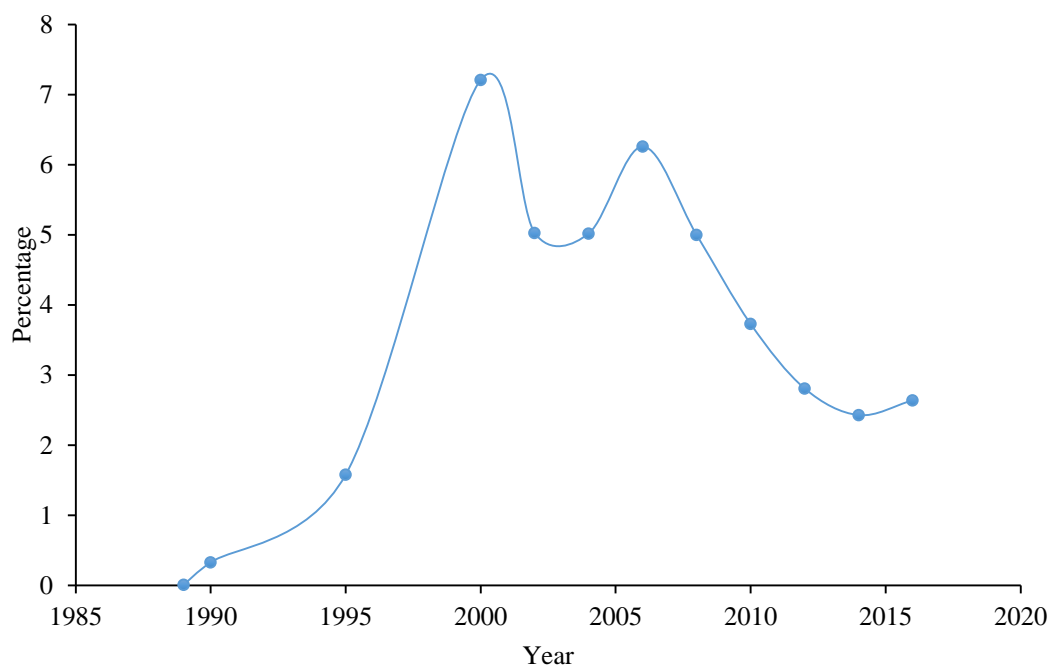


Figure 1.8 Remittances inflows (%) to GDP from 1989 to 2016 (World Bank, 2018)

1.4.5 The end of the economic crisis

The period of political and economic instability ended when in 2006 Rafael Correa won the presidency promising a new constitution and the abolition of neoliberal policies. Correa started his presidency following the principles of the 21st century socialism, implemented in Venezuela and Bolivia as part of the ‘pink tide¹¹’. The 21st century socialism was also implemented in other countries in South America such as Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay.

In order to keep Correa’s promise, an assembly was elected to be in charge of the elaboration of the new constitution and it was led by Alberto Acosta, a progressive economist and a prominent scholar who declared that the assembly would elaborate a constitution more inclusive than the previous 19 written in 177 years of republican history. Acosta also promised that the new constitution would incorporate the concerns of indigenous people, Afro-Ecuadorian, and other minorities that were historically excluded (Becker, 2011).

The new constitution was approved on September 2008 and received the important support of the indigenous population. However, some social movements became concerned that Correa was gaining too much power. Despite these concerns, it is widely accepted that the new

¹¹ Pink tide also known as ‘turn to the Left’ is used to describe a tendency to turn towards left wing governments in Latin America, which was popular in the early 2000s.

constitution of Ecuador paved the way to start the construction of a more egalitarian society. In this regard, Correa declared:

...the old structures are defeated and today Ecuador has decided on a new nation...

Cited in (Becker, 2011, p. 47)

Humberto Cholango, president of Ecuarunari¹² stated:

...it is [the constitution] a victory for the indigenous movement...the triumph of all of the accumulated histories of the indigenous and popular social struggles in Ecuador...

Cited in (Becker, 2011, p.49)

The 2008 Constitution envisaged a radical transformation of the country, thus addressing issues of a more socially and ecologically sustainable development and overcoming the extractive model (Radcliffe, 2012).

1.4.6 Social and economic transformations

Ecuador has experienced important and radical improvements during the last few years. By the end of 1999, the country witnessed its worst economic and financial crisis, when 20% of the population lived in extreme poverty, defined as less than \$1.25 a day, and in 2015 this figure decreased to 5% (ODI, 2015).

Between 2006 and 2016, GDP increased from 46.8 billion to 97.8 billion (Figure 1.9). In the same period, a dramatic reduction in poverty, defined as less than \$4 PPPd, and inequality took place (Figures 1.10 and 1.11). Poverty declined from 37.6% to 22.5% and the Gini coefficient declined from 0.54 to 0.47 (World Bank, 2017).

¹² Ecuarunari is an organization member of the CONAIE founded in 1972 that represents indigenous peoples of Kichwa nationality in the central highland region of Ecuador.

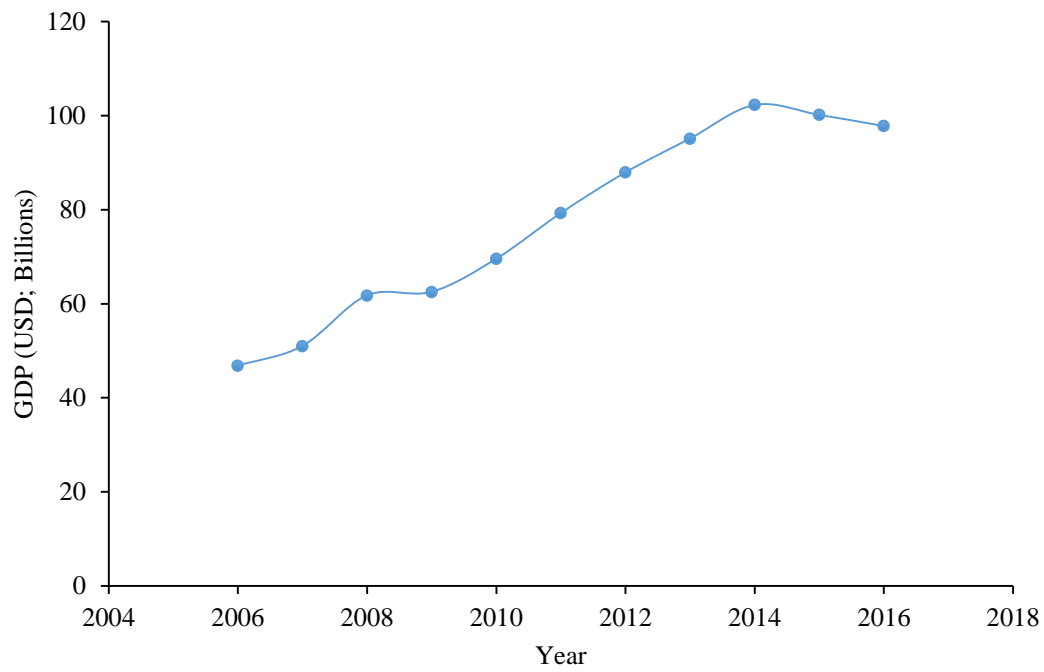


Figure 1.9 GDP from 2006 to 2016 expressed in billions (World Bank, 2017)

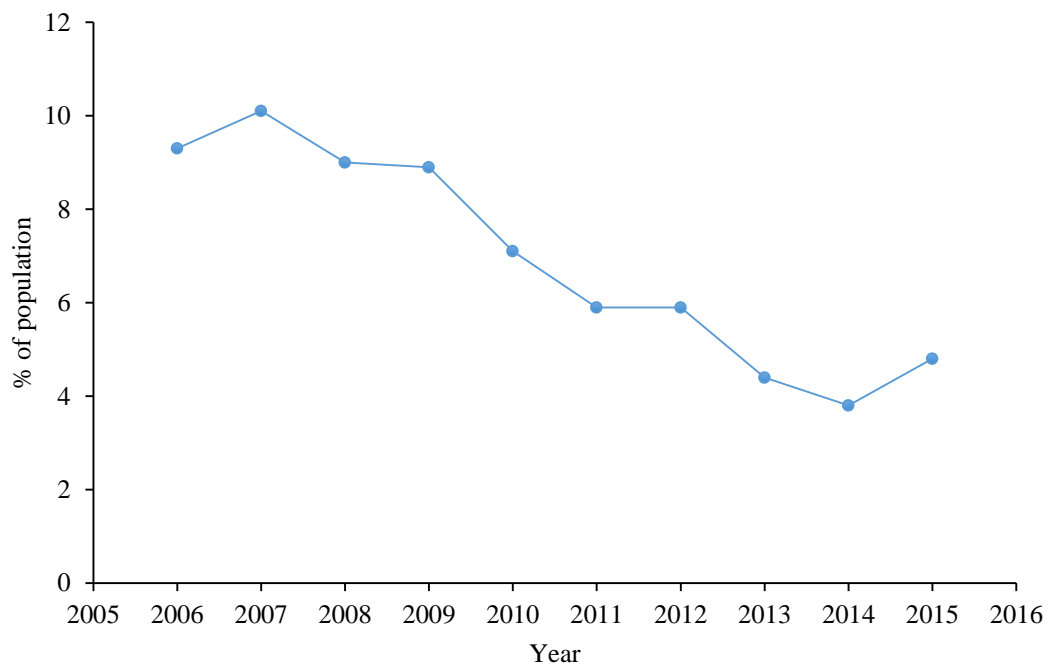


Figure 1.10 Poverty ratio at \$1.90 a day from 2006 to 2016 (World Bank, 2017)

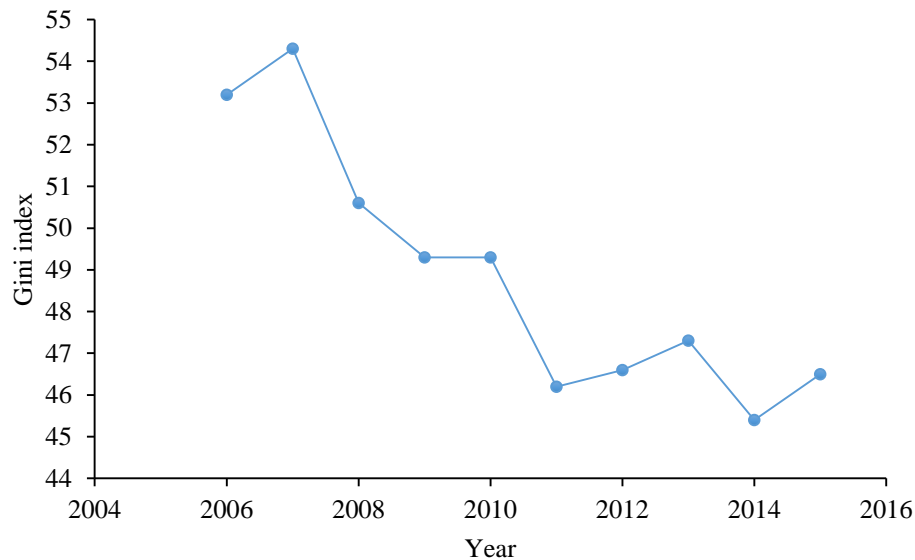


Figure 1.11 Gini index from 2006 to 2016 (World Bank, 2017)

This progress, it has been argued by the most conservative economists, is the result of high oil prices and substantial external financing. However, not only economic factors influenced this success, the introduction of BV and the implementation of the SSE system played a key role in this transformation (Senplades, 2013). When the 2008 Global Financial Crisis hit the world, the Ecuadorian constitution had just been approved and the SSE and BV policies only started to be implemented in the country. In 2008, prices for Ecuadorian oil fell from US100.08 per barrel to US29.9 per barrel at the beginning of 2009. The collapse in oil prices had a tremendous impact on the Ecuadorian revenue and represented an excellent opportunity to test the resilience of SSE and BV policies. Although oil prices experienced a dramatic decrease, they quickly started to recover and in 2012, the price reached its peak at US109.45 (Weisbrot et al., 2017).

In 2015, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) conducted a case study in Ecuador. Researchers acknowledged that Latin America had been experiencing deep transformations in terms of social and economic improvement. However, despite these transformations in the region, “Ecuador stands out” (ODI, 2015, p. 7). The same study indicates that Ecuador’s progress could be explained by the following economic and political factors: stability and economic growth that the high oil prices brought to the country. This economic growth paved the way to changes in the labour market, which benefited the most vulnerable populations, by the generation of employment and an increase in real wages. The last factor pointed out was the introduction of highly redistributive social policies. The latter is not difficult to associate with the implementation of the BV principles.

The extraordinary growth rate of Ecuador, the highest in Latin America according to Becker (2013), was achieved despite the pressures from the international financial and economic crisis, which included constant fluctuations of oil prices and drastic reductions of credit and remittances. When president Correa completed five years in office in January 2012, social indicators were moving in a positive direction, poverty and unemployment rates had decreased, literacy and health were up and the gap between the richest and poorest appeared to be closing (Becker, 2013). This success can be seen in non-income dimensions of wellbeing as well as poverty measured by the multidimensional poverty index¹³ (ODI, 2015).

However, this positive progress came to an end when in 2014 oil prices dropped; causing a profound impact on the Ecuadorian economy that still heavily relied on oil revenues. This situation was aggravated by the devastation provoked by a powerful earthquake in April 2016 on the northwest coast of the country. The government estimated that the damage caused by the earthquake would cost USD 3 billion, which approximately represents 3% of GDP of the country (FocusEconomics, 2016).

Once President Moreno took office in May 2017, he indicated that the country's economic situation was in crisis and proclaimed that Correa had lied to the Ecuadorian people when he said that the economy was recovering. Moreno also indicated that Correa's administration was irresponsible, since he left the country's economy with subdued growth rate and an elevated fiscal deficit. In addition to the fiscal deficit, Correa's administration received a lot criticism for 'selling the country to China'. It is well known that China has a growing influence in Latin America, and Ecuador was not an exception. Since 2008, the country has negotiated with the China Development Bank (CDB) billions of dollars, making China nowadays the largest creditor of Ecuador. In 2011, credits increased to approximately USD 7.2 billion, which represented 11.7% of the country's GDP (Vogt, 2018).

At the beginning of 2018, economic reports indicated that the economy was slowly recovering. In fact, during February 2018, the economic activity expanded for the first time in six months. In order to reduce the fiscal deficit and deal with the enormous amount of money owed by Ecuador to China, President Moreno has introduced a programme of austerity, which includes the reduction of the state and the elimination of taxes in an attempt to attract more private investment (FocusEconomics, 2018).

¹³ In Ecuador the use of the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) is part of the new metrics that the National Office for Statistics has indicated it is using to measure BV, CASTILLO AÑAZCO, R. & JÁCOME PÉREZ, F. 2015. Medición de la Pobreza Multidimensional en Ecuador. *INEC*, 28.

1.5 Plan of the thesis

The thesis is comprised of six chapters, of which the introduction, context and background constitutes the first chapter. The aim of the first chapter was to provide an overview of the study and the context in which the study took place. For this, a description of some social and economic indicators were provided, which portray Ecuador within the region. In addition, demographic and ethnic information has been included together with a comprehensive historical background.

Chapter 2 builds on a broad review of the literature by exploring the current knowledge on SSE, SK and BV. The chapter provides critical examination of what is known about the three approaches and makes comparisons with other related concepts such as wellbeing and development. Chapter 2 also discusses how BV and SK represent two different concepts, despite the widespread interchangeable nature of the concepts when used in the literature and political discourses. In addition, this chapter offers an overview of the macroeconomic policies and institutional changes that took place in the country since the introduction of BV.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology and the methods selected for this investigation. The chapter outlines the hybrid process of inductive and deductive thematic analysis that was selected to achieve the aim and objectives of the study, and the reasons behind this choice. Chapter 3 also elaborates in detail on how each method was applied and how the qualitative and quantitative findings contributed to secure an in-depth understanding of the concepts investigated. Finally, the limitations of the research are acknowledged.

Chapter 4 builds on the case study descriptions and include the research context at the provincial and villages' level. The focus of the chapter is on the quantitative data that were collected from a twenty-question survey. This chapter also offers details of the application of the questionnaire and the advantages and disadvantages of the use of a survey for this type of investigation.

Chapter 5 provides detailed empirical work and novel findings. The chapter focuses on the qualitative analysis of the data collected during face-to-face interviews and focus groups in Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces. The purpose of this chapter is to provide details of the qualitative data collection process during fieldwork and the methods used for the analysis.

Chapter 6 discusses the findings and relate them with the aim and objectives of the study. In addition, chapter 6 triangulates and concludes by summarizing the study and presenting the contribution of the thesis and policy implications.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the concepts investigated in this study will be explored through an exhaustive review of the literature. A critical examination of what is already known about '*Buen Vivir*' (BV), '*Sumak Kawsay*' (SK), and the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) will be described. The emphasis in this chapter is very much on the literature generated after the approval of the 2008 constitution, when the terms BV and SK started to attract interest among scholars around the world. This chapter also examines published information about the theoretical and methodological contributions of wellbeing (WB) and development approaches, which seems to be closely related to the notions of BV and SK. Moreover, the literature provides insights of two positions about the concepts of BV and SK. One widespread and very common position consists of the use of the BV and SK as one concept and the second position, relatively less common, portrays BV and SK as two different views of how to live well.

The literature on SSE has an extensive tradition of research. However, the term has been evolving through the years; hence, it has been described with different names. In this chapter, this evolution over two centuries will be explored, identifying several shifts in orientation and how the SSE has been connected to the Andean concept of reciprocity. Published information demonstrates that the SSE term is a contested concept and it is perceived in different ways depending on the geographic and ideological location. In this regard, SSE activities fall into the category 'neither public, nor private'.

The literature also suggests that the SSE has become the main strategy to achieve BV in Ecuador, since this type of economy is being used to refer to forms of economic activity that focuses on social and environmental objectives, which are basic components of BV and SK paradigms.

2.2 Current knowledge on Buen Vivir

Since the introduction of the BV approach in the Ecuadorian constitution, the BV concept has provoked a lot interest among scholars not only in Ecuador, but internationally. The concept of BV is based on indigenous principles of how to live well and its origin, it has been argued, can be located in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru (Merino, 2016). The term can be roughly translated as 'living well', or 'living well together' although 'good living' and 'collective wellbeing' are also found in the literature. Other names that have been used to describe the

concept are ‘Community wellbeing’ (Pratt and Warner, 2018), ‘*Sumak Kawsay Socialism*’ (Ramírez, 2010b) and ‘*Communitarian Socialism of Vivir Bien*’ (García Linera, 2012). The use of ‘*Buen Vivir*’ as the Spanish translation of ‘*Sumak Kawsay*’ has been object of some controversy, since it has been argued that is not capturing the real meaning of the indigenous concept (Lalander and Cuestas-Caza, 2017).

Some important literature on the study of BV have published using ‘living well’ as the English version of the term, which appeared to be the more accepted and accurate translation of the BV among scholars (Walsh, 2010; Radcliffe, 2012; Gerlach, 2017). However, the majority of authors, that have published on BV, seem to prefer the use of the Spanish version in their English publications (Acosta, 2009; Alonso González and Vázquez, 2015; Caria and Domínguez, 2016; Vanhulst and Beling, 2014; Calisto Friant and Langmore, 2015; Gudynas, 2011b; Merino, 2016; Monni and Pallottino, 2015; Broad and Fischer-Mackey, 2017; Beling et al., 2018).

The genesis of BV has its roots in the SK, a name that comes from the Andean Kichwa language. It is very common to find among the literature BV and SK being used interchangeably as the two terms represent the same concept. This includes the preamble to the Ecuadorian constitution, and some of the most important figures in the study of BV. However, there are several differences between the two approaches that should be considered before one could conclude that the two terms represent the same concept. These differences will be discussed later in this chapter. Although it is undisputable that BV was constructed based on the principles of SK.

It is widely agreed that the BV concept emerged as an alternative to confront traditional development thinking; in fact, it has been related to the 21st century socialism and the ‘pink tide’. The basic model of the 21st century socialism was born as an alternative to free market capitalism (Kennemore and Weeks, 2011a). 21st century socialism became popular in Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela as a consequence of the neoliberal policies dictated by the Washington Consensus. During the 1990s, neoliberal projects provoked rejection among the population, which eventually led to the uprisings of social movements in Latin America. In Ecuador, street demonstrations have been traditionally led by the indigenous movement (Chapter 1) that became very active during the 1990s (Beckerman and Solimano, 2002). Despite the important involvement of the indigenous movement in the political life of Ecuador, especially, in the 1990s, the terms BV and SK, only became popular after the election of Rafael Correa in 2006.

According to Lalander and Cuestas-Caza (2017), the study of BV can be approached from three different angles:

- a) Indigenous-culturalist
- b) Post-development-ecologist
- c) Socialist-statist

The indigenous-culturalist approach is based on the idea of preserving the original Andean indigenous concept of SK (Le Quang and Vercoutère, 2013). The most common and accepted notion of SK is ‘fulfilled life’. Although ‘beautiful life’, ‘life to the fullest’, ‘harmonious life’ and ‘living in harmony with nature’ are also commonly used among indigenous intellectuals (Villalba-Eguiluz and Etxano, 2017). This approach is the preferred option of indigenous people for obvious reasons, who have claimed that BV represents a distortion of SK.

The post-development-ecologist is the view most widespread and accepted among scholars. In this approach, the two terms BV and SK are conceived as the same concept. Although, authors who follow this view, tend to use BV more often than SK. This preference might be explained by the fact that BV represents a critique of the modern Eurocentric, anthropocentric and capitalist societies, which is not evident in SK (Lalander and Cuestas-Caza, 2017). Another explanation for this preference, in the use of BV over SK, is the fact that the former represents a new intercultural political project (Vanhulst, 2015), while SK represents the ancient philosophy in which the new political project is based. The core discourse of the post-development-ecologist approach is based on a biocentrism view of the world, in which nature has to be preserved by humans and indigenous people play a key role in the conservation of biodiversity (Le Quang and Vercoutère, 2013).

The last perspective, socialist-statist, is considered the most disconnected approach of the indigenous concept of SK. Similarly, there is a tendency to use BV over SK, due to ancestral knowledge is considered less relevant or important (Lalander and Cuestas-Caza, 2017). The Ecuadorian government has used this approach in an attempt to institutionalise the Kichwa term in the governmental discourse (Cubillo-Guevara et al., 2016).

The different positions described above, only demonstrate the different views of different people in relation to BV. However, there is a common ground, a critical position of the three approaches in relation to development (Gudynas, 2011b), and the harmony proposed between humans and nature (Calisto Friant and Langmore, 2015).

2.2.1 Sumak Kawsay: Another way to comprehend the world

Perhaps the most simplistic and widely accepted definition of SK lies in the idea of the concept as an Andean understanding of wellbeing (Quijano, 2011). According to Álvarez (2013) there are two ways to understand SK: the simplistic position and the new paradigm position. The former assumes that the concept only represents a return to the past, the adoption of an ancient way of living of indigenous people. The latter implies a social transformation by means of different human welfare, equity and harmony with nature, or as Radcliffe (2012, p. 240) describes it:

...a rights-based articulation of individual capacities and wellbeing, nature and resource distribution.

Acosta (2008) argued that in order to understand the notion of SK it is crucial to have a profound knowledge of indigenous philosophy¹⁴. In the indigenous cosmovision the concept of development is non-existent, the western view of development as a linear process is completely unknown. Similarly, the notion of underdeveloped and developed status cannot be conceived, since poverty is not associated with the lack of material goods nor is wealth associated with the accumulation of goods (Viteri-Gualinga, 2003).

Lalander and Cuestas-Caza (2017) remind us that not even in Sarayaku¹⁵, which is considered the intellectual birthplace of SK in Ecuador, people have reached an agreement in regard of what SK or BV really are. In fact, a scientist who lived in Sarayaku for a number of years during the 1990s, long before SK was introduced in the political agenda, indicated that people from this village have very different and diverse views of what SK means in their lives (Sirén, 2004).

Another important aspect of Andean indigeneity, necessary to explore in more detail the concept of SK, is how indigenous people perceive nature. Houtart (2011) believes that before colonization of Spaniards in the 15th and 16th centuries, indigenous people in Latin America used to live autonomously in a way that most of the basic needs were met while respecting nature. The use of rites and cults was common in order to act in a symbolic way.

Indigenous people knew nature was crucial to make life possible, but they did not know how to control nor understand it. The use of rites and cults helped them to deal with the unknown factors of nature (Houtart, 2011). Houtart also indicates that indigenous people decided to

¹⁴ The word commonly used in most of the literature, especially in Spanish, to refer to the indigenous philosophy is 'cosmovision'.

¹⁵ A village located in the Pastaza province, which is in the southern part of the Amazonian region of Ecuador.

revere nature as a goddess, the '*Pachamama*¹⁶'. The '*Pachamama*' provided all the resources, required for a living, as long as it was not disturbed, this is understood as living in harmony with nature. In fact, the indigenous cosmovision does not separate humanity and nature, any attempt of separation is considered antithetical (De la Cadena, 2010). Harmony with nature is the most obvious and accepted dimension of SK (Caria and Domínguez, 2016).

Luis Macas, a very prominent indigenous politician and intellectual describes SK in this way:

...the word '*sumak*' represents fullness, sublime, excellent, magnificent, beautiful and superior, whilst the word '*kawsay*' is life, which is dynamic in that it is changing all the time. Therefore, SK means living life to the fullest, a magnificent and spiritual life, which is expressed in harmony and equilibrium within the community.

(Macas, 2010, p. 452)

Macas also indicates that the Andean community system is based on the principles of '*ranti-ranti*¹⁷', a collective vision of means of production, where there is not individual ownership, since property is communal.

In Bolivia, a similar approach was introduced in their 2009 constitution, the term is slightly different and it is known as '*Suma Qamaña*' in Aymara language or '*Vivir Bien*¹⁸' in Spanish. However, both concepts shared the same anti-neoliberal agenda to challenge traditional thinking in social development and welfare regimes (Radcliffe, 2012).

A well-known figure in the study of Andean indigeneity in Bolivia is politician David Choquehuanca, who summarized the concept of '*Suma Qamaña*' in 25 postulates, widely accepted in Bolivia. The postulates describe how to live in harmony with nature. Some of the most memorable ideas include: nature is prioritized over humans, respect different points of view, eat well, drink well, work hard, do not lie, do not steal, respect women, listen to the elderly, among others (Choquehuanca, 2010).

The literature does not offer postulates, like in the case of Bolivia, to describe SK. However, a comprehensive number of studies, including master theses, have been produced to describe and explain SK. In this regard, Monica Chuji-Gualinga¹⁹ indicates:

¹⁶ The term has been translated from the Kichwa language as 'earth mother', although 'mother nature' is more commonly used.

¹⁷ Macas translates *ranti-ranti* as reciprocity.

¹⁸ In Ecuador, the accepted Spanish translation of '*Sumak Kawsay*' is '*Buen Vivir*'. In Bolivia, the widespread Spanish translation of '*Suma Qamaña*' is '*Vivir Bien*'.

¹⁹ Indigenous Amazonian-Kichwa leader who participated in the assembly for the development of the 2008 Ecuadorian constitution.

...is the central objective [SK] of indigenous peoples' life plans and it is based on the following principles: equity, solidarity, reciprocity, discipline, respect, acknowledgement of difference, conservation and most importantly recognition of humans as part of the nature and biodiversity, hence we all have the responsibility to look after nature.

(Chuji-Gualinga, 2010)

The difficulty to fully understand the SK can be summarized in the words of two indigenous women who were interviewed in November 2015 in the Andean highlands of Ecuador.

A young indigenous woman from the Tungurahua province indicated:

SK cannot be translated, because there are not the right words to describe it in Spanish.

The second and very memorable statement comes from a middle aged indigenous woman from the Chimborazo province:

SK has been manipulated by the government, I think there is a risk of losing the real meaning of this ideology, and clearly, there is a contradiction on its application, due to the high dependency of the government on oil and mining activities.

2.2.2 Buen Vivir and Sumak Kawsay

It cannot be stressed enough that BV and SK are two different concepts, despite the widespread use of the two terms as one and the disagreement with this distinction by Acosta (2015), who is one of the most important figures in the study of BV. However, and despite this disagreement, there is a great deal of discrepancy between the ethnic, cultural and political interpretations of BV and SK (Lalander and Cuestas-Caza, 2017).

At a glance, BV and SK appear to be very similar, but in actual fact the emphasis is different. This can be concluded based on the fact that BV was eagerly promoted by President Correa, who emerged from a liberal framework (Becker 2011), that emphasises individual rights, whilst SK was promoted by indigenous movements that focus on the importance of ancestral thinking, which is eminently collective (Senplades, 2009).

Bretón (2013) indicates that the postmodern BV is connected with the 21st century socialism and only very few elements of the Andean SK can be identified in BV.

In this regard, Alonso González and Vázquez (2015, p. 317) indicate:

...the term [BV] is difficult to connect with indigenous knowledge, as its use comes from academia –where narcissism, high performance, competitiveness, and concern for reputation in networks of peers has operated for decades thus being a field without need for discipline, as self-control has been self-imposed by individualized and socially segmented subjects.

A consensus if SK and BV represent the same concept or not is very unlikely to be reached, however, it is possible to point out the similarities and differences between the two approaches (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Comparisons between SK and BV concepts

Dimensions	Sumak Kawsay	Buen Vivir
Environmental position	Very concerned about environment and strong and inflexible	Concerned about environment, but flexible and adjustable
Philosophy/political view	Indigenous ancestral thinking	Modern, liberal
Location of origin	Andean region	South America
Time of conception	Ancient time	Late 1990s
Economy	Solidarity Economy, collective action focus on protection of nature	Mixed Economy, private and public, focus on human beings and their needs
Target population	Somewhat more indigenous groups	Somewhat more mestizo groups
Extractive activities	Impossible (contradictory)	Possible (feasible)
Wellbeing	Society is responsible (State)	The individual is responsible
Religion	No influence of religion	Influenced by liberation theology
Development	Development as a term and concept is non-existent	Human and Social Development approach
Sustainable development emphasis	Collective rights	Individual rights

One of the most crucial differences between BV and SK lies in the fact that BV allows extractive activities, whilst SK enacts strict respect to nature which means no oil extraction and no mining activities. Due to these divergent points of view, the tension between government and indigenous movements became obvious soon after the Ecuadorian government promoted an ecological discourse, whilst an extractivist agenda was being implemented.

BV and SK, in theory, represent the same views and position in regard to nature, economy and society. However, in practice this is not the case as table 2.1 shows. Although there are clearly some similarities such as criticism to traditional development approaches, recognition of ancestral knowledge and the importance of nature; there are also some profound differences (Lalander and Cuestas-Caza, 2017).

Bretón (2013) indicates that SK represents the social indigenous project that is based on institutions and way of living from Andean and Amazonian regions and BV represents just another way to understand Aristotelian wellbeing.

Under the principles of BV, the Ecuadorian government increased social spending to reduce poverty and economic inequality, which was applauded by indigenous and social movements. Although, under the same principles, new contracts with transnational corporations for mining and oil exploration were signed, which received strong opposition and criticism from the same social groups. This example reveals profound differences between BV and SK and explains tensions between the government and the social movements.

2.2.3 Buen Vivir as a notion of wellbeing and as an alternative to development

Most of the literature on BV points out that the concept is constantly evolving; hence, a fixed definition is unlikely to be reached. In fact, BV is under continuous debate and reinvention (Calisto Friant and Langmore, 2015). The current knowledge on BV also indicates that two concepts that seem closely related to the term are wellbeing (WB) and development. It appears that there is consensus, among scholars, on the identification of BV as a notion of collective WB and as an alternative or substitute of traditional development approaches (Vanhulst and Beling, 2013; Acosta, 2008; Acosta, 2009; Walsh, 2010; Quijano, 2011; Gudynas, 2011b; Radcliffe, 2012; Caria and Domínguez, 2014; Monni and Pallottino, 2015; Caria and Domínguez, 2016; Broad and Fischer-Mackey, 2017; Chassagne, 2018).

2.2.4 Wellbeing and Buen Vivir

Caria and Domínguez (2016) argue that BV entails both material and spiritual WB. The idea of BV as a notion of collective WB is widely accepted among scholars, which makes it

imperative to analyse the different conceptions of WB in order to find the similarities of WB approaches and the BV concept.

Similarly, there are different positions and definitions of WB. This makes any attempt to define the term a complex and contested task that is likely to provoke some trepidation (White and Blackmore, 2016). The research on WB has a long history and it has been traditionally studied considering two philosophical conceptions of happiness (Waterman, 1993). The first conception is known as *hedonia* and it is based on happiness as the presence of positive affect and the absence of negative affect. The second conception is *eudemonia*, which focuses on living a life in a full and deeply satisfying way (Deci and Ryan, 2008).

The concept of WB has been linked to a wave of dissatisfaction with neoliberalism and an increased belief that economic growth should not be the primary goal of governments (Scott, 2012). In fact, one of the most interesting developments over the last few years has been the introduction of the concept of ‘economics of happiness’ (Clark et al., 2008). WB is often synonymised with happiness, a concept that questions what we consider to be a ‘good’ life, the fulfilled life (Jackson, 2007).

Blanchflower and Oswald (2004) indicate that a concern in understanding the forces behind people’s WB unites different kinds of social scientists. They asked the questions: what makes individuals happy? And what leads to happy societies? These questions were already asked by the Greeks and Aristotle in particular (Jackson, 2007).

For Aristotle the notion of WB was known as ‘*eudaimonia*’, which could be also translated as ‘flourishing’ or ‘doing well’. Similarly, the BV concept has been described as an opportunity to have a flourishing life and to live well (De Zaldívar, 2008). In this regard, BV and *eudaimonia* have very similar views in terms of what constitutes a fulfilled life. In fact, it has been argued that BV is just another way to understand the Aristotelian ‘*eudaimonia*’ (Bretón, 2013; Lalander and Cuestas-Caza, 2017).

According to White and Blackmore (2016) there are four main approaches to WB in international development:

- a) capabilities approach
- b) subjective wellbeing
- c) physiological wellbeing
- d) relational wellbeing

In the next section, the four approaches to wellbeing will be analysed considering the principles and conceptions of BV.

a) The capabilities approach

This approach describes the ability of a person to do valuable acts or reach valuable functionings or states of being as part of living (Sen, 1993). According to Sen, this approach assumes that living is a combination of different doings and beings. It differs from other approaches because it focuses on what a person can do or be. The capabilities approach shifts the attention away from possessions and utility.

Sen (1999) indicates that some functionings can be understood as more valued than others, for example being adequately nourished and being free from preventable diseases may be considered as basic functionings, whilst being a member of a community and having self-respect are more complex and could be seen as more valued functionings.

On the other hand, a person's capability represents the alternative combination of functionings that a person can achieve. In this regard, Nussbaum (2011) reminds us that the capabilities approach can be better understood by asking this simple question: What are people actually able to do and be?

Capability is the freedom to achieve various lifestyles. An example that can illustrate this point is represented by a person who decided to fast due to religious reasons and a person who starves due to lack of resources. The two persons may have the same functionings achievement in terms of eating, but they have a different 'capability set', since the first person can choose to eat and not starve, whilst the second person does not have a choice (Sen, 1999).

Since the introduction of the Human Development Reports published by the UNDP, the capability framework has influenced most of the nations, which have begun to produce their own capabilities-based studies of the WB of their own people (Nussbaum, 2009). The WB achievement of a person can be described as an evaluation of the well-ness of that person's state of being (Sen, 1993).

Radcliffe (2012) indicates that the SK²⁰ paradigm is connected to the capabilities approach. This statement, according to Radcliffe, is supported by article 276 of the Ecuadorian constitution:

²⁰ Radcliffe considers '*Buen Vivir*' as the Spanish version of '*Sumak Kawsay*', hence they represent the same concept.

In the new Constitution, ‘sumak kawsay’ implies more than improving the population’s quality of life, [it also involves] developing their capabilities and potentials, relying upon an economic system that promotes equality through social and territorial redistribution of the benefits of development, guarantees national sovereignty, promotes Latin American integration, and protects and promotes cultural diversity.

(Constitution, 2008)

BV can also be connected to the capabilities approach considering Rawls’s theory of justice. Deneulin (2012) asked: “Has BV made Ecuadorian society less unjust?” In order to answer this question, Deneulin argues that Sen’s capability approach can provide the basis for an evaluation space for a comparative approach to justice. In other words, situation A is more just than situation B if people enjoy more opportunities to be or do.

The capabilities approach has been considered an adequate framework for the understanding of BV (Senplades, 2009). However, it should be noticed that in the Ecuadorian constitution, nature has granted rights, hence it has become a subject of justice. We should draw attention to an important distinction between BV and the idea of justice described by Sen. This idea of justice, according to Holland (2008) is eminently anthropocentric, and this contradicts the view of several scholars, who have conceived BV, as an alternative to traditional development approaches, that goes beyond the traditional anthropocentric models of sustainability and wellbeing (Chassagne, 2018).

b) Subjective wellbeing (SWB)

Scott (2012) indicates that the SWB concept has generated a great deal of debate. This approach focuses on the individual’s own assessment of their WB and it can be viewed from two different standpoints: hedonic and eudaimonic (Sirgy et al., 2006).

Hedonic WB is about happiness (positive affect) and it is usually measured using large-scale surveys that enquire about feelings (affect) or life satisfaction evaluation using a Likert scale questionnaire (Scott, 2012). SWB is the most popular approach to measuring happiness and WB in contemporary public policy (White and Blackmore, 2016). For the purposes of this investigation, a Likert-type-items questionnaire (not large-scale) was elaborated and applied in the two selected areas where fieldwork took place (Chapter 4).

The aim of the questionnaire was to assess how people, from the highlands of Ecuador, experience positive versus negative emotions (a hedonistic attempt). A connection between

hedonic WB and BV is unlikely to be found in the literature. The former focuses on individual happiness, a concept unfamiliar in the Andean indigeneity, whilst the latter represents a way of living that focuses on a collective view of WB (Radcliffe, 2012).

On the other hand, BV and eudaimonic WB have some similarities. As already pointed out, the BV approach represents another view of the eudaimonia concept (Bretón, 2013; Lalander and Cuestas-Caza, 2017). Eudaimonic WB focuses on a fuller conception of WB and it has a more recent trajectory, this approach acknowledges the limitations of single-item measures of happiness and life satisfaction.

Eudaimonic WB tries to answer the questions: how well do people function and how can they achieve their full potential (Huppert et al., 2009). The latter can be easily identified with one of the most common notions of BV: living a fulfilled life.

c) Psychological wellbeing (PWB)

According to Ryan and Deci (2001) PWB is achieved if three psychological needs are met: autonomy, competence and relatedness. Authors who dedicate to investigate PWB, relate this approach with WB in terms of achieving a life well lived and also in terms of functioning and fulfilment. White and Blackmore (2016) indicate that PWB is somewhat connected with the state of being healthy, this connection is more apparent in the World Health Organization's (1946) definition:

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.

Aspects of WB derived from PWB includes assessments of six distinct dimensions of wellness: self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life and personal growth (Ryff, 1989; Ryff and Keyes, 1995). Furthermore, PWB has been studied from two primary conceptions. The first one is concerned with the distinction between positive and negative affect and how happiness is defined as the balance between the two (Bradburn, 1969). The second conception of PWB is based on the belief that life satisfaction represents the key indicator of WB. Life satisfaction is being understood as a complement of happiness, which constitutes the more affective dimension of positive functioning (Andrews and McKennell, 1980).

Considering that BV represents a shift in development practice based on an indigenous notion of WB (Loera-González, 2016), PWB has little to offer for a better understanding of the BV concept. In a similar way like SWB, the focus of PWB is on individuals, whilst BV comes

from a collective view of WB (Walsh, 2010). Moreover, the concept of happiness, that represents a central concern for the PWB approach, is not relevant for the study of BV because the concept of individual happiness is unfamiliar in the Andean indigenous cosmivision (Lang, 2013). However, there is one element from the PWB approach that has common ground with BV and it is connected to the concern of PWB in relation to the meaning of what constitutes a good life (Ryff and Singer, 2013).

d) Relational wellbeing

Relational WB is a relatively new concept and the fourth WB approach in international development. The concept describes a notion of WB socially and culturally constructed, rooted in a particular time and place (Atkinson et al., 2016). Relational WB more broadly relates to the attempt to think through the relations between human WB and the natural world (White, 2017). In this regard, relational WB and BV have a lot in common, since the concept of BV pays more attention to the claims of the natural world and environmental sustainability (Radcliffe, 2012).

Relational WB is probably the most suitable WB approach to describe the concept of BV. Relational WB, as well as BV, challenges the traditional views of WB and both have been described in terms of living well together. In this regard, White and Blackmore (2016, p. 29) summarise the concept of relational WB as follows:

It is the concept [relational wellbeing] that underlies the position of wellbeing or ‘living well together’ as a political alternative to development.

2.2.5 Development and Buen Vivir

According to Merino (2016), the BV approach emerged in Ecuador and Bolivia as an alternative paradigm to mainstream development theory. In the late 1990s and early 2000s a more humanistic development approach focused on the individual and the quality of life became popular. This shift in development thinking, finds ground in the work of Manfred Max-Neef and Amartya Sen and it focuses on the relations between the economic, social and environmental aspects of life, as well as in the needs, capabilities, and potentialities of people (Walsh, 2010).

Gudynas (2011b) describes BV as an alternative to development that focused on the good life in a broad sense. Similarly, Chassagne (2018) defines BV as a possible alternative to traditional views of development that emphasises anthropocentric approaches toward

sustainability and WB. In both cases, BV is viewed as a substitute to development, a concept with many changing views as to its definition (Desai and Potter, 2013).

It is generally agreed that the origin of BV was to confront development or as Gudynas (2011a) pointed out, a reaction and an alternative to traditional development approaches. (Amin, 2011; Tortosa, 2001) argue that the world is experiencing what they call a ‘maldevelopment’; this includes advanced societies which are considered industrialised, but experience a deep ecological crisis of resource overconsumption and biosphere degradation (Beling et al., 2018). The obsession to overcome the underdevelopment status has become a priority of many countries in the Global South, which has provoked that countries prioritise economic growth over environment, and it represents the main reason to accept environmental degradation, since anything is tolerated in order to achieve the developed status (Acosta, 2009).

In the case of Latin America, governments demanded unprecedented sacrifices at great social and environmental cost in order to please the requirements imposed by institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), Inter-American Development Bank and other development agencies, which required creditor countries (underdeveloped) to meet their debt-serving obligations (Max-Neef et al., 1991).

In this scenario, indigenous people and ethnic minorities became the cutting edge actors of critical development work (Escobar, 2011). This made possible the appearance of grass roots development models, such as BV, that could tackle the social and material exclusions provoked by neoliberal and capitalist development (Radcliffe, 2012). Since the 1990s, indigenous people have been searching for the etymology of the words ‘development’ and ‘progress’ in order to find the most accurate translation of the terms into their own native language. This was not a simple translation task, but the search of an understanding of two different worlds’ views in relation to humans and the co-existence with nature (Alcoreza, 2013).

2.2.6 The history of development and the emerge of Buen Vivir

The emergence of development, as a concept, is generally accepted to be located in the post-1945 era when the U.S. and the Soviet Union became superpowers and anti-colonial movements together with decolonisation ideas became more common around the world (Craggs, 2014). However, some scholars locate the origin of development in earlier colonial development projects, when in the late 19th and early 20th century era, a new model of

imperialism in the French, British and Dutch colonies was implemented (Hodge, 2007). The new model was introduced as a policy, which was known as 'trusteeship' and it consisted of:

...civilise others, to strengthen the weak, to give experience to the 'child-like' colonial peoples who required supervision.

(Power, 2004, p. 131)

Acosta (2015) describes development as a phantom that has been sweeping across the world since 20 January 1949, when U.S. President Truman declared in 'Point Four' of his Inaugural Address that a new programme was required for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. Point Four is probably the starting point of the development era and became the beginning of a new way of conceiving international relations (Rist, 1997).

After the Second World War, the so-called neo-classical paradigm became the most common way to think about development. The father of the classical school of thought, Adam Smith, and his book *Wealth of Nations* written in 1776 had a profound impact on the way development was understood. The book was written during the 'Industrial Revolution', a period in which manufacturing was preferred over agriculture since it was believed that it could achieve greater increases in productivity (Binns, 2002). The work of Alfred Marshall also became very influential in development practice during the 1950s and 1960s. His book *Principles of Economics* written in 1890, spelt out the 'neo-classical perspective' in which the maximization of aggregate economic welfare was very much desired (Marshall, 1890). In addition to the economic concepts mentioned above, development theory also considered technological innovation, a very important factor, to raise productivity so the demands for food and raw materials from a growing population could be met (Binns, 2002). In addition, free trade and free market were also introduced as part of the task of maximizing efficiency and economic welfare (Hunt, 1989).

The post-war era also witnessed the appearance of the dualistic structure of underdeveloped economies, which indicates that economies of developing countries were characterized by a 'dichotomous' or 'dualistic' nature. The dualistic structure accepts modern sectors of the economy to coexist with other traditional and backward sectors. The main proponent of this structure was the Indian economist Arthur Lewis, who did not make any distinction between economic growth and development. (Binns, 2002).

Lewis (1954) argued that the economic system is divided into two sectors, the capitalist and the subsistence. The latter consists of small-scale family agriculture with a much lower per

capita output than the capitalist sector. For Lewis the process of development occurs when the capitalist sector increases at the expense of the subsistence sector. The ultimate goal is to create new jobs for the underemployed labour in subsistence agriculture. Lewis's model had a strong influence on development thinking during the 1950s and 1960s; however, it received a lot of criticism for neglecting the role of small-scale agriculture in the development process (Binns, 2002).

The post-war development model was essentially Eurocentric (Nilsen, 2017). Theories and models were based on a western view of how the economy and society should be organized. Countries have been hierarchically classified using a matrix of global power based on a Eurocentric standard (Walsh, 2010). The western position conceived progress as a linear process in which societies have to go through a series of stages. There was a strong belief that the experience from Europe and North America would benefit developing countries. This approach was known as the 'uni-linear' model and was proposed by Rostow (1960).

2.2.7 Buen Vivir alternative development or alternative to development?

The idea of development dominated the second half of the 20th century and it has become the main vector of the modern ideology of progress. The term development sounds self-evidently desirable (Gasper, 2016). However, after implementing countless programmes and projects in the name of development, the search for achieving this elusive goal is far from ending (Acosta, 2009). Moreover, this search in some cases has led to chronic crises in the socio-political, environmental and economic fields (Vanhulst and Beling, 2014). As a consequence the world has witnessed the appearance of a number of alternative development models,²¹ some of the most well-known include: 'Another Development' (Hammarskjöld, 1978), the introduction of the 'Human Scale Development' (Max-Neef et al., 1991), 'De-growth' (Alier, 2009), 'Maldevelopment' (Amin, 2011), the 'Human Development' approach (UNDP, 1990), 'Development as freedom' (Sen, 1999), 'Ethnodevelopment' (Partridge et al., 1996) and one of the most popular views of development, especially after the Brundtland Commission, the 'Sustainable Development' (SD) approach (Fisher, 1993).

On the other hand, post-development scholars have discussed the concept of BV as an alternative to development²² (Calisto Friant and Langmore, 2015). BV became popular after the approval of the Ecuadorian and Bolivian constitutions in 2008 and 2009 respectively;

²¹ Alternative development implies an alternative approach within the mainstream development discourse.

²² Alternative to development suggests a completely new and different approach as suggested by GUDYNAS, E. 2011a. Buen Vivir: Germinando alternativas al desarrollo. *América Latina en movimiento*, 462, 1-20.

however, the concept can be traced back to the 1990s when social movements and indigenous people used the term as reaction to modern development approaches (Gudynas, 2011a).

In this regard, Monni and Pallottino (2015, p. 185) indicate:

The 'buen vivir' has brought a wave of freshness to the debate on alternative development, a debate that has been renewed in connection with the international crisis of recent years...

According to Vanhulst and Beling (2013), BV represents one particular way of appropriation and reformulation of the Sustainable Development (SD) discourse in Latin America. The central message of the SD discourse is described in the 1987 UN report, *Our Common Future*, as:

...development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

(Brundtland et al., 1987, p. 16)

The SD has been described as an alternative development model, in which environmental considerations were brought to the traditional development discourse, whilst BV has been conceived as an alternative to development that emerged as a reaction to the failure of traditional development interventions. (Chassagne, 2018). The SD has been defined by the three pillars of sustainability: economic, social and environmental (Wilson, 2015). Similarly, BV has been defined by three pillars: social, spiritual and material (Rist et al., 2010). The economic pillar of the SD is focused on growth, whilst the BV material pillar has a more holistic view of the economic activity, and the spiritual pillar rather than refers to religion, denotes transcendence (Chassagne, 2018).

The apparently obvious differences between SD and BV became unclear when the Ecuadorian constitution included a 'Development regime' section (Title VI), which somewhat overlaps the BV, causing porosity between the two concepts. The term 'sustainability' can be found in the constitution in a number of occasions, which indicates that the development concept was still relevant in the political jargon of the constitution (Vanhulst and Beling, 2014).

A similar situation can be observed on the National Plan for Buen Vivir 2009-2013 in which the word development was replaced by BV on the title of the document, but the development concept is still being used, sometimes as a synonym of BV, which the document defines as:

...the search for alternative ways of life that has been driven particularly by the social actors of Latin America over the last decades, demanding vindication against the neoliberal economic model.

(Senplades, 2009, p. 10)

In the National Plan for BV 2013-2017, the introduction of '*Socialism of Buen Vivir*' (SBV) captures the attention of the reader, and it describes the position of the political party of the former President Rafael Correa (*Alianza País*) in this way:

...articulates [SBV] the struggle for social justice, equality and the abolition of privileges, with the construction of a society that respects diversity and nature. In such a society, we can build our skills and live in dignity and freely. The goal of the Socialism of Buen Vivir is to defend and strengthen society, work, and life in all its forms.

(Senplades, 2013, p. 16)

According to Caria and Domínguez (2016, p. 23) the political orientation in Ecuador has been guided by traditional views of development, rather than principles of BV. They argue:

...the concept of development has been excluded from the official discourse about buen vivir but reappears as a symptom at every step of policy planning and implementation.

The so-called 'best practices' promoted by the Global North and the mainstream discourse of development somewhat have interfered with the application of BV. BV does not seem to be a pragmatic concept; but rather a philosophy that promotes an alternative worldview to confront the dominant Eurocentric development practices (Vanhulst and Beling, 2014).

In the brand new version of the plan, the most striking change can be seen on the title, in which the term '*Buen Vivir*' has been replaced by 'Development' and the concept of SBV has been removed. The 'National Plan for Development 2017-2021' continues to mention the BV concept; however, its use is more limited and in many cases has been replaced by development. The new version of the plan emphasises individual rights and harmony with nature, but within the SD framework:

The 2008 Montecristi constitution represents the basis of the kind of society that we want to achieve. A society orientated to a new regime of development, which promotes inclusion, equality, and solidarity. A new model that enables sustainable development in the country in the long term, in which humans and nature live in harmony.

(Senplades, 2017, p. 19)

The latest version of the national plan for development not only replaced BV for development, it also indicated that the plan is articulated with the 2030 agenda for the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (Senplades, 2017). The idea to relate BV with development is not new. In fact, indigenous social movements were recognized, long before the 2008 constitution, as important development actors, especially during the 1990s. Laurie et al. (2005) argued that the role of indigenous movements in the protest against neoliberal policies and their proposals to overcome neoliberalism, represent the basis of the institutionalisation of the ethnodevelopment in Ecuador.

In this regard, Monni and Pallottino (2015, p. 185) indicate that the BV concept can be understood as:

A blend of rather diverse elements such as a concept of ethnodevelopment arising from the experience of indigenous peoples, the idea of a plurinational state, a relational understanding of the ways different societies enter into a process of transformation, a form of humanistic socialism, an idea of multiculturalism and a concept of local development.

Acosta (2008) reminds us that the concept of development is non-existent in the Andean indigenous cosmovision. However, some important figures on the study of BV, describe the BV concept in terms of a new regimen of development (Walsh, 2010), a post-neoliberalism development approach (Radcliffe, 2012), a new ideology for development (Caria and Domínguez, 2016) and the ambiguous equalization between the concepts of BV and development suggested by Vanhulst and Beling (2014).

On the other hand, Gudynas, (2011a; 2011b; 2013) indicated that the traditional western idea of development has been declared dead on a number of occasions, but it persists in a state that he describes as a 'zombie category'. Gudynas also argued that BV is not an alternative development, but an alternative to development that emerged from two main entry points: criticism to the western view of development and indigenous traditions.

Acosta (2015), one of the most knowledgeable scholars in the study of BV in Ecuador, agrees with the position of BV as an alternative to development. Acosta indicates that after decades and huge amount of money invested to achieve development, countries that are considered underdeveloped are still struggling to emulate developed countries.

Beling et al. (2018) indicate that the notion of development has virtually never been questioned since its appearance on the political jargon in 1949 during the Truman speech. The different alternatives that have been proposed during the last few years only resulted in variations of the same concept, these include Rostow's 'stages of economic growth'²³, Dependency Theory²⁴, Endogenous Development²⁵, and more recently SD.

A consensus among scholars and politicians on whether BV represent an alternative development or an alternative to development is unlikely to be reached. Vanhulst and Beling (2014) indicate that BV can be understood as a dialogical alternative to the SD discourse, since both approaches offer some responses to the social, environmental and economic challenges that the world is experiencing nowadays. Merino (2016) argues that BV has been used by scholars and social movements to acknowledge the limitations of development theory and offers new political ways based on non-western principles.

According to Chassagne (2018) there are two fundamental differences between BV and SD. BV represents an endogenous discourse, which has originated from the bottom-up, whilst SD represents a universal discourse, which is top-down in nature. In addition, BV promotes a way of living in harmony with nature, while SD puts human needs above nature. Chapter 6 will explore in more details the similarities and differences between BV and other development approaches.

2.3 Current knowledge on Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE)

The term SSE became popular after the Global Financial Crisis in 2008 when criticisms of the development discourse and an increased concern about climate change were the mainstream of that time. The SSE has been labelled as an umbrella term, since it has been used to describe all kinds of economic activities in which social and environmental objectives are more important than profit (Utting, 2015). The SSE emerges as an alternative to economic growth.

²³ A model developed in 1960 by Walt Whitman Rostow, a North American economist who proposed five stages for economic growth: traditional society, transitional society, take-off, drive to technological maturity and high mass consumption.

²⁴ The theory was also popular during the 1960s and indicates that increases in the wealth of developed countries appeared to be at the expense of underdeveloped countries.

²⁵ It is a territorial view of development in which growth and capital accumulation depend on the culture and institutions of a particular territory.

Economic growth is not compatible with environmental sustainability (Alier, 2009). The SSE also challenges the assumption that the production of goods and services will automatically improve living conditions and that economic growth leads to a better and happier life (Bauhardt, 2014). SSE is part of the wave of dissatisfaction with traditional development approaches, which come from scholars and practitioners who also have recognized the need to rethink development. Traditional approaches have not prevented financial and food crises, climate change, poverty and increasing levels of inequality (UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Social and Solidarity Economy, 2014).

2.3.1 Origin and evolution of the SSE

It is widely accepted that SSE represents an alternative to traditional economic models that are based on capitalism and have failed to tackle inequality, unsustainable resource depletion and climate change (Scott Cato and North, 2017). According to Utting (2015), the SSE became popular after the Global Financial Crisis in 2008. However, while the term SSE appears to be relatively new, the term ‘social economy’ is not, in fact it emerged around 1900. Moreover, the practices linked with the concept of social economy can be traced back to the 18th century (McMurtry, 2013). The International Labour Office (ILO) has claimed that the first ILO official document, in which the term ‘social economy’ was mentioned, dates back to January 1922 (Fonteneau et al., 2010).

Laville (2015) argues that in the last two centuries several changes in relations between state, market and society occurred, which could explain the rise and fall of different forms of SSE. The evolution of the democratic solidarity, during the 19th and 20th centuries, represents the starting point for understanding the origin of SSE. Democratic solidarity has experienced different shifts in orientation including:

...early forms of associative democracy, the ‘welfare state’, social economy centred on non-profits, cooperatives and the solidarity economy.

(Laville, 2015, p. 41)

Solidarity as a modern invention could be traced back to the 19th century, in an era when Europe experienced several revolutions. Hobsbawm (2010) indicates that during the first part of the 19th century, solidarity was expressed in the form of people organizing themselves collectively in associations to gain some respect and demand their rights, in a time when workers suffered exploitation and poor treatment.

At this point, a distinction between modern solidarity and the solidarity practiced in the Andean region should be made. One of the most important traditions from indigenous people, that has persisted, despite the colonization from Spain, is the ‘Andean reciprocity’ also known as *‘ranti-ranti’* (Macas, 2010). This tradition dates back to the Incas and represents an indigenous version of solidarity.

During collection of data for this study, one of the most common ways that people described reciprocity was with a very popular saying: *‘hoy por ti mañana por mi²⁶’*, which summarizes the concept of reciprocity in a way that captures its essence.

Indigenous people have practiced what is known as an ‘emergency solidarity’, a term described by Cantero (2012) as stay together only when necessary. This form of collective action is well known as the *‘minga’*, a collaborative work system very common among peasant societies and it has been practiced when people in rural areas need to get one particular work done. According to Kowii (2009) the *‘minga’* is a mechanism for collective action that promotes savings, stimulates work and enhance production. It has been traditionally used for activities that concern the whole community, the construction and/or maintenance of a water system is the typical example. However, sometimes if an individual or a family in the community is in distress and needs assistance, a *‘minga’* can be organized to provide support.

The concept of Andean reciprocity has a long history and it has been practiced in rural areas almost without any alteration. On the other hand, the concept of modern reciprocity experienced some modifications. During the second half of the 19th century, another definition of reciprocity became popular. This new definition was based on a principle of democratisation that emerged as a result of collective action (Laville, 2015). The new notion of solidarity provoked a shift in the vocabulary used to describe equality, and it was replaced by that of benevolence and paternalism.

In Latin America, benevolence and paternalism ideas arrived slightly later, possibly in the second half of the 20th century. This phenomenon has been the object of criticism due to its negative impact on indigenous communities (Petras, 1997). International NGOs and governments in Latin America used a paternalistic approach to promote their own agendas. In the case of NGOs, the objective was to attract people for the implementation of their projects

²⁶ This is a very popular saying that is being used in the Andean region, which could be translated as: ‘you scratch my back and I will scratch yours’.

and in the case of governments, to justify the social expenditure required to promote political agendas, which aimed to portray a benevolent image.

Benevolence and paternalism philosophy set the basis for the appearance of the philanthropic solidarity, a concept that refers to a society, in which people help each other on voluntary basis, motivated by altruism. Philanthropic solidarity shifted the attention from the struggle to achieve equality to the struggle to eliminate poverty, which in turn made solidarity a private matter and an individual responsibility (Laville, 2015). However, by the end of the 19th century, it became obvious that inequality could not be endorsed as the responsibility of the individual, hence states needed to play a more active role in the provision of social and economic wellbeing (Prychitko, 1990).

The 'welfare state' promoted a different view of democratic solidarity, based on a holistic vision of society that goes beyond individuals. The state promulgated its policies based on principles of equality, equitable distribution of the wealth and public responsibility to attend vulnerable populations that were unable to meet their basic needs (Barry, 1990). The state promoted the control of the market by public authorities, making it possible to extend the market economy to the historically excluded groups (Laville, 2015). These groups acquired clear awareness of their social rights, and workers experienced for the first time the social protection that guard them against specific risks (Estevez-Abe et al., 2001).

After the Second World War, the European development model was based on a synergy between the market and the state, which promoted the establishment of various forms of associative activity. Based on principles of Keynesian economics²⁷, public investment produced changes in labour market policies, especially wages, which in turn generated a shift in income distribution (Prychitko, 1990). The state supported the market, but also intervened to correct its inequalities, which created a synergy between the state and the market, expressed in the form of new institutions (Laville, 2015).

However, the synergy between the state and the market was cut short during the 1970s when some attempts of self-management and the rise of social movements disturbed the relationship between state and market. In addition, environmental and feminist protests against the high cost of progress were propagated and calls for a better quality of life became widespread (Martinussen, 2004). The development model together with the idea of progress were

²⁷ Keynesian economics are a group of macroeconomic theories developed by John Maynard Keynes, who proposed an active role of governments on the market economy, especially the private sector and during recessions. KEYNES, J. M. 1936. *General theory of employment, interest and money*, Palgrave Macmillan.

seriously questioned by political activism and social innovation. A demand for alternative ways of organising production and exchange became widespread across Europe, which promoted the proliferation of NGOs also known as the non-profit sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1997).

The idea of the non-profit sector became more popular when the solutions proposed by the state and the market were deemed inadequate (Evers and Laville, 2004). The non-profit organisations (NPOs) only played a limited role in the production of services, social integration and democratic participation. The activities of NPOs and NGOs promoted some forms of social innovations that led to some changes in production, consumption and ways of life, which include:

Fair trade, solidarity tourism, organic agriculture, ethical consumption, short supply chains, renewable energies, recycling and waste valorisation, heritage preservation, microfinance and social currencies, for example.

(Laville, 2015, p. 46)

These social innovations were nested on the basis of democratic solidarity. There was an increasing concern with the potential threats to human and social capital considering that the gap between the rich and the poor were increasing, and some services such as care, education and health were no longer considered public or common goods (Ostrom, 2015).

The social innovations described above were categorised in Europe and South America as ‘solidarity economy’, which shares commonalities with the social economy but from a more political perspective, this is to say that social economy activities contribute to democratise the economy through citizens’ participation (Laville, 2015).

2.3.2 The social economy

The term social economy has been used in Europe to describe organizations that the non-profit sector has excluded. This type of organizations includes cooperatives and mutual societies, which cannot be considered part of the non-profit sector because these organizations can distribute part of their profits to their members (Salamon and Anheier, 1997). However, when this distribution occurs, it is usually very limited, since cooperatives and mutual societies are conceived as associations, in which the return of the capital invested and the generation of profit are not the main objective (Laville, 2015).

One widespread and accepted definition of social economy was proposed by Defourny (1999) states that the social economy includes all economic activities conducted by enterprises, especially cooperatives, associations and mutual benefit societies. These enterprises focus on service to members or the community over profit. According to Defourny and Develtere (2009), any economic activity that has a social dimension, and any social activity that has an economic dimension, could be considered part of the social economy. This definition creates some ambiguity in the analysis of the social economy; however, Laville (2015) indicates that the reference point for the whole of the social economy is the cooperative model, whilst the associative model can be considered part of the social economy only under the form of entrepreneurial associations.

The social economy has been wrongly labelled as the economy of the poor or for the poor and other vulnerable categories such as women, disabled people, low-skilled workers, migrants or young workers (Fonteneau et al., 2010). However, this perception is not entirely incorrect, considering that the social economy is sometimes the only accessible way for some people to get involved in economic activities. In this regard, Millstone (2013) reminds us that in rural areas cooperation is usually the only alternative available for people who cannot access the formal financial system. The way these social economy organisations operate are usually described as being based on solidarity principles. For this reason, the term ‘solidarity economy’ is sometimes preferred for some authors (Fonteneau et al., 2010).

2.3.3 The solidarity economy

The concept of solidarity economy is grounded on the basis that the economy should serve human beings, rather than human beings serve the economy. Dacheux and Goujon (2011) define the solidarity economy as a humanistic economy, which is committed to reconcile money and value. The basic model of the solidarity economy describes a world in which all individuals have the right to access whatever is required to enjoy a good life (Bauhardt, 2014).

According to Laville (2015), the scope of the social economy leaves room for the broader question of its insertion into both the economy and democracy. Laville argues that solidarity economy is the result of questioning the economy and democracy. This view has become very popular in France, Latin America and Québec (Canada), where the concept is being used to emphasise the core function of solidarity as opposed to the traditional view of market economy (Fonteneau et al., 2010).

Laville (2015) indicates that the solidarity economy combines the principles of economic behaviour: market, redistribution and reciprocity proposed by Polanyi (1944), in a way that

resources from those three principles protect the solidarity economy against institutional isomorphism²⁸. On the other hand, Utting et al. (2014) argue that the combination of the four, not three, principles of economic behaviour proposed by Polanyi (market, redistribution, reciprocity and house holding) make up the ‘plural economy’. The market principle allows the supply and demand for goods and services to meet and the redistribution principle allows the distribution of production by delegating a central authority and the reciprocity principle indicates that groups or individuals can be related if they demonstrate a social link among the stakeholders (Laville, 2015).

Above all, the solidarity economy is about initiatives that are innovative, more participatory and smaller. These kind of initiatives usually respond to specific social problems, such as childcare, environmental concerns and sustainable agriculture (Fonteneau et al., 2010). One very important characteristic of the solidarity economy, Laville et al. (2007) remind us, is that the activities within this type of economy rely on mixed resources: monetary and non-monetary, market based and non-market based, paid jobs and volunteering.

2.3.4 The social and solidarity economy

It would be reasonable to say that the SSE combines aspects of the social economy and the solidarity economy. However, this is not quite the case, since the origin and the definition of the SSE are still the object of debate and contestation (McMurtry, 2013). Social economy, solidarity economy, popular economy, plural economy, and non-profit organizations (also known as the third sector) are related concepts. These terms have been used depending on geographical and theoretical backgrounds (Fonteneau et al., 2010; Utting et al., 2014). In the case of Latin America, the SSE concept can be traced back to the cooperative movement and the various experiments in workers’ self-management. Although more recently, SSE has been labelled as an alternative to capitalist development (Veltmeyer, 2018).

Bateman (2015, p. 150) defines the SSE in this way:

...an economic model that is stable, equitable, dignified, environmentally sustainable and democratic or participative.

The activities related to this sector are seen as ‘neither public, nor private’, a problematic definition that can be explained by two core and fundamentally liberal principles: first, an

²⁸ A process, which organizations become more alike or similar. This occurs when organizations emerge as a field and rational actors make their organizations more similar as they try to change them. DIMAGGIO, P. J. & POWELL, W. W. 2000. The iron cage revisited institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *Economics Meets Sociology in Strategic Management*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

antipathy of the SSE to direct state control of its processes; second an antipathy to profit as the main objective of economic activities (Fonteneau et al., 2010).

The term SSE is used to refer to organizations and enterprises that dedicate to production and exchange of goods and services, which are independent from the state and are oriented to prioritize social wellbeing, cooperation and solidarity (Utting et al., 2014). The proliferation of economic activities that search for a more social and environmentally friendly agenda is more commonly seen, at least in Latin America, among peasants and indigenous people that are organized collectively in rural areas (Barkin, 2017). It is in the Latin American region that the term ‘popular economy’ has become prevalent. The concept suggests an economy developed by the popular class²⁹ (Fonteneau et al., 2010). The popular economy has been used to describe the so-called informal sector also known as the informal economy and sometimes referred as the grey economy (Friedmann, 2018).

Nyssens (1997) established a parallel between the popular economy and the social economy the former, according to Nyssens, is most common in the South, while the latter is more common in the North, but both terms essentially describe the same concept. In the case of Ecuador the term used to describe the SSE is ‘Popular and Solidarity Economy’ (PSE). This term, according to governmental authorities, emphasises the importance of the informal economy, which in many countries in Latin America accounts for half of the GDP (Martínez Franzoni and Sánchez-Ancochea, 2014). In the year 2013, the popular economy generated in Ecuador 60% of the employment nationwide and accounted for 13% of the GDP and 5% of public purchases (Vinueza, 2013).

The popular economy organizations usually rely only on their non-monetary resources such as labour force and organisational capacity, since the access to formal financial services is very limited or non-existent to the people involved in this kind of economic activity (Fonteneau et al., 2010). The popular economy is also correlated with democracy, both concepts are intrinsically linked, since the relationship between those two implies a socialization of wealth and a socialization of power, in other words, the popular economy is about democratising the economy (Stratta and Mazzeo, 2016).

As a contested concept there is not a fixed terminology for the SSE, in fact it is known with different names. The evolution of the term since 1900 makes it difficult to reach a consensus among scholars and governments about the more appropriate name that should be used to

²⁹ Popular class refers to people with low income, who have no access to the labour market, maybe colloquially described as living ‘hand to mouth’.

describe this type of economy. Some authors refer to SSE as social economy, while others prefer to use the term popular and solidarity economy. However, all of these terms refer somewhat to the same concept (Coraggio, 2015). These terms have some specific geographic origins and/or other theoretical backgrounds, but represent the same principles, although they can differ in organizational forms and approaches (Fonteneau et al., 2010).

Table 2.2 elaborates upon the three most common related concepts of SSE, as an attempt to bring some clarity to the discussion.

Table 2.2 Comparison among social, solidarity and popular economy concepts

	Social Economy	Solidarity Economy	Popular Economy
Purpose	To confront industrial capitalism	To confront industrial capitalism	To include the popular class, the most vulnerable and excluded people
Aim	Service to members over profit and capital	Primacy of people and work over capital, reciprocity and redistribution of profits	Solve day-to day problems with practical solutions
Location	France and Québec	France, Québec and Latin America	Latin America
Size of enterprises	Relative large initiatives	Smaller initiatives	Very small initiatives
Scope	Cooperatives, mutualists and associations	Other solidarity mechanisms, associations and community-based organizations	Small associations, community-based organizations and individuals
Networks	Regional and local	Local	Very local
Environment	Sustainable development	Sustainable development	Environmentally friendly
Resources	Mainly monetary and market-based	Monetary and non-monetary, market and non-market based	Mainly non-monetary and non-market based

The Ecuadorian constitution provides formal recognition to the different ways the economy is organised in the country. Article 283 indicates:

The economic system is social and solidarity-based, and is composed of public, private, mixed, popular and solidarity-based forms of economic organization, as well as any others that the constitution designates. The popular and solidarity economy shall be regulated by legislation and shall include the cooperative, associative, and community sectors.

The constitution is not just giving formal recognition to the SSE, but also provides the framework to understand the different alternatives to organize economic production. Accepted forms of enterprise include public, private, mixed, family, domestic, autonomous, community, associative and cooperative entities. The latter six constitute the popular economy and the last three the popular and solidarity economy (Coraggio, 2015).

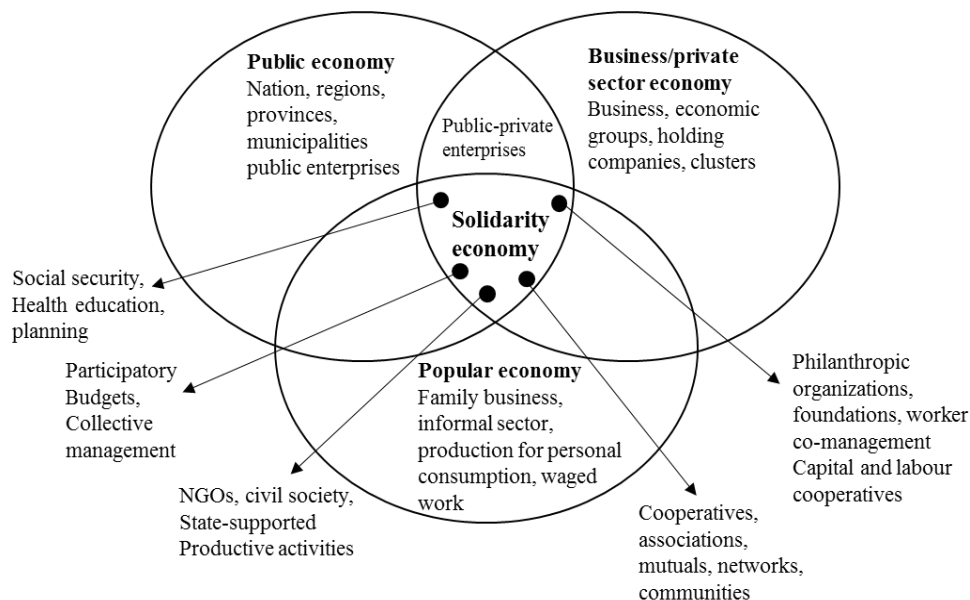


Figure 2.1 The solidarity economy within the mixed economy (Coraggio, 2015)

2.4 Social and Solidarity Economy in pursuit of Buen Vivir

In the Ecuadorian constitution, SSE and BV are intrinsically associated. The former is conceived as an instrument to achieve the latter:

...a system [SSE] that seeks to meet human needs by using knowledge, science and technology, all while respecting nature. []...the development regime and the popular and solidarity economy system are the instruments to achieve Buen Vivir.

(Constitution, 2008)

Similarly, the SSE act, promulgated in 2011 and described by Coraggio (2015) as the most highly developed legal institutionalisation of SSE in the region, indicates:

It is been understood by Popular and Solidarity Economy, a group of economic practices, perform in an individual or collective way, in which humans are the subject and end of the economic activity, which is oriented toward 'Buen Vivir', in harmony with nature and above profit and capital accumulation

(MIES, 2011)

In addition, the SSE act defines eight principles for the legal application of the SSE in the country:

- 1) Seek to achieve BV and serve the common good
- 2) Favour labour over capital, and collective over individual interests
- 3) Encourage fair trade and ethical, responsible consumption
- 4) Promote gender equity
- 5) Respect cultural identity
- 6) Emphasise worker management
- 7) Manifest social and environmental responsibility, solidarity and accountability
- 8) Carry out fair and solidarity based distribution of profits

Both legal instruments, the constitution and the law, indicate that the SSE is the economic system that will lead the country to the realization of BV. Moreover, the National Plan for BV 2013-2017, contains twelve national objectives for BV, in which the relationship between BV and SSE is also evident:

The development regime and the social and solidarity economic system are, according to Ecuador's Constitution, instruments to achieve Good Living³⁰. Planning is the means to attain this goal. One of the State's duties is to plan national development, eradicate poverty, and promote sustainable development and equitable redistribution of resources and wealth, in order to achieve Good Living.

(Senplades, 2013, p. 46)

In the governmental discourse, the relationship between SSE and BV is grounded on the legal recognition, for the first time, of the rights of nature. According to Dávalos (2008) the reason for granting rights to nature is based on the belief that the market economy fragments and

³⁰ Good Living is how BV is translated in the English official version of the plan.

breaks humans' relations with nature. The 2008 Ecuadorian constitution and the 2011 SSE act, paved the way for the introduction of a new regime in the relationship between the economy and nature. The recognition of nature as a subject entitled to have rights represents evidence of the incompatibility between BV and the liberal concepts that have been place during the last few decades (Acosta, 2009).

Respect for nature goes beyond a legal proposal; it is a strong political position that involves profound changes in the structure of the state. The traditional human rights view considers human beings as the centre of everything, which constitutes an anthropocentric view (Calisto Friant and Langmore, 2015). On the other hand, an understanding of life in which nature has rights, and is at the centre, including human beings, represents a 'biocentric' view, in which all forms of life have the same ontological value (Acosta, 2009; Ramírez, 2010a).

The recognition of nature's rights plays a crucial role when it comes to choosing the economic model that promotes a life in harmony with nature. In this regard, Ramírez (2010b) indicates that the economic model cannot be a model that exploits nature since the Ecuadorian constitution establishes that the society cannot coexist with a 'primary-exports-dependent economy'.

Similarly, Acosta (2013) indicates that the constitution represents the beginning of a transition from a neoliberal agenda to a sustainable and solidarity economy that allows the construction of a different kind of relations between the economy and the environment. The introduction of BV in the Ecuadorian constitution and the increasing presence of the SSE in Ecuador and in Latin America in general, occurred almost simultaneously. The recognition of the failure of traditional development models and the need for an alternative way to organise the economy activated a synergy between BV and SSE that in turn confront the mantras of neoliberal privatisation, state rollback and selective social programmes (Radcliffe, 2012).

2.4.1 Development, sustainable development and SSE

The Ecuadorian constitution combines the concepts of SSE and development when it refers to the mechanism to achieve BV. There are three terms that can be found in the political discourse and in the official documents that are in apparent conflict: development, sustainable development (SD) and SSE.

According to Veltmeyer (2018) there are two fundamentally different conceptions of a social and solidarity economy: one conceived as part of a strategy to manage complex dynamics of urban and rural development and the other as part of a grassroots and social movement strategy to confront capitalist economy. The combination proposed in the Ecuadorian

constitution of the SSE, within a strategy of community-based local development, and the SD approach, which is universal and top-down, (Chassagne, 2018) could be the object of some trepidation. However, the constitution suggests that the two approaches can be seen as complementary, responding to the concerns of social and indigenous movements, and to the international context, in which global developmental discourses are connected to the SD approach (Gerlach, 2017).

Since the 1990s, traditional development views have been highly criticized, however the term development persists in the political jargon of Ecuador, which is provoking some confusion and inconsistency when it comes to proposing social policies. These tensions can be attributed to the aspiration of the Ecuadorian government to achieve economic growth on the one hand, and ecological protection on the other.

2.4.2 The Ecuadorian ‘Great Transformation’

A growing body of literature on BV suggests that Ecuador experienced an unprecedented transformation during the last few years; although the literature is not entirely clear about the reasons behind this transformation. Chapter 1 made reference to a case study report, elaborated in 2015 by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) about the recent progress in Ecuador. The report indicates that Latin America has experienced some recovery in the last few years in terms of economic growth and reduction of poverty and inequality (ODI, 2015). The report refers to Ecuador as an exceptional case; since, despite this progress, the country stands out. The aim of this section is to explore what are the reasons behind this progress according to the published information.

The implementation of social and economic policies in Ecuador since the approval of the constitution in 2008, are better appreciated in the context of a long and sometimes contradictory aspiration: achieve progress while protecting the environment at the same time. The idea to advocate a dialogue between natural sciences and social sciences gained momentum in the 1980s when ‘Ecological Economics’ (EE) became a new interdisciplinary field that combined economic and ecology in what has been described as ‘science of sustainability’ (Costanza et al., 2014). The EE community cautiously engaged in the discussion of SD when the Brundtland Report was published in 1987 (Beling et al., 2018).

The need to steer away from extractivism towards a new model of development, that prioritise social and environmental objectives, has been a major concern for governments in the Global South (Broad and Fischer-Mackey, 2017). In Latin America, a new post-neoliberal period appears to be the trend, especially in countries like Ecuador and Bolivia, where social and

indigenous movements have played a key role by questioning the traditional development approaches (Villalba-Eguiluz and Etxano, 2017).

When Correa won the 2006 presidential election, he had already gained overwhelming political support by promising to reverse neoliberal policies. Correa's discourse included anti-establishment, anti-elite and anti-foreign messages (Kennemore and Weeks, 2011a). In order to keep his promise and be coherent with the discourse he used during the presidential campaign, some important and deep transformations in the social, economic and political aspects took place. These transformations required a different view and understanding of progress. The BV approach provided this opportunity (Acosta, 2008). Similarly, a different way to organise the economic activity was required in order to initiate the transformation that Correa promised would put to an end to the previous period of intense political and economic instability. The SSE seemed to be the appropriate economic system for this purpose.

As the paragraph above suggests, the new constitution represented the legal mechanism to change the structures of the state in Ecuador in order to introduce the measures required for a deep transformation of the country. Similarly, BV and SSE constitute the alternatives to traditional views of progress and traditional neoclassical economic approaches. However, it cannot be established with certainty if the progress of Ecuador can be entirely attributed to the implementation of BV and SSE or if it is just the combination of economic and political factors that were favoured by the rising of oil prices during most of Correa's administration.

2.4.3 Economic reforms, policy and institutional changes

During the ten years of Correa's presidency, some important changes in macroeconomic policy and increased social spending and public investment took place. According to Radcliffe (2012), the victory of Correa was the result of an antineoliberal electorate that led to putative postneoliberal macroeconomics, as well as social movement input into constitutional change and social policy formulation. This section explores some of the indicators and policy changes that could be the result of the application of principles under the BV and SSE approaches.

Acosta (2009) reminds us that BV has been subject to some criticism, and the alleged lack of practical strategy in the economic area represents one of the most common critique. However, Acosta indicates that BV has precise proposals and strategies, not only in the economic area, but also in the legal area. The proposals and strategies proposed by BV reject growth as the means of development, but do not reject the use of western knowledge, as long as this knowledge serves to meet local needs and not the needs of global markets.

The utilization of western knowledge, it could be argued, includes the use of macroeconomic theory, which is important to consider when we analyse Correa's background. A highly educated economist with studies in Europe and the U.S, it should be also noticed that Correa emerged out of a liberal framework that emphasized individual rights, (Becker, 2011) and this probably influenced the decisions he made during the two terms he was in office.

Weisbrot et al. (2017) produced a comprehensive report on Ecuador's macroeconomic policies and institutional changes occurred during Correa's administration, summarized as follows:

Indicators

- a) Annual per capita GDP between 2006 and 2016 grew 1.5%, as compared with 0.6% over the previous 26 years.
- b) Poverty rate decreased by 38% and extreme poverty by 47%. Economic growth and employment played a key role in this reduction, but also the cash transfer program³¹, which targeted the most vulnerable population.
- c) Gini coefficient fell from 0.55 to 0.47. The ratio of the top 10% to the bottom 10% of the income distribution reduced from 36 to 25, as of 2012.
- d) Social spending increased, as a percentage of GDP, from 4.3% in 2006 to 8.6% in 2016.
- e) Enrolment in education experienced some important improvements. Higher education expenditure increased from 0.7% to 2.1% of GDP, the higher investment of any other country in the region and higher than the average of OECD countries.
- f) Health services expenditure doubled as a percentage of GDP from 2006 to 2016.
- g) In 2006, public investment accounted only 4% of GDP, while in 2013 the figure increased to 14.8% of GDP, however in 2016 the percentage fell to 10%.

Policy changes and reforms

- a) In the 1998 constitution, the Central Bank was independent of the government. The 2008 constitution reversed this mandate, including the most important responsibility: ensure price stability. The new constitution made the Central Bank part of the economic team of the executive branch.

³¹ In 2003, Ecuador introduced a social assistance program known as '*Bono de Desarrollo Humano*', which was a cash transfer to low-income mothers. Initially the amount was established in USD15, but during Correa's administration increased to USD50 and included elderly and disable people.

- b) In December 2008, an international commission indicated that Ecuadorian foreign debt was illegally and illegitimately contracted, this allowed the government to default USD3.2 billion, which corresponded to about one-third of the total foreign debt.
- c) The banking system was requested to hold 45% of their liquid assets domestically. In 2012, this figure increased to 60% and by 2015, the percentage reached 80%.
- d) A tax on capital leaving the country was introduced and enforced, which allowed the country to collect about USD 1 billion between 2012 and 2015.
- e) In 2007, government revenue was 27% of GDP; in 2012, the percentage reached 44%, however in 2016 fell to 30%.
- f) Due to the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, the government introduced a fiscal stimulus of 5% of GDP in 2009.
- g) The government promoted and supported cooperatives, credit unions and loan associations that were part of the SSE. Credits from this solidarity based sector increased from 8.3% in 2008 to 13.6% in 2016.
- h) In order to cope with the reduction of credits from banks (credit crunch), government spending, and loans from state-owned banks, the government decided to use USD 6.8 billion of quantitative easing ³²(QE).
- i) The Ecuadorian central bank, credit to the government 2.4% of GDP as part of the QE, in 2016, in order to deal with the difficult financial situation caused by low oil prices and the powerful earthquake occurred in the north-east part of the country in April 2016 (Chapter 1).
- j) Between 2013 and 2014, the primary budget deficit increased from USD 3.4 billion to USD 4.3 billion. In 2015 decreased to USD 3.7 billion but again increased to USD 6.1 billion in 2016.
- k) Due to USD appreciation and the severe reduction of oil prices, the government introduced in March 2015, a temporary balance of payments safeguard, under World Trade Organization (WTO) rules. Ecuador imposed tariffs on a number of imports.
- l) As a consequence of tariffs, a reduction of imports provided a stimulus of about 7.6% of GDP, which in turn counteracted spending cuts.

The indicators presented above show that while GDP experienced a significant increase between 2006 and 2016, poverty rate and Gini coefficient experienced an extraordinary reduction during the same period. What is more relevant for the purposes of this section is the

³² It is a monetary policy, which is usually introduced when inflation is very low, like in the case of Ecuador, and it consists on buying a certain amount of bonds or other financial assets by the central bank from the government, in order to increase liquidity and stimulate the economy.

increase in the amount of money directed to social programmes (social spending). The increase in the percentage of GDP invested in social programmes is the result of the introduction of BV as a guided principle of governmental policies (Radcliffe, 2012). In 2006, social spending accounted 4.3% of GDP, while in 2016 the figure was 8.6% of GDP, which means the government, doubled social spending in ten years. Figure 2.2 illustrates this trend by areas of social expenditure.

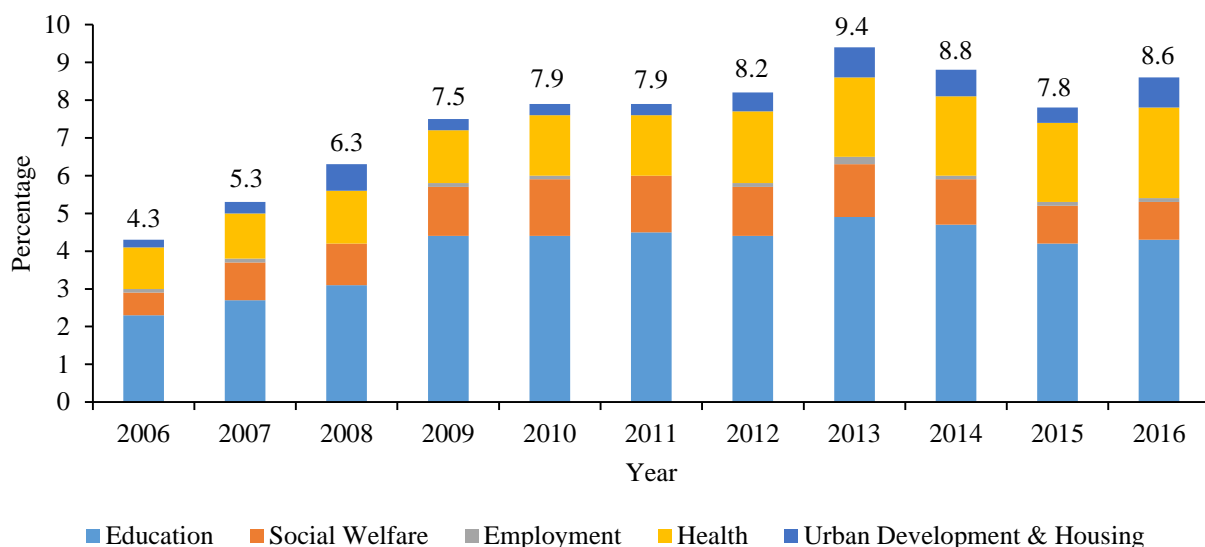


Figure 2.2 Social spending as percentage of GDP adapted from (MEF, 2018)

As can be seen from figure 2.2, there were substantial gains in the amount of money that social programmes received between 2006 and 2016. Education was the social area that received most of the resources invested by the government, especially higher education.

Between 2006 and 2016 education programmes increased from 2.3% to 4.3% of GDP, which was part of the strategy proposed in the BV National Plan 2009-2013 to move from an economy based on the exports of primary products to an economy based on the accumulation of knowledge and community tourism (Ramírez, 2010a). Moreover, the emphasis on higher education aimed to contribute to the achievement of BV through the ‘knowledge economy’. According to the government, change in Ecuador’s ‘productive matrix’ is required, this is to say move up the development ladder to higher value-added areas of production, including technology-intensive areas (Weisbrot et al., 2017).

The investment of government in health services was also significant. According to the INEC, between 2006 and 2014 the number of beds available for patients in public hospitals increased by 23.5%. In the same period the number of patients who were treated in hospitals increased

by 40%. Social welfare and urban development including housing also experienced large increases, the former from 0.6% in 2006 to 1% in 2016 and the latter from 0.2% to 0.8% of GDP during the same period (MEF, 2018).

Possibly the most important achievement during Correa's administration was the reduction of extreme income poverty. In fact, one of the reasons for the selection of Ecuador for the case study conducted in 2015 by the ODI was the high rate of poverty reduction compared with the growth in income that Ecuador achieved (ODI, 2015). During Correa's administration, a number of financial and institutional reforms took place, in order to regulate the financial sector and promote a larger participation of the government in the economy. The aim of the government's intervention in the economy was to gain some stability, avoid financial crisis, promoting growth, development and economic equality (Weisbrot et al., 2013). Other policies that shifted resources to poor and vulnerable sectors of society were implemented during Correa's presidency. Some of his actions angered the conservative oligarchy while a considerable number of Ecuadorians gave him broad popular approval.

Another popular move against the conservative oligarchy was the expropriation of 195 companies belonging to the Isafías Group³³ in order to recuperate some of the assets that customers had lost during the financial crisis in 1999. In the same line, and under a law approved in July 2010, Ecuador increased its share of oil profits from 13% to 87%, this law increased state revenues by around USD 1 billion (Becker, 2013). Even more remarkable was the improvement of the ability of the state to collect taxes, especially from big corporations, which allowed the government the implementation of redistributive fiscal policies that had a positive impact on the reduction of poverty and inequality (Llerena Pinto et al., 2015).

According to the study conducted by ODI (2015), Ecuador's recent history has experienced three main phases in terms of poverty. The first phase occurred between 1998 and 2000 when poverty increased dramatically due to the financial crisis. The second phase started in 2000 until 2006, in this period poverty experienced a small but constant decrease, possible for the adoption of the U.S. dollar, as a currency, and a favourable international context. The third and last phase, identified by the study, began in 2006, when Ecuador started to experience a dramatic reduction in poverty and inequality.

³³ Isafías Group is a local business, which is linked to the banking and financial crisis that occurred in Ecuador between 1999 and 2000. According to the government, the group owes the state about USD600 millions.

2.5 Conclusion

The analysis of the available literature reveals that most of the published information about SK and BV has been generated after 2008, when the new Ecuadorian constitution was approved. On the other hand, the concept of SSE has a much longer history, which could be traced back to the invention of modern solidarity in the early 19th century. However, the term SSE became popular after 2008, when the Global Financial Crisis, reinforced the idea of an alternative way to organise the economy.

The discursive position of BV and SK against global capitalism and the inclusion of ethnic-environmental concerns based on an indigenous way of living has made the concepts very appealing. However, a critical analysis of the literature reveals that BV and SK represent two different views of how to live well. The literature on BV suggests that the precise meaning of the concept remains contested; nevertheless, several authors have agreed that BV represents a notion of collective wellbeing and as an alternative to development. On the other hand, the literature on SSE suggests that this economic system has been shaped by liberalism and it has been used to describe different forms of economic activities that emphasise social and environmental objectives over profit maximization. The innumerable types of economic activities that can be labelled as SSE makes the concept an ‘umbrella term’.

The literature indicates that a great transformation has taken place in Ecuador during the last decade, which could be explained to some extent by the introduction of the BV principles and some economic reforms. However, the transformations occurred in Ecuador cannot be entirely attributed to the introduction of the SSE and BV principles. Some innovative measures such as quantitative easing and tariffs on imports, which are not linked to either BV nor SSE, provided stimulus to the economy and reduced the losses from external shocks.

Chapter 3. Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology and the research methods selected for the study, it also outlines the reasons behind the choices made. The first section of this chapter provides an overview of the approach utilized, and describes the framework of the research design. The next section offers details of the process carried out for data collection and explains some of changes made due to unexpected events, and the impact of those changes on the study. The following section outlines an overview of the tools and approaches used for the analysis and interpretation of the data. In the final section of the chapter, the limitations of the research are acknowledged.

The aim and nature of the study called for a more integrated methodological approach for a deeper understanding of the concepts involved, thus a mixed method design or multi-strategy design, that can be widely adopted across cultural and geographic contexts (Robson, 2011) was employed. In a broad sense, the study used a hybrid process of inductive and deductive thematic analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). This methodological approach integrates data-driven and theory-driven analysis. Table 3.1 summarises the general methods used.

Table 3.1 Hybrid inductive-deductive approach

Hybrid inductive-deductive approach	Qualitative	Quantitative
	Thematic analysis	Descriptive analysis

A mixed method or multi-strategy design involves the collection of qualitative and quantitative data (Bryman, 2015). For qualitative data analysis, thematic analysis was chosen, whilst for quantitative data, a descriptive data analysis was considered appropriate. The use of a mixed method aimed to explore how qualitative (narrative-based) and quantitative (numerical-based) data may support, complement, contrast or conflict with one another (White and Blackmore, 2016). The use of a strategy, in which data comes from multiple sources, was chosen because different types of data complement and potentially triangulate each other (Robson, 2011). Triangulation is a technique that was selected for this study because it allows researchers to counteract the potential biases that could arise during the

investigation, accepting the premise that all research methods have inherent biases and limitations (Creswell, 2013).

3.1.1. Mixed method design

It has been largely believed that a methodological hierarchy exists in which quantitative methods are on top and qualitative methods play only a largely auxiliary role in pursuit of the technocratic aim of accumulating knowledge of ‘what works’ (Howe, 2004). This assumption and the so-called ‘quantitative-qualitative incompatibility thesis’ were considered during the development of the research design framework and it was concluded that, despite controversy and different points of view, the use of a mixed method approach was not only desirable but necessary for the study (Figure 3.1). Furthermore, it is well known that there is by no means a consensus on these qualitative-quantitative debates issues, however, as Denzin (2012) indicates the use of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question.

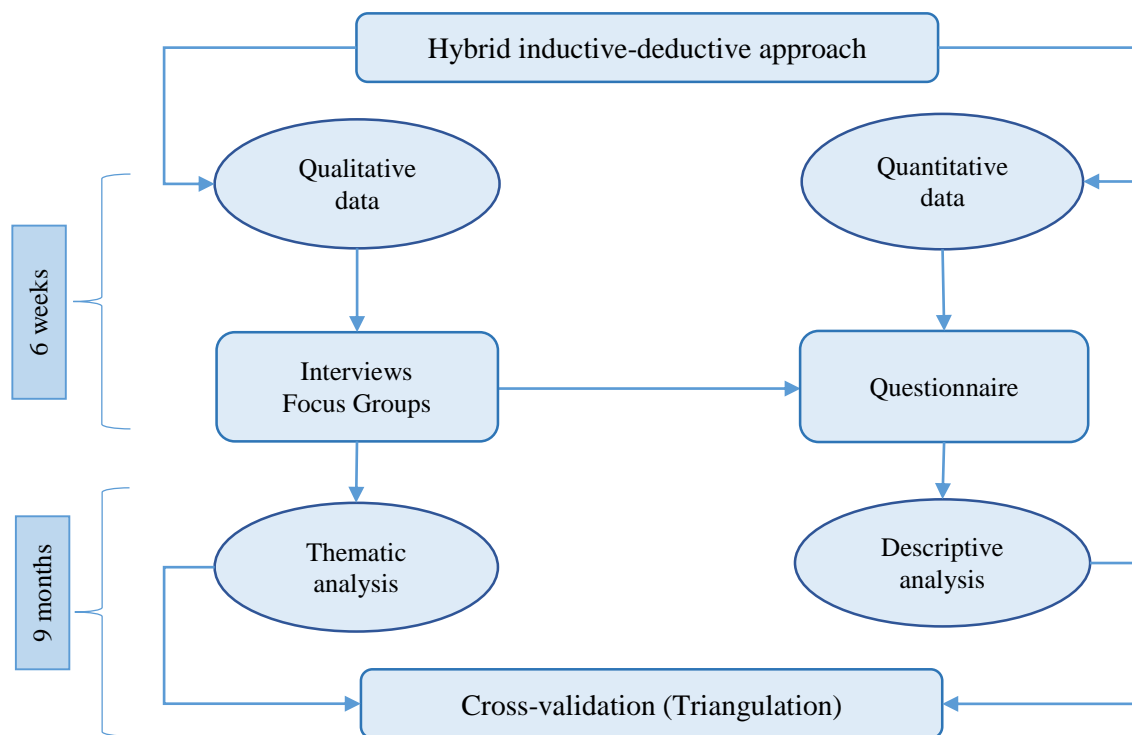


Figure 3.1 Framework for research design

The use of a hybrid inductive-deductive approach design was based on the descriptive and evaluative nature of the research questions, which aimed primarily to achieve a comprehensive and multifaceted understanding of BV and its relationship with SSE. The Ecuadorian government has been using the BV concept to justify its policies and decisions, which makes the study, fall into the category of applied policy research or policy-relevant

research (Pollard et al., 2000; Martin, 2001). The nature of this kind of research implies a potential for actionable outcomes (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002).

3.2 Data Collection

The study was focused in the central Andean highlands of Ecuador where indigenous principles of how to live well and the Andean reciprocity concept have contributed to the development of the BV and SSE concepts in Ecuador. Moreover, the researcher's ten years of experience in an international NGO was also considered. Indeed, my experience in the implementation of development projects in the Andean region and the familiarity with the culture and traditions of indigenous and mestizo populations resulted in a strong argument to choose three provinces located in highlands of Ecuador: Cotopaxi, Tungurahua and Chimborazo (Figure 3.2).

Once data collection sites were chosen, the search for assistance of institutions and individuals for fieldwork began. In Chimborazo and Cotopaxi, two individuals offered me their generous support for the initial contacts with community leaders, whilst in Tungurahua; a local NGO that was one of the partners I worked with during my time in Tungurahua, willingly contributed with the study. This local NGO was especially helpful during the piloting of the survey and its application in some villages, when my short time in Ecuador prevented me to be in all the meetings.

3.2.1 Scale of the study

The scale of this study considered three levels of enquiry (Robson, 2011), microscale that includes individuals and families, mesoscale that includes community and regional levels; and macroscale that includes national and global levels. Traditionally, public service delivery tends to focus only on the community (Pratt and Warner, 2018).

Based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) human ecological framework, which has been used to understand the dynamics and interactions between top-down policies and public service delivery, the scale chosen for this study considered the microscale level. Individuals that participated in the face-to-face interviews and in the survey at the community level represented the scale at which data collection was carried out. Although, a few face-to-face interviews with local and regional authorities took place during an international congress in Chimborazo province where some valuable information was obtained.

3.2.2 Timescale of data collection

The collection of quantitative data in the form of a questionnaire and qualitative data was made almost simultaneously but completely independent to preserve their counteracting biases as recommended by Greene and McClintock (1985).

Based on previous data collection experience in the area, it was estimated that fieldwork would require nine weeks, three weeks in each province. However, a few days before arrival in Ecuador the Cotopaxi volcano became very active, which put the province under high alert, which made local authorities introduce some measures to cope with a possible eruption. Unfortunately, this unexpected government intervention affected all the villages I planned to visit in this province and made it necessary to withdraw Cotopaxi from the study³⁴.

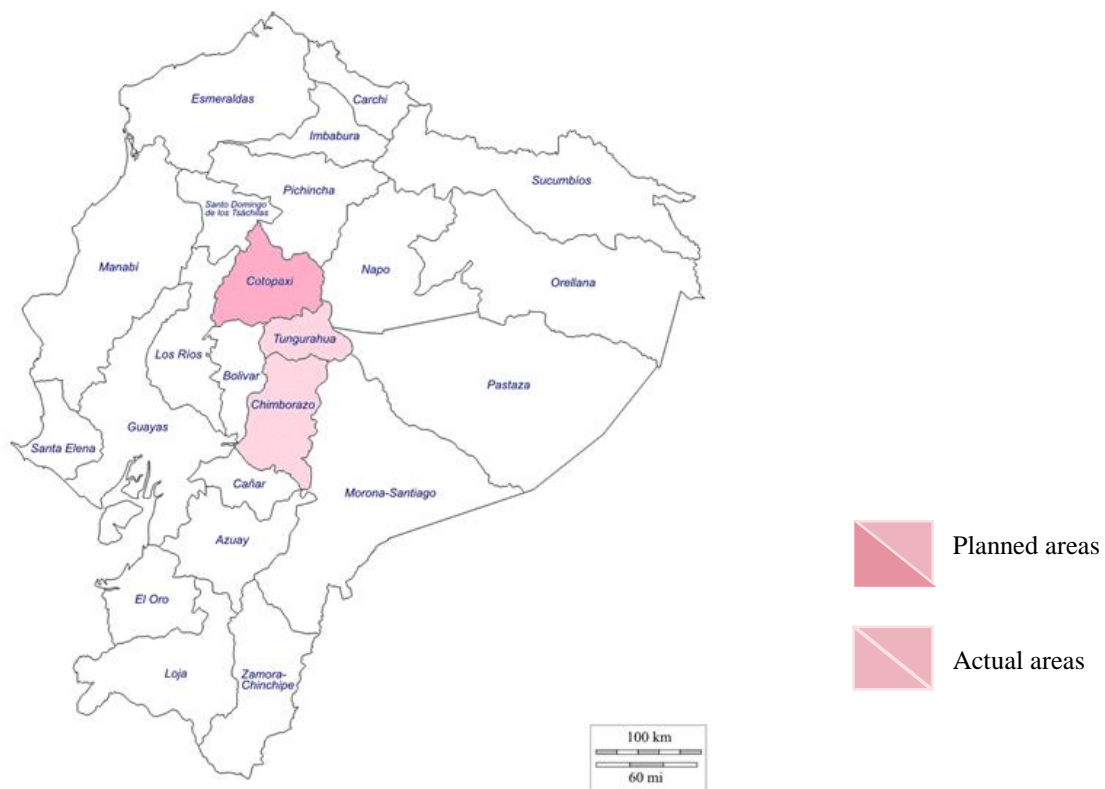


Figure 3.2 Map of planned vs actually studied provinces adapted from (d-maps.com, 2018)

³⁴This un-anticipated event had also a positive outcome since it was possible for me to attend the ‘International Congress for Social and Solidarity Economy and Fair Trade’, which took place in November 2015 in the Chimborazo province, it was fortunate that the congress took place at the same time of my fieldwork.

The exclusion of the Cotopaxi province provoked that I decided to spend two weeks in the capital of the country, collecting secondary data for the study. This decision proven to be unwise, since time for data collection resulted very limited.

Due to the exclusion of Cotopaxi, the original number of people for each province was not possible to maintain and it had to be moved to the other two provinces. This change had little impact on the overall plan taking into consideration that a non-probability sample approach was utilized for data collection. This type of sampling, as Robson (2011) indicates, involves the researcher's best judgement that was applied during the time of fieldwork. Adjustments made during the implementation of the plan are summarized in table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Data collection planned vs actual

Provinces	Planned	Actual
Cotopaxi	100 questionnaires	0
	3 focus groups	0
	7 interviews	0
Tungurahua	100 questionnaires	161
	3 focus groups	3
	7 interviews	9
Chimborazo	100 questionnaires	87
	3 focus groups	3
	7 interviews	10

3.2.3 *Qualitative data*

The use of qualitative data was critical for the study considering the lack of data of this type freely available within the country. Quantitative data, on the other hand, is more numerous because it is being produced on regular basis by the Office for National Statistics (INEC) and represented a valuable source of secondary data.

Amended scheme

Step 1. Sampling strategy: The main premise to take into account for the sampling technique chosen is the fact that from the beginning of the study there was no intention to make a statistical generalization, and for this reason, a non-probability sample approach was considered appropriate. More specifically, a purposive sampling technique was used for the focus groups and for the face-to-face interviews, however for the latter a snowball sampling technique was also utilized on a few occasions. The selection of units or cases under the purposive sampling technique was based on a specific purpose rather than randomly (Morse et al., 2003); for this reason, the initial definition and selection of participants and locations utilized previous work experience in the area and some suggestions made the local NGO in Tungurahua. The following criteria were used:

- a) Location in the Andean highlands
- b) Population from rural area, specifically indigenous but not exclusively
- c) Small scale farmers
- d) Rural non-agricultural labourers

In regards to sample size, the most important thing to appreciate is that the data was non-numerical (audio recordings); hence, no conventional statistical analysis, nor representative sampling, was performed.

The second aspect considered for the sample size was what has been described as the concept of saturation. Qualitative samples have a point of diminishing return, beyond this point more data does not necessarily lead to more information, because only one occurrence of data is what is needed to ensure that it becomes part of the analysis framework (Mason, 2010). While there were other factors that affected sample size such as the possible eruption of the Cotopaxi volcano, time available for fieldwork, and predisposition of respondents to participate, the guiding principle was saturation. Table 3.3 shows the proposed sample size for the study before changes were made due to the volcano alert.

The sample size was determined considering the following factors:

- a) Travel time from town to sites
- b) Time needed to gather all the people once arrived at the site
- c) Time required for each interview, and
- d) Availability of respondents

Table 3.3 Sample size proposed vs actual

Sample size	Face-to-face interviews		Focus groups	
	Plan	Actual	Plan	Actual
	21	19	9	6

Step 2. Unpacking indigeneity: Determining who is and who is not indigenous is not an easy task and it could even be controversial (Rival, 2007). Being indigenous in Ecuador is more about a choice rather than an ethnic origin. According to INEC, the province with the largest indigenous population in the country is Chimborazo with 38%, while Tungurahua province had 12.4% (INEC, 2010).

In order to overcome the potential difficulty posed by self-identification and offset the inconsistency of criteria, respondents were asked to identify themselves as indigenous or non-indigenous anonymously using a list that did not ask for names of the participants. However, it was not difficult for the researcher to identify who was and who was not indigenous. The differences between the two ethnic groups can be summarised as follows: physical appearance, language, dress style, rural or urban origin and surname. In terms of physical appearance, the main distinction between mestizo and indigenous people is the skin colour. Indigenous people have dark skin colour, whilst mestizos have whiter skin, although not as white as a Caucasian person does. Regarding language, mestizo people only speak Spanish, whilst indigenous people can speak both Spanish and Kichwa. Older generations of indigenous people usually have an accent when they speak Spanish, which reveals that they are not fluent. Meanwhile, new generations speak Spanish fluently and tend not to speak Kichwa outside their communities. In terms of dress style, mestizo people can be identified with the western dress style, whilst indigenous people, especially women always wear traditional clothes that include ponchos and hats. The urban or rural origin is another way to

identify indigenous and mestizo people. The majority of indigenous people live in the rural area and only few live in the big cities. Surnames represent one of the most common way to find out the ethnic origin of a person. Mestizos' names and surnames have Spanish ancestry, whereas indigenous people have Kichwa surnames that can be easily recognised.

The composition of participants considering their ethnic origin and gender is presented in table 3.4 and figures 3.3 and 3.4.

Table 3.4 Ethnic composition of participants

Province	Indigenous	Non-indigenous	Total population	Gender (Male/Female)
Tungurahua	13 (41%)	19 (59%)	32 (100%)	M: 11 (34%) F: 21 (66%)
Chimborazo	31 (66%)	16 (34%)	47 (100%)	M: 18 (38%) F: 29 (62%)

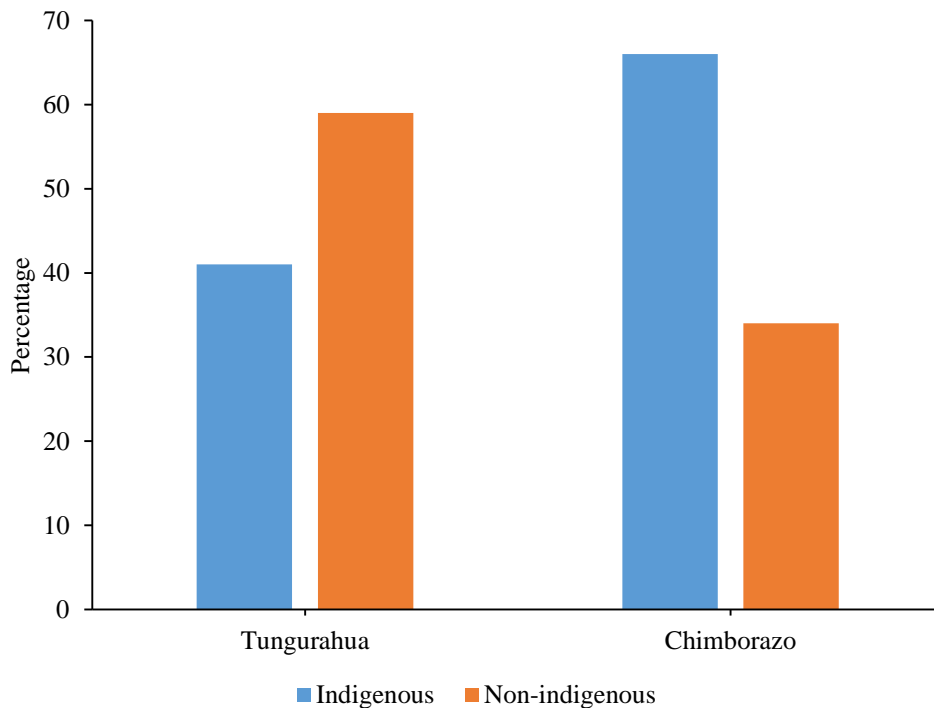


Figure 3.3 Ethnic composition



Figure 3.4 Gender composition

As can be seen from the table 3.4 and figure 3.4, women show a greater predisposition to participate in events where people are being asked to provide information, while the participation of men appears to be increasingly difficult to obtain unless there is a tangible benefit for them. This is consistent with my previous experience and it was expected. However, in regard to the composition in terms of ethnic origin and age, no expectations were made considering that the number of people willing to participate could vary from one day to another. Nevertheless, figure 3.3 indicates a greater percentage of indigenous people in Chimborazo province while in Tungurahua the percentage of non-indigenous people constitutes the majority; this is consistent with what was anticipated based on the information available from the National Office of Statistics.

Step 3. Crafting instruments and procedures: Data collection in the form of audio recordings required careful preparation to ensure data was recorded and stored properly. For this, two recording devices were used during interviews. Before fieldwork took place, a full ethical assessment form was filled in by the researcher and later approved by the ethics committee on 20th February 2015, REF: 15-ALT-06 (Appendix A1). Respondents were informed that their participation was voluntary, anonymous and that they could withdraw from the session at any time without facing any consequence.

Finally, a written consent was not possible to obtain since it is something not commonly asked for in those communities, where information is usually freely and willingly provided. However, verbal consent was granted for all the sessions.

In terms of procedures, two important aspects were considered (Stewart and Shamdasani, 2014):

- a) Face-to-face interviews is about interaction with only one person
- b) Focus groups is by definition an exercise in groups dynamics

A semi-structured interview technique was used for the former, while an unstructured interview technique was used for the latter.

Interviewing is time consuming; consequently, sessions lasted around one hour and a few minutes, as recommended by Robson (2011). Robson indicates that anything under half an hour is unlikely to be valuable and a session going much more than one hour could demand unreasonable time from respondents who could become less willing to participate, phenomena that have been referred as 'respondent fatigue' (Hess et al., 2012). The exception was only in one occasion, in which a focus group in the Tungurahua province, where people seemed very comfortable and engaged, and the session lasted almost three hours.

All the meetings took place in the community centres of each village and were organized by members of the local NGO, who had previously made contacts with community leaders. These leaders invited people from the villages chosen for data collection. During the meetings, small snacks were provided; this is a common practice as a thank you gesture.

Step 4. Transcribing and translating: It should be indicated that all the interviews and questionnaires were conducted in Spanish. However, on a very few occasions an interpreter was required, such as when some indigenous people asked for some clarifications in the Kichwa language and when some others preferred to explain part or the whole of their answers in Kichwa.

Once interviews and focus groups' audios files were recorded and safely stored, they were transcribed into written form once back in the UK. Transcribing required careful judgement to determinate the level of detail to be used, data interpretation and data representation (Bailey, 2008). Every document was transcribed and immediately translated from Spanish to English to take advantage of the familiarity of the data gathered during the transcription and also as

indicated by Santos et al. (2014), an early translation allows a more interactive process of data analysis. Before translation took place, a check of the transcripts against original recordings were performed for accuracy as recommended by Robson (2011).

Research undertakings, which in one way or another require to address issues related to language, are known as cross-language research (Temple and Young, 2004). The same authors pointed out a potential source of bias when the researcher becomes the instrument of research. However, and despite this concern the translation was carried out by the researcher not only because of the familiarity with the area, but also because I was attuned to the social and cultural background of the population, experience which was highly advantageous in this situation (McGorry, 2000).

Rogler (1989) advised that researchers should 'immerse' themselves in the culture of the population that they are studying in order to be familiar with the group and have a better background for a more accurate translation. It could be argued that my previous working experience was the equivalent of this suggested immersion, which was critical during the translation process.

Step 5. Analysing data: Qualitative analysis is a constant and iterative process, which is characterised by two key main stages (Ritchie et al., 2003): managing the data and making sense of the data. In order to have a better understanding of the qualitative data analysis it is recommended to separate the two steps outlined above to identify the different activities required for each phase.

Managing data

Material collected using qualitative methods is invariably unstructured and unwieldy (Ritchie et al., 2003), and for this reason the researcher needs to provide some coherence and structure to the data collected. Hours of transcribed recordings result in a huge amount of valuable information, which needed to be organised before any analysis, could be carried out.

Regardless of the method chosen for the analysis, the first step must always be organising and ordering the information.

Making sense of the data

Once the material is organised and ordered, the researcher needs to categorise the data. At this point a particular analysis method must be chosen, which mainly depends on the analyst ability rather than the conceptual thinking used (Ritchie et al., 2003). Qualitative data analysis

is about detection and the tasks of defining, categorizing, theorizing, explaining, exploring and mappings are crucial for the analysis (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). In order to perform detection, some common approaches include:

- a) Ethnographic accounts
- b) Life histories
- c) Narrative analysis
- d) Content analysis
- e) Conversation analysis
- f) Discourse analysis
- g) Analytic induction
- h) Grounded theory
- i) Policy and evaluation analysis

A description of each of the approaches to qualitative analysis goes beyond the scope of this chapter, however, it should be noticed that more recently Bryman (2015) compiled all the approaches in two broad strategies of qualitative data analysis:

- a) Analytic induction, and
- b) Grounded theory

Those two approaches are the most cited and both require some description for a better understanding of the method chosen for this study. The analytic induction is an approach in which the analysis is based on the collection of data until no cases that are inconsistent with a hypothetical explanation are found (Figure 3.5).

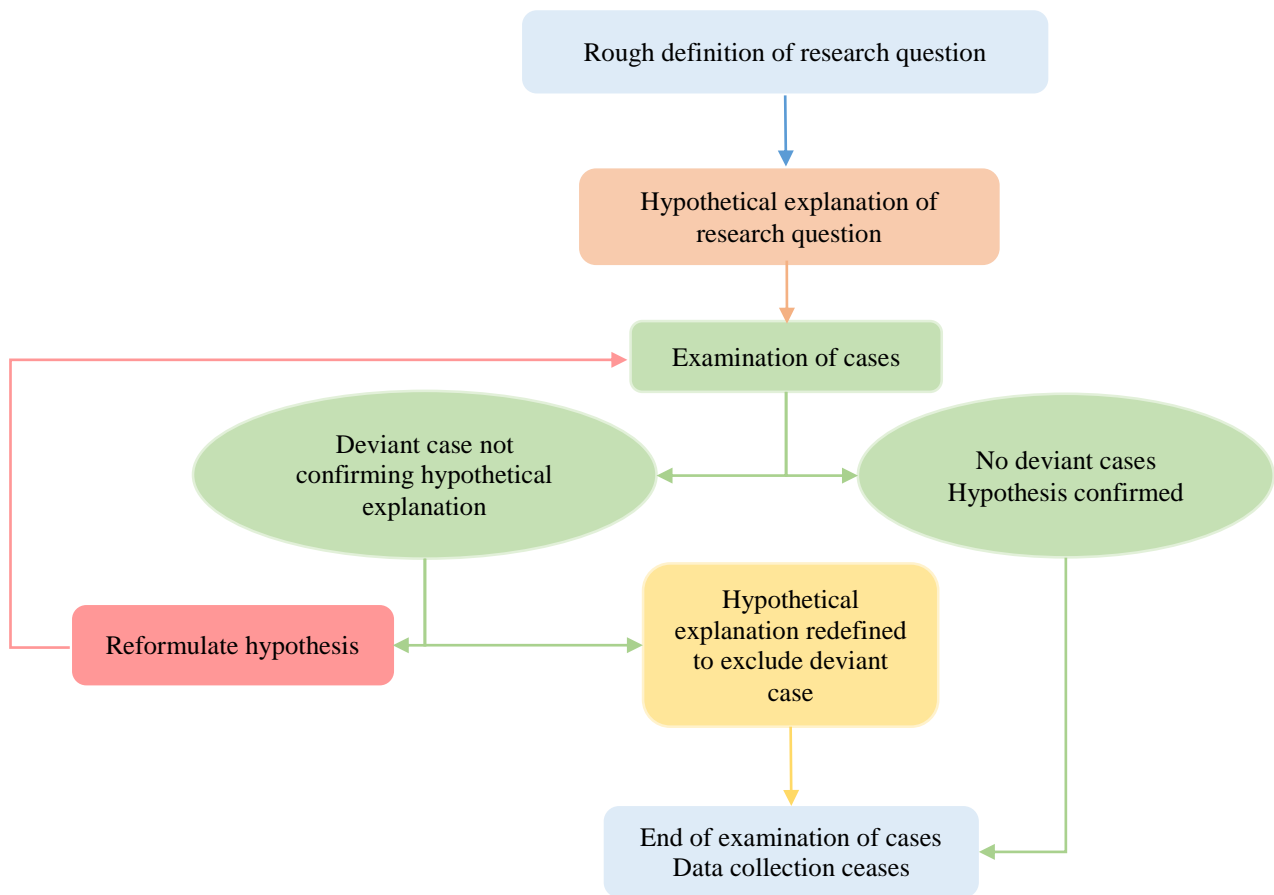


Figure 3.5 Process of analytic induction adapted from (Bryman, 2015)

The second strategy is ‘grounded theory’ and has been largely known as the most widely used approach for analysing qualitative data (Bryman, 2015). One of the most common definitions of grounded theory indicates that it is a general methodology for developing a theory, which is grounded in data that were systematically collected and then analysed (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). Put more simply, it is a theory generated from data. Another valuable definition by Glaser and Strauss (2009) indicates that this method leads to the discovery of theory from data systematically gathered from social research.

However, Bryman (2015) argues that there is a lack of consensus on what grounded theory really is. Some scholars describe it as a method or approach to analyse qualitative data and others support the idea that it is an approach to the generation of theory; hence, grounded theory is not a theory but is a method to generate theory. Figure 3.6 provides some clarity to the discussion.

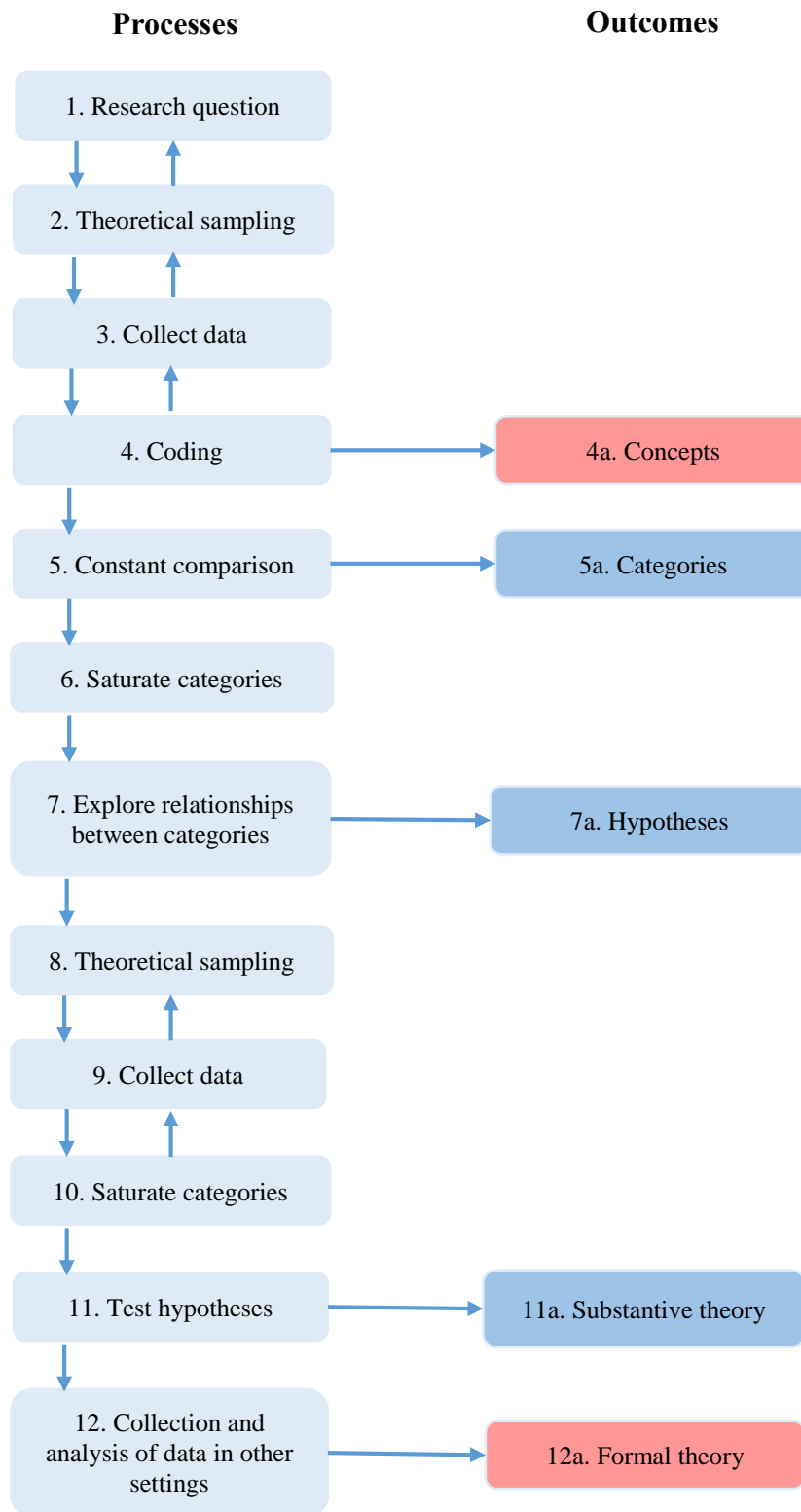


Figure 3.6 Processes and outcomes in grounded theory adapted from (Bryman, 2015)

There is a widespread tradition of the use of grounded theory within qualitative research (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Similarly, the use of narrative approaches to provide in depth analysis of subjective experiences of wellbeing have been commonly used (Riessman, 2008). For the analysis of the qualitative data of the investigation, both approaches were carefully considered and it was concluded that a third option might be more suitable for this study. Therefore, thematic analysis was chosen for the analysis, a method quite similar to grounded theory (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009). Both methods search for themes or patterns to explain one particular social phenomenon. However, thematic analysis offers a more accessible and theoretically flexible approach to analyse qualitative data than grounded theory does (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Although, thematic analysis is less popular than grounded theory, it is the first qualitative method that researchers should learn in order to be able to conduct other forms of qualitative analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). On the other hand, the fundamental premise of grounded theory is that the researcher can and should develop theory from analysis of empirical data (Charmaz and Belgrave, 2007). The aim of this study was to explore the evolution of the SK and BV concepts, and how these relate to SSE, rather than generate a theory. Although, this study could use thematic analysis or grounded theory, the former was chosen because in this method the search for themes and/or patterns in relation to different epistemological and ontological positions is more evident (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The name of this approach comes from thematic framework, which constitutes the central component of the method and is used to sort data according to key themes, concepts and categories (Ritchie et al., 2003). Thematic analysis searches for themes, which is an activity widely recognized in most of the qualitative data analysis approaches. For every study there is a specific thematic framework and within it a number of main themes. A theme is a category identified by the researcher, which is related with the focus of the investigation, more specifically with the research questions, and provides the basis for an understanding using the data collected (Bryman, 2015).

Framework analysis involves five steps (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002):

1. Familiarization
2. Identifying a thematic framework
3. Indexing
4. Charting
5. Mapping and interpretation

A brief description of each of these analytical stages is essential for an enhanced understanding of the process.

1) Familiarization is basically the process of getting to grips with the data collected, in other words the researcher becomes acquainted with the transcripts and gains an overview of the data collected during fieldwork (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). This stage encompasses immersion in the data, which in practice means listening to recordings and reading transcripts.

Ideally, all material should be reviewed, if possible. For this study, there was not any constraint, which prevented the review of all material. I would like to argue that the transcription and translation processes represented the beginning of the familiarization stage for this study, since some key ideas and recurrent themes were already identified while those two tasks were being completed. The material needed to be reviewed several times during the transcription process in order to ensure that the transcripts reflect what the respondents said in relation to the subjects and concepts investigated in this study. This activity allowed me to become acquainted with the data. The second step of the familiarization occurred during the translation process. All the transcripts were translated from Spanish to English, which represented another opportunity to get familiar with the data. In order to achieve accuracy, the English version of all the transcripts were reviewed in different occasions, which provided an opportunity to identify some key points and recurrent themes.

2) Identifying a thematic framework represents the next stage after familiarization; at this point, the researcher should have already recognized themes and/or issues from the data. Notes taken at the familiarization stage can help to ensure that the themes and key issues are relevant since they will become the basis of the thematic framework (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002). Most of the literature suggested caution since the thematic framework at this point is tentative and more opportunities to refine it will arise in later stages.

A good thematic framework requires a logical and intuitive thinking together with judgments about meaning and relevance of issues (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009). In this stage several attempts to identify important issues, concepts and themes are made, these attempts constitute the first step to set up a thematic framework. Within this study, and for the purposes of applied policy research, it was ensured that research questions were being fully addressed as recommended by Ritchie and Spencer (2002). The identification of the thematic framework of this study occurred almost simultaneously with the familiarization step. The column 'context', from tables 5.1 and 5.2, provided the basis for the elaboration of the thematic framework (Appendix B1).

The thematic framework table was created based on the notes taken at the familiarization stage and the nodes produced for the programme in order to be used for the transcripts. At this stage, the researcher identified as many themes as possible as suggested by Ritchie and Spencer (2002). For this study the initial number of themes identified were 188. However, and after some logical and intuitive thinking together with judgments about meaning and relevance of themes, as Srivastava and Thomson (2009) recommend, it was possible to reduce the number of themes to 130. These themes were used for the indexing stage.

3) Indexing is the stage where sections or portions of the data can be allocated into particular themes; a numerical system to index references should be used and applied to all the data (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009). This process has to be applied in a systematic way to ensure that all judgements made lead to find the real meaning and significance of data, since it is well known that making judgements is subjective and open to interpretations (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002).

The indexing stage required that the researcher work systematically through the whole data set and it was carried out using the software. This step is also known as ‘coding’ and it refers to the stage where sections of the transcripts are being allocated into particular themes, in the programme codes are better known as ‘nodes’. The main objective of the indexing stage is to find chunks of data that potentially address the research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2013). All the data were coded using the nodes previously created in the programme.

4) Charting is the stage where particular portions of the data already indexed is being arranged in charts of the themes (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009). This in practice means taking the data from its original form and allocate in charts with headings and subheadings. In order to complete this stage two important processes are required: abstraction and synthesis, which allow the researcher to obtain respondents’ views and then enter them on the chart. It is important to remember to reference the original text to be able to trace it and also to provide enough details to examine and replicate the abstraction process (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002).

The NVivo software was exceptionally helpful at this stage, since it simplified the process of retrieving the portions of transcripts where particular themes were allocated. Appendices B2, B3 and B4 depict this process in a more illustrative way.

5) Mapping and interpretation is the final stage of framework analysis and consists of pulling together main characteristics of the data. At this point is when a more formal and systematic

process of detection begins. At this stage is also when the objectives of qualitative analysis become evident, and those objectives are outlined below (Ritchie and Spencer, 2002):

- a) Defining concepts
- b) Mapping range and nature of phenomena
- c) Creating typologies
- d) Finding associations
- e) Providing explanations
- f) Developing strategies

3.2.4 Quantitative data

Quantitative data were collected in the form of a twenty-question survey. The utilization of interviews combined with questionnaires is broadly used to obtain more detailed information about people for the research (Robson, 2011). The questions were designed to help achieve the aim and objectives of the study as well as to contribute to answer the research questions. Figure 3.7 outlines the main steps involved in the application of the questionnaire.

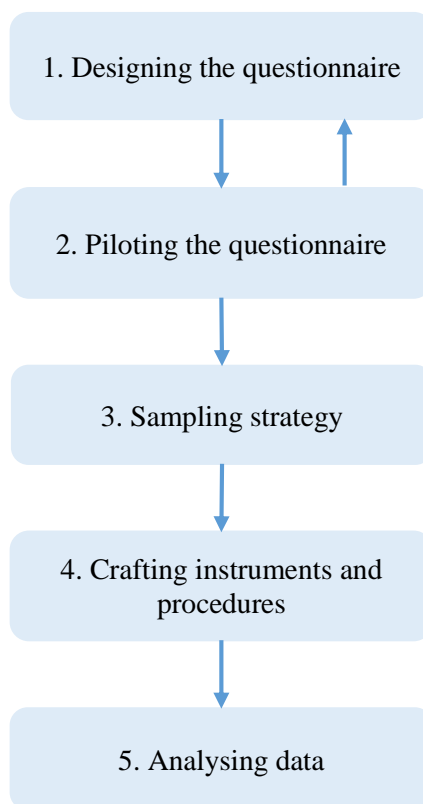


Figure 3.7 Steps for the application of the questionnaire

Step 1. Designing the questionnaire: The design of the survey presented several challenges, since the purpose of its application was to obtain some demographic information as well as to complement and corroborate the findings from the qualitative data. The way a survey is designed could have a deep impact on the self-reported data obtained from it, since how questions are asked and/or ordered could change the respondents' answers; this potential vulnerability is known as 'framing effects' (White and Blackmore, 2016).

The basic criteria for the questionnaire design was clarity, considering that in rural areas, it is well known that most of the people prefer visual media rather than written information. The design of the questionnaire also took into consideration that the use of large-scale multi-subject questionnaires for rural research are ponderous, costly and vulnerable to many errors (Chambers, 2008). Keeping all of this in mind was crucial to designing a set of questions, which were clear, brief and unambiguous.

The survey contained two main parts (Appendix C1 for the English version and Appendix C2 for the Spanish version). A first section to collect basic demographic data and a second section to collect the information related to the research questions of the study. For the second section, no open questions were considered. Respondents were presented with a set of fixed alternatives from which they were supposed to choose the answer they considered most appropriate (Hill and Brierley, 2017). There were two aspects considered for the use of questions of the close kind. The first aspect was the fact that open questions are very time consuming and require greater effort from respondents. The second aspect was the fact that people from rural areas are likely to be put off by the idea of having to write their answers, while closed questions are easy for respondents to complete since they usually involve placing ticks or circling answers.

The first part of the questionnaire inquired about location, age, gender, marital status, occupation as well as the ethnic origin of the respondents. The latter was especially important considering that the study explored concepts that are deeply connected to mechanisms of racial exclusion and colonization processes (Chapter 2). Another reason to distinguish between indigenous and non-indigenous people was the fact that from the beginning of the research, it was expected that indigenous people would display different ways of understanding and practicing BV, SK and SSE compared with the mestizo population.

In addition, some characteristics of the respondents, such as ethnicity, gender, age, education and social background among others, were considered during the design of the questionnaire, since these characteristics could combine to have an impact on the answers that participants

provide. The influence of ethnicity on the answers was of particular interest, due to the nature of the study and its location.

The design of the survey also considered the use of a self-completion questionnaire, since the time available for the collection of the data was very limited. The use of this type of questionnaire allows respondents to answer questions by completing the survey by themselves without the presence of an interviewer (Hill and Brierley, 2017). However, the questionnaire used in this study was completed either under my supervision or by a member of the staff from the NGO that collaborated in the study. This supervision was necessary since, during the piloting of the questionnaire, it became evident that a person who could provide clarification of the questions was required.

Another important aspect of the questionnaire design was the use of Likert-type questions to find out to what extent the respondents agree or disagree with the statements provided in the survey. The use of this type of questions generates what is known as Likert data, which requires specific and unique data analysis procedures (Boone and Boone, 2012). There is a vast amount of statistical methods, which can be used to analyse data from individual Likert-type items (Clason and Dormody, 1994). At this point, it is also essential to make a distinction between Likert-type-data and Likert scale data.

In 1932, Likert proposed a method to measure character and personality traits as an attempt to transfer qualities into a quantitative measure with the purpose of analysing the data. Likert created a scale, which used a series of questions with five possible answers (Boone and Boone, 2012), which are outlined as follows:

- a) Strongly approve
- b) Approve
- c) Undecided
- d) Disapprove
- e) Strongly disapprove

The combination of the responses of the five possible answers permitted Likert to generate an attitudinal measurement scale. It should be noticed that Likert did not analyse individual questions, but the combination of single questions to create a scale, which is well known as 'Likert Scale'.

When there is no intention to combine the responses to create a scale and the analysis is focused on individual questions, we are talking about ‘Likert type items’ (Clason and Dormody, 1994). For the purposes of this study, the option chosen was Likert type items, since there was no intention to elaborate any type of scale. However, it should be noticed that question 1 of the second section contains 12 items to enquire about respondents’ views in regard to the factors in life they value the most (Appendix C1). Only in this question, a scale from 1 (not important) to 5 (very important) was utilized. From question 2 to question 20 the following alternatives to answer were provided:

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) Neutral
- d) Disagree
- e) Strongly disagree

The questionnaire used for this study contains mostly Likert-type items, except for questions 10 and 13 that inquired in a different way. It should be noticed that question 1 included 12 ‘items’, which were used to obtain an overall view of the respondents with regards to the 12 factors in life presented. The factors included in question 1 were modified during fieldwork, in order to take into consideration the 8 most common aspects of life that interviewees indicated during focus group sessions.

In addition to the 8 factors proposed by interviewees, 4 other aspects of life, also known as accounts of wellbeing (WB), were included in question 1 (Table 3.5). These additional accounts of WB were introduced, taking advantage of the indicators of wealth and social progress, produced by the ‘Stiglitz Report’. This report was elaborated by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress, as an attempt to create an alternative measurement tool, which could include more relevant indicators of social progress. After reading the report, I decided to use four accounts of WB (Table 3.5), considering that the report was written by economists and social scientists who have a lot of experience on the study of social capital, happiness and health and mental WB (Stiglitz et al., 2009).

Table 3.5 Accounts of wellbeing included in question 1 of the survey

Source	Accounts of WB
Focus groups	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Access to health services 2. Access to education 3. Have a paid job 4. Have children 5. Be recognized/respected 6. Have a clean environment 7. Own a house 8. Be part of the community and/or help others
Stiglitz report	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Have a spouse/partner 2. Have friends 3. Have time for leisure 4. Make my own decisions

Respondents were asked to value the 12 factors in life based on a scale from 1 (not important) to 5 (very important). However, and despite this combination of inquiries, question 1 cannot be considered a scale, because there was no intention to generate an attitudinal measurement scale from the answers. For this reason, the answers from question 1 were treated as Likert-type data, and analysed accordingly.

The next 4 questions were an adaptation of the 4 personal WB questions, which are part of the wider ‘Measuring National Well-being Programme’ in the UK (ONS, 2015). The aim of this programme is to develop and publish reliable information that can help people to understand and monitor WB. Considering that the concepts of BV and SK have been related on several occasions to WB, question 2 to question 8 were conceived as an attempt to understand how people from the Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces feel about their lives, and possibly relate this to BV and/or SK.

Similarly, questions 6, 7 and 8 enquired about friendship, anxiety and leisure time using the same alternatives. Question 9 asked respondents about their satisfaction with their income, while question 10 provided 6 options to indicate the amount of money respondents were making per month.

Questions, 11, 12 and 13 were designed specifically to inquire about the concepts of BV and SK. The purpose of these questions was to find out whether or not people were familiar with the terms BV and SK and with which words the terms were most commonly related. From

question 14 to question 20, respondents were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with statements designed to inquire about the role of the economy, welfare of people, environment protection, the PSE and perception of the situation of the country.

Step 2. Piloting the questionnaire: During the construction of the survey, it was highly desirable to pilot the questionnaire before it could be applied in the locations selected for the study. The initial focus of the piloting process was on individual questions to make sure they were connected to the subjects under investigation. Following this step, questions were shared with colleagues in order to obtain feedback with regards to wording, clarity, ambiguity and most importantly simplicity. The final version of the questionnaire was sent to one senior member of the NGO, who kindly pre-tested the questionnaire with people from the Tungurahua province. Thanks to this initial pre-test, it was possible to modify some of the questions and to improve the wording. This approach is widely used by cognitive psychologists and it is well known as ‘protocol analysis’ (Robson, 2011).

Once the questionnaire was modified based on the observations from the pre-test, the survey was again sent for a second and more complete test. This time, respondents from the villages where the study was conducted participated, 10 people from the Tungurahua province and 12 people from the Chimborazo province completed the questionnaires. One important observation from this piloting was a request from respondents to have supervision during the completion of the survey, since a person who can provide clarification of the questions was needed on some occasions. According to Bryman (2015), this way of conducting and applying surveys is known as ‘supervised self-completion questionnaire’. Piloting the questionnaire was crucial, as it provided valuable information about how much time was required to complete the survey, framing effect vulnerabilities, and most importantly, it showed that the questions were apparently clear, brief and unambiguous.

Step 3. Sampling strategy: The application of a survey, as in the case of the qualitative data, did not consider a random sample since no statistical generalization was intended. The aim of the sampling strategy was to achieve analytic generalization. Polit and Beck (2010) indicated that, the goal of most qualitative studies is not to generalise their results, but to provide deep and contextualized understanding of human experiences. The criteria used to choose participants followed the same principles as the collection of qualitative data described earlier in this chapter. Considering those principles, the original estimation of the number of completed questionnaires aimed was 300, however, the actual number of applied

questionnaires was 248, since not all of the respondents invited to complete the survey attended (Table 3.2).

From the beginning of this investigation, it became clear that any sample taken from the sites selected would be biased, considering that, a random sample depends heavily upon availability of respondents (Bryman, 2015). Decisions about whom to sample were inevitable influenced by personal judgments, especially by prospective respondents' availability, which became an implicit criteria for inclusion. The availability of people from rural areas was very limited; hence, it was extremely unlikely to have all respondents equally available at the time of fieldwork.

Three main types of non-probability sample techniques were considered for the application of the survey: the convenience sample, the quota sample and the snowball sample (Robson, 2011). A convenience sample has been described as very simple, but also not very suitable for a survey, since is commonly used when the sample is available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility (Sharma, 2017). On the other hand, the quota sample is usually applied in commercial research rather than academic social research (Bryman, 2015). Considering the characteristics of these two types of non-probability sampling techniques, it was concluded that a snowball sample approach was more appropriate for the selection of respondents. A snowball sampling technique can be applied when there is no accessible sampling frame for the population from which the sample is to be taken (Bryman, 2015). According to Uprichard (2013), snowball sampling requires an initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research and from this point, contacts with others can be established.

For this study, the initial contact was made by the NGO that has been collaborating with this study. Fink (2003) indicated that snowball sampling should not be used within a quantitative research framework but within a qualitative research framework, which was the approach used for this study. The same criteria used for the collection of qualitative data were used for the application of the questionnaire.

Based on a snowball sampling technique and the criteria described above, 248 respondents completed the survey. Table 3.6 indicates the composition in terms of location, ethnic origin and gender.

Table 3.6 Composition of participants

Province	Indigenous	Non-indigenous	Total population	Gender (Male/Female)
Tungurahua	101 (64%)	58 (36%)	161 (100%)	M: 60 (38%) F: 96 (62%)
Chimborazo	64 (74%)	22 (26%)	87 (100%)	M: 38 (49%) F: 41 (51%)

Step 4. Crafting instruments and procedures: Data collection in the form of a self-completion questionnaire requires that all the questions are fully understood by the respondents before they answer them. It is also required that during the application of the survey there will be someone available to explain or clarify any potential misunderstanding and/or answer any question that respondents may have.

It is important to notice that one of the most common ways to ask questions, before the use of internet, has been the mail or postal questionnaire (Bryman, 2015). However, neither internet nor postal questionnaires can be used in rural areas in Ecuador, since population from the target group identified would not feel comfortable using any of those methods, together with some limitations in terms of internet accessibility and postal service. Any attempt to use one of the methods mentioned could lead to a very poor response rate. Hence, the use of a printed version of the survey was anticipated from the beginning of the study.

The application of the survey and the qualitative data collection took place almost simultaneously, considering that members of staff from the local NGO collaborated with surveys especially in the Tungurahua province, which resulted in being a very effective way to get the job done within the timeframe available for fieldwork. The questionnaire did not ask for names or any other information, which could lead to the identification of the respondent, hence, it was expected that participants would not hesitate to answer freely.

It was estimated in the piloting, that to complete the questionnaire it would take around 20 to 25 minutes. However, in practice time to finish all the questions ranged from 25 to 40 minutes depending on, in most cases, the level of education and/or age of the respondents.

Step 5. Analysing data: Quantitative analysis began with the identification of codes for each answer provided by respondents in the questionnaire. Coding in quantitative analysis is usually a very straightforward process, which requires the researcher to assign numbers to the categories that have been created (Bryman, 2015). The second step to analyse the information generated from the survey was the classification of the different types of variables: interval/ratio, ordinal and nominal. This step was necessary before the information could be imported into SPSS. The statistical test that can be used to analyse the data from the questionnaire depends on the type of data (Greasley, 2007). The first part of the questionnaire enquired about respondents' demographic information. This type of data were nominal or categorical, except for age, which falls into the ratio category.

Demographic information is presented in Chapter 4 in the form of frequency tables and diagrams as a way to illustrate the composition of the respondents' age, ethnicity and place of origin. The second part of the questionnaire consists of twenty individual Likert-type items and for the analysis it was necessary to consider that the numbers assigned to the respondents' answers denotes a 'greater than' relationship. However, how much greater is unknown and this condition makes Likert-type items an ordinal type of data (Boone and Boone, 2012). Earlier in this chapter, the distinction between Likert-type items and Likert scales was made. For the purposes of the analysis of the information generated from this type of data, the distinction between those two types of Likert data is crucial. The data analysis decision was made at the questionnaire development stage. Table 3.7 presents the suggested data analysis procedures according to Boone and Boone (2012).

Table 3.7 Data analysis for Likert-type and Likert scale data

	Likert-type data	Likert scale data
Central tendency	Median or mode	Mean
Variability	Frequencies	Standard deviation
Associations	Kendall tau B or C	Pearson's <i>r</i>
Other statistics	Chi-square	ANOVA, t-test, regression

Table 3.7 was elaborated assuming that Likert scales fall into the ordinal level of measurement (Pett, 2015). This assumption is important, since most of the statistical literature indicates that non-parametrical tests should be employed when the data is clearly ordinal

(Norman and Blaikie, 2003). However, the appropriate statistical technique for ordinal data have been object of extensive debate and controversy (Jamieson, 2004). Some authors treat ordinal data as interval data and for this reason the mean and standard deviation could be considered adequate for Likert scale data as table 3.7 shows.

Allen and Seaman (2007) indicated that caution should be exercised when, treating ordinal data as interval data, since this could make the researcher arrive at the wrong conclusion and misrepresent the findings of the questionnaire. In this regard, Kuzon Jr et al. (1996, p. 267) remind us: “using parametric analysis for ordinal data is the first of the seven deadly sins of statistical analysis”.

The above considerations were taken into account when the statistical techniques were chosen for the quantitative analysis of the survey. However, the most important aspect considered for the analysis, was the fact that the main objective was to answer the research questions meaningfully, while maintaining the richness of the data (Clason and Dormody, 1994).

3.3 Limitations of the research

Building on the premise that all research methods have inherent biases and limitations, an integrated methodological approach was chosen, hence a mixed method design was adopted (Creswell, 2013). However, the use of this type of design, demanded a great deal of resources, not only financial constrains were encountered, but time required to collect data was very limited.

Originally, three provinces were planned to be visited in order to interview people and apply the survey. However, the activation of the Cotopaxi volcano put the villages where data was supposed to be collected under high alert, and for this reason, the province had to be withdraw from the study. Although, this alteration of plans had a positive outcome, since the researcher was able to attend an important congress. It was not possible to include the views, perceptions and opinions of the people from Cotopaxi in the analysis.

Another limitation of this research was connected with the application of the questionnaire. Despite all the efforts made to produce a simple tool to collect information from respondents, the application of the survey proved to have some difficulties. During the piloting, it became obvious that an interviewer needed to be present while respondents answered the questions, since they always required clarification of some of the questions. This had an impact on the time needed to complete all the questionnaires planned. It was also an indicator that people from rural areas do not feel comfortable when it comes to answering questions in a written

form. It should be also mentioned that some of the interviewees had very poor command of the Spanish language; hence, an interpreter was necessary on a number of occasions. Working with an interpreter inherently influenced the reliability of the answers provided by the respondents. Similarly, the translation from Spanish to English may have also had some effect on the validity of the data collected.

3.4 Conclusion

The investigation did not intend to generate a new theory (inductive) nor to test an existing theory (deductive). The aim of this study required a methodological approach that integrate data-driven and theory-driven analysis, thus a hybrid inductive-deductive approach was chosen. The tension between qualitative and quantitative methods was overcome by the use of a mixed method strategy, which included both types of data. However, it was clear that qualitative data required more time than expected considering that interviewing is time consuming, whilst the application of the survey was a straightforward process with some minor difficulties.

The decision to use thematic analysis over grounded theory was based on the flexibility of the former to relate the analysis to different epistemological and ontological positions. Although, grounded theory could have been used for the analysis with similar findings. For the quantitative data analysis, the use of non-parametrical tests is the most important aspect to appreciate. Non-parametrical tests were used because no statistical generalization was intended, but an in-depth understanding of the views of the respondents in relation to the concept investigated.

Chapter 4. Quantitative Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises two main sections. The first section deals with the description of the case study, in which detailed information about Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces is presented. The second section outlines the quantitative findings generated from the answers provided by the people who completed the questionnaire. In addition, the second section provides a graphical exploration of the quantitative data, together with some cross-tabulations to examine the type of relationship between different variables identified during the analysis.

The introduction of a quantitative approach in the study was intended to produce some further evidence to explain and corroborate the qualitative findings. Therefore, the aim of the quantitative data collection and analysis was to see the extent to which qualitative findings (Chapter 5) could be generalised beyond face-to-face interviews and focus groups.

4.2 Case study description

Ecuador is a small but diverse country, and the contrast is most evident when comparing the rural structures in its ecological regions, i.e.: the Coastal region, Andean region and lowland or Amazon region (Figure 1.1). The country is administratively divided into provinces, cantons and parishes. Within parishes, local people usually refer to villages as communities, especially in rural areas, where the term community is widely used in different contexts.

The villages or communities chosen for data collection are located in the Andean highlands of Ecuador. Specifically, Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces were selected as case study, although Cotopaxi province was also considered, but not included (Chapter 3). In the two provinces, indigenous and mestizo people have been living together since colonial times. However, indigenous people are usually found in the highlands, whilst mestizo people are located in the lower lands.

In the Andean region of Ecuador, one noteworthy characteristic is the fact that in the two provinces the agrarian reforms from the 1960s and 1970s had little impact on the distribution of land (De Zaldívar, 2008). Therefore, conflicts between peasant villages and elites remains an important political issue (Huarcaya, 2018). The concentration of land has limited the possibility of a long-lasting structural change (Larrea and Green, 2018) and has contributed to the racial discrimination that continues to be pervasive in Ecuador (Chapter 1).

Despite the concentration of land in the hands of the few, Tungurahua and Chimborazo have experienced significant improvements in the reduction of poverty and inequality. The approval of the SSE act in 2011 (Chapter 2), paved the way for the implementation of economic practices that aimed to achieve BV. The analysis of the data collected from the two provinces intended to determine to what extent SSE practices have contributed to improve social indicators in the Andean region. For this, the following four aspects were considered before fieldwork took place.

- 1) The Andean economic indigenous practices represent the basis of the modern concept of SSE that is being implemented in Ecuador (Vázquez et al., 2013).
- 2) The BV concept is grounded on the SK, which has its origin in the Andean view of community wellbeing (Radcliffe, 2012).
- 3) The informal economy, known as popular economy in Latin America, (Fonteneau et al., 2010) is highly practiced in the two provinces.
- 4) A large number of savings and credit cooperatives societies, which are considered part of the SSE system (Coraggio, 2015); operate in the two provinces (El Telegrafo, 2013).

4.2.1 Tungurahua province

Tungurahua province is located in the centre of the country (Figure 4.1) and takes its name from the Tungurahua volcano, which has been active since August 1999. The name Tungurahua comes from the Kichwa language and means ‘throat of fire’. Another popular name of this volcano is ‘black giant’. Local people call the volcano ‘*Mama Tungurahua*’ (Mother Tungurahua). According to Hollenstein and Ospina Peralta (2014), Tungurahua stands out among other provinces due to its long history of access to land and primary education among rural smallholders.

The capital of Tungurahua is Ambato, which lies in a valley at the centre of the province. The city is known as the ‘land of flowers and fruits’, which portrays what is produced in this area and emphasises the nature of most of the economic activities in the province. Agriculture and livestock are considered the main sources of income in rural areas and Ambato is the primary market for those products. This is more evident on Mondays, when people from rural areas come to the city to sell their products at open markets.

Tungurahua’s provincial government has invested heavily in infrastructure that improved rural roads, water systems, markets, education and social services (Pratt and Warner, 2018). The provincial level is in charge of rural roads and irrigation, the canton and parish levels are

in charge of sewers, rubbish collection and streetlights, whilst the village or community level is in charge of water for human consumption.

Since 2000, the provincial government has created a transformative territorial coalition that resulted in a very effective way to pressure the central government to invest in the region. The national government has contributed to support the provincial plan for economic growth and social inclusion (Hollenstein and Ospina Peralta, 2014). This territorial coalition represents a hallmark of Tungurahua's provincial government and allowed full decentralisation to local control at the provincial, municipality and village levels (Martínez and North, 2009).



Figure 4.1 Map of Tungurahua (GeographicMedia, 2018)

Besides agriculture and livestock, Tungurahua has other important economic activities that include tanneries, food production, agricultural processing, textiles and the automotive bodywork industry (HGPT, 2017). The latter has become a significant source of income and employment due to the central location of the province and it makes the city of Ambato one of the most attractive industrial hubs for private investors (HGPT, 2017). Despite this industrial reputation, Ambato has high levels of informal economic activity.

Residents of rural areas in Tungurahua usually commute to Ambato for work, higher education, public services and to sell their products. Once these activities are completed, people return in the evening to their homes in the rural hinterland. This relationship between the city of Ambato and rural communities made Berdegué et al. (2015) to describe the province as 'rurban'. This urban-rural synergy has helped the province to balance development between urban and rural areas (Martínez and North, 2009).

In Tungurahua, indigenous people represent an important group. According to the provincial government, four nationalities or groups of indigenous peoples can be found: Tomabela, Chibuleo, Quisapincha and Salasaka. It is believed that the Salasaka group came from Bolivia before the Spanish invasion (HGPT, 2017). Each group has their own culture, geographic location and dress style, although traditional clothes for all groups include ponchos and hats, which depending on the group, differ in colour and shape. For this study, data from indigenous people were collected from Tomabela and Chibuleo groups, which correspond to the groups of indigenous people that were working with the local NGO that contributed to this study.

The number of indigenous people in Tungurahua is relatively small compared to Chimborazo. However, some of them have become wealthy and influential, especially those who are working for savings and credit cooperatives societies. The indigenous population in Tungurahua is 12%, and the mestizo population represents 82% (Figure 4.2). Indigenous rural residents of Tungurahua are mostly concentrated in the highlands, whilst, mestizo rural residents are usually located in the lower lands. For both groups, agriculture and livestock represent the main economic activities. According to some locals, agriculture is no longer a profitable activity and it is being practiced, in many cases, just for tradition rather than business (Chapter 5).

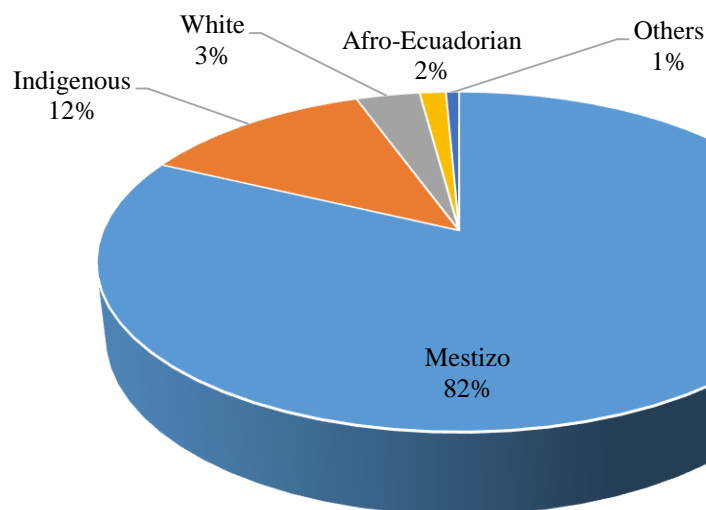


Figure 4.2 Ethnic distribution in Tungurahua (INEC, 2010)

During the 1990s, poverty reduction programmes became one of the most important and ambitious objectives of national governments in Latin America and international NGOs decided to contribute to these programmes (Hentschel and Waters, 2002). International

development cooperation in Ecuador has traditionally shown a preference for areas with larger indigenous populations, where poverty indicators have shown a more severe situation.

Cooperation of development agencies in Tungurahua experienced a substantial increase after the volcano became active in 1999. The activation of the volcano generated enormous amounts of ash affecting the fruit and horticulture production, which together with grass, that is used to feed animals, had a tremendous negative impact on the livelihoods of most of the families in rural Tungurahua (De Zaldívar, 2008). According to the international cooperation department of Ecuador, 30% of the aid from international agencies in Tungurahua has focused on production projects, whilst 27% has focused on social projects, and 43% has focused on other projects. There has been a lot of interest from the international cooperation in the recovery and alleviation of the negative effects of the ashes from the Tungurahua volcano on the agricultural sector (De Zaldívar, 2008). The international cooperation department also indicates that between 2007 and 2014 the international aid in Tungurahua comes primarily from Germany 32.22%, United States 24.56% and Spain 9.43%.

The international and external aid in Tungurahua has played a crucial role in the formation and development of a large number of savings and credit cooperative societies. These types of financial organisations are directly linked to SSE (Chapter 2). According to a press release from 2013, the number of members of the savings and credit cooperatives are much higher than the number of clients in formal banking. In fact, the country had 3,932 cooperatives (El Telegrafo, 2013), a striking number considering the size of the country. In Tungurahua, it is believed that there are at least 700 savings and credit cooperative societies most of them serving people in the rural sector of the province.

During the last decade, Tungurahua was able to achieve economic growth and reduce inequality at the same time (Pratt and Warner, 2018). According to Berdegué et al. (2015), Tungurahua is one of the few places in rural Latin America, where a synergy between economic growth and social inclusion can be seen. This achievement can be explained by the industrial nature of Ambato, where the small-scale manufacturing generates employment in the city, whilst agriculture and livestock generate income in the rural hinterland.

4.2.2 Chimborazo Province

Chimborazo province is also located in the centre of the country, more specifically to the south of Tungurahua province (Figure 4.3). Similarly, it takes its name from the Chimborazo volcano, which is supposedly extinct, although recent studies indicates that it is still active and some experts fear an eruption in the near future.

The name Chimborazo also comes from the Kichwa language and means ‘the snow on the other side’ (Chimborazo Government Web Page, 2015). Locals call the volcano ‘*Taita Chimborazo*’ (Father Chimborazo). The capital of this province is Riobamba, which was the first city that the Spanish founded in Ecuador. The name of the city, when it was founded in 1534 was ‘Santiago de Quito’. During colonial times, Riobamba became the biggest city in Ecuador until 1797 when a powerful earthquake destroyed it (Chimborazo Government Web Page, 2015).



Figure 4.3 Map of Chimborazo (GeographicMedia, 2018)

As in the case of Tungurahua, agriculture and livestock are considered the main source of income in rural Chimborazo. However, the big market that occurs on Mondays in Ambato cannot be seen in Riobamba. In fact, some small and middle scale farmers from Chimborazo sell their products on Mondays during the big market in Ambato. Other important economic activities include tanneries and agricultural processing (especially dairy products).

Chimborazo and Tungurahua provinces are very similar; however, the former stands out because it has the highest percentage and population of indigenous people of any province in Ecuador (Figure 4.4). In this province, four indigenous groups have been identified: Colta, Osoche, Chimbo and Puruhá (Chimborazo Government Web Page, 2015). The latter is the largest group and similarly, their traditional clothes include ponchos and hats.

The large amount of indigenous people in this province has been object of a lot of attention by some scholars (De Zaldívar, 2008). Despite the abolition of the *'Huasipungo'* system and the agrarian reforms, promulgated in the 1960s and 1970s, land concentration in Chimborazo has been more evident than other provinces (Hentschel and Waters, 2002). The agrarian reforms did not improve the situation of indigenous people, who continued suffering descrimination and exploitation (Huarcaya, 2018).

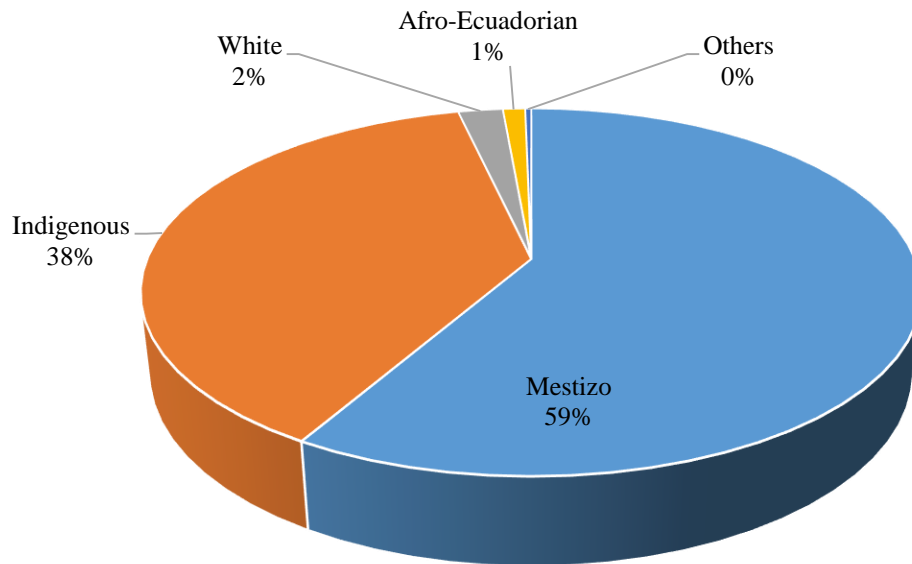


Figure 4.4 Ethnic distribution in Chimborazo (INEC, 2010)

The abolition of the *'Huasipungo'* system only promoted the idea that mestizos should be the dominant group (Lyons, 2006). Moreover, Chimborazo is one of the places in Ecuador where discrimination against indigenous people is more noticeable Torre (1999). The mestizo in Chimborazo has been responsible for the introduction of numerous mechanisms of racial exclusion. In the city of Riobamba, whiteness is desired among families, whilst dark skin, Kichwa surnames and indigenous traditions are rejected (Espinosa Apolo, 2003).

On the positive side, the number of indigenous people in Chimborazo had made the province the object of a lot of support from the international development cooperation. Since the rural development movement of the Andean Mission of the United Nations in the 1950s and 1960s, international development agencies have been very active in Chimborazo. At the beginning of the 21st century, Chimborazo had the highest concentration of external aid in Ecuador (North and Cameron, 2003). One of the most important and well-recognised international NGOs that has been working in rural development in Chimborazo is the FEPP (Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio). FEPP was founded in 1970 by Monsignor Candido Rada, initially as a lending agency that specialized in providing credit to small-scale peasants, but FEPP has been evolving during the years supporting indigenous and mestizo people especially with the

formation and strengthening of local organisations. The number of NGOs working in Chimborazo has declined during the last few years, but it is generally agreed that the support from these agencies contributed to the development of the indigenous organisational capacity, which was especially important during the uprisings in the 1990s (Chapter 1).

Despite the important contribution from the international development cooperation, the situation of indigenous people in Chimborazo did not experience significant changes in the last few years (North and Cameron, 2003). The provincial government has not created a transformative territorial coalition as in the case of Tungurahua. The investment of the central government in the region has little impact on the reduction of poverty, inequality and discrimination. The central government has focused on investments in infrastructure, which has improved rural roads, water access, education and social services. However, the province has not experienced the long-lasting structural changes that BV principles promised to bring.

4.3 Data analysis

For the analysis of quantitative data of this study, descriptive statistics were used, attempting to understand what the descriptions might mean and what patterns might emerge. The analysis of the quantitative data comprises two parts to reflect the two main sections of the questionnaire. In the first part, basic demographic information from respondents was obtained. The second part enquired about factors in life that people valued with regards to what it means to live well, and requested respondents to indicate their level of agreement with statements that were designed to produce information related to BV, SK and SSE.

4.3.1 First section of the questionnaire

The first part of the analysis was focused on the respondents' basic demographic information, which includes residence, age, gender, marital status, occupation and ethnic origin. For this, a graphical exploration of the data in the form of bar charts and boxplots was used. In addition, cross-tabulations to examine relationships between variables were used. The cross-tabulation is one of the most frequent methods of the analysis of questionnaire data (Greasley, 2007).

Figure 4.5 shows the frequency distribution of the respondents considering their residence. Of the total questionnaires that were completed, 65% were completed by people from the Tungurahua province, (161). One possible explanation for this is the fact that the NGO, which collaborated with this study, is based in Tungurahua and this could have had an impact on the predisposition of respondents. On the other hand, in the Chimborazo province 87 questionnaires were completed (35%).

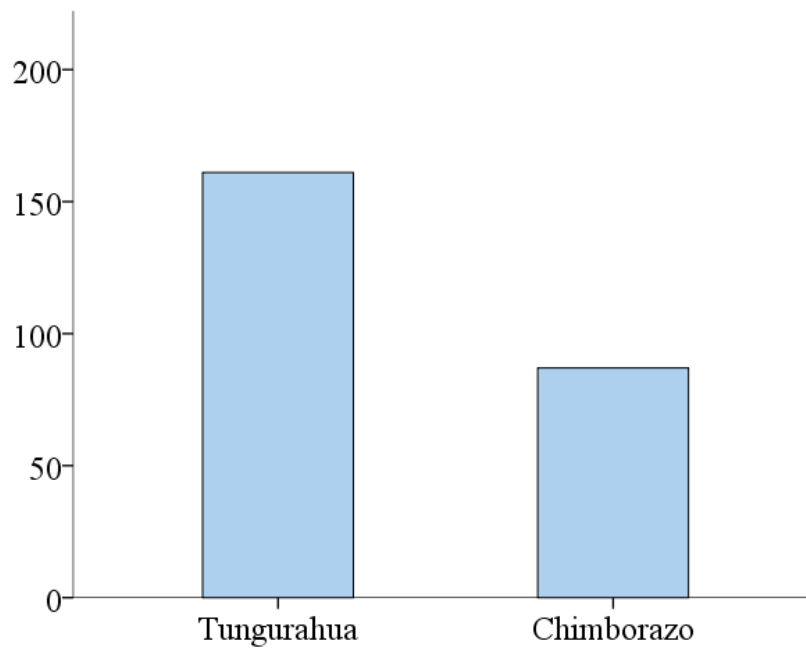


Figure 4.5 Residence of respondents

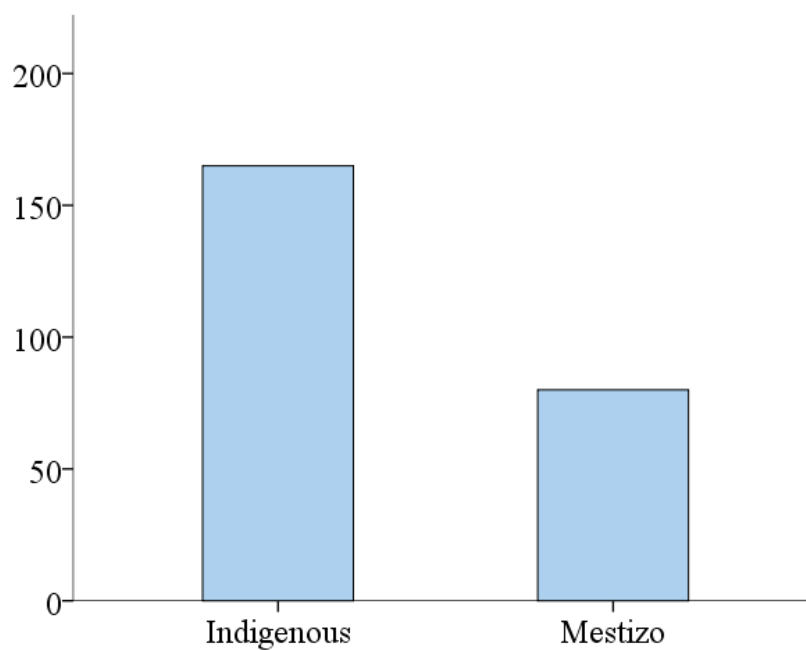


Figure 4.6 Ethnic distribution

In terms of ethnic distribution, figure 4.6 indicates that more indigenous people completed the survey. In fact, 165 respondents were indigenous, which represented 65% of the sample, while 80 respondents were mestizo, which represented 35% of the sample. This distribution was expected, since one of the criteria for the selection of the respondents, described earlier in

this chapter, was that the respondents must come from the rural area, and be specifically indigenous, but not exclusively.

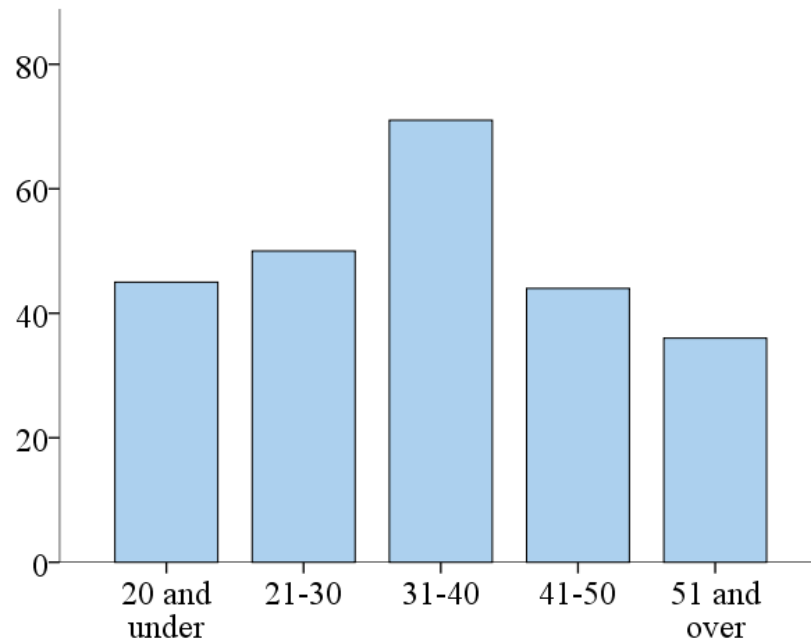


Figure 4.7 Age distribution of all respondents

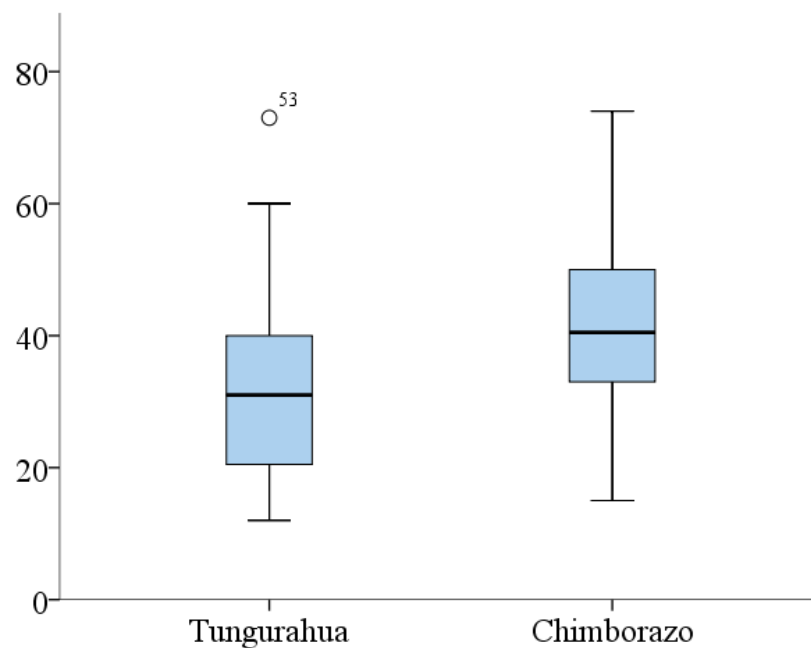


Figure 4.8 Age distribution of respondents by residence

Figures 4.7 and 4.8 show age frequency distribution of the respondents. It can be seen from figure 4.7 that the age range between 31 and 40 was slightly higher compared to the other age ranges. In figure 4.8, the boxplot shows a distribution reasonably symmetric, with the exception of one outlier in the Tungurahua province. The median age of respondents from

Tungurahua was slightly lower than the median age of respondents from Chimborazo. Respondents from the Tungurahua province were younger than respondents from Chimborazo; however, the boxplot also shows that the spread of ages was roughly similar for both groups. This age distribution was very similar to the respondents who participated in the face-to-face interviews and focus groups.

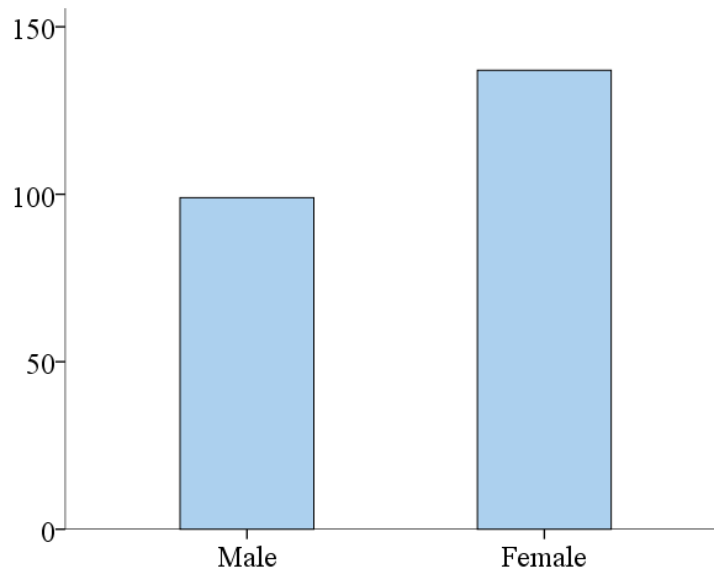


Figure 4.9 Gender distribution of respondents

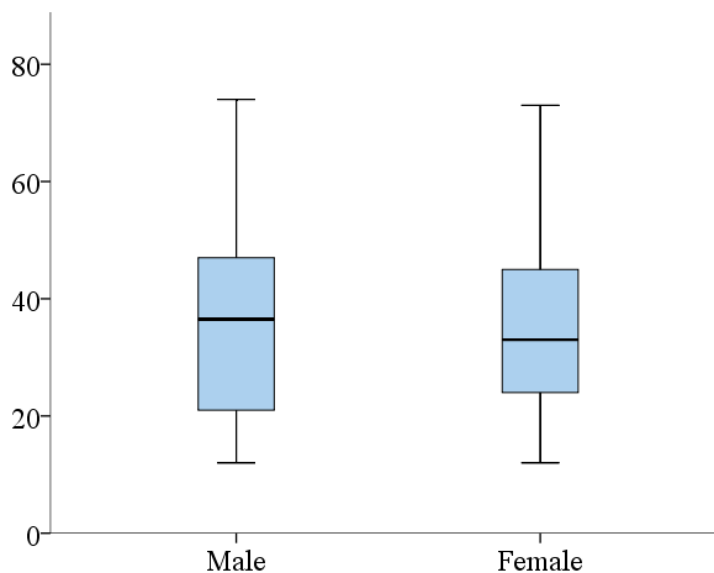


Figure 4.10 Gender and age distribution of respondents

Figure 4.9 indicates that women show a greater tendency to complete the questionnaires, which was consistent with the respondents who participated in the qualitative data collection. When respondents were filling in the questionnaire, it could be observed that women were less likely to deter from answering the questionnaire, while men seemed to be less enthusiastic to answer the questions.

Figure 4.10 shows a boxplot that compares the respondents' ages of males and females. It can be seen that the median age of males was slightly higher; however, the age ranges were quite similar. The boxplot also shows that the spread of ages is reasonably symmetrical and free of outliers for both groups.

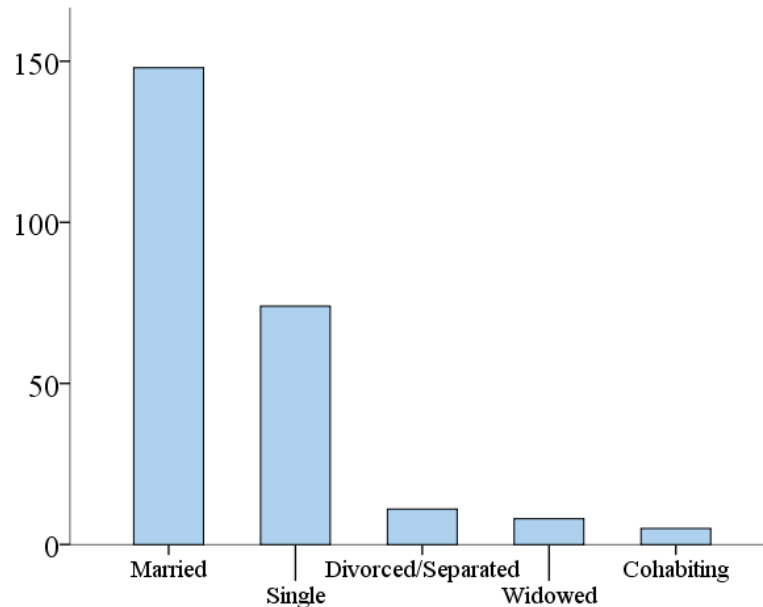


Figure 4.11 Marital status respondents

Figure 4.11 shows the marital status of the respondents. Most of the respondents indicated that they were either married or single at the time of the survey. This information was considered relevant since one of the items from question 1 of the survey inquired about the importance of having a spouse and/or partner as part of the factors for living well. According to Diener et al. (1999), there is a positive relationship between marriage and subjective wellbeing (SWB), they argue that large-scale surveys have revealed that married people are happier than those single, divorced, separated or widowed. During focus groups, having children, was recognized as a very important aspect in life to achieve WB, according to both, indigenous and non-indigenous people (Table 5.3).

A cross-tabulation test between marital status and the importance of having a partner was performed and the value for Chi-square was 125.121($p < 0.001$), which would indicate a significant association between marital status and the importance of having a partner (Appendix D1).

Similarly, a cross-tabulation between marital status and the importance of having children was performed. However, the results in this case were unreliable since the Chi-square assumption of independence was violated. For this reason a Kendall's tau test between the importance of having a partner and the importance of having children was performed. The results of the test

indicated a correlation coefficient of 0.581 ($p < 0.001$), which would suggest a positive association between the importance of having a partner and the importance of having children (Appendix D2). In other words, having a partner is important, mainly because allows people to have children.

According to Pallant (2013), the violation of the Chi-square assumption could be the result of a sample size that is not large enough, or it could be that Chi-square test ignores any possible ordering of the variables (Miller, 2017). The latter is probably the explanation in this case, since the Likert-type items of the questionnaire were treated as ordinal variables. When a violation of the Chi-square assumption occurs, due to the use of ordinal variables, a Kendall's tau test should be applied, since the correlation coefficient of this test is used to measure ordinal association between two variables (Pallant, 2013).

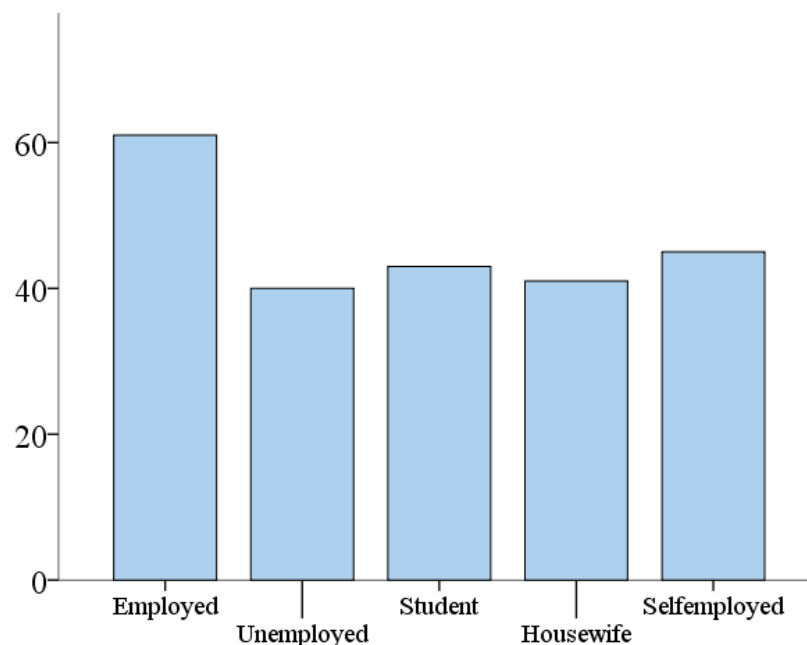


Figure 4.12 Occupation respondents

Figure 4.12 shows occupation of the respondents. The questionnaire included 6 options in this category: employed (paid job, including social security benefits), unemployed (not perceiving any income), student (full-time), housewife (only working at home), self-employed (own business), and retired (a person over 65 years, who receives social security benefits). The last option was not chosen by any of the respondents, which could be attributed to the fact that in rural areas, the elderly usually do not receive social security benefits.

Similarly, focus group respondents indicated that, to have a paid job is an important aspect in life to live well (Chapter 5). The occupation of respondents was cross-tabulated with this

aspect in life, to find out whether or not having a paid job was in fact an aspiration to live well. The cross-tabulation table (Appendix D3) indicated that, except from the employed people, the proportion of respondents were equally distributed across the other occupations, which might suggest that to have a paid job is only important to those who actually have a paid job. On the other hand, Chi-square was 32.109 and $p=0.01$ (Appendix D3), which would indicate a significant association between paid job and occupation of respondents. However, in this case the Chi-square assumption was also violated, which makes the test unreliable.

During focus groups interviews, it was suggested that to have a paid job is very important only if you do not own any land to cultivate crops (indigenous people), while mestizo people indicated that to have a job is important because agriculture is no longer a profitable.

4.3.2 Second section of the questionnaire

The second part of the questionnaire had two sections. Question 1 represented the first section, in which respondents' views with regards to what factors in life contribute to living well were obtained. In the following questions, respondents were asked to indicate the level of agreement (Likert-type-data) with statements elaborated to obtain information about the subjects under investigation. Similarly, a graphical exploration of the data was utilized, this included frequencies and cross-tabulations, as advised by Boone and Boone (2012).

For the second part of the questionnaire, indigenous and non-indigenous data were separated and analysed to see the differences and similarities that could be encountered. However, it became apparent that there was no significant differences between indigenous and non-indigenous people's answers and for this reason bar charts, frequencies and cross-tabulations were produced including both ethnic groups.

Question 1 of the questionnaire provided 12 accounts of WB, 8 of them inspired during the collection of qualitative data in the focus groups, and the last 4 were taken from the Stiglitz report (Table 4.1). Graphic exploration of the answers was made using bar charts, which illustrated the views of respondents, who were asked to indicate how important they considered, each of the aspects presented to them.

Figures 4.13 and 4.14 show that access to healthcare and education were both considered very important for virtually all the respondents. This corroborated with what interviewees indicated during qualitative data collection. There is no doubt that for both indigenous and non-indigenous people, access to quality healthcare and education represent the basis to live well in their communities, however, the reasons behind these answers could only be obtained during the face-to-face interviews and focus groups (Chapter 5).

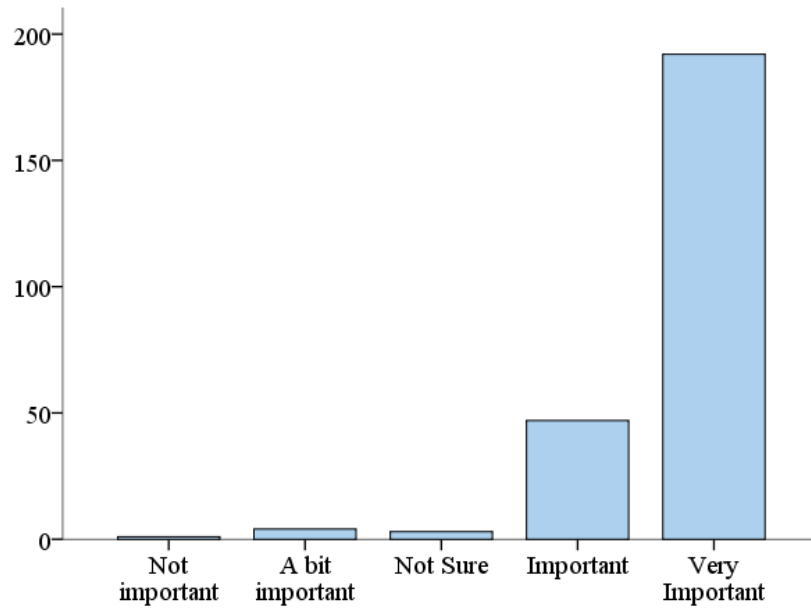


Figure 4.13 Access to health services

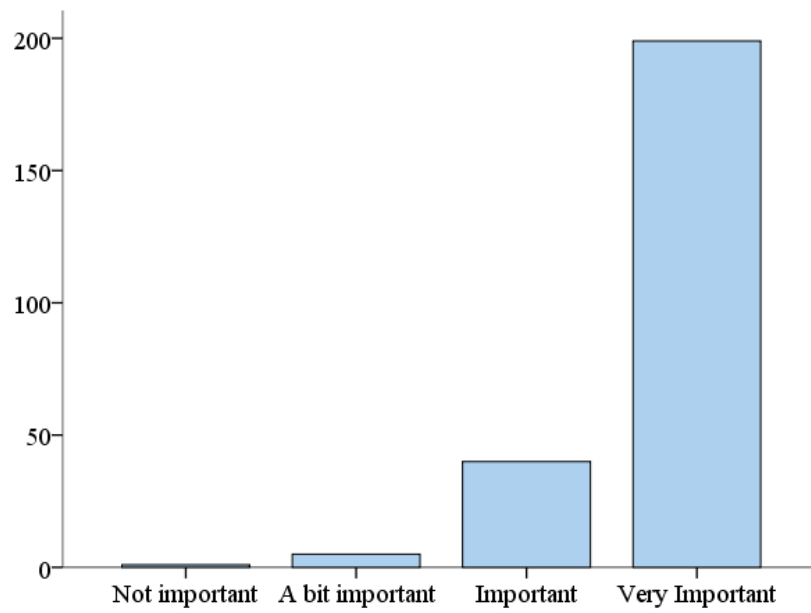


Figure 4.14 Access to education

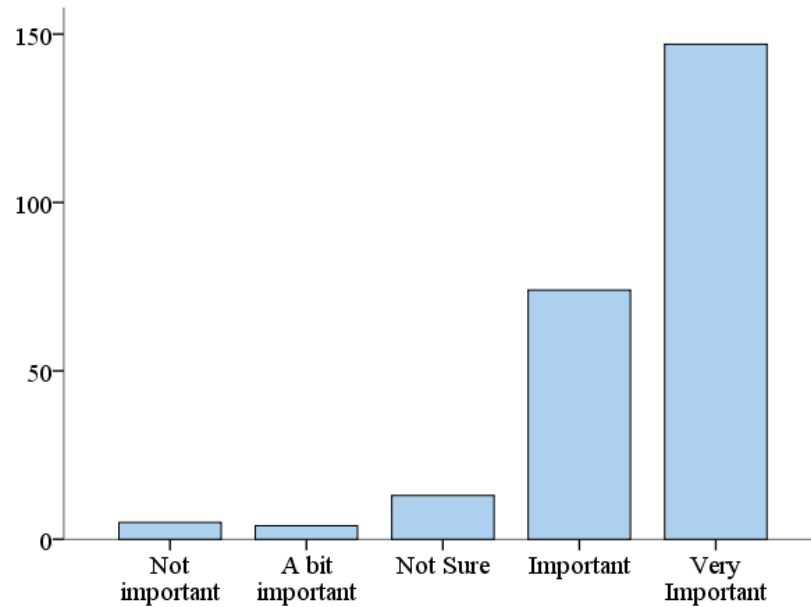


Figure 4.15 Have a paid job

Figure 4.15 shows that to have a paid job was considered a very important factor. Work is potentially related to subjective wellbeing since it could provide an optimal level of stimulation and a sense of identity and meaning (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). Although, as already described earlier in this chapter, a cross-tabulation suggested that this preference of respondents was more popular among those who had a paid job (Appendix D3). This might suggest that a paid job is relevant only to those who has one.

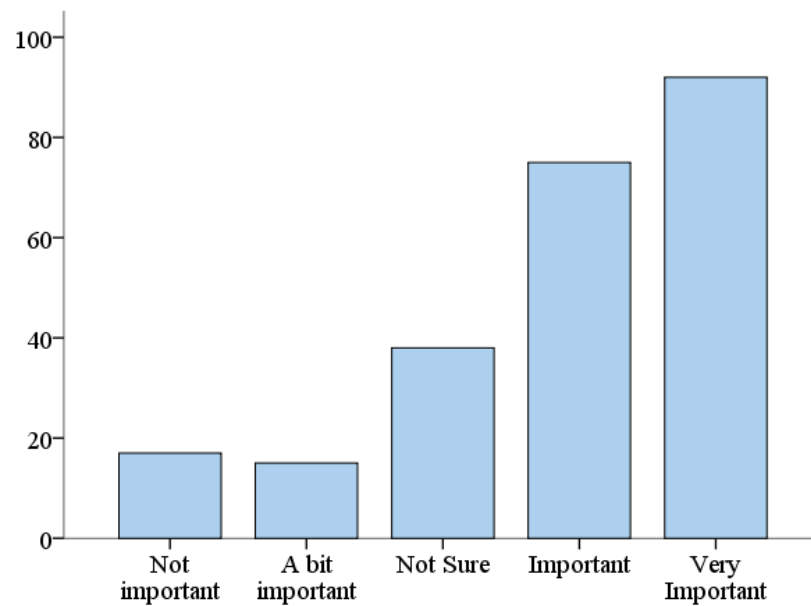


Figure 4.16 Have a spouse or partner

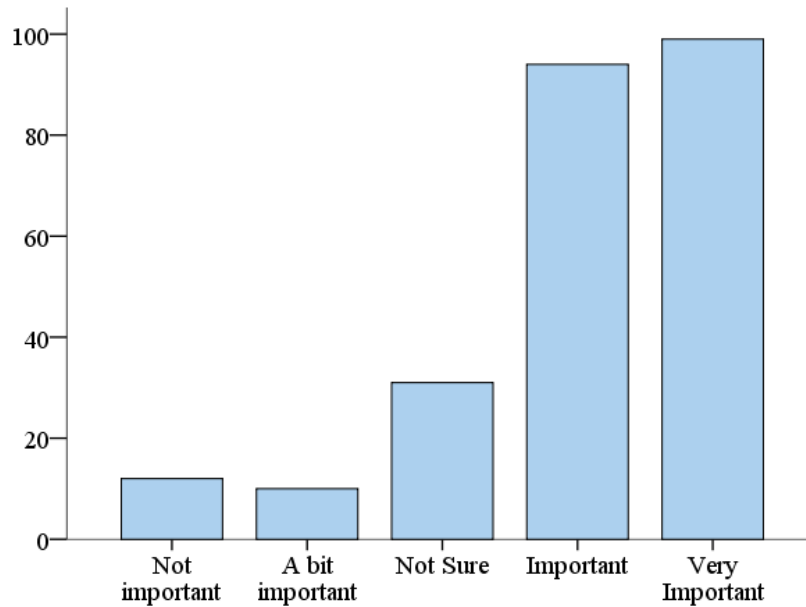


Figure 4.17 Have children

Figures 4.16 and 4.17 indicate how important it was to have a spouse/partner and to have children respectively. It can be seen that to have a partner is less important than to have children, in fact, the results from the cross-tabulation between marital status and have children suggested that getting married is important, but only because it allows people to have children. A correlation between having a partner and having children revealed that Kendall's tau coefficient was 0.581 ($p < 0.001$) (Appendix D2), which would suggest a significant association between having a partner (not marital status) and having children.

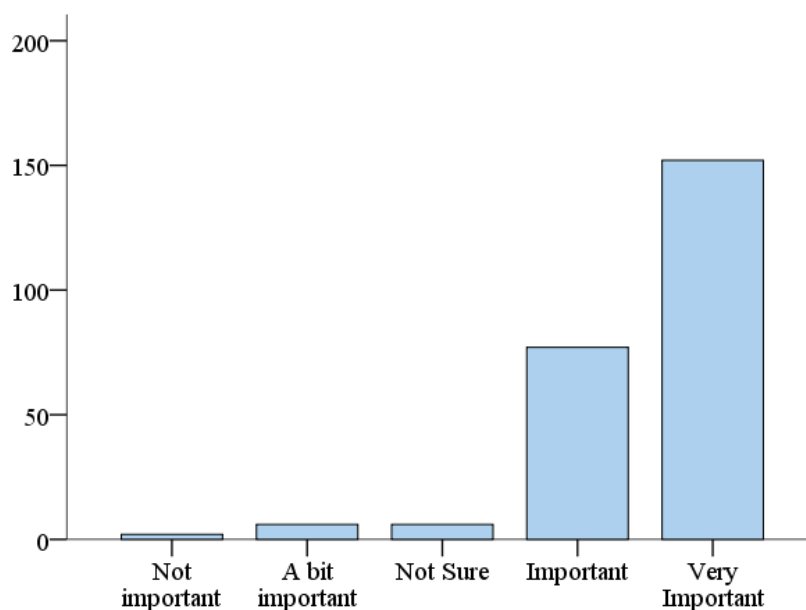


Figure 4.18 Be recognized/respected

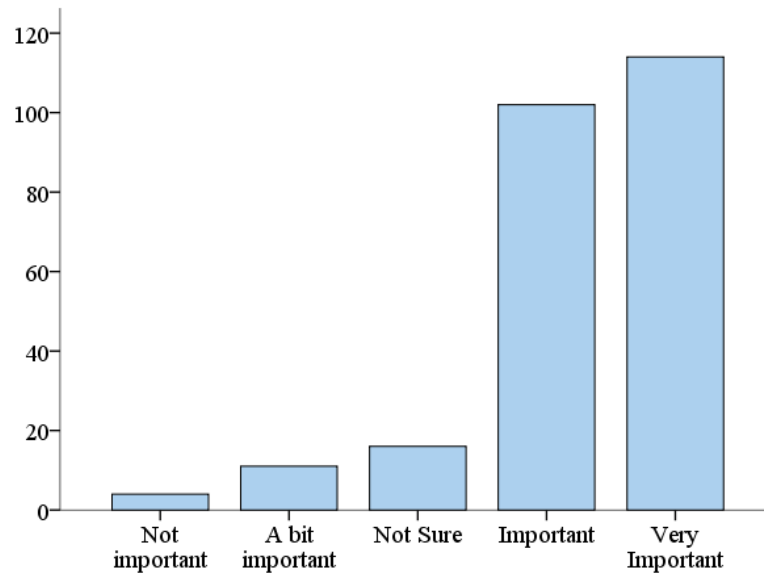


Figure 4.19 Have friends

Figures 4.18 and 4.19 show how important it was for respondents to be recognized/respected and to have friends respectively. To be recognized and/or respected in the communities was identified as an important factor to living well during qualitative data collection, whilst to have friends was a factor included in the questionnaire because it was part of the Stiglitz report.

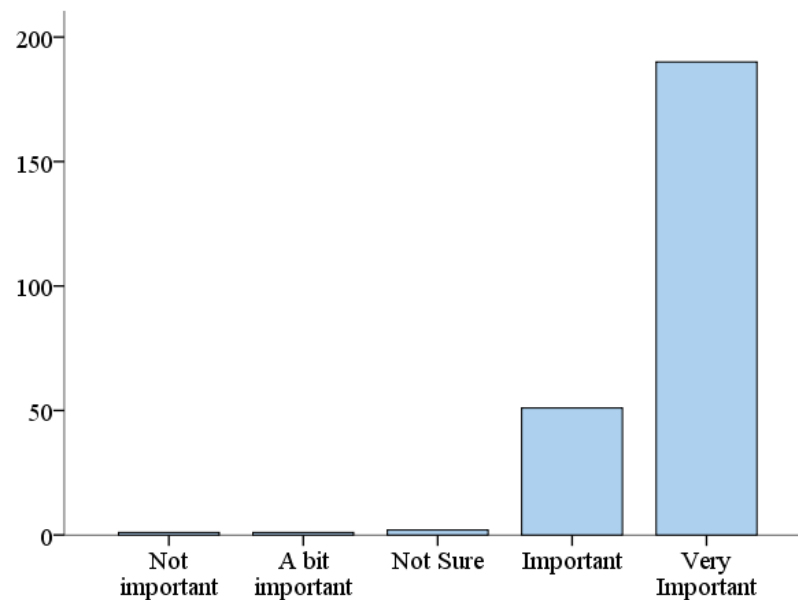


Figure 4.20 Clean environment

Figure 4.20 demonstrates how important it was to have a clean environment for respondents. It is evident from the bar chart that virtually all respondents considered a clean environment as a very important aspect to living well. A cross-tabulation between ethnic origin and a clean environment indicated that Chi-square was 2.069, and $p=0.723$, which would indicate that

there was no association between these variables (Appendix D4). This might suggest that a clean environment was equally important for all the respondents, regardless of their ethnic origin.

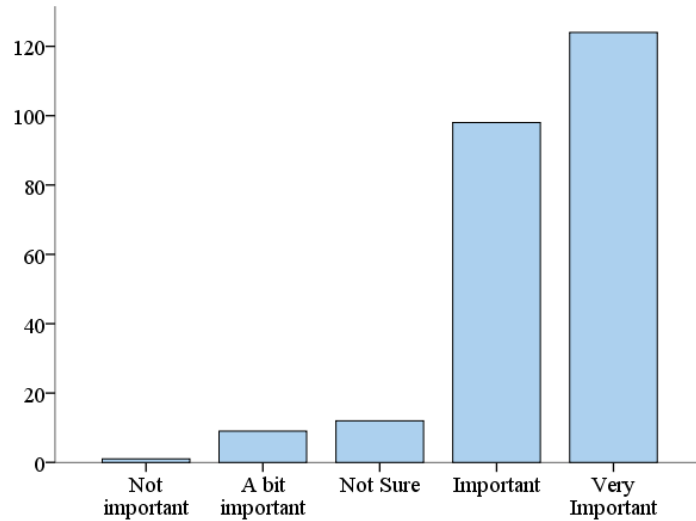


Figure 4.21 Time for leisure

Figure 4.21 shows how important it was for the respondents to enjoy leisure time. The bar chart illustrates that most of the surveyed people distributed their answers between important and very important.

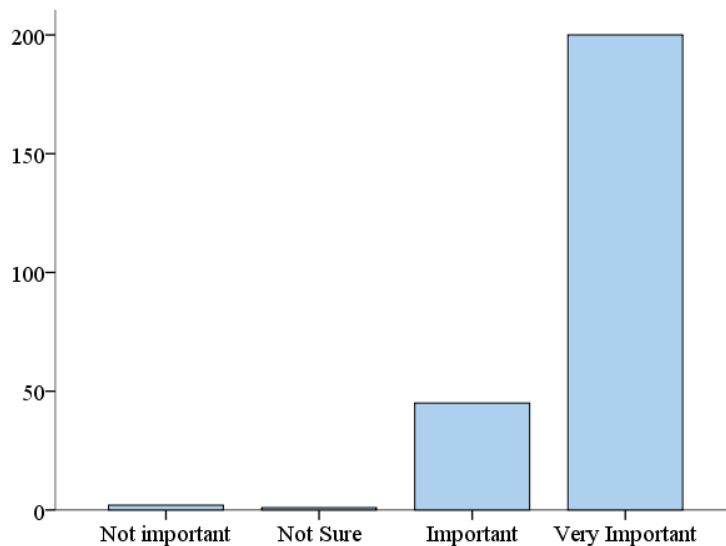


Figure 4.22 Own a house

Figure 4.22 indicates that to own a house was by far a very important factor to live well. This corroborated the findings from the qualitative analysis.

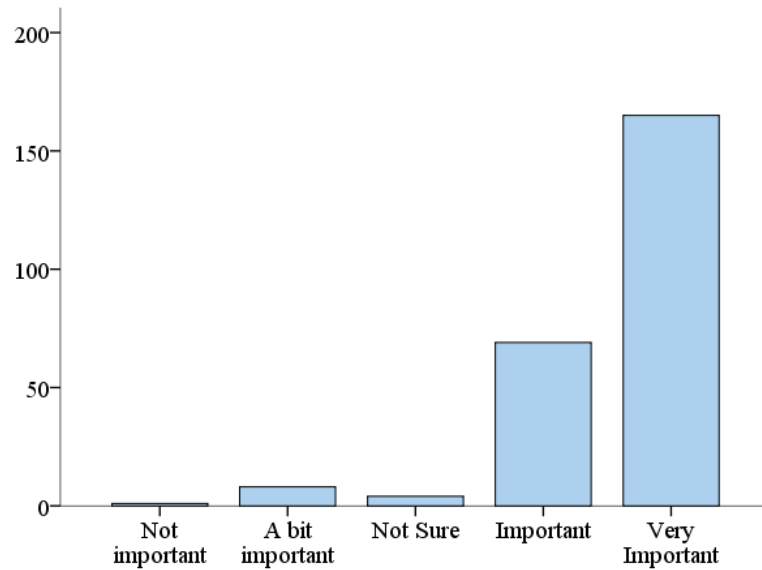


Figure 4.23 Make own decisions

Figure 4.23 shows how important it was for respondents to make their own decisions. The bar chart indicates that the most common response was ‘very important’, which might suggest that participants valued autonomous and volitional behaviour. This, it could be argued, corroborates with what Ryan and Deci (2000) indicated in their self-determination theory, which describes autonomy and the capacity to make own decisions, as part of the 4 motivational concepts to live well.

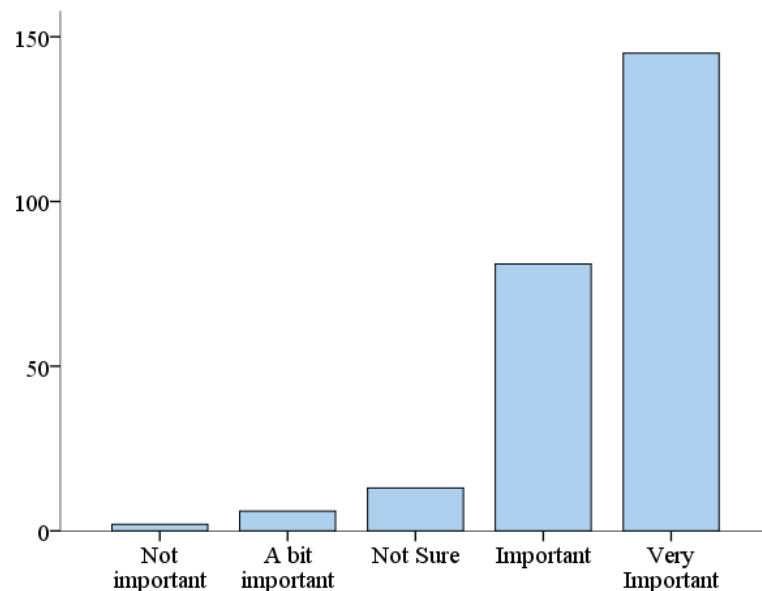


Figure 4.24 Be part of the community/help others

Figure 4.24 indicates how important was to be part of the community and to help others. The bar chart shows a strong preference among respondents for the very important alternative.

This is consistent with the Andean reciprocity practices and also with the ‘minga’ tradition, described in Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 respectively. Being part of the community and helping others can also be related to 1 of the 4 motivational concepts of the self-determination theory.

The following seven figures present answers in regards to the personal wellbeing (WB) or subjective wellbeing (SWB) of the respondents. The seven questions were elaborated considering that the existing literature of BV, suggest that the concept is grounded in theories of WB (Chapter 2). WB can be defined and measured in a variety of ways (Scott, 2012). Measuring the WB of people has become a common concern in many countries, since the indicators of SWB can provide a ‘yardstick’ to guide public policy (Austin, 2016). The Ecuadorian Office for National Statistics has indicated that measuring BV requires a new conceptual framework in order to monitor public policy in terms of poverty reduction and the guarantee of BV rights (Castillo Añazco and Jácome Pérez 2015). According to Gasper (2010), SWB is a multidimensional subject that has at least three main dimensions: positive affect, negative affect and life satisfaction. Question 2 to question 8 of the questionnaire, were constructed to capture some of these dimensions. This included a question that enquired about happiness, since WB is often synonymised with happiness (Scott, 2012).

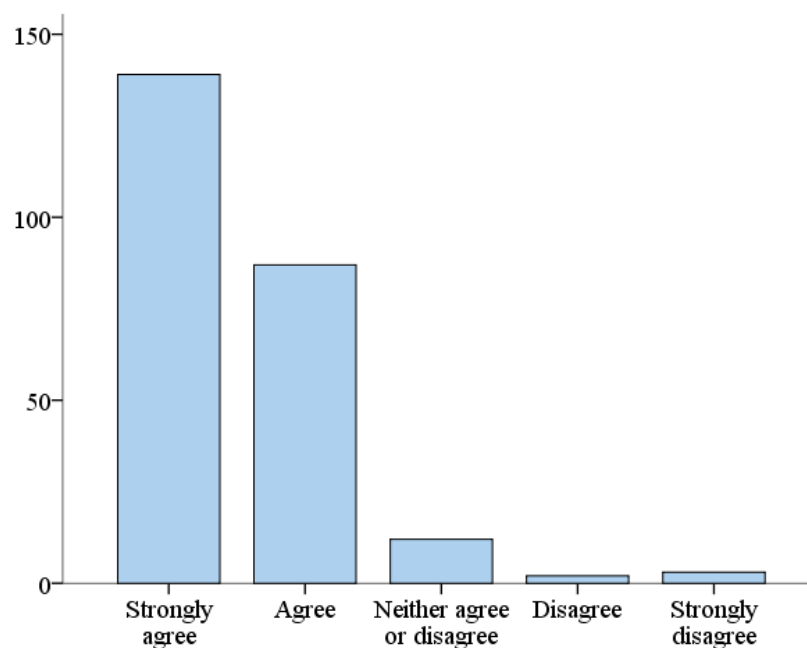


Figure 4.25 I feel satisfied with my life

Figure 4.25 shows the results related to satisfaction with life. Respondents were asked to indicate how satisfied they feel with their lives. The ‘strongly agree’ option was the most frequent answer, the ‘agree’ option was also a common answer, but to a lesser degree. Very similar responds can be seen from figure 4.26, which reports if people felt that the things they

do in their lives are worthwhile and important. Due to the similarity of answers between these two variables, a correlation test was performed. The Kendall's tau coefficient was 0.588 ($p < 0.001$) (Appendix D5), which indicates a positive correlation between satisfaction with life and life worth living.

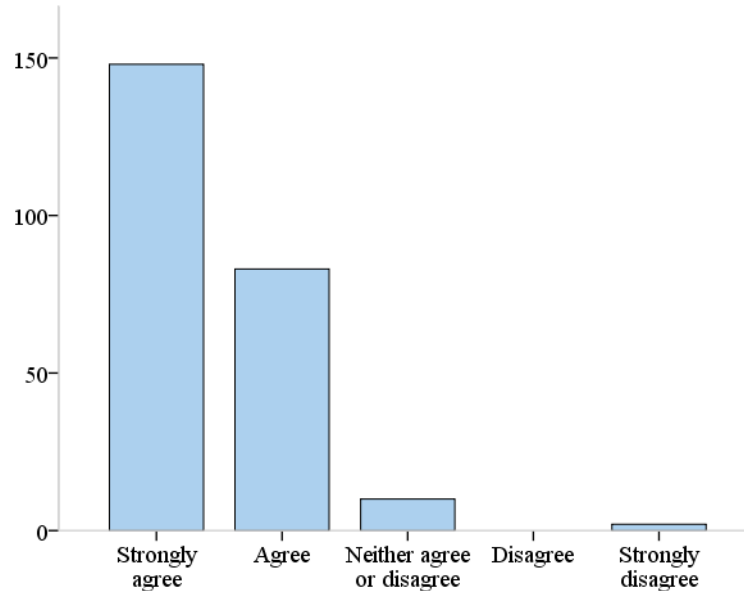


Figure 4.26 The things I do in my life are worthwhile and important

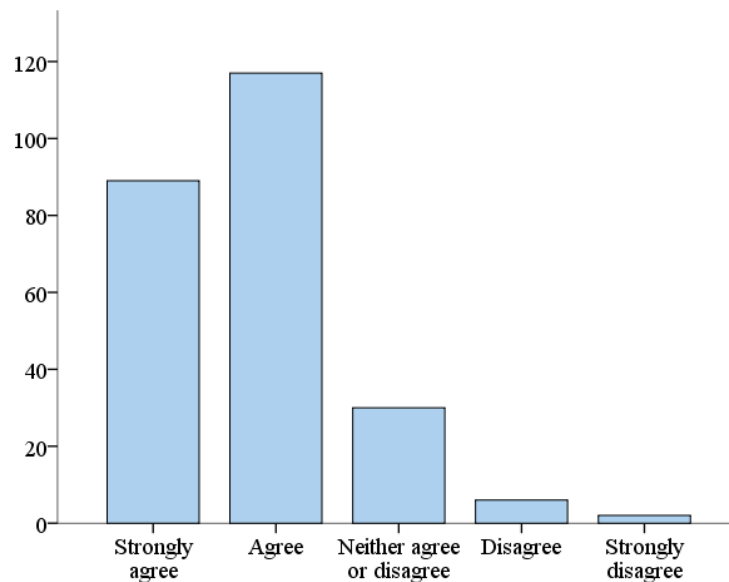


Figure 4.27 Yesterday, on average, I felt happy

Figure 4.27 indicates the answers of respondents in regards to happiness. The bar chart has two peaks, strongly agree and agree, suggesting that most of the respondents were experiencing high levels of happiness at the time of data collection. It should be noticed that respondents were instructed to answer this question considering how they felt the day before

the survey in terms of feeling good or feeling bad. This simple description of happiness is presented by Layard (2011) in his book: ‘Happiness: Lessons from a new science’, in which happiness is defined in terms of how people experience positive and negative feelings.

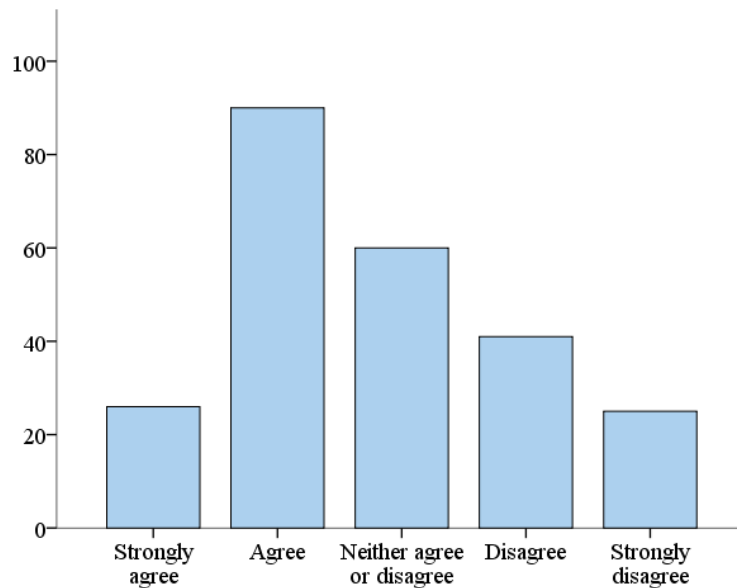


Figure 4.28 Yesterday, on average, I felt worried

Figure 4.28 shows the responses from the question, how worried people felt the day before. Considering the answers from the previous question, it was expected no correlation between levels of happiness and levels of anxiety, since the two variables are mutually exclusive. The Kendall’s tau coefficient was 0.011, and $p=0.836$, which is not surprisingly, and confirms the suspicion of no correlation (Appendix D6).

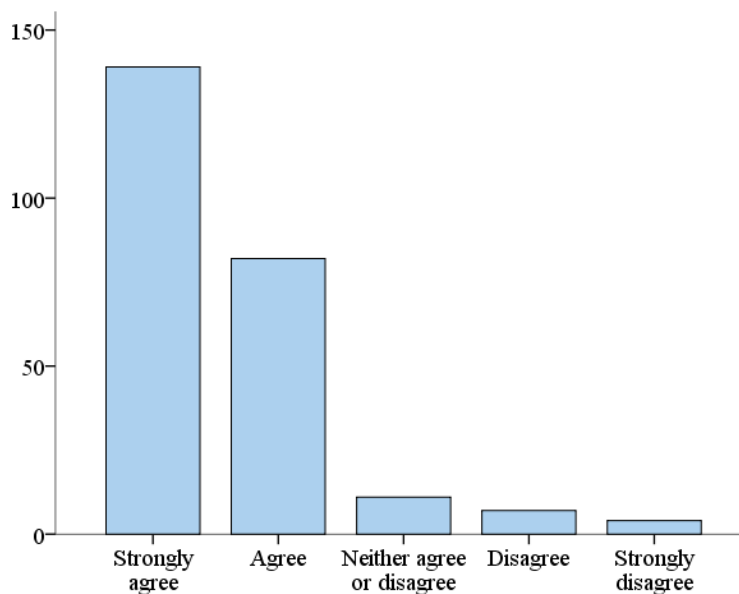


Figure 4.29 When I have a serious problem I have someone to rely on such as spouse/partner, family member or friend

Figure 4.29 indicates that the most frequent response was ‘strongly agree’, when asked if they had someone to rely on if they face a difficulty in their lives. This suggests that the majority of people had someone in their lives to provide support when they needed it. This, it could be argued, is consistent with the Andean reciprocity practices and the ‘*minga*’ tradition.

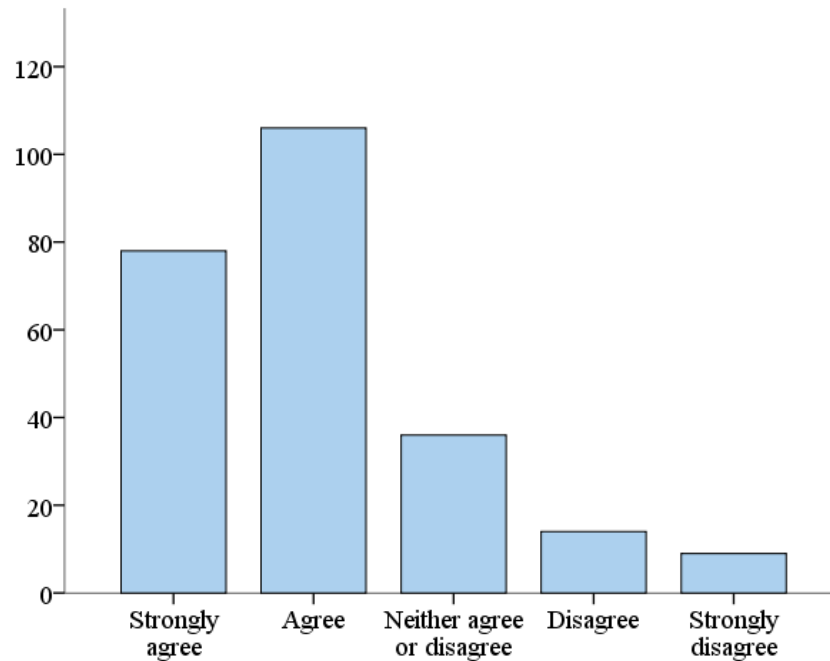


Figure 4.30 I fall asleep easily and get a good night’s rest

Figure 4.30 has two peaks, strongly agree and agree, the latter is slightly higher than the former. In this question, respondents were asked if they fall asleep easily and get a good night’s rest. The results indicate that people in the rural areas, do not have problems to sleep and can get a good rest. This question was considered very important, since a good night’s sleep has been connected to SWB (Diener, 2000). The outcomes of this question did not reveal any striking feature.

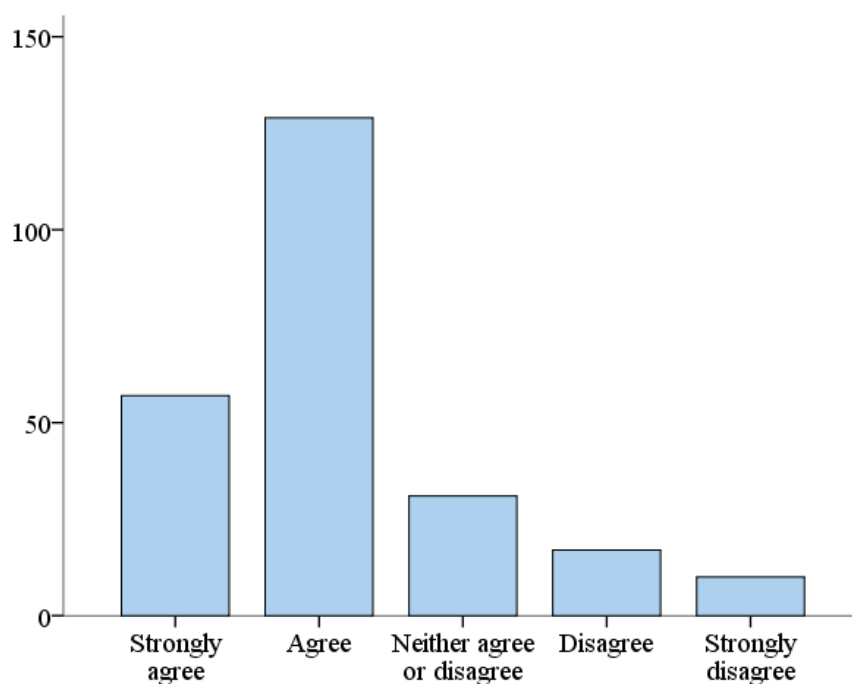


Figure 4.31 I am satisfied with amount of leisure time that I have

Figure 4.31 shows the respondents' answers in regards to the leisure time they had.

Apparently, there is a consensus among participants that they had enough time to do other activities besides work and/or household chores.

The next questions were constructed to obtain information about the perceptions and views of the respondents in regards to the BV, SK and SSE. In addition, questions about the role of the economy, environmental protection and the situation of the country were included.

Figure 4.32 shows that the most common response was 'agree' when participants were asked if they were satisfied with their income, while figure 4.33 shows the amount of money per month that respondents were making at the time of fieldwork. The relationship between income and SWB has been largely studied (Diener et al., 1999). These two questions were included, considering that a great deal of literature suggests that there is a positive correlation between individual income and SWB (Clark et al., 2008), while other literature indicates that there is no association between income and happiness, a phenomenon well-known as the 'Easterlin Paradox'³⁵ (Stevenson and Wolfers, 2008).

³⁵ The Easterlin paradox was proposed by Richard Easterlin, an economist who suggested in 1974 that there is no correlation between economic development of a society (GDP) and the average level of happiness of that society (SWB).

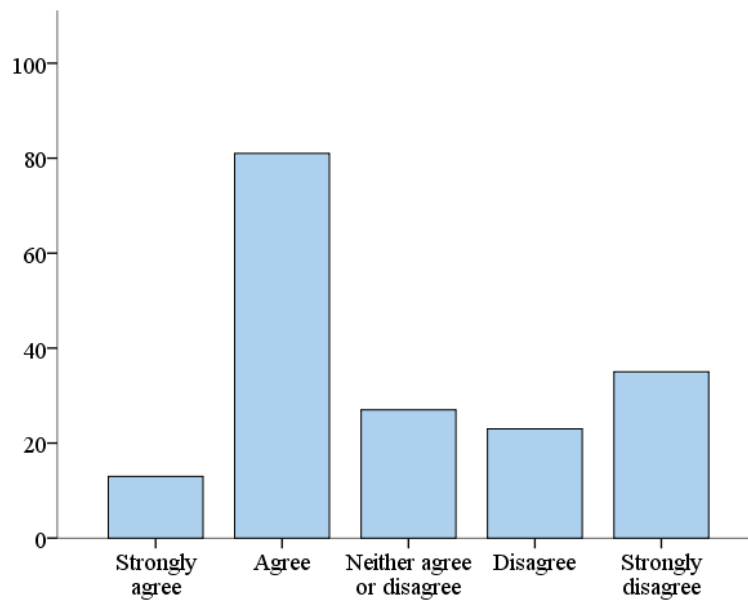


Figure 4.32 Satisfaction with income

The outcomes from figure 4.32 suggest that most of the respondents were satisfied with their income, despite figure 4.33 showing that an important proportion of the participants had no income or their income was less than USD 300 per person/ month. During fieldwork, the minimum salary in Ecuador was USD 354 per month (INEC, 2016). Those who reported to have a paid job were expected to choose the category between USD 300 and USD 500. A correlation between satisfaction with income and income was performed (Appendix D7), which produced a Kendall's tau coefficient of -0.244 ($p < 0.001$), which suggests a negative correlation between satisfaction with income and income.

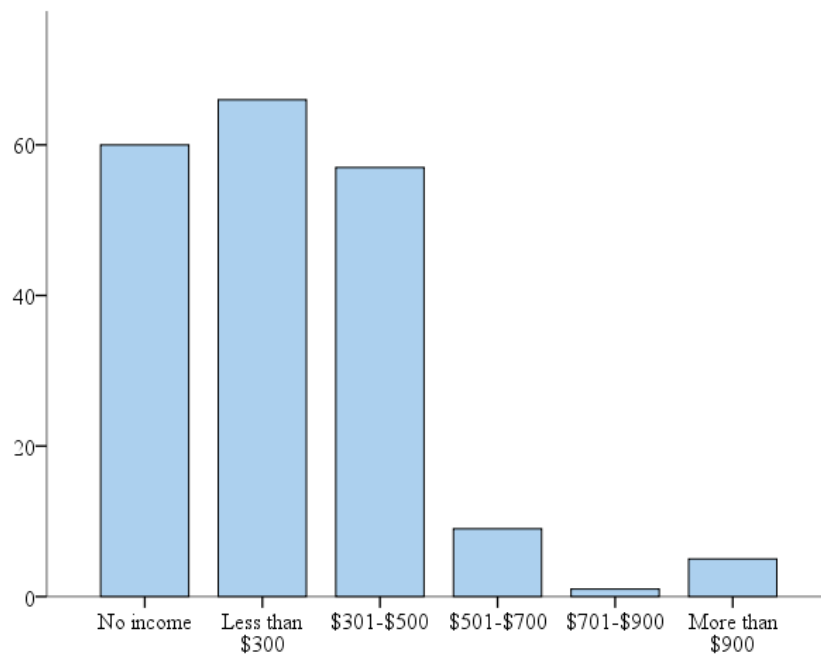


Figure 4.33 Income per month

Figures 4.34 and 4.35 show the result of respondents in regards to a good understanding of the BV and SK concepts respectively. Both figures present very similar outcomes, the most common response was 'agree', which might suggest that most of the respondents have some knowledge about BV and SK. Since the results were very alike, a correlation between the two variables was performed. Kendall's tau coefficient was 0.684 ($p < 0.001$), which confirms the likelihood of a significant association between BV and SK understanding.

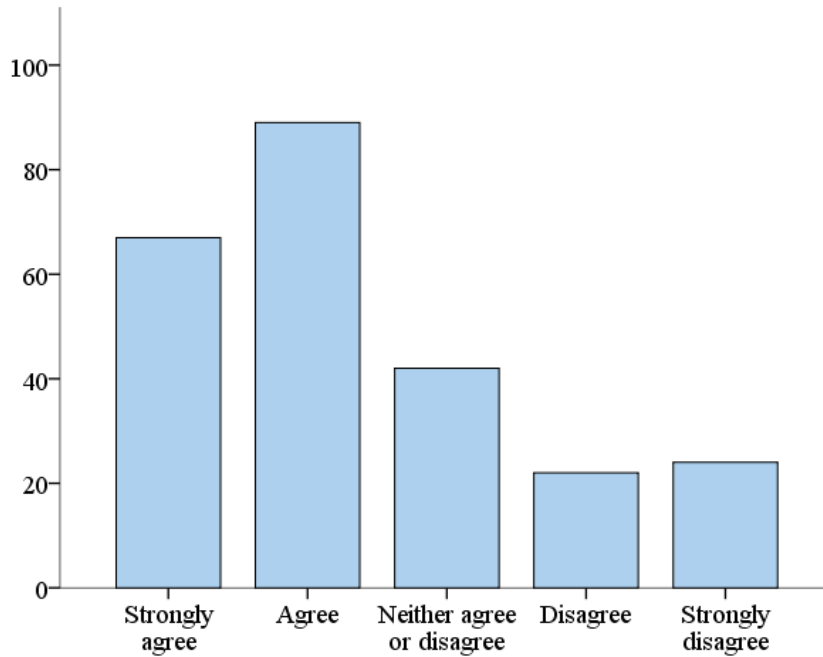


Figure 4.34 Good understanding of BV concept

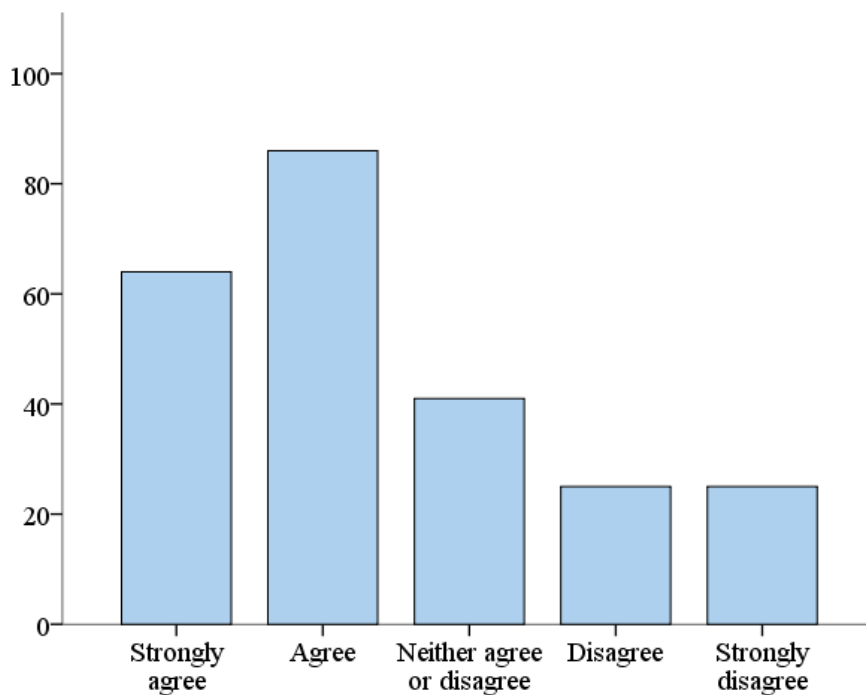


Figure 4.35 Good understanding of SK concept

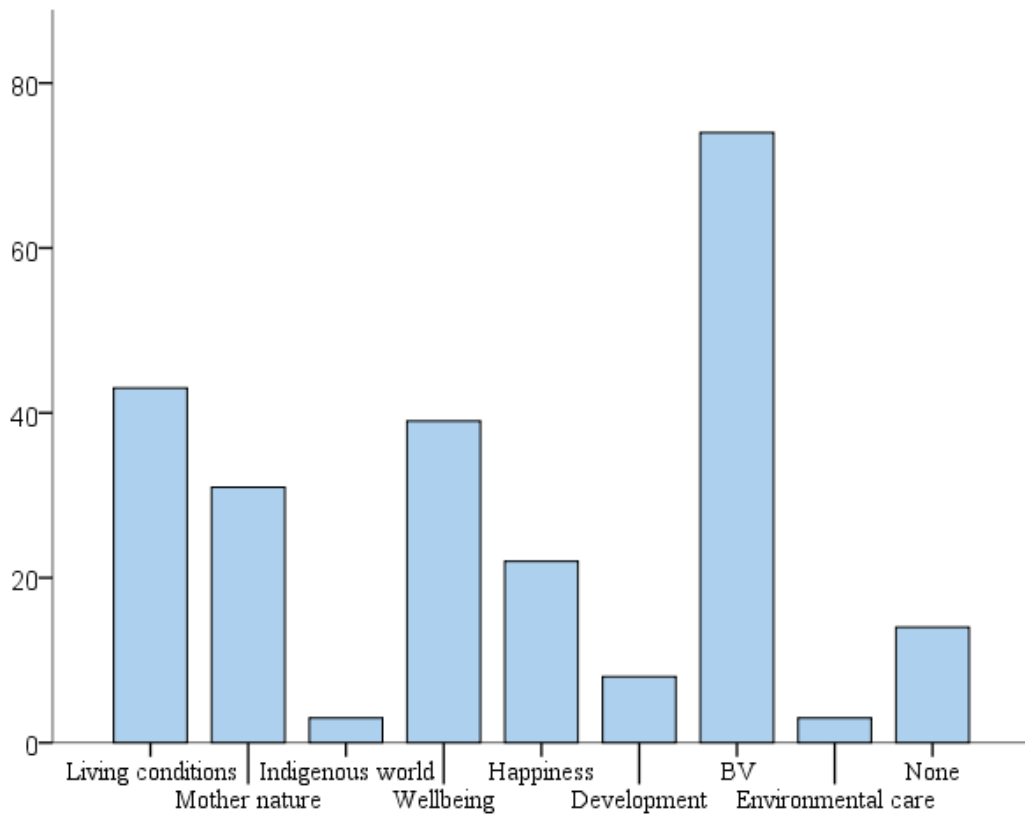


Figure 4.36 Description of SK

Figure 4.36 shows the most common words that respondents chose to describe the concept of SK. From the nine alternatives provided, BV was by far the most common response. Living conditions and WB were also popular answers. However, the use of BV to describe SK might suggest that the governmental discourse, in which BV and SK have been used synonymously, has had an impact on the population. ‘Mother nature’ was also chosen by some of the respondents together with ‘happiness’, which was slightly lower. Not surprisingly, very few people chose ‘development’.

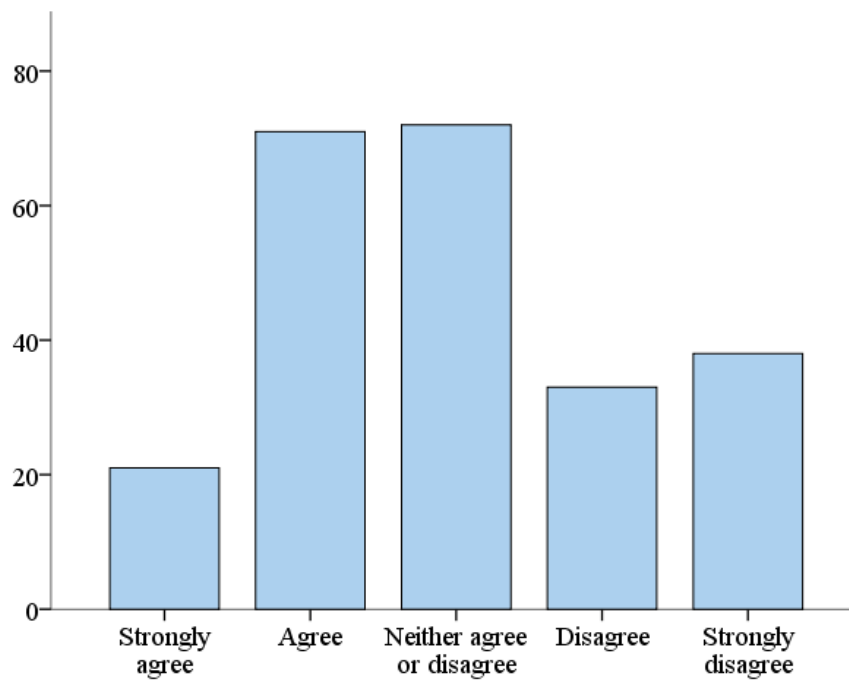


Figure 4.37 Goal of the economy is to maximize profit

Figure 4.37 shows the responses from participants when they were asked to indicate if the ultimate goal of the economy was to maximize profit. There are two peaks that can be seen from the bar chart: 'agree' and 'neither agree nor disagree'. The outcomes of this question suggest that some respondents believe that the economy is about making more money, while others probably were not sure or did not understand the question.

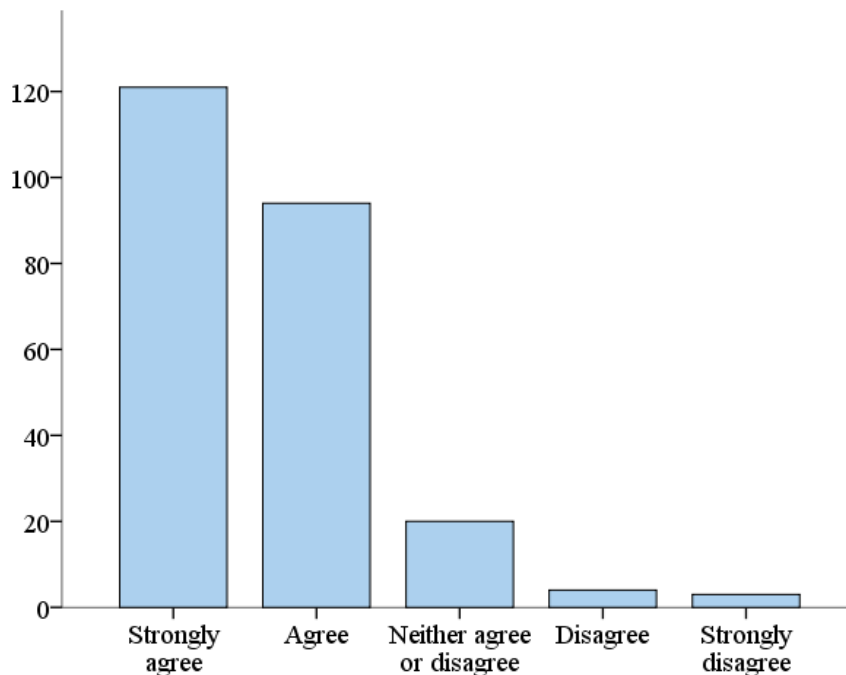


Figure 4.38 The government should prioritize economic growth to improve welfare

Figure 4.38 illustrates the position of surveyed people, when they were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the idea of economic growth as the way to improve the welfare of people. The bar chart shows two peaks: ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’, this might suggest that people understand that money is needed to invest in social programmes. However, the main source of income of the country comes from oil and other activities that involve the use of natural resources (Chapter 2), which has been the object of some controversy and debate during the last few years.

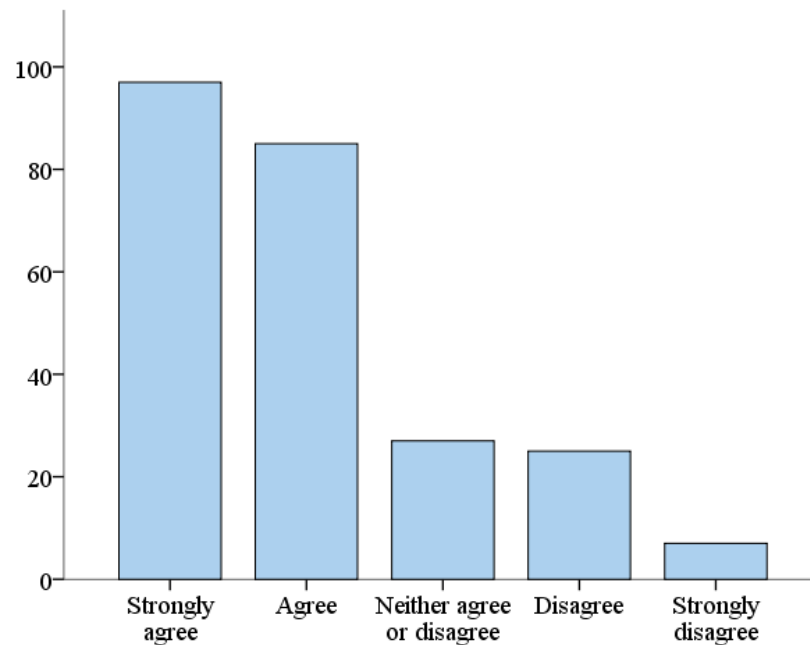


Figure 4.39 People’s quality of life is more important than country’s economic growth

Figure 4.39 describes what respondents answered when they were asked if people’s quality of life is more important than the country’s economic growth.

The outcomes from the bar chart show two peaks: ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’, which would suggest that most of the participants believe that people’s needs are more important than economic growth. This has been the governmental discourse during the last years and it has been accompanied by institutional transformations and the introduction of redistributive social and economic policies (Chapter 2).

It should be stressed that the words ‘welfare’ and ‘wellbeing’ have the same translation in Spanish (‘*bienestar*’). For this reason, welfare in figure 4.38 refers to the support provided by the government to ensure that people meet their basic needs, whilst in figure 4.39, the question asked enquired about living conditions or wellbeing.

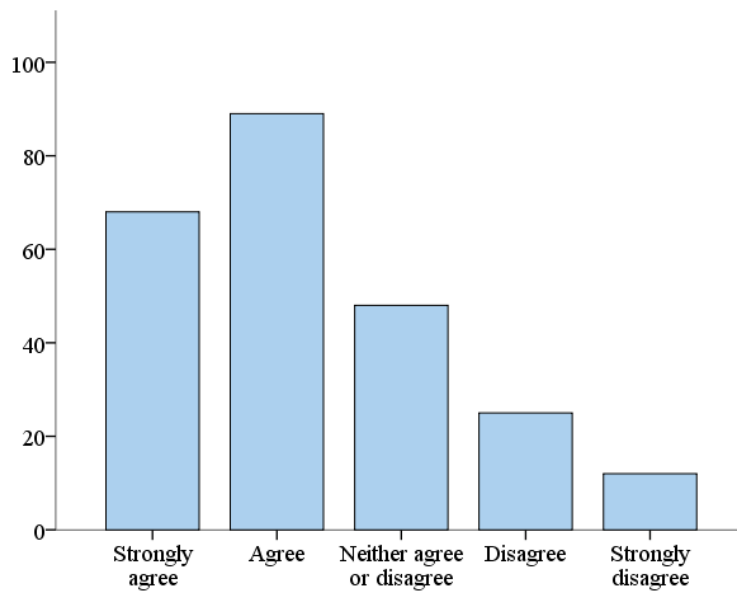


Figure 4.40 Government is protecting the environment

Figure 4.40 shows the answers of the respondents when they were asked if the government is taking the right measures to protect the environment. Surprisingly, two peaks can be seen from the bar chart: ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’. Considering that social movements have accused Correa of prioritizing economic performance over protection of the environment, the answers of this question were very striking and contradict some of the qualitative findings.

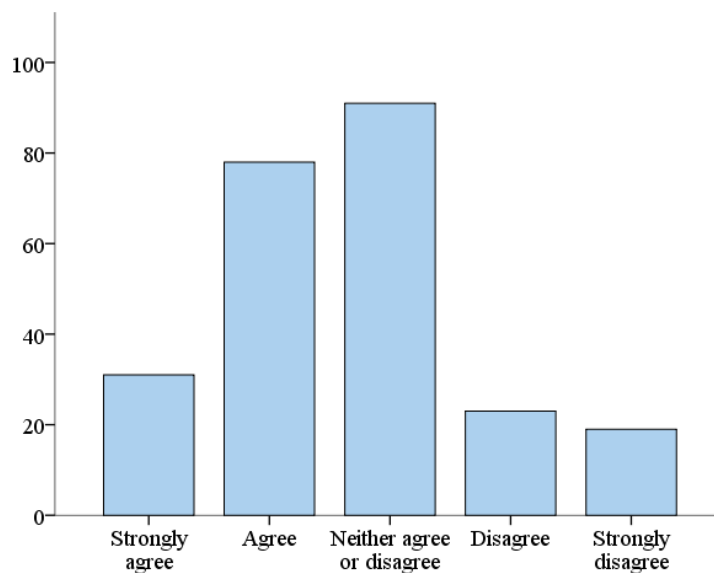


Figure 4.41 Good understanding of SSE concept

Figure 4.41 illustrates the responses in regards to the understanding of the SSE concept. Participants were asked to indicate if they were familiar or not with SSE. Two peaks can be clearly identified from the bar chart: ‘agree’ and ‘neither agree nor disagree’, which might indicate that some people have some knowledge about SSE, while others probably only heard the term, but do not know what it really means.

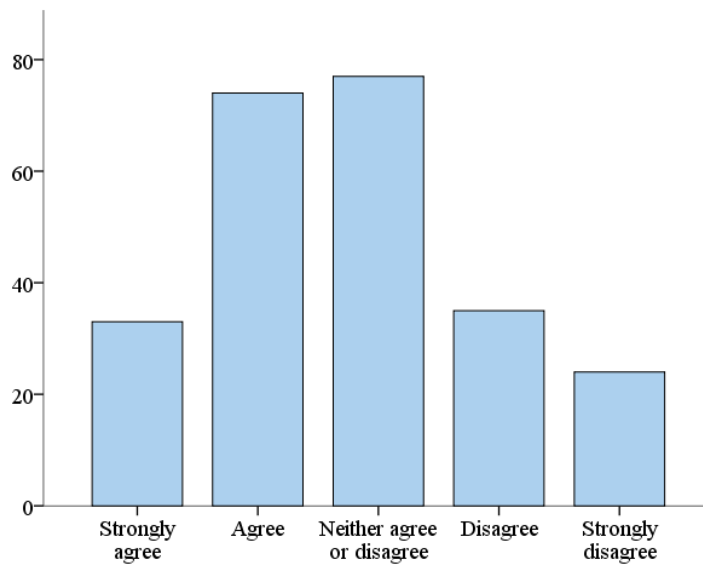


Figure 4.42 In Ecuador the economy focuses on people rather than money

Figure 4.42 enquired about the perception of respondents with regards to the economic system in Ecuador. Specifically, participants were asked if the economic system in the country focuses on people rather than money. This question was conceived to complement the answers from the previous question, which asked about SSE.

The outcomes from the bar chart proved to be very similar to the outcomes of the previous question that enquired about the familiarity with the SSE concept. Two peaks can be seen: ‘agree’ and ‘neither agree nor disagree’, which suggest that an important proportion of respondents believe that the government is making economic decisions prioritizing the welfare of people, while another important proportion of respondents are not sure if this is the case.

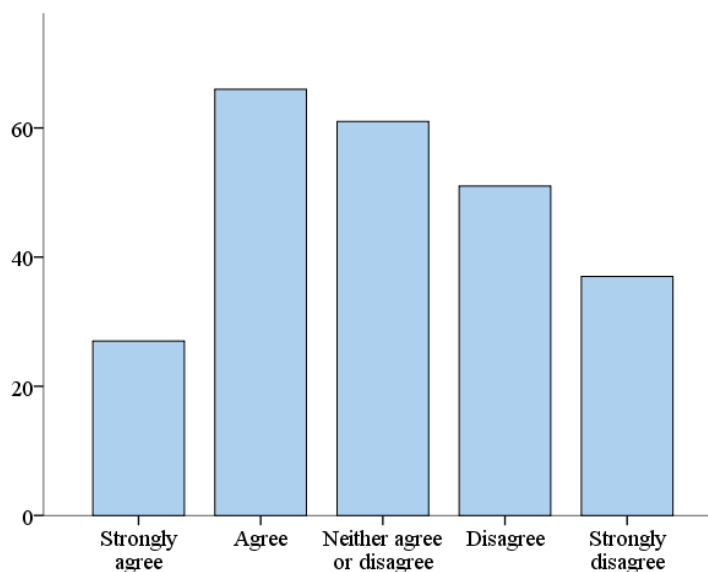


Figure 4.43 Recently situation of the country has improved

Figure 4.43 describes the answers of respondents when they were asked to indicate if they think the situation of the country has improved during the last few years and if people are better off now. The bar chart is not particularly smooth, making it difficult to judge which answer is the most common. The 'agree' alternative is slightly higher than the others options (27.3%), however, 'neither agree nor disagree' (25.2%) and 'disagree' (21.1%) were chosen by a great proportion of respondents. This could indicate a divided opinion about the progress of the country and the perception of respondents in relation to the welfare of people.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the findings from the collection of data in the form of a questionnaire. During the analysis, it became apparent that there was no significant differences between indigenous and non-indigenous people's answers. This contrasts with the analysis of the qualitative data, in which perceptions and views of the subjects studied differed from one ethnic group to the other. The application of the questionnaire proved that the use of quantitative measures to evaluate BV is not appropriate. This type of measurements cannot capture human experiences and tend to focus on individual's own assessment of their wellbeing. The idea to compare BV and wellbeing, which is popular among scholars, presents some difficulties in practice. Subjective wellbeing has been largely used to assess individual's wellbeing, whilst BV is based on the principles of SK, which are eminently collective. The profound differences between BV and SK, that some of the literature and the qualitative findings revealed, are not evident from the survey. In fact, quantitative findings corroborated the widespread use of BV and SK as one concept.

Chapter 5. Qualitative Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides details of the qualitative findings of the study. Qualitative data were collected from villages located in the Andean highlands of the Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces in the form of face-to-face interviews and focus groups.

Chapter 2 provided a comprehensive review of what can be found on the existing literature in relation to BV, SK and SSE concepts. The qualitative analysis aimed to offer a deep description of the views and perceptions of interviewees from the Andean highlands of Ecuador, who were experiencing the application of those concepts at the time of data collection.

One essential fact, which was considered during the analysis, was the descriptive and evaluative nature of the research questions, which called for an inductive-exploratory approach design (Chapter 3). The research questions and objectives were conceived in order to systematically accomplish the aim of the research, which was to investigate the relationship between SSE and BV.

This chapter is comprised of two main sections. The first part describes some of the reports produced by the computer software NVivo, which was used to assist in the identification of the most relevant themes, concepts and categories. The second part summarizes the main findings by analysing the views and perceptions of the respondents. This section also uses some portions of transcripts to illustrate, in the own words of interviewees, how the BV, SK and SSE concepts were developed during fieldwork in the Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces.

5.2 Reports

NVivo has the power to generate a great variety of reports, which assist in the analysis of the qualitative data. The first and most common report is the ‘word frequency’ query option, which offers information on what words participants used most often during the interviews. This report was especially helpful during the familiarization stage and it is summarized in tables 5.1 and 5.2.

Table 5.1 Word frequency report for focus groups

Groups	Words	Weighted Percentage (%)	Context
Focus Groups	Need	2.88	What people need to achieve BV
	People	2.88	People more important than profits
	Women	2.54	Women's conditions and participation
	Buen Vivir	2.04	Different views and positions
	Wellbeing	1.87	The ultimate goal of the BV and the SK. Used as alternative to refer to live well
	Government	1.78	The role of the government to achieve BV and some criticism
	Think	1.78	People's opinion
	Livelihood	1.70	In relation to means of support and source of income
	Man	1.53	Referring to humankind
	Community	1.27	The group of people living in same place and sharing the same values

Table 5.2 Word frequency report for face-to-face interviews

Groups	Words	Weighted Percentage (%)	Context
Face-to-face interviews	People	3.05	People more important than profits
	Sumak Kawsay	1.24	Different views and positions
	Indigenous	1.14	In relation to this specific ethnic group
	Economy	1.11	In relation to the difficult financial situation of the country
	Needs	1.09	People's needs to be met (material things) to have a decent life
	Products	1.07	Referring to agricultural goods
	Community	0.96	The group of people living in same place and sharing the same values
	Solidarity	0.86	In relation to the Andean concept of reciprocity
	Think	0.86	People's opinion
	Social and Solidarity Economy	0.66	Different views and positions

The information from tables 5.1 and 5.2 was generated by the word frequency query using the fifty most frequent words. This number was arbitrary, since the researcher can choose the word frequency criteria considered most appropriate. For illustration purposes, tables 5.1 and 5.2 only present the ten most common words to avoid the use of too much space. The tables show which words are most commonly found in the transcripts and the software provided a weighted percentage, which indicates how often one word is repeated in relation to the overall text.

For the focus groups the three most common words were ‘need’, ‘people’ and ‘women’ with a weighted percentage of 2.88%, 2.88% and 2.54% respectively. The percentage might appear not substantial, but if we considered the overall text, anything above 1% should be considered relevant. In order to clarify what those common words mean for the study, a column named ‘context’ was added. This column cannot be generated by the software and it was created manually by the researcher to briefly explain in which context particular words were mentioned and it constitutes the basis to identify what is referred to framework analysis as ‘themes’.

In the case of the face-to-face interviews, the three most common words were ‘people’, ‘*sumak kawsay*’ and ‘indigenous’ with a weighted percentage of 3.05%, 1.24% and 1.14% respectively. The word ‘people’ clearly stands out and it refers to the switch towards redistributive social policies that target formally excluded people, and the tendency during the last few years to increase social expenditure.

5.2.1 Similar words but different meanings

During the elaboration of tables 4.1 and 4.2 it became apparent that some words used in the focus groups were repeated in the face-to-face interviews. The programme can generate reports, which include the exact words or similar words. When the latter is chosen, caution should be exercised since similar words can have different meanings. This was the case of ‘need’ which was one of the most frequent words of the focus groups, and ‘needs’ which was reported in the face-to-face interviews as one of the most frequent words.

In the case of ‘need’ ‘*se necesita*’ respondents were referring to the things that need to be changed in order to achieve BV. For example, less corruption and more women’s participation were mentioned in a number of occasions.

I think we really need to eradicate corruption in order to achieve BV in our communities.

(Mestizo woman, 36 years old, Chimborazo province)

There is a tremendous need for more women’s participation in the decisions that affect their lives.

(Mestizo man, 52 years old, Tungurahua province)

For the word ‘needs’ *necesidades*’ respondents were denoting access to some basic services such as health, education and waste collection.

In this community, there are many needs that have to be met, before we can even start talking about BV.

(Indigenous woman, 39 years old, Chimborazo province)

The last quote is particularly interesting, since the indigenous woman provided two valuable pieces of information. On the one hand, she used BV and not SK when she described access to basic services, which supports the idea that BV is somewhat connected to material goods, while SK denotes a more spiritual concept. On the other hand, the indigenous woman made clear that to achieve BV; there are many conditions that have not been met by the government.

5.3. Main Findings of the qualitative analysis

Braun and Clarke (2013) indicate that qualitative research is underpinned by ontological and epistemological assumptions. When trying to understand the relationship between SSE and BV concepts and the interpretations and practices of those concepts in the Andean highlands of Ecuador, ontological assumptions were raised inadvertently by the interviewees. Similarly, there was some tension in the debate about what counts as legitimate knowledge (epistemological assumptions) when interviewees confronted indigenous ancient knowledge with western modern knowledge.

Ancestral medicine is very rich and it can be combined with western medicine.

(Indigenous woman, 34 years old, Chimborazo Province)

We are living in a different time. It is not possible to mix knowledge.

(Indigenous man, 35 years old, Tungurahua Province)

The position of communities in regards to the use of ancient knowledge in modern society was challenged on a number of occasions. For example, the node ‘ancient knowledge’ has eleven references from six different sources. Some positions indicates a potential compatibility between ancient and modern knowledge, while other positions indicates the contrary. Appendix B6 shows some extracts from interviews, which were carried out during fieldwork that illustrate this point.

Building on the different interpretations and practices of SSE and BV together with the analysis of the significance of the cultural assumptions in regard to what constitutes legitimate knowledge, it was possible to explore how the SSE has been implemented in the Andean highlands of Ecuador. It also allowed the identification of the ways in which BV has become a political alternative to address poverty and inequality. The ontological and epistemological assumptions, in which this study was based constituted the core of the qualitative analysis. The main findings provide information to understand the similarities and differences between BV and other development approaches, which in turn contribute to the discussion of how BV, SK and SSE have influenced in the progress of the country.

During the coding process numerous 'nodes' were created in order to describe the different interpretations and practices of the BV, SK and SSE concepts. The themes that emerged from those nodes provided a great deal of assistance for the analysis. Appendix B5 shows some examples of how indigenous people and mestizo people understand and put into practice the BV, SK and SSE.

5.3.1 Defining concepts

The main concepts explored in depth during the qualitative analysis were:

- a) Buen Vivir
- b) Sumak Kawsay
- c) Social and Solidarity Economy

The respondents' views of BV, SK and SSE differed from one place to another (Tungurahua and Chimborazo) and from one ethnic group to another (indigenous and non-indigenous people). In this regard, Braun and Clarke (2013) remind us that qualitative research does not assume only one universal truth of reality or knowledge, but multiple versions of the same reality.

The different views of one particular concept might change depending on the context and the circumstances. For example one important element that was considered for the analysis was the fact that face-to-face interviews were about interaction with only one person, which in practice means that the respondent might feel more open and confident to talk or on the contrary the respondent might feel shy and unwilling to talk.

During the face-to-face interviews, respondents were open and willing to answer all the questions without hesitation. Participants were given the opportunity to decline the invitation

to participate at any moment. There was only one occasion when an indigenous elderly woman requested to be with her husband during the interview. At the end, it was the husband who was interviewed, since the woman decided to drop the session by arguing:

My husband knows about those things, he can be more helpful than me.

The position of the woman can be explained by the notions of masculinity and femininity that has been operating in the rural Andean region of Ecuador for a number of decades. Some activities like finance, formal politics and formal-sector work are seemingly male-dominated areas (Andolina et al., 2009).

At this point, it should be mentioned that young generations of women, especially those who have had access to education, either mestizo or indigenous, presented themselves with a much higher degree of confidence and more importantly with less dependency on men. In fact, it was very pleasant to witness how an indigenous woman, kindly, but also strongly, corrected a man who mistakenly referred to one development programme with a different name. A few years ago, this would be unacceptable and could even result in violence against that woman. This maybe evidence of some improvement of Andean indigenous women's conditions and participation, which was mentioned repeatedly during the interviews. In fact, the word 'women' was of the three most common words mentioned by the focus groups.

Similarly, focus groups also represented an opportunity for respondents to answer freely and openly since people tend to feel more confident within a group. However, during one focus group in Tungurahua, it became clear that from the beginning, one woman was dominating the conversation and it was necessary to re-direct the questions to the other members of the group in order to control this potential unwanted group effect.

Taking into account the crucial differences between face-to-face interviews and focus groups, table 5.3 was elaborated in order to summarize the multiple views and perceptions of the respondents in relation to BV, SK and SSE.

Table 5.3 Multiples views and perceptions of SK, BV and SSE

	Sumak Kawsay	Buen Vivir	Social and Solidarity Economy
Focus groups indigenous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Living well with dignity b) Respect mother nature c) Be happy, content d) Access to clean water e) Interaction with others f) Nature and humans are equals g) Only indigenous people can understand the concept h) You cannot translate SK into Spanish 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Access to material goods b) Government's view of the SK c) Access to health and education d) Access to credit e) Basic needs met 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Ancient way to organise the economy b) Andean reciprocity c) Barter d) Social enterprises e) Small savings schemes f) I scratch your back and you scratch mine g) People over money
Focus groups mestizo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Indigenous' view of the BV b) More concern with nature c) Nature's rights d) Indigenous movements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Have a good job b) Development approach c) Access to health and education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Alternative to traditional economic system b) Economy by the poor for the poor c) Local production d) I scratch your back and you scratch mine e) People over money
Face-to-face interviews indigenous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Life with dignity and happiness b) Started with indigenous movements c) People and nature at the same level d) SK has a collective view e) SK political alternative f) SK represents people's spirituality/belongingness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Access to material goods b) Well paid jobs c) Good economic situation d) Basic needs met e) Access to health and education f) BV has an individualistic view 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Ancient economy b) Andean reciprocity c) Barter d) Social enterprises e) Small savings schemes f) Produce, sell and buy in association g) I scratch your back and you scratch mine h) People over money
Face-to-face interviews mestizo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Indigenous way of living b) Harmony with nature Translation of BV into Kichwa language c) Concern about nature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Wellbeing b) Good economic situation c) Social justice d) Ultimate goal e) Access to health and education f) Sustainable development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Alternative economy b) Sellers and buyers c) Small enterprises d) Economy with solidarity e) Never heard about it f) I scratch your back and you scratch mine g) People over money h) Collective work

Table 5.3 presents a summary of how people from the Andean highlands of Ecuador perceive the concepts of BV, SK and SSE. One of the most obvious aspects that became evident during

the analysis was the fact that focus groups provided more detailed information than face-to-face interviews. Apparently, the interaction between participants helps people to build up a much richer view of one particular topic than they could have simply as individuals.

The analysis of the interviewees also suggested that indigenous people either in face-to-face interviews or focus groups tend to explore the topics in more depth than mestizo people. This is particularly interesting considering that the interviews were conducted in Spanish, which for some indigenous people was the second language. It could be speculated that indigenous people are usually more aware of what is happening in their surroundings thanks to the regular meetings they have in their communities, where community leaders discuss, share, and sometimes even demand actions in regard to the policies implemented by the government.

Using the information from table 5.3, it was possible to elaborate empirical definitions of BV, SK and SSE:

- a) The BV represents a new notion of human wellbeing that the Ecuadorian government has been introduced as a culturally appropriate development approach. It promotes the access to basic services and the generation of a decent income that allow people to meet their basic needs.
- b) The SK is living a life with dignity and happiness where people and nature coexist in harmony and nature is respected in the same way humans are. It is an indigenous way of living where belongingness and spirituality are more important than income and material goods.
- c) The SSE is an alternative way to organise the economy and it is based on Andean reciprocity practices. This type of economy prioritise people over capital and promotes the production of local products in an associative way where all the members benefit from profits equally and in solidarity.

5.3.2 Buen Vivir and Sumak Kawsay are two different concepts

Interviewees raised a concern about how governmental discourse tend to describe BV and SK as the same concept. The majority of mestizo interviewees, and all the indigenous interviewees indicated that BV and SK represent two different concepts. There was clearly an identification of BV with access to material goods, while SK had a more spiritual notion, at least for indigenous people, although mestizo respondents also agreed with this to some

extent. In fact, the idea of BV as a re-elaboration of the SK was mentioned on a number of occasions. In one village in Tungurahua, a male middle-aged indigenous respondent, indicated:

The BV is the SK, but updated, so mestizo people can understand the concept.

However, another respondent, who was a schoolteacher in that village, immediately challenged this statement:

I beg your pardon comrade³⁶, but I think the BV has nothing to do with SK. Remember comrade that the SK is part of our traditions and it has been practicing since ancient times, the BV is just a recent invention of Correa [former President of Ecuador] to fool people.

(Indigenous man, 36 years old, Tungurahua province)

The above statement is only one example of the many, which shows that BV and SK represent two different ideas. For most of the respondents interviewed, BV is a concept introduced by the government to deceive people, especially indigenous people. When asked about the reason for this allegedly attempt of the government to deceive people, a middle-aged respondent, provided the following answer:

Comrade, do not forget that the indigenous movement is very strong, and the government knows it, they [the government] do not want to mess with indigenous people, we can organize street mobilizations and pull down the government.

(Indigenous woman, 41 years old, Chimborazo province)

It seems that the precise meaning of BV and its connection with SK remain contested even at the community level, where it was expected that some clarity of the definition and its application in practice may have been found. There are many different views, even within the same village, however it is clear that for indigenous people the SK represents a series of ancestral practices that lead to living well. On the other hand, mestizo people tend to understand BV as a possibility to have access to material goods, which will allow them to meet their basic needs and in turn live well, but with a different concept of living well (BV).

³⁶ I translated '*compañero*' as comrade, a word commonly used in the Andean highlands among indigenous and non-indigenous people to address each other in a kind and friendly way.

For both indigenous and non-indigenous people the ultimate goal of the SK or BV is '*estar bien*' or 'to be OK' in English. Based on the descriptions provided by the respondents when asked about what do they mean by 'to be OK' by far the most common answer was to 'live well'. Moreover, to live well was also described as to have wellbeing. In fact, wellbeing is one of the ten most recurrent words found in the interviews when the word frequency query report was generated.

5.3.3 Buen Vivir and Sumak Kawsay represent a notion of wellbeing

From the interviews, it became apparent that both BV and SK are conceived as a notion of WB. It should be stressed that for indigenous people the idea of WB has a collective view, whilst mestizo people usually refer to wellbeing from an individualistic point of view. This became evident, when in the audios of the interviews, it was possible to identify that indigenous people used 'we' most often when they described what is needed to live well, whilst mestizo people used 'I' most of the time for the same description. In this regard, Houtart (2011) reminds us that BV, from the indigenous point of view, emphasises collective WB over individualism. The following extracts from the transcripts can illustrate this point:

In our community we face many problems to overcome, but if we want to be OK we need to work together and organise ourselves in a way that we can demand from the government what we need in order to be OK.

(Indigenous man, 32 years old, Chimborazo province)

I think the government is not doing a good job, I do not feel any BV in my community, actually at the moment I do not have a job, and my husband is not making enough money to support our family, do you think that is BV? I do not think so.

(Mestizo woman, 37 years old, Chimborazo province)

To live well we need many things, but access to clean water, health services and education are probably the most important. There are other needs in our community, but if we can, at least secure those three, I think, we will be very close to being OK.

(Indigenous woman, 34 years old, Tungurahua province)

Every family has different needs. I do not think the government should give exactly the same for each individual. For example, I have five children, so I need more resources to support my family. You cannot compare my situation with a young

couple that only have one child. The government is not considering this important aspect.

(Mestizo man, 41 years old, Tungurahua province)

The quotes presented above provide some empirical evidence that indigenous people thinking is highly collective, whilst mestizo people lifeways and their understanding of society are more orientated to a liberal conception of individual rights. According to Acosta (2008), the collective experience of indigenous people is based on a complex interrelationship between state, market, citizens and associations. In fact, ancestral thinking has been described as 'eminently collective' in the BV National Plan 2009-2013. The plan indicates that the conception of BV necessarily relies upon the idea of 'we' (Senplades, 2009).

When respondents asked to describe WB, the most common way utilized was indicating what matters for people to live well (accounts of wellbeing). There were very different ways that people used to identify what is more or less important for their WB. Some of the aspects of life mentioned included health, education, economic situation, family relationships, environment and belongingness. Based on the most frequent answers it was possible to condense what respondents said in the eight most common aspects of life that describe what WB means. Table 5.4 depicts the eight factors and why they are important according to the ethnic origin of the respondents.

The great variety of positions in regard to what matter for people to live well and the reasons behind their choices make any attempt to summarise these accounts of WB a complex and even controversial task. Nevertheless, table 5.4 has been elaborated based on the answers from indigenous and non-indigenous interviewees during focus groups and it reveals some interesting similarities and differences that should be highlighted.

Table 5.4 Aspects of life that matter to live well

Accounts of wellbeing	Indigenous people	Non-indigenous people
Access to health services	Not very important if you have good health	Very important, everybody gets sick at some point
Access to education	Very important if you want to be respected	Very important if you want to find a good job
Have a paid job	Very important if you do not own land	Important since agriculture is not profitable any more
Have children	Important since children can help parents to work the land and look after them when they get older	Very important since children are the most 'precious gift' and the continuation of the family
Be recognized/respected	Very important	Very important
Have a clean environment	Very important, there is an increasing concern about rivers being polluted with raw sewage and industrial residues	Very important, especially in relation to water insecurity and the use of chemicals in agriculture
Own a house	Very important aspect, this should be the main objective, especially for those who just got married	Very important, the idea of not having a house is considered as a lack of planning or attributed to bad decisions in life
Be part of the community and/or help others	Very important, people need to be accepted as part of the group. Help others was described in terms of ' <i>minga</i> '	Important, but sometimes people do not appreciate when others help.

Access to health services is considered not important for indigenous people, while mestizo population indicated otherwise. This does not mean indigenous people do not value the efforts of the government to improve the access to health services in rural areas. In fact, the progress in this area is highly appreciated, but indigenous people find the fact that more people are getting sick with diseases than they never heard of before more important:

...in the past we never got sick, my grandfather worked on the field until he was 92 years old and my grandmother until she was 87 years old. Our lifestyle used to be very healthy, plenty of grains and of course only organic products. We do not need more hospitals, we need to go organic again and eat our local products, instead of buying fruits from other countries, which probably contain many chemicals.

(Indigenous man, 53 years old, Tungurahua province)

...today, it is becoming more common to hear that people are dying of some diseases that we never heard about before. New generations do not appreciate our local food and they go to the city and eat 'junk food'. Access to health services is good, but most importantly is to educate people how to prevent diseases rather than trying to cure them.

(Indigenous woman, 38 years old, Chimborazo province)

...you know comrade, every time we greet each other in the communities, what is the thing we always say... '*Y la salud, que es mas?*³⁷' (Are you keeping alright? Health is always the most important thing, in English), this is because without health you cannot do anything and this is why we need more health centres, more doctors and more medicine. I think the government is finally doing something good for the rural areas.

(Mestizo man, 47 years old, Tungurahua province)

The extracts from interviews reveal two different concerns about access to health services. For indigenous people, the provision of health services is the consequence of bigger problems, such as the consumption of products contaminated with agrichemicals and a poor diet. On the other hand, mestizo population associate health services with the absence of disease. The position of each ethnic group not only reflects different views in regard to what

³⁷ In rural communities, this is a very common phrase that is used to enquire about health, but also denotes the importance of health in everyday life.

good health means, but also it could be the consequence of many years of discrimination and exclusion against indigenous people (Chapter 1).

...doctors and nurses are nice nowadays. Before I did not like to go to see doctors because they were mean to me, especially nurses, they used to say, why did you not take a shower before you came? You smell really bad. Next time I will not attend to you if you do not shower first.

(Indigenous woman, 47 years old, Chimborazo province)

Regarding access to education, both indigenous and non-indigenous people considered this aspect very important. Although the reasons for this, differ from one ethnic group to the other. A number of interviewees stated that agriculture is no longer a profitable activity and access to education can provide the opportunity to acquire the skills and knowledge required to find a paid job in the big cities. To have a paid job is another account of WB, and for mestizo people both accounts are intrinsically linked.

Indigenous people, on the other hand, considered education as a very important aspect, but only because it can give them the opportunity to gain respect from others. It is possible to speculate that the aspiration to gain respect is connected to the discrimination and exclusion they experienced since colonial times. A paid job is only important if the person does not own any land, otherwise agriculture is still an important activity not only in terms of income generation but also as part of the traditions.

In relation to having children as an indicator of WB, interviews revealed two different views. Both indigenous and non-indigenous people recognized the fact that to have children is important and one of the main reasons to get married. However, indigenous interviewees indicated that there are two main reasons to have children: first, they can help with the work in agriculture and second they can look after their parents when they get old. On the other hand, mestizo people's answers were more connected with emotions and feelings.

...you cannot have only one child, because if the child died, you will not have anyone to help you to work or to look after you when you get old.

(Indigenous woman, 28 years old, Tungurahua province)

...to have children is wonderful, they give purpose in life. Because of them I want to be a better person, they are a precious gift from God.

(Mestizo woman, 37 years old, Tungurahua province)

During the interviews, both indigenous and non-indigenous people indicated that to be respected and recognized in the communities is very important in order 'to be OK'. Although this account of WB was less elaborated by interviewees, it became apparent that is highly valued especially among men from both ethnic groups.

...I like when people appreciate my work. There is nothing better than people coming and recognize that my land is producing a lot of good quality products.

(Mestizo man, 36 years old, Chimborazo province)

A clean environment was undoubtedly very important account of WB for both, indigenous and non-indigenous people. However, the intimate relationship of indigenous people and their lands, as well as their search for harmony with nature (Houtart, 2011) makes this account of WB especially relevant for this ethnic group. During interviews, the main concern of indigenous people in relation to the environment was water contamination and the role of them as vital stewards of nature in order to ensure that future generations will have access to enough clean drinking water.

...people who live in the cities do not care about how water reaches their homes. We [indigenous people] are in charge of protecting water sources, if we do not do it, nobody else will. We are responsible for preserving this important resource for future generations...

(Indigenous man, 31 years old, Tungurahua province)

Indigenous interviewees were especially concerned with the pollution produced by raw sewage and industrial residues in rivers, which in the Tungurahua province is produced mainly in the urban area and by the mestizo population.

...have you seen how our rivers are polluted now? Animals cannot drink that water; otherwise, they get very sick and may even die. It is terrible what big cities are doing to our rivers, contamination from toilets is getting out of control...

(Indigenous man, 24 years old, Tungurahua province)

...if you go to Pelileo³⁸, rivers are blue, they look like blue paint, seriously I am not kidding, those factories are contaminating our water and nobody cares. That water is not good for irrigation and of course not good for human consumption...

(Indigenous man, 43 years old, Tungurahua province)

While indigenous people showed concerns about water pollution produced by sewage and industrial residues, mestizo people were more concerned about water insecurity and pollution produced by the use of chemicals in agriculture. According to one report elaborated by the National Office for Statistics, access to piped water in the rural sector increased from 29.8% in December 2006 to 57.5% in December 2016 (INEC, 2017). Despite this important improvement during the last few years, mestizo interviewees indicated that quantitative water availability at the household level is still very limited.

...many families in this community do not have access to piped water. Most of the indigenous families have enough water for cooking, washing [clothes] and flushing their toilets. But for us [mestizo people] water is a luxury that not everyone can afford...

(Mestizo man, 45 years old, Tungurahua province)

...recently the production of strawberries became very popular, and many farmers decided to produce them. But in order to have 'nice' strawberries, people are using a lot of chemicals and then they dump the residuals in the canal [waterway] and down the road, people use that contaminated water to wash their carrots and other vegetables, it is insane...

(Mestizo man, 51 years old, Tungurahua province)

While perceptions of what it means to have a clean environment may be polarised, the interviews revealed that the common ground is water and the pollution caused by human activities. Indeed, with respect to water, a number of mass mobilisations have been taking place in Ecuador, most of them against water privatisation and the mining industry. However, neither privatising of water nor mining activities were mentioned during the interviews. A possible explanation for this is the fact that Tungurahua and Chimborazo were not experiencing any negative impact as a consequence of these factors at the time of fieldwork.

³⁸ A city located in Tungurahua province, where one of the most important economic activities is the textile industry, especially the production and tailoring of jean clothes.

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the events that took place in Cochabamba, Bolivia that led to the internationally infamous Cochabamba water war in April 2000, have strongly influenced social movements in Ecuador (Laurie et al., 2005). In fact, other provinces in Ecuador have experienced several protests and mobilisations against the oil and mining companies.

Another important conclusion that can be drawn from interviews is the fact that none of the participants mentioned the rights of nature that have been enthusiastically promoted by the government and even received international recognition. Interviewees referred to keeping the environment clean, which is a very different thing.

To own a house was another account of WB considered very important for both ethnic groups. People without a house could experience a series of threats in terms of financial situation and be the object of criticism.

...you cannot get married if you do not have a house. It is shameful how recently married couples live with their parents and do not even pay any rent. Not to have a house should keep you awake during the night. If you want to be OK, you definitely need your own house.

(Indigenous man, 39 years old, Chimborazo province)

The last aspect of life that describes what WB means, according to respondents, was in relation to belongingness. Being a member of a community and participate in the activities that take place in that community such as meetings and '*mingas*' was considered very important for indigenous and important for non-indigenous people. Although, attending meetings was described as a burden and a non-sense activity, most of interviewees suggested that if they were not invited they would feel excluded.

...you are not a member of the community if you do not participate in the activities within the community. A good community member has to attend meetings and be willing to work in all '*mingas*' or pay the fine...

(Mestizo woman, 32 years old, Chimborazo province)

Based on the aspects of life, important to achieve WB, and depicted in table 4.4 a question, which contains twelve aspects of life was included in the survey that was applied in the same

villages where the interviews took place. The insights of people collected from the survey in regard to these accounts of WB, are described and analysed in Chapter 5.

5.3.4 Buen Vivir as a new regimen of development

During interviews, the term development was barely mentioned. In fact, the word ‘development’ did not appear within the fifty more frequent words, when the word frequency query option was generated to elaborate tables 4.1 and 4.2. This was something expected to some degree, considering that development is a concept relatively unknown to the people who live in the rural areas of Ecuador, especially indigenous people (Acosta, 2008). Despite the fact, that the concept of development was unfamiliar and even abstract for most of the interviewees, it was interesting to observe that the term ‘development project’ was very well-known. This, I would like to argue, could be explained by the huge amount of money invested in ‘development projects’ during the 1980s when the U.S. and Europe together with the World Bank increased their funding of NGOs (Petras, 1997).

When interviewees were asked to provide an example of one development project, one responded indicated:

...yes, of course we have development projects. The one that comes to my mind now is the one that was supported by the Swiss people [SWISSAID]. They helped us to build our water system, but that was fifteen years ago, we soon would need to change some pipes...

(Mestizo man, 53 years old, Tungurahua province)

In one focus group, where the majority of people were mestizo, a respondent described BV as a new way to achieve development. Similarly, in a face-to-face interview with a government representative, one woman referred to article three of the constitution, which indicates that Sustainable Development and the equitable distribution of wealth and resources will be the route to BV. Furthermore, when interviewees asked whether BV or SK could be considered as an alternative to, or a substitute for development, many answered with hesitation. This hesitation could be the result of a lack of understanding of what the term development really means, which is completely understandable considering that the concept has many changing views as to its definition (Desai and Potter, 2013).

As the paragraph above suggests, for people who live in the Andean highlands the concepts of BV or SK have little or no connection with the concept of development. However, this could

be the result of a lack of consensus around what development really is. In the case of indigenous people, this was even more evident, as they never mentioned development as part of their aspirations to live well or ‘to be OK’. In fact, the concept is completely abstract and the word ‘development’ does not have an equivalent in the Kichwa language. It seems that the tendency to relate BV or SK to development or WB is only popular among scholars and politicians (Chapter 2). In this regard, Lalander and Lembke (2018) remind us that this political ideological path (BV) challenges the notions of welfare, development, common good and so forth.

5.3.5 Social and solidarity economy as an ancient economic practice

In regards to the SSE, it should be first pointed out that the term used in Ecuador is Popular and Solidarity Economy (PSE), which was described in detail in Chapter 2. A number of interviewees indicated that they had never heard about this term, while others identified the concept as an alternative way to organise the economy. Indeed, interviewees had a shared perception that PSE has been introduced to assist poor people in the generation of income through the establishment of small enterprises.

...yes I know what it is, another type of economy. An alternative to the traditional [economy], which has been proven to be ineffective for working people, and only good for the pockets of rich people... [PSE] is a project from the government to help poor people to come together as an association and sell their products...

(Mestizo man, 28 years old, Chimborazo province)

Some of the interviewees, when asked about PSE, indicated that they were not very familiar with the term, but quite familiar with the practices involved. Interviewees recalled that in the past people used to exchange goods for other goods without money involved. The word ‘barter’ was mentioned in a number of occasions, as a system that used to be very popular in the past, but has been slowly becoming less common.

In the past, people did not need money to buy or sell their products. Every Monday and Saturday, they used to meet at the markets and exchange their products. There was no product more valuable than another. A basket of eggs for a bag of potatoes, a gallon of milk for a basket of strawberries, it is in here where the solidarity is applied. A friendly talk and you could bargain any product you needed. This was an ancient

economic practice that worked just fine for many, many years, you know in the form of a solidarity economy. For example, look at what they did in Salinas de Guaranda³⁹.

(Mestizo man, 47 years old, Chimborazo province)

As expressed in the quotation, the respondent indicated that barter represented an ancient economic practice, very common in the past, but not practiced nowadays. However, the respondent never experienced this practice, in fact, it was his grandfather who shared this information and provided details of this system. Another example of PSE was revealed when interviewees routinely recalled the experiences from Salinas de Guaranda in relation to the community cooperative based projects. However, the term they used to describe this type of economic activities was ‘solidarity economy’ rather than PSE.

5.3.6 *The solidarity economy*

In a face-to-face interview with a government representative from MIES (Ministry of Social and Economic Inclusion), I enquired about the official terminology and about the experience of community based projects in Salinas de Guaranda:

...the PSE is the same thing as SSE, the former is how we called it in Ecuador, because we want to make sure this important sector [informal economy] is visible, and the latter represents the name that, this type of economy, is recognized internationally. But basically, we can use both terms interchangeably, both mean the same to us. In regards, to Salinas de Guaranda, well everybody knows that it is the perfect example of ‘solidarity economy’ (excluding the popular economy), where the benefits of the cooperatives and projects are distributed among all members equally and in solidarity.

(MIES representative, Bolivar province)

This interview, took place during the ‘International Congress for Social and Solidarity Economy and Fair Trade’, in November 2015 in Chimborazo province. The government representative recognized the confusion that the use of ambiguous terminology can cause among the population. However, it became clear that the intention of the government was to promote the term PSE as part of the different economic systems recognized in the constitution. In regard to Salinas de Guaranda’s success, all started in the early 1970s, with

³⁹ Salinas de Guaranda is a town in the Bolivar province that shares borders with Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces. The population of this town is predominately indigenous and it has been labelled as the cradle of the solidarity economy in Ecuador for the numerous and successful community cooperative based projects that can be found there.

the support of Monsignor Candido Rada, a Catholic priest, who was part of a Salesian Mission that contributed to implement cooperative based projects.

Nowadays, the tremendous achievement of Salinas de Guaranda has been attributed to the solidarity economy practices; however, the original proposal was based on a cooperative model, which according to Bateman (2015) is the core of the SSE model. A very large number of savings and credit cooperatives societies operate in Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces, which have been included in the PSE sector. However, this type of cooperatives differ from the model that has been implemented in Salinas de Guaranda:

For me those cooperatives [savings and credit societies] do not belong to the PSE. Let me give you an example. One cooperative, I do not want to say which one, but it is quite big and well-known. Anyway, this cooperative in its publicity indicates that is part of the PSE, but if you need a credit they ask for several requirements and the credit is not easy to get and if you are lucky enough to get it, you have to work really hard to repay the credit, which of course has a very high interest rate.

(President of ERPE Foundation⁴⁰)

A distinction between community cooperative enterprises and the savings and credits societies should be made. The former constitutes the model, in which Salinas de Guaranda enterprises are based and represents a clear example of solidarity economy (Cantero, 2012). The community cooperative projects are owned and controlled by all members, who are usually small producers, most of them farmers (Bateman, 2015). On the other hand, savings and credit societies, which are also known as ‘cooperatives’ have proven to be working under a model that seem more closer to the private banking system than the principles of the solidarity economy. However, the PSE Act approved in 2011 and described by Coraggio (2015) as the most highly developed legal institutionalization of SSE in the region, includes the savings and credit societies as part of the solidarity economy. The inclusion of this type of cooperatives occurred, despite not being intrinsically based on solidarity principles. In this regard, the president of ERPE Foundation stated:

When I see the publicity of those big cooperatives indicating that they are part of the PSE, I get really upset, because they are not following the basic principles of

⁴⁰ ERPE (Escuelas Radiofónicas Populares del Ecuador) is a private, non-profit Foundation funded in 1962 by Monsignor Leonidas Proaño. Its work initially focused on radio schools to improve literacy among indigenous people. More recently, ERPES has been working on education, social and development projects, which aim to target vulnerable populations, especially indigenous, in the rural and urban areas of the Chimborazo province.

cooperatives. I think this government has made some attempts to improve the situation in this sector, however, there are many things that need to be fixed. The government is funding some cooperatives, because they claim to support small business, but those cooperatives charge you 20% as interest rate. This is wrong, this is not solidarity.

As described in Chapter 2, the emergence of SSE in Latin America has a long history that has been connected to the cooperative movement and other experiments in workers' self-management (Veltmeyer, 2018). This is the reason, it could be argued, behind the confusion between savings and credit cooperatives societies that claim to be part of the PSE and the several examples of people that promote local activities and organising cooperatives and markets for local exchanges.

While perceptions of what really constitutes a solidarity economy may diverge, the interviews revealed that, regardless of the terminology used, most of the practices associated with PSE were already familiar to many of respondents, although the term in some cases was completely unknown. A number of interviewees stated that solidarity is a value that has been practiced for a long time and it is based on an Andean reciprocity concept summarized in the saying: 'You scratch my back and I will scratch yours' (Chapter 2). The term solidarity seemed to be preferred among interviewees when they were asked to describe what they understand by PSE. Vázquez et al. (2013) confirm this by indicating that the solidarity economy in Ecuador represents a different paradigm that comes from centuries of Andean economic practices based on local and traditional knowledge.

The above analysis indicates that there is no one-size-fits-all approach to PSE. In this regard, one of the most important figures in the study of SSE, describe it as an umbrella term, which unites different practices associated with alternative economic views (Utting, 2015).

5.3.7 The popular economy

In Chapter 2, the popular economy was related to the informal economy (Fonteneau et al., 2010), but also related to some accepted forms of enterprise that include family, domestic, autonomous, community, associative and cooperative. The last three are not only part of the popular economy but the social and solidarity economy (Coraggio, 2015).

During the interviews, it became obvious that solidarity economy and popular economy represented two completely different concepts for interviewees who routinely associated the term popular economy with informal street selling:

The popular economy is about people who have to sell things on the streets. Here in Riobamba [capital of Chimborazo] the system is perverse, because if you go to Maldonado Park you can find loan sharks offering money to migrants or other vulnerable people. These people spend the whole day selling products and make a very small income. Then the loan shark comes and asks for capital plus interest. People work very hard for a very small profit. This story happens every day again and again. Sadly, this is what the popular economy is all about.

(Mestizo man, 47 years old, Chimborazo province)

Interviewees with this view of the popular economy understand the concept as a category or a label that the government uses to refer to the economic activities carried out by the popular class or most vulnerable. The term popular in this context, refers to the poorest of the poor, who have to sell any product on the streets because they do not have any other option. People who fall into this category are usually migrants from other provinces and most recently migrants from other countries, especially Colombia and Venezuela. According to Utting et al. (2014), what these people have in common is probably the lack of legal status, which in turn makes their initiatives not very profitable since they cannot gain access to credit to expand and compete with conventional business.

5.4 Conclusion

By elevating the voices of respondents from the villages selected, it was possible to appreciate how people from rural areas perceive the role of public services and how changes in the political and economic areas have affected their lives. The analysis of qualitative data was grounded on the power of quotes, which enhanced scholarly understanding of the recent transformations experienced in the Andean rural area of Ecuador.

From the interviews, it became obvious that investment in infrastructure has been the main concern of the central government. The construction and maintenance of roads, health centres, schools and water systems are highly appreciated among the rural population. However, the introduction of the BV principles envisaged a more active and engaged citizenship together with long-lasting structural changes to end development's colonising practices. This, according to interviewees, did not occur. Infrastructural investment as the basis for development has undermined the promise of decentralisation at the community and regional levels. The potential to achieve BV through an active citizenship has been weakened by the governmental top-down view of service delivery and state-centric approach to development.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The final chapter of this thesis presents, consolidates and relates the main findings of the study back to the aim and objectives of the research. In this chapter, the qualitative and quantitative results are brought together to examine the SSE, SK and BV concepts. Bringing together the main findings from quantitative and qualitative findings, the chapter: addresses the research questions presented in Chapter 1; aims to inform the contribution of the study; and to discuss policy implications.

6.2 Objective one: To explore how the SSE has been implemented in Ecuador

The SSE concept is not new; in fact, the literature suggests that it can be traced back over two centuries. However, in Ecuador the introduction of SSE can be considered as part of the Latin American pink tide strategies that began in the early 2000s. During this period, the tendency in the region was to merge stronger states and non-capitalist development approaches. In Ecuador, the search of alternative development strategies became more apparent during the 1990s when the indigenous movement proposed a grassroots development model based on ancient practices. However, the SSE only started to be formally practiced when the 2008 constitution recognised the economic system as solidary. In Ecuador, SSE is better known as ‘Popular and Solidarity Economy’ (PSE). In fact, only scholars and some governmental authorities have used the SSE term. In an interview for this study, a government representative indicated that PSE and SSE “are the same thing”.

The introduction of the SSE principles in Ecuador are intrinsically connected with the relationship between the economy and nature. Conventional economic thinking sees nature as a scarce resource that need to be managed in a ‘rational’ way. In the 2008 constitution, the use of natural resources acquired a new and unexplored dimension when Ecuador became the first country to recognise rights of nature. The microeconomic approach, in which limited natural resources meet the infinity of human needs, was no longer appropriate for the context of the country and an alternative approach that challenges the liberal view of the economy came in the form of SSE.

Long before the approval of the 2008 constitution, some economic practices had been recognised as solidary. During interviews, ‘barter’ was described as an ancient economic practice, which was based on the Andean solidarity concept of reciprocity. Interviewees,

repeatedly mentioned the case of Salinas de Guaranda, a town that has been labelled the cradle of the solidarity economy in Ecuador due to the numerous and successful community cooperative-based projects that have been implemented in this town since the early 1970s. Ancient practices such as barter and the more recent cooperative model, adopted in Guaranda, have come together to shape the way the SSE has been implemented in Ecuador. According to Coraggio (2015), the SSE in Ecuador encompasses the state and the market, also described as the public economy and the private economy respectively. The implementation of the SSE in Ecuador required that the state played a key role in two important areas: the introduction of redistributive policies and as a guarantor of social rights and nature's rights. The basis for these changes came from the principles of BV, which promoted the idea of a new development paradigm that required political action, constitutional reform and a new form of social economy (Radcliffe, 2012).

After the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, peasants and indigenous groups in Latin America organised collectively in rural areas to promote economic practices that reflect a commitment to different forms of SSE (Veltmeyer, 2018). In Ecuador, the introduction of the SSE system envisaged a radical transformation from a market economy model to a more social and environmentally friendly model. The PSE act, approved in 2011, indicates that the PSE principles in Ecuador has been implemented based on a long tradition of solidarity and reciprocity practices. However, it is difficult to establish to what extent some of the practices of PSE in Ecuador come from SSE theory or from ancient knowledge. Regardless the origin of the SSE practices in Ecuador, this approach has been used to promote citizen participation and include producers formerly excluded from the market.

6.3 Objective two: To identify in what ways BV became a political alternative in Ecuador

The Ecuadorian constitution established BV as the ultimate goal of policy-making and the literature describes the philosophy behind BV as a complex political and academic concept. BV is based on an indigenous way of living in harmony with nature; the concept has been studied extensively by several scholars around the world. However, the implementation of BV, as a political alternative, has been contested. On the one hand, the Ecuadorian conservative right showed opposition and scepticism when BV was proposed in the constituent assembly as the new central objective of public policies. On the other hand, indigenous leaders and social movements felt that the government was not truly leftist. In addition, the indigenous movement showed a lot of concern about the role of the state over land and natural resources.

The answers of the respondents when they were asked, in the questionnaire, if the government is taking the right measures to protect the environment were surprisingly positive. ‘Strongly agree’ and ‘agree’ were the most common answers (Figure 5.36). However, qualitative data contradicted this quantitative finding. Some interviewees, especially indigenous, accused the government of prioritizing economic performance over protection of the environment; however, there was not a consensus around this accusation.

The notion of SK is grounded on the country’s experiment of living well, which comes from a post-political consensus in environmental politics. This view of politics recognizes the fact that humans play an important role in the eco-geologically critical impact on the planet’s biophysical system; the obvious example is the accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere (Swyngedouw, 2011). The notion of BV, on the other hand, has showed a more liberal position that tends to emphasises individual rights, which in turn privileges humans over nature.

It is tempting to argue that the principles of SK were inadequate for the extractivism agenda that the government started to introduce soon after the approval of the 2008 constitution. In fact, the same year, social protests against mining companies took place and indigenous leaders demanded the President to keep his promise of preserving the environment over transnational mining and petroleum companies’ interests. Correa’s response to the anti-mining activists and indigenous leaders was that

...it is absurd to be sitting on top of hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars, and to say no to mining because of romanticisms, stories, obsessions, or who knows what.

(quoted in Bebbington, 2011, p.32)

During Correa’s administration, BV became the political alternative in Ecuador. There is little doubt that the principles of BV guided the introduction of several policies that benefitted the most excluded and vulnerable people. However, there is evidence that the use of BV by the Ecuadorian government has little connection with SK. The preference of BV over SK has created a lot of tension between the government and social movements that has criticised Correa about the increasing gap between the rhetoric and practice of BV (ODI, 2015).

According to Merino (2016), BV became a rhetorical discourse that justified policies that contradicted indigenous self-determination and ecological concerns. To that end, BV as a political alternative is at high risk of being abandoned, especially after the 2017 election, in

which a new government was elected that already showed some sympathy with the idea of a conservative restoration in Ecuador.

6.4 Objective three: To establish the distinction between BV and SK

Throughout the development of the study, it has been argued that BV and SK represent two different concepts, despite Acosta (2015) disagrees with this statement, who is one of the most recognized figures in the study of BV and SK. Although, most of the literature suggests that the two terms represent the same principles, this study showed that the emphasis is different.

During face-to face interviews and focus groups, it became evident that BV emphasises individual rights, whilst SK focuses on the importance of ancestral thinking, which is eminently collective. Once the constitution was approved, the Ecuadorian government began systematically replacing the term SK for BV. During the presidential campaign and the elaboration of the new constitution, Correa consistently used SK in his political discourse. However, over time, the governmental approach changed, SK and BV were used interchangeably, and eventually BV replaced SK.

According to Gerlach (2017), the extent to which BV has been used in preference to SK has been driven by the audience at hand. However, it could be argued that this change was deliberately introduced to promote BV as the political alternative and avoid the use of the SK term. The BV plan 2013-2017, indicates that the government aims to move its economy away from extractivism, but for this, extractive activities are required (Senplades, 2013). This contradictory statement provoked the indigenous leaders to condemn the BV plan. Gerlach (2017) indicates that the tension between SK and extractivism has provoked a lack of credibility of a politics sensitised to the non-human. While the BV discourse shows concern for the environment, in practice, the concept is flexible, adjustable, and it makes possible extractive activities. On the other hand, SK represents a position that is much more concerned about the environment than BV; it is stronger, inflexible, and it makes impossible extractive activities.

Alonso González and Vázquez (2015), offer another possible explanation for the preference of the government in the use of BV over SK. They argue that this preference is the result of the unresolved debate about ancient knowledge and modern or western knowledge. This claim was validated during interviews in the Tungurahua and Chimborazo provinces. Interviewees indicated that western knowledge is responsible for most of the damage that nature has

suffered in the last years, while ancient knowledge teaches us how to preserve the environment and it can even show us how to reverse climate change (Appendix B6).

6.5 Objective four: To determine how SSE and BV have influenced the progress of the country

In the last decade, social and economic indicators have been moving in a positive direction. Poverty levels had decreased, unemployment rate was reduced, wages experienced a significant increase, literacy and health measurements were up, and the gap between the rich and the poor seemed to be closing (Becker, 2013). According to the case study conducted by the ODI in 2015, the positive outcomes were the result of a combination of economic and political factors that enabled social policies to advance human development. However, the same improvements have not been seen in the protection of the environment (Lalander and Lembke, 2018).

During the elaboration of the constitution, it was agreed that an alternative development required an alternative economy. This alternative economy needed to be based on principles of solidarity and sustainability (Acosta, 2015). The resulting market economy was incompatible with the principles of BV, thus the SSE was proposed as the economic system that the country was required to pursue BV. However, as Coraggio (2014) indicates, it is not possible to deny the market forces, but it is possible to coexist with them in the form of a mixed economy that includes the public economy, the private economy and the popular economy.

The introduction of BV as the main objective of the public policies has definitely influenced the progress of the country, as section 2.4.2 described. However, it is difficult to establish to what extent this progress is a consequence of BV policies and the implementation of SSE, or if the progress can be attributed to economic and political factors that were favoured by high oil prices and substantial external financing (Castañeda and Morales, 2009).

During face-to-face interviews and focus groups, interviewees were asked about their perception about the progress of the country. While for some respondents, the situation had improved considerably, others indicated otherwise, it was not possible to reach a consensus. However, during the elaboration of the thematic framework (Appendix B1) two interesting themes related to the progress were identified: the difficult economic situation and government programmes not targeting the poor. From interviews, it became apparent that the number of people who had a negative perception of the situation of the progress of the country was slightly higher than the people who had a positive perception of the progress of

the country. Similarly, the question from the questionnaire that enquired about the situation of the country, as a whole, showed that people's opinions were very divided (Figure 5.39). On this occasion, the anonymous nature of the survey could be beneficial to obtain a more reliable reflection of what respondents really thought about the progress of the country. The outcomes of this question, indicated that most of the surveyed people had a positive perception of the situation of the country, although an important proportion of respondents showed hesitation when they answered the question and decided to choose the option 'neither agree nor disagree' (Figure 5.39).

Despite, the disagreement of some respondents about the improvement of the welfare of people from the interviews and the lack of consensus from the survey in the same regard, economic and social indicators have been moving in a positive direction, which gave Correa one of the highest approval ratings of any leader in Latin America (Becker, 2013). The new economic policies brought economic stability, however, these policies have not shown a significant shift towards a new economic model (Kennemore and Weeks, 2011b; Gerlach, 2017).

In section 1.4.6 an extensive description of the social and economic transformations that took place during the ten years of Correa's decade in power, was made. These transformations constituted the main reason for the inclusion of Ecuador in the case study that is part of the six-year research project conducted by ODI. The aim of this project was to understand, measure and explain what has worked in international development. Ecuador was chosen, mainly because the country has made astonishing progress in terms of reducing extreme income poverty (ODI, 2015). According to this study, there are four factors that had driven the progress in Ecuador: macroeconomic stability, changes in the labour market, redistribution policies, and social protection for poor people.

Chapter 2 provided a comprehensive review of the economic reforms, policy and institutional changes that operated in the country between 2007 and 2017. These changes can be easily connected to the first and second factors described by the ODI project. The economic stability of the country can be considered as a key factor for the progress of Ecuador. However, the macroeconomic measurements that have been taken place in the country cannot be entirely attributed to BV and SSE principles. President Correa has been described as a neo-Keynesian economist (Becker, 2017b) trained in North America and Europe. This means that Correa's background could also have influenced the economic policies that he introduced.

After 2007, oil prices continued to bolster economic growth, which had a direct impact on the economic stability that the study described as a factor that drove the change. Another aspect that should be considered is the fact that since January 2000, Ecuador adopted the US dollar as its currency (Chapter 1). During the first years of dollarization, what the country experienced was an increase in prices, which especially affected the poor population and the families that were living in extreme poverty (Larrea, 2004). However, during Correa's administration, dollarization played an important role in the control of inflation.

The second factor, mentioned by the case study, indicates that changes in the labour market had a profound impact on the welfare of the population. During Correa's administration, fiscal austerity was highly criticised and thanks to the oil revenues, the government was able to heavily invest in different areas, which had a positive impact on the poor, who were able to find jobs in new areas and get higher salaries (Larrea, 2013). However, an active role of the government intervention is more related to Keynesian economics, SSE promotes the participation of the state in the form of an increase of the public economy, together with significant efforts to distribute wealth from the business sector to the popular economy (Coraggio, 2015).

The third factor describes a radical political change towards strong government and redistribution. This factor can be easily identified with BV and SSE principles. Redistributive social policies have been based on the National Plans for BV, which started to be elaborated soon after the election of Correa. The so-called 'Citizens' Revolution' invited numerous social movements to contribute during the elaboration of the constitution. The BV as a guiding principle ensured a shift in priorities towards social policies. The basic principle of BV indicates that:

The state's purpose is to fulfil human beings' material and spiritual needs in harmony with their natural environment, prioritising quality of life over wealth, income or profit.

(National Bureau of Planning of Ecuador, 2009, cited in Yáñez and Grupo, 2013)

The fourth factor describes the improvements of the social protection framework and social services for the poor. Under the principles of BV and solidarity, the government increased social expenditure considerably, especially in the areas of education and health services (Chapter 2). Social protection policies were a key focus of the government, the cash-transfer programme, which began in 1998 experienced substantial increases during Correa's administration.

It is clear that positive outcomes have been achieved during the implementation of BV and SSE. The country has experienced very remarkable progress, in terms of poverty and inequality reduction. The combination of political and economic factors can explain to some extent this transformation. However, other factors, which cannot be controlled such as oil prices or monetary policy, due to dollarization, have also influenced the situation of the country. Macroeconomic management and some political strategies that aimed to create more jobs redistribute income and provide more and better social services have had an important impact in the pursuit of BV.

6.6 Contribution of the study

This research has illustrated that BV and SSE are intrinsically connected, since the introduction of the terms in the Ecuadorian constitution. However, the study also has shown that BV can be pursued within a mixed economy, in which the private sector plays a key role in generation of employment and the provision of some basic services. Therefore, SSE is the obvious choice for the implementation of BV, but it does not mean the private economy is not compatible to the objectives of BV.

Whilst acknowledging the contributions of several authors who have extensively written about SSE, SK and BV, this study contributed with the views and perceptions of the people who live in the rural area of the Ecuadorian highlands. A region where, it has been argued, some ancient economic practices paved the way for the introduction of cooperative based projects that represent, according to several interviewees, the cradle of the solidarity economy in Ecuador. Similarly, this study explored the origin of SK from an intellectual point of view, and revealed that it was in Sarayaku (a village in the Amazonian region) and not in the highlands, where the term SK became the object of study.

This research also provided original insights about how people from the highlands understand the concept of BV and SK. This came in the form of what aspects in life respondents valued the most important to living well. These aspects were covered during interviews and then added to the questionnaire to enquire the importance of those aspects to living well. This study also revealed that subjective wellbeing is not the best option to measure wellbeing, in the rural areas of Ecuador, despite the fact is widely used in many parts of the world. The concepts involved in this type of questions proven to be complex, even with the use of Likert-type questions, which was supposed to facilitate the process. To overcome this, the questionnaire was completed either under my supervision or by a member of the staff from the NGO that collaborated in the study.

The study also revealed that the governmental discourse about BV and SK has provoked some confusion among people, especially mestizo population who identified BV as the Spanish version of SK. However, indigenous people showed a better understanding of the term and even indicated that the use of BV over SK is an attempt by the government to deceive people and continue with extractive practices. Another important contribution of this study was related to the lack of understanding of the concept of development. This was particularly interesting considering that for more than three decades NGOs have been implementing 'development projects', however outcomes of this study revealed that respondents had very little knowledge of the term.

Most of the literature available about BV and SSE, including the ODI case study, refers to the progress of Ecuador as one of the most extraordinary transformations in terms of reducing poverty and inequality. However, this study has provided some evidence that indicate that this progress has not been perceived by everybody. Although, some proportion of respondents agreed that the situation of the country has improved and people are better off now (11% strongly agree and 26% agree), another important proportion indicated otherwise (15% strongly disagree and 21% disagree), which should be a concern for the governmental authorities.

6.7 Policy implications

BV and SK are embedded in the heart of the 2008 constitution (Radcliffe, 2012). Both terms have been used in the governmental discourse; however, BV became the central objective of public policies in Ecuador (Caria and Domínguez, 2014). This study has explored in what ways BV became a political alternative in Ecuador and how the policies implemented under its principles have influenced the progress of the country.

In this research, two main points were stressed in relation to BV. First, the precise meaning of BV remains contested, and second BV and SK represent two different concepts. Regardless, what definition is being used to describe BV, this study has shown that SK represents the idea and the principles, while BV represent the experimental policy (Gerlach, 2017). Policy makers should make a distinction between BV and SK, the former proven to be more flexible and open to changes, while the latter is not compatible to the extractivist agenda that the government has been promoting.

Other policies implications are derived from the fact that the government has been using traditional indicators to measure progress, such as poverty, inequality, multidimensional poverty index and the human development index. In order to monitor how well BV policies

are being implemented, the government needs to develop a new set of metrics that reflect the principles of BV and not traditional indicators. This study has shown that qualitative approaches can be employed to capture the views and perceptions of people rather than quantitative methods, which could allow statistical generalization, but do not reflect the reality of the situation at the community level. In this regard, Polit and Beck (2010), remind us that the goal of qualitative studies is not to generalise, but rather to provide a better understanding of human experience, which is how the BV policies should be assessed. However, in the international context, the mainstream seems to be ‘sustainable development’ and local development initiatives such as BV are at risk of being ignored or absorbed by global developmental discourses.

Appendices

Appendix A1: Full Ethical Assessment Form Approved

15-ALT-06

Full Ethical Assessment Form



APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL OF A RESEARCH PROJECT FROM FACULTY ETHICS COMMITTEE

This application form is to be used by **STAFF** and **PGR STUDENTS** seeking ethical approval for an individual research project where preliminary ethical assessment has indicated that full ethical review is required.

A completed version of this document should be emailed to the Secretary of your appropriate Faculty Ethics Committee in the University. *Applications must be completed on this form; attachments will not be accepted other than those requested on this form. This form has been designed to be completed electronically; no handwritten applications will be accepted.*

Research must NOT begin until approval has been received from the appropriate Faculty Ethics Committee.

Section 1: Applicant Details

Applicant Name	Jorge Enrique Altamirano Flores
Contact Email	j.e.altamirano-flores1@newcastle.ac.uk
Academic Unit	Agriculture, Food and Rural Development School, Rural Economy Centre
Applicant Type	<input type="checkbox"/> Staff <input type="checkbox"/> Undergraduate <input type="checkbox"/> Postgraduate Taught <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Postgraduate Research

Section 2: Project Details

Project Title	Contributions of the Social and Solidary Economy to Rural Development in the Andean Highlands Region of Ecuador
My Projects Reference	
Already has ethical approval	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
Project Funder(s)	Government of Ecuador (SENESCYT)
Other organisations involved	None
Proposed Start / End Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	Start Date: 15/02/2015 End Date: 01/12/2017
Category	<input type="checkbox"/> Staff Research <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Postgraduate Research <input type="checkbox"/> Course
Preliminary Ethical Flag(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> Animals <input type="checkbox"/> Environment <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International (non EEA) <input type="checkbox"/> NHS <input type="checkbox"/> Data <input type="checkbox"/> Humans Non-Clinical
Supervisor (Student Research projects only)	Liz Oughton <Elizabeth.Oughton@newcastle.ac.uk>
Who is responsible for the overall <u>management</u> of the research? Name & post.	Liz Oughton, Newcastle University Jorge Enrique Altamirano Flores, PGR Student
Who <u>designed</u> the research? Name & post.	Liz Oughton, Newcastle University Jorge Enrique Altamirano Flores, PGR Student

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Who is <u>conducting</u> the research? Name & post.	Jorge Enrique Altamirano Flores, PGR Student
Is this a re-approval of an existing project?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
Project type: Please mark the predominant nature of this project (one only).	<input type="checkbox"/> Questionnaire / Survey <input type="checkbox"/> Experiments <input type="checkbox"/> Observational <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Data based <input type="checkbox"/> Other- define: _____
Has Peer Review taken place	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> By: _____ No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Section 3: Project Outline & Proposed Research methods

Project outline & aims

Briefly describe the aims of this research, including the anticipated benefits and risks. This description must be in everyday language. If any jargon, technical terms or discipline-specific phrases are used, these should be explained. Please use no more than 500 words.

The research will be focused on the implementation of the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) in the rural area of Ecuador. The main aim of the research is to establish the contributions of the SSE in the development of the rural area in the Andean highlands region of Ecuador.

The research will provide theoretical insights into the ways in which the SSE in Ecuador, relates to the debate on alternative rural development approaches. It is also, intended to contribute to the comparative analysis of the new social enterprises in rural areas in Ecuador, and finally, the research will determine to what extent the 'good living' approach is promoting a new way of policy making participation among the indigenous population in the rural area of Ecuador.

Social and Solidarity Economy is a relatively new concept, and in the case of Ecuador, together with the 'good living' approach represent the basis of the country's development agenda, the research intends to explore these concepts and its connection with the rural development trends and how the indigenous populations are being part of this strategy.

Proposed research methods (Experimental design)

Please provide an outline, in layman's terms, of the proposed research methods. Specify whether the research will take place outside of the UK or in collaboration with partners based outside the UK, and/or if research will take place using the internet. Present an outline of the method in a step-by-step chronological order, and avoid using jargon and technical terms as much as possible. Ensure you describe the key tasks including how data will be collected and used. Please do not exceed 500 words.

The use of quantitative and qualitative methods as well as, primary and secondary data is anticipated in order to answer research questions, accomplish objectives and ultimately achieve the aim of the research. The methodology is divided in four parts.

In the first part, I will collect all the relevant literature available. The initial literature review of the project proposal, will be the starting point. Gathering data from different sources such as Robinson Library, published data, online information and any other source will be used.

In part two, I will synthesize, analyse, compare, and contrast the relevant information from the

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literature. For this, I will use descriptive statistical analysis. The data in this stage will be secondary. This part is essential for the theoretical analysis section of the thesis, which will contribute to achieve the proposed objectives and questions of the research.

In part three, I will use primary data, which means, fieldwork outside of the UK. For this, I will select some rural indigenous communities in the Andean highlands of Ecuador and use the case study approach and use techniques for Rural Rapid Appraisal (RRA). Focus groups, to discuss the good living approach linked to rural development will be also organized, and the development of a possible tool to assess well-being in terms of good living will be attempted.

One possible way of having organized the indigenous community groups, is the project carry out by The National Railway of Ecuador, which is given the opportunity to communities to run their own business in every train station in the form of social enterprises. Another way, is selecting some random indigenous communities, where the SSE is being implemented. For the first option, the National Railway will be acting as a partner, since they are very interesting in having information about how well its project is being implemented. For the second option, the collaboration of the local government will be required.

In the last part of the methodology section, I will use primary data from fieldwork to compare with the secondary data. Diagrams and graphics will be used for comparison and analysis of the information. This will allow me to explore in more detail the possible trends of rural development in the Andean highlands of Ecuador and its relationship with the good living approach as cornerstone of the SSE.

Section 4: Environment

(Complete this section only if the project was flagged 'environment' at preliminary review.)

Please provide the locations in which your research will take place, together with the anticipated risks (destruction of habitat or artefacts/emissions, etc.), potential damage and mitigating measures planned. Please use no more than 700 words.

N/A

Section 5: Human participants in a Non-Clinical Setting

(Complete this section only if the project was flagged 'Human Participants in a Non-Clinical Setting' at preliminary review)

Participant Details

Does this research specifically target participants recruited by virtue of being (select all that apply):	<input type="checkbox"/> Students or staff of this University <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Adults (over the age of 18 years and competent to give consent) <input type="checkbox"/> Children/legal minors (anyone under the age of 18 years) <input type="checkbox"/> Persons incapable of giving informed consent <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> People from non-English speaking backgrounds <input type="checkbox"/> Welfare recipients <input type="checkbox"/> Prisoner or parolee
Does the study involve recruiting participants	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

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through a gatekeeper?	
Number of participants required for the study	Approximately 60
Source and means by which participants are to be recruited:	One possible way is through the National Railway of Ecuador and another way is by asking local government collaboration for the recruitment of participants.

Participant Information	YES	NO
Will you inform participants that their participation is voluntary?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will you inform participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will you inform participants that their data will be treated with full confidentiality and that, if published, it will not be identifiable as theirs?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will you provide an information sheet that will include the contact details of the researcher/team?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will you obtain written consent for participation?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will you debrief participants at the end of their participation (i.e., give them an explanation of the study and its aims and hypotheses)?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Will you provide participants with written debriefing (i.e., a sheet that they can keep that shows your contact details and explanations of the study)?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If using a questionnaire, will you give participants the option of omitting questions that they do not want to answer?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If an experiment, will you describe the main experimental procedures to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Participant consent

Please describe the arrangements you are making to inform potential participants, before providing consent, of what is involved in participating in your study and the use of any identifiable data, and whether you have any reasons for withholding particular information. Due consideration must be given to the possibility that the provision of financial or other incentives may impair participants' ability to consent voluntarily. (No more than 300 words)

To inform potential indigenous participants, about the research and the survey required for that, the collaboration of the one indigenous community leader is essential. Working in partnership with the National Railway will simplified the process, otherwise a preliminary contact with a community leader will take place to explain the scope of the research and explain the questions and the type of information needed. I have been working with indigenous populations for more than ten years, and I am very familiar with participatory rural appraisal tools and the use of them to obtain information from indigenous populations. Financial or other incentives are not required, in fact, a small traditional snack, will be probably provided by the communities during the meetings.

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Participants should be able to **provide written consent**. Please describe the arrangements you are making for participants to provide their full consent before data collection begins. If you think gaining consent in this way is inappropriate for your project, please explain how consent will be obtained and recorded. (No more than 300 words)

Written consent is not common when we use participatory rural appraisal tools, however, to obtain and record consent, a document with space for names and signatures will be provided.

Please attach a copy of the information to be provided to the participant(s) to enable informed consent. This should include the 'Consent Form' & 'Participant Information Sheet' on appropriately headed paper.

Participant debriefing

It is a researcher's obligation to ensure that all participants are fully informed of the aims and methodology of the project, that they feel respected and appreciated after they leave the study, and that they do not experience significant levels of stress, discomfort, or unease in relation to the research project. Please describe whether, when, and how participants will be debriefed. (No more than 300 words)

The best way to debrief participants, is talking to the community leader first and then this person can inform and explain the aim, purpose and how the project will be carried out. Any questions or concerns from people will be addressed by the researcher, before the survey begins. There is no need to provide a debriefing sheet to the community members, since this is not common among indigenous communities.

Indigenous populations and rural communities in general, do not like to read documents, usually documents provided by individuals or institutions such as NGOs or governmental organizations remain unread. People from rural areas tend to be more open to receive verbal information rather than written information. I have been working with these groups for more than ten years and I know the best way to approach them is by giving an explanation orally before the survey begins.

Please attach a copy of any debriefing sheet that you may provide on appropriately headed paper.

Potential risk to participants and risk management procedures

Identify, as far as possible, all potential risks (small and large) to participants (e.g. physical, psychological, etc.) that may be associated with the proposed research. Please explain any risk management procedures that will be put in place and attach any risk assessments or other supporting documents. Please answer as fully as possible. (No more than 300 words)

Obtaining information, using participatory rural appraisal methods have been shown that is a very simple, harmless and low risk way to do it. There are not potential risks identified at this stage.

Section 6: Data

Please attach a copy of your data management plan (if available) or alternatively note where appropriate: whether consent will be sought, how data will be accessed, how participants' confidentiality will be protected, and any other relevant considerations. Information must be provided on the full data lifecycle, from collection to archive. If you do not have a data management plan, funder-specific plans are available from the Digital Curation Centre. See <https://dmponline.dcc.ac.uk/>

Please see attached document.

Section 7: Permissions (Inc Overseas)

Overseas: For any research conducted outside the EEA the researcher is responsible for ensuring that local ethical considerations are complied with and that the relevant permissions are sought. If relevant please complete the table below otherwise move on to the permissions table.

Is the research to be conducted outside the <u>EEA</u> ?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
If 'Yes' please state the location(s):	Highland rural region of Ecuador
Have the appropriate local ethical considerations been complied with and relevant permissions sought?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes (awarded) – Please note in table below <input type="checkbox"/> Yes (pending) – Please note in table below <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No

Permissions: Please use the table below to record details of licenses or permissions required and / or applied for e.g. LEA, governing body, etc along with the reference, status and the date when it was granted.

Permission / License	Award Body	Reference Number	Date of Permission	Status e.g. Granted / Pending

Section 8: Risk Considerations & Insurance

Newcastle University must have in place appropriate insurance cover for its legal liabilities for research studies. Dependent upon the nature of the research and how it is governed cover will either come under Clinical Trials Insurance or Public Liability Insurance. Please refer to the supplementary guidance "When does the Insurance Office need to be notified of a research proposal?" for clarification.

Potential risk to researchers and risk management procedures

What are the potential risks to researchers themselves? This may include: personal safety issues, such as those related to lone or out of normal hours working or to visiting participants in their homes; travel arrangements, including overseas travel; and working in unfamiliar environments. Please explain any risk management procedures that will be put in place and attach any risk assessments or other supporting documents. (No more than 300 words)

The official sponsor of the research is financing an international health and life insurance, which is intended for any possible incident related with the research. However, there is not any potential high risk situation identified at this stage.

Please attach a risk assessment or any other appropriate documents as required.

Full Ethical Assessment Form



Section 9: Supporting documentation

Please supply copies of any applicable and documents in support of your answers. Ensure that attached files have appropriate file names.

Document	Attached
Participant consent form	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Participant information sheet	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Participant debriefing document	<input type="checkbox"/>
Questionnaire(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Outline protocol	<input type="checkbox"/>
Project risk assessment	<input type="checkbox"/>
Travel risk assessment	<input type="checkbox"/>
Original ethical assessment (re-approval only)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Data management plan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Peer review evidence (Internal / non funded)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local permissions / licenses (non EEA)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other ethical review forms	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others (please list):	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section 10: Declaration

I certify that the information contained in this application is accurate. I have attempted to identify the risks that may arise in conducting this research and acknowledge my obligations and the rights of the participants. I confirm that the research will be conducted in line with all University, legal and local ethical standards.	
Name of Principal Investigator:	Jorge Enrique Altamirano Flores
Signed:	
Date:	09/01/2015

If you have any queries on this form, please contact your Faculty Ethics Coordinator or visit the website at <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/res/research>

Please email or send this form to the appropriate Faculty Ethics Coordinator


For office use only:

The appropriate Ethics Committee has considered the ethical aspects of this proposal. The committee recommends that the programme/project be:

Full Ethical Assessment Form



Approved deferred (for reasons attached) not approved

Name of Committee Member:	PROF WERNER HOFER (CHAIR)
Ethics Committee Concerned:	SAGE FACULTY ETHICS COMMITTEE
Signed:	
Date:	20/02/2015

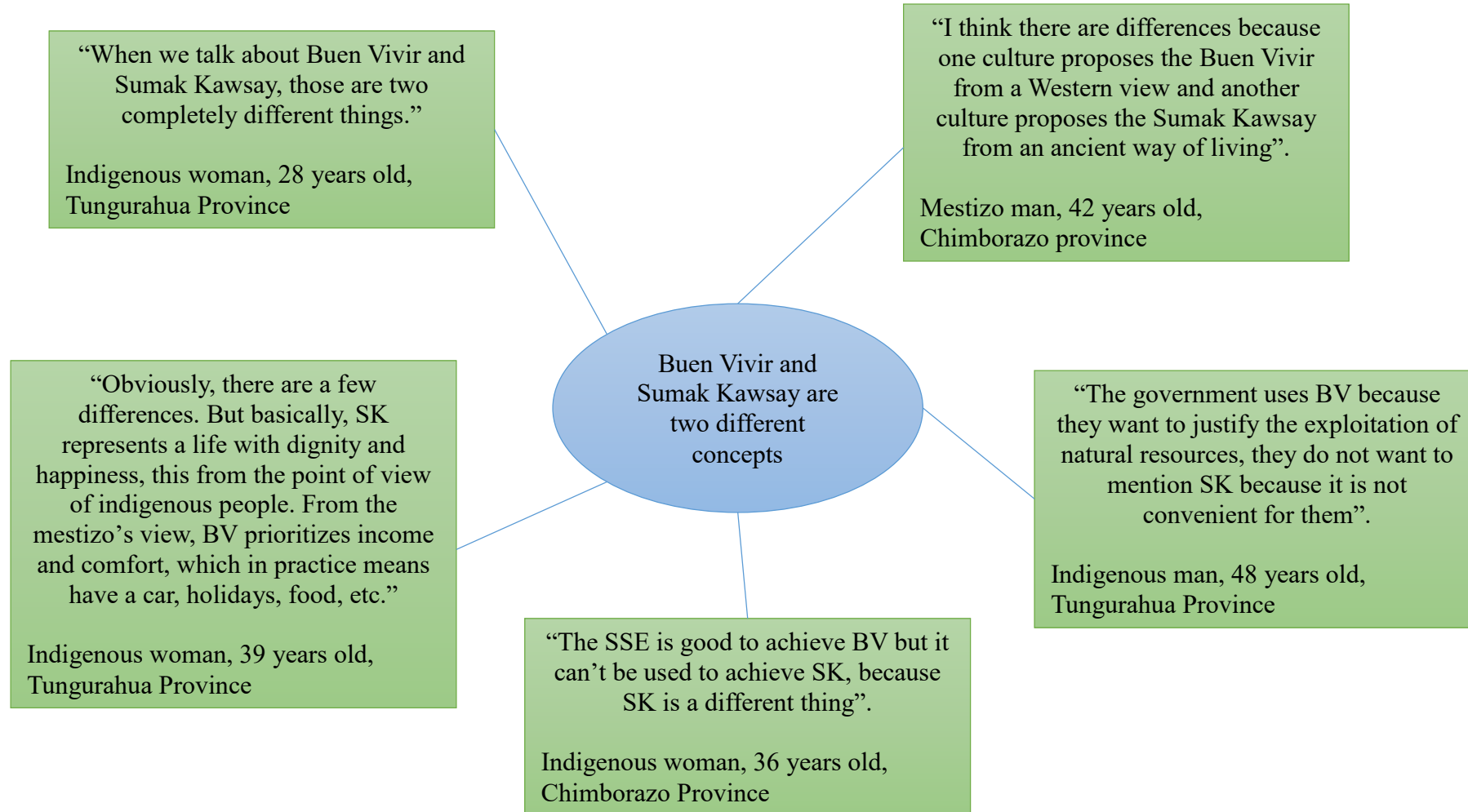
Appendix B1: Thematic Framework

Tentative themes encountered				
People more important than profits	People do not feel the Buen Vivir in their communities	Agriculture is the main source of income	Agriculture is part of our traditions	Agriculture is not a very profitable activity
Buen Vivir constitutes the ultimate goal	Buen Vivir as the development alternative to overcome poverty	Buen Vivir as the local sustainable development approach	What is needed to achieve Buen Vivir?	Buen Vivir is 'being OK'
The government is not doing a good job	The government is not respecting the nature	During the last few years there are some improvements	The economic situation is very difficult at the moment	The importance of women in society
Buen Vivir and Sumak Kawsay are the same thing	Buen Vivir and Sumak Kawsay are two different concepts	The government is using the Sumak Kawsay	Wellbeing is one of the main concerns of people	Solidarity is a well-known ancient value in the Andean region
Barter has been a way to trade in communities since ancient times	Farmers can get better prices as a group	Buen Vivir is a cultural appropriate development approach	Collective negotiations bring more benefits	Communal ownership has been practiced for a long time in the Andean region
Communities and the government are disconnected	Community more important than individuals	Colonialism destroyed some ancient values	Credit and savings cooperatives became popular	Criticism to market economy
Criticism to neoliberalism	Discrimination against indigenous people	Never heard about Social and Solidarity Economy	Economy without market is not possible	Eurocentric societies
Environment is a major concern	Fair price	Fair trade	Family economy	Happiness or being content

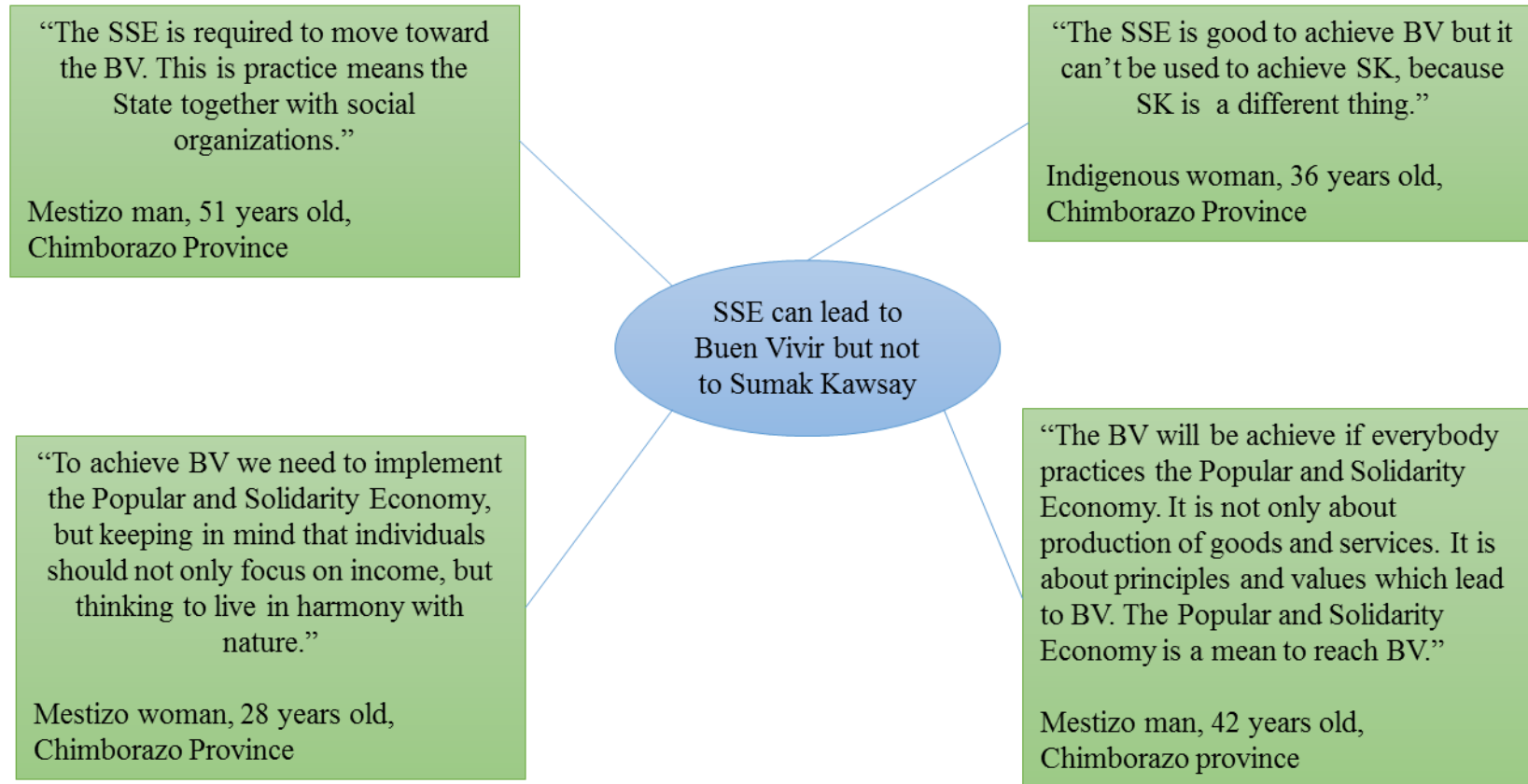
Harmony with nature	Helping others gives a sense of achievement	I scratch your back and you scratch mine	Indigenous movements played a key role for the introduction of Buen Vivir	Indigenous population is higher than what official figures show
Indigenous uprisings brought changes to the country	Inequality is one of the main problems to address	Informal economy is very widespread	International markets for the SSE products	Knowledge economy is the future
Liberation theology played a key role	'Loan sharks' take advantage of poor people	The market sees people only as labour	Mestizo people did not value local products	The ' <i>minga</i> ' is one of the most important traditions
Mixed economy	Mono-cropping one of the major problems	Nature's rights was introduced in the new constitution	Organic production	Pink tide
Plurinational State	Poor not being targeted	Popular Economy	Poverty	Productive circuit
Productive matrix	Progress during the last few years	Public economy	Private economy	Quality of life
Reciprocity	Recognition	Redistribution of welfare	Revolution	Rural areas
Savings	Self-sufficient communities	Sumak Kawsay means access to safe water	Sumak Kawsay and capitalism cannot live together	Sumak Kawsay represents a political alternative
Sumak Kawsay means enjoy a good weather	Sumak Kawsay comes from a collective view	Sumak Kawsay has been manipulated too much	Sumak Kawsay has nothing to do with money	Sumak Kawsay is 'being OK'

Sumak Kawsay is dignity and happiness	Sumak Kawsay is living well not good living	Sumak Kawsay is spirituality and belongingness	Sumak Kawsay has been object of great debate	Sumak Kawsay puts humans and nature at the same level
Small enterprises	Small savings schemes	Social economy by the poor for the poor	Social economy started as a social policy	Social enterprises
Social innovation	Social money	Social movements	Social organizations	Social responsibility
Solidarity market is an oxymoron	Social and Solidarity Economy has been in place for a long time	Social and Solidarity Economy is an alternative to traditional economy	Certification marks are part of the SSE	Collective trademarks are part of the SSE
Intellectual property is part of the SSE	Protected designation of origin is part of the SSE	SSE is compatible with Sustainable development	SSE helps to build relations between buyers and sellers	The SSE concept is still evolving
SSE does not work in practice	SSE helps to build relations between the rural and the urban areas	SSE has different names	SSE implies a redefinition of the traditional economy	SSE is a long process
SSE can lead to Buen Vivir but not to Sumak Kawsay	SSE requires little or no technology	Local production is crucial for the SSE	SSE responds to social needs	A stronger State is required to achieve Buen Vivir
Buen Vivir requires a structural transformation	The economy is social by definition	Community tourism is part of the SSE	Tourists appreciate local products	Market cannot be solidarity but trade can
How SSE has been implemented in Ecuador	The concept of development does not exist for indigenous people	The foundation of the state should be the principles of Sumak Kawsay	Ancient knowledge cannot be applied in today's reality	Failure of the Welfare State

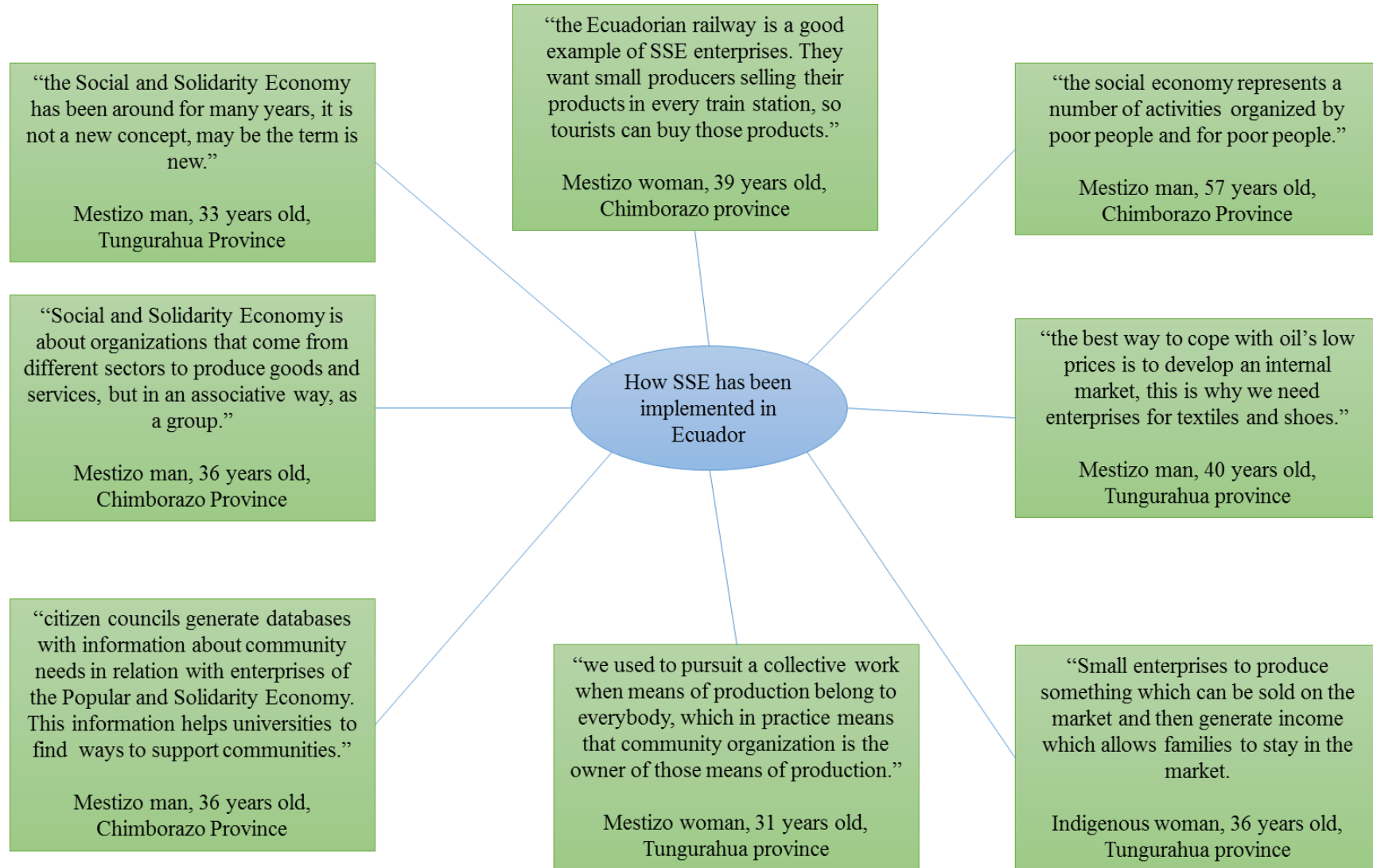
Appendix B2: BV and SK are two different concepts



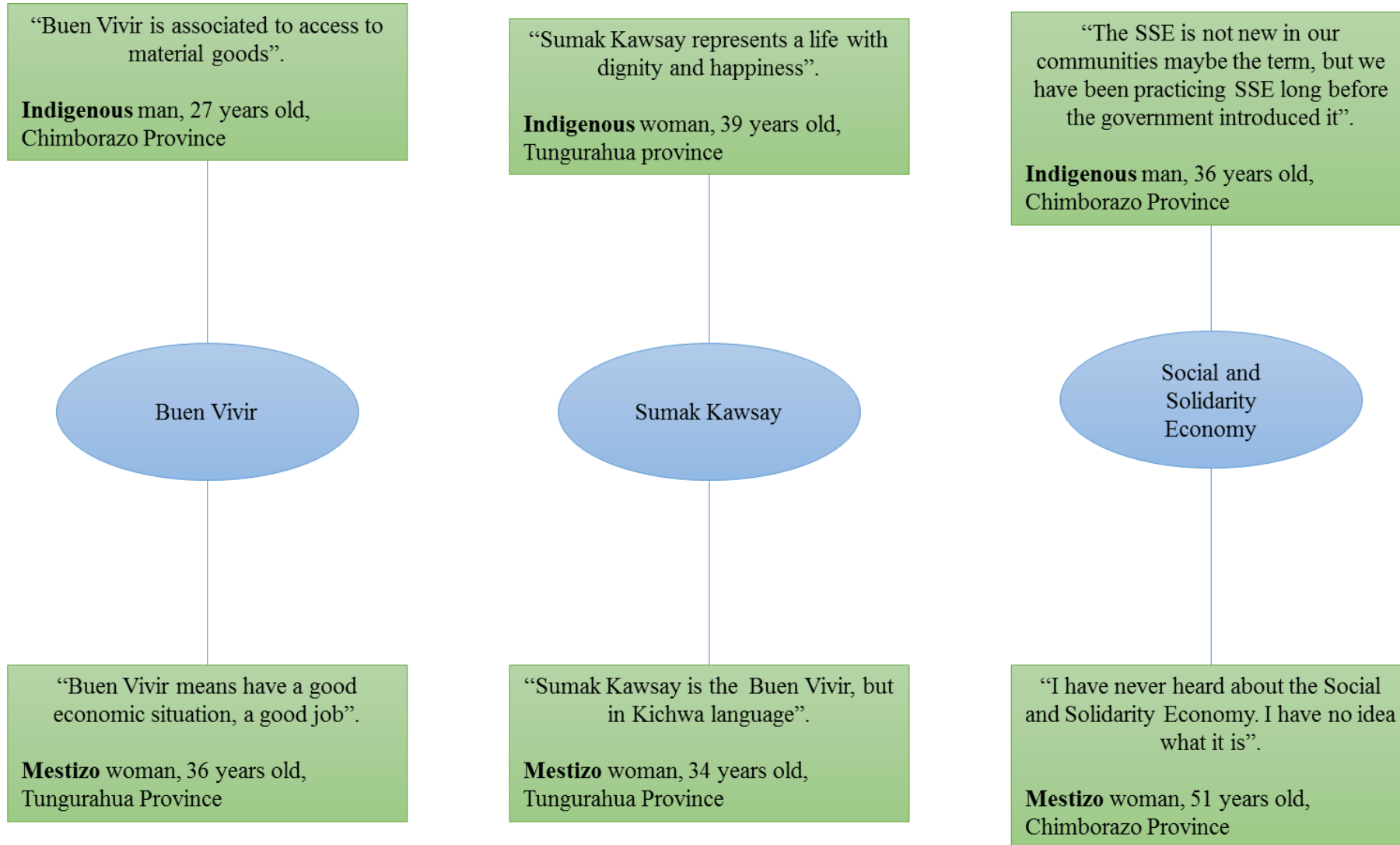
Appendix B3: SSE in pursuit of BV



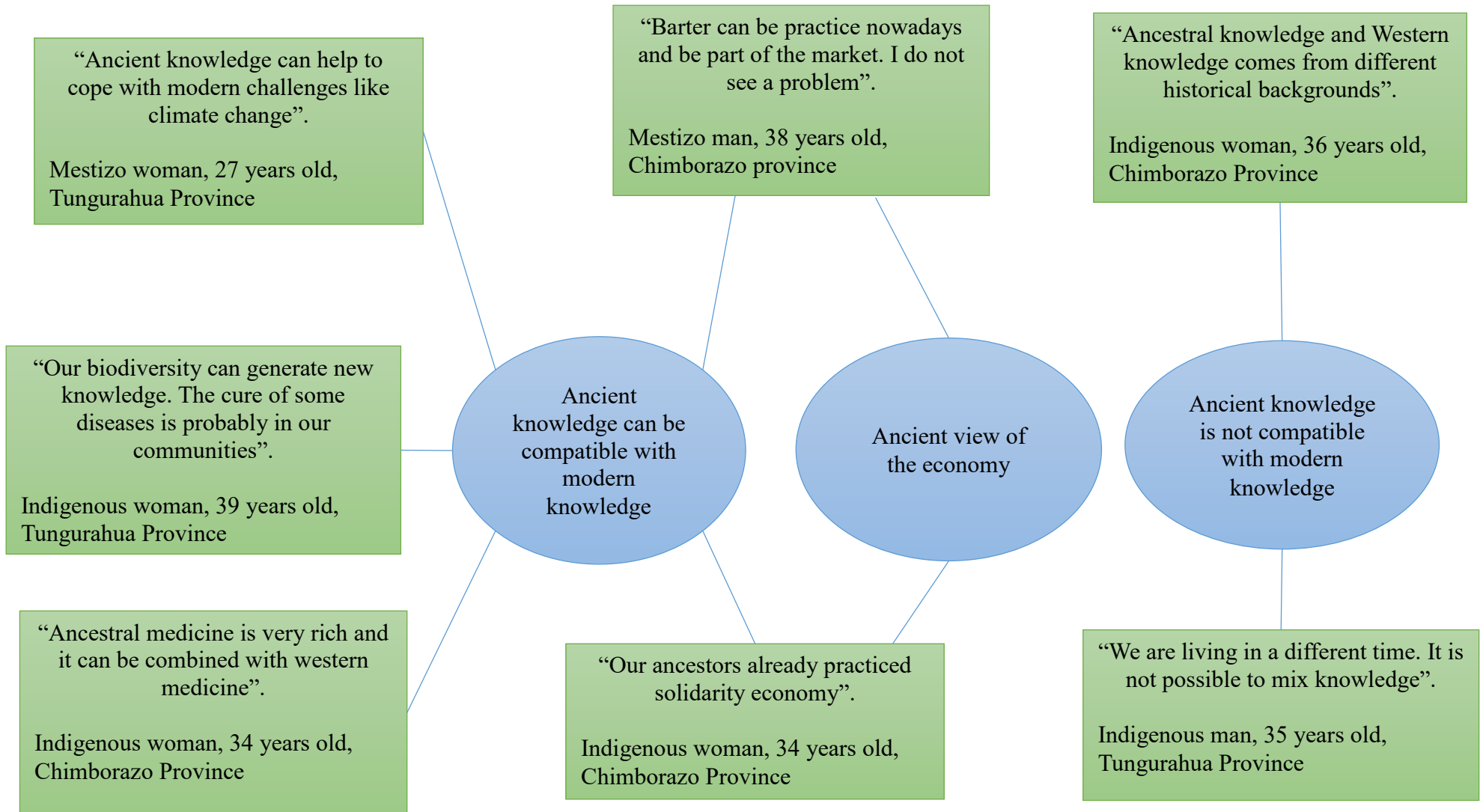
Appendix B4: Different views of the implementation of SSE in Ecuador



Appendix B5: Different views of BV, SK and SSE



Appendix B6: Ancient Knowledge vs Modern or Western Knowledge



Appendix C1: Questionnaire (English Version)



This is an anonymous questionnaire. **YOU DON'T NEED TO PUT YOUR NAME.** Your responses will be kept confidential. Please circle, mark or answer as appropriate.

Where do you live?

Province _____ Canton _____ Parish _____

How old are you? _____ years (please write the number)

Are you female male

Are you 1) single 2) married 3) divorced/separated 4) widowed 5) cohabiting

Are you 1) employed 2) unemployed 3) student 4) housewife 5) self-employed 6) retired

How do you consider yourself?

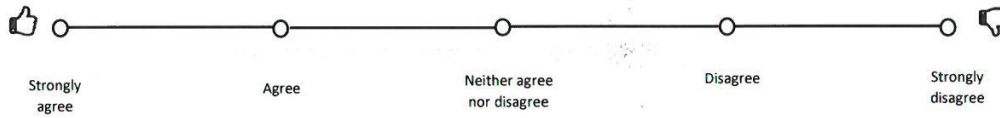
 1) Mestizo 2) Indigenous 3) White 4) Black 5) Montubio 6) Other

Do you have a disability? NO YES

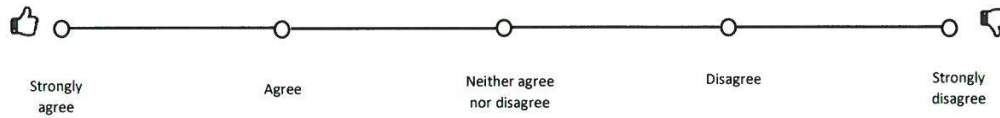
1) On a scale from 1 (Not important) to 5 (Very important), how do you value the following factors in your life?

	Not important	A bit important	Not sure	Important	Very important
Access to health services	1	2	3	4	5
Access to education	1	2	3	4	5
Have a paid job	1	2	3	4	5
Have a spouse/partner	1	2	3	4	5
Have children	1	2	3	4	5
Be recognized/respected	1	2	3	4	5
Have friends	1	2	3	4	5
Have a clean environment	1	2	3	4	5
Have time for leisure	1	2	3	4	5
Own a house	1	2	3	4	5
Make my own decisions	1	2	3	4	5
Be part of the community and/or help others	1	2	3	4	5

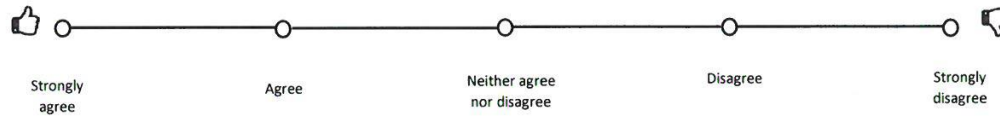
2) Overall, I feel very satisfied with my life



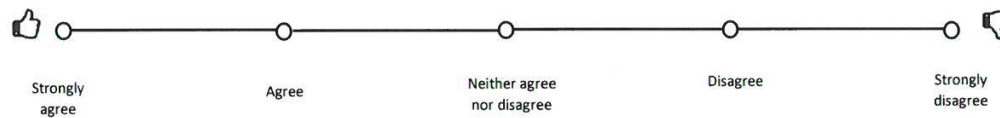
3) The things I do in my life are worthwhile and important



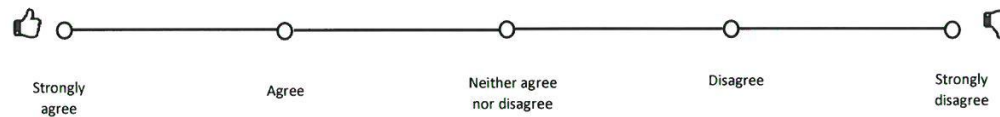
4) Yesterday, on average, I felt happy



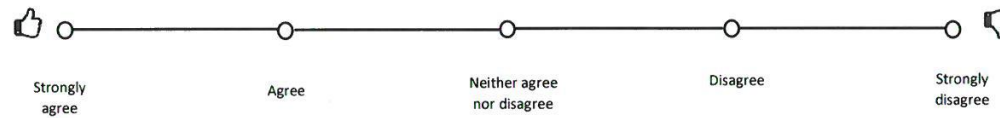
5) Yesterday, on average, I felt worried



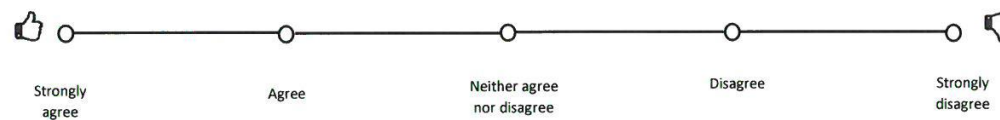
6) When I have a serious problem I have someone to rely on such as spouse/partner, family member or friend



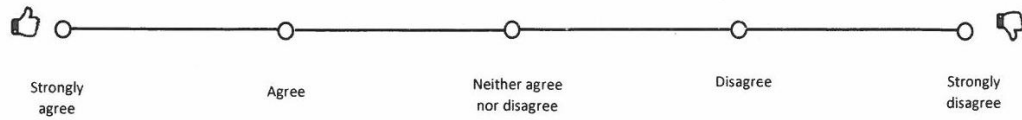
7) I fall asleep easily and get a good night's rest



8) I am completely satisfied with the amount of leisure time that I have



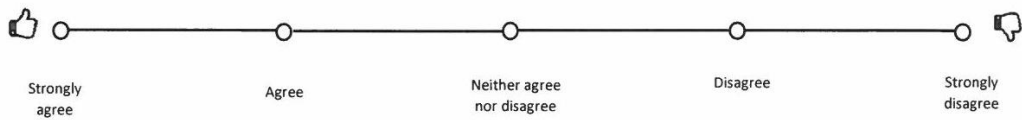
9) Please only answer this question if you have an income. I am completely satisfied with the income of my household



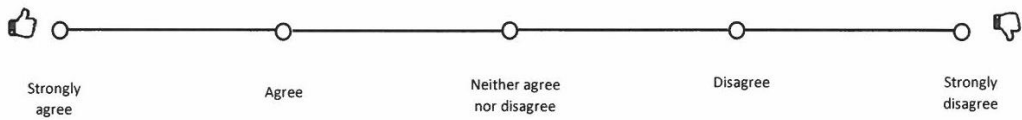
10) How much money do you make on average per month? (Please circle)

- 1) No income 2) Less than \$300 3) Between \$301 and \$500 4) Between \$501 and \$700
5) Between \$701 and \$900 6) More than \$900

11) I understand the concept of 'Good Living'



12) I understand the concept of 'Sumak Kawsay'

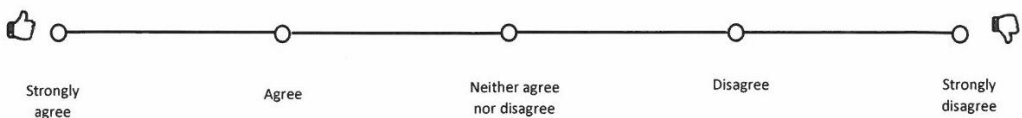


13) According to your knowledge, which word do you think describes better the concept of Sumak Kawsay? (Circle minimum 1 and maximum 2 words)

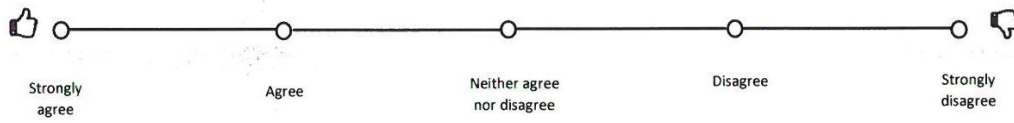
- 1) Living conditions 2) Mother Nature 3) Indigenous world 4) Wellbeing
5) Happiness 6) Development 7) Good Living 8) Environmental Care 9) None

If you chose none, which world would you used? _____

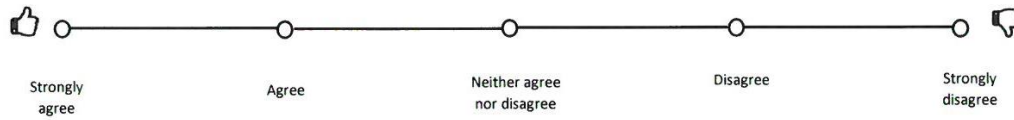
14) The ultimate goal of the ECONOMY is to maximize income



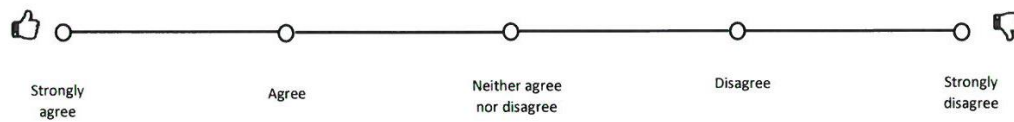
15) The government should prioritize economic growth to improve the welfare of people



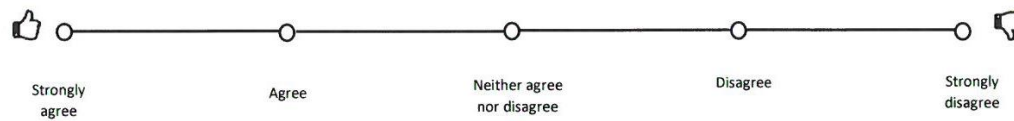
16) People's quality of life is more important than country's economic growth



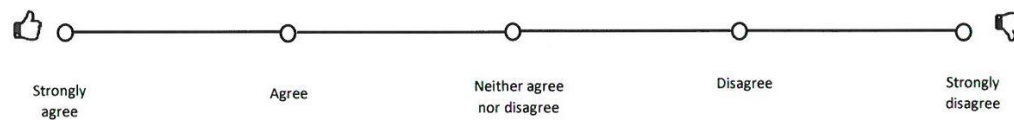
17) The government is taking the right measures to protect the environment



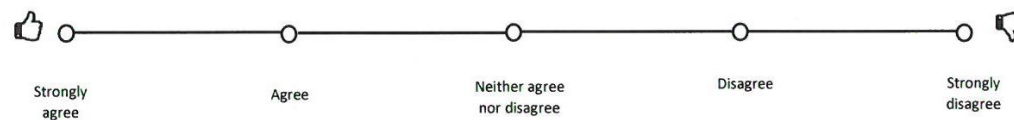
18) I am familiar with the term 'Social and Solidarity Economy'



19) The economic system in Ecuador focuses in people rather than money



20) I think the situation of the country, overall, has improved during the last few years and people are better off now



Thank you for your help

Appendix C2: Questionnaire (Spanish Version)



Este es un cuestionario anónimo. **NO TIENE QUE PONER SU NOMBRE.** Sus respuestas serán confidenciales. Por favor encierre en un círculo o conteste según el caso.

¿Dónde vive?

Provincia _____ Cantón _____ Parroquia _____

¿Qué edad tiene? _____ años (por favor escriba el número)

Es usted mujer hombre

Es usted 1) soltera/o 2) casada/o 3) divorciado/separado 4) viuda/o 5) unión libre

Esta usted 1) empleado 2) desempleado 3) estudiando 4) en casa 5) negocio propio 6) jubilado

¿Cómo se considera usted?

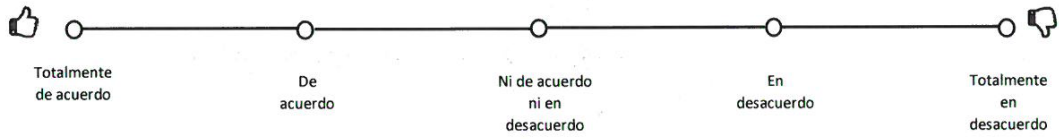
1) Mestizo 2) Indígena 3) Blanco 4) Afro 5) Montubio 6) Otro

¿Tiene usted alguna discapacidad? NO SI

1) En la escala del 1 (Nada importante) al 5 (Muy importante), ¿cómo valora usted los siguientes factores en su vida?

	Nada importante	Poco importante	No sé	Importante	Muy importante
Acceso a salud	1	2	3	4	5
Acceso a educación	1	2	3	4	5
Tener un trabajo pagado	1	2	3	4	5
Tener esposo/a o pareja	1	2	3	4	5
Tener hijos	1	2	3	4	5
Ser reconocido/respetado	1	2	3	4	5
Tener amigos	1	2	3	4	5
Medio ambiente limpio	1	2	3	4	5
Tiempo para relajarse	1	2	3	4	5
Tener una casa	1	2	3	4	5
Tomar mis propias decisiones	1	2	3	4	5
Participar en la comunidad y/o ayudar a otros	1	2	3	4	5

2) En general, me siento muy satisfecho con mi vida



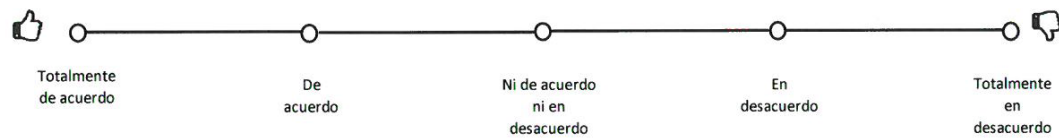
3) Las cosas que hago en mi vida valen la pena y son importantes



4) El día de ayer, en general, me sentí feliz



5) El día de ayer, en general, me sentí muy preocupado



6) Cuando tengo un problema serio, tengo alguien en quien apoyarme como mi esposo/a, familiar o amigo/a



7) Me quedo dormido fácilmente y descanso muy bien en la noche



8) Estoy completamente satisfecho con la cantidad de tiempo libre que tengo



9) Por favor conteste esta pregunta solo si tiene ingresos. Estoy completamente satisfecho con los ingresos económicos de mi hogar



10) ¿Cuáles son sus ingresos mensuales en promedio? (Por favor haga un círculo)

- 1) No ingresos 2) Menos de \$300 3) Entre \$301 y \$500 4) Entre \$501 y \$700
5) Entre \$701 y \$900 6) Más de \$900

11) Entiendo el concepto del 'Buen Vivir'



12) Entiendo el concepto del 'Sumak Kawsay'



13) De acuerdo a su conocimiento, ¿Cuál palabra, cree usted, describe mejor al concepto de Sumak Kawsay? (escoja 1 o máximo 2 palabras)

- 1) Condiciones de vida 2) Madre Naturaleza 3) Mundo Indígena 4) Bienestar
5) Felicidad 6) Desarrollo 7) Buen Vivir 8) Cuidado medio-ambiental 9) Ninguna

Si escogió ninguna, ¿Cuál palabra usaría usted? _____

14) El fin último de la ECONOMIA es hacer la mayor cantidad de dinero posible



15) El gobierno debería priorizar el crecimiento económico para mejorar el bienestar de las personas



16) La calidad de vida es más importante que el crecimiento económico



17) El actual gobierno está tomando las medidas necesarias para proteger al medio ambiente



18) Estoy familiarizado con el término 'Economía Popular y Solidaria'



19) El sistema económico del Ecuador se enfoca más en las personas que en el dinero



20) Creo que en general la situación del país ha mejorado en los últimos años y la gente está mejor



Gracias por su ayuda

Appendix D1: Cross-tabulation between marital status and have a spouse or partner

			Have partner					Total
			Not important	A bit important	Not Sure	Important	Very Important	
Marital Status	Single	Count	11	9	31	12	7	70
		Expected Count	5.0	4.2	11.3	22.2	27.3	70.0
	Married	Count	2	3	6	56	75	142
		Expected Count	10.2	8.4	22.9	45.1	55.4	142.0
	Divorced/Separated	Count	4	2	1	3	1	11
		Expected Count	.8	.7	1.8	3.5	4.3	11.0
	Widowed	Count	0	0	0	2	6	8
		Expected Count	.6	.5	1.3	2.5	3.1	8.0
	Cohabiting	Count	0	0	0	2	3	5
		Expected Count	.4	.3	.8	1.6	1.9	5.0
Total		Count	17	14	38	75	92	236
		Expected Count	17.0	14.0	38.0	75.0	92.0	236.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	125.121 ^a	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	123.766	16	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	26.805	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	236		

a. 16 cells (64.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .30.

Appendix D2: Cross-tabulation between marital status and have children/correlation between have a partner and have children

			Have children					Total
			Not important	A bit important	Not Sure	Important	Very Important	
Marital Status	Single	Count	11	9	26	16	11	73
		Expected Count	3.6	3.0	9.2	27.7	29.5	73.0
	Married	Count	1	1	2	70	74	148
		Expected Count	7.2	6.0	18.7	56.2	59.8	148.0
	Divorced/Separated	Count	0	0	2	2	7	11
		Expected Count	.5	.4	1.4	4.2	4.4	11.0
	Widowed	Count	0	0	0	3	5	8
		Expected Count	.4	.3	1.0	3.0	3.2	8.0
	Cohabiting	Count	0	0	1	2	2	5
		Expected Count	.2	.2	.6	1.9	2.0	5.0
Total		Count	12	10	31	93	99	245
		Expected Count	12.0	10.0	31.0	93.0	99.0	245.0

Correlations

			Have partner	Have children
Kendall's tau_b	Have partner	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.581**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	237	237
	Have children	Correlation Coefficient	.581**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	237	246

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix D3: Cross-tabulation between paid job and occupation of respondents

			Paid Job					
			Not important	A bit important	Not Sure	Important	Very Important	Total
Occupation	Employed	Count	0	0	0	11	49	60
		Expected Count	.8	1.1	3.2	17.6	37.4	60.0
	Unemployed	Count	0	0	2	15	22	39
		Expected Count	.5	.7	2.1	11.5	24.3	39.0
	Student	Count	0	1	3	17	22	43
		Expected Count	.6	.8	2.3	12.6	26.8	43.0
	Housewife	Count	2	1	6	9	23	41
		Expected Count	.5	.7	2.2	12.0	25.5	41.0
	Self-employed	Count	1	2	1	15	26	45
		Expected Count	.6	.8	2.4	13.2	28.0	45.0
Total		Count	3	4	12	67	142	228
		Expected Count	3.0	4.0	12.0	67.0	142.0	228.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	32.109 ^a	16	.010
Likelihood Ratio	34.514	16	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.333	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	228		

a. 15 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .51.

Appendix D4: Cross-tabulation between ethnic origin and clean environment

			Clean environment					
			Not important	A bit important	Not Sure	Important	Very Important	Total
Ethnic	Mestizo	Count	0	0	0	16	63	79
		Expected Count	.3	.3	.7	16.6	61.0	79.0
	Indigenous	Count	1	1	2	35	124	163
		Expected Count	.7	.7	1.3	34.4	126.0	163.0
Total		Count	1	1	2	51	187	242
		Expected Count	1.0	1.0	2.0	51.0	187.0	242.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.069 ^a	4	.723
Likelihood Ratio	3.292	4	.510
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.195	1	.274
N of Valid Cases	242		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .33.

Appendix D5: Kendall's tau test between life satisfaction and life worth living

Correlations

			Satisfaction with life	Life worth living
Kendall's tau_b	Satisfaction with life	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.588**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	243	242
	Life worth living	Correlation Coefficient	.588**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	242	243

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix D6: Kendall's tau test between happiness and anxiety

Correlations

			Happiness	Anxiety
Kendall's tau_b	Happiness	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.011
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.836
		N	244	242
	Anxiety	Correlation Coefficient	.011	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.836	.
		N	242	242

Appendix D7: Kendall's tau test between satisfaction with income and income

Correlations

			Satisfaction with income	Income
Kendall's tau_b	Satisfaction with income	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.244**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	179	170
	Income	Correlation Coefficient	-.244**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	170	198

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix D8: Kendall's tau test between understanding of BV and SK

Correlations

			Buen Vivir	Sumak Kawsay
Kendall's tau_b	Buen Vivir	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.684**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	244	241
	Sumak Kawsay	Correlation Coefficient	.684**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	241	241

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

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