

Presentation and Reality of Development: A Discourse Analysis of the Ecuadorian
State's Buen Vivir.

Supervisor: [REDACTED]

MA Global Development and Education

Word count: 13,110

[REDACTED]

09/2019

Abstract

In 2007, Buen Vivir policy was implemented in Ecuador after decades of neoliberal failings. This changed perspectives across the global development community and academia, but the level of change felt within Ecuador is debated. Indigenous people, though central to Buen Vivir and its discourse, were swiftly removed from their pedestal once power was gained, and the Right to Nature soon forgotten. The far-reaching reputation of Buen Vivir, despite these realities, calls for an examination of how it was presented and attained its status. This dissertation uses a discourse analysis method inspired by Escobar's interpretation of development to analyse the Buen Vivir discourse propagated by the Ecuadorian government. It concludes that this discourse was used to justify and retain power, control, and a traditional development agenda. Moreover, it argues that the use of nature and indigenous people within the discourse is manipulative and echoes colonial notions.

Contents

1. Introduction	4
2. Literature Review	10
2.1. Development Framework	10
2.2. BV: What development is it?	15
2.3. How has Ecuadorian development been perceived?	19
3. Theoretical approach	21
4. Four Key themes	28
4.1. BV as a Counter-Discourse	29
4.2. Anti-West	30
4.3. Nature	35
4.4. Indigenous Roots	37
5. Why and How were those themes used?	41
5.1. BV as a Disguise	41
5.2. Anti-West as Pro-Ecuador	43
5.3. The centrality of Nature	46
5.4. The use of Indigenous People	49
6. Conclusion	53
6.1. Further Research	54
Bibliography	56

1. Introduction

Ecuador's collective memory is a history of suffering, turmoil and chaos of neoliberal policies which followed centuries of pillage and colonisation. In 2007, the state outwardly turned its back on this past and began on a new path. In that year, Ecuador transitioned to a post-neoliberal state, from a previously neoliberal one, and subsequently introduced the development model of Buen Vivir (BV) which professed to strive for 'good living' with a social and ecological, rather than economic, focus. Neoliberalism is a political-economy discourse which priorities economic growth and free-market global capital as a means of development. Neoliberal policy privatises and deregulates national economies and encourages foreign investment (Sawyer, 2004). This is done by commodifying labour and nature, and results in the generation of capital wealth as well as increasing inequality and poverty (Escobar, 2010: Selwyn, 2014: 2017). Post-neoliberalism rejects neoliberalism. Post-neoliberal states stress sovereignty and autonomy and are usually socialist or leftist (Martinez-Novo, 2014). Though Ecuador transitioned, the extent of change is contested.

Up until its transition, Ecuador had followed the Washington Consensus and "neoliberal project" closely (Keucker, 2007, p.3: Gamso, 2010, p.iii). From the late 1960s onward, Ecuador's Amazon was invaded and engulfed in an oil rush, and Ecuador became an "environmental free-fire zone" rife with foreign investors, which resulted in large amounts of environmental degradation (Kimmerling, 1991, p.48). Human rights, particularly indigenous populations rights, were violated to make way for investment in the following of neoliberal policy. Ecuador was coerced into destroying its biodiversity by the looming burden of "unpayable foreign debt"

(Keucker, 2007, p.3). Neoliberal policies drove the country into economic crisis in which the working-classes and marginalised groups within society were those most severely affected (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2001: Kennemore & Weeks, 2011). There was persistent, widespread resistance, chiefly from indigenous groups who joined with ecological groups (Gedicks, 2001: Widener, 2007). Economic instability, austerity and an increasingly present resistant voice led to political turmoil. As the neoliberal era span into crisis, Ecuador had 9 presidents over the space of 10 years. Out of this crisis, Rafael Correa came into power in 2007 with his Citizen's Revolution that claimed to reject neoliberalism and turn away from the Washington Consensus (Silva, 2016). Rafael Correa was President for a decade, and was replaced by Lenin Moreno in 2017, when his attempts to extend the presidential term length were blocked. After Correa's instatement and the formation of contested national assemblies, the new constitution was drafted, which included BV and the Rights of Nature, and was ratified by a public referendum on 28th September 2008.

In 2008, Ecuador is said to have "captured the world's imagination" and "reinvented development" (McMichael, 2017, p.296). It began its BV development policy and placed it in the new constitution which included the Rights of Nature. This was based upon the indigenous Samak Kawsay cosmovision centred around "harmonious living" (Gudynas & Acosta, 2011, p.103). Its recognition of the importance of nature, and respect for Pacha Mama (Mother Nature), was deemed a call from nature, long ignored by other nations, that "maybe even God [would] hear" (Galeano, 2008). After centuries of oppression, 2008 was framed as the dawning of the Andean indigenous peoples taking centre stage in the future of their nation.

The meaning and interpretation of BV differs. The multitude of terms used exemplifies this ambiguity, which include: “sumak kawsay, suma qamaña, buen vivir (good living, living well), vivir bien (to live well), vida plena (a full life), vida en armonía (to live in harmony), buen convivir (to coexist well)”(Villalba, 2013, p. 1429). BV’s interpretation varies as the Andean indigenous population do not share equal ontologies with: other indigenous groups; with the Ecuadorian Mestizo population; with the Ecuadorian state; or with the Euro-American led development community.

This dissertation draws a line between Samak Kawsay or El Buen Vivir as the indigenous cosomovision and way of living, and the BV development model imposed by the Ecuadorian state which claimed to be based on the prior. The concept of BV in the state’s discourse is representative of its agenda and interpretations, as the idea of development as progress does not exist in the indigenous epistemology (Walsh, 2010). The Ecuadorian state when outlining its development plans following the 2007 Citizen’s Revolution, defined development as “the pursuit of the collective wellbeing (buen vivir) of everybody, in peace and harmony with nature, and the unlimited survival of human cultures” (SENPLADES, 2007, p.64). This dissertation focuses on the discourse surrounding the state’s BV, not the Samak Kawsay of the Andean indigenous for the following reasons: it is this version of BV that was implemented as policy and therefore relevant in development study of discourse; and because this dissertation comes from a European ontology from within which it is unwise - or perhaps impossible - to analyse and relate to Samak Kawsay and the Andean worldview.

The state's actions have not been congruent with BV in any of its' meanings. Despite discourse to the contrary, extractivist activities, land grabs, and exploitation still occur in a heavily export-focused economy. Nevertheless, Correa retained his presidency for a decade and left democratically – fairing much better than his predecessors. BV is renowned in the international development community. This relative success in reputation leads towards a closer examination of the power and influence of the discourse surrounding BV, and the themes and techniques within it.

The focus of this dissertation is not to analyse the efficacy of the BV model, but the discourse surrounding it. Though there has been substantial academic work on BV, there has yet to be an analysis of its discourse. This dissertation fills that gap. This dissertation aims to add to the literature by answering the question: how did the Ecuadorian state present BV, and why? In other words: what can an analysis of the BV discourse reveal?

An examination of BV's discourse reveals the power behind its implementation. This dissertation finds that the BV discourse was used to maintain power and control, and to disguise development intentions. Through a discourse analysis of the Ecuadorian BV, four key themes emerged: BV as a counter-discourse, Anti-West, Nature, and Indigenous Roots. These themes, though continually present in state discourse, were not consistently reflected in reality. The BV discourse highlighted these issues to gain popularity, justify actions and influence thoughts and behaviours. Throughout the discourse, discursive control strategies were used. Though BV claimed to be based upon indigenous cosmovisions, the BV discourse manipulated the indigenous

people through constructed ideals surrounding them, and the continuation of colonial notions.

This dissertation uses a discourse analysis method to examine how BV was portrayed by the Ecuadorian state. Discourse is a set of knowledge which shapes world-views, behaviour and thought-processes (Rose, 2001). Social constructions and meanings are taken from discourse through an analysis of text, language and visuals (Berg, 2009). An analysis of the discourse will uncover structures, control strategies and “discursive formation” (the correlations and connections of themes within discourse) (Foucault, 1972, p.38). A state’s logic and priorities can be revealed through an analysis of the text, subtext and context of policy and discourse (Gasper & Apthorpe, 1996). The discourse itself, and its use, is telling.

This dissertation analyses the BV discourse from state media publications and policy documents. These publications are the state production of cultural knowledge, and therefore provide a discourse which is top-down, rather than bottom-up. The media sources analysed are examples of the BV discourse in the public domain. Correa’s government owned multiple media outlets, and reporters were pressured heavily by the state (Kennemore & Weeks, 2011; RSF, 2019). This demonstrates the bias and the state agenda present in media discourse. The media sources were broadcast on “Buen Vivir TV” as well as across national and regional television channels. They were created by the BV department in the Ecuadorian Government (BV TV, 2019). There are limits imposed on the sources, as media outputs are now being removed due to a change in political leadership. The policy documents and development plans, from the government’s planning and development department (SENPLADES),

have also been analysed. It is in these documents that the state presented BV to the wider world and influenced academia and the international development communities' perspectives. They are, therefore, necessary documents to examine. This dissertation focuses on the decade following Correa's citizen's revolution. It focuses on the discourse surrounding BV during its implementation, not within the political campaigns before (in the referendum or Citizens Revolution) or after (with Lenin Moreno) – because these take away from the development focus with which this dissertation is concerned.

This dissertation's discourse analysis is inspired by Escobar's (1984:1988:2012) reinterpretation of development as a discourse of control propagated to maintain Western hegemony. Escobar's stance "stems from the recognition of the importance of the dynamics of discourse and power" (Escobar, 2012, p. xlv). This is allowed by a Foucauldian understanding of discourse as a construct that controls human thoughts and behaviour through discursive practices (Rose, 2001). The approach taken is based on post-colonial and post-structuralist conceptions.

This introduction is followed by a literature review which outlines the existing literature surrounding development models and BV. Then, the third section provides the theoretical lens with which this dissertation approaches the analysis. The following fourth section presents the themes which emerged throughout the research and highlights how these are reflected in reality. The fifth section analyses the findings and deciphers why and how the BV discourse was used. The final sixth section concludes and gives suggestions for further research.

2. Literature Review

Development is what BV is being judged against and, at the same time, what it is perceived to be. It is therefore necessary to outline the development framework.

When differentiating between the types of development this dissertation will refer to:

traditional development; alternative development (including Sustainable

Development (SD) and Human Development (HD)); and alternatives to development.

This comprehension aids the understanding of issues which may be alluded to,

aligned with, and distanced from, in the Ecuadorian states' discourse on BV. This

section summarises each type. An explanation of how BV has been perceived in the

existing literature in relation to development is then provided. Followed by a

discussion on Ecuadorian development in a wider context. The existing literature has

been formed in response to the BV discourse propagated by the Ecuadorian state,

and therefore this dissertation is a much-needed contribution.

Development Framework

Traditional Development

Traditional development arose in the post-war period, alongside the creation of the

Bretton Woods Institutions - the International Money Fund (IMF) and the World Bank

(WB) (Williams, 2012; McMichael, 2017). From then until the 1970s, traditional

development was focused on Keynesian economics and national industrialisation.

McMichael (2017, p.29) terms this period the "Development Project" due to its

political and planned nature. This was followed by the "Globalisation Project" from

the 1980s - 2000s (McMichael, 2017,p.110). In this period, traditional development came to be seen as an involvement in global markets, free-market capital and consumerism. Neoliberalism became the hegemonic development ideology, and the power of big business, Trans-National Corporations (TNCs) and global capital has been expanding since.

Traditional development is concerned with economic indicators - such as increasing GNP. This type of development is propagated by the Bretton Woods institutions which judge nations by economic value and growth (WB, 2019b). Traditional development is heavily concerned with global development institutions; it prioritises economic growth and markets over societal impact - Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) are evidence of this (Williams et al, 2014). States buried in debt are obligated to enforce SAPs to qualify for loans and debt repayment, despite SAPs bringing austerity and hardship to populations (Navarro, 2000: Petras & Veltmeyer, 2001: Kennemore & Weeks, 2011).

Traditional development is driven in a hierarchical linear system toward the end goal based on Eurocentric ideas of modernity. Within this system, Least Developed Countries are expected to aspire to the station of, and follow behind, the Most Developed Countries. Rostow's (1960) 'Stages of Economic Growth' exemplifies this presumed pattern and is echoed in Sachs (2005) analogy of a ladder of development in which countries must climb to catch up. The traditional unit of development has been the nation. However, this unit is gradually changing to include more local, regional and global actors (Pieterse, 2010).

Alternative Development

Alternative development brought a more multifaceted approach to what development entails and how it should be measured. Based on the assumption that traditional development had been insufficient and damaging, it brought different criteria; in theory economic development (though still central) should not degrade humans and the environment. In the period with which this paper is concerned, alternative development has been embraced by the 'mainstream', though traditional development and neoliberal dominance continues. Whether development has entered an "age of sustainable development" (Sachs, 2015) is debateable. Alternative development is considered here in two parts; HD, and SD.

Human Development

In 1990, the first HD report was published by the UNDP. HD is development focused on the "richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live" (UNDP, 2019a). HD is greatly influenced by Sen's capabilities approach. Sen (2001) defines development as freedom, and states that an individual needs political, social and economic opportunities to be free. Sen (2001) notes that development must enable an expansion of an individual's capabilities - what they can be and do. This approach differs from traditional development in that economic growth is a factor in achieving development, rather than the sole signifier of it and end goal. HD meant the introduction of the HD Index (HDI), a more holistic measurement of populations lives (UNDP, 2019b). The HDI is used to assess a nation's development in a more multifaceted manner than solely economic terms.

The HDI demonstrates the inadequacy and simple-mindedness of GNP based indices, and puts emphasis on the opportunities and choices of people (Streeten, 1993).

Sustainable Development

SD emerged in response to the rapid expansion of environmental destruction caused by traditional development and capital growth. SD aims for “socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable economic growth” (Sachs, 2015, p.3). It stresses that development must be a model “framed within the ecological limits of the planet”, limits which have previously been disregarded (Baker, 2006, p.49). In 2015, the UN SD Goals were set as an action plan for all countries to promote economic growth whilst eradicating poverty and protecting the planet, and aim to be achieved by 2030 (UN, 2018). However, the success of promoting and enabling SD depends on governance (Baker, 2006).

Alternatives to development

Alternatives to development are models or systems for society that are separate from, and different to, development as it has previously been conceived. It arose on the assumption that traditional development is not only insufficient, damaging and controlling, but in crisis, and that alternative development is an extension of it. This perspective, that views development as it has been conceived as over, is a post-development perspective.

Post-development arose from post-colonial and post-structural critiques and conceived the end of development. It is argued that development entered a global crisis (Selwyn, 2014). Selwyn (2014; 2017) notes that capitalism and the current economic system creates, rather than eliminates, poverty and inequality. Post-development theory critiques development as a Western hegemonic means of control and incompatible with the future of humanity (Escobar, 2012). Post-development frames development as “alien to the Third World” and damaging to local cultures and interests (Pieterse, 2010, p.15). HD and SD are seen from this perspective as a false alternative, and merely “green wash[ed]” traditional development (Demaria & Kothari, 2017, p.2590).

Escobar (1992) notes that this development cannot be further critiqued, and hence altered, from within the existing framework. Therefore, post-development argues the need to embrace transformative change, including reinventing development and the system, economy and modernity within which it stands, from alternatives to it.

Escobar (1992, p.22) notes that alternatives to development can arise from social movements, and particularly from the long-ignored “Third World”. These alternatives are transformations and transitions formed in reaction to neoliberal globalisation and traditional development (Escobar, 2015). Within this view, there is a stress to shift away from Eurocentrism toward a more polycentric and multipolar stance (Pieterse, 2010).

A transition to an alternative to development could consist of: a shift in economic paradigm; a shift in the propagated civilisational pattern; the start of a new culture; or an era focused on the planet in a radically different manner. Some examples of

alternatives to development that resonate with trends in BV and this dissertation are provided. Latouche (2009) advocates for degrowth, a major alternative to development concept, which is a social, political and economic movement towards downscaling production and consumption. Shiva (2005, 2008) calls for an alternative to development based on a transformation of the economy, from 'oil to soil'; where re-localised, people and planet-centred markets replace carbon economies. Berry (1999, p.11) stresses the need to transform to a new era which he calls "Ecozoic" - within which humans, instead of being a "disruptive force" become a "mutually enhancing" one for the planet. A pluriversal approach embraces different world practices and epistemologies and recognises humans as part of the planet and ecosystem, rather than the centre of it (Reiter, 2018). Although radical and liberating, these notions if appropriated by mainstream institutions, could potentially be rendered ineffective (Escobar, 1984). Post-development theory has been criticised by homogenising and demonising development without offering feasible solutions, and for celebrating alternatives to development regardless of whether they are able to be widely impactful (Kiely, 1999).

BV: What 'development' is it?

The implementation of BV by the Ecuadorian state is commonly seen by the international development community and academia as a radical alternative to development. BV is seen as a rejection of Eurocentric traditional development and modernity (Acosta, 2017: Gudynas, 2011: Gudynas & Acosta, 2011). BV's counter-hegemonic stance is positioned in defiance to neoliberalism and traditional development (Williford, 2018). The focus on social change and environmental issues

alongside economic growth, not as a side-effect of economic growth, shows a definitive distance from past development models. Escobar (2015, p.455) states that “BV makes possible the subordination of economic objectives to ecological criteria, human dignity, and social justice”. It is seen to have re-written the rules of development, as no longer a “quantitative aim” but a “qualitative process” (Prada, 2011, p.148).

BV has become a sacred cow in the development community. McMichael (2017, p.296) states that the Ecuadorian state “captured the world’s imagination... [when they].. reinvented development” with BV in the constitution. UNESCO (2016, p.27) noted that BV was a “guiding principle for a new development regimen”. Despite its current localised nature, BV is lauded as an alternative to development that could have a global impact (Acosta, 2017: Gudynas, 2011: Escobar, 2015: Friant & Langmore, 2015). BV is internationally commended in the development community as a radical, exemplary ideal.

BV is portrayed as the answer to critiques of traditional and alternative development and Western modernity (Gudynas & Acosta, 2011). Acosta (2017) argues that the world is in such a severe crisis that it cannot be resolved by traditional ideas of development and progress. He advocates for the implementation of Andean principles in BV as the solution to transcend Eurocentric modernity (Acosta, 2017, p.2601).¹ Acosta (2010) notes that traditional development is over, that capitalism

¹Acosta was President of the Constituent Assembly from October 2007 to July 2008: the assembly that drafted the constitution that included BV. His strong advocacy of the model must be taken with an awareness of his bias.

and consumer society is a dead-end, and that there is a need for more than a change in practice, but for an entire change of life – found in BV.

The BV model resonates with post-development discourse. As BV was formed and implemented against the crisis of the “Western civilisation”, it is perceived as a demonstration of post-development (Escobar, 2015, p.455). The implementation of BV is viewed in post-development discourse as a concrete exploration of alternatives to development (Demaria & Kothari, 2017). The recognition of the rights of nature, and stresses on respect for the environment, align well with pluriversal perspectives, and calls to refigure human beings place in the eco-system. Merino (2016) argues that as BV’s principles surpass political economy, it cannot be assimilated with alternative development, and is a true alternative to development.

A strength to this interpretation of BV in academic literature is that BV in Ecuador is symbolically different. The Montecristi constitution and the Rights of Nature are fundamentally ground-breaking on a symbolic scale (Vanhulst & Beling, 2015). Ecuador was the first country to include rights of nature into their constitution, followed by Bolivia. The acknowledgement of BV by the state, and the concrete implementation of the principles into the constitution was in theory a “decolonising act”, as it opened space for indigenous voices and cosmovisions, as well as establishing the directions for a plurinational society (Prada, 2011).

The interpretation of BV’s development depends on how closely aligned with Samak Kawsay it is perceived to be. Some authors stress that BV is firmly based on Quichua and Andean ideals and ancestral knowledge (Gudynas, 2011: Acosta,

2017). In that sense, it is a concept that surpasses politics, economy and even society and points to much deeper meaning. Author's from this perspective would argue that it is a utopic concept felt in an emotional sphere as a way of returning to ancient ideals (Caria & Dominguez, 2016). Those who argue that BV is a direct demonstration of ancient indigenous ideals would argue that it is not related to development – as conceived in European ontology – in any way. However, the belief that BV is based solely on Samak Kawsay and relates to it completely is arguably misguided. The Andean Indigenous do not conceive time as something with a beginning and end, and so development as progression cannot exist (Villalba, 2013). Therefore, the idea of BV as development is solely the state's agenda (Walsh, 2010).

There are those that note BV is closer to alternative development, than an alternative to development. Walsh (2010) argues that BV has taken much of its meaning from the West and is therefore not as radical as it is portrayed to be. She notes that government policy and national development plans assume the same focus, meaning and language as HD and SD (SID, 2010). Vanhulst and Beling (2015) note the shared interests and issues of BV and SD. They stress that BV is a contemporary discourse in dialogue, that can follow alongside of as well as break away from SD (Vanhulst & Beling, 2015). Chassagne (2018) also notes the usefulness of BV as a tool to be used within SD.

The existing literature has been formed based upon the state's actively circulated discourse. Academia and international development community have, for the most part, followed the discourse presented by the government, regurgitated the values portrayed, and interpreted BV as a radical alternative to development. What is

lacking in the existing literature is an examination of BV's presentation. The discourse has been viewed and interpreted without a critical examination on why it has been presented in the way it has. This dissertation produces that examination. There has not been an inquiry into the power and interests inherent in the BV discourse, and this dissertation fills that gap.

How has Ecuadorian development been perceived?

Ecuador has been subject to substantial academic interest in development studies, in regard to its involvement in the oil trade and the persistent and powerful resistance present. Notable pieces on Ecuador in neoliberalism include Kimmerling's (1991) '*Amazon Crude*' and Sawyer's (2004) '*Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil and Neoliberalism in Ecuador*'. There has also been substantial work on resistance, indigenous populations struggles', and the damage inflicted by the state and TNC's (see, Kuecker, 2007: Simon, 2000: Treakle, 1998: Gedicks, 2001: Jameson, 2001). Ecuador followed a traditional development model up until 2007, when due to backlash from decades of traditional neoliberalism, it transformed to a post-neoliberal state and BV was introduced.

This change is seen in academia as within the 'Pink Tide' of Latin America. The "pink tide" swept Latin America in the early part of the 21st century; post-neoliberalism and 21st century socialism was embraced by transformed states (Silva, 2016, p.4: Clark, 2013). However, many of these states then turned to neo-extractivism, meaning they engage in extractivist activities despite the contradiction with official discourse (Acosta, 2013a). This is termed the "Latin American Paradox"; within which

progressive states are presented as revolutionary and different whilst encouraging extractivism in order to support social policies with negative consequence (Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 2019).

In recent years, inherent contradictions in Latin American (including Ecuadorian) policy has been central to academic debate. Neoextractivism in Latin America is subject to substantial amounts of literary debate, within which Ecuador and BV feature (Cori & Monni, 2015; Caria & Dominguez, 2016; Vanhulst & Beling, 2014; Villalba-Eguiluz & Extano, 2017). The inherently contradictory nature of the BV model in Ecuador has been widely noted. Though BV has been hailed as revolutionary, several authors have noted the many obstacles in place impeding an implementation of BV (Escobar, 2010). There is extensive academic interest given to the gap between BV model theory and practice in Ecuador surrounding neoextractivism (Villalba-Eguiluz & Extano, 2017; Chassagne, 2018; Kennemore & Weeks, 2011).

This dissertation comes with an awareness that the BV model was not as promised. However, its concern is the discourse and power surrounding the model, rather than the model itself. Contradictions in discourse and policy, and the gap between theory and practice, have been explained by the 'Latin American Paradox' and a consequential turn to neo-extractivism that spread across the pink tide states in Latin America. By calling this a paradox, or a phenomenon, it assumes it was unintentional. This dissertation takes a different approach; it is an examination of the discourse, rather than an uncritical acceptance of it.

3. Theoretical Approach

This dissertation uses a discourse analysis method and approaches its analysis through a lens which views development as a discourse of control inspired by Escobar. Escobar's stance is enabled by Foucault's insights into discourse and power (Escobar, 1984). This section outlines Escobar's reinterpretation of development, and the enabling concepts of discourse and power from Foucault. It does this to provide a lens through which this dissertation is seen and the assumptions it is based upon, and to illustrate the importance of discourse analysis in the development context.

Escobar's interpretation of development as a discourse is shaped by Foucault's insights into discourse and power. A Foucauldian interpretation assumes discourse reinforces, and is reinforced by, power. Foucault (1972: 1977: 1979) conceives discourse as a constructed field that controls human beings through discursive practices of normalisation, discipline, moralisation and the construction of knowledge. Discourse, from Foucault's perspective, constructs the idea of normality, and hence, abnormality (Rose, 2001). Therefore, it controls human thoughts and behaviour by using normalising and disciplinary techniques to construct what is, and what is not, accepted and desired. Foucault (1977) argues that power and knowledge are interdependent and constructed by one-another, and that discourse is the space within which power and knowledge come together. Dominant discourses are dominant not only because they arise from social positions of power, but because they claim absolute truth: they construct knowledge, and therefore power

(Foucault, 1979).

Foucault's insight allows for an examination of discourse with an awareness of the constructed power dynamics expressed through language, text, imagery and practice (Graham, 2005). It provides a systematic approach to the techniques used such as discipline, normalisation and "regimes of truth" (Rose, 2001, p.138). Additionally, it allows for the identification of structures, discursive practice and of "discursive formation" within discourse (Foucault, 1972, p.38). A Foucauldian discourse analysis approach is widely used across academia to increase understandings of world views and understanding, as well as constructions and categorisations of politics, power and society (Hall, 2001). Escobar (1984, p.376) states that Foucault's work on discourse and power allows for an examination of the deployment of development, and the situation in the "third world" (the term 'third world' is hereafter used for consistency with Escobar's wording).

Escobar (1984) argues that an examination of the development discourse enables an understanding of the ways Western developed countries have controlled, managed and constructed the third world. Escobar (1984) concludes that the development discourse maintains the domination and economic exploitation of the third world. The power in the deployment of the development discourse is so far reaching that it has enabled the 'making' and 'unmaking' of the third world (Escobar, 2012). The West, and the development apparatus controlled by it, has constructed discourses about the third world as a means of control, and these discourses must be dismantled for the third world to be free (Escobar, 1984). The discourse analysis

of development is widely recognised as a rejection of the mainstream analysis of development and underdevelopment (Della Faille, 2011).

Escobar (1984) states that the development discourse arose in the post-war years when the West, predominantly the USA, sought to control 'new' nations through a revamped version of colonialism. Development, and its surrounding apparatus, was produced based upon the "fictitious discourse of underdevelopment" (Escobar, 1988, p.429). Development is portrayed as a necessary reaction to underdevelopment, (Escobar, 2012).

The discourse seeks legitimacy through controlling the definitions of science and truth (Escobar, 1984). The ownership of truth and rationality by the hegemonic West, through the power intrinsic in the development discourse, allows it to dictate the direction of the world. Western notions of modernity, progress and rationality are imposed globally despite the impacts (Escobar, 1988). This discourse and system of power is based upon the "accumulation of normalised individuals" and is deployed through normalising and disciplinary forms (Escobar, 1984, p.393). Social and cultural power and knowledge is used to create conformity with the "American way of life" (Escobar, 1984, p.382).

Escobar (1984, p.388) asserts that the development discourse has three major control strategies, which all use disciplinary and normalising forms. The first control strategy used is the problematisation of the third world. The dominating discourse finds problems in the third world, such as signs of underdevelopment, like illiteracy. It then seeks to gather information on these problems, expanding the domain of

intervention and power through agency presence (Escobar, 1984, p.388). The second strategy is the professionalisation of development, which depoliticises problems. The discourse constructs a “regime of truth and norms” about development, which reinforces and produces power (Escobar, 1984, p.388). This includes the economisation of life, by presenting economic rationality as the central organiser in developed society and disregarding other aspects. The third strategy consists of the institutionalisation of development, which results in centres of control and the “dispersion of local centres of power-knowledge” (Escobar, 1984, p.388). Power is enacted through the discourse in normalisation, regulated knowledge and the moralisation of issues (Escobar, 1984, p.388).

USA driven development is the hegemonic discourse, but counter-discourses are also constructed. As Foucault (1979, p.95) notes “where there is power, there is resistance”. Counter-discourses to development can arise from the third world, and particularly social movements (Escobar, 1984: 1992). However, counter-discourses arise mainly in the same discursive space and field of power, and use the same strategies and aim for the same goals as the hegemonic discourse to which they counter (Escobar, 1984). Escobar notes that counter-discourses which participate in the development discourse and import the same models are counterproductive and, at times, diversionary (Escobar, 1984, p.391). Notions that had the potential to be liberating, if appropriated by the development apparatus and agencies, become inoperative or ineffectual (Escobar, 1984).

The development discourse labels and controls development subjects. Discourse can impose misrepresentations and impact the power of the individual (Escobar,

1984). The development discourse propagates the idea that natives are not only all a hegemonic group, but that they are all “underdeveloped” and eventually will be “reformed” (Escobar, 2012, p.53). In Latin America specifically, the deployment of development has assumed that indigenous populations must be modernised and follow the white or mestizo way of life (Escobar, 2012, p.43). In this sense, development discourses infantilise indigenous groups as simple and hopeless, and in need of saving to reach modernity. Third world populations are used by the development apparatus as docile subjects, and their perceived levels of conformity and inclusion used as markers of development progress (Escobar, 2012, p.170)

The label of “underdeveloped” is arguably the new term for ‘savage’ and ‘primitive’. As Trinh (1989, p.54) notes, the description by the dominate group of the outsider has taken various forms over time, going from “the barbarian, the pagan, the infidel, the wild man, the native and (*now*) the underdeveloped” (italics added for emphasis). Escobar (2012) notes that the new label “underdeveloped” could be seen through certain perspectives as a response to the older openly racist terms, and actually point to equality and liberation through development. However, in reality, the new term carries the same negative connotations as the earlier ones.

The misrepresentation of the third world is recurrent throughout development discourse and echoes the notion of the ‘noble savage’. Drawing on enlightenment philosophy and literature, the noble savage is a constructed character of a wild, indigenous outsider that symbolises pure human goodness, who has not been polluted or corrupted by civilisation. The concept has been commonly associated with the enlightenment philosopher Rousseau, who contrasted the wild noble savage

with the enlightened European in his writings (Combee & Plax, 1973). Rousseau, however, did not invent the concept, as it had been present in earlier literature (Ellingson, 2001). The concept heavily influenced, and was influenced by, colonial accounts of native peoples (see Captain Cook's Journal's and surrounding work on Antipodean encounter accounts: South Seas, 2004). Colonisers captured, dehumanised and displayed native peoples as examples of noble savagery and non-modernised, non-corrupted, society.

This concept is still recurrent in anthropological and development studies. It has been reframed as the "Ecologically noble savage", with conservation being related to "indigenous harmony" (Hames, 2007, p. 179). Biodiversity and remote environments are associated with native indigenous people, whereas low biodiversity and environmental destruction are associated with non-native, state societies (Borgerhoff Mulder & Coppolillo, 2005).

Indigenous people, and their worlds, are often idealised and over-simplified in development and academia. Indigenous societies are often seen as traditional, natural, innocent worlds, rather than a product of history (Alonso, 1992). There is a reification of third world experience, which allows for peoples "sorrows and frustrations" to be made part of a spectacle (Chow, 1992, p.111). When alternative world views, stemming from indigenous cultures, are discussed, Escobar (2012, p.170) warns that activists aiming to seem progressive are likely to embrace them uncritically as alternatives. It is seen as a popular way to include a 'grassroot experience' into the Western market of alternatives. Post-development has been criticised for further romanticising and perpetuating the concept of an (ecologically)

noble savage (Keily, 1999: Redford, 1991). Though this misrepresentation of indigenous peoples is not an openly negative one, in that it over-glorifies them, it is still portraying them as docile subjects and is based on their perceived inferiority and lack of rationality.

Discourse analysis enables resistance. Escobar (1984) notes that the understanding of power dynamics allows for effective resistance. If the different elements and power strategies are known, they can be countered. Resistance should allow for the defence of non-western practices and meanings. Escobar (1984) states that national and sub-national traditions should avoid appropriation, and the strategic use of the past can be useful in achieving this and resisting Western domination. The use of discourse analysis in resistance is evident, but also, "discourse has a validity of its own" (Escobar, 1984, p.388). Discourse analysis illustrates multiple layers of power, and the strategies and techniques used to implement it.

There are limitations to the discourse analysis approach. As the analysis of the discourse is subjective, there is an element of bias present. This dissertation attempts to mitigate bias by grounding the analysis in existing theoretical approaches. It also takes a systematic approach with the discourse analysis. It pinpoints discursive formations and notions recurrent across varied discourse outputs and categorises this into themes, using the most relevant examples as illustrations. Another clear limitation of discourse analysis is that it does not allow for an examination of the reality, solely the constructed knowledge surrounding it. Therefore, this dissertation is supplemented with a secondary approach of empirical study. The collection of empirical data surrounding the discursive formations, or

themes raised, will enable discussions on the Ecuadorian state's motivations, agenda and power.

The use of the discourse analysis approach to examine the hegemonic development discourse by Escobar has been highly impactful, and this dissertation applies this lens to a counter-discourse within development: namely the BV discourse. The BV discourse is analysed based on the aforementioned assumptions of development, discourse and power. This theoretical lens allows for a critical examination of BV, and can enable an understanding of the deeper power dynamics at play which can in turn aid resistance. BV is a counter-discourse, but it is a discourse of power itself, that uses the techniques and tropes of the hegemonic development discourse within which it is centred.

4. Four Key themes

The BV discourse was analysed through the lens clarified in the previous section. Through an analysis of multiple state documents and media products, four key themes emerged: BV as a counter discourse, Anti-West, Nature and Indigenous Roots. In this section, these four themes are presented. Alongside the presentation of each theme, empirical evidence on the issue is provided to demonstrate the level of similarity between the constructed discourse and reality.

BV as a Counter-discourse

The BV discourse is constantly portrayed as a reaction to the hegemonic development discourse, and an alternative to development. In every theme present, a central notion is Ecuador's difference. BV development is claimed to be focused on well-being, peace and harmony with nature and within society – unlike traditional development followed by other nations (SENPLADES, 2009; BV TV, 2015). It is stated that the “first world” is in crisis due to neoliberalism and their development models, and that Ecuador had broken away on a new and different path (SENPLADES, 2009, p.43). There is constant, reiteration of the rejection of neoliberalism in a definitive distancing from traditional development (SENPLADES, 2007: 2009). Ecuadorian development plans unequivocally blame neoliberalism for Ecuador's unstable past and conflicted nation (SENPLADES, 2009). The relationship with the US is noted, and that US trade policies intend to avoid allowing other state's autonomy (SENPLADES, 2007, p.178). It is also made clear that alternative development (sustainable and human) are not enough; that a complete change of life and ethics is required, and that BV is this answer (Acosta, 2010). Throughout the discourse, development is alluded to, and distanced from, with the constant reiteration of difference. The discourse is portrayed as a reactionary counter-discourse.

This presentation is contradictory. Hegemonic development and neoliberalism are outwardly rejected. However, economic growth and markets are still stressed as vital to the nation and development (SENPLADES, 2007). Moreover, extractivism and export dependency dominate economic policy and destroy the environment. The

model followed is arguably closer to traditional development (Caria & Dominguez, 2016). The nations' division was blamed on neoliberalism, but although there has been significant changes in social reforms, inequality and discrimination remain (SENPLADES, 2007; Acosta, 2013b; Amnesty, 2012:2018). Further contradiction comes from within the discourse, as there are various allusions to alternative development. The same catch phrase "no one left behind", that is used in BV media content is also used in SD (BV TV, 2015: 2013). Throughout policy documents, it refers to HD centred on the environment (SENPLADES, 2007). It is also suggested that SD is a contributing factor in achieving El Buen Vivir (SENPLADES, 2017).

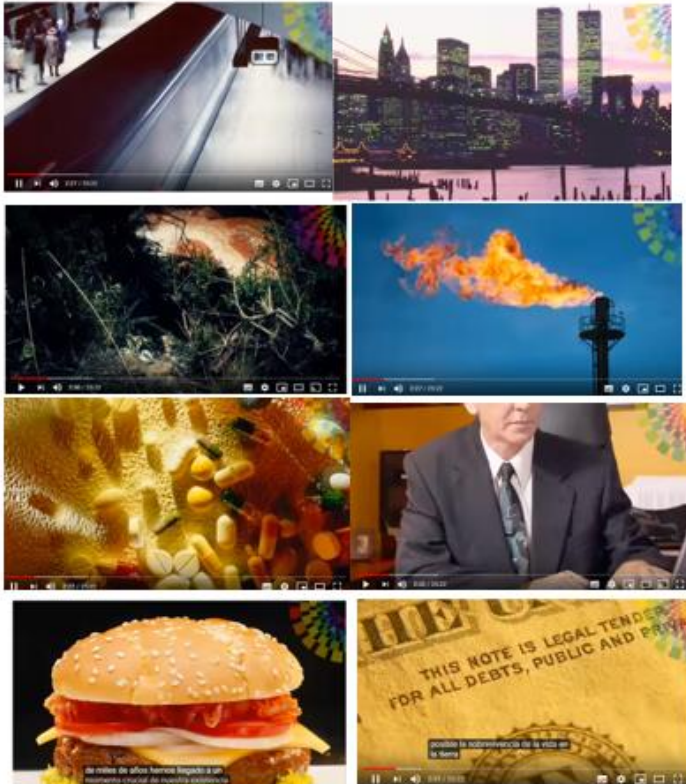
Anti-West

Anti-West sentiment is central to the BV discourse. The criticisms of the West are not solely based on development tactics and political ideology, but on assumed moral superiority. In the BV discourse, the notion comes across that those in the West do not know real happiness, as they are caught in modernity and consumerism, and that those in Ecuador know pure happiness; happiness in nature, work and family.

A public information documentary entitled "What is El Buen Vivir?" produced by the state BV department discusses the purpose of, and need for BV (BV TV, 2015).

When the video discusses reaching a crucial negative point in history, of extreme growth and material wealth, a series of images appear. These images correlate to the USA or the West. For example, a hamburger, skyscrapers, dollar bills are seen. These images flash and fill the screen while hectic music plays, invoking the emotions of chaos and negativity (BV TV, 2015). There are images that represent

modernity, flashed next to images of burning forests, diggers and smoke. There are images of white men in suits, computers and credit cards, flashed next to streets filled with litter and homeless people. This is an obvious implication towards anti-US and anti-West sentiment.



Images displayed amongst others, BV TV (2015)

This sentiment is continued in the documentary with interviews with people from the USA (BV TV, 2015). The interviewees explain how the USA has been engulfed by consumerism, and that people are not happy or satisfied (BV TV, 2015). That “stuff” makes people in the US happy, and that Ecuador can and should, by-pass this stage. This echoes Rostow’s (1960) final stage of mass consumption – but vilifies the final stage, as something that is inevitable in traditional development, but

avoidable in Ecuadorian BV. This clear moral superiority complex is not only present in media outputs, but also in policy documents. When discussing the new path of Ecuador away from the West, the National Plan states that the “first world” is not only in capitalist and economic crisis, but in a crisis of “ethics and trust” (SENPLADES, 2009, p.44).

The West is presented in the discourse in contrast to Ecuador, and Ecuador is portrayed as being both happier, simpler and more appreciative. The BV discourse vilifies consumerism and glorifies simplicity. A recurrent theme throughout the discourse is appreciation – appreciation of what you’ve got, of simplicity, and of work. BV is seen as “learning to love life” (BV TV, 2015: 2013: 2019). A policy document on the “achievements of the citizen’s revolution” claims that across all income quintiles of society there has been an improvement in life satisfaction and happiness, and directly relates this to BV (SENPLADES, 2013b, p.24). The juxtaposition of Ecuador with the consumer-warped West further constructs an image of Ecuadorians as purer and more appreciative of necessities and not luxuries.

A case study used in the BV TV (2015) documentary is of a man, Luis Guzman, who had been blinded in an accident and now works as a cleaner. The documentary discusses how he is happy with his lot and doesn’t need more. The documentary watches him sweep a picturesque square and clean the public toilets, in a rural setting. His life is presented as blissful. It says that he works hard “with love”, and is appreciative of the opportunity he has (BV TV, 2015).

The theme of “joy in work” is recurrent through policy documents, songs and videos (BV TV, 2013: 2019). The meaning lifted from the discussions on work throughout the discourse is that Ecuadorians following BV are grateful for work and find joy in it. On BV TV there are multiple videos of “Stories of BV”, within which the themes of farming and work are central (BV TV, 2019). In the music video for the song titled “Que es el Buen Vivir?” (What is Buen Vivir?), there are multiple scenes throughout of (mostly indigenous) people working, in labour, farming, and smiling (BV TV, 2013).

In reality, the relationship between Ecuador and the USA is not as negatively clear-cut as portrayed in the discourse. A 2018 US Congressional Brief described the historically strong Ecuador-USA relationship as “tense” under Correa due to the President’s “populist”, “anti-imperialist” stance (Beittel, 2018, p.1). There were also tensions between the two nations due to the WikiLeaks scandal, where the accused Julian Assange was until recently protected in the Ecuadorian embassy in London.

Economically, however, Ecuador has been strongly tied to the USA and dependent on world trade. In 2000, due to economic crisis Ecuador changed to the US Dollar. The dollarization of Ecuador meant comparatively high prices for the people, and a troubled position between the “strong dollar and cheap oil” which increased dependence (Cui & Badawy, 2015). The USA was, throughout the period and still is, Ecuador’s top trade partner (Beittel, 2018: USA Department of State, 2018: SENPLADES, 2013a).

Throughout the period, there were decreases in the GINI coefficient and poverty levels. Between 2006 and 2014, Ecuador experienced an average of 4.3% GDP

growth, from high oil prices and external finances which allowed for increased social spending and investment (WB, 2019a). During the same period, poverty fell to 22.5% from 37.6%, and the Gini Coefficient fell to 0.47 from 0.54 (WB, 2019a).

However, an accurate judgement cannot be made on whether people appreciated their life and embraced simplicity. The prevalence of urban and rural poverty suggests that consumer goods would not have been rejected. This is evidenced by the occurrence of many Ecuadorians crossing the borders into Peru and Colombia to buy cheaper foreign consumer goods (Constante, 2016). It suggests that they were not averse to consumerism or completely satisfied with simplicity. Correa's government responded to Ecuadorians buying abroad by stating a "call to conscience" to them to buy their own products in support of the nation, and by enforcing searches of vehicles to enforce tax payment (Roman, 2015).

Correa's policies did lead to some social change, however, even Acosta (2013b, p.13), an avid supporter of the concept of BV, noted that behind the discourse of radical change, not a lot had been done to tackle the concentration of wealth and inequality. Also, it can also be argued that if the shift to subjective well-being fostered by the BV ethic is genuine, then policy focused on raising income is not sufficient and successful policies should preserve values such as ties to land and community (Guardiola & García-Quero, 2014).

Nature

The centrality of nature is what BV is most well known for. The 2008 constitution starts with a declaration of celebration of Pacha Mama (Mother Earth), and of a new way of living in harmony with nature and good living (El Buen Vivir) (Republic of Ecuador, 2008). It was the first country to invoke the rights of nature. Chapter 2 in the 2008 constitution is The Right of Good Living (Buen Vivir), and Chapter 7 is the Right to Nature (Republic of Ecuador, 2008). Throughout the development plans the importance of Nature, and the centrality of it to Ecuador's development, is evident.

Ecuador's development is recurrently defined in relation to harmony with nature (SENPLADES, 2007:2009:2013a,b:2017). When reading the policy documents, nature is mentioned frequently. In the 2007-2010 SENPLADES National Development Plan, "nature" is written 30 times, and "environment" 19 times. In the 2009- 2013 SENPLADES National Plan, summarized version, "nature" is written 48 times. In the 2013-2017 SENPLADES National Plan, "nature" is written 123 times. In the 2017 SENPLADES Information for the Nation, "natural" is written 32 times.

Throughout the media representations of BV, nature is key. The video for the documentary and for the song is entirely set outside in nature, with panning shots of the jungle and mountains (BVTV,2015: 2013). The imagery used in the media, as well as on the government websites, all depicts the jungle. When discussing the crisis reached in human existence, images of polluted rivers and burning forests appear (BV TV, 2015). The lyrics in the song repeat the beauty of nature in Ecuador, and how enjoying nature is the definition of living well (BV TV, 2013).

The language used surrounding nature is pertinent. The constitution and development plans all refer to the “right” of nature. In a policy document released on the “100 Achievements of the Citizen’s Revolution”, the fourth objective (out of 12) is dedicated to guaranteeing the “right to nature” (SENPLADES, 2013b). This is set out next to rights on poverty and health, and illustrates the importance given to nature. This is a vital component to the discourse, as it constructs nature as a being, and not a commodity. It also at the same time alludes to the sanctity of rights and law, and their duty of protection. When discussing nature, the language involves words such as “beauty”, “harmony”, “peace” – and the joy and pride for Ecuador in having, or being in, this nature (BV TV, 2013: 2015: SENPLADES, 2007: 2009: 2013: 2017). The power of discourse here is evident in realigning knowledge and perception of not only what nature is, but by who and how it should be protected.

The respect and importance of nature portrayed in discourse is not reflected in the state’s actions. The biodiverse Amazon is being destroyed as mining and oil extraction continue. In 2016, 68% of the Oriente’s area had been classified into “oil blocks” (Lessman et al, 2016, p.4997). The mining industries of the state do not comply with the constitution and the Rights of Nature (Accion Ecologica, 2019). Chinese companies are heavily present in the Amazon and have been accused of environmental destruction and human rights violation (Cascomi, 2018).

The drilling of Yasuni ITT must be noted. In 2007, Correa launched the Yasuni ITT initiative which proposed keeping the oil underneath the ground in a national park which is home to different indigenous groups. Correa asked the international community to pledge \$3.6 billion dollars (half of Ecuador’s potential earnings on the

oil) in return for not destroying the Amazon. However, by 2013 the initiative had failed and by 2016 drilling had started in the park. The initiative, though innovative, commodified nature by placing values upon holding back from drilling and was incongruent with the values claimed in BV (Fierro, 2017).

At the time of writing, social movements are protesting in Ecuador against the destruction of the Amazon and Yasuni. Social media is used as a platform for mobilisation (Twitter - #SeVieneLaConsulta, #YasuniSangraPetroleo). Yasunidos, a social group defending Yasuni ITT, are campaigning for the government to clarify a public consultation on Yasuni and to go some way in repairing its past actions (Yasunidos, 2019). Accion Ecologica (2019) and various other environmental groups are resisting in Ecuador despite risks.

Indigenous Roots

The importance and basis of BV has been continually placed on indigenous roots. The state's model of BV, and hence its representative discourse, is said to be based upon Samak Kawsay, and Andean Indigenous epistemologies.

Throughout the discourse, it is stressed that it is not only the indigenous knowledge and influence from now, but from the past. BV was framed by Acosta (2017, p.2601) as Andean indigenous peoples seeking to “project their past onto the future”. The constitution, when outlining the new path for Ecuador, recognises and declares inspiration from its “age old roots” and wisdom (Republic of Ecuador, 2008). The BV philosophy, as stated in consultation documents, has maintained its spiritual essence

of resistance and identity from indigenous groups, despite the destructive and oppressive pressures of Western modernity (SIISE, 2019).

The indigenous groups are idealised throughout the discourse. When referring to the turbulent past, a national plan describes it as “el neoliberalismo criollo” (SENPLADES, 2007, p.17). “Criollo” refers to those from Spanish descent – in aligning neoliberalism and the past struggles with that group, it distances the indigenous groups from blame. The language surrounding the indigenous is words such as “spiritual”, “ancient”, “past”, “ancestors”, “pure” (BV TV, 2019: SENPLADES, 2007); this language portrays a romanticised image of the indigenous people.

The imagery used in videos, on the government website and in reference to BV development on all platforms, includes indigenous people. The Quichau Andean indigenous, specifically women, in traditional clothing are pictured regularly. There are also images of different indigenous groups from the Oriente, all in traditional dress (BV TV, 2019: SENPLADES, 2019). In the story of Quinoa, it shows women in traditional dress farming, and explaining that they hold the ancient knowledge on this vital crop (BV TV, 2016). When discussing indigenous peoples and their version of Samak Kawsay, mysterious and mystical Andean pipe music is played (BV TV, 2019).



BV TV, 2017. An Indigenous girl in the Andes.



BV TV, 2015. An Indigenous group in the Oriente.

Despite the constant claims to ancestry and respect, indigenous groups in Ecuador are still at a disadvantage. Indigenous people in Ecuador are more likely to live in poverty, less likely to complete formal secondary education and less likely to be socially mobile (WB, 2015). The most impoverished areas of Ecuador are rural areas which is where indigenous communities are more likely to live (OPHI, 2018). In fact, in Ecuador, a family is 13% more likely to be poor if the head of the household is from an indigenous group – regardless of other social mobility factors (WB, 2015, p.9).

The drilling of Yasuni ITT not only violated the rights of nature, but indigenous peoples rights. It violated Article 57 of the constitution which forbids extractivist activity in the areas where groups live in voluntary isolation (Republic of Ecuador, 2008). Amnesty International has stated in multiple releases that the Ecuadorian state has persecuted and arrested indigenous leaders and human rights defenders (Amnesty, 2012: 2018). The state has intruded on Shuar, Quichua and Sapara peoples territories for extractivist activities.

The indigenous social movements that fought for the revolution are still fighting. The Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, which was formed in 1986, is still extremely active and organising demonstrations and collective action (CONAIE, 2019). Resistance persists – and the existence of this demonstrates that their rights have not been considered as they were promised or portrayed to have been.

The Ecuadorian state's discourse has been relatively successful in convincing the global development community of its difference and radical form, and in securing power for over a decade. However, as demonstrated, the discourse does not always align with the acted reality, which begs the question of why it was presented in that way. The following section will answer this question and examine the implications of the state's chosen discourse, the power structures behind it and the relevance of themes.

5. Why and How were those themes used?

The previous section presented the themes which had emerged when analysing the BV discourse. This section, through a lens that assumes discourse reinforces power, examines why and how those themes and discourse were used. As BV is examined as a development discourse, the strategies of control must also be considered.

Development discourses' three strategies of control, according to Escobar (1984), can be surmised as: problematisation, professionalisation and institutionalisation.

This section illustrates how these strategies, among others, were used in the BV discourse to retain power and control and enforce an agenda.

BV as a disguise

As an examination of the discourse and the themes that emerged from it show, the BV discourse was a façade. To hide the inevitably similar traditional development trajectory, the state needed reformed language and a new package; this was created in the BV discourse. Though mainstream traditional development has been continually critiqued, it has not been eradicated, and instead continues to be “reformulated through new and renewed language and practice” (Rojas & Kindornay, 2014, p.14). Caria & Dominguez (2016), through an analysis of Ecuadorian state actions taken since BV's implementation, conclude that BV was used as an ideology to support a traditional development model. BV is, they argue, nothing more than a “mobilising utopia” to allow social cohesion and compliance in passing traditional development (Caria & Dominguez, 2016, p.27). Escobar (2010) states that although the constitution and the proposed plans did open up a questioning of development,

they were also used to advance the government's political agenda. The discourse was constructed with the intention of an outward display. How the world considered the regime, the citizen's revolution and BV development, differed greatly from how it was understood in Ecuador due to the lived reality (Walsh, 2010).

BV discourse outwardly rejects traditional development and its institutions; however, it continues with the control strategy of institutionalisation by creating its own institutions. The materials analysed in this dissertation are sourced from the Ecuadorian BV development institutions that produce and propagate knowledge surrounding BV development. After the Citizen's Revolution, the constitution and the implementation of BV was carried out by constituent assemblies in Government. These assemblies did not proportionately represent those who had allowed the political change to happen (indigenous and ecological movements), yet they were the institutions that constructed and implemented the BV ideal and discourse. Escobar (2010) notes that BV is expert-driven, not indigenous led, and is unrepresentative of its people. This is similar to the global development institutions in that they dictate and steer change yet are not representative of those subject to it. These development institutions disperse centres of local knowledge and power and are used with the BV discourse as a strategy of control.

The concept of BV is radical, and its fading in favour of traditional approaches, may be the result of being framed by modernity and conceptions of development. The intentions may have been curtailed due to the globalised nature of politics, trade and development. This was predicted by Escobar (1984) when he noted that radical alternatives become ineffective when appropriated. Years later, Escobar (2010,

p.46), when discussing BV, stated that “Ecuador constitutes a courageous example of alternative development, with important socialist and ecological undertones....still framed within a modernising perspective”. Suggesting that it had become ineffective and less radical due to its modern development frame, or appropriation.

The ability to truly follow sustainable practices and achieve SD is doubted. Spaiser et al’s (2017) study into SD demonstrates that it is an oxymoronic concept, and that not all its goals can be simultaneously achieved. Perhaps the same can be said for BV, that its goals surrounding nature could not be achieved at the same time as its aims on social development. It must also be considered that Ecuador is a single nation in a neoliberally dominated world. BV could have been taken off course due to the shackles imposed by what Gill (1995, p.400) terms “disciplinary neoliberalism”. Though these arguments are useful as an insight into why BV did not stick to its set goals, they do not explain why the BV discourse chose such themes. The use of such particular themes which resonate with emotion and the past demonstrate a clear use of power in discourse to justify and continue an agenda. This is subsequently analysed in further detail.

Anti-West as Pro-Ecuador

The discourse constructs knowledge surrounding the West that encourages negative emotions and ideas. It claims a truth of the right and wrong ways of life. This is done to influence behaviour to urge support for the Ecuadorian state, and not the West. The discourse also moralises the issues, invoking ideas and opinions surrounding the USA and the West that are associated with poor behaviours and morals.

Power is deployed through the BV discourse by normalising techniques of behaviour and the moralisation of the issues. It constructs the ideas that the wish for goods and consumerism is 'bad', and that joy in simplicity, work and appreciation is 'good'.

Escobar (1984, p.382) notes that the development discourse pushes the "American way of life" and aims to normalise individuals into the desired behaviours of developed consumer society. In the instance of the BV discourse, the same techniques are used, with the opposite aims.

To vilify consumerism in a country with high levels of poverty is tactful. It could be viewed as an attempt to justify the lack of consumer goods – and the lack of access to them. Seen through a critical lens this is a justification of poverty that is, at best, short-sighted and, at worst, exploitative. This is especially poignant, when considering that those designing BV and its discourse were those from higher social classes who had benefitted from corruption, colonialism or a mixture of the two. These higher classes, usually in urban areas, would have the ability to access imports and benefit from consumer goods. Yet, they would be the ones setting the precedent of material simplicity and appreciation.

As noted by Escobar (1984), the development discourse uses problematisation as a means of control. The use of problematisation can be observed in the BV development discourse – in the opposite manner. As the US driven development discourse problematises the third world, the BV discourse driven by the Ecuadorian state problematises the West and the USA. It finds issue in their policy, behaviour and morals. Just like the development discourse, information is deliberately sought

surrounding the situation in the USA, and then portrayed in a negative light. In the same way that development agencies gather information and evoke pity for the third world, the BV discourse does the same for the USA – in pity of their ‘shallow’ consumerist life and to ward away from it. The way that the BV discourse seeks and problematises issues of Western development and morality, regardless of the level of truth in it, is evidence of problematisation and therefore a strategy of control within the discourse.

The discourse juxtaposes Ecuador with the West. A large focus on what BV is, is what it is not. In Said’s (1978) work on Orientalism; the system of knowledge and discourse on the Orient from Europe, he notes how the “Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience” (Said, 2003, p.1-2). The juxtaposition of oneself against a different ‘other’ reveals perceptions on oneself – on what one desires or claims to be. The discourse constructed by the state demonises the US and West, through what it says and doesn’t, and by doing so, intends to strengthen its own power and position.

The Western development of the past is alluded to, and even openly blamed and criticised. The past is used in a way which resonates with Ecuadorian public memory and manipulates those affected by it. Escobar (1984) notes that the past should be used strategically to defend traditions and to resist Western hegemony. From this perspective, the use of ancestry and past to portray BV could be seen as an affront to Western domination. However, within the BV discourse itself, the past is strategically used as a manipulative and disciplinary tool. Memory and reminders are hugely impactful on an individual level, and for populations as collective memory is highly

influential in a nation's policy-making, public debate and reputations (Langenbacher & Shain, 2010).

A definitive Anti-USA/West, anti-neoliberal thread in the discourse, would have been intended to impact the Ecuadorian population and resonate with painful memories. From the late 1960s onward, the USA was heavily involved in Ecuador, in its economy and also in the Oriente after oil. US troops were present in Ecuador, for example, constructing oil sites in the 1987 "Blazing Trials" operation (Hey, 1995, p.59). Prior to the Citizen's Revolution, there had been a high environmental and human cost of neoliberalism. Large land grabs for oil and mining, from the state and foreign investors, caused widespread pollution and deforestation (Lyall, 2017: Widener, 2007). This land was inhabited by indigenous communities who lost homes, opportunities and - in some case - their lives. There have been reports of state forces and foreign companies assaulting and forcibly removing indigenous people from their land (Lyall, 2017: Simon, 2000). The after-effects of this are not only imprinted in memory. High levels of disease, including cancer, in these regions is blamed upon the pollution and water contamination caused by the industries (Zibell, 2011: Simon, 2000: Barrett, 2014). The persistent mentioning of this past is a disciplinary discursive practice. It is in a sense a constant ominous threat that there is, and was, a painful alternative.

Centrality of Nature

In principle, the centrality of nature throughout the BV discourse is in opposition to the hegemonic development discourse. In the development discourse, nature has

been assigned a “passive role”, and is only considered relevant when instrumental for the urban capital society (Escobar, 2012, p.196). Whereas, in BV, nature is superficially granted rights. In other ways, the BV discourse emulates dominant discourse techniques with an “instrumental conception of nature” when discussing the Yasuni-ITT initiative (Escobar, 2012, p.160). In the initiative, nature is economised, and a discourse using constructed science and invented probabilities was used to deploy power and enact an agenda.

The centrality of nature in the BV discourse was an attempt at greenwashing. Greenwashing is when a plan or policy is made to appear green and environmentally friendly due to popularity, not reliant on its ecological impact. It could be argued that legislation in BV that surrounds indigenous peoples and land protection were implemented in order “to ‘greenwash’ their extractivist development strategies” (Lopez-Gamboa, 2017, p.1). This implies that the decision to centralise the theme of nature was deliberately misleading, which is a convincing stance. Prior to BV’s implementation, environmental groups such as Accion Ecologica had massively grown in popularity and influence, and had international links and support (Treakle,1998). They had brought environmental protection solidly into the public sphere, and therefore it was an important theme to include within the discourse in order to retain support and power.

The stress on nature within the discourse was a tactic to gain popularity and power. At the time of BV’s implementation and the production of the discourse, SD as a field was growing and the need for change in terms of the environment was being greatly recognised internationally. The RIO Summit in 1992, followed by the “Rio +10” in

Johannesburg in 2002 had gained global attention; the UN had brought environmental consciousness and SD firmly into discussion. The early 2000s saw a Green explosion across Western pop-culture, and being 'green' and environmentally conscious was extremely popular on the world stage (Grist, 2009). The BV discourse tapped into this popularity.

The use of nature throughout the discourse was a discursive tool, not a real intention. Whilst the discourse was constructed, it was discernible that neo-extractivism was incompatible with BV (Villalba-Eguiluz & Extano, 2017). As BV, portrayed in discourse, can never be realised in an extractivist economy, it is arguably a utopian model, rather than a practical one (Chassagne, 2018). The propagation of a discourse which focuses on the protection of, and respect for, nature whilst continuing extractivist and destructive activities, questions the scope of the BV model, and demonstrates how the discourse was used for power, as it was never intended for reality.

Knowledge surrounding development and the correct way to implement it is constructed and creates power through professionalisation. The professionalisation of development, and the truths and norms surrounding it, are constructed as a means of control within the hegemonic development discourse (Escobar, 1984). This strategy is similarly used within the BV discourse. The BV discourse claims it is a representation of *Samak Kawsay*, and that it reflects the issues within it. It is presented as the only feasible answer to problems of development in regards to nature. The purpose of many of the materials examined is to explain what BV is, and within this explanation it is portrayed as the absolute truth and right way of life. By

portraying notions that were incompatible with its development intentions whilst claiming it was a plausible model, the BV discourse constructed a set of truths and norms surrounding BV development.

The use of Indigenous People

The centrality of, and reliance upon, indigenous people to the BV discourse was in some ways a product of the circumstances that led to the Citizen's Revolution and the implementation of BV. Indigenous movements were responsible for widespread resistance across Ecuador in the years leading up to the political transition. The indigenous movements took an anti-neoliberal and anti-capitalist stance, pushed for a "plurinational" state, and were extremely influential in achieving change (Jameson, 2011, p.63). In 1994, indigenous social movements coordinated huge acts of civil disobedience that effectively paralysed the country for a fortnight (Gedicks, 2001). CONAIE had been involved in the overthrowing of Presidents in 1999 and 2000 (Kennemore & Weeks, 2011). The indigenous movements were an organised and popular threat and therefore they needed to be acknowledged.

The indigenous movement and its discourse were usurped by Correa. Correa used the already popular discourses to manipulate the public sphere and become President (Ortiz, 2015). Correa's government likened BV policy with Samak Kawsay to appeal to the underprivileged and marginalised indigenous populations (Van Hulst & Beling, 2014). It was a popularity measure as a certain "type of indigenismo" would appeal to the population and the global community (Martinez-Novo, 2014, p.104).

However, the indigenous ideal of BV was exploited. It was appropriated by the government to justify its social, economic and political agenda (Merino, 2016).

The state used and manipulated the indigenous cosmovision to retain indigenous support and solidify their control.

The indigenous movement was solely used for popularity and power. This is demonstrated by the state's continued environmental destruction and treatment of the indigenous resistance. The state was quick to demonise those who had helped it to gain power. The resistance that fuelled the Citizen's Revolution and allowed for the implementation of BV was thereafter seen as socially deviant (Latorre et al, 2015) . The state has harassed and persecuted protestors, indigenous leaders and human rights defenders (Amnesty, 2012: 2018). It not only betrayed its promises, but the people who allowed it to make them.

The discourse symbolises Ecuadorian indigenous people as the glorified ancestors of the nation, whilst in reality their interests were abandoned and they remain disadvantaged. The holding up of indigenous groups symbolically, whilst simultaneously betraying them, is not unique to Ecuador. Galeano (2009, p.49) writing in 1971, stated that "under every Brazilian constitution [the indigenous] are "the original and natural masters" of the land, yet "every legal dispensation... meant to protect [them] has been turned against them". The state manipulated indigenous world-views at the same time as manipulating views held on indigenous peoples themselves, and their societal status.

The BV discourse includes existing discourses on indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples are presented in binary contradiction with the West across development discourses. The difference is presented as irreconcilable: simplified to “the Indian world - collective, communal, human respectful of nature, and wise - and the western world - greedy, destructive, individualist, and enemy of nature” (Redford, 1991, p.46). The BV discourse plays on these assumptions, and exacerbates the stereotypes, and constructed knowledge, held of either side. This discourse uses moralisation and intends to control behaviour in accordance to these morals. The discourse presents itself to be on side with the indigenous ‘better’ world to justify its power.

The discourse uses the idea of the ‘ecologically noble savage’ to gain power through assuming truth and knowledge. The noble savage trope has been converted, or modernised, into the “ecologically noble savage” and is present across development discourse. In post-development discourses, the ecologically noble savage notion has been used to validate alternative models of development (Keily, 1999). It is assumed that indigenous groups are more concerned with, and knowledgeable on conservation and the environment (Borgerhoff Mulder & Coppolillo, 2005). Even though, arguably, a comparison cannot be made between societies based in remote areas and societies based in urban cities. By invoking this concept, the discourse validates and gives weight to the states’ knowledge. It allows the state to further claim that its discourse is absolute truth, which, as Foucault notes is a way in which discourses become dominant (Rose, 2001). The state uses the trope to strengthen belief in its knowledge and truth, and therefore its power.

Hames (2007, p.177) notes that “ecological nobility” can be used as a tool by native peoples, and therefore the inclusion of this in the discourse could allow for some power to be held by the indigenous people, in that they are the protectors of nature and knowledge surrounding it. However, when examining Ecuador’s record of continually violating Free Prior and Informed Consent and continuing extractivist activities, it can be assumed that the intention was not to hand over power to the indigenous groups, but to gain popularity by appearing to do so.

The discourse treats the indigenous people as spectacles and objects. Latin America’s relationship with its indigenous populations cannot be removed from colonialism, and the genocide and slavery inflicted upon the indigenous nations. The state displayed the indigenous people – just like early colonisers did when taking them back to Europe as curious trophies. It displays them as mysterious ‘others’ and uses them to disguise and justify its development and agenda. In fact, Radcliffe (2012) argues that the implementation of BV allowed for an extension and sustainment of post-colonial development. The use of BV and the indigenous people for political gain is further oppression.

As in the development discourse examined by Escobar, indigenous peoples within the BV discourse are used as tools of development. Throughout the discourse, its indigenous roots are stressed, and it is impossible to avoid the trope of the ‘noble savage’. The discourse overtly follows a narrative of the polluted, corrupted modern world that must learn and be saved by the simple, noble savage. BV in its entirety exemplifies it; a philosophy inspired by an ancient harmonious indigenous cosmology, being placed onto a society that has hit a crisis of consumerism and

in need of guidance. However, the indigenous groups in Ecuador did not drive the BV development model, or the surrounding discourse: they were subjected to it. After centuries of mistreatment, and the use of their land and labour in the chase for Eurocentric modernity, when the crisis of development hit, the indigenous people were seen as useful again. In this sense, the responsibility of development and the future, has been placed at the feet of the indigenous communities - whether they like it or not.

6. Conclusion

This dissertation has added to the literature by providing an analysis of the Ecuadorian BV discourse. It has allowed for an examination of the power and control mechanisms that were used to implement BV development. The BV discourse used discursive practices of control, including moralisation, normalisation, disciplinary tactics and the construction of knowledge and truth. Four key themes emerged from an analysis of the BV discourse: BV as a counter-discourse; Anti-West; Nature; and Indigenous Roots. These themes were not congruent with reality.

The findings of this dissertation suggest that the Ecuadorian state used the discourse to exert power over its population whilst portraying a false global image. The BV discourse was used to solidify state power after years of turmoil. The analysis has illustrated how the BV discourse was used as a smokescreen to cover the state's development intentions. The Ecuadorian State presented BV as an alternative to development, and distanced itself from its neoliberal past, in order to solidify its power and continue with development that consolidated its interests.

Whilst claiming to counter the traditional development discourse, the BV discourse used similar control strategies.

This dissertation has found that the state's discourse included these chosen themes to justify its power to Ecuadorians, as well as the global community. The discourse included themes that resonated with collective memory. The West, and particularly the USA, were demonised in order to construct a positive stronger image of the Ecuadorian state. The lack of goods, and difference to the West, was justified by a vilification of consumerism. The discourse revolved around nature, as a means of gaining popularity – even though the state was aware that BV and the protection of nature was incompatible with its intentions.

It has been demonstrated in this dissertation that the BV discourse used indigenous people as docile tools. It manipulated indigenous ideals, as well as indigenous people itself, in its representation of them as honoured ancestors whilst it knowingly betrayed them, in a continuation of post-colonial subjugation. Throughout the BV discourse, indigenous peoples are used to justify and retain power. After years of exploitation, the indigenous people were called upon to provide, or be used as, an answer to the crisis of development.

Further Research

There is a plenitude of potential avenues for further research that due to constraints could not be discussed. Analysis from other perspectives would allow for a more in-depth understanding of the BV discourse. There is a clear space for a gendered

analysis. From a decolonial feminism perspective, the BV discourse is wrought with dehumanisation, objectification and contradictory relations between women and nature. An inclusion of the Afro-Ecuadorian perspective would be extremely enlightening, as this group has been long ignored in Latin American history, as well as in development studies. Further investigation into the uses of the BV discourse, such as potential attempts to encourage work and production, would be fruitful additions to the literature.

The themes discussed in this dissertation are not the only matters promoted in BV. For example, free health care was promised and supposedly provided in Ecuador. An examination of the quality and occurrence of this health care – as well as the increasing numbers of private foreign health care firms - would illuminate the reality of these promises. The same could be said for the water systems and infrastructure, and issues of equal rights and discrimination. An investigation, using longitudinal data, into progress of the promises made and themes raised would contribute to the understanding of BV's impact.

Bibliography

Accion Ecologica. 2019. *Accion Ecologica*. [online] Accessed: 10th June 2019.

Available at: <http://www.accionecologica.org/>

Acosta, A. 2010. Towards the Universal Declaration of Rights of Nature: Thoughts for action. *AFESE* 24(1). pp.1-17

Acosta, A. 2013a. Extractivism and neoextractivism: two sides of the same curse. In: Lang, M & Mokrani, D (eds). *Beyond development: alternative visions from Latin America*, Quito: Fundación Rosa Luxembourg. pp.61-86

Acosta, A. 2013b. A modo de prólogo: el correísmo—un nuevo modelo de dominación burguesa. In: Álvarez, F et al. (eds.), *El correísmo al desnudo*. Quito: Montecristi Vive. pp.9–21

Acosta, A. 2017. Living Well: ideas for reinventing the future, *Third World Quarterly*, (38)12, pp.2600-2616

Alonso, M. 1992. Gender, Power, and Historical Memory: Discourses of *Serrano* Resistance. In: Butler, J & Wallach-Scott, J (eds) *Feminists Theorize the Political*. London: Routledge. pp. 404-426

Apthorpe, R & Gasper, D. 1996. Introduction: Discourse Analysis and Policy Discourse. In: *Arguing Development Policy - Frames And Discourses*, eds. Apthorpe,

R & Gasper, D. London: Frank Cass. pp.1-15

Baker, S. 2006. *Sustainable Development*, London: Routledge

Beittel, J. 2018. Ecuador: In Brief. Analyst in Latin American Affairs. 13th February 2018. *Congressional Research Service*. CRS. GOV, USA.

Berg, B. 2009. *Qualitative Research Methods for the social sciences*. 7th eds. Boston: Pearson Education

Berry, T. 1999. *The great work: Our way into the Future*. New York: Bell Tower

Borgerhoff Mulder M, & Coppolillo P. 2005. *Conservation: Ecology, Economics, and Culture*. Princeton : Princeton University Press

Buen Vivir TV. 2013. *Video Clip 'El Buen Vivir'* [online] Accessed 9/1/19 Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eNaM2mVqJgI>

Buen Vivir TV. 2015. *Ama la Vida Buen Vivir "¿Qué es el Sumak Kawsay o el Buen Vivir?"* [online] Accessed 9/1/19 Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0_Ej23wvNbk

Buen Vivir TV. 2016. *Historias del Buen Vivir: Quinau* [online] Accessed: 14th June 2019. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hBhG4fQ0fIE>

Buen Vivir TV. 2017. Historias del Buen Vivir: Comunidad La Cocha. [online]

Accessed: 16th June 2019. Available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JaRnb24ZuL0>

Buen Vivir TV. 2019. Buen Vivir TV (Channel). Youtube. [online] Accessed: 14th June

2019. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCr0QN5ALuIvFYZ5rVPowjiQ>

Caria, S & Dominguez, R. 2016. Ecuador's Buen vivir: A New Ideology for

Development, *Latin American Perspectives*, **43**(1) pp.18-33

Cascomi, Shuar Arutam. 2018. *Ecuador: Local communities continue to oppose mining projects in Ecuadorian Amazon backed by Chinese companies*, [online]

Accessed: 1st March 2019 Available at: <https://www.business->

[humanrights.org/en/ecuador-local-communities-continue-to-oppose-mining-projects-in-ecuadorian-amazon-backed-by-chinese-companies](https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/ecuador-local-communities-continue-to-oppose-mining-projects-in-ecuadorian-amazon-backed-by-chinese-companies)

Chassagne, N. 2018. Sustaining the 'Good Life': Buen Vivir as an alternative to sustainable development, *Community Development Journal*, **54**(3). pp. 482-500

Chow, R. 1992. Postmodern Automations. In: Butler, J & Wallach-Scott, J (eds)

Feminists Theorize the Political. London: Routledge. pp.101-117

Combee, J., & Plax, M. 1973. Rousseau's Noble Savage and European Self-

Consciousness. *Modern Age*, **17**(2), 173.

CONAIE (Confederacion de Nacionalidades Indigenas del Ecuador). 2019. CONAIE. [online] Accessed: 14th June 2019. Available at: <https://conaie.org/>

Constante, S. 2016. Ipiiales, La Despensa Colombiana De Ecuador. *EL PAÍS*. 20th June 2016. [online] Accessed: 13th June 2019 Available at: http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2016/06/20/america/1466376543_846138.html

Cori, A & Monni, S. 2015. Neo-extractivism and the Resource Curse Hypothesis: Evidence from Ecuador, *Development*, **58**(4), pp.594-607

Cui, C & Badawy, M. 2015. Cheap Oil and Strong Dollar: Ecuador's Twin Troubles. *Wall Street Journal*. 23rd November 2015. [online] Accessed: 13th June 2019. Available at: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/cheap-oil-and-strong-dollar-ecuadors-twin-troubles-1448320496>

Demaria, F & Kothari, A. 2017. The Post-Development Dictionary agenda: paths to the pluriverse, *Third World Quarterly*, **38**(12), pp.2588-2599

Ellingson, T. 2001. *The myth of the noble savage (Vol. 1)*. California: University of California Press.

Escobar, A.1984. Discourse and Power in Development: Michel Foucault and the Relevance of His Work to the Third World, *Alternatives: Global, Local Political*, **10**(3)

pp. 377-400

Escobar, A. 1988. Power and Visibility: Development and the Invention and Management of the Third World. *Cultural Anthropology*, **3**(4) pp. 428-443

Escobar, A. 1992. Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements, *Social Text*, **31**, pp.20-56

Escobar, A. 2010. Latin America at a Crossroads. *Cultural Studies*, **24**(1), pp.1-65

Escobar, A. 2012. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. (2nd eds). Oxford: Princeton University Press

Escobar, A. 2015. Degrowth, postdevelopment, and transitions: a preliminary conversation. *Sustainability Science*, **10** (3), pp.451-462

Fierro, L. 2017. Re-thinking oil: compensation for non-production in Yasuni´ National Park challenging Sumak Kawsay and degrowth. *Sustain Sci*. **12**. pp.263-274

Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Translated by Sheridan, A. London: Tavistock Publications

Foucault, M. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison*. Translated by Sheridan, A. London: Allen Lane

Foucault, M. 1979. *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. Translated by Hurley, R. London: Allen Lane

Friant, M & Langmore, J. 2015. The Buen Vivir: A Policy to Survive the Anthropocene?, *Global Policy*, **6**(1) pp.64-71

Galeano, E. 2009. *Open Veins of Latin America*. London: Serpent's Tail

Galeano, E. 2008. *La Naturaleza no es muda*. 18th April 2008. Semanario Brecha, Montevideo.

Gedicks, A .2001. *Resource Rebels: Native Challenges to Mining and Oil Corporations*, Cambridge: South End Press

Gill, S. 1995. Globalisation, Market Civilisation, and Disciplinary Neoliberalism. *Millennium*, **24**(3), pp.399–423.

Graham, L. 2005. *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault*. Australian Association for Research in Education, 2005 Annual Conference, Sydney.

Grist. 2019. Top green stories of the 00's. *Grist*. 3rd December 2009. [online]
 Accessed: 16th June 2019 Available: <https://grist.org/article/2009-12-21-the-top-green-stories-of-the-00s/full/>

Guardiola, J & García-Quero, F. 2014 "Buen vivir (living well) in Ecuador: Community

and environmental satisfaction without household material prosperity?" *Ecological Economics* 107. pp.177–184.

Gudynas, E & Acosta, A. 2011. La renovacion de la critica al Desarrollo y el buen vivir como alternative. *Utopia y Praxis Latinoamericana*. **16**(53). pp.71-83

Gudynas, E. 2011. Buen Vivir: Today's tomorrow, *Development*, **54**(4), pp.441-447

Hall, S. 2001. Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse. In: Wetherwell, M, Taylor, S & Yates, S. (eds). *Discourse theory and practice: A reader*. London: Sage. pp.72-81.

Hames, R. 2007. The Ecologically Noble Savage Debate. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. **36**. pp.177–90

Hey, J. 1995. Ecuadorian Foreign Policy since 1979: Ideological cycles or a Trend toward Neoliberalism? *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, **37**(4), pp.57-88

Jameson, K. P. 2011. The Indigenous Movement in Ecuador: The Struggle for a Plurinational State. *Latin American Perspectives*, **38**(1), pp.63–73

Keily, R. 2007. The Last refuge of the noble savage? A critical assessment of post-development theory. *The European Journal of Development Research*. **11**(1) pp. 30-55

Kennemore, A & Weeks, G. 2011. Twenty-First Century Socialism? The Elusive Search for a Post-Neoliberal Development Model in Bolivia and Ecuador, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, **30**(3), pp.1-15

Kimmerling, J. 1991. *Amazon Crude*. Natural Resources Defence Council

Kuecker, G. 2007. Fighting for the Forests: Grassroots Resistance to Mining in Northern Ecuador, *Latin American Perspectives*, **34**(2), pp.1-14

Langenbacher, E & Shain, Y. 2010. *Power and the past: Collective memory and international relations*. Washington: Georgetown University Press

Latouche, S. 2009. *Farewell to growth*. London: Polity Press

Lessmann, J et al .2016. Large expansion of oil industry in the Ecuadorian Amazon: biodiversity vulnerability and conservation alternatives, *Ecology and Evolution*, **6**(14), pp.4997-5012

Lyall, A. 2017. Voluntary resettlement in land grab contexts: examining consent on the Ecuadorian oil frontier, *Urban Geography*, **38**(7), pp.958-973

Martinez Novo, C. 2014. Managing Diversity in Post-Neoliberal Ecuador, *The journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, **19**(1), pp.103-125

McMichael, P. 2017. *Development and Social Change: A global perspective*, London: Sage Publications

Merino, R. 2016. 'An alternative to 'alternative development'?: Buen vivir and human development in Andean countries' *Oxford Development Studies*, **44**(3) pp.271-286

Navarro, V. 2000. 'Development and Quality of Life: A Critique of Amartya Sen's Development as Freedom', *International Journal of Health Services*, **30**,(4), pp.661–674

Pieterse, J.N. 2010. *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions*, 2nd eds, London: Sage Publications

OPHI. 2018. Global MPI Country Briefing: Ecuador. *Oxford Department of International Development*. Oxford: University of Oxford

Prada, R. 2011. Buen Vivir as a model for state and economy. In: Lang, M & Mokrani, D. (eds). 2011. *Beyond Development: Alternatives visions from Latin America*. Quito: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. pp.145-158

Radcliffe, S. 2012. Development for a postneoliberal era? Sumak kawsay, living well and the limits to decolonisation in Ecuador. *Geoforum*. **43**(2). pp. 240-249

Redford, K. 1991. Ecologically Noble Savage. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*. **15**(1). p.46

Reiter, B. 2018. *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of knowledge*. Durham: Duke University Press

Republic of Ecuador. 2008. *The Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador*. Official Register. [online] Accessed: 10th June 2019. Available at: <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Ecuador/english08.html>

Roman, A. 2015. ¿Por Qué Correa No Quiere Que Ecuatorianos Compren En Colombia?. *El Tiempo*. 5th September 2015. [online] Accessed: June 13th 2019. Available at: <http://www.eltiempo.com/mundo/latinoamerica/por-que-correa-no-quiere-que-ecuatorianos-compren-en-colombia/16343555>

Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. 2019. *Permanent working group: Beyond Development*. [online] Accessed: 15th May 2019, Available at: <https://www.rosalux.org.ec/en/alternatives-to-development-group/>

Rose, G. 2001. *Visual Methodologies: An introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London: Sage.

Rostow, W. 1960. *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

RSF (Reporters without Borders). 2019. *Ecuador*. [online] Accessed: 25th May 2019. Accessed: <https://rsf.org/en/ecuador>

Sachs, J. 2005. *The end of poverty: how we can make it happen in our lifetime.*

London: Penguin Books

Sachs, J. 2015. *The Age of Sustainable Development.* New York: Columbia

University Press

Said, E. 2003. (1978). *Orientalism.* 5th eds. London: Penguin Books

Sawyer, S. 2004. *Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil and*

Neoliberalism in Ecuador, Durham: Duke University Press

Selwyn, B. 2014. *The Global Development Crisis.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Selwyn, B. 2017. *The Struggle for Development.* Cambridge: Polity Press

Shiva, V. 2005. *Earth democracy.* Cambridge: South End Press

Shiva, V. 2008. *Soil, not oil. environmental justice in an age of climate crisis.*

Cambridge: South End Press

SENPLADES (Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo) .2007. *Plan*

Nacional de Desarrollo 2007-2010. Quito: Senplades.

SENPLADES, (Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo) .2009. *National*

Plan for Good Living (El Buen Vivir) 2009-2013: Building a Plurinational and Intercultural State, Summarized Version. Quito: SENPLADES

SENPLADES (Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo). 2013a. *Plan Nacional para el Buen Vivir 2013-2017.* Quito: Senplades.

SENPLADES (Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo). 2013b. 100 Logros de la Revolución Ciudadana. Quito: Senplades

SENPLADES (Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo) .2017. *Informe de la Nación 2007-2017.* Quito: Senplades.

SENPLADES, 2019. *Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo, Ecuador.* [online] Accessed: 19th June 2019. Available at: <https://www.planificacion.gob.ec/>

SID (Society for International Development). 2010. Interview with Catherine Walsh. [online] Accessed: 25th May 2019 Available at: <https://www.sidint.net/content/human-development-and-buen-vivir-interview-catherine-walsh>

SIISE (Sistema Integral de los Indicadores Sociales de Ecuador). 2019. *Nacionalidades y Pueblos Indígenas del Ecuador.* [online] Accessed: 14th June 2019. Available at: http://www.siise.gob.ec/siiseweb/PageWebs/Marco%20Conceptual/macsdp_conbas.htm#La%20Vida%20Arm%C3%B3nica%20o%20el%20Buen%20Vivir

Silva, V .2016. The Return of the State, New Social Actors, and Post-Neoliberalism in Ecuador, *Latin American Perspectives*. 206. **43**(1). pp.4-17

Simon, S. 2000. Texaco's Ecological Terrorism of the Ecuadorian Amazon, *Z Magazine*, 1st October 2000, [online] Accessed:28th February 2019 Available at: <https://zcomm.org/zmagazine/texacos-ecological-terrorism-of-the-ecuadorian-amazon-by-suzanne-simon/>

South Seas. 2004. *Cook's Endeavour Journal*. [online] Accessed: 15th June 2019. Available at: <http://southseas.nla.gov.au/journals/cook/contents.html>

Spaiser V, Rangathan S, Bali Swain R, Sumpter DJT .2017. The sustainable development oxymoron: quantifying and modelling the incompatibility of sustainable development goals. *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World Ecology*, **24**(6), pp.457-470

Streeten, P. 1993. *Human Development: Means and Ends*. The Bangladesh Development Studies. 21(4). pp.65-76

Treakle, K. 1998. Ecuador: Structural Adjustment and Indigenous and Environmental Resistance. In: Fox, J & Brown, D (eds) *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs and Grassroots Movements*. Cambridge: MIT Press. pp.219-265

UNESCO. 2016. *Global Education Monitoring Report: Education for people and planet: Creating Sustainable Futures for All*, UNESCO Publishing

UN. 2018. *Sustainable Development Goals*. [online] Accessed: 7th April 2019

Available at: <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/>

UNDP. 2019a. *Human Development Reports*. [online] Accessed: 24th June 2019.

Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev>

UNDP. 2019b. *Human Development Index*. [online] Accessed: 13th May 2019

Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi>

USA Department of State. 2018. *Relations with Ecuador*. Accessed: 10th June 2019.

Available at: <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-ecuador/>

Vanhulst, J & Beling, A. 2014. Buen vivir: Emergent Discourse within or beyond sustainable development? *Ecological Economics*, **101**, pp.54-63

Villalba, U. 2013. Buen Vivir vs Development: a paradigm shift in the Andes?, *Third World Quarterly*, **34**(8), pp.1427-1442

Villalba-Eguiluz, U & Extano, I. 2017. Buen Vivir vs Development (II): The Limits of (Neo)-Extractivism. *Ecological Economics*. **138**(1) pp. 1-11

Walsh, C. 2010. Development as Buen Vivir: Institutional arrangements and (de)colonial entanglements, *Development*, **53**(1) pp.15-21

WB. 2015. *Indigenous Latin America in the Twenty-First Century: The First Decade*.

Washington: The World Bank.

WB. 2019a. *Ecuador*. [online] Accessed: 14th June 2019. Available at:

<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ecuador>

WB. 2019b. *Indicators*. [online] Accessed: 14th May 2019, Available at:

<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ny.gdp.mktp.cd>

Widener, P .2007. Oil Conflict in Ecuador: A photographic essay. *Organisation & Environment*. **20**(1). pp.84-105

Williams, D. 2012. *International Development and Global Politics: History, theory and practice*. Oxon: Routledge

Williams, G, Meth, P, Willis, K. 2014. *Geographies of Developing Areas*, 2nd eds, Oxon: Routledge

Williford, B. 2018. Buen Vivir as Policy: Challenging Neoliberalism or Consolidating State Power in Ecuador, *Journal of World-Systems Research*, **24**(1), pp.96-122

Yasunidos. 2019. *Yasunidos*. [online] Accessed: 10th June 2019. Available at:

<https://sitio.yasunidos.org>

Zibell, M. 2011. *Sucumbios: un territorio que nace y muere por el petróleo*. BBC

Mundo. 15th February 2011. [online] Accessed: 12th March 2019. Available at:

https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2011/02/110214_analisis_chevron_ecuador_en