



Universidad del Azuay

Faculty of Law

School of International Studies

Comparative analysis between the theory of The Good Living and the Third Way as alternatives to the ideological polarizations of the twentieth century

**Graduate thesis prior to obtaining a
Bilingual Bachelor in International Studies minor in Foreign Trade.**

Author: Fausto Gutiérrez Jerves.

Director: Dr. Guillermo Ochoa Rodríguez

Cuenca-Ecuador

2016

Dedication:

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

Thanks

I want to thank everyone involved in the development of this research work, especially my teachers, principals, relatives, colleagues, friends and employers.

Without them this work would not have been the same.

All your support and love will always be remembered

ABSTRACT

The present study is an analysis of two modern strategies that can serve as alternatives to capitalism, these are the Third Way and the Good Living. Both strategies are focused on the common good through the participation of the state, the individual and his environment.

First, it will start analyzing the context in which each strategy materialized; this will reveal the different tendencies that are opposed to them. Secondary, sit down their philosophical and scientific basis in which both strategies are projected, and the various plans and proposals offered by them.

Finally the differences between these will be analyzed, and although they share a progressive trend, it is important and necessary to understand that there is also a contrast that depends on various contexts: historical, spatial, preferences and durability.

Keywords: strategy, alternative, program, contrast.

Content

Dedication:	2
Thanks	3
ABSTRACT	4
INTRODUCTION	8
CHAPTER I The Good Living and the Third Way	9
1. Introduction	9
1.1 Historical background	9
1.2 The Good Living, Theoretical Determinations and background.	15
1.3 The Good living or Sumak Kawsay, Origin and meaning.	17
1.3.1 The Good Living.....	17
1.3.2 The SUMAK KAWSAY	18
1.4 The Good Living / Sumak Kawsay: The constitution, GLNP and LTNS.....	20
1.4.1 The 2008 Constitution.....	20
1.4.1.2 Rights.....	20
1.4.1.2.1 Right Ownership	21
1.4.1.2.2 Active legitimation for enforceability.	21
1.4.1.2.3 Equality and discrimination prohibition.....	22
1.4.1.2.4 Rights and Guarantees are of direct application.....	22
1.4.1.2.5 Everything Right is justiciable.....	22
1.4.1.2.6 Prohibition of normative restrictions.	22
1.4.1.2.7. The most favorable application	22
1.4.1.2.8 Rights essential characteristics.....	23
1.4.1.2.9 Rights sources.....	23
1.4.1.2.10 The regressivity prohibition.....	23
1.4.1.2.11 The State responsibility.....	23
1.4.1.3 Classification of rights.....	24
1.4.1.4 The rights of nature.....	25
1.5 The PND and its evolution to PNBV and ENLP.....	26
1.6. The Third Way.....	28
1.6.1. Theoretical background	28
1.6.2. Principles of the Third Way: The five dilemmas.	28
1.6.3 The Third Way Program Objectives	31
1.6.3.1 The radical political center.....	32
1.6.3.2 The new democratic state or state without enemies.....	37
1.6.3.3 Active Civil Society	39

1.6.3.4 Democratic Family.....	40
1.6.3.5 The New Mixed Economy	41
1.6.3.6 Equality and its meaning	42
1.6.3.7 Positive Welfare.....	42
1.6.3.8The state of social investment	43
1.7 Conclusions Chapter	44
CHAPTER 2 The Good Living and the Third Way against contemporary capitalism.....	45
2.1. Criticism to the capitalist system.....	45
2.1.1. Economy.....	48
2.1.2. Investment and social equity.....	50
2.1.3. Media.....	51
2.1.4. Civil society.....	52
2.2. Alternatives to the contemporary capitalist system	53
2.3. Chapter Conclusions	54
CHAPTER 3 Similarities and differences between The Good Living and The Third Way	55
3.1. Philosophical and ideological	55
3.2. Policies.....	56
3.3. Economic	56
3.4. Ecologic.....	57
3.5. Comparative table.....	58
CHAPTER 4 The Good Living and the Third Way as viable alternatives to the XXI century polarizations.....	60
4.1. A critical approach to the real possibilities of applying both theories.....	60
4.1.1. Main obstacles and political opposition	62
4.1.2. Competing theories to The Good Living and The Third Way	64
4.1.3. Deficiencies and limitations	67
4.2. Chapter Conclusions	70
CHAPTER 5 Conclusions and Recommendations	72
5.1. Conclusions	72
5.2. Recommendations.....	74
BIBLIOGRAPHY	75

Table 1 Risk matrix according to Giddens.....	31
<i>Table 2 Third Way Values.</i>	31
Table 3 The Third way program.....	32
Table 4 Classical Social Democracy vs Neoliberalism	34
Table 7: Similarities and differences between The Third Way and The Good Living	62
Table 8 Obstacles in the Third Way and The Good Living.....	64
Table 9: Relationship between competing theories to the Third Way and The Good Living	67
Table 10: Impairments and Limitations of the competing theories	69

INTRODUCTION

"Comparative analysis of the theory of The Good Living and the Third Way as alternatives to the ideological polarizations of the twentieth century" is a study which general objective is contrasting these strategies from a political, economic and social approach.

The study is distributed in four chapters. The first makes an analysis on the relationship between The Good Living and the Third Way. This will help manifest the main tenets of each strategy and their constitutional description. These postulates have among them all their philosophical and theoretical-scientific bases, which are determinate by the application in different economic, political and social sectors of the states participating of these strategies.

In the second chapter we will find the benefits of such strategies as viable alternatives to the problems caused by capitalism, the same that make them resemble from the point of view of the common good through the state participation, the individual and the environment. Thus, one can find different ways of conceiving each strategy in different states, different plans and proposals.

The third chapter analyzes the trends that oppose these alternatives, as they are the result of the capitalist system. Also, this chapter pretends to understand the dialectic between these strategies and their respective oppositions, and how together they face today's reality, a confrontation that is marked from social acceptance and sustainability.

The fourth chapter analyzes the differences between The Good Living and the Third Way, differences expressed from the contexts, acceptance and vitality of each strategy. It is therefore, important to compare both strategies in order to understand and reflect well over the application, advantages and disadvantages that each one triggers.

Finally, you can find a space for analysis and reflection chained to the specific objectives; in the same way, you will find the necessary recommendations for the respective study.

CHAPTER I The Good Living and the Third Way

1. Introduction

In order to better understand and gain insight of the theoretical and conceptual foundations that underlie both theories, we must understand the environment that inspired the construction of these ideas. It is of big importance to understand the theorist and conceptual fundamentals and the Third Way and The Good Living, because in here are born all the guidelines that allow us to know the impact both have from the simplest nucleus of society: the individual, and from there go recognizing advances implemented at different levels like: the family, the social sphere, the economic and political areas, and the impact that this currents have generated to our nature environment. In order to establish what is The Good Living and the discussion about its relationship with the proposal of the Third Way, we must consider the historical background of the origin and context of the two theories. The purpose is to know its evolution from its conceptual origins to its practical application, inquiring if the two theories are really viable alternatives to the capitalist system, and exposing their most important similarities and differences. It is important to consider a theoretical-conceptual and philosophical approach and the emergence of new political, economic and ecological ideologies following those theories.

1.1 Historical background

Underdevelopment is also the product of the construction of capitalism worldwide, on every continent there are peripheries in which the actions of underdevelopment has generated relationships of external dependence, vulnerability, weak industrialization, class polarization, among others (Boron, 2008)

The historical conditions relating to the predominance of capitalist power which dates back to the sixteenth century have reached such a point that it is necessary to constitutionalize new demands to open more inclusive economic prospects and guarantees, so that individuals from many emerging economic countries are in need to eradicate the inequalities and meet the purpose of the state: finding a good living for all. But the penetration of financial markets, technological advances, scientific research, industrial progress, easy logistics, and status quo which enjoy only the countries and individuals who are part of the strong or central economies (developed) has generated an unprecedented imbalance within the peripheral societies

(undeveloped), between them, and between them in relation to the center of the world system. Peripheral societies have begun to demand changes to ensure that the social, economic, and political functioning can be achievable taking into account micro and macro issues from its own socio-cultural environment in search of social articulation and to achieve a structural balance¹.

This environment is well contrasted by Foucault when he argues that "knowledge" create power and in turn power can only be sustained if it is through the "know". It happens that at the political and social levels, the center of power have also a direct relation to the accumulation and reproduction of knowledge. History has witnessed this speech where man has been fighting for its libertarian and independent heritage through the creation of a series of standards or norms that have allowed us to regulate relations between all subjects and exercise a control instrument to power when there is no justice necessary to protect us. The law then becomes the most important asset that the human being and it's conquests deal today in constitutions, declarations, protocols, and global conventions agreed by the Rule of Law (States).

This institutionalization of global power has never been before in history so organized, governed and represented. The state has become the instrument so the "speech" of all human socio-political and cultural activity enters into their respective praxis. In order to understand the concepts of The Good Living and the Third Way is essential that we define two important issues for this introduction. First is that the stages of creation of the State have allowed individuals to fight for their freedom and their rights to confront power. In the words of Ambassador Miguel Vasco: "This is a matter of long-standing and effective without end, which is identified with the historical struggle of man to pursue freedom, justice, dignity and other rights consecrated in the course of time in the framework of the institutional evolution of States "². Second, citing the evolution that has had the world political system, through or represented by different states, to emphasize the importance of placing ourselves in the period after the so-called cold war or bipolar word era to understand the environment in which both theories of The Good Living and the Third Way are born.

As to the first aspect of this introduction, Dr. Ramon Eduardo Burneo explains this as: The process of development of constitutionalism and divided into 3 stages: the embryonic stage, the stage of formation of Constitutionalism, and the consolidation phase and improvement to help us relate the main object and purpose of the Modern

¹We refer to the internal and external structural balance. Inner referring to close gaps between different social classes of a country. External referring to a positive trade balance that reflects economic stability.

² VASCO, Miguel A., Human Rights in Trade 9 Jul 2007 Q1.5.

State with the concepts of The Good Living and the Third Way treated in the development of this document.

The Embryonic stage starts with the relationship that had the Greco-Roman cultures and the impact of their discoveries. In ancient Greece the philosophical natural law was born, which derives from the very nature of man, as to be rational, free and responsible. At this time Plato and Aristotle occupied to go analyzing philosophical and legal problems concerning the origin, nature and organization of the State and public authority, considering that must conform to a Supreme and stable Constitution, under which the legal framework could be held on political ideal of the "good life".

Rome contributed to the fundamental legal structure on which it has been possible to raise the political and constitutional law. The first constitutional manifestation of natural law is the Lex Regia where a defined legal relationship is formed between rulers and the people where concepts such as the "supreme power" or nationality and citizenship were located. The first laws as were the Institutes, the Digest and the Justinian Code, were extended in every way since its creation under Roman law. From these sources come from the ideas of interpersonal relationship between rulers and subjects, ruled by objective standards, relationship where the notion of sovereignty as the source emerges, but also as the limit of the political authority and as power to make laws of generally compliment.

The formation stage of Constitutionalism operates mainly in countries like Spain and England that helped outline some basic ideas for the Constitutionalism. In Spain between centuries V to the VIII were generated many democratic ideas and political institutions that would later serve as cornerstones of modern constitutionalism. They create the distinction between the moral unity of the state and the individual physical ruler, a distinction that arises the idea of state sovereignty. In addition the authority acquires a public character. Who before was the owner of the power now it was considered as a server of the community and the minister of general good.

In England the people play a leading role at this stage of formation. The English constitutional system originates the division of powers between the King and Parliament, and within this, between Lords and Commons. The last one has a popular representative character, while Lords meet privileges of the nobility and feudal landlords. The important thing here is the official recognition of the opposition as a force for political activity. At this stage stands out the following enduring facts of English history: The Magna Letter (1215) imposed by the barons of John Lack land, introducing limitations to royal power and guarantees to individual freedom. In addition to this The

Provisions of Oxford affirmed and extended the gains of the Magna Carta. Finally The Agreement of People (1650) which stated that "in every government it must have something fundamental, something like a Constitution, permanent and unchangeable". Thus this way there are outlined three basic ideas to understand constitutionalism: The inalienable national sovereignty, the supremacy of the Constitution even on parliament and the permanence and stiffness, as peculiar features of the Constitution of every State.

Finally we will see the consolidation and improvement stage where these principles are transplanted to the new continent, especially the political and social events in the North American region from 1772 up to creation of the Federal Constitution in 1787. The so-called "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut" was the first political-legal statute under which the first settlers would be organized, eventually becoming the basis for the constitutional development of the Federal State. At the time it also arise the first "statements of Rights of the Colonists in Boston, as men, as Christians, as citizens," in 1772. Then in Virginia in 1776, which had more practical application to be incorporated into the Constitution the same State. Gradually it became consecrating the independence of those states and the settle of the Great Federal State, where constitutionalism is consolidated firmly. One Constitution the Federal in 1787, currently with only 24 amendments, has governed firmly from the beginning the independent living of this conglomerate of nations within the Union where the Constitution and its principles organized that they can live in peace, order, freedom and dignity.

The Constitutional improvement remains as an event of gradual development until today, but part of a major milestone carried out in France. The French Constitution of 1791 is the moment where the formation of the constitutional regime ends, since for the first time the system of legal and political organization acquires a character of Universality: all free people should be governed by a written constitution.

From these events it begins to spread around the world all these principles, and begins a period of independence which States would establish its own constitutional norms, although the practical application of rights in each country depends much on your ideological-politic position and the state of development it has. What should not be confused is that all of these described events are based on the freedom of individuals to organize a public power that allows them to meet the state end that is to seek the common good.

Thus it was born the essence of the rule of law that proves to be the result of this process where Law is enshrined in the Constitutions and geared to defend the freedom

of individuals and their rights, achieved by the submission of the individual and the State itself to the "Law or Rights". In this process they are clearly outlined all the duties of the Government, legal limits are set and the system of freedoms is guaranteed. Its purpose is to channel the political and social activity of the State by the law, so that the effectiveness of the order along with the guarantee of individual freedom is ensured, through the balance and harmony between the two factors.

In this context and to date worldwide, States have been building their independence on the basis that the people are sovereign giving rise to the term democracy. With democracy people have decided directly or representatively all their leaders and submit them to the rule of law that has a very important feature: the division of powers. On this points Fabian Corral explain very clearly: Democracy, stripped of serenity, tolerance and rationality, it may be a system of domination, abuse and persecution (...) Democracy without rule of law, without preset limits to power, without accountability, is no guarantee of personal freedoms or level of what someone called "political happiness"³.

With these points cleared we part to the second aspect of this introduction, which is the practical evolution of these concepts in the world political system. The following infographic compiled by Dr. John T. Rourke details our linear story. The important thing here is the theoretical and scientific categorizations of certain periods of time were he describes the evolution of our global political system to help us put this study in its corresponding time-space.

³ Cfr.CORRAL B., Fabian, "Fundamentalism" in El Comercio, Quito, 16-OCT-2006, P.1.4.

Infographics # 1. Changing global political system. Source: International Politics on the World Stage by: John T. Rourke.

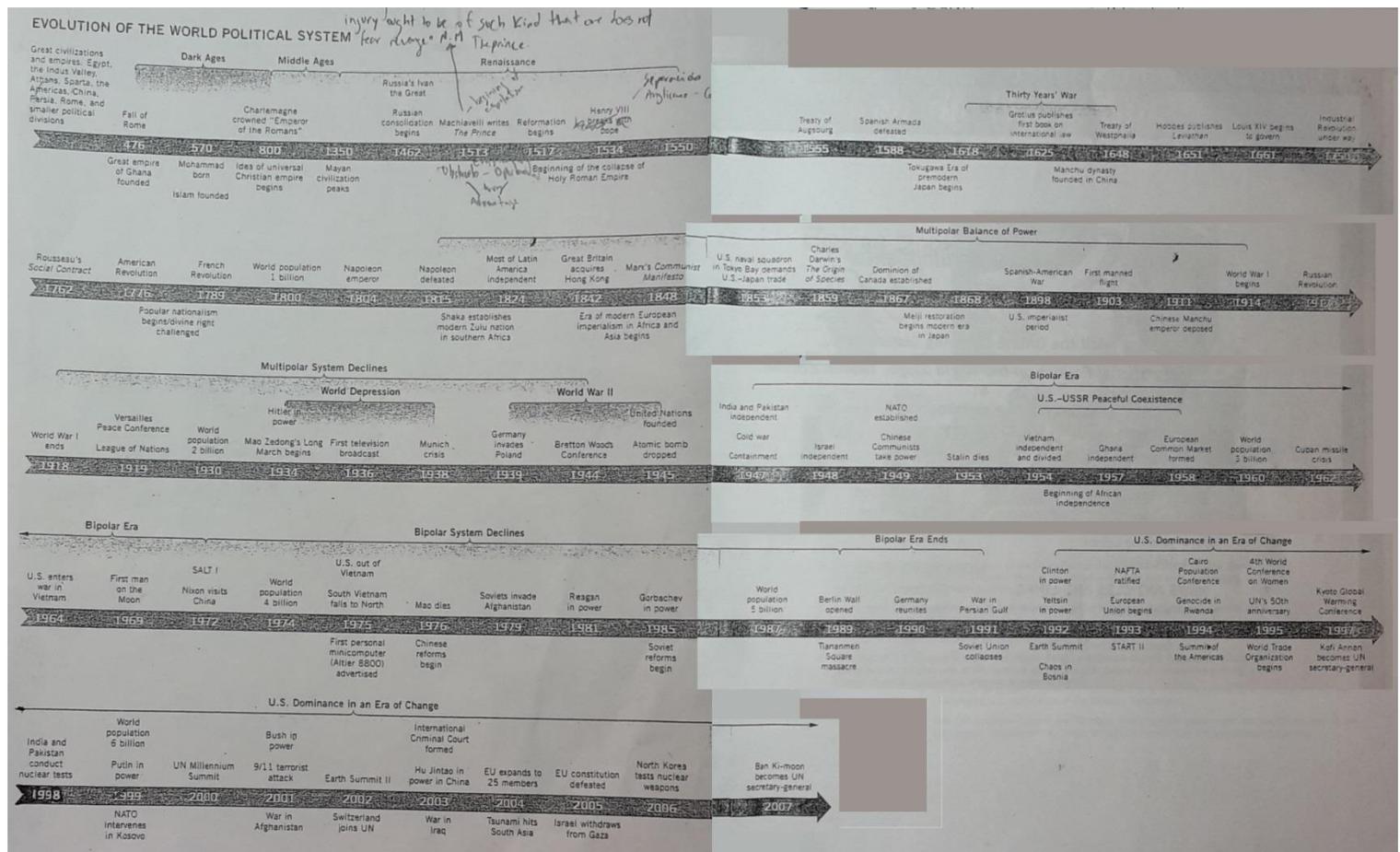


Illustration 1 Evolution of the world political system.

This infographic helps to present this study by the era in which we currently find ourselves in the actual world political system. It had a clear Western dominance now, but we are facing the beginning of the Era of Change. This timing was a result of all the successes and failures of our common history, the constant class struggle between power and resistance that now is confronting more than ever the questions than need some informed answers on what is the right way to build the state that can fulfill its primary goal: to provide all its members a common *wellbeing*.

This era of change invites us to question current realities in which we live, because in some way or another we have seen a dominance of power without any serious identification. Today we can mention that this power predominance is situated in the

following forms: capital accumulation, human alienation, exploitation of our natural environment by not using removable means, inequality protected under some rule of law states forms, that has generate a pressure for new cultural doctrines in emergence of a single economic reality capable of living with the development of the States: neoliberalism. Against this topic people been discussed widely, from the very creation of the Communist Manifesto in 1848, the problem of excessive accumulation of capital and its social repercussions today are more than ever are visible. The socioeconomic Schools emerged like the laissez faire until 1929, subsequent interventionism until 1945, or the development theories of modernization (structuralist theory) undertaken by Latin American countries in the eighties based on the Washington Consensus, have all served as a patch to neoliberalism difficulty to provide a global wellbeing. In addition, countries such as Ecuador for example did not have a Marshall Plan rescue that may have allowed some guidance to focus on creating the welfare state as in the case of all European countries. In any case, the important and central of all this is no economic theory is really concerned to adapt into the new challenges of our globalized reality (cultures) and its impact on individuals facing issues such as overpopulation, food, and pollution (Hall, 1972).

Those reasons and more over in the followings chapters have served to support new forms of democracy (or political participation) emerging every day in countries seeking a positive and fair change. It is in this context that The Good Living and The Third Way raise to transcend concepts like capitalism and socialism, in order to propose a scheme of thoughts into new constructive policies. Therefore, helping find the best way to adapt a social and political model that conforms with the fundamental challenges of recent decades.

1.2 The Good Living, Theoretical Determinations and background.

The Good Living is a principle of constitutional law that has been crystallizing since 2007 after a long process of a polycentric⁴ public action in Ecuador. Jean Thoening described public action as “the process in which: contemporary societies define and rank collective problems and to develop responses, politic content and a processes to address them”.

⁴ a process involving various actors positioned at various levels with different logics of action. (Manosalvas, 2014)

At that time the political reforms emerge as Ecuador's response to solve the problem with neoliberalism creating a new political, legal and natural contractuality. Which currently has many *implications*, but started from the formation of a new government that launched a series of measures like: return the State's role in defining a national strategy to recover the stewardship capacity of ministries in the definition of all the sectoral public policies. (Manosalvas, 2014). Initially this group of government called "The Socialist of the XXI Century" together with other partners worked to redefine the problem of development, hence giving birth to the first major document called National Development Plan which sought primarily establishing conceptual and methodological ruptures "with both real socialism and neoliberalism". The term The Good Living was still not present until economist Alberto Acosta wrote a new document called: Government Plan of *País* Movement for 2007 to 2011. The great first step for the radical transformation of Ecuador, because a new country is possible!". That document was accompanied by a movement that integrated some social demands to form a Constituent Assembly. In addition to mentioning the word "The Good Life" the document also provisionally met the formulations of "The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on human development and many references to the Theory of Capabilities by Amartya Sen summed up like this: freedom can truly be enjoyed if a person can choose from among the different life forms the one they have more reason to value (Amartya , 1997).

When the Constituent Assembly was installed it drafted the new Constitution in November 2007. It was explicitly sought that all the initiatives contained in the NDP written by Alberto Acosta must be translated into laws and norms in order to seek and create a national development strategy. Inhere the issue of development had an unprecedented centrality in our Constitution becoming its unique character.

It is in this context (of creating strategies against the development) that issues like "The Good Life and Sumak kawsay" are introduced as the objective of this polycentric public action. Also, creating a set of rights called The Good Living Regime. Once approved the Constitution of 2008, a second plan was set called the National Plan for The Good Living (PNBV) containing references of human development translated into The Good Living and keeping all the seniors values of the capabilities mentioned above (Manosalvas, 2014)

From that same moment is that The Good Living and Sumak kawsay become political instruments of public action in Ecuador, and we entered as a country to *their* development view based on implementing a series of policies and laws of Good Living discussed throughout this document. The important thing to understand this theory is

that we can start from its creational milestone, and now try to explain the origin and evolution of the term until today. Subsequently, we will analyze its main principles from its approach to rights and their economic, political, and social impact. It is important to contrast the differences that arise primarily with our previous Constitution of 1998, which will allow us to highlight various legal, economic, individual and community aspects to build the foundation for a comparative analysis. In addition, it is important to quote Dr. Manosalvas when it comes to this issue with the following qualifier: "The Good Living seems to unify a series of reformulations made in the last thirty years from certain learnings and criticism of development".

Today, nearly a decade later we can put into perspective and issue as important as this.

1.3 The Good living or Sumak Kawsay, Origin and meaning.

1.3.1 The Good Living

The Good Living is a very controversial term in the Ecuadorian political action. To refer to this we should mention its source, because being a "clumping of many learnings" and "a shared social goal", several fronts were involved in its creation, definition, and evolution. In this way we can contrast the official version adopted by the State, politically executed for almost a decade, compared to the definitions that were lagged behind in the discussion.

The term "Good Living" is defined officially in 2009 with the National Plan for Good Living. This document announces that it is a "paradigm shift" in step from "development to the good living" (SENPLADES, 2009). It is defined as the following: "the satisfaction of needs, achieving quality of life and a dignified death, to love and be loved, the healthy flourishing of all the people, with peace and harmony with nature, and the indefinite extension of human cultures ". Furthermore it notes that the good living: "presupposes [...] that freedom, opportunities, capabilities and real potentialities of individuals must expand and flourish so that we could simultaneously achieve what society, territories, the various collective identities, and the individual [...] value as a desirable life objective [...] ". The Good Living required to "rebuild the public [...] to prosper the possibility of reciprocity and mutual recognition, thereby enabling the self-realization and the construction of a shared social future" (Ramírez, 2008: 387 cited in PNBV, 2009 : 10).

In this process "The Good Living" by Bruno Jobert is consecrated in function of being a referential for public action. Referential is understood like "institutionalized cognitive

frames", as they are produced from the power sphere as a function for hegemony. This view is responsible for preferably inform any policy decisions. (Jobert, 1987)

That's why in the conceptual origin within the official discourse is comparatively observed by Dr. Manosalvas and we can mention that: As comparatively observed the most conceptual definitions of The Good Living have several common points with the list of basic capabilities of Nussbaum and with a good focus of Sen, to the point that one could hardly considered they are different paradigms. The subsequent reflections of Sen and Nussbaum on common welfare and justice come to identify their content with a set of basic rights that every society "is able to recognize and guarantee" (Nussbaum, 2007: 87; Sen, 2010: 387).

In this context it becomes clear that what is at stake in the discussion of the Good Living are the rights of all Ecuadorians. It is therefore important to identify the guarantees and responsibilities that come with the rights of the good living, identifying the most important changes facing with examples of our previous Constitutions, and with the Andean comparative law.

1.3.2 The SUMAK KAWSAY

Prior to 2008 no political text in Ecuador had the word Sumak Kawsay as a political objective. However, two important factors have allowed the construction of this term. On one hand, at that time there was a strong environmentalist current that argued we must recognize nature as a subject of rights, within it Norman Wray exposed the need to search for "other knowledge and practices to overcome the previous paradigm" (Wray, 2009). On the other hand, in the Andean context the Bolivian initiative of Qamaña Sumac (live well) emerges an alternative to the development vision and from this would be born an indigenous stream of thought that seeks to link the principles and values of the Andean Cosmivision to the regime created in Ecuador. The goal is to find non-capitalist economic practices, organized forms of exchange based on subsistence, and the reproduction of life under the principles of solidarity, complementarity and reciprocity (Leon, 2009).

This indigenous thought has its main epistemological root in the conception of life as the basis for all the rationality of the social organization. In this case life would equal Kawsay, so these terms are the ultimate existential category referred as a quality of everything that exists in nature. (Estermann, 1998). The importance of this intellectual fact is it gives born new concepts such as plurinationality and multiculturalism within the State. In the textual words of Dr. Manosalvas "They suspend the existence of a

universal reason to establish a dialogue on epistemic equality between different visions and ways of interpreting the world".

Esterman (1998) explains well this fact about the Andean cosmovision and the values that organize the society against all related to Kawsay or Life:

"The basic entity of Andean thought is not the substance (being) but the relationship; within it the principal rector of the Andean logic is relationality. The reality is of multiple character and its apprehension materializes only through the interrelationships. A separate individual is an abstraction. The Andean dignity lies in its involvement with the existential whole within which it is performed as relational node or *chakana*. The principles governing these relations are correspondence, complementarity and reciprocity (Garcia et al, 2004: 165; Estermann., 1998: 114-123). There are several institutions such as the *tinkui*, *minka*, *ayni*, the *maki purarina*, the *yanaparina*, the *pakta kausay* [sic.] that the Andean community base and regulate their social and economic relations on these principles whose mechanisms and practices give meaning to the community life (Kowii, 2009: 3-4; interview 7). The community is the continent of all social life from which it thinks on all the political and economic organization. While *paccha* is the space-time-order of all existential, *pacha* is the common basis of physical and spiritual reality, the essential basis of relatedness in the interrelated cosmos. The perception of time is marked by renewal cycles of *pacha* and for the present of the past in the present (Margarita Manosalvas 114 • 2014 • ICONS 49 pp. 101-121). The future is the return "to the land without evil" is the restitution of all the cosmic order (Estermann, 1998: 143-145, 185-187) " (Manosalvas, 2014).

This fact contrasted by Dr. Manosalvas enables us to observe that the concepts between Good Living and *Sumak Kawsay* have important differences on the rights born from them.

The importance of identification and differentiating these concepts is that will it allow us to develop this thesis contrasted with the individual and community rights raised through the development and evolution of our Constitution, the PNDV and ENLP developed within Ecuador since 2008. Consequently, form the basis for testing this theory against various forms of political participation generated worldwide.

1.4 The Good Living / Sumak Kawsay: The constitution, GLNP and LTNS.

1.4.1 The 2008 Constitution.

It is of great importance to start a thorough analysis of the changes generated by this new constitutional body in terms of interpreting their theoretical and practical challenges, in order to understand their base principles on the creation of a new way to understand Rights and Guarantees.

Our constitution was born from a call to build a kind of visibility to people who are in a more vulnerable position, and it parts fundamentally from changing certain principles of the Law and Guarantees. To understand this issue, this document details the Law in in the 2008 Constitution against: The principles of Rights Application, the classification of rights, and nature rights. And the Guarantees in the constitution 2008 against: The normative and judicial guarantees. These Ecuadorian constitutional developments are necessary to compare and contrast against any other theory, referring mainly to the most important doctrinal points written by Ramiro Avila Santamaria over this classification.

1.4.1.2 Rights.

Within the Law it is important to understand that it is governed by *principles* that are legal norms of the contemporary constitutionalism, characterized by ambiguity and amplitude in their application, essential to fill the loopholes and solve the contradictions manifested in the legal system. (Ávila Santamaría, 2012) Every state needs them to be guided and confront the realities of their environment.

The 1998 Constitution established that the highest duty of the state is to respect and enforce the Rights (art. 16), Rights are guaranteed to all without discrimination (art. 17), human rights are of direct and immediate application, interpreting it to the most favorable realization of human rights, that it must not be demanded any requirements or conditions not established in the Constitution and the law for its exercise (art. 18), that the recognized and guaranteed rights are those mentioned in the Constitution, in the international conventions on human rights and others derive from the nature of people (art. 19), finally that the state is responsible for its non-compliance or

disrespect (arts. 20 to 22). The Constitution of 2008 includes all these principles of 1998 plus extending it over new principles and contents. (Ávila Santamaría, 2012)

In an overall view this improvement puts Ecuador in the forefront of constitutionalism against its former constitution and also against other countries in the Andean region. The following list allows identifying the new principles of Ecuador and their explanations are a doctrinaire source from professor Ramiro Aviles Santamaria:

- Rights ownership.
- Active legitimation for enforceability.
- Equality and discrimination prohibition.
- Rights and Guarantees are of direct application.
- Every Right is justiciable.
- Prohibition of normative restrictions.
- The most favorable application.
- Rights essential characteristics.
- Rights sources.
- Progressivity.
- The retrogression prohibition.
- The State responsibility

1.4.1.2.1 Right's Ownership

In Ecuador is considered a conceptual advance the no distinction between the individual ownership of rights or the collective ownership rights in the 2008 Constitution. (Ávila Santamaría, 2012) The 1998 Constitution divides the collective rights (explicitly indigenous and environmental rights) from the individual rights creating a dichotomy in the classification. This prevents that an indigenous right or an environment right may be required by an individual dimension, on the contrary an individual right cannot be required at the collective level. The important thing is that the 2008 Constitution breaks with this tradition in the scheme that all human rights have an individual and collective dimension called the fundamental rights. "Individuals, communities, people, nationalities and collectives are right holders and shall enjoy of their rights..."

1.4.1.2.2 Active legitimation for enforceability.

This principle tells us that when rights are violated they materialize through the enforceability people has. The Active Legitimation in the Constitution of 1998 was characterized as "subjective" understood as that only the victims who suffer violation of

rights can claim. In the 2008 Constitution the active legitimation is popular understood as anyone can intervene on behalf of another person or a community.

1.4.1.2.3 Equality and discrimination prohibition.

The Constitution of 2008 recognizes all international protocol to distinguish from the equal to the discriminatory treatment. It lists all the criteria that can discriminate and expressly forbidden so that any of these can restrict the enjoyment and exercise of rights. In Ecuador regarding this principle: there is a formal equality, a material equality, it conceptually defines discrimination, it lists the prohibited categories and it opens the possibility of taking affirmative action.

1.4.1.2.4 Rights and Guarantees are of direct application.

"The rights and guarantees established in the Constitution and in the international human rights instruments shall be directly and immediately applicable by or any public servant, an administrative or judicial server, in roles or upon request". Here it breaks with the ordinary tradition that states that only the judge must apply the law as it is look through the norm to limit any person who is in a position of power. In other words the direct application of rights in the Constitution 2008 does not required any intermediation of some authority to invoke compliance with a norm or right. Any excuse of lack of law or regulation to excuse oneself to comply a right, commonly present in a bureaucratized state, have no place.

1.4.1.2.5 Everything Right is justiciable.

The 2008 constitution recollect as in the doctrine and jurisprudence that every right is justiciable.

1.4.1.2.6 Prohibition of normative restrictions.

The 2008 constitution expressly states and recognizes that "No rule of law can restrict the content of the rights and the constitutional guarantees." It is making a direct relation between three important elements: The supremacy of the constitution, the pro homine principle and the principle of progressivity. This is a characteristic that only the Ecuadorian constitution of 2008 has.

1.4.1.2.7. The most favorable application

The 2008 Constitution quotes that: "In terms of constitutional rights and guarantees, the public servants, and administrative or judicial officials will apply the norm and its interpretation that favor the most their effective validation." This principle means there can be two norms applicable to the same situation or case, and there are two possible interpretations for the same norm. The important thing is that the norm and the interpretation that must be applied is the one that more effectively promotes the exercise of rights.

1.4.1.2.8 Rights essential characteristics.

This principle reflects very important and inspiring for the rights characteristics.

Textually the Constitution provides that "all the principles and rights are inalienable, inalienable, indivisible, interdependent and of equal rank."

1.4.1.2.9 Rights sources.

In the 1998 Constitution the sources of human rights are three: (1) Constitution, (2) international instruments of human rights and other rights derive from human nature (natural law). In the 2008 Constitution, however, adopts the formula that the enunciation of rights in the above sources "shall not exclude other rights under the dignity of individuals, communities, people and nationalities necessary for its development". Therefore, the sources in Ecuador are: the constitution, treaties, softlaw, and the open clause (dignity and nature).

1.4.1.2.10 The regressivity prohibition.

The 2008 Constitution incorporates two important principles in the general theory of human rights: the principle of progressivity and non-regressivity for all the rights therein. Our constitution is an innovation because according to law tradition the economic, social and cultural rights were only consider as of progressive development in contrast to the civil rights that were of immediate enforce. As for the prohibition of regressivity, it is a fundamental principle of progressivity understood as the prohibition of retracing the path under the stablish conditions for the effective enjoyment of human rights. It states: "to be unconstitutional any act or omission of regressive decrease that decrease or deny the exercise of rights".

1.4.1.2.11 The State responsibility.

This principle has reference to the limits of state responsibility. In these sense our Constitution states that: the highest duty of the state is of strict liability, repetition and accountability for any violation to an effective protection.

The highest duty of the state has been an evolving topic. Initially at the early state era its highest duty was to fulfill the will of the sovereign authority. In the liberal state (1998 Constitution) the duty was to comply with the law. In contrast to the 2008 Constitutional that open up its duties: it is to respect and enforce the rights guaranteed in the Constitution. "

Our constitution also mentions a strict liability meaning that the State must respond and repair when there is damage, therefore, differing from the subjective responsibility in which only an individual person can respond to prove that there is fraud or negligence.

Repetition is meant as the ability of the State to obligate itself to investigate and punish the public agents who caused any right violation, so that the guidelines of the international law principles of human rights are followed when a State is expressly sanctioned. This sentence manifest that States must investigate and punish those who caused the violation with the subsequent responsibility of the State.

Finally, regarding the violation to the effective protection this can be considered as the effective protection of rights. If a person has suffered the violation of any right, the state has the obligation to provide a simple, fast and effective repair resource. The 2008 Constitution exemplifies some violations that may result in the use of this privileged protection tool: arbitrary detention, judicial error, unjustified delay, improper administration of justice, violations of any principles and rule of the due process, revocation of conviction sentence and, in general, any violation to an effective judicial protection.

Overall we can summarize that all these principles are part of constitutional newness evolution. It includes doctrine principles that have been widely recognized in the international human rights instruments. For these reasons we must qualify our constitutionalism as a “Guarantor State” as we have the purpose to alter the reality with all this guarantees with a State clear determination: fulfill and protect rights. Therefore, these principles and rights are a tool to building a decent life in which it is performed and enhances The Good Living.

1.4.1.3 Classification of rights.

Rights have been internationally classified for political issues in particular at the Cold War era. On the one hand the US proclaimed civil and political rights (which can be sued in a court) and on the other hand the USSR proclaimed economic, social and cultural rights (progressive rights that cannot be justiciable). The pacts within The Inter-American human rights system ratify this vision with the Pact of San Jose (Civil and Political Rights) and the Protocol of San Salvador (Economic, social and cultural rights). Here Gerardo Pissarello states that: The result was that we had first generation rights that were of top category, and third generation rights that were of ultimate importance.

In this context, the 2008 Constitution wanted to avoid a classic classification and rather try to have a classification that avoids setting ranges or differences between rights. Therefore it creates seven new categories based on the individual and collective rights: the good living rights, individuals' or prior attention groups' rights, community, people

and nationality rights, participation rights, freedom rights, nature rights and protection rights.

This new classification of rights will not be explained in the development of this document since the only purpose is to explain its main source. However, it will consider the rights of nature and some of the principles explained above as pillars of this comparative study.

1.4.1.4 The rights of nature.

The most important new feature of the 2008 Constitution is the recognition of nature as a rights holder, an unprecedented event for global and Latin American constitutionalism. This perspective was born from the vision of Alberto Acosta and Esperanza Martínez who were the masterminds of nature constitutional recognition taking into account all attacks against our *Gaia*: global warming, environmental pollution, desertification, flooding, overpopulation, food and the constant pressure to our natural resources.

The nature rights enshrined in the 2008 Constitution invite us to rethink our paradigm from a holistic life perspective where Eduardo Gudynas has called this as biocentric. Nature is a universal element that it auto regulates and corresponds itself, it interrelates, and has reciprocal relationships, so its protection should be obvious.

The nature rights are a constitutional contribution to open new ways and theories to find greater legal foundations of theoretical development. A clear example of this are the writings of Josef Estermann called Andean Philosophy where he exposes some principles of Sumak Kawsay (not the good living!) that are the source for this contribution: relationality, correspondence, complementarity and reciprocity.

Relationality: Is a principle which defines the holistic view of life. Everything is interrelated, paired and connected between living, nonliving beings and nature. Without nature no existing human being could exist, therefore, changing our knowledge methodology of categories compartmentalization. Thus nature needs our protection.

Correspondence: This principle implies a mutual and bidirectional correlation between two elements, manifested at all levels and in all aspects of life. This principle breaks the Western structure of cause and effect based on a verifiable and logic explanation between reality and the rational explanation. For the Andean philosophy this Western logic is not the only way of understanding the world and any scientific knowledge. Its

way in compound by: the symbols, rituals, celebrations and holistic affectivities. These ways of thinking are difficult to understand from the Western world.

Complementarity: This principle refers that all entities coexist as one. One element always depends on all other elements to be considered a complement with harmony. In this sense heaven and earth, sun and moon, true and false, male and female, human and nature cannot exclude each other, but rather complement each other to establish itself as an integral entity.

Reciprocity: This principle is the practical way to interact all the principles briefly mentioned above. Whenever a human act or phenomenon is performed a reciprocal act is manifested as a complementary contribution. The Andean philosophy understood that every human action has a cosmic significance and is part of a universal whole unlike Western thought that is profoundly individualistic defending the autonomy and freedom to make decisions.

Then nature is a universal element that complements, corresponds, interrelate and has reciprocal relation so it is obvious we need to be protected it. To do not means altering or neglecting the interrelations between the elements of life. (Ávila Santamaría, 2012)

1.5 The PND and its evolution to PNBV and ENLP.

The National Development Plan was an important document at the time of establishing the constituent assembly in 2008. It is based on the theory of capabilities by Amartya Sen, and one of the major approaches was to objectively translate it into Ecuadorian laws and achievement policies calling it a new national development strategy. This plan did not have written yet any of the concepts of Good Living or Sumak Kawsay, but our constitution (as any in history) is giving a much central to the issue towards development. In that context, a few years later the bolivian example help introduce in Ecuador the terms of Good Living and Sumak Kawsay. (Manosalvas, 2014)

When the Constitution 2008 get approved a second plan called the National Plan for Good Living came into existence. The difference is that in here the senianas formulations were translated into the language of Good Living. The novelty is that it also creates the Long-Term National Strategy (LTNS) whose objective is changing Ecuador production model. This strategy refers to four successive stages in which Ecuador would change from been a primary export economy to become a bio-knowledge society. (Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, 2013) Basing the 4 step process on the 1960 statements of the well-known economist Rostow called the economic growth stages. This concepts are jewels of the structuralism and modernization theory, which focuses primarily on identifying certain key strategic sectors to invigorate in order to

give the entirely economy more potential, therefore, refereeing to the stage known as "take off" that is characterized by increases in consumption, industries, urban planning, technology, major exports with high added value, etc. Plus an additional economic issue for the Ecuadorian environment will be configured: the selective import substitution.

According to Rostow to achieve "a profitable transition" the State must first apply "fast changes of highly productive effect over the available resources: land and natural resources". Bad we could affirm that this statement followed in the Ecuadorian LTNS would take the country to the Good Living or Sumak Kawsay manifested in many principles and nature rights. . However Dr. Manosalvas help us details important differences described below:

(...)as distinctive elements with respect to the Rostowian scheme its observed, first, that: the LTNS is justified by their redistributive effect in the first stage through policies aimed at meeting the basic needs of the population; (...) Instead, in the Rostowian version it was assumed that the generation of productive employment itself has a distributive effect. The modernizing orthodoxy assumed further that the knowledge and technology to drive the transformation of the so called "underdeveloped" countries, came from outside. The LTNS seeks to build those capabilities in the medium term by improving the quality of education; this sector has had allocated most public resources. The reform of all universities aims to "human capital formation" especially in "strategic careers that the development of the country requires" and combines gratuity criteria, relevance to the production model and meritocracy. The reform also includes the provision of credits and scholarships for students of "high performance" to go study in "the best universities of the world." This reform is considered "fundamental for the productive model transformation" since in this view it assumes that "human talent [...] will take us out of poverty, underdevelopment and mediocrity" (Senplades, 201: 13; interviews 2 and 6 ; Correa, 2012). (Manosalvas, 2014)

This is how the bases for the theory of the good living are configured. But who finally clarifies the main concept of good living / Sumak Kawsay and its constitutional impact is Pablo Dávalos (Dávalos, 2014). For him with the Sumak Kawsay was also born a plurinational state and the principle of multiculturalism. (pág. 251)These two essential elements are crucial because with them the political praxis of transformation of Sumak Kawsay is formed, giving the possibility that peripheral societies recover their identities with the recovery of the material and the spiritual factor. Moving away from the current paradigm of development these societies can build new forms of production, distribution and consumption. In the case of Ecuador a new vision of nature opens up creating the epistemology that allows society itself to be responsible of the ways in which produces and reproduces his conditions of existence, from the ethics where my welfare depends on the rest.

1.6. The Third Way

1.6.1. Theoretical background

The third way was born as an example of the claim that the left parties had in the US and England in the nineties, specifically with examples of the presidencies of Bill Clinton and Tony Blair with their political allies⁵. Inhere a new long-awaited idea emerged for renewing social democracy and fighting for social justice. Ultimately they realized that we are living a complete social transformation. A prime example of this was the change from manufacturing economies to the technological and information economies. The third way refers to a framework of thought and policies formulation that seek to adapt the old left or social democracy with a world of dramatic change, a problem that must be solved equally between the government, market, state and citizens. Within this framework the policies of the third way born as well as its principles of governance, and examples of how countries are organizing themselves to combine social solidarity with a dynamic economy.

1.6.2. Principles of the Third Way: The five dilemmas.

The third way theory of Anthony Giddens (2001) comes from the idea of renewing social democracy, since according to the author; the struggles for social justice since the Marxist era have not had any good result. We remain a world of great inequalities, so the political left must be upgraded to the new times by rethinking and renewing new policies.

For this, the author has raised five major dilemmas that understanding them fully will help us understand where the theoretical and conceptual approaches of the third way are born as alternatives to the problems of capitalism. (Giddens, *La tercera vía y sus críticos*, 2001)

The first dilemma is globalization. According to the author, globalization confronts us with a serious of complex range processes managed by a political and economic influence that is changing radically our daily lives. Examples are the continuing economic events that show a significant increase in the volumes of goods exported between countries from 1911 to the present, where more and more countries are involved in mutual trade arrangements. But the most important example is the expand role of financial markets, where in recent years monetary transactions are more than a trillion dollars a day, so the proportion of financial transactions related to trade in goods

⁵ Anthony Giddens develops as a statesman sociologist who helps the emergence of these political parties and their respective alliances guiding their actions.

has grown by a factor of five over the last fifteen years. (Held, 1998)The crisis of 2008 and its overall impact is an example of global economic interdependence, but also of how it is transforming the time and space in our own lives, as distant events today, whether economic or not, affect us more directly and immediately than ever. This globalization process cannot work without its link to the communications revolution and the spread of different information technologies. This process is changing and transforming society institutions, especially since the nation-state start to go into the background, as it begins to feel the entrance of the "new individualism".

The new individualism is our second dilemma, in short it is associated with the retirement of the traditions and customs of our lives, a phenomenon implicated with the impact of globalization. According to sociologist Ulrich Beck, this corresponds to the invitation that people has to constitute themselves as individuals: to plan, understand and be designed as such. This does not mean that we are in an era of moral decay, but rather we must face this issue as an era of moral transition. It is at stake that people can live in a more open and thoughtful space than our previous generations, all in order to find new ways to produce social solidarity. The key issue is to find a new balance between individual and collective responsibilities today, and so press for majority democratization.

The third dilemma is the distinction between Right and Left. Since the distinction between right and left started in the eighteenth century, it has remained ambiguous and difficult to clarify, but it stubbornly refuses to go away. Its meaning has also changed over time, but the important and fundamental are the ideas of the Italian political philosopher Norberto Bobbio, who argues, that there should be a criterion for this distinction and it must be based on the attitude of a person or party towards equality. In his words we can sum it up as that the ideas of equality and social justice are fundamental to the prospects of the new left parties.

The fourth dilemma corresponds to the political agendas of states. The state as we know it today is of vital importance to our society and has no known replacement. Governments exist to: provide the means for representing diverse interests, provide a forum to reconcile the competing demands of those interests, create and protect a public sphere open to debate without restrictions, providing a variety of public goods including some forms of security and collective welfare, regulate markets that are of public interest and encourage competition where monopolies threats, safeguard social peace through the control of the means of violence and effective vigilance, promoting the active development of human capital thru the education system, sustain an effective system of law, have a direct economic role as the major employer and as a

micro and macro interventer, provide infrastructure, have a civilizing goal because if the government reflects the values and standards generally accepted it can also help give them a better shape through the education system or by other means, finally, to foster regional and transnational alliances to meet global targets.

Markets cannot replace the government in any of the areas previously discussed, neither can replace them any social movement or any NGO emerged in recent decades. In general we must encourage the main function of the State that is to reconcile the divergent demands of special interest groups, in practice and in law, so it is vitally important for the citizens to propose how must the government be rebuilt to meet the needs of the present time.

The last dilemma are all the environmental issues, the planet's natural resources are being consumed at an alarming rate, while the pollution that causes our consumption destroys the entire ecological balance on which the continuity of the natural cycle of life depends. Hence the need to rethink some fundamentalist principles of markets where there are no limits to growth, placing the ecology as a different polar with the market and its principles. It is essential for the current generation "to ensure the satisfaction of the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet theirs." This conclusion is part of the Brundtland Commission on Sustainable Development in 1987, but since we do not know what the needs of future generations will be or how the use of resources will be affected by technological changes, the definition of sustainable development is more of a principle than a precise formula. What is clear now is that we need to find solutions against pollution, and the only way to build a more friendly society environment is with the participation of government, business, environmentalists and scientists to cooperate in restructuring the capitalist economic policy along with more defensible environmental actions/policies. We must use all means so that technology and science can work together for the benefit of society to becoming it a political issue.

These five dilemmas, despite been briefly described individually, have a deep relationship with each other and together when we propose them as a description of the world system or the current reality. They form what is known as the risk matrix. According to Giddens, this risk must be understood as the ability to connect the autonomous individuality of the human being and the current environment with scientific and technological influence, thus making people sensitive about the dangers we face as a society, how we can address them, emphasizing the great opportunities that come along with them.

The Risk Matrix	
Opportunity	Innovation
Security	Responsibility

Table 1 Risk matrix according to Giddens.

Table No.1 briefly summarizes that one of the main concerns of the new politic is: who must assume responsibility for the future consequences of current activities, who must provide security if things go wrong, how and with what resources. According to the author, the theory of the third way is born as a positive commitment to risk, therefore, becoming a necessary component for social and economic mobilization to take it productively for the benefit of society as a whole.

For this reason is that the five dilemmas of the third way must be understood as an interconnected network that allows us place a safe and responsible social project to face this reality. A set of important values is given to allow us propose alternative policies of social benefit, which will be contrasted in the development of this work. The following Table No. 2 lists the values that should be attached to the risk to comply with the scheme presented by the program of the third way.

Third way values
Equality
Protection of the vulnerable
Freedom as autonomy
No rights without responsibility
No authority without democracy
Cosmopolitan pluralism
Philosophical conservatism

Table 2 Third Way Values.

In this way we can understand how the third way is facing this reality with policies determined by these values. They guide the actions of civil, state, and global clarifying certain transcendental issues to build a new society focused on achieving social goals that capitalism or the system has failed to deliver.

1.6.3 The Third Way Program Objectives

The dilemmas of the Third Way are the theoretical realistic base which allows us to propose the program able to find concrete policies and address certain important and current global issues of how we should (ideally / conceptually) change our society to an exemplary model able to build a strong base bridge that will lead a country to

"development "or at least that the most excluded social strata become a new class without exception, largely egalitarian.

The purpose is to show that currently we have the sufficient means to demonstrate transparency and efficiency in a social democracy. We need the motivation of citizens to understand the purpose of the third way, outlined in the following table, so we can help end many inequalities and help us play intelligently in this global environment.

Third Way Program Objectives
Radical political center
The new democratic state or state without enemies
Active civil society
The democratic family
The new mixed economy
Equality and inclusion
Positive social assistance
State as a social investor
The cosmopolitan nation
Cosmopolitan democracy

Table 3 The Third way program

Table No. 3 allows us to outline the topics covered in the policies of the third way, and through the example of certain social leaders, movements, political parties, alliances, countries and thinkers who in recent decades have enabled debates and discussions by example on how to deal with the devastating effects of inefficient and poorly distributed power. We must educate and make ourselves aware to lead a politically intelligent society that proposes policies from their very own reality.

To achieve this goal we present below the ideas contained in each of the topics of the third way program. It highlights will allow us to understand the main goals of this social program, and clarify their ideological and philosophical concepts in the context in which these ideas were developed.

The main purpose of this theory will be identified to be used as the basis for comparison and any other subsequent analysis with respect to other theories, or simply to be used as an understandable frame of reference for ideological application concepts.

1.6.3.1 The radical political center

Anthony Giddens (2001) presents a very comprehensive chronology of the historical political, ideological and practical means of nations, which will be analyzed from the perspective of three important views over issues that will allow us to propose the

definition of its radical political center. It will begin with the first vision called the death of socialism and its aftermath, allowing us to explore the need for the second view that responds to the environment called: the right or left dilemma; This leaves a scheme where the politics of fighting for a radical center becomes functional, raising the need to set certain parameters or third views stating that any social system must depart from these principles to propose policies against the general inequality faced by most of the citizens of this planet.

In general the first vision parts with an idea shared by many socialists after Marx: socialism is presented as the alternative that emerges to confront the limitations of capitalism in order to humanize it or completely overthrow him. The ultimate goal of the Marxist struggle was to create a system capable of delivering a society that can generate greater wealth than capitalism and spread wealth more equitably. (Giddens, *The Third Way, The renewal of social democracy*. 1999) According to Giddens, if socialism is dead now is precisely because all these claims have collapsed.

Part of the weaknesses of socialism is that its socialist economic doctrine underestimate the ability capitalism had to innovate, adapt and generate production growth. Similarly, socialism fails to grasp the significant role of markets as information mechanisms, where buyers and sellers gathered important data. These shortcomings were revealed with the progress of the globalization process in the world and the technological changes from 1970 onwards.

From this time the world of international politics was categorized into two major political philosophies: Neo-liberalism or free market, thanks to the approach of Friedrich von Hayek, and classical social democracy that emerged as a renewal of the dead of socialism. These two doctrines correspond to the second vision that allows us to identify the differences between right and left worldwide, and outlining some important issues regarding the generalities of each one described in the following table.

Classical Social Democracy	Neoliberalism
State participation over economic and social life	Minimum government
States dominance over civil society	Market fundamentalist
Collectivism	Moral authoritarianism, economic individualism
Keynesianism over demand and corporatism	Clean job markets
Limited paper to markets: mix or social economy.	Inequality acceptance
Full employment	Traditional nationalism
Strong egalitarianism	Welfare state as security net
Integral Welfare State	
Linear modernization	Linear modernization
Poor ecologic conscience	Poor ecology conscience
Internationalist order theory	Realistic international order theory
Bipolar word	Bipolar word

Table 4 Classical Social Democracy vs Neoliberalism

In general, classical social democracy sees market capitalism as the producer of many of the problematic effects diagnosed by Marx, but firmly believed that these can be overcome with state intervention on markets, because it needs to provide the public goods that markets cannot deliver. The similar case can be applied to family life where classical social democracy demands that the government should interfere in family life aspects, and act when citizens cannot defend themselves.

Social Democrats also pushed for the Keynesian approach that market capitalism can be stabilized by a specific demand management with the creation of a mixed economy. This is generally known as nationalizations were certain central industries of national interest should not be on private hands. Similar to this, the pursuit of equality resulted in a welfare state with two primary goals: first to create a more egalitarian society and second protect citizens throughout their life cycle.

In the long run social democracy does not have any hostile attitude towards ecological problems, but it finds it very difficult to accommodate them, because it has a corporate focus aimed at a full employment necessity and the overwhelming stress generated to the welfare state that is badly suited to cope in a systematic way any ecological problems. Nor does it have in practice a strong and global leadership perspective. Social democracy is internationalist in orientation by hoping to create solidarity among like-minded political parties, rather than confronting global problems as such. It is strongly linked to the bipolar world.

In general, neoliberalism has hostility to big governments; the role of the state is in constant skepticism, because if it expands it may become the enemy of freedom and independence. For neoliberalism, civil society is equal to a mechanism generator of social solidarity. In addition, if any virtue of civil society is allowed to act on their own, it is said the following values bloom: Good character, honesty and duty, self-sacrifice, honor, service, self-discipline, tolerance, respect, justice, self-improvement, confidence, civics, strength, courage, integrity, patriotism, consideration for others, economic saving and reverence.

For the neoliberalism it is the welfare state, not the markets, the reason for the destruction of civil order, because markets thrive on individual initiative. Like civil order if markets are left to act for themselves greatest goods are delivered to society.

Somehow, neoliberals tie together unfettered markets with the defense of traditional institutions, particularly the family and the traditional nation. There is not plenty of room for other types of family, or other types of nationalities, so that xenophobia is present in many of his speeches. They reserved some of his most severe restrictions for multiculturalism.

It could be summarized by saying that for neoliberals a society with market freedoms can create great economic inequalities, but these are not important as people with determination and ability can rise to positions that match with their abilities. In addition, all evils have one root: the welfare state, as this may cause problems in a growing market. This approach is accompanied by dismissing all ecological problems.

Unlike social democracy, neoliberalism is a globalizing theory contributing directly to the forces of globalization. As defenders of traditional institutions, like the nation, they adopt and take the realist theory of international relations, because the global society is conformed of nation-states and power is what really counts.

In short, we can compare the doctrines explained above and give account of some important contradictions. In the case of neoliberalism its two main roots: market fundamentalism and conservatism have a lot of tension. Conservatism means a cautious stance with a pragmatic approach to social and economic change. For conservatism, the continuity of traditions is a central idea because it contains the accumulated knowledge of the past that provides a guide to the future, but in contrast to free market philosophy it has a different attitude because its deposits its hopes on the future in an endless economic growth produced by the liberalization of the market forces.

Devotion to free markets on one hand and the traditional family/nation on the other are self-contradictory. The tradition must be intact when individualism and free choice are supposed to stop abruptly in the limits of national and family identity, but nothing dissolves more the traditional structures mentioned before as the permanent revolution of market forces. The dynamism of market societies undermines traditional structures of authority and fractures local communities. It creates new risks and uncertainties asking citizens to simply ignore them, also more important it ignores the social base of the markets themselves that rely on communal forms where market fundamentalism simply ignores.

With regard to social democracy, there are some social features that have gone unnoticed disintegrating it like this: First, There is an ambiguous definition of full employment as the social system is formed by a familiar way in which the husband is the manager and supporter and the wife duty is only for household responsibilities. Second, there is a homogeneous labor market where unemployed men are mostly manual workers willing to do any activity in order to ensure the survival of their families. In addition, there is a clear dominance of all the basic mass production sectors of the economy creating stable but poor labor conditions, therefore some social democracy practices creating elitists' states with small groups of experts' bureaucrats monitoring the politics to follow in very fiscal and monetary policy. In here are created national state economies as Keynesianism presumed the predominance of the national state economy over the private trade in goods and services. Finally, this egalitarianism type of the left or so called social democracy had its noble attempt, but has received very visible criticisms: rise in crime inside the state, and a welfare state increasing social problems instead of solving them.

It is important to analyze these doctrines, because capitalism has no opponent. Both doctrines are handled in the same paradigm of development as we do not know until where, and in what ways societies can adjust or change the structural base of this system. Society should govern and regulate this system, and not the contrary. The doctrinal differences developed in the study are problems of right or left concerns that must be overcome as these have nothing to do with any current problems of society, such as: ecology, or the changing nature of the family, our labor, cultural and personal identity. By overcoming the dilemma of left and right societies can focus on answering questions of the current problems through what Giddens considers Life Policies. These are connected to the emancipatory nature needed to address the inequalities of capitalism.

To overcome the left or right dilemma we must choose position at the center of the fight, not for opportunistic reasons but for a commitment to life policies. We must form a radical center, and create alliances that the socio democrats can wove from the bottom-up including the different strands of life diversity.

The radical term refers to the centrist political perception that demands a deep and fundamental reform of the institutions. The third way, as a political structure is not located in any of the polarities that are discussed (capitalism-communism). The radical is postulated as a genuine solution that requires certain emotional and idealistic pragmatism.

Under the leadership of Tony Blair the Labor Party of Great Britain called his new labor policy "radical centrism" in an effort to achieve the Government, as it were.

The third way seeks to rationalize, to the extent possible, and cover with its worthy "theoretical", the evolution of A. Blair, champion of New Labour, which strives to eradicate the remains of socialism in his party. (Almeyra, 2004, pág. 315)

Therefore, the radical center tries to move away from the traditional schemes of socialism and tries to redefine itself as an independent social force that gives new answers to the old socialist conceptions anchored in the radicalism.

1.6.3.2 The new democratic state or state without enemies

Today we must be aware that the State must always have a social function of integration. As in the radical political center of Giddens (2001), we must go beyond the rightist idea that government is the enemy, and the leftist idea that government is the answer to all society problems. The important thing to understand is that the state must be complete rebuilt including its governance and democratic bases. In general, one must recognize that the government need adjusting to the new circumstances of the global era to actively renew its authority and legitimacy.

In order to exist, the new democratic state or state without enemies must try to respond structurally to globalization, this means creating a strong impetus for restoring power down, and creating the means to decentralize power. Instead of creating the means to weak the authority of the nation-state society must create the conditions to reaffirm its authority, and become more sensitive to all influences that may put it into question their participation.

The state should consider a well comprehensive constitutional reform to expand the role of the public sphere towards greater transparency and openness, therefore introducing new means to fight corruption at all levels. Any change makes more sense in the public sphere if governments and citizens can live in a single information environment, so that existing forms of politics are under constant scrutiny, as well as widening the scope of what is considered as corrupt or inappropriate.

The state without enemies must raise its administrative efficiency and competitiveness at all levels, because governments are delegitimized when they show comfort and inefficiency. This must change because we live in a world where private organizations respond rapidly to changes and are more agile to function, so the government cannot stay behind over this flexibility of the private sector. Any government restructuring must take into account ecological principles like achieving more wealth with fewer natural resources, nevertheless meaning a downsizing on people's jobs but as improving the delivered value of products and services. Governments must learn from the private sector its ability to exercise controls, effective audits, flexible decision-making structures, and increasing employee participation as being an important factor for democratization. Reinventing government sometimes means adopting market-based solutions, but must also mean reaffirming the effectiveness of the government towards the markets.

Alongside with these issues, there is a need to find new ways to exercise democracy differently from the old Orthodox vote, because governments can now reestablish more direct forms of contacting citizens and vice versa. Democratic experiments can be: Direct local democracy, Electronic referendums, citizen's jury and other possibilities. These may not become substitute mechanisms of vote for central and local governments, but may become a complement to these in the policy making.

The state without enemies is born from the understanding of the risk matrix explained earlier in this chapter. A state that knows how to find their own opportunities is the primary need to exercise full governance management of their risk, because it generates a space to establish ethics and responsibility for the state actions. Not to mention it must also present any economic and security risks that science and technology can bring to the matrix in addition to the ethical "unknowns" of that discussion.

If we left the risk characterization of a country at the hands of experts or bureaucrats we will fail to achieve important social benefits in the light of starting first at the hands of public involvement. Although it is a complex issue that needs a fairly large

informatics schemes for different actors and committees to have their space for risk discussions, and reach conclusions to enrich the debate or as starting points for public policy proposals.

A new state must be raised from a cosmopolitan view where new values should be used such as: decentralization and devolution, transparency, effective management, direct democracy mechanisms, and a risk manager government.

1.6.3.3 Active Civil Society

For the existence of an active society the main duty of the state is to provide the means and space for the civil society to renew the fight for the civil culture of its citizenships. In order to reach this step it must start with a partnership between the state and the civil society as players and comptrollers in due time. We must stress that the word “community” here is to understand it not as an attempt to reconquer any lost forms of partnership or community solidarity, but rather as a practical pressure to achieve the means to promote social and material rehabilitation of neighborhoods, towns and larger local premises. It should give the space and the state resources required for low income communities to create their own local initiatives that integrate them best into society, and planning higher returns for the future. This assumes that for the renovation of the most disadvantaged local communities the economic enterprise should be encouraged as a means to generate a broader civic recovery. With the appropriate external support many local initiatives can reverse the processes strongly embedded by the capitalist decline.

Entrepreneurship and microcredit are strong evidence of effective means to encourage local economic initiatives. These activities can be developed by local licensed communities, and monitored by the government to ensure its success.

It is also necessary and important to have an open public sphere locally and nationally, as it is the way in which democratization is connected directly to the development of communities.

Society needs to rethink the meaning of civility for any regeneration in communities to materialize. Civility must be understood as the sum of the many sacrifices we are called to do for the sake of community coexistence, because if the distortive behavior of certain citizens in disadvantaged communities physically remove us from these spaces we are also retiring any functions of mutual support with other citizens giving away any social controls that might help maintain civility within the community. Crime

prevention and reducing the fear of crime are closely related to the regeneration of communities.

It is commonly known that most given civil activity occurs at the most affluent social strata, so one of the major concerns for government involvement should be to help repair the civil order between the affluent and the needy groups equaling opportunities for all social strata.

1.6.3.4 Democratic Family

The family is the basic institution of civil society for this reason policies regarding the family are key to foster this traditional core, and strengthen the ties between its members.

At the present time we could say we face a crisis in marriages as global statistics show that about half end in divorce, therefore unbalancing the most important institution of civil society which we must improve and strengthen through policies that reaffirm their ties.

We can identify several definitions of a traditional family that have existed especially since the 1950's onwards. The first definition born from the neoliberals that argued that the traditional family is disintegrating mainly because the sanctity of marriage has fallen, also they argued that marriage is the only alternative for men to be linked with their important duties and responsibilities. They argue that fatherless homes are the main cause of social problems, crime, teenage pregnancy, sexual abuse, domestic violence, etc. For these reasons divorce according to the traditional right should be difficult to obtain. Unorthodox Families (gays) should not have permission to marry, and also any support programs for single parents should be formed to remove its effects.

In contrast, the left presents the ideas of the contemporary family as a healthy proliferation. After all diversity and choice are the holy and the sign of today and should not be limited as to the family. We should accept that people can live happily without committing to the institution of marriage, just as gay couples should be able to raise children with the same capacity and competence as the heterosexual population, like giving the correct means mono parent families may be able to educate children with equal satisfaction that couples can.

Neither of these two visions is completely correct, because we as a society need to find values that help us have a stronger family bond, and construct the concept of the democratic family. In this case the family must be joint with the principle of equality, which is defining the family in a democratizing area where it combines individual

decisions with social solidarity. Democratization in the family area then means: equality, mutual respect, autonomy, decision making based on communication and freedom without violence. These same characteristics should be offered in the model of relations between parents and children, and also in non-heterosexual relationships.

How to ensure the ideal traditional family? Mainly ensuring and emphasizing a balance between autonomy and responsibility where positive forms of stimuli go hand in hand with other sanctions.

Protection of child care is the most important driver that should guide family policy.

Democratic family relationships involve shared responsibilities for the care of children.

Democratic family values: emotions and sexual equality, mutual rights and responsibilities in relationships, guardianship custody, parental lifelong contracts, negotiated authority over children, children obligation to parents, a socially integrated family.

1.6.3.5 The New Mixed Economy

The policies of the Third Way are committed to redefining the mixed economy as they have now two older versions of what this means. First we have the view that the private sector must be separate from the State, and with key industries in public hands. The second is a social market subordinated by the government. The redefinition of the new mixed economic must be born from a synergic environment between the public and private sector, where we can use market mechanisms with the public interest in mind. It involves several balances between regulation and deregulation of markets at transnational, national and local levels. It implies a balance between economic and non-economic life of society activities.

The policies of the Third Way towards the new mixed economy is a commitment to change the relationship between risk and safety (implicit in the welfare state) to develop a society of responsible risk takers in all public areas such as : government, private companies, and labor markets. In general, people should be protected when things are not going well, but it is equally important to develop the material and moral capabilities to move through the major periods of transition occurring in our daily lives.

It is important that some issues such as equality and freedom are carefully thought to avoid any conflict. It is not good to pretend that pluralism, equality and economic dynamism will always be compatible, or that high levels of inequality are functional to promote economic prosperity. In this case equality policies of the Third Way should be seen as a contribution to diversity, not as a barrier.

1.6.3.6 Equality and its meaning

We must overcome the only proposed model of equality based on the idea of equal opportunity and meritocracy. The model of equality necessary is to politically define equality as inclusion and inequality as exclusion. In the broad sense inclusion refers of citizenship, civil and political rights and obligations that all members of society must have. Furthermore, it relates to the opportunities and the participation of people in the public sphere.

We can highlight two forms of exclusion present in many societies. First, exclusion of people from the lower strata of society that are cut from the current opportunities that society offers. Second, it happens at the highest strata as a voluntary exclusion of public institutions. In order to become a more egalitarian society we must bet on inclusion with investment in high quality public education, sustain an excellent health system, promote safe public goods, and control crime levels.

Education and training should become the new mantras to meet the redistribution of possibilities.

An inclusive society must ensure the welfare of all, including the unemployed should have their basic support covert for their needs if they cannot work. We must recognize the wide diversity of objectives that life offers us.

1.6.3.7 Positive Welfare

The positive welfare state must be oriented to face the current new risks, especially those concerning technological change, social exclusion, and changes in the traditional family. It should not fall into mismatches as when the covered risks not meet the needs, and when the wrong groups are protected.

The positive welfare state should be an effective partner in the management of risks, it must take advantage of this positive parts of the risk and provide the necessary resources to take risks with inclusive social purposes. This positive welfare should be created not only at the governmental level, but rather started by individuals and their ability to contribute functionally to create more social wealth.

Many of these proposals may sound unlikely, but the main roads are investment in human capital whenever possible, and leave little by little investment in providing economic maintenance to citizens.

We must replace the term welfare state by the new welfare society, because some social investment strategies should be focused on rethinking certain issues regarding social security systems.

Let's propose an analysis like the provision of benefits to the elderly unemployment: In the case of the provision of benefits to seniors, it should start by asking ourselves the question: What does it mean to be seniors? And why changes in society affect the position of elderly people? Seniors presents opportunities and challenges for individuals and society, so we must begin knowing the problems of the elderly, and not thinking only on their economic benefits.

1.6.3.8 The state of social investment

The welfare state has had great contradictions. Many of these have generated assistance to people who have failed to take the advantage. The third way program defines a new positive welfare state characterized by being dynamic and sensitive to social trends.

The state of social investment must be oriented to face the current new risks, especially those concerning technological change, social exclusion, changes in the traditional family. It should not fall into mismatches as when the risks covered don't meet the needs, or when the wrong groups are protected.

The positive welfare state should be an operative partner in the effective management of risks. It must take advantage of the positive parts of the risk and provide the necessary resources to take it with inclusive social purposes only. This social investment state should be created not only at the governmental level, but rather started by individuals and their ability to functionally contribute the creation of more wealth.

Many of these proposals may sound unlikely, but the main roads are the investment in human capital whenever possible, and leave little by little investment in providing economic support/maintenance to citizens.

We must replace the term welfare state by the new welfare society, because the social investment strategies should be focused on rethinking certain issues regarding the social security systems.

In the case of the provision of benefits to seniors we should start asking ourselves the question: what does it mean to become seniors? And why new changes in society affect the position of elderly people? Seniors presents opportunities and challenges for individuals and society, so we must start by really knowing the problems of the elderly and not think in it economic benefits only.

1.7 Chapter Conclusions

In the previous chapter, we contemplated the concepts of The Good Living and The Third Way mentioning the relationship of its postulates.

First, we have described the historical background that led to the response of The Good Living over the differences and problems are resolved by our capitalist structure. We have described the main postulates of The Good Living and have made a detailed description from its constitutional point of view. We have also described the goals and targets set by the National Plan for The Good Living as a response of the constitutional mandates. The objectives described in the chapter are organized around three main axes: the change in power relations towards a fairer relationship; development of rights, freedoms and capabilities; and the economic transformation through a productive change.

Secondly, we have detailed the theoretical background of The Third Way. We have addressed its political, economic and ecological principles. We have also described the five dilemmas of the Third Way, and the social investment state. The analysis of the objectives of the Third Way program has made us understand that they have a strong correlation with the proposals of The Good Living such as: strengthening the capacities and potentialities of citizenship, and the construction of common spaces for meeting and strengthening the national identity, diversity, and multiculturalism.

CHAPTER 2 The Good Living and the Third Way against contemporary capitalism

2.1. Criticism to the capitalist system

Capitalism is a system based on the privatization of property as a production tool, therefore separating it from the state. In this system companies or individuals are carrying out the production of services and goods depending on a consumer market for the acquisition of wealth.

Today's global markets and their profitability have not been able to eradicate world poverty and its problems with the way we produce our goods. Within society we must create the ability to form tangible and intangible public goods that will allow us to integrate a society and compete intelligently in the many areas of development.

We have criticized that the greatest conflicts the capitalist system generates are the division and class struggle with reduced state intervention, or Liberalism. Mattick (2012) says that the struggle of social classes requires a revolutionary transformation with a classless society. Theoretically, the working class is in charge of production through basic wages that allow the accumulation of a large capital. The ruling class is in charge of accumulating capital, which also derives added value and family businesses. There is no equitable distribution of resources that allows the reduction of social classes.

For these reasons proposals like the Third Way and The Good Living exist, but at the end none of them irritate any concept of neoliberal orthodoxy in the world. Rather, they are associated with this discrepancy, and are not proposed to replace capitalism as a mode of production, or discredit the pre-eminent market position, or the state position as the best distributors of resources in the economy.

The financial crisis of 2008-2009 marked the death of the eighties neoliberalism, however it is very unlikely it led to the acceptance of the State in detriment of the market. The real predominance of neoliberalism over the past 30 years has been based not only on the remedies it imposed to national governments, but in their states that there is "no alternative" to the free markets in the era of global capitalism. Echoing the thesis of the "end of history" Francis Fukuyama argued that states have no choice but to be submitted to neoliberalism. (Cramme & Diamond, 2012, pág. 1)

Citing this example it is important that the invulnerability of global capitalism, the financial crisis that has affected the whole world, poverty, lack of food, all these facts have shaken the heart of institutions over the practices and beliefs of capitalism. It is important to create under this global environment plans that allow us to address these issues as a global society.

Explicit control must exist over capital when centralized and concentrated in certain groups that are monopolizing businesses and the state cannot interfere with or regulate their gains. For this reason, we need to evolve the first ideas about communism and socialism raised between the nineteenth and twentieth century, and adapt them to the new technological environment that can help build new forms of governance. Society has never before been so connected as today. We must understand that we are the ones how must participate in the distribution of capital, in proposing if raising the wages of the workers is suitable for all, how to improve our working conditions and our assistance to social security, and to define the policies to support the rights of citizens. Mattick (2012, pág. 3). In other words, these social currents would be in constant struggle against capitalism and the State, so we can propose different criteria and judgments over the need to defend ourselves from the capitalist system and inefficient governments.

To carry out social struggles Fernández (1999) says: States have to go through great internal socio-political confrontations, sometimes even stronger than those raised from the capitalist system, to unify and identify them together as one and not letting fall together into dictatorships, holocausts and injustices to maintain a regime and power. Therefore, any proposals and reforms of the XXI century need to start with strategic planning from the lower strata, and meet with the needs of a system where capital is not the only interest. Any reform that attempts to create better conditions need to start under the following axis: of humanity as an economic force, also it must be subject to oversight and transparency of information to society.

The need for a structural reform became evident throughout the great events that emerged from the mid-twentieth century, as were the conflicts in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, the Balkans, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the financial crashes at the late century to the last economic crisis in 2007 with the subprimes.

The clearest example is the Soviet society when rolling downhill, it started an economic and intellectual withering by the very exclusion they had because of its inability to respond to an international competitive and technological market. For this reason

Giddens says, Communism had its decline in 1991 resulting in the disintegration of the USSR and allowing the world to unleash this utopia. Nevertheless, Cuba in Latin America continues to be a clear example of embargo and exile.

In the late twentieth century alternative systems arise funded in a mixed economy as exposed in some way in The Good Living and the Third Way chapter. Sullings (2010) points out that the mixed economy tries to dismiss the centralized and bureaucratic economy, and also moving away from a totally social state. In other words, the mixed economy seeks to rescue aspects of capitalism and socialism in order to meet the needs and interests of the present and future generations. Also, it is a system supported on the pillars of a real and participatory democracy:

In a participatory democracy, the State will no longer be a disassociated entity from the individuals, but will be transformed into a sort of Coordinate State, in a kind of social intelligence that will ensure the interests of all. The government will no longer be a bounty of careerists, but will be the tool of social organization run by genuine representatives and volunteers (pág. 4).

The mixed economy is created as an alternative to face economic, political, social and ideological conflicts of today's society. Thus it seeks absolute integration of all the sectors of government including citizenship.

The modernization theory arises in this scheme as a response to the battle of development within the mid-twentieth century. This theory consists that for developing countries in order to achieve high levels of economic prosperity is essential for them to make changes in their values and social structures. "Samuel Huntington predicted that the developing countries that carry this task successfully, will end up under the control of autocratic governments and militants" (Escalante & Lommitz, 2004, pág. 11). This happened in Chile during the last quarter of the twentieth century where they succumbed to military dictatorships.

Theories of development aim to identify the socioeconomic conditions and the economic structures needed to find a path of human development and sustained economic growth. Adams Nassau, in "Worlds Apart: The North-South Division in the International System" denounced today problems of the southern hemisphere, where the south because of its economic weakness must accept the policies imposed by the

North with the support and approval of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank, perpetuating its state of underdevelopment. (Castillo, 2007, pág. 14).

This is the imposition of the strong over the weak. Vandana Shiva says, "I have seen how my land passed from abundance to scarcity of water. And behind the water shortage is always hiding the greed, the inadequate technologies and the ability of nature to replenish and purify " (Shiva, 2002, pág. 17).

The evidence of a rising discontent with development in many parts of the region was what gave rise to some theorists as Escobar suggest the idea of the post-development era.

Over the last fifty years, the conceptualization of development in the social sciences has seen three major moments for three contrasting theoretical orientations: the theory of modernization in the decades of the fifties and sixties with its allied theories of growth and development; the theory of dependency and its related prospects over the sixties and seventies; and the critical approaches to development as a cultural discourse in the second half of the eighties and the nineties. (Escobar, 2005, pág. 17)

2.1.1. Economy

Capitalism is a system based on privatization. It focuses productivity as the only mean to generate individual wealth. For this reason, the person or businesses depends of the consumer market that allows them increase their capital flow.

To improve activity and productive yield capitalism invented the different productive machines. Halevi (2003) says that initially they witnessed the problem of heterogeneity and discontinuity in production from the workers effort, so market expectations were not met.

The same author says companies and capitalists people consider that machines help increase rapidly revenues and profits by saving time and raw materials. Another aspect considered is that machines do not charge a salary or work fee for the work they perform, therefore, it helps save money. Capitalism generates strong economies, but for it is needed a state wealth based on key industries, the exploitation of natural resources, and the development of logistics infrastructure,

The central problem of the capitalist system will be higher unemployment rates, because replacing hand by machine labor and technology society will run out of work and sustenance.

In the history of advanced capitalist societies, periods of severe unemployment were exceptional and not the rule: apart from periods of severe depression, unemployment does not appear to exceed a few percent on average since the second half of the nineteenth century (in the forty years ranging from 1881 to 1920 in the UK the average was less than five percent, including both such as the boom and the depression years) (Halevi, 2003, pág. 130).

The knowledge in the main trends of the technological developments and the overall analysis of changes in the global trends impacting our industrial fabric, will allow the use of the foresight as a tool for strategic thinking to provide practical solutions in the process of decision making. However, technological and industrial capabilities and the ability to establish appropriate strategies in these areas is the essential framework to guide the future.

Nowadays, the states supported by a mixed economy or the coordinators states are trying to solve the inequality in the distribution of wealth. In addition, this system considers that for the transformation of the inner practices of companies is required the participation of employees in the profits, the ownership and the management of them. It also believes that it is important an agrarian law that protects the natural resources, food sovereignty and a series of laws that will not allow monopolization of capital or resources. Sullings (2010)

More attention should be taken on issues such as land management where the arid zones of Ecuador suffer of exploitation and abuse of its natural resources. The sustainable management practices including organic agriculture and agro-ecology provide important local, regional and global benefits. Therefore, this helps positively to the many ecosystem services such as: the regulation of water cycles, carbon sequestration and preservation/conservation of agro-biodiversity, and most importantly the awareness of not using chemicals or genetically modified products.

In this way we present a critique of the capitalist economy, a critique that rescues certain aspects of capitalist and socialist extremism. In fact, if a state is centered on the monopoly, centralization and bureaucracy it does not generate any progress and development, therefore it is hampering the intellectual possibilities and capabilities of its citizens.

2.1.2. Investment and social equity

The biggest problem of liberalism is the sustainability of a government in a legitimate and reasonable universe of individual interest, and of egocentric and hedonistic space. Olmos and Silva (2011) point out the aspects that a government should be limited, the same aspects were raised by Adam Smith, they are:

1. Protect the society from violence and invasion of other independent societies.
2. Safeguard every citizen from the injustice and oppression created by other members.
3. Maintain and choose certain jobs and public institutions.

By following these limitations society will develop satisfactorily, but to maintain such hedonistic activities the authors suggest that the state should generate a permanent income called: taxes. In addition, the capitalist state must guarantee the personal and productive growth since it's the only way the economy will develop, plus enhance creativity in order to compete in the market.

In addition to the above, the authors note that the State did not seek to protect human rights generating a series of social conflicts. Some groups excluded by liberalism proposed changes that gave rise to the welfare state. The first events were witness in the big factories of Europe and the United States where the first working class unions emerged. They tried to restrict the freedom of enterprise and free game pricing, plus improve wages and working conditions. Throughout the intervention in labor relations the State could finally be part of the national economy.

Welfare states enacted social equity through the implementation of social insurance in addition to the salary improvement. Olmos and Silva (2011) expose the three rights raised by Marshall that were applied by the Welfare State:

1. Civil rights: it grouped individual freedoms, property rights, to establish contracts and access to justice. With this reform the first institutions of justice and the courts were established.
2. Political rights: the right to vote regardless of class, and the opportunity to hold public jobs. It created institutions such as parliaments, political parties, and state and local governments.
3. Social rights: welfare and economic security, right to share social heritage, right to live as a civilian being, right to education, health and social security.

However, the authors explain that the welfare state was facing different threats as the global crisis and the rise of oil prices exacerbated overproduction in Europe, therefore, producing a crisis that was manifested in the following aspects:

- The indefinitely work was replaced by labor flexibility.
- Changes in the contractual relations in the public employment.
- Transfer of public activities to the private sector.
- State spending increased more than the means to finance them.

These problems generated the right parties and conservative society to take advantage of the situation and start propagating announcements against the welfare states.

2.1.3. Media

The capitalist system as it has been said, focuses only on the individual power or of a few. For this, it is important to establish a hegemony that must be transmitted at all costs. The New Forum Proposals (2014), citing Gramsci discloses that:

The media is one of the instruments, with the education system and the religion, in which the ruling classes build cultural and ideological hegemony over subaltern and dominated classes (pág. 4).

Then different theories are born as postulations by the Frankfurt School over the influence of the ideological superstructure and the media role. The Forum holds that the role of the media is to find new proposals to questions that are seen when the welfare state and the consumer society start, therefore, resolving how communism seduces society.

Continuing with capitalism and consumerism, the media develop the following aspects:

1. Leisure culture and television occupy the space of religion as a decisive factor of uniformity and as instrument of drugging critical consciousness.
2. The media called "mass" induce the apparent dissolution of social differences, and encourage the illusion of a universal access to knowledge, leisure and culture through their different products.
3. Fragmentation of thought and redundancy of media messages are the chosen method to override matrixes, disrupt and numb the critical discourse (pág. 5).

Now the media use messages that encourage human perspective, however, not all of these messages can be an issue of analysis. For this forum perspective, society passes to busy not given the necessary time to reflect on the message that is being transmitted.

It also notes that the ruling classes have all the power to decide the type and form in which news and information are published, whether is about consumer or social problems, the phenomenon is called agenda-setting. In other words the media is centralized and governed by the ruling class provisions.

The media is not only governed by the system, so it has also acquired its own advantages. For example, according to the Forum, the relationship of the media with cultural industries such as cinema, entertainment and music, has become a business desired even by companies of different factors.

Another big problem of the media was the monopolization of the publishing industry, for example, the reporter did not have the permission to be objective and critical of a social, economic or political conflict, since the owners of the editorial was people affiliated with the capitalist system.

Finally, the credibility crisis and reform of the media started. This was the result of the society access to the media as:

1. Digital media
2. media agenda from social networks
3. Traditional means of reference
4. press
5. TV
6. Exchange and common consensus

2.1.4. Civil society

Civil society is a very old issue. The term derives from “society”, which is a group of human beings independent from the state, and sometimes opposed to it. Meiksins (2000) says that from the beginning, the society was developed with the idea of private property and the different forms of production.

Nowadays the author mentions, the concept of society was changed by time. This evolution is given since the merger between society and civil. The term has been conceptualizing since the eighteenth century, defining civil society as a separate set of

relationships and human activities different from the state. It is a network of full economic, market, production, distribution and exchange distinctions.

Although society has always wanted to be away from the State, as in the case of capitalism, when they were far apart between them, they did not maintain any bond or relationship in the decision-making. Nowadays we can say that the interaction between civil society and state is important for the development of society in general.

The same author states that in the capitalist system, civil society was divided by class that were guaranteed or repressed by the judicial or economic sector. On the other hand, as the socialization of the state begun it was emphasized the participation and growth of many contemporary social organizations.

Finally, the civil society in the alternative mixed economy considers that the intervention of society in the state decisions is very important to guarantee and meet the needs and interests of different people.

2.2. Alternatives to the contemporary capitalist system

The alternative mixed economy emerges due to the social and economic problems that arise with the persistence of capitalism. The mixed economy, according to Mattick, is to be the alternative between capitalism and socialism, but it's not trying to be solely one nor the other. Because socialism has always tried to give an end private capital and have state control over the production means, and capitalism uses human beings as a working tools. Both currents have always been two extreme and both generate massive conflicts.

Meanwhile, Andrade (2003) says that companies that decide to enter this system are called mixed economy companies, which are distinguished to others by the following:

Is one that has the participation of the state, municipalities, provincial councils and legal persons of public law jointly with private capital, all involved in the formation of their capital and corporate management of the enterprise (pág. 71).

In this type of companies any citizen who meets the legal requirements may acquire assets or shares. It is generally encouraged to be the people working inside of them acquire shares. The mixed economy is focused on social welfare, in the same way it guarantees the fulfillment of all rights, and the compliance of citizen needs.

The mixed economy is an alternative proposal to capitalism, because, it is a way to confront the different social, economic and political problems that today's society is facing.

2.3. Chapter Conclusions

Both socialism and capitalism are two systems that are extremely governed. It is a humane statement to consider that an individual cannot become a production tool, nor he has to be reduced to a lower comparison against a machine. It is not logical either the disappearance of the state since its power force allows development and sustainability, as well as acting as a mediator between laws, rights and practices. For this reason, it is necessary an alternative proposal focused on the humane and the logical.

A government established in the mixed economy could serve as a model of analysis for the present and future generations.

Strategies rose from plans as The Good Living and The Third wWay allow society to meet by strategies the needs that were not previously covered. Such plans help enhance security, ideology and identity of a society that has gone through a variety of political regimes.

The mixed economy is trying to separate itself from capitalism and the traditional socialism to become a deferential and alternative approach, therefore, it guarantees social development through investments in education, health, citizen participation, laws sustainability, environmental laws, antimonopoly laws to mediate the absolute wealth of private enterprise, and a countless aspects that could draw back the country's progress.

CHAPTER 3 Similarities and differences between The Good Living and The Third Way

3.1. Philosophical and ideological

The Good Living and The Third Way allow us to suggest that these two philosophical and ideological visions can respond to be contrasted with the concepts developed by Habermas and Foucault about the philosophical discourse of modernity. These two authors explain us the today worldwide tension in terms of consensus and conflict respectively. Habermas exposes us a view from morality based on consensus, while Foucault exposed it in terms of history and realism based in terms of conflict and power. Associating the concepts of The Third Way and The Good Living to one of these philosophical discourses is certainly an arduous and needed study to understand the critical paradigms developed by academia in relation to power. I can present the following general ideological and philosophical note:

There is one fundamental difference as how ontologically both theories are born. In the haberian view one could say that The Third Way is born as a genealogical process of political science. At the end Giddens tells his project through a line of events and personalities that have explicitly agreed most social relations in recent decades. Giddens contribution parts of respecting structuralism with clear proposals on how to handle a state in terms of resources, risks, responsibilities and innovation. On the other hand, The Good Living is born as a social genealogy of a social genealogy, similar to the origin of Foucault contributions. Philosophical and ideological visions of the past thirty years are taken into a built conglomerate with a "systematic ambiguity" between the new empirical paradigm, its criticism and metatheoretical claims, and the practice in the Ecuadorian environment from 2008-2016. (Manosalvas, 2014)

The Good Living is a constitutional principle prepared and approved by the 2008 Constitution as a paradigm to building a new socio-political, cultural and economic relationship between society, the individual and development, so it's philosophical and ideological construction has yet to be socialized and defined without dilemmas or ambiguities. While the Third Way is a purely political proposal that includes some genealogical experience of political events to raise specific and structural courses of action in reference of the individual, the society, the State and the rights and responsibilities of each one. In general both are oriented to the reconstruction of a

more inclusive society focused on a better world for the people, but this cannot easily get without the active political participation of citizens.

3.2. Policies.

Politically The Good Living and The Third Way are similar because they generate a detailed and important description of general guidelines for a country towards achieving human rights. However, in the background there are marked differences. The first is that The Third Way responds to structuralism politics in the sense that there is a greater emphasis on creating an informed society based on international institutions, individual rights, and business rights. The Thir Way structure does not generate any substantive change in values, and it does not generate space for other unorthodox economic views come into the debate.

The political program of the third way includes transcend neoliberalism and social democracy. The third way does not pursue a reissue of social democratic values or left values. It is an attempt to preserve some of these values, but other values could be abandoned or changed. It qualifies as a movement of center which seeks to develop a dynamic and competitive economy in the world markets with business qualities. Contrary to the old left, it recognize the centrality of wealth creation, and that it should not be implemented only by the State, therefore, the private capital has a fundamental role in the social future. "(Vasallo Alfonso Gomez & Concepcion, 2014)

The Good Living instead responds with innovative policies that move away from the structuralism model. It pose new economic values however some of these reflect in practice little action change, little social bonding, and little international acceptance. New powers within the state reflect a different democratic balance. Also the Plurinational and intercultural values are restricted in practice by the bureaucratic state. These are some of the examples that allow us to propose constructive criticism of the model in general benefit.

3.3. Economic

This perspective has the greatest similarity between The Good Living and The Third Way. The economic perspective is fundamental when evaluating changes in terms of improving the quality of people life. In both theories the economy is based on the Rostow economic approaches and his growth cycles. In the third way it is clearly described the need to build "Coordinators States" like the Nordic Europeans States that are a reflection of Rostow fourth stage of growth called: "Drive to maturity". This stage is characterized by a diversification of industries, where the manufacturing process

changes from the investment on capital goods to more durable products of massive local consumption. This is the space for public investments in social infrastructure such as education, health, logistics, etc.

Similarly The Good Living starts on Rostow premise according to the comparative advantages of the nation or smith model in which to reach the fourth stage is necessary the investment in “strategic sectors” that can impact and boost the rest of the economy. In this space are born the economic postulates of the LTNP and GLNP, and their quest for changing Ecuador productive matrix. A progress of The Good Living is considering the transcription to economic policies all the capabilities postulates of Amartya Sen theory explained in the first chapter of this study. That certainly generates considerable debate.

The Good living may have the ability to build several perspectives of political, social and economic issues only if collectively is find one definition, for example, if is born from the concepts of Sumak Kawsay or a Good Living defined as interest by a political movement. This process and debate cannot continue any longer.

The Third Way is guided as genealogical examples of social, economic, and political developments posed by Giddens to state that the union of the State with the market and free competition is necessary and allowed. As in the Good Living, the Third Way proposes to improve the economy of society by creating social investments and public goods. Finally, emphasizing the flexibility that public companies must have to compete in a changing market with smart strategies. The opening of new markets must stem from the creation of joint ventures or mixed economy companies.

3.4. Ecologic

The Good Living helps return to nature its social function, by making their defense the base for future planning of basic rights, "The land and natural resources have a social function. Their use, access and management should be based on ensuring food sovereignty, ensure the welfare of rural and urban communities, and the conservation of natural resources, water, soil and biodiversity. " (Cortez, 2010) It is essential that the proposed changes are accompanied by changes in the production and consumption approaches of society, to prevent, control and mitigate adverse effects to those proposed.

While in The Third Way, nature problems such as pollution and global warming should be considered from the perspective of the risk matrix. Citizens must be informed of the

opportunities generated by the exploitation of resources in addition to the innovations inherent by new technologies to reduce the impact. It is clearly approached the necessary security of the affected groups and the surrounding environment. Finally presenting the State social responsibility by omission or negligence in possible cases of matrix infringements..

The compromise establishes by the program of the third way with the financial market makes it impossible for it to adequately protect nature, for this reason ecology is not compatible with market fundamentalism. The idea proposed is to achieve balance between ecological modernization, combating pollution and environmental regulation with a strategic notion of risk. It assumes the international and global nature of the subject by placing science and technology into the democratic processes. The most important question of all is whether it is possible to articulate all this. (Vasallo Alfonso Gomez & Concepcion, 2014)

"The third way ensures to discard the old ideas and threats of the bipolar order, and worry about the new problems like the environment". (Alvares Somosa, 2014). This political dimension try to address citizens' concerns while protecting them without sacrificing their vision where the State must intervene to ensure social justice, equal opportunities, education, universal health, environmental protection, and the independence of the political powers.

"In the relationship established between The Third Way and the environment, there is a category that is important to mention, the political ecology which is responsible to explore with new lights the power relations that are stranded between worlds where people live and the globalized world. Thus becoming the site for a struggle to denature nature, and adopting not only a constructivist perspective of it but also a political perspective because the relationships established between men and nature is grounded through power relations "(Vasallo Gomez & Alfonso Concepcion, 2014)

Among the virtues of The Third Way is to have included the environmental issues as a key element within its theoretical proposal. It is possible to find some fails when it lacks to articulate the commitments of the financial market with ecological demands in a world where technological development demand an excessive consumption of natural resources.

Both The Good Living as the Third Way indicates that one of the main concerns is the environment, because through it the world moves and performs all the human beings actions.

3.5. Comparative table

A comparison table between the Third Way and the Good Life is shown below:

	THE GOOD LIVING	THE THIRD WAY
SIMILARITIES		
Philosophical	They are contrasted with the concepts developed by Habermas and Foucault from the philosophical discourse of modernity.	
Ideological	Building a society for peaceful coexistence in diversity and harmony with nature. In general the two are oriented to the reconstruction of society for a better world for society.	
Political	Generate a detailed description of important and general politics of a country's towards achieving human rights.	
Ecological	One of the main concerns is the environment, because through this the worlds moves and perform all human being actions.	
Economical	The economy should be based on the approaches by Rostow and his growth cycles.	
DIFFERENCES		
Philosophical	It includes three dimensions: personal, social and integral. New paradigm on knowledge and values.	Values include: individual, justice, social equality, freedom and equality of opportunity, solidarity and responsibility. Democracy. No paradigms believed or other values outside of structuralism.
Ideological	It is a conglomerate of empirical ideas, criticism and metatheories put into practice, subject to review.	Genealogical approaches of socio political theories for planning a proposal based within the liberalist-structuralism theory.
Political	Instead responds with innovative policies that move away from the structuralist model, propose new values such as plurinational, intercultural, etc.	Structuralist policies in the sense that there is greater emphasis on creating an informed society based on individual and business rights.
Ecological	Significant changes in the institutional framework of nature to create nature rights.	Production methods that are designed from the beginning to avoid or limit pollution.
Economical	The Good Living has the prospects of building another economy that puts human beings over capital, and the collective good above individual interest. However, it arises from structural theories of Rostow and Amartya Zen	Synergy between state and market allowing free competition. It is based on a welfare state generating mixed economy companies.

Table 6: Comparative Table

Source: (Giddens, 1998) & (SENPLADES, 2013)

Produced by: Fausto Gutiérrez

CHAPTER 4 The Good Living and the Third Way as viable alternatives to the XXI century polarizations

4.1. A critical approach to the real possibilities of applying both theories

The Third Way and The Good Living are two policies that are geared towards the great revolutions of today such as the fight against poverty, globalization, media, culture and ecosystem. On the other hand, they are policies trying to cope with the extreme right party, by responding to social justice from different rights and obligations, and to integrate the individual to certain practices of the community. They are two postulates created from the vision of modern society.

Giddens (1999, p. 80) mentions that the Third Way is a state policy that emerged in Europe in the late twentieth century, so it had great acceptance in different countries of Western Europe, staying for a long period in history. In that period the society was conditioned to respond to a global phenomenon of social, political and economic character called globalization. The third way had its origins in a technological and scientific circle, trying to find a relationship between the natural environment and man, between society and tradition. It manifests itself against injustice and monopolies established by extreme right-wing ideologies that prevailed for centuries.

Likewise, the author notes that with this trend it emerges the ultimate power of the working class in to the political and economic processes, by developing visions that guarantee the right of workers and their families, especially their children. The protection and welfare of key sectors such as the individual, the family, the children and jobs were the main objectives of The Third Way. Other aspects rescued with this policy are the impact of technology on health, safety, employment, housing, and education in order to create mechanisms and strategies to create a welfare state according to each particular need.

Pisarello (2011, p. 1) indicates that The Good Living is a policy that emerged in the XXI century in Latin America, and is applied to the current Constitutions of Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia. This policy is to reverse the privatization of the 90s', in other words, to regain state control of certain economic and strategic resources with the consideration of the fundamental and constitutional rights. The Good Living

proposes to compete against the foreign market based on the concepts of sustainability and social responsibility, as well as betting on a new form of Latin America integration founded on principles of complementarity, cooperation, and fair trade.

The author notes that the primary aspect of The Good Living is the socio-cultural and environmental diversity, proposing alternative forms of development. The Good Living believes that nature is not one more object of the State, but a subject enjoying its respective rights and considerations. Besides these aspects, there are also linked different philosophies and ideologies such as: Aristotle, Marxists, libertarians, feminists, indigenous and grandhians. All these are based on a new concept of a capitalist society based on sustainability known as "green capitalism".

These proposals should be analyzed in depth permanently confirming that there is a constant and stable growth of GDP, compared with the international markets experience. While Ecuador constitution is the first to recognize nature as a subject of rights, ensuring the compliance with them, reducing poverty in certain social strata, exploiting certain public sectors for the common good, Pisarello (2011, p. 2). It must be required scientific research for the confirmation of these improvements.

The Third Way and The Good Living are something tangible in their application and implementation, but can be converted to be a trend with the danger to disappear. Their different practices and concepts can help a State take the sustainable political views over these new issues, and generate positive impact on the government policy.

However, there are problems in the case of The Good Living and The Third Way. What if they are more settled in a specific social group or strata, how can we say that The Good Living and The Third Way are presented throughout the whole State? The authorities should answer with highlighted studies that generate information on social pertinence by percentages in all social groups, so it is the State who should consider their visibility and guarantee their rights from a global vision of the same State.

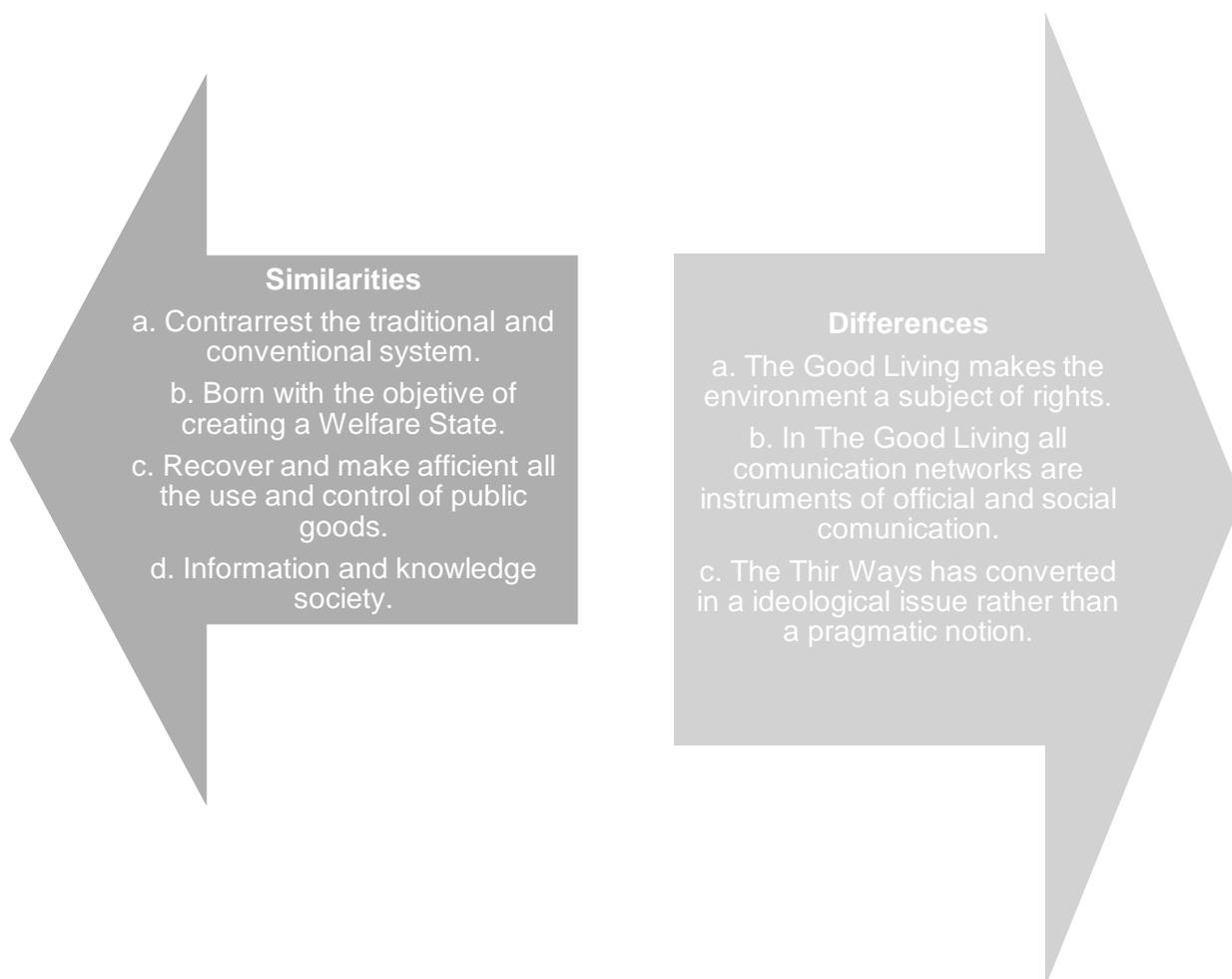


Table 5: Similarities and differences between The Third Way and The Good Living

Sources: Giddens (1999); Pisarello (2011)

Made by Fausto Gutiérrez

Finally, it can be noted that there are real elements of the theories of The Good Living and The Third Way, which can be replicated in the contemporary state. Among the most prominent elements we may indicate: sustainability, protection of the child population, accessibility to sectors and rights such as health, housing, food, education, labor and safety, community development, valuing the different cultural groups, workers' rights, the withdrawal from the neoliberal and conservative system, dignity of biodiversity, informed and knowledgeable society, access to the media and free expression.

4.1.1. Main obstacles and political opposition

While the Third Way lasted some time in countries of the European Union and promised new and challenging horizons it could not achieve a consolidated state passed the XXI century. Giddens (1999, p. 85) indicates that the concepts discussed in

The Third Way are very difficult and contentious, because, it is not known how the forces of globalization and technology impact the world.

The same author notes that one of the main problems of this political tendency is that is undemocratic, since, parties exercising and ruling with the Third Way do not allow the existence or prevalence of the opposing party, so they run out of enemies. This is very worrying because the positions of alternative approaches to society are not allowed.

Another obstacle and opposition of The Third Way is the global economy. From the standpoint of the capitalist system is one of the best options for the development of the State and certain key sectors and monopolies. This corresponds to the main cause for local crisis and threats to the national integration and traditional values, therefore, creating selfish and bellicose economic blocs.

Moreover, the author states that the European Union is the leader and founder of the Third Way, and is responsible for over 75% of all economic legislation affecting its member states. This is causing a major obstacle in the development of the Third Way, because it lacks the appreciation of the member states to the Third Way ideology (1999, p. 167).

Now, The Good Living in Latin America also presents obstacles and political opposition. Pisarello (2011, p. 2) states that it is a very demanding notion in terms of cultural, political and productive budgets, also bringing some consequences. The author says that while poverty has declined in a large index it has only happened in some strata of the population, so it impede a complete and full development of society.

This impediment notion has generated harsh criticism from the conventional left and the conservative right. The main criticisms generated are a respond to the ambiguities raised by The Good Living, indicates Gudynas (2013, p. 1), among which are: return to the past, disabilities in generating practical measures and scant literature.

Likewise, Gudynas indicates that The Good Living is a concept that encompasses towards a single approach, when there are many approaches to rescue, for example, the ancestral worldview view from its own foundations and not from the Western point of view, therefore, The Good Living is agglomerating not all the existing good livings. Also, the author indicates that many critics and analysts of this applicate notion in Ecuador and Bolivia agree to say that the good life is an archaic and ambiguous knowledge that diverts attention in the real fight against the market.

Other aspect that Gudynas points out is the contrary inertia for the eradication of some structural inequalities and the substantial changes in the production model concerning the rentier culture. However, the most noteworthy aspect is described by Pisarello about the extractives practices as oil field and open sky mining are leading the country to a great environmental and social impact. Therefore, this aspect moves away from the nature rights raised in the same policy of The Good Living. A huge gap between the state and indigenous groups who are linked to the exploited resource sectors is established directly affecting society and biodiversity.

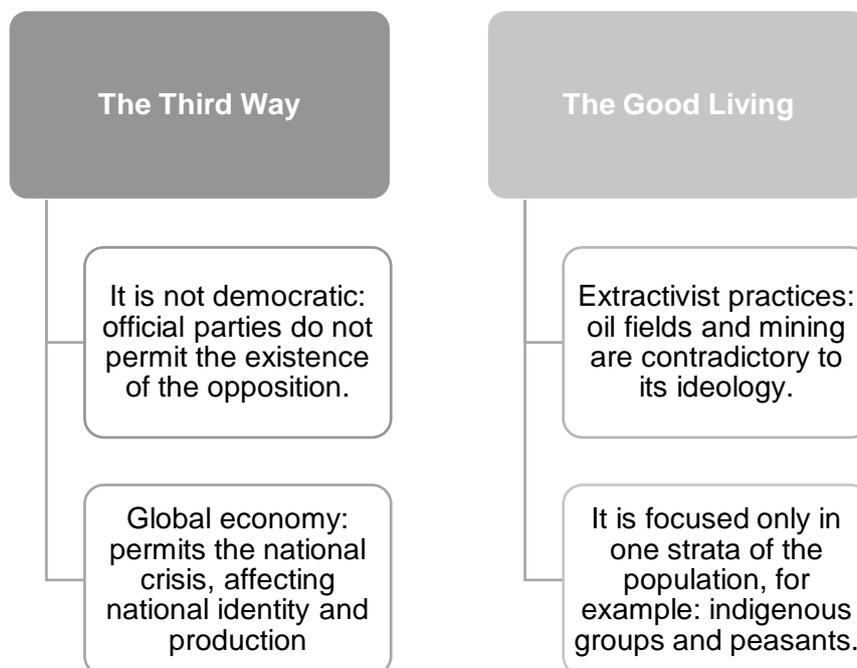


Table 6 Obstacles in the Third Way and The Good Living

Sources: Giddens (1999); Pisarello (2011)

Made by Fausto Gutiérrez

4.1.2. Competing theories to The Good Living and The Third Way

The Opposing theories to The Good Living and The Third Way are the conventional left and the radical right. Regarding the main theory opposed to The Third Way we take the radical right party for the analysis. In the twentieth century Europe passed through different civil wars, riots and military uprisings. With the loss of the great colonial empire Europe had no alternative but to resort to instruments that served

them to maintain its hegemony as: the monarchy, the army, the church, and in many cases the press, indicates Marcet (2012, p. 3) .

The marginalized politician's from the fascist order had to organize parties faithful to democracy and make allies with the victors of the world war. The Christian Democrats joined with the unique anti-communist group creating ideologies based on authoritarianism, and with the support received by Anglo-Saxon powers. Only the liberals and liberal Catholics were those who had the power to monopolize public opinion. For this reason, the radical right is also known as a nationalist and authoritarian.

Likewise, Marcet notes that the radical right in Europe was ruled by the dialectic: individualism and collectivism, confessionism and secularism, private property and public property, equality of opportunity and equality of results, traditionalism and reformism, conservatism and progressivism, in other words, the right handles the first speeches against the seconds that are handled by the left.

Orellana (2012, p. 140) mentions that the legitimate structure of the right had some obstacles of political, social and economic character in a territory devastated by the war, however, catastrophic situations like: legal executions, assassinations of political leaders, disqualification and loss of civil rights, etc. allowed the right-wing movement in Europe to become stable. Likewise, the author notes that the new governments tempered by such a regime had to create constitutional strategies to prevail, for example, in Germany there is still a federal rule that punishes or penalizes the conduct of those who threaten the welfare of the regime, or that endanger the essence of the German Republic.

In the case of France, the radical right was marked by two experiences that Orellana (2012, pp 152-156.) orders as follows: The Poujadisme phenomenon, linked to the protests against taxes that were developed in the department of Lot, led by Pierre Poujade, a populist meeting the needs of a traditional right clientele of artisans, small farmers and shopkeepers who joined the DUSC. This 1953 phenomenon was driving anarchic and populist speeches defending smallholders and pre-industrial facing economic, industrial, urban, modern changes. Also at this period, Algeria and Indochina remained colonized places where exploitation of oil wells promised the development of the Gallic country. The second phenomenon that the author says is the

National Front. This was a party founded with fascist ideologies been the only of this kind in the history of France.

Now as to the theory of The Good Living, there are great criticisms from the conventional left. The political left begins to have relevance in the twentieth century, in parallel with the political right. Rivero (2012, p.1) says that the political left is characterized by being dominated of progressive movements fighting social equality.

This movement is represented by three main streams: Anarchism which postulates that any system of authority is corrupt and oppressive. and postulates that we need to eliminate the public authority and the church. Communism based on Marx's theory application in the Soviet Union, where they sought the dictatorship of the proletariat and the abolition of the productive means. Finally, the Social Democrats called socialism today, that fight for the expansion of the production means, as long as they are governed by society as a whole where equal and mutual benefits are sought for all members.

Calvo (2009) mentions that the left in Latin America is divided into two groups: the old and the new left. When referring to the Latin American old left it is a paradigm of what happened before the fall of the Soviet Union when the Cuban Revolution started. The Cuba Revolution led by Castro's army was characterized by the extremist militancy influencing the leftist ideology of the whole continent for decades. In other words, Latin America had for a long period of time a conventional left view implanted since that event.

Rivero (2012) mentions that the today political left in also known as liberal, because its economy is based on state interventionism, where private companies are nationalized and anti-capitalist laws are created in order to avoid wealth gaps between certain sectors. However, many leftist parties and movements have enacted from the wrong approach, which has made it conventionalist and without fundamentals. Pinto (2014) mentions that the general characteristic of the left is to hoard the social and cultural movements based on populism and state intervention.

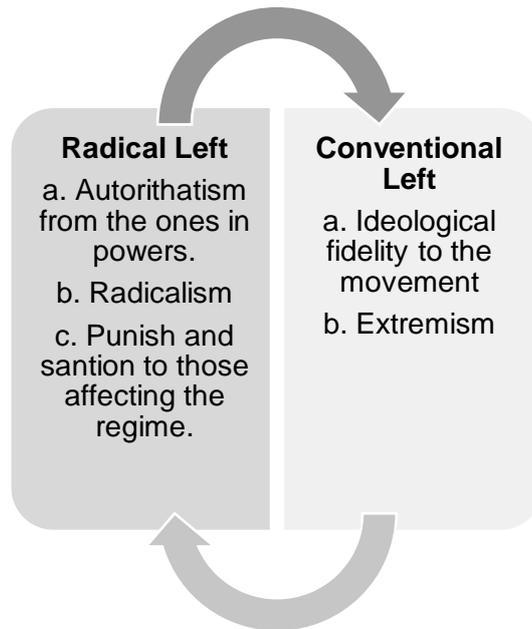


Table 7: Relationship between competing theories to the Third Way and The Good Living

Sources: Calvo (2009); Marcet (2012); Orellana (2012); Rivero (2012)

Made by Fausto Gutiérrez

4.1.3. Deficiencies and limitations

The radical right and the conventional left when applied in the practice presents many complications, therefore, trends as The Third Way and The Good Living emerge. Gomez (2005, p. 2) states that the right belongs to retrograde and conservative sectors attached to maintaining the status quo, so totally moving away from the community and preserving the oligarchy of the group to which it belongs.

Likewise, the author notes that the political right defends the exclusion and the privileges of the elites, the leadership of some politician and their exclusivist, traditional and corrupt parties. These aspects route society to the destabilization of the politics notion, because it is far from what the popular sector demands.

In the second half of the twentieth century Western Europe was going through a series of economic, ideological, political and social crisis. They were developed thanks to a misapplication of democracy. Segovia (. 2013, p 1) states that the causes for the decline of the radical right are the following:

- Internal division in the government
- Bad leader's image.

- Determination to integrate a list of candidates for deputies without presidential support.
- Private property.
- Individual freedom.
- Free market.
- Monopolization of the media and public services.
- Inequity of state funds.
- Support for globalization and acceptance of a foreign imperialist culture
- State coups

Guiddens (. 1999, p 80) considers that the right justifies its authority with traditional symbols such as: nation, government, family or other institutions, stating that without tradition and authority the state crumbles. Within this people lose the notion and trials on differentiating between the good from the bad. For these reasons, the European right of the late twentieth century was defeated against the arrival of the European Union, which was headed by Social Democrats who rebuilt the power on the basis of community participation.

Latin America was also going through economic, political and social crises, so it had to be reformulated from an opposing ideology to the one in effect. Although the political left originated in Europe since the French Revolution we can say that it was more popular in the new continent. In the second half of the twentieth century, many Latin American governments noted that the only way out of imperial repression was a very extremist left, which was applied rapidly in some States. A clear example of these policies are summarized in the Washington Consensus of 1989, as a neoliberal tool of economic court which claimed that the countries of Latin America must apply ideological economic formulas imposed from the outside.

However, the established left in Latin America was not far from the conventional paradigms having established new strategies that have enabled it to emerge as a political notion. Lopez (2011, p1) mentions some mistakes from the left that were applied in Latin America generating the disenchantment of society:

- Ideological crisis: the current left is divided as follows: reformist left that is so faithful to the ideals and the transforming left that has betrayed from its ideals, becoming ambiguous and conflicting.

- We are still lacking a global formulation of a revolutionary theory adapted to modern times. Taking into account recent practical experience like: anarchism is a very influential current in today's leftist who are trying to bring the left to governments in an extreme and irrational way without any practical or experimental basis.

The author believes that both the ideological and the strategic errors are the causes of failure of the left in Latin America's history. The crises caused by the communist regimes and anarchist strategies are the result of a misapplication of the left. On the other hand, the author also points out the obstacles designed by the bourgeoisie to cause the instability of the political notion.

Finally, Pinto (2014) notes that some of the greatest mistakes of the left are when its members end up with right-wing parties positions or applying technical maneuvers who distort reality. It notes that many leftists are annihilating any new social movements preventing the existence of a more quick and forceful social changes.

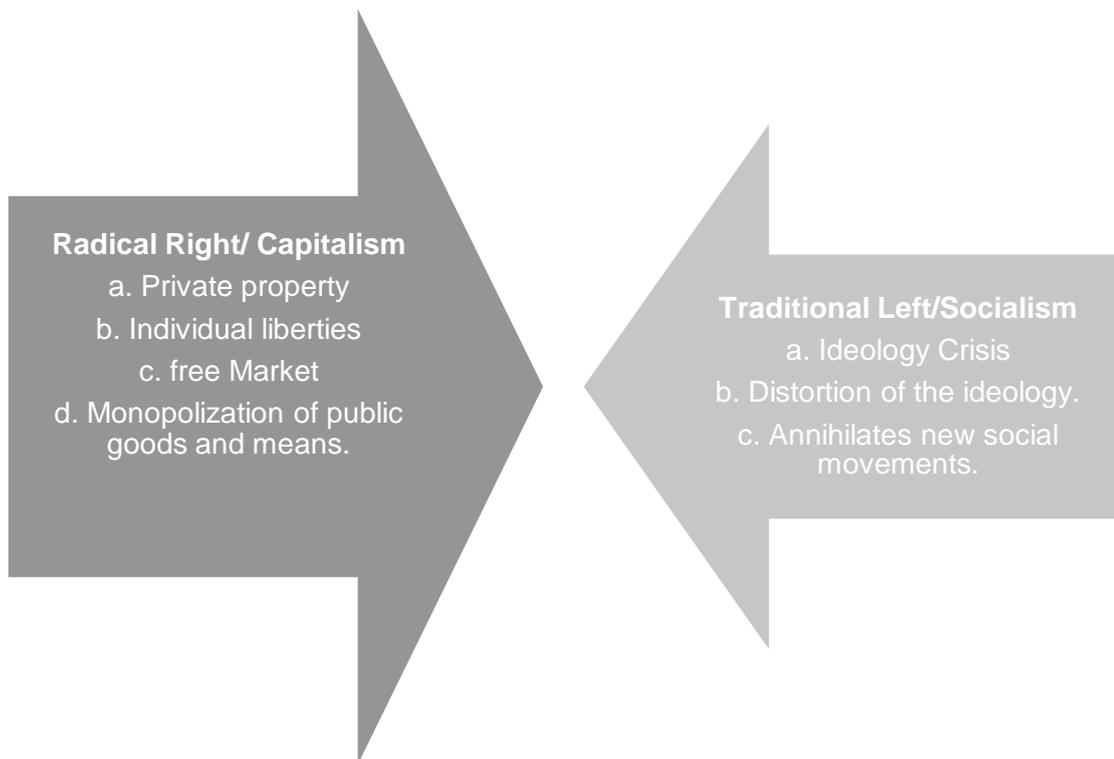


Table 8: *Impairments and Limitations of the competing theories*

Sources: Gomez (2005); Lopez (2011); Pinto (2014); Segovia (2013)

Made by Fausto Gutiérrez

4.2. Chapter Conclusions

As a conclusion, we have analyzed the different assumptions based on the left and right dialectic. While it is true that The Third Way started in a period of decline in the European Union we cannot claim that it did for empty or unnecessary purposes, rather by the badly employed strategies. It has been seen that The Third Way propose the basics guidelines for life in community, even still in a globalized society that considers the individual as a whole. It has been able to maintain from the idealization, these concepts that some have even triggered new notions for the Latin America States.

The Good Living is an ideology planted from a dialectic point of view that aims to ensure the common good from the traditionalism of the community and the biodiversity.

This chapter has also been able to rescue different assumptions that have been already mentioned throw-out the study. The radical right and the conventional left have always been targets of all kinds of criticism and analysis. They are two opposites that resemble at some extent, because both are extremists who end up disenchanting ideologies that society demands. A society is demanding as in terms of their political and ideological position, so democracy is lost, for example, the right bloc may not meet the needs of popular movements, while the left bloc cannot do it with the oligarchy.

In this sense it may not be a balance that favors the society as a whole. However, one could say that it is possible to do so from a holistic and non-extremist approach, in other words, reformulate right/capitalist or left/socialist tenets and postulates. It could be considered that together The Good Living and The Third Way are alternatives to escape extremism and totalitarianism that capitalism and socialism have posed. They both have been put into practice and run from a State, now is time that we administer how to relate them to the globalization environment.

Moreover they both can serve as an escape from capitalism. As being highly questioned theories they have gained and remained in force in Europe and Latin America for quite some period, because of their social, political, economic and legal objectives and practices. Surely, it could be said they propose an evolution of society in

the framework of production in the context of globalization that, like it or not, it is difficult to escape.

They are political demonstrations in danger of disappearing, because they are surrounded by criticism. Therefore, it is important to try to keep it by rescuing the positive and clear aspects of both. Fortunately, Latin America must generate the political space for local and international representatives maintain the good aspects of the proposal or its failure will be imminent, in contrast to the European Union members that handle clear speeches faithful to the particular ideology, except England since 2016.

CHAPTER 5 Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

In conclusion this study states:

1. We have contrasted two political-economic strategies that could serve as alternate routes to the polarizations of the XXI century, these are: Third Way and Good Living. Both strategies are born from the perspective of the common good and the state's participation in the public and private sector.

Similarly, it was found that both strategies have characteristics and fundamentals that could recuperate the economic, political and social stagnation generated by capitalism. Although, one of these was established last century and its influence has declined, to the point of disappearing, we cannot say it failed completely due to its proposals, rather it was due by the representatives omissions. In the case of Latin America in the first decade of this century, one of these theories has been place in practice by some states, as so far it have shown that the decision must be auto-evaluated and re defined conceptually.

2. It has contextualized the time period when both strategies were born. The strategies originated in a critical context of the economy, politics and society. On one side The Third Way, who was born in Western Europe in the late twentieth century, the same that sought to end the traditional, conservative and oppressive tendency of the extreme right that afflicted western countries of the old continent. Focusing on the common good and state participation, these countries created the European Union based on many postulates of The Third Way. The proposal was to develop participation programs and rights for the most vulnerable, especially the workers. This way it had great acceptance among the masses until the early twenty-first century when it fell into an ambiguous trend, for example the Brexit.

Latin America at the beginning of the XXI century produced one of the most significant political strategies of the continent, The Good Living.

Unlike The Third Way, it is a trend that has been engaging in different countries, and generating a series of criticisms against it, but it can be mentioned as one of the most significant political strategies of the continent to function as an alternative to capitalism/communism.

3. Despite the progressive approach of both strategies the study has determined some differences between them. Consequently, it was understood that the Third Way was a strategy raised in Western Europe in the late twentieth century that did not have great acceptance by the members of the European Union for preventing its subsequent influence. It was trying to cope with the extreme right that dominated the different European countries for a long period of history. On the other hand, their focused its attention on the working class, lacking the commitment and rights to other marginal classes.

Contrasting The Third Way, The Good Living originates in Latin America at the beginning of the century. It is in constant confrontation with the conventional and the extreme left of Marxism which has really affected the developing countries. This strategy focuses on the common good without distinguishing categories: children, women, workers, adults, among others, and is aware of the vindication of the rights of Mother Earth. Moreover, it was determined that it is a strategy that despite its short existence, has generated the conflicts between member countries necessary to claim changes in their approaches until a transformation.

5.2. Recommendations

1. Today society needs to analyze and reflect over the different strategies that can serve as alternatives to capitalism. It is recommended that The Good Living and The Third Way are analyzed anywhere when necessary, or any space and circumstances that can generate analysis and reflection on how to fight against the negativity of the capitalist society.

It is therefore recommended that people who generate the analysis and reflection are aware of the philosophical and scientific bases to which these strategies are supported.

2. Similarly, it is important to contextualize the period in which these strategies were conceived, and recognize and understand the trends that oppose each other, in order to enrich the analysis and generate a value judgment against the contrast.

Also, it is recommended the analysis of the different media and programs this strategies use to confront the capitalist society.

3. Those who choose to analyze The Third Way and The Good Living should not only focus on their progressive similarities, but they must also recognize the differences between the two trends. Only this way you can generate a true knowledge by contrasting the difficulties of each other.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Manosalvas, M. (2014). Buen vivir o sumak kawsay. En busca de nuevos referenciales para la acción pública en Ecuador. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 101-121.
- Acosta, A. (2010). *El Buen Vivir en el camino del post-desarrollo Una lectura desde la Constitución de Montecristi*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, FES-ILDIS.
- Acosta, A., & Martínez, E. (2009). *El buen vivir: Una vía para el desarrollo*. Santiago: Universidad Bolivariana.
- Almeyra, G. (2004). La insoportable ligereza del ser teórico. In J. Saxe Fernández, *Tercera vía y neoliberalismo: un análisis crítico* (pp. 315-326). México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores SA.
- Alvares Somosa, F. (2014). La Tercera Vía . *Revista Estudios Europeos* .
- Amartya , S. (1997). *Development as Capability Expansion"*. *Human development and the International Development Strategy for the 1990's* . Londres: MacMillan/United Nations.
- Andrade, R. (2003). *Legislación Económica del Ecuador*. Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala.
- Apolo Jimenez, J. (2013). *La Tercera Vía de Anthony Giddens*. Machala : Universidad Técnica de Machala .
- Asamblea Constituyente. (2008). *Constitución de la República del Ecuador*. Registro Oficial 449.
- Ávila Santamaría, R. (2012). *Los Derechos y sus Garantías*. Quito: CEDEC.
- Boron, A. A. (2008). *Socialismo siglo XXI, ¿hay vida después del neoliberalismo?* Buenos Aires: Luxenburg.
- Calvo, Cindy. (2009). *La "nueva" izquierda latinoamericana: características y retos futuros*. Retrieved from <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=72912559004>
- Castillo, O. (2007). *El desarrollo, ¿progreso o ilusión?: aportes para el debate desde el ámbito rural*. Bogotá, Colombia: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.
- Corporación de Finanzas Populares y Solidarias . (2015). *Economía y Finanzas populares y Solidarias para el buen Vivir* . Quito : Corporación de Finanzas Populares y Solidarias.
- Cortez , D. (2010). *La construcción social del Buen Vivir (Sumak Kawsay) en Ecuador*. Quito : Programa andino de derechos humanos .
- Cortez, D. (2009). Genealogía del Buen Vivir en la nueva Constitución Ecuatoriana. *VIII International Congress for Intercultural Philosophy*. Seul: Ewha Womans University.
- Cramme, O., & Diamond, P. (2012, abril 9). Después de la Tercera Vía. *El País*, p. Opinión.
- Dávalos, P. (2014). Sumak Kawsay (La vida en plenitud). In A. Hidalgo Capitán, A. Guillén García, & N. Deleg Guazha, *Antología del pensamiento indigenista Ecuatoriano sobre Sumak Kawsay*. Huelva, España: Centro de Investigación en Migraciones.
- Ehrke, M. (1999). *La Tercera Vía y la Socialdemocracia Europea* . Fundación Friedrich Elbert .

- El Universo. (2002). *Sociedades de Economía Mixta*. Retrieved from <http://www.eluniverso.com/2002/06/11/0001/21/5C5F0C0683A5470A9620E286D90989A1.html>
- Escalante, F., & Lomnitz, C. (2004). *Otro sueño americano: en torno a ¿Quiénes somos? de Samuel P. Huntington*. Barcelona, España: Paidós.
- Escobar, A. (2005). *El "postdesarrollo" como concepto y práctica social*. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela.
- Estermann, J. (1998). *Filosofía Andina. Estudio intercultural de la sabiduría autóctona andina*. Quito: Abya Yala.
- Fernández García, A. (1999). Auge y caída del comunismo. *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 107-146.
- Foro Nuevas Propuestas. (2014). *Comunicación y Poder en el Capitalismo Global. El papel de los medios*. Madrid: Foro Nuevas Propuestas.
- Giddens, A. (1998). *La tercera vía. La renovación de la socialdemocracia*. España: Taurus.
- Giddens, A. (1999). *La tercera vía, la renovación de la socialdemocracia*. Madrid: Editorial Santillana.
- Giddens, A. (2001). *La tercera vía y sus críticos*. Barcelona, España: Taurus.
- Gómez, J. (2005, Noviembre 29). *Derecha e Izquierda: ¿de qué hablamos?* Retrieved from <http://www.voltairenet.org/article131735.html>
- Gudynas, E. (2009). Seis puntos clave en ambiente. In A. Acosta, & E. Martínez, *Buen Vivir* (pp. 39-49). Santiago: Universidad Bolivariana.
- Gudynas, E. (2011). Buen vivir: Germinando alternativas al desarrollo. *América Latina en movimiento, XXXV, Época II*(462).
- Gudynas, E. (2013, Septiembre 25). El malestar Moderno con el Buen Vivir: Reacciones y resistencias frente a una alternativa al desarrollo/ Análisis. *La Hora Nacional*.
- Halevi, J. (2003). *Capitalismo y Economía Postkeynesiana: algunas observaciones críticas*. Retrieved from http://revistaeconomicacritica.org/sites/default/files/revistas/n2/7_capitalismo_economia_postkeynesiana.pdf
- Hall, E. T. (1972). *Beyond Culture*. Chicago: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Held, D. (1998). *Democracy and globalization: Re-Imagining Political Community*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hourtart, F. (2012, Febrero 1). *Diario La Hora*. Retrieved from <http://lahora.com.ec/index.php/noticias/show/1101280766#.Vovxb7Z961s>
- Jobert, B. (1987). *L'État en Action: Politiques Publiques et Corporatismes*. Francia: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Lander, E. (2009). Hacia otra noción de la riqueza. In A. M. Acosta, *Buen Vivir* (pp. 31-40). Santiago: Universidad Bolivariana.

- Leon, M. (2009). *“Cambiar la economía para cambiar la vida”*. En *El Buen Vivir. Una vía para el desarrollo*. Acosta Alberto y Esperanza Martínez (Comp.). Quito, Abya Yala.
- López, J. (2011). *Los errores de la izquierda*.
- López, P. (2015, octubre 31). El “Buen Vivir” según el canciller de Bolivia, David Choquehuanca. *Diario Uchile*, p. Internacional.
- Maldonado, L. (2014). Interculturalidad y políticas públicas en el marco del Buen Vivir. In A. Hidalgo Capitán, A. Guillén García, & N. Deleg Guazha, *Antología del pensamiento indigenista Ecuatoriano sobre Sumak Kawsay* (pp. 211-220). Huelva, España: Centro de Investigación en Migraciones.
- Marcet, J. (2012). *La derecha en España: una aproximación histórica*. Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.
- Mattick, P. (2012). El capitalismo de Estado y la Economía Mixta. In P. Mattick, *Economía, política y la era de la inflación* (pp. 1-13).
- Meiksins, E. (2000). *Democracia contra Capitalismo*. México D.F.: Siglo XXI.
- Melia, B. (2002, Diciembre 9). *Filosofía del buen vivir*. Retrieved from Filosofía del buen vivir: <http://filosofiadelduenvivir.com/definiciones/>
- Ministerio de Coordinación de la Política Económica. (2012). *Políticas Públicas para el Buen Vivir*. Quito: Ministerio de Coordinación de la Política Económica.
- Ministerio de Educación. (2015). *¿Qué es el Buen Vivir?* Retrieved from <http://educacion.gob.ec/que-es-el-buen-vivir/>
- Olmos, C., & Silva, R. (2011). *El desarrollo del Estado de bienestar en los países capitalistas avanzados. Un enfoque socio-histórico*. Retrieved from <http://www.sye.uchile.cl/index.php/RSE/article/view/10599/10805>
- Orellana, J. L. (2012). *La derecha radical europea, en la segunda mitad del siglo XX*. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/PROYECTOS-II/Downloads/Dialnet-LaDerechaRadicalEuropeaEnLaSegundaMitadDelSigloXX-27582.pdf
- Pinto, R. (2014, Mayo 12). *Los errores de la izquierda*. Retrieved from <http://ramiropinto.es/2014/05/12/errores-izquierda/>
- Pisarello, G. (2011). *América Latina: los retos del "Buen Vivir"*. Retrieved from <http://www.mientrastanto.org/boletin-88/notas/america-latina-los-retos-del-buen-vivir>
- Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. (2013). *Plan Nacional para el Buen Vivir 2013-2017*. Quito (Ecuador): Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo.
- Rivero, L. (2012, Mayo 24). *Tendencias políticas de izquierda y derecha: definición*. Retrieved from <https://luisriverobertorelli.wordpress.com/2012/05/24/explicacion-de-las-tendencias-politicas-de-izquierda-y-derecha/>
- Rostow, W. W. (1960). *he Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Schroder, W. (2010). *La búsqueda de la social democracia "Terceras Vías"*. Buenos Aires : Fundacion Fredrich Elbert.
- Secretaría Nacional de Comunicación . (2012). *La "Revolución Ciudadana" de Rafael Correa podría constituir una tercera vía latinoamericana*. Retrieved from <http://www.comunicacion.gob.ec/la-revolucion-ciudadana-de-rafael-correa-podria-constituir-una-tercera-via-latinoamericana/>
- Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo. (2013). *Buen Vivir, plan nacional 2013-2017*. Quito: SENPLADES.
- Segovia, J. (2013, Octubre 26). *Al fondo a la izquierda, por favor*. Retrieved from <https://joseluisyela.wordpress.com/2013/10/26/la-izquierda-convencional-y-su-concepto-del-intensivismo-agrario/>
- SENPLADES . (2013). *Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir 2013-2017*. Quito : Secretaria Nacional de Planificacion y Desarrollo .
- SENPLADES. (2009). *Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir*. Quito : Secretaria Nacional de Planificacion y Desarrollo .
- SENPLADES. (2012). *Plan Buen Vivir 2013-2017*. Quito (Ecuador): Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo.
- Shiva, V. (2002). *Las guerras del agua: contaminación, privatización y negocio*. Barcelona, España: Icaria Editorial.
- Sullings, G. (2010). *Economía mixta, más allá del capitalismo*. Retrieved from http://www.partidohumanista.es/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/guillermo_sullings_economia_mixta.pdf
- Sylva, E. (2003). *Mushuk Allpa. La experiencia de los indígenas de Pastaza en el manejo de la selva amazónica*. . Ecuador: Comunidec.
- Thoening, J. (1997). "Política pública y acción pública". *Gestión y Política Pública*, 1.
- Vasallo Gomez, Y., & Alfonso Concepcion , A. (2014). *La tercera vía, programa y perspectiva ecológica*. San Jose de las Lajas: Universidad Agraria de Cuba.
- Vergara, A. (2014). *La Tercera Via en Latinoamerica* . Observatorio de la Economia Lationoamericana .
- Vilain , R. (2006). *Un acercamiento a la Tercera Via de Anthony Giddens*. Guayana : Centro de investigaciones y estudios sobre Literatura y Arte .
- Wray, N. (2009). "Los retos del régimen de desarrollo. El Buen Vivir en la Constitución". En *El Buen Vivir. Una vía para el desarrollo*. Acosta Alberto y Esperanza Martínez. Quito: Abya Yala.