



**UNIVERSIDAD DEL AZUAY  
FACULTY OF LAW  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**“Analysis of political-social discourses presented by Ecuador and Peru, reflected in its external public policies of integration and regional development, and the supranationality of Unasur”**

*Work prior to obtaining a degree in International Studies with bilingual major in Foreign Trade*

**Author:**  
Ana Isabel Ríos Arias

**Director:**  
Mst. Kamila Torres Orellana

Cuenca-Ecuador

2017

### **Dedicated to**

To my mother, who seeking loving caresses for my soul, is and will always be my inspiration to create a unique version of myself. She taught me that education is one of the most beautiful tools to serve others, because it not only exercises our mind, the most valuable machine, the dreams' factory but also sensitizes us and makes us co-creators of our society and our environment.

To my father, for showing me that altruism, ethics and equilibrium must prevail in each of our actions. By his example and his ability to face injustice and fight for respect for the rights somehow motivated my critical ability. He taught me how to be curious, to doubt and to act.

To the lives to which the pragmatism of the development consumes daily. To those who work tirelessly in function of the welfare of their families, environment, and community in spite of the structural inequalities of the system.

To those who observe in South American integration a possibility to innovate and grow together. To those who integrate their community with wisdom, for someone else's future.

To all who dream daily, and whose spirit refuses to settle for established situations, in freedom or silence. Thinking different is a challenge.

## **Acknowledgments**

For the strength in every step and moment of darkness to almighty God and his infinite love and generosity.

To my parents, eternal gratitude for the opportunities, the affection, the patience and the understanding during the elaboration of this investigation.

To my thesis director Kamila Torres Orellana for the invested time, words of encouragement, readings, re-readings, observations and suggestions. For letting me fly with the mind and to land towards new visions of knowledge and reality.

To my friends and classmates, with whom I learned that teamwork, collaboration, creativity, debate, awareness and learning on different topics that exceed what we learn in classrooms make the difference. Each one of them is a valuable human being that will make the world a better place from different fronts.

To all my teachers and professors at the University of Azuay and throughout my academic training, since without any of them, I would not be the person that I am today.

To all who contributed with their personal opinions, comments, recommendations of authors, words of encouragement, participation in class, posts of Facebook or Twitter, in short, valuable material that was resounding in my memories and that has motivated the writing of this document.

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## **Abstract**

In the forum of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), since its establishment in 2008 up to the present, numerous political and social discourses have been issued with content clearly focused towards the achievement of a more integrated cultural, economic, social and political region. Furthermore, another important discussed topic is the reduction of socio-economic asymmetries with the objective of achieving regional development. However, diversity among the Member States is evident. Hence, this study makes a Critical Discourse Analysis of the socio-political speeches of leaders-representatives of two Unasur member countries: on the one hand, Ecuador with the proposal of “Good Living, *Sumak Kawsay*”; on the other hand, Peru with a more liberal governmental trend. This research will observe the alignment of internal and external public policies, applied in the light of regional objectives. The purpose of this research is to know through discursive analysis, the different conceptions of development and integration reflected in the various public policies that can enhance or be an obstacle to the common goal of the organization UNASUR.

## INTRODUCTION

South America has more than four hundred million inhabitants living in 12 different countries. It is a place in which many languages and cultures coexist, sharing a historical background. It is a unique region that possesses 27% of the world's freshwater reserves, an exquisite natural wealth represented by the imposing Amazonian forest and its biodiversity and finally, a privileged geostrategic position. Within this context, Unasur was born. This regional integration alternative differs from traditional South American organizations, not only by its inclusive structure (considering for the first time countries like Guyana and Suriname) but also because solidarity and peace between nations are its basis. Unasur is one of the most promising options at a regional level to build a multipolar world. However, the process of integration is at a standstill due to diverse criteria held by sovereign member States. Therefore, many scholars today refer to Unasur only as a forum for political concertation, reducing its potential of becoming a supranational entity.

In the contemporary world, one of the most complex discussions is given around “development” as the final goal of most public policies. On the other hand, serious dilemmas about the essence of this concept come from different perspectives of knowledge. Seeing that, in this study, it is my contention to assess to what extent apparently different conceptions of development materialized in national public policies in Ecuador and Peru can influence the process of integration in Unasur. All this using discourse analysis (DA) as a tool. The chosen discourses were issued in Unasur by the president of Ecuador Rafael Correa Delgado and the president of Peru Ollanta Humala Tasso in the period from 2008 to 2015.

The first chapter of this research investigates the origins and the gestation of two concepts: development and integration. Firstly, to talk about development it is necessary to refer to the context of post- World War II to identify certain characteristics and strategies that leaders of Ecuador and Peru may have adopted in their discourses and include into national public policies. The chapter carries some theories built around the development thinking and the paradigm of modernity, by using two categories, proposed by Amartya Sen: a) Development as a “fierce” process or BLAST category, b) Development as an essentially “friendly” process or

GALA category. In addition, it considers several alternatives to development. These alternatives will radically reorient the concept of development and its strategies. The final part of this chapter considers some historical approaches of integration, as an international relations phenomena. It will focus specifically on the case of South America, Unasur and the member states Ecuador and Peru.

The following chapter entirely covers the exercise of DA of both leaders in the South American Nations' Union (Unasur). For better understanding, the text offers some information about Unasur structure and its regional objectives. In the next part, it introduces the chosen methodology for the DA: different methodological strategies proposed by several linguists, philosophers and scholars of the political and social sciences. Teun Van Dijk, promoter of Critical Discourse Analysis and Michel Foucault with his valuable works about the order and the power of a discourse within the social fabric are two among the main ones. Finally, it includes the analytical and theoretical reasoning of both delivered speech as well as public policies and development plans in the two cases: Ecuador and Peru.

The third chapter talks about the situation of Unasur, its possibilities, and limitations of being forged as a supranational entity. It also summarizes the main questions obtained from the DA of the countries under study. Additionally, the text presents some thoughts about the importance of achieving an area of convergence and regional cooperation that transcends the political sphere through regional policy-making. In the same way, it talks about the urgency for a redefinition of the concept development as a universal and universalizing notion.

Note to the reader: this analysis aims to examine and reason comprehensively the external and internal processes that occur in Ecuador and Peru, and how the lack of congruence between them decelerates the possibility of achieving a committed and a larger-scope process of integration in Unasur. The intention of creating a supranational entity or declaring obsolete certain developmental guidelines within Unasur would be possible only with the willingness of each one of the inhabitants of this "Great Nation". Therefore this research will not solve the problems of integration or development. It only constitutes a set of thoughts and analysis, perhaps so disjointed, by using the words of José Mujica, as South America.



“Things and words were to be separated from one another.

The eye was thenceforth destined to see and only to see,  
the ear to hear and only to hear. The discourse was still to  
have the task of speaking that which is, but it was no  
longer to be anything more than what is said”.

Michel Foucault, 1968

## CHAPTER 1

### THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT AND INTEGRATION

This chapter aims to explain concretely integration and development as two necessary processes for Latin America. The region demands a representation “in equity” in relation to other world's regions. However, this implies a great complexity given the different conceptions of the terms or processes that have been developing since the beginning of humanity. Those concepts exist consciously (with full will) or unconsciously (alienation of the will by means of domination, for example). Firstly, to demand equity, we presuppose the existence of biased attitudes, conditions of injustice in which differences are obviated, or some historical <sup>1</sup> situations are reproducing a system of supremacy and denial of “the other”.

Then, how did it come to this situation of inequality? Does this have any relationship with the development of peoples? If the development ensures equity, is there then a condition of underdevelopment that justifies inequity? What has been the generally accepted and predominant knowledge on the subject and where did it start? Within this context, does integration represent an alternative? In which sense? Necessarily to answer these questions and others that may be fostered from the perspective of the reader, I will frequently use history to warn ourselves about the implementation and operation of power relations.

Setting a point in history where to start is not an easy task. Development, rather than a static concept, is a singular process that has been reformed from people's will to improve their lifestyle. This willingness has generated curiosity to create new technologies, political and government systems, productive partnerships, entities to meet the growing social and communitarian needs, endless innovations to achieve that purpose. From prehistoric times until today, 'development'<sup>2</sup> has been produced in multiple spheres, and it is still not known the culmination of this permanent quest for the needs' satisfaction due to the complexity of human thought.

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<sup>1</sup> Political, ideological, social, cultural, economic and environmental aspects of influence are included within history.

<sup>2</sup> At this point, development is understood as a way of arriving to the satisfaction of human needs, later several dimensions of this concept will be included.

As we will observe throughout this research, structures that most people have used to generate knowledge are quite "westernized". Consequently, we tend to categorize and thus to fragment the world and our experiences in it. Edward T. Hall (1976) argues that the constant fragmentation of oneself and its environment (predominant aspect in the formation of the 'western human being') generates chaos, as unconsciously refuses the part being that integrates. Therefore, it will not be strange for the reader when thinking of 'wealth' is subsequently related to 'poverty', 'well-being' with 'malaise', 'modern' with 'old', 'North' with 'South', 'efficiency' with 'inefficiency' or 'development' with 'underdevelopment'. Paradoxically, it is this constant categorization another factor that obscures the understanding of this social phenomenon and its theorization. Especially, due to the limitation of establishing a static concept on a subject obtained from the same source that its total opposite. I have arrived to question the validity of both positions from different perspectives: which one of the possible positions is the best or the worst? For whom? According to whom? How are they accomplished or not? There is no answer or absolute truth.

In the next chapter, first I will refer to the theory of development and concepts raised by different currents of thought taking as a starting point post-World War II period, and how these created ideas on the integration of groups, communities and finally countries or republics. With this conceptual background, I will focus on South America and the birth of integration projects and their philosophical motivations, to reach out specifically to the formation of the Union of South American Nations (Unasur). Finally, the situation of two countries, members of Unasur, will be outlined: Peru and Ecuador. Their views apparently differ on how to achieve the development of their peoples. However, they both seek to articulate their position to fulfill the objectives of this supranational entity. I will cover this last point in Chapter 2 through a discursive analysis.

Harry Truman announced to the world his position in relation to the underdevelopment in the world, during his speech of possession as president of the United States of America, he uttered:

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in

history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people [...]. I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life [...]. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair-dealing. Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge. (Truman, 1964 [1949])

It is necessary to go over certain terms of this conceptualization. Poverty is seen as a dangerous category that must be overcome through industrial production and scientific advances to achieve a better life for people. It is a clear statement that promotes capitalism and the creation of consumer societies. If the way in which Truman presented the idea of development was or was not valid is at the reader's discretion. However, it should be noted that this idea inspired several theories on the development issue and those have been "applied" all over the world. This idea has deeply permeated into the social, political and above all economic idiosyncrasies. The Truman doctrine's purpose was to reproduce in the world the characteristics of developed countries: high industrialization and urbanization, agriculture's modernization, rapid production's growth, improvement in the standard of living, and the adoption of cultural modern values (Escobar, 2007), among others.

It should be emphasized that many scholars have theorized this knowledge in diverse ways. Amartya Sen (1998), philosopher and economist, proposes a systematization of development approaches in two groups: BLAST and GALA. This Sen's categorization describes some of the above-mentioned theories. By using this structure, my objective is establishing an inclusive concept of development with the most outstanding contribution of each of these currents of thought. The text will also consider some alternatives to development and contemporary reflections.

**Hard Development Theories or BLAST<sup>3</sup>:** Generally focused more towards economic aspects. It implies a 'necessary sacrifice' for the country. This category includes concepts such as modernization, dependency, and neoliberal theories.

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<sup>3</sup> Sen uses Winston Churchill's expression: "blood, sweat and tears" to illustrate a required sacrifice.

### **Modernization Theory (boom in 1945-1965)**

If there is a need to modernize something, previously that something has to have the condition of “non-modernity”. As it was established before, those two trends coexist. In late XIX century and early XX century, Latin America persisted in an economic structure inherited from its colonial past. The region considering itself as a mere exporter of raw materials demonstrates its vulnerability on many fronts. Sovereign and independent republics did not have organized long-term plans on how they would achieve the economic growth and social development of their populations. Thus, they opted for a specialization in primary sector products which makes impossible the consolidation of a social and economic change to reverse their position as a “periphery”.

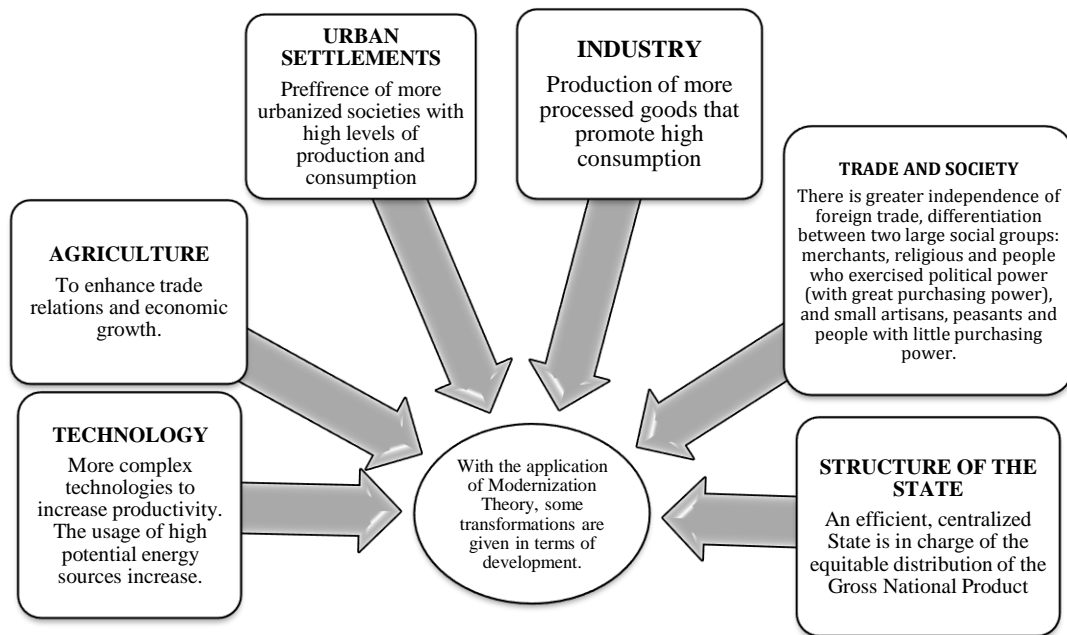
Despite the fact that Latin America had the labor force, natural resources and small enterprises to develop the industry did not get a good position in the international scene. It required more foreign direct investment (strong foreign currency) in the country, so they can buy manufactured goods and other products (including industrial machinery) which are not developed by the national industry. Hence, the general imbalance caused by this situation becomes recurrent and cyclical by leaving less developed countries, less developed than before (since they receive more external investment/debt, but that money is used to import more expensive goods) and developed countries become creditors of colossal debts and in addition, suppliers of industrialized goods (expensive for its added value), technology and industrial machinery.

By not having enough economic resources to ensure the population needs' satisfaction (food, housing, health, and education), countries cannot create more wealth. Without money, there is not a possibility to invest. Without investment, there is no industry. Countries cannot offer great added value products without competitive industries. Thus, there is no such development. Ragnar Nurkse (1907-1959), American economist, defined this repeated situation that reproduces inequality as “vicious circle of poverty”. Consequently, poverty and underdevelopment became synonyms. In this sense, every modern country is at the same time: developed, industrialized and democratic.

For some theorist, the investment of capital was urgent. For others, it was a process of evolution from the surpluses' production in agriculture to finance industries (modern part of society). Within this latter group is Walt W. Rostow. For him, development consisted of a "rapid and stable advance of an economy" that was achieved in 5 stages:

- 1) Traditional Society
- 2) Prior conditions to the initial impulse or transitional phase encouraged by an experimental science
- 3) Take off phase
- 4) "March to maturity"
- 5) Age of mass consumption or high consumption

In modernization's theory, the level of development was assessed primarily by some economic indicators such as the Gross Domestic Product (GDP, still considered as a parameter) or, Per Capita Gross Domestic Product (per capita GDP). However, these indicators are much criticized. They can present very positive figures, but still do not reflect population's reality in terms of poverty reduction, schooling rates, access to health, among others. These factors also indicate the society strength. According to this theory, industrial PRODUCTIVITY is the most important element of development. It means more throughput and benefits per unit of production, emphasizing the importance of technological innovation. Currently, it is important to consider that biasing development solely to the economic field is an ill-advised idea since it includes multiple social, political and environmental dimensions. The Argentinian sociologist Gino Germani (1969) suggests that this transitional process to modernity had an impact on three key areas: [especially] economic development, social and political modernization.



**Figure 1** Brief summary of the transformations achieved with the application of Modernization Theory "From a traditional society to a modern society". Source: Made by Author.

### **Dependency Theory (1965-1980)**

This theory was born as a critique of the modernization theory. Several Latin American theorists talked about the Dependency approach. In the context of Post-World War II Latin America, some parts of Asia and Africa were neither fully capitalist nor radical socialist (except Cuba and very specific cases in Asia as Vietnam). Therefore, countries called “third world” or “non-aligned<sup>4</sup>” did not orient their actions towards any of the two most predominant poles. However, these three continents played an interesting role in the international arena. In April 1955, they celebrated the Bandung Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. It promoted self-determination and development of peoples based on solidarity, economic and cultural cooperation and world peace. The main objective of this conference was to strengthen ties between countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and end the Cold War. This was achieved through the creation of regional organizations and economic policies of cooperation between “third world” countries. This effort was crucial for structuring a multipolar system.

<sup>4</sup> During the Cold War, Latin America had two options: 1) a "natural" alignment to the United States, due to the continent geographical position. 2) Militarization of governments and radicalization of the Cold War (characterized by *coups d'état* and revolutions with external support). However, the region was not a priority for the US interests.

At that time, some institutions related to the “Interamerican System”, promoted by the United States, through the Organization of American States-OAS), the Latin American Free Trade Association-LAFTA (1960), which proposed a free trade zone in the region, and the Alliance for Progress (1961) for development and economic cooperation, among others<sup>5</sup> were born. For promoting cooperation and development at the international level, countries created initiatives and even organizations. For example, in 1960 the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This organization’s aim initially was to rebuild Europe after the war (OEEC, Organization for European Economic Cooperation) but currently it has 34 members (including the United States, Canada, Chile, and Mexico). Furthermore, many Latin American countries have been negotiating their membership or simply have been maintaining partnerships for cooperation. (OECD, 2016).

Regarding the progressive initiatives of the United States in Latin America, it is necessary to highlight certain fundamental historical aspects. In order for the Alliance of Progress to take place beforehand, there was a so-called Pan-American Operation<sup>6</sup>. This operation suggests the possibility of ensuring the defense and economic improvement of Latin America, through “the preservation of democracy, religious freedom and respect for private property and free enterprise” (The Pan-American Union, 1961). The premises established in this operation created the Committee of 21<sup>7</sup>, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) which promotes the development of Latin America with projects and programs, the Central American Common Market (1960) and several organizations approved within the OAS regime. As a result, John F. Kennedy’s initiative finally achieved the Alliance for Progress. Its main guidelines were creating agrarian and tax reform, promoting Latin American

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<sup>5</sup> The following institutions are part of the inter-American system: Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA); Association of Caribbean States (ACS); Latin American Integration Association (ALADI); Central American Bank for Economic Integration; Inter-American Development Bank (IDB); Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean; Inter-American Commission on Human Rights; Inter-American Commission of Women; Inter-American Juridical Committee; Andean Community; Caribbean Community (Caricom); Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF); Inter-American Court of Human Rights; Summit of the Americas; Inter-American Indian Institute; Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA); Inter-American Institute of Human Rights; Inter-American Children's Institute; Pan American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH); Common Market of the South (Mercosur); Pan American Health Organization (PAHO); Secretariat of Central American Economic Integration (SIECA); Central American Integration System (SICA); Latin American Economic System (SELA), among others. (Menezes)

<sup>6</sup> The former president of Brazil, Juscelino Kubitschek named it in an *aide-mémoire* in August of 1958 sent to American countries.

<sup>7</sup> Committee of 21 experts who would be responsible for the technical proposals to carry out the objectives of the Panamerican Operation.



free trade, improving access to education, health, and housing, establishing economic rules of cooperation, among others.

However, there is a paradox within this "structure", even if the "development" of Latin America is considered as objective. During the early years of these organizations, and even decades later, the region was undergoing a severe process of economic stagnation. At the same time, it began its journey towards import substitution, the rise of transnational corporations and the fluctuation of international capital. As a consequence, Latin American countries needed the internationalization of their productive sector. Basically, three currents of thought (that can be considered dependentists) grew: 1) the autocratic structuralist current of Raúl Prebisch, 2) the neo-Marxist with a dialectical approach by Theotonio Dos Santos and the unorthodox Marxist propitiated by Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, and finally, 3) the non-Marxist with André Gunder Frank.

### **1. Structuralism Approach**

As stated above, the international labor division causes that industrial development concentrates in some countries (center), while others turn into mere suppliers of raw materials (periphery). This center-periphery, north-south duality was popularized by the structuralist vision of Raúl Prebisch<sup>8</sup>, recognized Argentine economist. He was General Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America<sup>9</sup> (ECLAC-CELAC in Spanish). Indeed, he exerted a great influence in Latin American countries, in their economies and in their vision of development from within. With the experience of the agro-export model depletion, Latin American governments (mostly nationalists) implemented more severe regimes with regard to setting the basis to the industrialization process. In the first years, the Industrialization for the Substitution of Imports (ISI) had an industrial tariff protection, a public financing destined to productive investments, and an application of fiscal stimuli, among other measures. In this way, the Latin American countries achieved a meaningful reduction in the imports coefficient (Montalvo Benítez, 2014). This recipe of economic

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<sup>8</sup> Prebisch had several collaborators to develop his structuralist theory: Celso Furtado, Aníbal Pinto, Jorge Ahumada, Osvaldo Sunkel, Aldo Ferrer, among others.

<sup>9</sup> The Economic and Social Council Resolution 106 (VI) established ECLAC on February 25, 1948. The Council decides that the Commission should adopt the name "Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean" in 1984. (Economic Commission For Latin America and the Caribbean ECLAC, 2016)

strategies stands triumphant in terms of import substitution of some consumer goods. Nevertheless, it creates raw material and intermediate inputs needs for industrial use.

Prebisch did not share completely the conception of a “modernizing” development obtained through the industrialization of new countries. However, he considered it was a way to catch technical progress that gradually allows raising the standard of living of the masses. For the Argentinean, underdevelopment was not part of the industrialization process, but a condition by itself. According to him, this condition is the result of different historical circumstances that influenced the social structure and the labor market for the sake of Northern countries. In addition, he stated that “poor nations” cannot follow the same path to development as “rich nations” since their conditions are different. He thought that for a developed country, it is important to maintain this dependency relationship (political, economic, educational, informational, cultural, religious, etc.). For this reason, developed countries seek mechanisms to eliminate any attempt by dependent nations to resist their influence, through economic sanctions and in some cases even the use of military force. The duty of a great part of Latin American countries was to extract from foreign trade some propulsive elements of economic development (revenues of exports for public investment, a big accumulation of capital that with an efficient administration let them take advantage of the industrial work and also let them raise the population’s standard of living, for example.)

Thus Prebisch and ECLAC-CEPAL advocated a “mixed model” of development that combines import substitution with the promotion of new exports of greater commercial value. In this way, the responsibility for achieving development lies within “developing countries” through a) increasing in domestic demand, b) generating industries to receive higher economic incomes, and c) all with a guarantee of political stability and an efficient state bureaucracy.

## **2. Neo-Marxist approach (Dos Santos) and unorthodox Marxist (Cardoso and Faletto)**

It is born from the socio-historical context where many revolutions began: Cuban, Sandinista, Zapatista, Allende’s triumph in Chile (1970-1974), among others.

Therefore, the idea of communism spread throughout the continent. This approach is known as “neo-Marxist” since it believes in the reactivation of imperialism theory. Theotonio Dos Santos, a Brazilian sociologist, is one of the main representatives of this approach, along with Ruy M. Marini and Vania Bambirra who gathered the thoughts of Paul Baran (1957), Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin. They thought that underdevelopment is the natural result of imperialism. Within this theorization, the primary objective of development is social change. As mentioned by researchers Norbis Mujica and Sorayda Rincón:

Development ultimate goal would be to equalize social, political and economic opportunities, both at the national level and in relations with other, more advanced societies, with an emphasis on action, instruments of political power and power structures themselves for the orientation, effectiveness, intensity, and nature of change. (2010, pg. 300)

In the 1960s and 1970s, in the wake of the economic, political, social and ideological crisis, restrictions on foreign capital generated the effects of a "modernization" in peripheral societies (increasing external indebtedness and lack of financing for industrialization and international competitiveness). Theotonio Dos Santos states that the world economy is discriminatory since productive capital is its dynamic axis. For the sociologist there are basically three types of countries: a) central countries of capitalism (similar to Prebisch's view): which condense the productive forces that dynamize the international sector, they are dominant, b) dependent countries (periphery): which do not have the dynamizing forces of the economy, and therefore can only expand according to the former countries, they are dependent, and c) socialist countries: they build a new system of economic relations outside capitalism.

Historical views of dependency *	Who is dominant?	Objective of dependency
<b>Colonial Dependency</b>	Who owns commercial and financial capital. Colonizing powers.	“Central countries of capitalism” try to maintain dependence and reproduce a worldwide economic system where the former possess a great concentration and monopoly of capital and productive forces.
<b>Industrial Dependency</b>	Who owns the capital to invest in industries and to take advantage of the production of durable goods (center-developed)	
<b>Technological-industrial</b>	Transnational companies investing in dependent countries	

<b>dependency</b>	to supply domestic markets.	
The solution that could be established to break this relationship of dependence would be essentially the construction of an economic system outside the influence of capitalism (socialism) achieved through the combination of different sociopolitical forces, of the dependent countries. * According to the neo-Marxist dialectic of T. Dos Santos.		

**Figure 2. Historical visions of dependence according to Theotonio Dos Santos. Source: Author.**

The application of the ISI model promoted a strong state apparatus capable of arranging the economic zone and providing them with elements for accumulation through legislation and promotion of production. The government acting as the promoter of the company necessarily becomes autocratic and in some cases is militarized. It is separated from its *raison d'être*: its social base, the people. Therefore, it is contradictory.

For Cardozo and Faletto, the establishment of “limits” is important for the State’s performance as the organizer of the society, always considering the population will and autonomy as substantial factor. The idea of these theorists was less “risky” because it sought to avoid fundamentalism or fully promotion of socialism. However, Fernando Henrique Cardozo maintained that “dependency is defined in the theoretical field of the Marxist theory of capital”. Later, he changed his opinion about this approach and he supported neoliberal theories.

### **3. Non-Marxist Approach**

These thoughts were born in a time when calling something totally non-Marxist is somewhat audacious. Yet this is how this author considered himself: “unorthodox, not a neo-Marxist, or any other type of Marxist” (Kay, 2006, 182). André Gunder Frank, a German economist, managed to argue a theory of dependence opposite to Rostow’s postulates. In his article “The development of underdevelopment” published in Monthly Review in September 1966, he argued that underdevelopment does not exist like pre-development historical condition. He proposed it this way:

The now-developed countries were never underdeveloped, though they may have been undeveloped.[...]contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now-developed metropolitan countries. (Pg.18)

Gunder Frank can be a dependent theoretician because he recognized the relationship between central and peripheral countries as a way to perpetuate underdevelopment.

In sum, four key points for overcoming "underdevelopment" stand out (according to the dependency approach):

- a) An increase in effective domestic demand (development of the domestic market)
- b) A recognition of the industrial sector importance in reaching high levels of national development (higher added value products)
- c) An increase of workers' income to generate greater demand in the domestic market and to balance social classes structure
- d) The government should reinforce the idea of national development and increase the population's standard of living.

It promotes a productive development that guarantees equality and justice to all the population. It means the promotion of social EQUITY.

### **Critique towards Dependency Theory**

Initially, the ISI model worked. However, the strict structural reforms that were implemented to overcome the deep economic backwardness in Latin America were incapable of generating long-term economic and social stability. The imposition of high tariffs as well as the excessive public subsidies promoted a lack of industrial competitiveness. The considerable reduction in foreign trade revenues (inherent to 'inward development') created the impossibility of an efficient and innovative industry. In the same way, it hampered an improvement in population's well-being.

Regarding the society structure, the ISI model was not effective in narrowing gaps between established social classes: industrialists vs. workers, upper class, middle and low class (Baer and Kerstenetzky, 1964). The former with high incomes managed to obtain expensive foreign products, but those with low incomes (a large percentage of the population) were satisfied by purchasing basic consumer goods. People with low incomes' ability to influence the evolution of national public spending was very limited or void.

Without an organized national economic planning, some countries abandoned agriculture until the 1980s. Measures suggested by dependency theorists do not trigger development for Latin American countries. For some critics, the biggest mistake was reproducing socialism failures. Far from establishing a developmental-

socialist society, the “solution” for these countries was adopting neoliberal policies. All of this considering that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund highly influenced Latin American policies.

In any case, the common feature found in the two mentioned theories (modernization and dependency) is that the nucleus from which development emerges would be a "nation-state".

### **Neoliberal approach of the Development**

With the decline of the vision proposed by dependency theorists, classic concepts on the economic development from Adam Smith until John Stuart Mill rose again. Moreover, the collapse of socialist movements and increased differences between developed and underdeveloped countries helped to the establishment of a theory based on classical liberal principles. As a consequence, neoliberalism<sup>10</sup> was born. It includes markets liberalization, lower tariff barriers, encouragement to competitiveness and development of private enterprises. The role of the State is reduced to the possible minimum. It could slightly influence the establishment of prices and the use of natural resources, as well as ensure the safety of people, guaranteeing civil and political rights, and international relations (Borja Cevallos, 2010). Similar to Adam Smith thoughts, the State intervenes only in what the market is unable to provide. One of its main exponents was Milton Friedman from the School of Chicago (Chicago Boys). He supported a moderate and constant growth of the monetary mass to solve the problems of the economy. According to him, a stable economy was the only way to achieve political stability. The free market would help to achieve economic stability.

Therefore, neoliberalism is based mainly on two aspects (Delgado Serrano, 2004):

- 1) To defend market efficiency: this implies the "optimal" allocation of resources (towards the most productive sectors), and obviously a failure of state intervention in economic activities.

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<sup>10</sup> There is a great debate about the total scope of the term "neoliberalism", however that discussion exceeds the objectives of this research. I will take the words of Rodrigo Borja (2010) "liberalism, in its origins, was an ethical ideology that sought the liberation of the individual. The accumulation of their thesis produced an effect neither foreseen nor desired. Neoliberalism, on the other hand, is much less innocent: it knows the unbalanced consequences of its proposals but does not feel an ethical remorse. " It seeks with neoliberalism that the state has no participation in the economy, totally the idea of the market over the state.

- 2) To highlight the benefits of full participation in foreign trade: in clear contrast to the ISI model that restricted imports and did not promote all kinds of exports.

Neoliberal approach to development focuses primarily on innovation and technical progress, on the "certainty" that an uninterrupted market will be more efficient and effective to provide the country with greater economic welfare. Several scholars of Friedman's thinking, such as Jacob Viner (1966), proposed the potentization of the agricultural sector as a pre-development condition. They considered that when industry is not fully developed, the resources generated by agriculture must be used to invest in industry and subsequently cover the population needs.

The application of this thought within public policies and government corresponds to the after-period the "lost decade of Latin America"<sup>11</sup> where unemployment rates increased, wages diminished, and the process of achieving 'development' slowed down. Subsequently, the validity of the Washington Consensus<sup>12</sup> restrained this process, which would deal with issues ranging from the administration of public resources, fiscal and tributary matters to prevent inflation and large deficits, liberalization of financial markets and trade in general, the privatization of public enterprises, foreign investments, etc. In sum, neoliberalism (again liberalism) is fortified as ideology. Some international entities such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (that emerged from the Washington Consensus), considered these precepts of neoliberalism as useful (and worthy of 'imposing') to promote development in peripheral countries.

A variety of questions towards this theory exist. For example, a plan to "deregulate" Latin-American economies to serve to free capital flow did not consider taking care of the central economies' interests. In spite of the differences in size, the level of development or internal problems (Batista, 1994), the inadequate assessment of the economies inside this Consensus<sup>13</sup> would be the same way for all the members of the Latin-American region (in this case). Thus, it involves the same pattern of an ancient

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<sup>11</sup> This expression is used in the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC), to describe the ten years of deep, acute and widespread crisis suffered by Latin American countries since 1980.

<sup>12</sup> The Washington Consensus is understood as the set of North American proposals for Latin American economy. In 1989, they materialized in the "ten structural reforms" so that the region "modernizes" their economies and inserts itself within the globalization.

<sup>13</sup> Reference to the Washington Consensus and the institutions derived from it.

colonialist policy of “open-door<sup>14</sup>” (in a subtle way) to guarantee the access towards “friendly countries” markets. Consequently, the belief that the most effective way to overcome ‘underdevelopment’ was the application of methods, models, solutions and institutions conceived in ‘western’ (neoliberal) countries remained. The globalization of these conceptions follows its course and strengthens over the years.

From the excessive external indebtedness that the countries were presenting, these agreements seemed an easier way to take their economies towards the development in the terms of the United States. The discourses of democratized governments took place in the context of a "post-Cold War" world. Countries started to believe in the growth of capital as a mechanism to promote the organization of the economy and the external debt payment. As a result, state structures weakened given the lack of "full sovereign decisions" (Bértola & Ocampo, 2013) and the social reality of most Latin Americans is characterized by greater inequality and high levels of poverty.

Finally, it is interesting to consider the reasoning of Joseph E. Stiglitz, Nobel Prize for Economics in 2011, in his book “Globalization and its Discontents”: "the policy results promulgated by the Washington Consensus have not been satisfactory: in most of the countries that embraced their dogmas development has been slow, and where there has been growth its fruits have not been evenly distributed". Latin America then, and even today remains as an unequal territory in the world, both within each country and also each country with respect to the region. Several rulers have harshly judged the role of neoliberalism in society, such as Fidel Castro, Cuban ex-president, who mentioned that "neoliberalism is not a theory of development [...] but the doctrine of the entire plundering of our peoples." (Quoted in Honrubia Hurtado, 2009) In short, achieving development in Latin America by applying the neoliberal recipe did not work either.

### **Theory of global systems**

It is mainly developed by the American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein and several of his collaborators of the State University of New York. It maintains some

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<sup>14</sup> The 'open-door' policy was formulated between 1899 and 1900 by the United States in exchange for the protection of administrative and territorial integrity in China. At that time, China was seeking to ensure the same treatment and trade openness with all 'power' countries (France, Germany, United Kingdom, Italy, Japan and Russia).



similarities with dependency theory but he emphasizes that different circumstances in the international sphere influence development. The structure of nation-state in the "Third World" should include other elements such as a new global communications system, new global trade mechanisms, a new international financial system, knowledge transfer and military ties. These elements influence both the internal and external life of societies in each country.

As a consequence, Wallerstein (1987) proposes the analysis of a world-system, structured in three parts: center, semi-periphery, and periphery. In that structure, world-economy relations control other factors and the interaction between the centers as exploiters of the periphery and semi-periphery. Therefore, underdevelopment is not only due to a dependency relationship. Certain economies obtain greater benefits from its international relations by strategically displacing its production to peripheries, reducing costs and prices.

This theory assumes that there are possibilities of going from the periphery to the semi-periphery, or from the semi-periphery to the center in the world economy. For achieving that goal it is important to obtain productive and non-speculative investments. Productive investments reinforce a country's production, while the speculative investments do not allow the country a permanent growth in the long term. Direct trade has a bigger impact than indirect trade transactions (forward contracts, transport cost speculations, future crop forecasts, etc.). According to this theory, a direct trade should be promoted (Reyes, 2001).

**Soft development theories or GALA<sup>15</sup>**: corresponds to the most friendly theories of achieving development, those who propose a "little help". Concepts such as cooperation and mutual benefits are its characteristics. This category includes sustainable development theory, eco-development, "other" development, human-scale development, basic needs, human development, territorial development, and post-development. (Vergara Erices & Rozas Poblete, 2014)

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<sup>15</sup> Abbreviation of "getting by, with a little assistance" used by Amartya Sen.

### **Development with a focus on basic needs and development on a human scale**

In 1969, after the so-called Pearson Report<sup>16</sup>, the international community recognized the importance of focusing more on the satisfaction of basic human needs. In the book *First Things First: Meeting Basic Human Needs in Developing Countries*, Paul Streeten (1981) classified basic needs into 4 categories:

- 1) Life services (education, health, water, transportation, etc.)
- 2) Material inputs (food, housing, clothing, land, etc.)
- 3) Paid work (economic productivity)
- 4) Qualitative inputs (to ensure social participation and community linkage).

It establishes as essential the satisfaction of material and immaterial needs. In this way, it promotes a physical, mental and social development that results in greater economic productivity. Mahbud ul Haq (Ul Haq, 1990), Streeten's vision partner, posits the importance of the supremacy of people in the development process. He mentioned that human beings rather than "development residues" should become subject and object of the development. This vision sets out for the first time to leave aside the macroeconomic issues in the discussions about development. That is to say, using much more equalitarian proposals for the most impoverished sectors of the population, through an increase in real income, public services, ensuring the quality of final products, and the manufacturing process to improve the demand (increasing productivity, higher sources of employment). Additionally, it is important to pay attention to non-material needs to meet material needs in less time and at a lower cost. When better levels of education, food, and health exist, this helps to reduce fertility rates. In the same way, productivity increases along with acceptances of changes<sup>17</sup> in society. Finally, it creates a political environment conducive to the constant promotion of development. Studies of institutions such as the World Bank, positively value the application of this model in several countries. (Hidalgo Capitán, 1998, pp. 236-237).

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<sup>16</sup> In August 1968, Lester B. Pearson (former Prime Minister of Canada and Nobel Peace Prize-1957) with a group of scholars created a Commission for the study of development and to establish a new global strategy for the next 20 years.

<sup>17</sup> Changes in a society's "balance of power" are often required, either through administrative and technical decentralization (local decision-making), equitable land redistribution, revaluation of the family unit, and the position of Women, as well as reallocations of resources in the public and private sectors, among others.

Also sharing this vision of basic needs' satisfaction, in Latin America the Chilean economist Manfred A. Max-Neef raises some interesting postulates, based on three basic questions and its reasoning:

How can be established that a certain development process is better than a different one? [...] The best development process will be that that allows to raise more the people's quality of life. What determines the people's quality of life? [...] The quality of life will depend on the possibilities that the persons have of satisfying appropriately its fundamental human needs. What are these dire needs? And/or who decides which are them? (1993, pp. 40-42)

To answer this last question, the author raises the difference between a *need* and a *satisfier* of that need. A need can have multiple satisfiers, and one satisfier can serve more than one need. Therefore, human needs form a system of interrelation, they are finite, and they are the same in all cultures and throughout history. For Max-Neef, what changes from culture to culture are the satisfiers of these needs. For the author, *transdisciplinarity* is necessary to know the real needs in depth. With this in mind, problems in the public health sector can be the result of deficient state policies or economic insufficiency. The author makes the difference between existential and axiological needs (Figure 3), this matrix would serve for the diagnosis of any society (even at the individual level) to know about the real needs. Later it is possible to make plans based on them and finally, to conduct an evaluation process. This exercise, according to Max-Neef, allows us to note the strengths, potentialities, and shortcomings of a group. After this stage, access to economic goods (capital, technology) should be verified to contribute to the goal of meeting needs. That is to say that for a "human" development economic growth should not be totally excluded, rather, a change of perspective is made throughout the entire process from the needs satisfaction of the population: welfare as the engine of growth.

Needs according to existential categories Needs according to axiological categories	BEING	HAVING	DOING	INTERACTING
<b>Subsistence</b>	Physical health, mental health, equilibrium, sense of humour, adaptability	Food, shelter, work	Feed, procreate, rest, work	Living environment, social setting
<b>Protection</b>	Care, adaptability, autonomy, equilibrium, solidarity	Insurance systems, saving, social security, health systems, rights, family, work	Co-operate, prevent, plan, take care of, cure, help	Living space, social environment, dwelling
<b>Affection</b>	Self-esteem, solidarity, respect, tolerance, generosity, receptiveness, passion, determination, sensuality, sense of humour	Friendships, family, partnerships, relationships with nature	Make love, caress, express emotions, share, take care of cultivate, appreciate	Privacy, intimacy, home, spaces of togetherness
<b>Understanding</b>	Critical conscience, receptiveness, curiosity, astonishment, discipline, intuition, rationality	Literature, teachers, method, educational policies, communication policies	Investigate, study, experiment, educate, analyze, meditate	Setting of formative interaction, schools, universities, academies, groups, communities, family
<b>Participation</b>	Adaptability, receptiveness, solidarity, willingness,	Rights, responsibilities, duties, privileges, work	Become affiliated, co-operate, propose, share, dissent, obey, interact,	Setting of participative interaction, parties, associations, churches,

	determination, dedication, respect, passion, sense of humour		agree on, express opinions	communities, neighborhoods, family
<b>Leisure</b>	Curiosity, receptiveness, imagination, recklessness, sense of humour, tranquility, sensuality	Games, spectacles, clubs, parties, peace of mind	Day-dream, brood, dream, recall old times, give way to fantasies, remember, relax, have fun, play	Privacy, intimacy, spaces of closeness, free time, surroundings, landscapes
<b>Creation</b>	Passion, determination, intuition, imagination, boldness, rationality, autonomy, inventiveness, curiosity	Abilities, skills, method, work	Work, invent, build, design, compose, interpret	Productive and feedback settings, workshops, cultural groups, audiences, spaces for expression, temporal freedom
<b>Identity</b>	Sense of belonging, consistency, differentiation, self-esteem, assertiveness	Symbols, language, religions, habits, customs, reference groups, sexuality, values, norms, historical memory, work	Commit oneself, integrate oneself, confront, decide on, get to know oneself, recognize oneself, actualize oneself, grow	Social rhythms, everyday settings, settings which one belongs to, maturation stages
<b>Freedom</b>	Autonomy, self-esteem, determination, passion, assertiveness, open-mindedness, boldness, rebelliousness, tolerance	Equal rights	Dissent, choose, be different from, run risks, develop awareness, commit oneself, disobey	Temporal/spatial plasticity
<p>*The column of BEING registers <i>attributes</i>, personal or collective, that are expressed as nouns. The column of HAVING, registers <i>institutions, norms, mechanisms, tools</i> (not in a material sense), <i>laws</i>, etc., that can be expressed in one or more words. The column of DOING registers <i>actions</i>, personal or collective, that can be expressed as verbs. The column INTERACTING registers <i>locations</i> and <i>milieus</i> (as times and spaces). It stands for the Spanish ESTAR or the German BEFINDEN, in the sense of time and space. Since there is no corresponding word in English, INTERACTING was chosen à <i>faut de mieux</i>.</p>				

**Figure 3 Max-Neef's Matrix of needs and satisfiers. Taken from "Development and Human Needs" (pgs. 58-59)**

## Environmental approach to development

As time passes by and the constant growth of ecological awareness, exists a need to consider environmental aspects as vital in the development process. As a result, many terms have been minted such as Eco development, another development, and sustainable development. It considers aspects such as social relevance and fairness of solutions, ecological prudence, economic efficiency and the cultural and territorial dimensions. In addition, by beginning of the 21st century, from the recognition of the "ecological debt" from the North to the South (a situation that did not change with the independence and the structure of the Republics), environmental deterioration and pollution are considered as causes of population poverty.

Currently, poverty means an obstacle to economic sustainability (participation in the process of production of poverty by an unequal distribution of environmental benefits) and also it is one of the main causes of ecological deterioration (Borrero Navia, 1994). In this way, the "environmental" factor is included as fundamental within any alternative of integration and full development. Also considering the importance of the human being within this system.



**Figure 4 Equation of the generation of poverty through the exploitation of natural resources.**  
**Source: Own Elaboration.**

The rapid economic growth model did not produce the expected effects, and in many countries its consequences were disastrous<sup>18</sup>. The "redefinition" of development goals was urgent and required the inclusion of social, environmental and territorial criteria, as well as political and economic criteria. In 1980, the United Nations

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<sup>18</sup> In many countries civil wars were unleashed, the gap between the poor and the rich was not narrowed, authoritarian regimes were brought to power by bloody dictatorships, the field-city terms of trade were not favorable, and also growing deficiencies in the population's quality of life and the environment in which they live on.

Environment Program (UNEP), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) commented that it is not possible to integrate the environmental dimension to the conventional development, so that is why its redefinition became imminent.

### **Eco development**

There are several theoretical precedents that helped to the construction of the ideology of Eco development and later in sustainable development. In 1968, the Club of Rome<sup>19</sup> was founded. Within this context, in the book *The limits to growth* Donella H. And Dennis L. Meadows together with their collaborators J. Randers and William Behrens established five of the main ecological factors (1972, pg. 205) that control and limit growth on the planet:

- a) Human population: high levels of population growth,
- b) Agricultural production,
- c) Natural resources usage,
- d) Industrial production and,
- e) Environmental pollution.

The authors put the following situation to our consideration: if population growth keeps increasing exponentially, it will require more food, more housing, more educational and health centers, among other needs. Hence, agricultural production and natural resources should grow. Nevertheless, this is not like that. Industrial production necessarily has to increase as well as capital, so the world system will collapse, as it is not yet known. Then, “What is the earth’s capacity to sustain the growing number of human beings and as a consequence the other factors, in a process we have called progress?” (1972, pg. 205)

They propose several measures based on various calculations and graphs. These measures had to be taken immediately in order to maintain the environmental conditions in balance, including the mechanisms of birth control, the reduction of the consumption of natural resources per unit of industrial production. In addition, it is

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<sup>19</sup> It is an independent association (non-governmental organization-NGO) with leaders from the field of politics, science and business. The future of humanity and the planet is its main concern. They seek to contribute in a systemic and interdisciplinary way to obtain a holistic vision of a better world for the future. (Club of Rome, 2016)

necessary to reduce pollutant factors, to reorient economic preferences of societies towards services such as education and health to increase the useful life of industrial goods (stoves, refrigerators, other appliances), among others. However, many of these measures were strongly questioned or simply "mentioned" but unknown.

In 1973, Maurice F. Strong, director of the United Nations Environment Program<sup>20</sup> (UNEP) mentioned "Eco development" for the first time. Scholars like Ignacy Sachs, a French economist of Polish origin, propose a different style of development using the term. This concept involves harmony between ecological and socioeconomic factors. In addition, it emphasizes that the vision of "development" is not universal and it depends on the planning for each region, its particularities (cultural, socio-ecological data) and its long-term needs. That is, in each "ecoregion" there are two limits of action: external (ecological system) and internal (with respect to the satisfaction of basic needs). Then, Eco development is defined as a type of heuristic strategy for development planning including the environmental dimension (Sachs, 1974).

To make a plan, it is necessary to disaggregate the components that influence development. Consequently, operative variables appear (see Figure 5) to make a diagnosis about development in each society. Four institutional conditions guarantee this process: a) a horizontal authority of development, b) an effective participation of the population: preparing strategies and action plans, c) an education system: where the rural schools are development agencies, teaching citizens' responsibilities in the process and, c) a system of integration: to avoid exploitation of primary rural producers.

<b>Critical areas of possible action where operational variables should be examined</b>	
<b>Consumption pattern</b>	Income's distribution, set of social values incorporated into the development style
<b>Sociopolitical regime</b>	Social costs: a market economy internalize the profits in the companies and externalize the costs. In socialist or mixed economies theoretically the state could change that logic

**Figure 5 Critical areas. Operational variables to development. Source: I. Sachs (1974, pp. 62-64)**

<sup>20</sup> Presentation to the first meeting of the UNEP Governing Council (Geneva, June 1973)



<b>Used Technologies</b>	A) Non-destructive/ Eco-friendly technologies, b) introduction of decontamination technologies as a complement to polluting productive technologies
<b>Utilization of natural resources and energy patterns and elimination of predatory practices</b>	Recovery of scarce products and productive use of waste. Saving resources, controlling of obsolescence rates
<b>Occupancy of space pattern</b>	Same productions and activities will have different effects depending on their location
<b>Population: size, rate of growth and distribution</b>	Poor spatial distribution, unequal distribution of jobs and incomes

Therefore, Eco development is a tool, rather than a theory, of strategic planning (state or regional) that should segment and prioritize population needs and reallocate resources to satisfy them. In this way, it prevents that economic growth and industrialization affect population and environment.

## Sustainable development

The Brundtland Commission's definition (1987) is the most accepted. Through the publication of Our Common Future, sustainable development is defined as a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This Commission called for international cooperation and policy-making on development and environment issues as an indissoluble binomial. Additionally, they demanded greater levels of commitment from communities, organizations, companies, countries and individuals (independently or through their governments). One important issue was to emphasize that sustainable development relied heavily on political will for change. Based on the same concepts, Eric Neumayer (2010) proposes that sustainable development maintains the capacity to provide per capita profits that do not diminish, and which are also perpetual.

Taking as a precedent the Stockholm Summit and all the contributions that had been made to Eco development, in the early 1990s, the redirection of these thoughts began to what we know today as sustainable development. In the Agenda 21 (United Nations Conference on Environment & Development, 1992) most nations committed

themselves to secure this type of development through new production or consumption models that are feasible for all, now and in the future. As a consequence, it created a tendency towards "intergenerational solidarity", as the primary motivation of this new development.

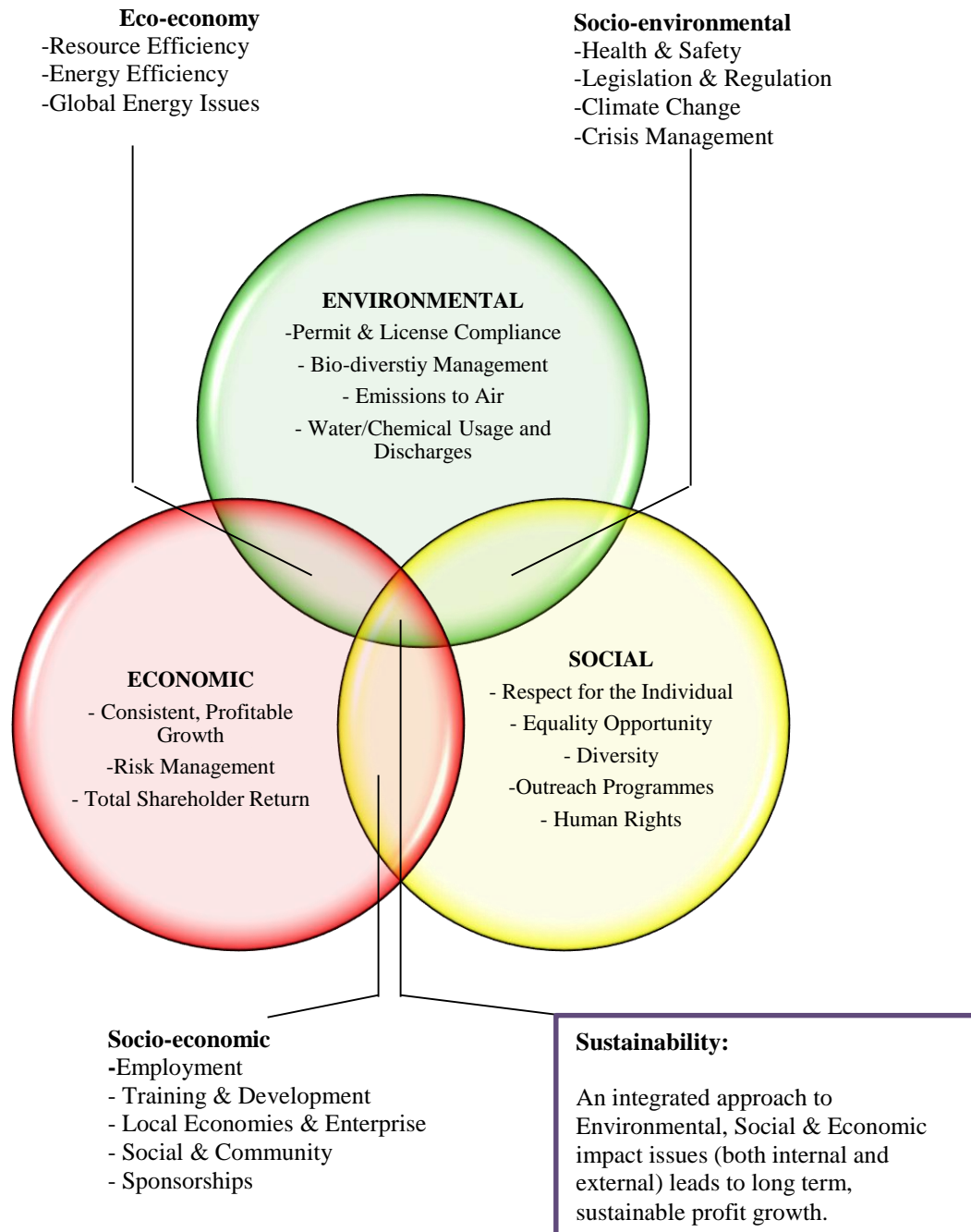
Figure 6 shows the three basic characteristics of sustainable development: the natural capital (environment), the social capital (population), and the economy. It is necessary to integrate these three aspects taking into account their own inherent limitations. In addition, it is important to strengthen the social and economic harmonic relations to the environment. Great institutional transformations "that allow gradual social changes and a self-sustaining economic growth" should support the process. Therefore, the idea that development implies economic growth continues.

Several reasons to promote sustainable development exist. Besides meeting basic human needs ensuring the species' durability and generating constant economic growth and using environmentally friendly technologies that support the conservation and restoration of natural resources, also avoiding the degradation and exceeding to the maximum the capacity of nature (quality of air, water, ground). In the same way, Neumayer (2010) established a difference between weak and strong sustainability. The first considers that natural resources are very abundant and that through technological optimization processes (in industrial production and in daily life) humanity can overcome a shortage of resources. He thinks that the balance between economic growth and environmental stability is possible. On the other hand, the second one believes that the loss of natural capital is often irreversible and that the vast majority of forms of natural capital (water, ground, air, among several natural resources) provide basic life functions to the global society.

Environmental economics (which Neumayer would consider as weak sustainability) considers the non-existence of prices for natural resources as the basis of ecosystem problems (cost-benefit analysis). In this sense, David Pearce (1976) stands out proposing some considerations to the concept of sustainable development. Firstly, if the quality of the environment improves, the economy grows (health and productivity of workers, new productive sectors such as eco-tourism, recycling companies, reforestation, etc.). Second, he considers that it is necessary to integrate the environmental factor in the decision-taking process of investment, production

and consumption to assure the preservation of resources and energy saving. Finally, he considers that sustainable development and traditional measures such as the Gross National Product are not compatible since they do not provide information about the quality of life. On the other hand, the ecological economy (oriented towards a strong sustainability) considers that: “the economy is an open subsystem within a closed and finite ecosystem” (Hidalgo Capitán, 1998, pp. 250-251).

In order to know if a country or region continues its course along sustainability, many alternative indicators exist. These indicators include the Ecological Footprint index, the Water Footprint, and virtual water, the Human Appropriation of Net Primary Production (HANPP), the Material Input per Unit Service (MIPS), the Material and Energy Flow Accounting (MEFA), among others. These indicators are used as complements to measure the behavior of countries in terms of the demand of their population versus the supply of nature, this is known as bio capacity. (Wackernagel, et al., 1997)



**Figure 6 Visualizing sustainability. Taken from: Computing for Sustainability (2009)**

There has been a lot of criticism from the neoliberal approach towards this trend of sustainable development. Technological advances, the generation of substitutes for natural resources and the implementation of adequate public policies are necessary tools to reduce levels of pollution. Hidalgo (1998) refers to this development as utopian, since the objective of satisfying future needs without even being able to meet the most basic needs of the developing countries at present is contradictory. In the same way, it exists a "contradiction" regarding the term "sustainable growth" since "nothing physical can grow indefinitely" (IUCN, UNEP, and WWF, 1991).

The questions are valid, however, the great contribution of including social quality of life (integrating local cultural factors, community participation, political will) and economic as well as environmental in the global community, within the concept of Development is certainly worthy. The "*polluter pays*" principle or the *cap and trade*<sup>21</sup> ideas that emerged from these declarations and agendas through the signing of documents such as the Kyoto Protocol contributed to some extent to control carbon emissions with harmful effects on health and environment. It should be noted that natural resources (several considered as critical natural capital) are not infinite and in this sense, the considerations made by the Club of Rome should not be overlooked.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the differences in quotas that must be met for the international environmental agreements are of varying degrees depending on each country. It means that developed and industrialized countries have to contribute larger numbers than the least favored countries. This topic creates multiple discussions, especially about the level of responsibility of each country in global pollution, destruction of the ozone layer, soil erosion, extinction of animal and plant species (deforestation), and other related problems. If the responsibility for underdevelopment (in terms of sustainability) in impoverished countries is the responsibility of the industrialized north, or if underdeveloped countries by themselves must take the lead in their development in a sovereign way, the perfect answer is not truly known. Therefore, a new trend of thinking about development takes place. Thinking primarily about development for underdeveloped regions, from the South to the South. It proposes that North-South relations should be interdependent, and in this sense it highlights that the development of the South is the South's responsibility.

### **The role of the South in development**

In the last decade of the twentieth century, the Eighth Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries (Harare, Zimbabwe, 1986) created the South Commission. Its main achievement corresponds to the publication of the "*Nyerere*<sup>22</sup> *Report*" also named "*The Challenge to the South*" in 1990. The report says that a process that fights against poverty and underdevelopment with the objective of obtaining a better life

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<sup>21</sup> It is a tool for environmental policy and control for the emission of greenhouse gases.

<sup>22</sup> The Commission was chaired by Julius Kambarage Nyerere, professor, philosopher and former President of Tanzania.

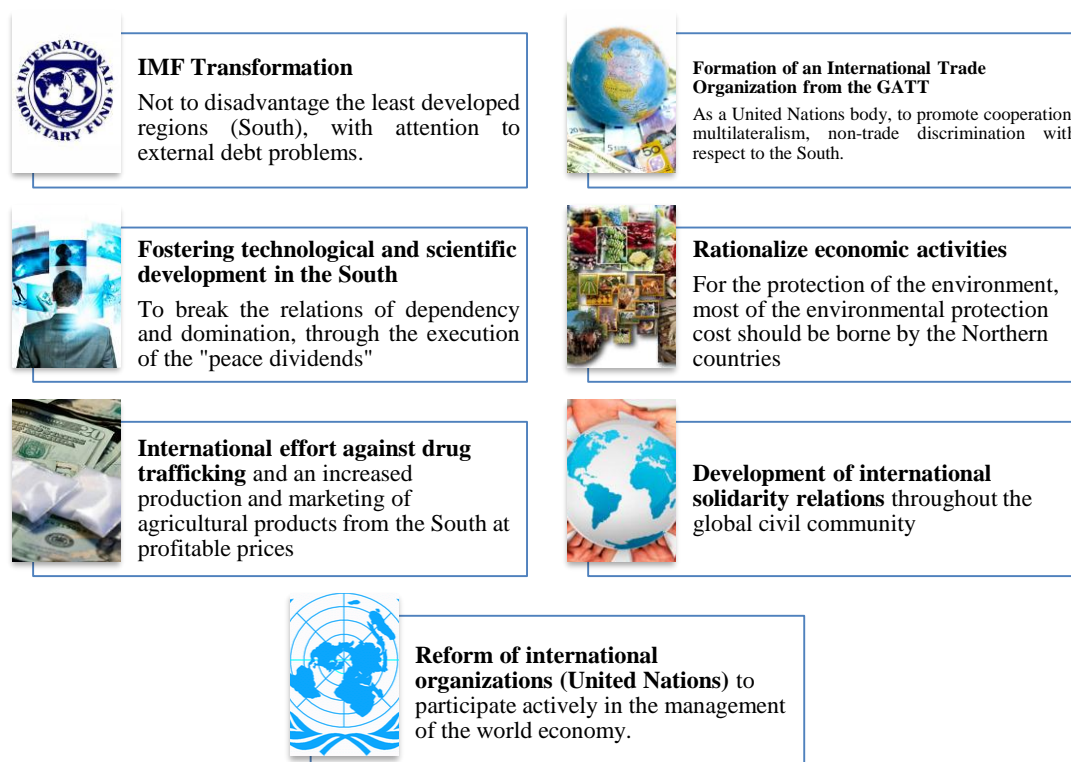
for its citizens could be understood as such in the North as in the South. In this way, they seek to achieve a non-divided world, neither industrialized, nor rich and dominant in the North, nor dominant or impoverished and dominated in the South. They defined it as follows:

The South's goal is a world of equal opportunities in which crisscrossing lines of interaction-political, economic, social, cultural, scientific-may sustain **global interdependence**; in which nations in their **variety** would work together in pursuit of jointly agreed goals; in which **peace, security, and dignity** would be the birthright of all persons and all peoples; in which all can take advantage of the advances of science; and in which the world's resources may be prudently used to **satisfy the needs of all** and not merely the narrow self-interest of a few. (South Commission, 1990, pg. 19-20)

On the one hand, they present concepts of interdependence and diversity, and on the other hand, peace, security, and dignity. They consider both of these aspects, as dual entities (tools and ends) that work for the benefit of all. They say it is necessary to stop investing in the East-West war clashes, so the Southern nations can redirect their efforts to improve the quality of life of their citizens, exploiting their full potential, gaining confidence in themselves and being free from fear and any lack. In order to achieve this, it is essential for the countries of the North to recognize their influence, which sometimes even became economic, political and social oppression. Only in that way, the South would develop autonomously and share the benefits of progress. The North has experienced the majority of these benefits.

The South Commission makes a wide section devoted to defining development. I will provide the reader with a detailed summary of the main aspects of the report. In addition to gaining confidence and being fully identified within their social group to strive for their own development, people must influence their community at all levels (family, commune, city, nation, world). People should control the implementation of decisions affecting them. They must use their political freedom to choose their governments and representatives. The Commission believes that to tackle hunger, public health problems, lack of education, lack of employment, among others, people need a rapid and sustained economic growth to support the development process. This growth would also help to reduce other social and economic tensions. Finally, they explained that development carries with it respect for the inalienable rights of individuals, including human dignity, non-discrimination, equality and security. In

conclusion, the development of the South must be achieved by and for itself, with its own resources and the conjunction of its efforts.



**Figure 7 Synthesis of proposals from the Nyerere Report. Source: Prepared by the author based on the document "The Challenge to the South" (South Commission, 1990)**

The Commission proposes a reform with respect to the international order, where the position of the North should be open to a higher participation of South populations. The way in which South can seek this objective is through the development process. There is a complex discussion about the conceptualization of development since it primarily focuses on the "universal" values that should motivate it from the South. It is complex because North countries would lose many of their benefits or even pay them in the majority, for example in environmental protection and preservation. However, the promotion of the solidarity of peoples and South-South cooperation is very valuable. In this way, peoples should evade international dependence and oppression by the power groups, maintaining the idea that democracy and development go hand in hand.

All these visions and contributions to the concept of development within the GALA category are also known as alternative developments. Within the academy, the origin

of these currents of thought has been criticized for its lack of consistency and specific proposals. On the one hand, theories with a BLAST approach to development are easier to understand and interpret. Their indicators as ways of verifying development such as GDP, despite criticisms retain a high level of validity, which legitimates these theories worldwide. In parallel, some say that even if one tries to opt for more "alternative" decisions to achieve development, see the case of sustainable development, we still rely on the importance of economic growth as a basis for continuing in this developmental process. There has been a process of giving adjectives to the term development, calling it human development, development of basic needs, endogenous development, sustainable development, among others. Several dimensions have been integrated into the concept but the ultimate ideal, its motivation, remains the same: Economic growth to meet the local, national and global needs of a society without exceeding environmental limits, and give rise to modern societies. Truman's vision of modernity persists, all this theoretical baggage, continues to be the impeller of "progress."

<b>Alternative Developments</b>	<b>Alternatives to development</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Rectification, repair or modification of the concept of contemporary development</li> <li>- Acceptance of its conceptual basis: perpetual growth or appropriation of Nature</li> <li>- Instrumentation of development → creation of programs and institutions.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Develop other conceptual frameworks, with a different ideological foundation</li> <li>- Generate alternatives to Western modernity</li> <li>- To discover, to explore new social, economic and political scenarios, different of the ones that we know in the development path.</li> </ul>

**Figure 8 Differences between the concepts "Alternative developments" and "Alternatives to development". Own elaboration.**

### **Alternatives to development**

Academy had a motivation to explore alternatives to development considering some of its critiques. Although they keep using the term in question, they prefer to leave it aside and instead of generating alternative knowledge. Therefore, they seek to include social sectors in the formulation of proposals that lead to the satisfaction of



human needs in a holistic way. The idea that societies can advance or step back, be more or less modern generated robust institutions and ideologies that directly influence the creation of public policies and programs. It is important to constantly debate about these policies and social processes. Within this context, it is necessary to understand and grasp what a good life consist of. Consequently, new ideas, models, and more innovative proposals are essential. From different fronts, people work in order to create new theories, whether they foster alternative development or not. Some economists, philosophers, ecologists, feminists, individuals and contemporary organizations are seeking to impel a wave of conceptions about how it is possible to live a good life. At the same time, they are questioning modernity and rescuing forgotten or denied knowledge. In short, opting for a path that goes beyond development. Eduardo Gudynas argues that:

Modernity is a particular type of ontology, a way of being and understanding the world, which separates nature from society and subordinates it under a hierarchy that allows manipulation and destruction. Therefore, the most recent currents argue that it is necessary to separate from the Eurocentric ontology in order to construct other alternatives. **(Gudynas, 2011, pp. 49-50)**

For example, the alternatives to development seek closer proximity to ancestral knowledge or to different approaches in which modernity has not yet significantly influenced. For this reason, in this research I will briefly mention and explore some of the main alternatives.

<b>Provisional classification of alternative developments and alternatives to development</b>	
<b>A) Alternatives within the ideology of progress and modernity</b>	
Classic instrumental alternatives	- To repair of the negative effects (e.g. social-democratic reforming policy, “third route”), popular national development, new policy of economic development, progressive neo-extractivism
Alternatives focused on economic structures and processes and the role of capital	- Socialist alternatives, early structuralism, Marxists and neo-Marxists, “dependentists”, neo-structuralism, several exponents of 21st century socialism
Alternatives focused on the social dimension	- Social limits of growth, decoupling economy / development, emphasis on employment and poverty - Endogenous development, human development, human scale development

	- Other economies (domestic, informal, peasant, indigenous), liberal multiculturalism.
Alternatives that react to the environmental impacts	- Eco development, weak sustainability and part of strong sustainability
B) Alternatives beyond progress and modernity	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Coexistence, conviviality</li> <li>- Sustainable development, biocentric, deep ecology</li> <li>- Feminist Critique, Care Economics</li> <li>- Dematerialization of economies, decrease (in part)</li> <li>- Interculturalism, pluralism, relational ontologies, expanded citizenship</li> <li>- Good living (some demonstrations)</li> </ul>	

**Figure 9 Provisional classification of alternative development and alternatives to development developments. Prepared by Eduardo Gudynas in (Gudynas, 2011, p. 47; Aguinaga, Lang, Mokrani, & Santillana, 2011)**

## Post-development

The Colombian anthropologist Arturo Escobar argues that is necessary an idea different from the classical concept of development with its different nuances. He views development as a power discourse, which served to control societies and to expand the image of modern western society. Therefore, it is necessary to question this modernity. In order to do so, he establishes three axes that define development, which must be deconstructed: a) the forms of knowledge that refer to it, b) the system of power through which its action is controlled, and c) the forms of subjectivity that make people identify as "developed" or "underdeveloped" **(Escobar, 2007, p. 30)** He considers that development has been achieved through a network of social relations and power, and it represents a way of thinking and feeling of populations. Additionally, it is organized both by ideologies and in the institutionalism of concepts such as "market, planning, population, environment, production, equality, participation, needs and poverty" and its respective practices to regulate their effect.

Thus, this current of thinking about post-development questions the "ideology of progress" because within this theorization there is no such thing as progress or development. It also discusses the objectives of development, aid programs, planning, institutionalism, university lectures that treat it, international organizations that promote it, and the validity of its different approaches. Authors such as Escobar or Gustavo Esteva (1992) propose the need of creating centers to produce different knowledge, outside the ideology of development. In that way, different practices of

doing and knowing can be reached. These practices could be more efficient and no longer reproduce the shortcomings of previous development systems for example, by failing to meet their objectives, increasing inequalities, reproducing poverty. In this sense from various points some postures talk about how to face the situation of humanity and its environment in today's world. This research will briefly describe some of these trends.

At this point, it is necessary to consider some critiques towards these positions. The great majority focuses on defining in a theoretical-philosophical way their positions. It means that they are academically effective and debatable positions. However, the lack of a real application leads them to very complex imaginaries. The reader will agree that disaggregating the pyramid of values that as a society has managed to support the ideas of development is extremely complicated, and therefore, it requires a deep effort of comprehension and action.

### **Radical environmentalism**

Environmentalism is used to refer to an activism movement for the promotion of conservation and recovery of Nature. It promotes ideas that support concepts such as conservationism or green policies. For example, it includes strong sustainable development (conceiving of Nature as heritage), biocentrism and deep ecology. They share some thoughts such as "rights of Nature" based on the proposals of the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess<sup>23</sup>. This philosopher minted the term "deep ecology" based on the idea that the individual is not alien to nature, but is part of it on an equal basis with other species of living beings (Naess quoted in Schwarz, 2009). To support this concept, seven principles were reflected:

- 1) Rejection of the concept of man over nature. Transition from the "*man-in-the-environment*" conception to a "*total-relational field*"
- 2) Biocentric equality (all organisms interrelate with each other under equal conditions)
- 3) Respect for diversity

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<sup>23</sup> He is a Norwegian philosopher and professor at the University of Oslo. He published in 1973 the ecological article "The shallow and the deep, long range ecology movements", foundation of the eco-philosophical discussion in years following its publication.

- 4) The rejection of the social classes division
- 5) The fight against pollution and the exploitation of the environment
- 6) The introduction of ecosystems theory
- 7) The autonomy and decentralization of communities

Therefore, each anthropocentric conceptualization is an obstacle and a limitation to consolidate this deep ecology. It is necessary to consider that any development process that conceives economic growth and industrial production and in the same scenario environmental conservation is not compatible with this idea. This is due to the fact that the ecosystem (including the human being as an element, but not the sole purpose/objective of preservation) is the priority.

## **Feminism**

Feminist thinking originates from the discussion of the "androcentric, scientific and universal discourse" of development. It establishes itself as both a doctrine and a social movement trying to rescue other forms of knowledge. This doctrine aims to transform the political, social and economic system considered as unequal and unjust. Ester Boserup (1970) in *The Role of Women in Economic Development* argues that women's participation has been passive and dependent, while men have been actively involved in the formulation of development programs and policies implemented since the post-war period (World War II). Due to this passivity, societies avoided certain considerations that allow full life. Nevertheless, in spite of attempts to reinvigorate the role of women in society, feminists consider that the international structure based on dependence, modernity and economic growth persists.

Some people express that feminism is an idea imposed by the North, from the "white women". Nevertheless, this ideology had several contributions from the South. For example, the relationship of oppression and domination, and the association of women with poverty (poverty feminization). This idea is driven by Chandra T. Mohanty, an Indian feminist<sup>24</sup>, who believes that Third World women are classified according to the idea of development only as economic growth, modernity and progress:

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<sup>24</sup> She is theorist of transnational feminism, anti-capitalist practices, education without discrimination and the politics of knowledge.

This average third world woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and her being "third world" (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimized, etc.) This, I suggest, is in contrast to the (implicit) self-representation of Western women as educated, as modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions. (Mohanty, 1991, p. 56 quoted in Escobar, 2007)

It exists certain preeminence towards Westernization like a hegemonic idea. It leaves the Third World as essentially underdeveloped, and in expectation of "the invisible hand" of the First World to receive some ideas about how the planet must be.

In 1980, through the "Gender and Development" (GAD) vision states a need for a deep change in "the gender system". Therefore, it creates the idea that the categories "woman" and "man" are social constructions that go beyond biological differences. It says that these figures are stigmatized with other characteristics referring to domination, ethnic-cultural origin, sexual orientation, age, etc. In the same way, it is argued that for the purpose of reducing poverty, the applicable policies should be differentiated according to gender, considering equity and analyzing the household as a unit of analysis in the area of development. (Aguinaga, Lang, Mokrani, & Santillana, 2011, pp. 59-61) The role of women should be free from oppression (family, or home) to consolidate and participate as agents of change in the development process.

### **Eco-feminism**

Thoughts such as ecofeminism came from the rejection of "patriarchal discourses" that have normally promoted discrimination and a division of essentially integrated concepts. Consequently, it generates dichotomies such as woman/man, nature/civilization, emotion/reason or tradition/modernity. In addition, this movement arises from the conception that exploitation and degradation of nature and the hierarchical subordination and domination over women have a close relationship. At this point, it is worth mention the essentialist doctrine, arguing that a feminine essence, possibly the "maternal instinct" brings women and nature closer together. Also, some feminists created new concepts by contemplating greater complexity within this hierarchical differentiation that imposes relations of patriarchal oppression.

Regarding to this topic, María Mies, Vandana Shiva and Vina Agrawal have stood. In the case of Shiva, it is said that societies have not gone through a process of development but a "mal-development":

Maldevelopment is maldevelopment in thought and action. In practice, this fragmented, reductionist, dualist perspective violates the integrity and harmony of man in nature, and the harmony between men and women. It ruptures the co-operative unity of masculine and feminine, and places man, shorn of the feminine principle, above nature and women, and separated from both. [...] Activity, productivity, creativity which were associated with the feminine principle are expropriated as qualities of nature and women, and transformed into the exclusive qualities of man. Nature and women are turned into passive objects, to be used and exploited for the uncontrolled and uncontrollable desires of alienated man. (Shiva, 2010 p.6)

Therefore, according to Shiva, it is necessary to rescue the Prakriti, the feminine principle of societies which allows transforming the patriarchal basis of "maldevelopment". Thus, it is important to consider that to achieve a correct development is urgent a redefinition of growth and productivity as categories linked to production, and not to the destruction of life. Under this perception are also collected the thoughts of Simone de Beauvoir, Yvone Gevara, Val Plumwood, Alicia H. Puleo among other scholars and promoters of feminism. For that reason, within the ecofeminist development, we could mention the importance of struggling for a restructuring of the man-woman-nature relationship as integral members and co-participants of the construction of a whole.

## Care Economics

It gives more importance to women's work at home, considering it as necessary and vital "reproductive<sup>25</sup>" work. This type of work is important because it strengthens the present and future workforce and generates well-being. In the same way, it gave the chance of creating an *ethics of care*, which defines this type of work as an essential factor in societies that seek well-being, since our human condition looks for interdependence. Therefore, this vision is transmitted to public policies of *care* which establish a payment for those who provide care or seek to receive it. In the same way, it supports public care services, maternity/paternity leaves, among other measures that seek for gender equity in the distribution of care work and its payment. (Razavi,

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<sup>25</sup> Mentioned as such in (Benería, 1979, Picchio, 2003)

2007, cited in Esquivel, 2011, p.17) Additionally, Frigga Haug (2009) stated some complementary proposals in which a lifetime should be distributed equitably as follows: a) time for paid work: 4 hours per day to ensure efficiency, b) time for reproduction or care work, c) culture, personal interests, hobbies for example, and d) political participation, meaning a process of social construction and creation from below. In the same way, Ulrike Knowbloch (2010) mentioned the importance of knowing the meaning of each economic activity through an “ethics of the economy” and reorient these economic actions to generate a good living.

In sum, care economics argue that interdependence and the need for reproductive work should be considered as a basic human need within the development process since they refer to dignity. It criticizes purely economic discourses of the traditional development because they make this situation invisible. Therefore, it is important to include a solution to the demand for care of a society within each State’s public policy. All this with the objective of fostering greater equity and democratization of time for both men and women in a process of social transformation.

### **Coexistence-conviviality**

The coexistence-conviviality <sup>26</sup> relationship involves groups of people and communities that by participating in the creation of social life, also can substitute a technical value for an ethical value. Ivan Illich radically questions the role of modern enterprise, where machines replace individuals. For him, coexistence-conviviality is the reverse of industrial productivity. The industrial relationship is conditioned by a stereotyped response of the individual to messages emitted by another user whom he will never know, using artificial means that he will never understand. On the other hand, the coexistence-conviviality relationship promotes people’s actions to create social life. Moving from productivity to coexistence-conviviality is to substitute a technical value for an ethical value (Illich, 1978 edited in 2014) being based on three aspects concerning the role of the individual within a society:

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<sup>26</sup> Translation given to the Spanish word: “Convivencialidad”.

1. It must generate efficiency (economic) without degrading personal autonomy, it means without neglecting the contribution of human beings' participation as decision-makers and actors in society.
2. It raises neither slaves nor masters. It criticizes capitalism and overconsumption of energy and matter.
3. It expands the personal scope of action, granting a series of values that contribute to the generation of social contracts, essential values such as: survival, equity and autonomy to sustain the new structure of social transformation.

### **Good living**

It is based in a new paradigm based on coexistence-conviviality, respect for nature, solidarity, reciprocity and complementarity which come from the Andean worldview, specifically from Bolivia and Ecuador. According to the Alliance for Critical Studies on Development, good living or living well, *sumak kawsay* of the Ecuadorian kichwa and *suma qamaña* from Bolivian aymara respectively, is a set of “essays to construct other social and economic order beyond the fences imposed by Modernity”.

With that in mind, it is necessary to consider the following:

The earth is an extremely complex super organism, it requires care and must be strengthened, and it is subject of dignity and bearer of rights, because everything that lives has an intrinsic value, whether it has or not any human use. There are even cosmological reasons that assume the earth and life as moments of the vast process of evolution of the Universe. Then, human life is a moment of life in wider terms. (Acosta, 2015, p.314)

These ideas refer to the protection and defense of life in all its manifestations, leaving aside the traditional anthropocentric "privilege" of societies since it contributes generating greater inequalities. We must re-value nature and bet on new forms of social, political and economic organization. The proposals are based on:

- a) The change of economic paradigms, emphasizing the transition towards a caring and sustainable economy: savings and credit cooperatives, housing and services, associations of producers and traders, community organizations, popular economic units, among others (Acosta, 2015). In this context, the



community is the producer of goods and services in accordance with their axiological and existential needs<sup>27</sup>

- b) The demercantilization of nature and its strengthening based on respect for life. It is about optimizing the minimum consumption of energy and natural resources prioritizing an improvement of the quality of life,
- c) The redistribution of wealth, avoiding the formation of new monopolies or oligopolies, promoting the non-accumulation of material goods,
- d) Social participation to form new structures of power, without minimizing the role of the state but rethinking it from the communitarian sphere, in different dimensions.

Therefore, Good Living approaches are based on concepts integrating multiple visions. It is a plural concept separated from the Western conception of development. It rescues the ancestral knowledge as fundamental for recreation, learning, and practice of knowledge and holistic philosophies with special attention to nature but without leaving aside social needs. Theorists such as Eduardo Gudynas (2014), Alberto Acosta (2015) or Koldo Unceta (2014) have raised several questions: What is feasible of the social construction that was generated in modernity? What type of knowledge is useful to guarantee sustainability, equity, compatibility of social aspects with the personal dimension of development (self-realization, social participation)? What and how much should we produce or not? Therefore, they do not totally deny the role of modernity. They believe some valuable concepts and tools may contribute to the creation of a good life. However, they strongly suspect about the essence/soul of modernity as a false idea of progress based on economic growth, exploitation of nature and the multiple dichotomies promoted by development.

The first legal manifestations of this trend were reflected in the new Constitutions of Ecuador (2008) and Bolivia (2009). In the first one, it exists a peculiarity because Nature<sup>28</sup> is declared as a subject of rights. In the practice this constitutional precept is criticized but it has undoubtedly contributed to expand a dialogue on the subject,

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<sup>27</sup> See Figure 3 Matrix of Needs and Satisfactors of Max-Neef.

<sup>28</sup> It also generates the category of "the rights of good living" including food, healthy environment, water, communication, education, housing, health, etc.

because now it is part of the fundamental norm of the State. In Bolivia, they institutionalized thoughts such as “*ama qilla, ama llulla, ama suwa* (not stealing, not lying and not being idle), *suma qamaña* (live well), *ñandereko* (harmonious life), *teko kavi* (good life), *ivi maraei* (land without evil) and *qhapaj ñan* (path or noble life)”. All of this with the objective of reinforcing a system of values that must transform the community, with the motto: “Build a world where all the worlds fit, without anyone living badly for somebody else living better” (Acosta, 2015, p.327). That necessarily has to be adjusted to each social and environmental circumstance. Alberto Acosta (2008) explains that material goods are not the only ones in consideration, but also a series of values such as the creation of knowledge, the recognition of ethical and spiritual codes that relate society to nature, among others.

In Ecuador, several attempts have been made to place the Good living ideology as an alive concept. Many strategies are detailed in the so-called "Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir/ National Plan for Good Living 2009-2017", which became the political campaign of the government in turn. Although its critiques, it rescues some interesting objectives noted below:

1. To promote equality, cohesion and social and territorial integration, in diversity.
2. To improve the capacity and potential of citizens
3. To improve the quality of life of the population
4. To guarantee the rights of nature and promote a healthy and sustainable environment
5. To ensure sovereignty and peace, and promote strategic insertion in the world, and also Latin American integration
6. To guarantee stable, fair and dignified work in its multiple forms.
7. To build and strengthen intercultural public spaces and of common meeting
8. To affirm and strengthen the national identity, diverse identities, plurinational societies, and interculturalism.
9. To guarantee the validity of rights and justice
10. To guarantee an access to public and political participation
11. To establish a caring and sustainable socio-economic system
12. To build a Democratic State for Good Living.

It is of particular interest for this study to focus on the monitoring and execution of the different public policies in the government of Rafael Correa, and to observe the extent to which the present objectives have been achieved or not. With this intention, it is necessary to pay attention to objective number 5 since it proposes Latin American integration. Therefore regional entities like Unasur are part of a strategy to obtain a greater participation at world-wide level. Consequently, in the next section I will briefly analyze the birth and constituent bases on which the South American Union of Nations (Unasur) is formed as a useful tool for Good Living.

### **Before continuing**

The Truman doctrine (1945), as a way to achieve social and economic progress, established what development is and the manner to reach it. It also motivated several studies throughout the second half of the Twentieth century and Twenty-first century. As a result, public policies have been structured by using different approaches. However, the world has not undergone major transformations, since every day social inequalities increase, and environmental and economic crises are very conspicuous. Sometimes societies even assimilate these problems as natural, inherent, as the routine of the capitalist system.

Some theories add characteristics to the development concept, as fundamental contributions since they visualize the needs of a global and local society, and also Nature's limits. Furthermore, they also consider the position of women within this process, the observance of ecosystems, the importance of communitarian relations and solidarity, as well as the radical transformation of our consumption habits, among others. These alternatives may provide solutions to the problems of the traditional vision of Development. Although they are partially utopian, given their lack of application, they are very interesting in terms of proposals and philosophies of life.

In this brief summary, I included the most significant tendencies and authors according to my perspective and the needs of this research. For this discursive analysis, I will permanently refer to these theories, with the objective of making a comparative analysis between Peru and Ecuador public policies. More specifically, I

will analyze the presidential periods of Ollanta Humala and Rafael Correa since the formation of Unasur.

### 3) **REGARDING TO INTEGRATION**

For several decades, the Modern State was one of the main actors of International Law, frequently facing two types of pressures. Firstly, a tendency towards fragmentation, that is to prefer its autonomy (sovereignty) and certain expressions of nationalism due to mainly political causes. Secondly, integration as an inherent process of globalization where the initial motivations are usually economic. Integrating is basically to reduce the sovereign and independent power of the member states and to accept the influence of a supranational central authority. However, a shared valid definition does not exist yet. Haas defined integration as:

“the process whereby political actors in several distinct national setting are persuaded to shift loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states” (Haas, 1958, p.16).

Then, a supranational institution could be global or regional. In the latter case, regional integration implies a formal process of acceptance and transfer a part of the state sovereignty to this organization. This process is voluntary and brings with its commitments and compensations for each of the member countries, as well as mixtures and mergers that trigger new techniques or mechanisms for conflict resolution. In the beginning, states based integration mainly in their economy within the process of globalization. With this in mind, it is necessary to make some precisions and differentiations:

<b>Regional Integration</b>	<b>Regionalization</b>
<b>(Regionalism)</b>	<b>( Regional interdependence )</b>
Formalized process promoted from the State. It is understood as a political commitment or project.	Informal process, only the flow of exchange between a group of territorially contiguous countries increases.

**Figure 10 Differentiation Regional Integration vs. Regionalization. Source: Made by myself**

This political phenomenon is studied starting with free trade agreements, customs unions, common markets and economic unions. Therefore, the case of the European

Union is commonly taken as an example. Thus, I decided to briefly explain the processes of integration in four trends: a pluralist approach, a functionalist approach, a neo-functionalist approach, and a federalist approach.

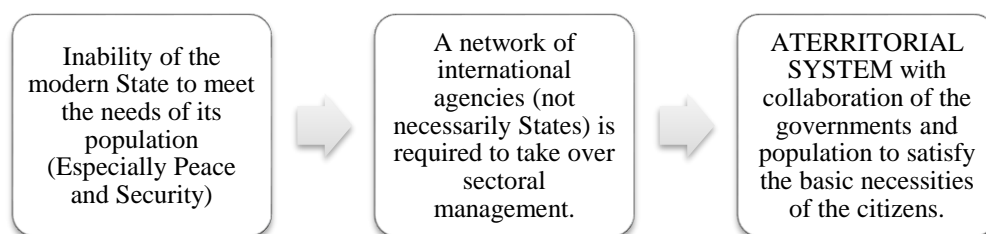
### **A pluralist approach**

The international organization has no will or power by itself. It highly depends on its members to create a new political entity. Countries seek for intergovernmental cooperation for political ends. It works as a “plural community of States”. This diversity results in multiple trade-offs and limited commitments among volunteer members.

### **A functionalist approach**

This process needs economic integration and international cooperation to reach political integration. (Mitrany quoted in Canovas, 2005)

David Mitrany is one of the main representatives of this current. This author develops a practical, technocratic and flexible system to overcome the supposed problems of nationalism. Mitrany has a deep distrust of the central authorities.



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**Figure 11 Synthesis of David Mitrany's Thought. Source: Made by myself**

According to Mitrany, the starting point for integration corresponds to the recognition of the inability of the State to satisfy its population (totally opposed to nationalism). At the same time, he believes in the possibility of solving international issues at the technical level (functional technocracy), and not merely at the political level. Therefore, governments' participation would be important but not fundamental in the integration process. For this reason, it is important to create a global network of interests that link all the members. He does not consider the full transfer of

sovereignty but the possibility of sharing sovereignty. To know more about this subject, I suggest to the reader to observe the Functional Theory of Politics and Theory of Ramification of Mitrany.

### **A neo-functionalist approach**

It possesses a logic of “integration little by little” in many sectors. It also emphasizes the importance of the change of mentality that populations must have to achieve a new political community. A group of specialist from the University of Berkeley, led by Ernst Haas (50-60) argue that technological and scientific changes would produce incentives and pressures for international institutional innovation. Haas emphasized the role of ideas and “consensual knowledge” paying attention to the relevance of political leaders and their objectives (Waltz, 1991). The basic difference between functionalism and neo-functionalism is that the latter includes a transference of sovereignty towards the supranational entity. Consequently, it is a type of integration in which the central organism (fruit of integration) has more power than any common international organization.

The basic objective of neo-functionalism refers to the achievement of a successful technical cooperation. Additionally, with this example, other sectors such as the social, cultural, political and even at the level of defense and security can be successful. It gives a new approach to the integration process. Greater importance is attached to the study of elites, its thoughts, and institutions. It establishes a relationship between power and welfare, in a scenario where integration may or may not carry out the interests of these elites.

In this sense, some useful notes on the theory developed by Haas with respecting to integration are worth mentioning for a better understanding:

- 1) The members of regional groups are more interdependent given the increase of transactions that occur between them,
- 2) Integration is positive or negative depending on the benefits or losses that result from it,
- 3) The size of States should not be a condition for integration,

- 4) A complete integration produces the enlargement of Institutional channels (mechanisms for conflict resolution),
- 5) It is not possible to know for sure what type of integration will be achieved,
- 6) The creation of the common market is the fastest way to achieve regional integration,
- 7) The most "prosperous" countries in terms of resources and size do not have a great interest in integration (different levels of development in countries hamper regional agreements),
- 8) If the countries who seek integration are considered weak or dominated by a hegemonic country, they will prefer integration as a way to improve its position on the world stage,
- 9) The success of a regional integration process will have to play a "friendly" role worldwide, with respect to other countries or blocks. (Haas, 1970 quoted in Serrano Oyarzún, 2008, p.6)

### **A federalist approach**

Federalism originates on the basis of the mistrust that could be generated by the traditional structure of the nation-state. Therefore, federalism is a modern instrument. It weighs unlimited state sovereignty, totalitarian regimes and defends individual rights. Its essence is basically anti-centralist and anti-absolutist (with regard to the management of the power). Through a social pact of coexistence, it establishes the level in which decisions can be taken by decentralized authorities. Consequently, it refers to a supranational association that regulates the behavior of constituent States and that assumes part of its rights and obligations.

### **In relation to history: Integration in Latin America**

It is important to clarify that the main "limits" established in the region were not borders. For example, in the Mesoamerican and Andean primary societies, people decided to unite according to their way of thinking and understanding the world. Domination and territorial expansion became protagonists only when they began to take theocratic traits and looked for an adequate structure of their relations to power.

As a result of the colonial presence in Central and South America, libertarian figures such as José de San Martín, Bernardo O'Higgins, and Simón Bolívar emerged. Bolívar, who notably influenced by Locke, Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu and his contact with Europe and its revolutions, decided to become the leader of the battles for independence. With many failed attempts, Bolívar gets the “liberation” of Venezuela and begins as the main protagonist in the unity of Latin America. (Montaruli, 2010)

In Simón Bolívar's ideas, concepts of integration and unity of the American peoples exist. Some documents written by Bolívar have many similarities with the current international agreements on integration and regionalism. These agreements existed before the conception and consolidation of European integration and the creation of the European Union. In 1815, Bolívar wrote:

“I wish more than anybody else, to see the greatest nation of the world formed in America, not only by its extension and wealth but by its freedom and glory” Simón Bolívar quoted in Emecé, 1962)

However, from the failure of Gran Colombia, countries created many institutions linked to the interests of maintaining the United States as hegemon since 1889. As a result of all these institutions and treaties, through the Charter of Bogota, the Organization of American States (OAS) was established in 1948. The OAS is the leading international organization for the Americas. Currently, it is an important multilateral forum with several objectives such as avoiding foreign intervention in representative democracies, promoting peace and security within the continent, the peaceful settlement of disputes, solidarity in case of aggression, and cooperation for economic, social and cultural development, the eradication of poverty, among others. The Article 2 of its Charters contains all the objectives.

The participation of American countries in this forum created several institutions related to this Inter-American System. For example:

- The Inter-American Development Bank- IDB (1959), which promotes the development of Latin America by financing development projects and programs,
- The Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) (1960) proposing a free trade area in the region, and



- The Alliance for Progress (1961) for development and economic cooperation, among others<sup>29</sup>.

At the international level, initiatives and even organizations were created to promote cooperation and development. In 1960, it created the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which would initially only be for the reconstruction of (OEEC) but currently has 34 members (including the United States, Canada, Chile, and Mexico). Many Latin American countries negotiate their membership or simply maintain partnerships for cooperation. (OECD, 2016)

Historically, Latin America applied several concepts of the hegemons. For example, mercantilism, Keynesian policies, liberalism or neoliberalism. However, these theories turned out to be inappropriate for some countries. These concepts somehow proposed that the causes of "underdevelopment" were not the responsibility of the North, nor of the hegemonic powers, but of the internal inadequacy of the states themselves to guarantee public services and provide economic and social stability to their citizens. Washington calls on governments and their respective states to: privatize, deregulate, liberate finance, open trade, discipline public spending, make fiscal reforms, and promote foreign investment. Therefore, the solution to ending poverty was to surrender openly to the market.

With the aim of expanding their domestic markets to reach moderate balances within their economies and for the benefit of their population, regional economic integration becomes a priority for the continent. Governments consider two prevailing issues in order to formulate public policies for the insertion of Latin American countries into the global market: a) to reach an economic agreement, b) without altercation among the population regarding the distribution of wealth, to reach social agreements.

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<sup>29</sup> The following institutions are part of the inter-American system: Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA); Association of Caribbean States (ACS); Latin American Integration Association (ALADI); Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI); Inter-American Development Bank (IDB); Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC); Inter-American Commission on Human Rights; Inter-American Commission of Women; Inter-American Juridical Committee; Andean Community; Caribbean Community (Caricom); Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF); Inter-American Court of Human Rights; Summit of the Americas; Inter-American Indian Institute; Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA); Inter-American Institute of Human Rights; Inter-American Children's Institute; Pan American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH); Common Market of the South (Mercosur); Pan American Health Organization (PAHO); Secretariat of Central American Economic Integration (SIECA); Central American Integration System (SICA); Latin American Economic System (SELA), among others. (Menezes)

As mentioned above, it is necessary a more efficient management of the State's accounts. The elimination of some subsidies, the privatization of the economy, as well as greater international openness to seek competitiveness, encourage exports to increase the money supply. However, the resources allocated to developing industry inside the country are less than before. Since the industry is not a priority, it creates the reduction of independent economic activity in countries in the short and medium term with a rising unemployment rate, as well as inflation. The discourse conceived in ECLAC symbolizes for Latin America a way of seeking its own regional autonomy, but the region was already inside the irreversible wave of globalization.

### **The model of open regionalism in Latin America**

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 showed the end of an international bipolar system. The United States symbolizes the hegemonic figure in the early 1990s, economically, financially, militarily, with respect to lifestyle, language, and ideology with exceptional ease. This momentary unipolarity had to finish. The world was in a transition towards a “cooperative and multipolar world order” (Rourke, 2008, p. 49). The idea of a nationalist, protectionist and isolated state was lagging behind. Benjamin Barber (2009) argues that internationally a “*McWorld*” is born. Its forces<sup>30</sup> eliminated the old structure of the Modern State to integrate them into new regional or universal entities. All the world, including America, tried to give greater importance to the political and economic integration as strategies to have a greater impact in the global horizon.

Therefore, with the development and deepening of neoliberal policies, integration is again a necessity to face new international challenges. This new boom in Latin American and Caribbean integration projects emphasizes on issues related to market and free trade (as in the case of Mercosur, Andean Community of Nations CAN, and ALADI). It is a process of increasing interdependence between countries of a given region. It includes a trend towards free trade, free flow of capital, labor, and knowledge. (ECLAC Publications, 1995) The purpose of this ECLAC proposal was

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<sup>30</sup> For Barber, the forces that correspond to “McWorld” are: a) greater political integration (so that the objectives of any policy are broader), b) economic interdependence, as opposed to total sovereignty, and c) greater social integration, Through the internet or the global news networks for example. (Barber, 2009)

to promote the competitiveness of the region through preferential agreements on trade liberalization. They also constitute 'defense' mechanisms for protectionist pressures in extra-regional markets.

The ECLAC ideology of 1990-1994<sup>31</sup> considers the integration in two ways: a) as a mechanism to privilege foreign trade in all countries and their economies, and b) as a "natural" and non-discriminatory tendency (i.e., Participation of third parties) through explicit policies. It would be necessary for the integration between countries to subscribe agreements and treaties on these subjects and good international relations, preferably in the commercial and financial fields. However, the world leading countries remained the same, with the exception of the broad growth of Asia during this period.

#### **4) International Organizations in South America. The case of Unasur.**

International organizations are a way of institutionalizing different concepts of integration and development. According to the thoughts of Simón Bolívar and the Cuban National Hero José Martí, integration is vital for the peoples of South America and Latin America. That particular line of thought had continuity in some political personalities such as Fidel Castro and Hugo Chávez<sup>32</sup>. As a consequence, integration is still present in the political discourse of the greatest statesmen, irrespective of the geographic location or level of development. Integration is part of the ideology of those who see the growing interdependence of the States as an unavoidable phenomenon.

The different political regimes in South America in the governments of Michelle Bachelet, Néstor Kirshner and Cristina Fernández, Hugo Chávez, Evo Morales, Rafael Correa, Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, among others, contributed to the gestation of the South American Community of Nations (2004). Later, this organization composes what today we know as Union of South American Nations UNASUR (2008). A number of questions arise as to whether this newly born "unity" will meet

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<sup>31</sup> Influence of the negotiations in the Uruguay Round (1986-1993), in World Trade Organization (before General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, GATT)

<sup>32</sup> Both of them and several South American leaders, have been the ones who recovered the idea of "Bolivarianism" and gave continuity to the idea of Unasur.

rather ambitious and difficult objectives. With this in mind, it is important to consider that although most member countries have similar historical and social characteristics, they continue to have discrepancies.

As stated before, the topic of open regionalism in the 1990s motivated the obtaining of international competitiveness. Integration at that time corresponded solely to commercial motivations to de-regulate the market of both tariff and non-tariff barriers (Rapoport, 2008). In the open regionalism model, a consensus about the aspects to be integrated and the idea of a supranational institution do not exist. Between 2003 and 2004, as some governments sought to stabilize and generate greater economic benefits, the United States sought to promote the idea of a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). In spite of the support of several governments as the case of Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Peru, among others; several more were opposed to this initiative as the Mercosur group and Venezuela. At the Summit of the Americas in Mar del Plata, Argentina (2005) statesmen discussed the implementation of the FTAA, but it does not receive sufficient support. Specifically, South American countries no longer relied on the strong presence of the United States in the region<sup>33</sup>.

In 2008, the economies and systems of government throughout Latin America faltered as a result of the US real estate crisis. Nevertheless, the South American political regimes co-created the Union of South American Nations UNASUR (2008). This organization is based on what was previously known to be the South American Confederation of Nations (CSN in 2004<sup>34</sup>) and the South American Summits of Presidents promoted by the Brazilian Fernando Henrique Cardoso (2000). Between 2005 and 2007, the Heads of State of the members of the CSN decided to create strategies for a common agenda in the region. Thus, on May 23, 2008, the Constitutive Treaty<sup>35</sup> of Unasur was approved. The main objectives of this organization are in the political strengthening of the region for South American integration, in the energy, financial, industrial and productive areas and social and

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<sup>33</sup> Rejecting the military bases placed in Colombia and Ecuador, or the excessive intervention and manipulation that the United States exercises in the establishment of the OAS agenda.

<sup>34</sup> The objective of the CSN was to observe in a common way the advances of the Mercosur and the Andean Community.

<sup>35</sup> It entered into force on March 11, 2011. (UNASUR, 2016)

human development, for the consolidation of a South American identity. (Union of South American Nations, UNASUR, 2015)

The reader can notice that the political dimension of the UNASUR insertion model results in a political-ideological confrontation with the OAS since both are considered to work legitimately for the solution of conflicts and democratic security. (Clemente Batalla, 2014) Unasur is the way in which the region has the option to become a global competitor, emphasizing that it is not only a macroeconomic or commercial union but is an integral process to forge the criteria of the subregion. At the same time, the organization would try to encourage strategic actions for the development of peoples and to create an identity.

Ernesto Samper<sup>36</sup> tells us that Unasur was born on the basis of three basic principles: peace, human rights, and democracy. Consequently, several of its objectives focus on promoting and protecting these aspects at both the state and regional levels. He also says that the work of Unasur can be classified briefly in three main agendas: (Samper Pizano, 2014)

1. Social agenda: This agenda promotes social inclusion overall. In the region, it is necessary to facilitate the formation of societies more equitable and equal in rights. The aim of this agenda is to reduce population gaps in terms of income distribution, gender, rural segregation and urban preference, among others. For this reason, it is important to eliminate mechanisms that reproduce inequality. At the same time, countries should make considerable investments in the education of the population.
2. Economic agenda: It refers to economic issues, specifically the work towards the enhancement of the region's abundant natural resources and the creation of an "alternative model of development. Following the example of Asian powers, he thinks it will be good to create new value chains, schemes of development by sectors, reindustrialization, etc. Populations should achieve competitiveness through investment in infrastructure, connectivity, scientific and technological transfers. This will boost the growth of intraregional trade.

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<sup>36</sup> E. Samper is a lawyer, economist and former president of Colombia. He served as General Secretary of Unasur (2014)

3. Political agenda: It emphasizes the importance of maintaining democracy and citizen security in the region. The most innovative idea for the region would be the establishment of the South American Citizenship. This will guarantee the individual protection against global problems such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, natural disasters, arms trafficking, among others. Then, it is necessary to prioritize citizen security and social justice.

For the fulfillment of these agendas, several objectives have been structured collectively (Published in the official page of UNASUR):

1. Strengthen political dialogue between Member States in order to reinforce the South American integration and the participation of UNASUR in the international arena.
2. Social and human development with equity and inclusion in order to eradicate poverty and overcome inequalities in the region.
3. Illiteracy eradication, equal access to quality education and the regional recognition of courses and degrees.
4. Energy integration for the sustainable and fair use of the resources of our Region.
5. Infrastructure development to guarantee the interconnection of the region and our peoples according to criteria of sustainable social and economic development.
6. Adopt mechanisms compatible with the economic and fiscal policies of Member States which will promote financial integration among them.
7. Protection of our biodiversity, water resources and ecosystems as well as cooperation among Member States in matters of disaster prevention and the fight against the causes and effects of climate change.
8. Achieving equitable integration in order to overcome asymmetries through the development of concrete and effective mechanisms.
9. Progressive recognition of the rights of a Member State citizens residing in any of the other Member States with the aim of attaining a citizenship of the other Member State.
10. Equal access to Social Security and health services.

11. Unrestricted respect for human and labor rights through migratory regularization and harmonization of policies.
12. Economic and trade cooperation to achieve progress and consolidation of an innovative, dynamic, transparent, equitable and balanced process. Promote growth and economic development in order to overcome asymmetries through the complementation of the economies of all the Member Countries as well as promoting the welfare of all sections of the population and the reduction of poverty.
13. Giving attention to small and medium enterprises, cooperative companies, networks and other forms of production organizations with the aim of creating unity in the Industrial and Productive areas.
14. Creation and implementation of complementary policies and projects of research, innovation, technology transfer and production in order to increase capacity, sustainability and proper scientific and technological development.
15. Strengthening of the identities of the peoples of the region of our Member States through encouragement of expression of knowledge and memory with the aim of promoting cultural diversity.
16. Citizen participation through mechanisms for interaction and dialogue between UNASUR and the various social organizations for the creating of South American integration policies.
17. While taking into account international standards and laws, and through coordination between the specialized agencies of the Member States, strengthen the fight against terrorism, corruption, the global drug problem, trafficking of people, trafficking of small guns and light weapons, transnational organized crime and other threats as well as disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons of mass destruction and demining.
18. Promote cooperation between the judicial authorities of the Member States of UNASUR.
19. The exchange of information and experience on defense.
20. Cooperation to strengthen public safety.
21. Sectorial cooperation in order to deepen South American integration through the exchange of information, experience and training.

For truly consolidating UNASUR and putting it as an effective supranational institution, it is necessary a strong commitment on the part of all member countries, which should be reflected in the majority of public policies implemented in the Member States. However, the reader may suspect about the level of involvement and participation of political actors (including organized citizens) within the organization. It is also questionable the capacity of the organization to resolve conflicts in the Region and to project itself as a block to promote multilateralism at the global level. Unasur's work may sound utopian, and for this reason, I will analyze some political speeches of the presidents of Ecuador and Peru in this forum to know to what extent it exists a conviction and commitment to UNASUR, the advances of its proposals and objectives.

### **Brief introduction to the geopolitics of Peru and Ecuador, as members of UNASUR**

#### **PERU**

The Republic of Peru has as capital the city of Lima, located at sea level. Its borders are with Ecuador and Colombia in the North, Brazil in the East, Bolivia in the Southeast, Chile in the South and the Pacific Ocean in the West. It has the main mineral reserves of the region, important oil, and natural gas reserves. Peru occupies the 82nd position of the Human Development Ranking. (0.737 to 2013) (United Nations Development Program)

Peru is one of the fastest growing economies in Latin America (in 2005-2014 it grew steadily at an average of 6%, with average inflation of 2.9% on average) and greater trade liberalization in the region. However, it witnessed significant decelerations in recent years, mainly due to the threatening external conditions such as the slowdown in China (its main trading partner), falling commodity prices, high US interest rates, as well as the reduction of domestic investment and Adversities (conditions caused by natural phenomena, such as “fenómeno del Niño”). Consequently, there have been delays in national public and private investment programs. Internally, a climate of uncertainty is handled due to the presidential elections (to be held in April 2016).



In the government of Ollanta Humala Tasso (following practically the same line as its predecessors) employment increased sharply. It had a considerable reduction of poverty. However, extreme poverty rates are predominant in rural areas that urgently require further promotion of inclusive policies. In the same way, it is necessary to promote greater equity given the great inequality of the population's income.

According to the World Economic Outlook (generated by the International Monetary Fund), the Peruvian economy would grow in 2015, the same percentage to 2014 (2.4%) and 3.3% in 2016. (Maza & Mendieta, 2015) For this reason, it is considered the beginning of the production phase of important mining projects and the gradual implementation of a countercyclical<sup>37</sup> fiscal policy with structural reforms. This will encourage the confidence of private investors in the country. In this way, Peru should consider several factors such as the vulnerability of its population to factors that could lead to an increase in extreme poverty, to seek new sources of growth (not only in the mining sector).

In terms of foreign policy, Peru has chosen to strengthen its international relations not only in terms of ideological similarities but also in a strategic way to increase its presence in the region. Peru maintains good relations with the United States and being part of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) the country has opened up his relations with Asia, mainly with China.

With regard to free trade, Peru has committed about 90% of its foreign trade through trade agreements. This country is also studying the feasibility of negotiating some more. (Government of Spain, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Office of Diplomatic Information, 2015) The Peruvian strategy of "Fight against Drugs 2012-2016" has meant a great bilateral cooperation with the United States. It maintains good commercial relations with Europe, thanks to the Multiparty Trade Agreement signed with the European Union. In addition, Peru together with Chile, Colombia and Mexico promoted the creation of the Alliance of the Pacific.

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<sup>37</sup> It is implemented to mitigate the contraction effect of economic activity. Measures can be taken such as programs to reduce the fiscal pressure, programs to increase public spending to counter the fall in demand, all in order to anticipate a possible economic recovery. (Management: Economics and Finance, 2014)

## **ECUADOR**

Ecuador is located in the northwest of South America. Its borders are the Pacific Ocean in the West, Colombia in the North and Peru in the South and in the East. It has an area of 281 341 square kilometers. It is divided into 24 provinces, and four natural regions (3 continental and 1 island). Since September 9, 2000, the legal currency is the US dollar. The majority of the population is between 15-64 years old (63, 5% of the total). Its life expectancy is 76 years. (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos INEC, 2015)

Since 2007, Rafael Correa assumed the presidency of the Republic. Within his government project named "Citizen Revolution," he undertook the process of creating a new Constitution through a National Assembly. The Ecuadorian Constitution contains the particularity of a greater presence of the State in the institutional life of the country as well as in its economy, strategic sectors (oil, mining, telecommunications, water, etc.). It also includes the creation of two new branches of government: Electoral Power and Power of Participation and Citizen Control. This Constitution has also added rights to nature, it promotes free university education and the right of indigenous peoples and communities. It introduces the concept of "good living" (sumak kawsay) that defines the ideal balance of the human being with his community and with nature.

When oil prices were prospering, Ecuador had a major boost for public investment, energy, and transportation. It meant a significant reduction in extreme poverty rates between 2006 and 2014, from 16, 9% to 7, 7% according to national poverty lines. On the other hand, although the country's economy has grown in recent years, lately, it went through a big slowdown. Since the beginning of this year (2015), the reduction of the prices of energy raw materials has led to a significant reduction in the GDP growth rate.

Low oil prices forced a reduction in Ecuadorian public spending. The government took basically two immediate actions, the implementation of a tariff protection and a reduction of 4% of budgeted public expenditure for 2015 (IBRD-IDA World Bank, 2015). These measures affected mainly the private sector. The private sector

decreased its investment expectations. For this reason, the country must urgently diversify its economy. Consequently, the government's flagship initiative of "changing the productive matrix" attempts to reverse this situation. This solution includes import substitution, diversification of sources of financing and reformulation of subsidies. Thus, Ecuador has been much closer to funding from the foreign sector. It significantly compromised the country's economy and finances. This implies an increase in the public debt, internal and external to 30 014 million dollars (end of 2014).

The country ranks 98th in the Human Development Ranking (0.711 to 2013) (UNDP). Although Correa's government requires some progress in reducing inequality, according to the United Nations Development Program, the country still requires stronger public policies that reduce the vulnerability of the country to the global financial and economic crisis. (Naciones Unidas, 2014)

In the context of Ecuador's foreign policy, there is a great willingness on the part of the current government to expand its diplomatic relations. Therefore, it established new political and trade relations with Asia (mainly in China, South Korea, Iran and the Persian Gulf) and Africa, as well as Europe and the rest of America. As previously mentioned, Ecuador and specifically President Correa's government have always sought to defend the regional integration project. As a result, the country is a member of several organizations such as UNASUR, ALBA, CELAC (in January of 2015 assumed its Presidency Pro Tempore) and CAN. In addition, the country considers the possibility of becoming a member of MERCOSUR. Furthermore, it promotes a reform of the Inter-American System of Human Rights.

In the last decades, Ecuador achieved a good atmosphere with its neighbors Peru and Colombia. The country signed several agreements for political dialogue, cooperation, and trade with the European Union. Lately, it signed the Multi-Party Agreement with the EU.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **ECUADOR AND PERU IN UNASUR: METHODOLOGY, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND PUBLIC POLICY ON REGIONAL INTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

Given the theoretical structures of what corresponds to both development and integration, it is necessary to focus on the primary objective of this research. In the next pages, I will make a discursive analysis and connect the different conceptualizations and motivations of Ecuador and Peru within the UNASUR forum as a supranational organization. In the first place, I will refer to the conceptual bases that legitimize discourse analysis and provide methodological tools to facilitate it. Next, I will present the analysis using the most appropriated concepts and methodologies. I should emphasize that for the current research, I did not select any specific method for making the analysis. I adopted several linguistic, psycho-social, statistical and conceptual tools. This allowed me to outline the discursive elements found in each collected *corpus* and to adapt it to their interpretation.

#### **Brief synthesis of the philosophy of Unasur**

The last part of the previous chapter mentions some key points for the formation of Unasur. It includes its general objectives of the organization and the structure of its regional agenda. However, it is necessary to observe specifically the conception of the organization: Unasur uniqueness from its philosophical and structural <sup>38</sup> foundations. This creates a series of proposals and initiatives that suggest a change in the region.

A group of new trends at the global level<sup>39</sup> (free trade agreements, FTAA, ALBA, among others) rises as a result of the South American countries' participation in international forums, specifically in the Summits of Presidents. These trends present cooperation and integration as instruments and new opportunities at the democratic, commercial, infrastructure, cultural, knowledge, and technology levels. Integration

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<sup>38</sup> It is relevant to rescue the essence of Unasur, which, not only in theory or protocols. It means a notable advance in terms of regional integration and multilateralism.

<sup>39</sup> At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, with the critical review of development models and their materialization in government and state policies.

and cooperation could be the answer for cross-border problems (drug trafficking and migration), defense problems, among others.

The Declaration of Cusco (2004) says that a shared history supports South American integration, but also it exists political will to face shared challenges and to gain a better position as a region in international negotiations. The most important achievement of these efforts will be the consolidation of South American identity. Until that moment, the European Union gave the guidelines for integration. However, in 2006, Evo Morales sets the standard for building an alternative to regional integration:

[The] integration process [must be built] at different speeds, recognizing that South American countries have different processes and rhythms. [The Bolivian proposal suggests that] each country makes its own commitments for building a real political, economic, social and cultural bloc. [...] An integration to "live well" [...] that is not evaluated in terms of per capita income but of cultural identity, community, harmony between us and our mother earth. (Excerpt from the proposal of Evo Morales-Bolivia in the Forum of the Second Summit of the CSN, obtained from Comunidad Andina de Naciones, 2006)

In this way, integration in South America through Unasur means that commercial and economic benefits are not the most important. This organization principles highlight the importance of social issues such as the access of the entire population to basic services, education, reducing inequalities, and minimizing corruption through transparency mechanisms, respecting and promoting cultural diversity. The objective is advancing towards a shared identity, the citizenship of South America. This proposal of Morales continues to build the idea of Unasur. It includes the construction of its identity that recognizes political, ideological and economic differences of each country. This strengthens a reciprocal sentiment of solidarity among peoples. In addition, Bolivia exposes the idea of "living well". This idea deeply questions the traditional models of development, through abandoning an indicator such as income per capita.

The constitution of Unasur as a subject of international law and its guiding principles rescue much of the Bolivian proposal in relation to this innovative model of integration. Thus, elements such as:

- a) Solidarity between member countries of the organization. It involves a search for greater equity,
- b) Sovereignty in relation to territorial integrity and the ability to decide on their strategies of development and global insertion,
- c) Peace in accordance with the mandates of the United Nations and considering peaceful methods for the resolution of disputes;
- d) Democracy and pluralism, promoting equitable social participation in the integration process; and
- e) Respect for human rights and nature.

Most of these aspects influence the plan of action that the organization would apply in the following years. The Unasur Constitutive Treaty itself provides a summary on the topic, as follows:

The objective of the South American Union of Nations is to build, in a participatory and consensual manner, an integration and union among its peoples in the cultural, social, economic and political fields, prioritizing political dialogue, social policies, education, energy, infrastructure, financing and the environment, among others, with a view to eliminating socioeconomic inequality, in order to achieve social inclusion and participation of civil society, to strengthen democracy and reduce asymmetries within the framework of strengthening the sovereignty and independence of the States. (Art. 2. South American Union of Nations Constitutive Treaty, 2008)

This general premise creates the previously mentioned strategic objectives. Unasur considers some mechanisms to achieve commercial and economic benefits and cooperation at different levels. However, the organization essentially promotes dialogue and political agreement in the region. Additionally, it proposes a flexible and gradual integration, respecting times and sovereignty of its different countries and considering this South American alliance of solidarity and identity creation (Regueiro & Barzaga, 2012). Unasur does not require integration. It prioritizes the political will that generates commitments on the part of each State based on its capabilities and specifically in the formulation and implementation of public policies. These public policies should be in accordance with the strategic objectives of the organization as a whole.

Finally, it is important to consider some situations. Unasur and its members have fundamental differences. For example, in South America coexist governments that promote developmentalism and other who prefer neoliberal orthodoxy, those who are

steadfastly driven by national capitalism, and others who question them through neo-socialism. Additionally, even if its historical heritage could be a motivation for the union, History also shows multiple boundaries and territorial conflicts between these countries. What Morales called “different speeds” in terms of economic bonanza led certain countries to play a role of greater influence and impact at the international level and to have different financial and commercial partners. The rest of the countries are considered as “laggards” within the development process. Therefore the region is still dependent on extra-regional countries.

Politics is a science of governance implemented since its inception in polis and nation-states. It recognized the need to satisfy their sovereign interest, placing itself under the mandate and service of a society. However, would it be able to function optimally in Unasur, which has 12 countries with more than 418 million inhabitants which currently have different priorities? Therefore, it achieved major advances in the institutional sphere and political agreement. However, politics also implies the convergence of a number of factors (social, economic, environmental, and cultural, etc.) that are not influenced by the activity of Unasur. The positions of Ecuador and Peru are worth to analyze for knowing the complex challenge of Unasur towards the construction of its supra-nationality. For that reason, I will independently observe each country through the speeches of their representatives to know the coherence among its positions on integration and development.

### **Some methodological considerations prior to the analysis**

Discourse is defined as a rational linguistic manifestation (series of words or phrases) for producing some effect. However, it is necessary to clarify some particularities about this topic:

- Discourse is a social practice, which means that in order to understand a discourse one must necessarily analyze its conditions of production: social, institutional, ideological-cultural and historical (Pecheux 1978 and Robin 1973 cited in Gutierrez). Therefore, analyzing a discourse is analyzing a form of social action.
- It is part of the communication model, in which the speaker structures and organizes its language according to a specific receiver.

- The knowledge of semiology<sup>40</sup> is fundamental to the critical analysis of discourse, that is, the understanding that: "words mean much more than they say."

At this point, it is necessary to consider a series of dimensions that facilitate Discourse Analysis (DA). Teun Van Dijk (2013), a Dutch linguist and one of the promoters of critical discourse analysis, establishes three aspects worth to analyze in a DA: text, context and general knowledge.

- a) TEXT: structures of discourse, grammar, the relationship among sentences and its meaning,
- b) CONTEXT: mental structures<sup>41</sup>, subjective representations of a given situation,
- c) GENERAL KNOWLEDGE: related with the social structures in which the discourse is emitted or received. It has a close relationship with the sociology of knowledge (epistemic institutions, formation of ideologies)

Therefore, what a social group comprehends about a topic can change substantially in another social group with similar characteristics but different community epistemologies<sup>42</sup>. (Van Dijk, 2013).

In this way, I will make a systematic interpretation (grammar, semantics, pragmatics and argumentation) and at the same time, I will analyze the cognitive aspects (community mental models) and the production and reproduction of some power situations (domination). Why do I talk about power? Because a discourse always has an intimate link with power, it implies a desire. In Foucault's words: "Speech is not simply what translates the struggles or domination systems, it is something by and for what one fights, that power of which one wants to take possession" (Foucault, 1970, p.6).

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<sup>40</sup> Semiotics or Semiology refers to the set of knowledge that analyzes and explains the signs and communicative phenomena, senses, and meanings that occur in society through the activity of semiosis (communicative interaction between people, social groups and institutions)

<sup>41</sup> Van Dijk, relying on Johnson-Laird's Theory of Mind Models (1983), believes that participants in any communication process need to be able to mentally construct 'something' that makes it possible to understand a topic from what he already knows about it (its epistemology).

<sup>42</sup> Community epistemology refers to the way a society understands and explains reality. How do you know what you know? What are its characteristics? For example, talking about terrorism in front of a group of students in France will be different than talking on the same issue in front of a group of students in Syria. Since what is meant by terrorism within the two communities may differ.



Michel Foucault (1970) says that in a DA we must be aware of three types of prohibitions. These prohibitions are interwoven in the social fabric. Firstly, the forbidden word, alluding to the fact that not everyone can talk or say anything in certain circumstances. Secondly, the reason-madness opposition. For example, when a madman speaks the validity of his arguments is practically nil. In addition, when someone speaks he/she may “forget” some details. Therefore, it is necessary to use our reasoning and observe silence, in order to understand where the limits of this separation are (Ex. Among all the hidden desire in the discourse, what situations were reasonably emphasized?). Finally, the will to truth, which is always sought through pressure or coercion. It seeks to verify the foundation of the word, its full scope, its coherence. The human being tends to exclude from his speech what he considers as "not true/not real". Therefore, in a DA it is important to consider the speaker as the unit and origin of the meanings proposed in the discourse. From the speaker's identity, it is possible to know his social actions (in this case, the word) which restrict and allow its performance considering the above-mentioned prohibitions. A discourse, far from merely being a text within a context, is an expression of the individuality of a being. For this reason, it is also fundamental to consider some nonverbal aspects of communication. These features not only facilitate interpretation but also contain vast subjective information to know the speaker's intentionality and ontology.

Some people say that discourse is the favorite vehicle of ideology. Some also consider that the utilization of ideologies within social structures is basic for maintaining social control. However, the application of an ideology is the opposite of a form of coercion (Fairclough, 1989), because it indirectly exercises and motivates people to understand, analyze and discern the received information from their own position in society and based on their critical ability. Therefore, people are not forced to adopt a speech as truth. Discourse as a social practice within a social group has two consequences: a) It can help to maintain continuity in certain lines of action, and b) it can generate deep social changes. For that reason, it is very important the role of speech receptors. With this in mind, it is not possible to make generalizations in the interpretation that each individual can get from the same discourse and its real scope. For this reason, some authors such as Norman Fairclough (1989) or Valentin

Voloshinov<sup>43</sup> (1992) from a Marxist orientation notice the existence of social gaps generated by capitalism and the application of power (domination) in the process of DA. Thus, it is important to observe the position of the each subject in the communicative situation.

As mentioned above, a discourse contains an ideology which can directly influence the creation or changes in the structure of the social, political, economic or cultural system. The expressed ideas and signs show its relation to the society's power game. In this sense, John Thompson (1993) exposes some general ways in which an ideology can operate in the social fabric. Basically, he states five of these ways: legitimation, dissimulation or concealment, unification, fragmentation and finally, reification. Each of these categories has its own strategies to reach the speaker and to generate an effect and a purpose. Therefore, this analysis includes schemas, self-reflection, and critical interpretation based on knowledge that allow us to be alert to these political-ideological situations.

As an additional consideration, it has to be said that discourses in our time are not only shared within physical conglomerates. Media, social networks and other participants in the communicative situation often modify or filter the ideas, declarations, and statements expressed in the speech. Therefore, it is important (as far as possible, recognizing its complexity) to elaborate a DA on a pure corpus, that is, without major modifications.

In summary, in all the possible cases the analysis will include the following considerations:

1. Socio-historical approach of the discourse
2. Evaluation of the means by which the speech has been issued and its level of modification (official media, mass media, social networks, etc.)
3. Consideration of the speaker as the source of meanings in the discourse and its power position in society

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<sup>43</sup> See his book *Marxism and the philosophy of language*.

4. Consideration of the audience as the objective of discourse, as agents of social transformation or as supporters for the continuity of ideologies, considering their general knowledge (community epistemologies)
5. Preliminary reading (degree of relevance granted, extension, other aspects related). Process of codification and disaggregation of textual passages in their respective category (Sayago, 2013).
6. Interpretation and comparison with the theory presented in Chapter I. Different methodological tools according to each case.

### **About the selection of corpus**

In order to facilitate the analysis for this particular DA, in the case of Ecuador, I will refer to the official statements of the President Rafael Correa Delgado in his two presidential periods and the most representative events related to the construction of Unasur. In the same way, in the case of Peru, I will consider President Ollanta Humala Tasso, since the Constitutive Treaty of Unasur enters into force on March 11, 2010, and just a year later former President Allan Garcia is succeeded by Humala. Additionally, I preferred speeches since the constitution of Unasur in 2008 until the year 2015. Furthermore, discourses about the subjects of integration and development will be prioritized.

### **Statement of the topic of analysis**

## **ECUADOR**

**About Ecuador: Rafael Correa, the Citizen's Revolution<sup>44</sup>, Socialism of the 21st Century and the National Plan for Good Living<sup>45</sup> (PNBV, for its acronym in Spanish) within the Unasur integration process**

Whether it is to adjust historical accounts, to face the corrupt oligarchy, to finish a long neoliberal night and with the objective of making a homeland for everyone,

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<sup>44</sup> Translated from the Spanish "Revolución Ciudadana". The government of President Correa decided this denomination for all of their activities.

<sup>45</sup> Translated from the Spanish: Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir (PNBV)

Rafael Correa Delgado, an economist from Guayaquil, arrived at the Presidency of the Ecuadorian Republic. He rejected traditional political parties and therefore, he created the Citizen Alliance of Ecuador that would later be known as Alianza PAIS (Patria Altiva i Soberana). Since the end of the twentieth century, Ecuador went through a historical period of political instability. For the 2007's electoral period, Correa considered himself a "socialist with Christian sources" as well as "a lefty Christian humanist" applying an ideology of "love not hatred", who dreamt about "an Ecuador without poverty, without poor children in the street, where all without opulence, but with dignity and with elementary levels of well-being, can live happily". (Correa mentioned in CIDOB, 2016, p.9).

The *Alianza PAIS* Plan of Government counted on 5 fundamental axes or 5 sub-revolutions that would indicate the route for achieving a true "Citizen revolution":

- Constitutional and democratic revolution
  - Ethical Revolution: Frontal Fight against Corruption
  - Economic and productive revolution
  - Educational and health revolution
  - Revolution for dignity, sovereignty and **Latin American integration**
- (Alianza PAÍS, 2006)

The leftist proposal favoring the creation of greater opportunities, the rescue of history and the radical opposition to traditional parties received great acceptance among Ecuadorians. Subsequently, a Constituent Assembly created a new Constitution complying with one of the main axes. According to the supporters of the regime, it would give the necessary impulse to continue and consolidate the "Citizen Revolution". Next, I will concisely discuss this term which is characteristic of this government. This discussion will contribute to the understanding of our DA.

The term citizenship means that the individual fully participates in the community to which it belongs and it is also subject to rights and obligations. This concept is essentially evolutionary, as proposed by T.H Marshall (1949) arguing that there can be constant extensions of citizens' rights. The multiple revolutions for which citizenship evolved at least theoretically, gave, as a result, a series of civil rights

(individual liberty, equality before law), political (electoral and political participation), social rights (minimum guarantees of material conditions). These rights would gradually increase according to the person relations with its community.

There are basically two ways of obtaining the condition of citizenship. Firstly, through an effort or a consensus from below meaning a huge participation of people. Secondly, through a process from above by the action of high-level management, for example, the Executive, the Parliament or National Assembly. According to the sociologist, Marco Salamea Córdova (2014), the Citizen Revolution reinforces the concept of citizenship from above. Rafael Correa and Alianza PAÍS are the main managers and motivators of social change, justifying and strengthening its actions through several democratic electoral processes. Consequently, the figure of citizenship that Correa contemplates is an individual or passive citizenship. This means that people should participate in public life preferably through the vote. In this context, active citizens would be supporters of the Government of Alianza PAÍS, "the techno -bureaucracy, the meritocratic bureaucracy and the high officialdom of the Armed Forces"(Enríquez, 2011 quoted in Salamea pg. 19).

The “revolutionary” process promoted by PAÍS created a Constitutional Revolution. Therefore, the Ecuadorian Constitution contains several articles recognizing citizens and collective organizations (See Ecuadorian Constitution 2008, Title IV, Art. 95-107) as protagonists in the State. It recognizes its participation in the formulation of public policies and government budgets. Additionally, they can promote democracy with transparency, citizen education and communication projects. However, in the following pages, we will see that the government had some problems with groups and social organizations, and the lack of national pedagogy regarding resources such as the “empty chair” delayed full citizen participation.

This government participatory democracy tries to expand the so-called “Socialism of the Twenty-First Century”. The sociologist Heinz Dieterich Steffan developed this concept. He meant that to carry out this post-capitalist historical project a society should transform its objectives and institutions as follows:

Institutionality of participatory democracy	
1.	<u>Economics of equivalence</u>
1.1	Economy with democratic planning, micro and macro
1.2	Target value, determined by labor input
1.3	Exchange of equivalences
2.	<u>Participatory democracy</u>
2.1	Highest possible development of democracy. It encompasses the four human social relations: economy, politics, culture and military
2.2	Electronic plebiscite (Internet) in transcendent decisions
2.3	It recovers formal democracy, adds social and participatory democracy (material = content)
3.	<u>Non class-determined state</u>
3.1	Class-biased functions disappear, with them the repressive identity of the State
3.2	State becomes legitimized administration of general functions
4.	<u>Critical-ethical-aesthetic subject:</u> In this institutional environment, the citizen becomes a full subject of the three dimensions of the human condition: Rational (science), moral (ethics) and aesthetics (art)

**Figure 12 Institutionality of participatory democracy by H. Dieterich Steffan. Source: (Dieterich Steffan, 1996, p. 50)**

The in-depth study of each of the factors mentioned exceeds the objectives of this research. However, it is important to say that Socialism of the Twenty-First Century, as proposed by Dieterich, must become a historical project of participatory democracy. Rafael Correa, as a supporter of this current<sup>46</sup>, understands that the Citizen Revolution must confront the traditional ruling class. Furthermore, he believes that this process has to become a regional and global project.

In this sense, Good living or Sumak Kawsay in Ecuador emerged as one of the most efficient possibilities for the achievement of this historical revolution. Good living is an alternative to development which motivates a new citizen's coexistence. As a consequence, the new Constitution includes the rights of Good living (Ecuadorian Constitution 2008, Title II, Chapter Two) and a proposal of the Regime of Good Living (Ibid. Title VII). In addition, the National Plan for Good Living (PNBV) is the framework controlling the activities of the State, namely:

<sup>46</sup> And also some leaders and ex-presidents of the region as the case of Hugo Chavez (+) through whom the Socialism of the XXI Century has had a great international impact since 2005.

Public policies, programs, and projects abide by the National Development Plan. Additionally, the programming and execution of the State budget and the coordination of exclusive competences between the central State and the decentralized autonomous governments have to respect this framework. Its observance will be mandatory for the public sector and indicative for other sectors. (Article 280 Constitution of Ecuador, 2008)

Therefore, public policies at national level respect the objectives of Good Living. The government of Correa created two versions of this PNBV (2009-2013 and 2013-2017) with the participation of Cabinet members. They proposed policies and strategic guidelines in function of the fulfillment of the objectives of Good Living. At least, in theory, this new conception of development rejects the development imposed by modernity, the application of neoliberal policies, privatizations that benefit transnational capital and the dominant social classes of the country.

It is fundamental for this research to refer to both PNBV since they give the basis for the official speech of President Correa. The objectives of PNBV coincide to some extent with several objectives of Unasur as an organization, for example, the objective number five of the PNBV: “Guarantee sovereignty and peace and promote strategic integration in the world and Latin American Integration”. As integration is one of the fundamental objectives of Ecuador as a State, its public policy should converge strategically towards the South American process.

Critical thinking is a key instrument that will serve to discern the information presented in official speeches and glimpse its congruence with respect to the plans of State and government. It is necessary to evaluate the orientation of the development of Ecuadorian population and its regional integration, in its actions as citizens in full exercise of their citizenship rights, and motivating the stability of a participatory democracy. Additionally, it has to respect the new alternative ideology of Good living in a scenario where possible inconsistencies or backwardness towards modernity persist.

### **Discourse analysis on regional integration in Unasur**

Something characteristic of the Correa’s government has been the informative processes to its constituents. Since the first years of its mandate, it took the name of

*Enlace Ciudadano*<sup>47</sup>. I chose an extract from one of his first speeches: **Radial Chain No. 70 of May 24, 2008**. It was one day after an Extraordinary Meeting of Presidents for the signing of the statutes for the creation of Unasur. The audience was composed by representatives of craftsmen's associations, youth associations, small merchants of the Municipal Market of Carapungo of Calderón Parish, north of Quito. It should be noted that the speech was not intended exclusively to inform about the process in Unasur. However, a characteristic of his expressions was the permanent defense and legitimation of their actions in function of the well-being of the Ecuadorian people. In this excerpt from the selected speech, he expressed two main issues: a) the dissatisfaction of the president with respect to the role of the General Secretariat within Unasur, and b) the future vision of South American integration.

Concerning to the first issue, it is necessary to remember that Ecuador's former president Rodrigo Borja Cevallos was elected in 2007 for the charge of Secretary-General of Unasur. Nevertheless, he did not exercise that charge because of some discrepancies with the organization. About this topic, Correa said:

- (1) Integration is so important that we have to deal it directly with the presidents
- (2) [but] we delegate it to officials. [... who created] a Statute where
- (3) the highest instance of Unasur is the Presidential Council, perfect;
- (4) but from there, it follows the Council of Chancellors, hence it follows the Council of High Delegates
- (5) which meet from time to time and are in different countries [this constitutes] the executive<sup>48</sup> body,
- (6) And after all of them it follows the Secretary-General.
- (7) And then, why do we want an ex-president of the Republic as Secretary-General?
- (8) We should hire only an executive secretary, if it is to note and have files.
- (9) So it was an insult to Dr. Rodrigo Borja,
- (10) And so the statutes and Unasur will not work.
- (11) We are once again surprised by the bureaucracy
- (12) And by those governments that do not want integration, they want to [hinder] everything, they do not want a united South America.
- (13) They want to remain lackeys of certain empires, right?
- (14) So, like this Unasur is not going to work,
- (15) Ecuador said it in a low but firm voice,
- (16) [because] Rodrigo Borja, Ecuadorian, was the secretary and they could think that we were defending Ecuador's interests, that we wanted to have more power, etc.

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<sup>47</sup> "Citizen Linkage" in a literal translation.

<sup>48</sup> Author's Note: with exclamation emphasis on the word.



(17) And they did not heed us, and that grieved us deeply.

(18) If it had been another larger country, perhaps they would have taken note of it. (Radial Chain No. 70, 2008)

Correa emphasized the figure of presidents (his figure) as a fundamental part of the Unasur Executive. He considers that their political disposition will achieve progress in the regional process. At the same time, he delegitimized the decision to delegate the creation of the Statute “to officials”. From this fragment, I deduce that Correa exerts an autocratic leadership: a leader who orders and expects the rest to follow his orders. In addition, it is a leader who assumes responsibility for the decision-making, who guides and controls considering he is the only qualified person to do it (Soto, 2016). Dissatisfaction with all forms of bureaucracy is evident (11), implying that it is not the first time this happens (Endnote by the author: bureaucracy does not end with Unasur because it still has a lot of additional Councils, on which no major steps have been taken) since “it removes efficiency, faith, hope and expectation losses in these organizations” (in a fragment of the same intervention). It shows the commitment and political will of Correa, who considers that Unasur is an alternative to integration unlike other regional organizations such as the Andean Community of Nations (CAN), as it proposes solutions to improve its structures.

In addition, he raises his dissatisfaction and his motivation for the change in the structure of the General Secretariat within Unasur (6). (Note by the author: a posteriori, it exists a change with the issuance of a Regulation to empower the secretary and give it a stronger position). He uses the personalization, mentioning several times to Dr. Rodrigo Borja and considering an insult his position as Secretary-General, in the terms agreed in the Statute, being an “ex-president of the Republic”. In this way, he showed the failures of this structure.

The political arena of the region has two apparently antagonistic groups: those who collaborate with the regional integration, and those who do not consider integration as fundamental for regional development. To this latter group, Correa in (12) decided to qualify them negatively as “the lackeys of certain empires” (13). This tool of preaching (attributing qualities to certain people or elements) is quite common in Correa's rhetorical discourse. Therefore, he made up a list of appellations that delegitimize those who oppose his position, ideology, or political projects. In this same

fragment, he defends the Ecuadorian position as fundamental and worthy of consideration within the work of the Union, even recognizing its situation of being smaller than other countries.

As for Unasur's vision for the future, in this same intervention, he makes a comparison between the European Union (27 members and 23 languages) and South America (12 members and 4 languages). He highlights the openness the organization had in inviting countries Such as Guyana and Suriname to take part in the process. In addition to the similarities in language, the president emphasizes history, culture, religion and possibly even the shared values in the vast majority of countries in the region, which would facilitate the process in theory. It also dedicates a part of the speech to present the "great challenge of Unasur", which consists of:

- (1) Demonstrate to our peoples,
- (2) effectively with concrete things,
- (3) the benefits of integration.
- (4) And how can these concrete things be: road integration, energy integration,
- (5) financial integration: to no longer depend on Monetary Funds, World Bank, etc.,
- (6) connectivity, articulated health policies,
- (7) Regional articulated defense policy: saving on defense spending and being much more efficient and avoid aggression from one country to another, right?
- (8) articulated educational policies: validation of degrees to all universities in South America, university accreditation agency at the South American level.
- (9) There are many things to do! No time to lose,
- (10) and we do not have to give concrete and quick signals that integration can and should and will:
- (11) will improve the living standards of the South American population. "[applause]"
- (12) May 23 was a historic date for the region and we will continue with this integration [...]. (Cadena Radial No. 70, 2008)

Since the organization believes that the region has different economic and development levels, it is necessary to take into account how each country plans to face the challenge of integration for peoples' development in different ways. The President uses the personification strategy in (1) emphasizing that integration is directed "to our peoples" as the main subject of the sentence, as well as reinforcing the word "demonstrate" with a similar phrase in (10) attributing to the process of integration with the words "can, should and will": capacity, normative-deontic character, security, and confidence. In the same way, he mentions the benefits of

integration reflected in concrete examples (exemplification and reference) in (3-8). However, as Foucault puts it and mentioned above, someone cannot talk about any subject at any time. Therefore, President Correa at this moment in which Unasur was in recent birth, and being the promoter of integration, it is obvious to refer to issues of threats or problems that may face the regional process.

Within the examples of "concrete things" he emphasizes two measures (underlined in the corpus) specifically explored: a) financial integration in (5) and b) regional defense policies in (7). In (a) he employs a strategy of delegitimizing international financial institutions (since it would have already faced them in the process of renegotiating its external debt, and eliminating the FEIREP<sup>49</sup> when it held the post of Minister of Economy), this allows it to consolidate his figure as a strong and critical political leader towards neoliberalism. On the other hand, in b) he raises savings and efficiency as necessary for regional defense because they are not enough ("to be much more efficient ...") based this speech on one of the principles of UNASUR: peace. In addition, it establishes a future scenario within the organization, highlighting once again the benefits it would have on the quality of life of the South American population to sensitize the audience after listening to the generally positive characteristics of a process such as Unasur. Declaring their support in (12) "we will go forward with this integration". In this case he states the positional word "forward" reinforcing the progressive character of the institution.

In this case, I will consider the extent to which PAÍS government has complied with these declarations. These declarations include roads, health, education, energy and financial integration, among others. These changes respond to the implementation of public policies such as the change in the productive matrix and the promotion of electric energy (dams and hydroelectric power plants), or the change of creditors of international debt, as is the case with loans with China. Some of these measures may facilitate integration, while others only reproduce failures of earlier models of discredited neoliberalism.

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<sup>49</sup> See "Fondo de Estabilización, Inversión Social y Productiva y Reducción del Endeudamiento Público" (FEIREP) in Ecuador.

It is extremely important for this analysis the period between 2009 and 2010 since Ecuador held the Pro Tempore Presidency of the Unasur. President Correa received this charge from his Chilean colleague Michelle Bachelet on **August 10, 2009**. In his discourse, he establishes some interesting questions about a “strategic regional plan” to achieve a wide range of objectives. This speech’s audience were the majority of presidents of the region (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Guyana, Paraguay and Venezuela) as well as the vice president of Uruguay, Peru’s chancellor, Colombia’s vice chancellor and the representative of Surinam.

For better understanding of this situation, it is useful to analyze some of its context. On February 29, 2008, the Colombian government launched "Operation Phoenix"<sup>50</sup> in which two Supertucano ships bombed a camp where Raul Reyes, one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). This camp was located in Ecuadorian territory. The operation took place in the early morning of March 1 of the same year, generating discomfort for the Ecuadorian and Venezuelan government that had previously been negotiating actions for the release of FARC hostages. They also manifested the violation of the 1961 Vienna Convention and Ecuadorian sovereignty. This action produced the rupture of diplomatic relations. In July 2009, the Ecuadorian president demands that the United States Government withdraw its military base located in the municipality of Manta<sup>51</sup>. A bilateral negotiation between the United States and Colombia agreed on the use of some Colombian bases for the purpose of combatting drug trafficking. The Colombian president on 7 tours in some countries of the region obtains the support of Peru, and a moderate support of Paraguay, Chile, and Uruguay (BBC Mundo, 2009). Therefore, the president of Colombia, nor Peru, nor Uruguay participated in the Unasur Summit. However they were represented.

With this in mind, it is necessary to go back to the discourse of Correa where he established an order for the presentation of different subjects. This order indicates the priority and preference that the speaker consciously or unconsciously has over them. In his introduction, he refers to the Ecuadorian history, emphasizing that it is History

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<sup>50</sup> Colombian militarized actions for the fight against narco-guerrillas, in this case the FARC group.

<sup>51</sup> That had been operating for 10 years in anti-drug work, which was authorized in 1998 by President Jamil Mahuad. Possibly these operations could be transferred to other military bases in Colombian territory after the decision of Correa.

“the root that sustains and feeds” to Unasur for the consolidation of “the Great Homeland, that our Liberators dreamed”. It clearly shows the intention of sensitizing through metaphors and historical references to strengthen the idea of integration in Unasur. Next, he discusses the potential of multilateralism. He said that Unasur could become the fourth largest economy in the region.

He mentioned three times, a phrase similar to the following: “The issues of regional implication and impact must be dealt in the Unasur framework and not bilaterally” (Correa Delgado, 2009). Probably, he referred to the Colombian position in its 7-country tour (bilateralism) to discuss the issue of US military bases, with which Correa clearly disagreed. In the final part of his introduction, he condemned the “rancid social groups”, such as the one that generated the coup d’état in Honduras. In the same way, he called for a regional condemnation of this act. He uses again a strategy of using pejorative adjectives to refer to what is opposed to his criteria, in this case about democracy and political stability.

In the second part of his speech, he focuses on detailing the strategic plan for the achievement of Unasur’s goals. Below, I will provide the reader a summary of the discussed topics, in the order that President Correa established. In addition, the analysis will use the three factors proposed by Teun Van Dijk (text, context and general knowledge).

GENERAL THEME	DETAILS ON THE TOPIC
<p align="center"><b>NEW REGIONAL FINANCIAL ARCHITECTURE (NAFR, for its acronym in Spanish)</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Go in depth in supranational spaces of <b>monetary-financial sovereignty</b>:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1.1 Bank of the South</li> <li>1.2 Reserve Fund for South America</li> <li>1.3 Common monetary system</li> </ol> </li> <li>2. <b>Redefining the global financial order</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2.1 Actions of massive restructuring of the <b>external debt</b> of the Southern countries.</li> <li>2.2 <b>Financial regulation procedures</b> that prevent corruption and hypertrophy</li> </ol> </li> </ol>
<p align="center"><b>FREE HUMAN MOBILITY</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Free mobility</b> around the world               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1.1 Construction of the <b>South American identity</b></li> </ol> </li> <li>2. Unasur as the most promising area of integration in the region</li> </ol>
<p align="center"><b>ACTIONS AGAINST CLIMATE CHANGE</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Creation of a <b>South American Political Agenda for the conservation, sustainable management and protection of water</b></li> </ol>
<p align="center"><b>NEW MECHANISMS FOR UNASUR</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Possibility of settlement of investment disputes through a <b>regional arbitration</b> institution.</li> </ol>

	<p>2. Creation of an <b>evaluation mechanism, university accreditation and homologation of professional qualifications.</b></p> <p>3. Formation of a center for studies on <b>democracy and electoral processes</b></p> <p>4. Center of analysis and reflection of the information channels to which our compatriots are exposed by the information companies.</p>
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**Figure 13 Breakdown of the topics treated in the speech of Rafael Correa in 2009. Source: Own elaboration based on the speech of delivery of the pro tempore Presidency.**

### **New regional financial architecture (NAFR, for its acronym in Spanish)**

The subject that Correa frequently highlights is the new regional financial architecture, which faces a “perverse international system” that generates suffering in the regional economies. The strategy used is to foster a structure that considers “rich countries”, their institutions and influence as a threat to the independence and development of the South American countries. He mentions the following about the common reserve fund for South America:

- (1) It would prevent more than 200 billion dollars of our countries from being deposited in Northern banks.
- (2) I know that most of you have heard me saying this many times,
- (3) but for me as an economist is something so elemental, so urgent, so clear
- (4) I sincerely believe that we do not have another day to lose;
- (5) How is it possible that we are funding the north and often submitting for multilateral agencies to give us a few dollars!
- (6) It makes no economic sense here.
- (7) In the midst of crisis we allow our money to finance rich countries,
- (8) in exchange for a few dollars received for interest.

- (9) By joining our reserves in a common fund, the amount necessary to face regional contingencies will be less, and the surplus money would serve to capitalize the Bank of the South. (Correa Delgado, 2009)

It exists a direct cause-effect relationship between (1) and (9) since it is noticed that avoiding the exit of that capital will be able to better face the financial contingencies of the region itself. It then demonstrates the intentionality of this strategic plan. It faces the international financial institutions through similar mechanisms but managed by people within the region. On the other hand, in (3) he affirms the validity of his arguments by emphasizing his expertise “as an economist”, a triple reiteration is used with the word –so- to describe his reasoning: “so elemental, so urgent, so clear”. These adjectives show a pressure to support the project (elemental and urgent) and also no to doubt about it (clear). However, he establishes a personal enunciation in (2) “I know”, in (4) “I believe” and in (3) “for me”.

Therefore, the integration process is still similar as the described previously, about speed and efficiency. At the same time, he aims to build an image of collective strength among the members of the bloc, which would need political will and coordination to achieve the task (9). When the President talks about the common monetary establishment, he makes historical allusions to the epoch of feudalism (fragment not included), with the intention of announcing the delay in the member countries. He says it is necessary to stop basing their exchanges on an “extra-regional currency” because that involves the maintenance of a dependency situation.

Correa uses a metaphor to talk about the Bank of the South: “the Bank of the South can work as the heart of the new development bank for our region”. This institution could be a fundamental pillar for the integration of the South, opposing it for example to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). In addition, it could also be an alternative to the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. It is necessary to emphasize 2009 crisis contracted Latin American economy in 1,9% of GDP. In the following years, the countries recovered with a regional GDP expansion of 5,2% according to ECLAC figures. The emergence of strong Asian economies trading with South American countries or the growth of remittances sent, or the re-establishment of oil prices created benefits for the region. Therefore, countries could invest this benefits towards the implementation of public policies. At that time, the



idea of creating a bank or any financial institution would have been more welcome. However, by the second decade of the twenty-first-century economic growth and the decline in oil prices (since 2014) along with other political elements suspended the process of consolidating these institutions.

In recent years, the Bank of the South operation has been quite complicated, mainly due to the lack of commitment. Despite the fact that the economic contributions have been made by some countries, there is neither confidence nor security regarding the status of the financial accounts and the beginning of their functions. Several presidential summits in the Unasur forum have discussed the implementation of this institution, however, there are no greater achievements. Since its founding in 2009 with nine countries out of twelve (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela), they have made steady progress towards establishing the by-laws. Nevertheless, from that moment until the present time (2016) it does not exist any strategic project. Until April 2015, only five Member Countries have ratified the Constitutive Agreement of the Bank of the South. Its contributions represent USD 4 900 million (Central Bank of Ecuador, 2015), so there is still a need to continue capitalizing this institution to have the necessary contributions to sustain its operation

<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>CAPITAL CONTRIBUTION (MILLIONS OF USD)</b>
ARGENTINA	2 000.00
BRAZIL	2 000.00
VENEZUELA	2 000.00
ECUADOR	400.00
URUGUAY	400.00
BOLIVIA	100.00
PARAGUAY	100.00
<b>TOTAL CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED TO COUNTRIES</b>	7 000.0
<b>FOUNDERS (A)</b>	
COLOMBIA	970.00

CHILE	970.00
PERU	970.00
GUYANA	45.0
SURINAM	45.0
<b>TOTAL CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED REST UNASUR (A)</b>	3 000.00
CLASS B AND C SHARES	10 000.00
<b>TOTAL AUTHORIZED CAPITAL</b>	20 000.00

Figure 14 Distribution of capital contributions. Source: Convenio Constitutivo del Banco del Sur, Article 4.

Countries such as Brazil choose alternatives such as the BRICS Development Bank (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) or its own financial institution (Bndes). Some other countries, including Ecuador, seek to finance from criticized institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). Following the situation in Ecuador, in July 2014, an account was opened in the Central Bank of Ecuador with a contribution of 8 million dollars to the capitalization of the Bank of the South. However, the status of that account is unknown. (El Comercio, 2014). The Bank of the South is paralyzed but it remains as a rhetorical discourse in Unasur and in its South American Council of Economy and Finance. On the other hand, the Bank's headquarters were planned to locate in Caracas. Though, the current situation in Venezuela, both economic as social and political is critical. The political wish to establish the institution diminishes added to other factors such as breach of deadlines in the Bank's statutes.

Following with the speech, Correa explains the position of Ecuador in the restructuring of its external debt. Ecuador states that:

- (1) The right of our peoples to life, health, and education, goes above the interest of Wall Street speculators [...]
- (2) If this minimum principle is considered insubordination, so let it be it.
- (3) But finally we beat them, finally Ecuador overcame the financial speculators.
- (4) Economic recovery will be impossible, and even more impossible for human development, if the problem of the sustainability of the external debt is not faced.

- (5) We need SOUTH AMERICA to establish procedures for financial regulation that avoid corruption and hypertrophy, as well as unfair competition among nations.
- (6) The new rules must subject the financial system to serve the needs of the productive apparatus, large and small,
- (7) with the primary purpose of expanding the demand for labor,
- (8) to promote clean and
- (9) to put technology at the service of human beings. (Correa Delgado, 2009)

The positions of the international financial institutions with respect to the interests of the Latin American populations appear as antagonistic. The speaker stands in the position of the people ("our peoples"). He constructed an image of positions that are not only antagonistic but in a constant confrontation ("we finally win"). In the same sense, some of his statements strengthen his figure as in (2) where he understands that he prefers even insubordination to give in front of Wall Street. In (5) he motivates the participation of the continent. He thinks that the region can be the protagonist in the establishment of policies and regulations. He focused on the audience (other leaders and heads of state) to motivate greater political will.

On the other hand, on having prioritized (1) some of the human rights, he shows his preference for a development with an approach in the basic needs like the one that there was proposing Streeten (1981). This idea is reinforced in (7) on adding the importance of a stipendiary work that it should motivate to the economic productivity. It is necessary to admit that there exists a light influence of the idea of an eco-development (in the terms of Ignacy Sachs, to see chapter 1) since there appears the promotion of "clean" industries (8). That is to say, not so destructive to the environment but that allow to support a series of social values and facilitate the income distribution. Therefore, the mental model that Correa builds is anthropocentric (the human being and its rights) as the axis of politics that need to be applied in the region both to macroeconomic level and in the satisfaction of its needs.

### **Free human mobility**

Correa mentions on several occasions and in several speeches the necessity to construct a **South American identity**. On this particular occasion, the idea he proposes is that migration problems such as social discrimination or employment

restrictions (which consequently produce the reduction of remittances) should not be observed as independent states issues, but as threats to the bloc. As shown below:

- (1) Unasur must be able to promote the elimination of any discriminatory measures against it, because, as we have said in other fora,
- (2) for us there are no illegal human beings;
- (3) what exists in a set of illegal and immoral practices, such as racism, xenophobia, and, on the other, coyotismo, coyoterismo<sup>52</sup>, and exploitation.

When using the personal pronoun "us", he made a division again with respect to "them" (countries outside the bloc). In this context, "we/us" means Ecuador, a country with high migratory rates, and similarly some South American countries that would obtain a more international presence in defending these subjects as part of Unasur. It is also argued that, in order to control this social phenomenon, there are clearly two strategies in the receiving countries ("racism, xenophobia") and in the countries of origin of migrants ("coyotismo, coyoterismo, and exploitation").

The South American citizenship is quite complex to achieve. According to Samper, this concept would be satisfied when every South American individual has the right to “obtain a visa to work, homologate their diplomas, the right to have consular protection, the right of migrants to have effective protection” (TelesurTV, 2014). Only in that way, the South Americans would feel that the region is a single country. However, great progress has not yet been made in the realization of a true South American citizenship. For example, the first regional passport (a2016) has not yet been issued, it does not exist large agreements on migratory issues in Unasur. It would be interesting to see in the future a different treatment of the intraregional migrant in South America, not only as a worker but as a citizen.

### **Actions against climate change**

Later in his speech, the author reinforces his arguments in defense of the environmental situation. He considers climate change as threatening for the region.

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<sup>52</sup> These two Spanish words refer to smugglers helping people emigrating illegally.

Additionally, he strongly questions the neoliberal development model, without mentioning it but detailing its negative characteristics: "inequitable development, of high consumption and low sustainability" (fragment not included). Again he affirms it from his position in the South in an antagonistic way with respect to "industrialized countries of the north" also qualifying them as "irresponsible". In this way, he presented the "South American Political Agenda for conservation, sustainable management and protection of water", as a framework for the development of regional and national policies. He emphasized that the region has one of the largest permanent reserves of fresh water in the world and therefore, it is necessary to protect this resource. However, this manifestation of an apparent political will to promote environmental care does not have precise consequences either within Ecuador or at a regional level in Unasur.

It is worth mentioning that one of Unasur's strategic objectives is the protection of biodiversity, water resources and ecosystems. Although it has been addressed in several summits not only of the organization but also in other fora such as ECLAC and the United Nations, there is still an incipient regional institutionalization of water and environment protection within the Union. Despite the importance of a South American Agenda for water care and issues attached to the protection of the environment, not only on the part of President Correa, it should be noted that there is no specific UNASUR body to focus on it. For example, there are ministerial and sectorial councils for a) defense, b) health, c) electoral situations, d) energy, e) science, technology, and innovation, f) culture, g) economy and finance, h) social development, (i) education, (j) infrastructure, (k) drug control, (l) citizen security, justice and action against organized crime, but none of the protection or conservation of water or ecosystems. Probably the water situation would be contemplated in the Infrastructure and Planning Council. This would mean more investment in public sanitation and sewerage works for the accessibility of the population. However, water is considered as an essential resource<sup>53</sup> that needs protection to its quality and also its accessibility (public works) and the maintenance of its ecosystems.

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<sup>53</sup> There may be a positive or negative impact (with respect to water quality and accessibility) on public health, poverty, social inclusion and cohesion, trade, agriculture, tourism, public debt, the gap Gender and social peace. (Altomonte, Acquatella, Arroyo, Jouravlev, Lardé, & Salgado, 2013)

In order to note the degree of convergence of this international thought with respect to the public policies of Ecuador, it is necessary to refer to the Organic Law of Water Resources, Uses and Exploitation of Water, colloquially denominated as "Law of Waters", published in Official Gazette on August 6, 2014. This law brought with it dissatisfaction on the part of some sectors of the population mainly of indigenous communities, small farmers, and ecological groups. In a post-approval speech of the Water Law, Correa said: "In a good time that has been approved by a large majority, to demonstrate that there is a consensus in the country [...] this was not an indispensable law, but a Constitutional order"(Correa, 2014).

There is sort of a contradiction in his speech. His intervention at Unasur in 2009 was motivated towards the establishment of a regional agenda for the conservation and sustainable management of water as a matter of urgency. However, at the national level, the Water Law was not indispensable? Considering that in order to consolidate a regional agenda, it is a logical imperative to have an internal legal standard that facilitates the control and convergence of external policies of a regional nature on the management of water resources.

Correa emphasizes that this law was approved in the National Assembly with a large majority. However, several organized groups such as the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) strongly protested against the approval. Therefore, it did not exist a full consensus (considering also that the majority of seats in the National Assembly at the time were members of the Alianza PAÍS). One of the criticized elements about the Law was the creation of a Single Water Authority that did not include any social representation with decision-making capacity. Therefore, the President by making invisible social protests and by giving a go-ahead on a law that does not contemplate citizen participation or existing social groups, makes it possible to understand their preference for passive citizenship, citizens whose power was manifested in elections and after it is limited. This law that could demonstrate the character of sustainability in the Ecuadorian territory is quite

general and leaves “loose ends<sup>54</sup>” very influential to the action of the Executive in its application.

With regard to the same situation, it is important to analyze the process of Change of the Productive Matrix, an emblematic project of the Government of Rafael Correa, embodied in the two PNBV. This project motivates the diversification of production and the incorporation of added value, the substitution of imports and the increase of exports to new products and services and new destinations, the continuous improvement of productivity and competitiveness of all sectors of the economy. Therefore, it focuses on a higher industrial productivity and the gradual growth of the service sector, however the following is posed:

Although the accumulation of wealth depends in the first instance on extractive processes, this strategy seeks to encourage the development of new non-polluting industries and the diversification of exports based on bio-products and ecological services, significantly it reduces the pressure on the environment on the long-term. (Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo, 2013, p. 69)

There is concern about how long this first instance will last. Does it really correspond to a Good Living strategy? Is it not extractivism, industrial and economic growth for the accumulation of wealth, rather characteristic of neoliberalism? In the vision of development that Ecuador intended to promote, the environment would play a fundamental role in harmony with the human being, but this is not achieved when the pattern of development is similar to that of developed countries: when productivity is prioritized for economic growth, increasing industry and minimizing traditional agriculture, for example. Therefore, it exists greater energy demand but these energy sources must be sustainable and renewable, so water will be a resource in intense stress (and not only water).

The development of hydroelectricity in a region that accounts for about 30% of all world water reserves is quite tempting. For that reason, it is promoted in recent years in several countries of Unasur. In the Ecuadorian case, there are approximately 8

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<sup>54</sup> To deepen the analysis of the Water Law from an ecological perspective, refer to Bulletin No. 175 on June (Acción Ecológica, 2015).

megaprojects hydroelectric promoted by the government, some under construction: Mandariacu and Toachi-Pilatón (Pichincha), Mazar, Quijos and Minas San Francisco (Cañar), Paute-Sopladora (Morona Santiago), Delsitanisagua (Zamora Chinchipe) and Coca Codo Sinclair (Sucumbíos and Orellana) and other small projects that are promoted in the process of Change of the Energy Matrix of Ecuador, as part of the Change of the Productive Matrix. Energy integration has been promoted, but given the lack of regulatory bodies and legal frameworks that motivate a healthy governance of resources, the interests and social, economic and environmental needs of the actors cannot be precisely coordinated. It is necessary to create these spaces in Unasur encouraging the participation of citizens and other groups interested in the subject.

Then, it is good to briefly analyze the congruence of thoughts. The right to water is guaranteed in the Ecuadorian Constitution (Article 12) as a right of the Good Living, this holistic conception that was analyzed in the previous chapter in which the elements of the earth are respected "whether or not they have a human use." According to the PNBV and the multiple declarations of the Ecuadorian leader there is a mental construction that considers natural resources as productive resources (for example, water and land). Correa in one of his declarations on November 2009 states with respect to the promulgation of the new agrarian reform, that those peasants who own unproductive lands have a year to produce them, otherwise they would be expropriated and sold to peasants "who do need land and want to work it". In the first chapter, we mentioned that the *Sumak Kawsay* imperatively establishes the de-commodification of nature, minimizing the consumption of energy and natural resources. Therefore, it is demonstrated, at least in some points that the Good Living in Ecuador is still an abstract concept that faces a thick and heavy conceptualization of development in Western terms.

### **New mechanisms for Unasur**

#### **On the settlement of investment disputes through regional arbitration**

In 2009, Correa already expressed the idea that would continue to promote for many years after in its permanent confrontation with some transnational companies. The way in which this idea is established is through a harmony-opposition relationship:



"If instead of competing with each other we achieve this collective action, we all agree to submit to that regional arbitration center, we will have beaten the transnational, partners, if we compete with each other transnational companies will defeat us" (Correa Delgado, 2009)

Again he calls the block to submit to the mechanisms of the supranational institution. The transnational-state confrontation has to be avoided with an agreement that strengthens this relation. However, this regional international arbitration mechanism has not been fully implemented despite the calls made by the Government of Ecuador for the establishment of the UNASUR arbitration center. Some of these calls were made in places such as the Workshop "Bilateral Investment Treaties, Transnational Treaties and State Actions" through the Presidential Technical Commission for the NAFR. The fundamental idea of this project speaks of the recovery of the sovereignty of the South American and Latin American state over their natural resources. It is necessary to create these interregional arbitration centers that contribute to a balance in the legal system (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility, 2013). Logically, this proposal distrusts the impartiality of the established "International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes" (ICSID) created in 1966 and part of the institutions that make up the World Bank Group.

The Ecuadorian State has had many clashes with several transnationals operating in the country, specifically those that are engaged in oil extraction such as Chevron-Texaco or OXY (Occidental Petroleum). In 2013, the Ecuadorian vice-chancellor at the time considered that there are clearly imbalances of power in the management and application of international law, having a direct implication in the development and well-being of the people:

"The arbitrators since their nomination start with the decision to favor companies and investors to which they were directly or indirectly linked to the detriment of countries, peoples and the human rights of persons [...] this obliges to pay disproportionate amounts of public money to the multinationals, money that could otherwise be destined to social investment and development". Fragment of the speech of the Foreign Minister Marco Albuja in the Parlatino. (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Movilidad Humana, 2013)

Additionally, it is stated that from the 232 cases that ICSID had resolved until June 2011, 230 of them concluded in judgments against the States, the vast majority. The possibility of resolving international conflicts in a peaceful manner (Article 416, No. 2) is recognized in the Ecuadorian Constitution. However, it also proposes not to

celebrate international treaties granting state sovereignty to international arbitration bodies (dealing with commercial cases or contractual obligations between the State and private natural or juridical persons). It does accept the possibility of resolving disputes between the State and citizens of Latin America by regional arbitration bodies (Article 422). In this way he declares his preference for regional integration. The article 423 of the Ecuadorian Constitution promotes economic integration, the adoption of a common international economic policy, and the promotion of compensation policies to overcome regional asymmetries as a strategic objective of the State. Additionally, it promotes regional trade, with emphasis on high added value goods. Although it exists dissatisfaction and opposition to the management of large capitals by the work of transnationals, Ecuador cannot escape the macro-capitalist structure that has been applied for decades because of globalization. However, Correa's attempt to seek multipolarity and equilibrium is praiseworthy. He established a strong position from the South that seeks to feed on South-South cooperation and regionalism. Some policies applied in Ecuador such as Trade Agreements for Development and Development Investment Contracts are instruments of capitalism that respond to a model of accumulation, and therefore industrialization. It does not satisfies the objectives of Good Living as a theory.

Regional arbitration in the field of investment could be beneficial, considering that Unasur remains a forum for political rather than economic or financial concertation. However, the will of the other States other than Ecuador should be considered in order to consolidate regional macroeconomic policies. Only in that way South American countries will get congruence between the multiple sovereign interests of each country. This last consideration is extremely complicated to reach given the multiplicity of political-economic projects that exist within Unasur, and the emergence of new integration spaces such as the Pacific Alliance (Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru). Therefore, the great diversity seen as a strength, at the same time can be a disadvantage when arriving at more binding agreements.

### **About evaluation mechanism, university accreditation and homologation of academic and professional qualifications**

In 2009, President Correa expressed the importance of giving special attention to higher education:

"The South American university is in crisis with numerous disappointments, [...] the results that are envisaged in a project like this are extraordinary and will undoubtedly have a great impact on innovation, science and technology, so asymmetrically distributed in our region"

For Correa, knowledge, science and technology are the fundamental bases for the development of peoples. According to him, those are the bases for the future. Hence much of its policies promote a reform of the national and regional education system. In the early years of Unasur, both educational, scientific and technological and cultural issues were dealt with by the same Council: COSECCTI - South American Council for Education, Culture, Science, Technology and Innovation, created in 2009. At the VI Regular Meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Government of Unasur in 2012, countries decided to divide this Council into three different themes: 1) Education: CSE, 2) Science, Technology and Innovation: COSUCTI, 3) Culture: CSC.

The South American Council of Education of Unasur seeks to strengthen educational integration at the regional level and promote education as a right. In continuous attempts to institutionalize this council, in 2014 the first Five-Year Operating Plan of the CSE is created. It consisted of 11 general objectives, including the management of ICT, the democratization of education, recognizing it as a right, the promotion of intra-interculturality and multilingualism, the promotion of the teaching profession, the generation of greater environmental awareness, the creation of systems of recognition and equivalence of studies tending to a regional accreditation system in the member countries, among others.

The extract from the president's speech on this occasion alludes only to Higher Education. However, it is necessary to include brief details of education at all levels to better understand its commitment to the model of government originally proposed and the Unasur proposal on the subject.

In terms of public policy on education from 2006 to 2015, the Ministry of Education and Culture of Ecuador (now Ministry of Education) carried out actions in accordance with the Decennial Education Plan. This plan was approved in a referendum in November 2006 with approximately 66% of popular support (Ministry

of Education Ecuador, 2006). This plan became a State policy with eight main educational policies:

1. Universalization of Initial Education (from 0 to 5 years)
2. Universalization of Basic General Education (5 to 15 years)
3. Increase of the student population in the Baccalaureate until reaching at least 75% of the young people in the corresponding age
4. Eradication of illiteracy and strengthening of adult education
5. Improvement of the infrastructure and equipment of the Educational Institutions
6. Improvement of the quality and equity of education and implementation of a national system of evaluation and social accountability of the education system
7. Revaluation of the teaching profession and improvement of initial training, permanent training, working conditions and quality of life
8. Increase of 0.5% per year in the participation of the education sector in the GDP until reaching at least 6% of contribution.

Throughout this research, I tried to gather as much information about the progress achieved through the application of the Decennial Education Plan in Correa's Government, however, in the ministerial and presidential websites (including their means of communication to July 2016) only the goals and achievements of the period 2006-2007 are evaluated. It should be noted that the provision to publish and dedicate a space to report specifically on the achievements in compliance with the Decennial Education Plan is not met. Nevertheless, this does not imply any progress on education, since the Constitution of 2008 recognizes education as a priority area of state investment and public policy. Therefore, Ecuador increased the investment in this sector. Unfortunately, the plan to increase annually 0.5% of GDP to at least 6% is not fully achieved (Isch López, 2011, pp. 373-391). In any case, I will state some achievements that facilitate the convergence of Ecuador in the Unasur regional system, as well as the shortcomings that should be strengthened according to the objectives of the CSE and the country itself.

It is possible to differentiate between Basic General Education and High School (EGBB, for its acronym in Spanish), and Higher Education since the two stages have had a different treatment. In the Alianza PAÍS Government Plan, mentioned above, the fourth programmatic axis included an "Educational and Health Revolution", apparently prioritizing these sectors as strategic within national planning. It should be noted that in the early years of the Correa period, social investment increased considerably (from 4.8% of GDP in 2006 to 8.1% in 2009) (Isch López, 2011) that could be understood given the consistent price of oil and therefore, the income generated for the State.

Very briefly, I will mention some of the projects for EGBB, which demonstrate this public investment: a) Elimination of the voluntary contribution of the Parents for the enrollment in public establishments (25 USD, item that has been financed by the State since 2007) , B) Literacy processes to 130 104 young people and adults in 2009, c) Free delivery of school textbooks, d) "Hilando desarrollo" project for the delivery of free school uniforms since 2008 (Ministry of Education and Ministry of Social Development), E) Ecuador Food Program (EAP), which provided school breakfasts and lunches to students since 2008<sup>55</sup>, f) ministerial administrative disaggregation in zones, districts and circuits, g) infrastructure: construction of Millennium Units, Replica Schools, among others<sup>56</sup>. It existed a large percentage of social investment, especially in the education sector, however it has to be considered that this investment is possible thanks to economic and political stability and the benefits presented in the national accounts.

Regarding the revalorization of the teaching profession in the country, several questions created a rupture between the government and representatives of teachers' associations such as the National Union of Educators (UNE, for its acronym in Spanish). Some policies in conflict are the increase of working hours, processes of permanent evaluation, re-categorization, promotion of voluntary retirement, competitions of merits and opposition for the entrance to the Magisterium, the project "Quiero ser maestro" (I want to be a teacher), the implementation of the

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<sup>55</sup> Since 2010, these two meals will be replaced by a single, so-called "reinforced breakfast"

<sup>56</sup> Each of these projects deserves special analysis, but that would exceed the objectives of this study. However, they should be taken into account.

Organic Law of Intercultural Education, among others. Additionally, some programs aiming to motivate teacher training are promoted in the Teacher Training platform.

Ecuador is not considered to be a free illiteracy country free. In December 2014 (the last official publication of the Ministry of Education Ecuador, 2015) the illiteracy rate was 5.8% of the population and specific measures were taken for the different groups of population in this category as the program Basic Education for Youth and Adults (EBJA) or the Dolores Cacuango program. On the other hand, the introduction of interesting issues such as the inclusion of a bilingual intercultural system considering Kichwa and English as important in the process of student training, educational television, among others whose analysis exceeds the objective of this study have contributed to modify the educational perspective of the country.

In terms of Higher Education, approximately \$ 11.425 billion have been distributed for various purposes since 2007. The main ones are: a) the awarding of scholarships abroad for undergraduate and postgraduate courses, b) one Admission system for free public higher education, c) a new normative framework for the evaluation, accreditation and quality assurance of Higher Education regulated by CEAACES<sup>57</sup>, d) the creation of four universities: Universidad del Conocimiento Yachay, Universidad Amazónica Ikiam, Universidad del Docente (for teachers) and the University of the Arts, e) an educational offer is promoted according to the technical and technological needs of the country, in coordination with the Secretariat of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation (SENESCYT), among others.

This process seems to be an "educational revolution", but it does not really represent a popular revolution. Citizens have not participated in any of its programs. In the same way, this process reinforced the idea of competitiveness, human knowledge, and talent. Concepts such as cooperation and the idea of the human being in harmony with nature are unseen. Therefore, again the ideology of the Sumak Kawsay is outside from the essence of Ecuadorian public policy. It exists a preference for development with an approach on basic human needs human. This includes an

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<sup>57</sup> In 2012, this governmental organization ordered the closure of 14 universities that did not reach the parameters of operation and quality required by this body. This action generated uncertainty and social unrest in teachers, administrators and students, the latter had to take advantage of a Contingency Plan and enter into an evaluation process. (El Universo , 2014)

increase in public services, which could subsequently contribute to productivity. Consequently, the educational policy of the Country has not involved a radical, revolutionary rupture with respect to previously applied traditional public policies. However, there have been contributions in terms of access to education for all, as a human right. According to figures from the Ministry of Education in its latest achievements report (Ministry of Education, 2015), it exists an increase in schooling rates in the indigenous population, for example.

Regionally the CSE seeks to establish policies that improve equity, quality and relevance and access to education at all levels. Ecuador has made notable progress in the light of these objectives and has even facilitated the recognition of degrees obtained abroad and in the region through the SENESCYT. However, most of the policies mentioned have not been evaluated to demonstrate their effectiveness and achievements in a transparent manner and with the participation of citizens and different social groups. If there is no observer and analytical organism of governmental actions, people are not actively involved in the formulation of them. Education is standardized and evaluated only statistically dampens the evolution towards a true educational improvement that could even facilitate the Regional integration. This explains why at the supranational level, it does not exist any institution evaluating education at the regional level, nor for the homologation of professional or academic degrees.

### **About the formation of a center for studies on democracy and electoral processes**

In the same speech of 2009, Correa suggests the possibility of a South American center of democracy and electoral processes:

- (1) It is enough for observers from the European Union coming here,
- (2) next time we should propose UNASUR observers going to the elections in Europe, what do you think?
- (3) They come to teach us about democracy and to show us how things should be done properly.
- (4) We can do them well by ourselves, we alone.
- (5) We are a region in which democratic institutions have not yet solidly established [...]
- (6) but we are mature enough not to require patronage or external monitoring of the region,
- (7) that only contribute to perpetuate the complex ties of dependence.

(8) [...] Let us not doubt that we can do it the same way or better, and with more legitimacy than any mission of foreign observers" (Correa Delgado, 2009).

Dissatisfaction about the participation of institutions outside the region is noted, tools of delegitimation are used to create opposition between UNASUR members and international observers (specifically in Europe). He refers to the fact that those processes are not treated with sufficient legitimacy (8). From his position as president, he repeatedly emphasizes the region's autonomy and self-sufficiency<sup>58</sup> (4) (6) in order to create an alternative for the monitoring of democracy. However, he also recognizes the shortcomings "democratic institutions are not solidly established". Then, it raises something central in its vision of the integration: the search for a regional independence. Several times he said that Unasur means a space through where a "second and final independence" will be achieved and evokes the ideas of the "Great Fatherland that our liberators dreamed". Therefore, it is understood that the main intention of any institution born of Unasur will be to put a counterbalance in the balance of international power and give South America a strong position within a global multipolarity.

Democracy, integration, and development are closely related. However, it must be understood that to ensure the effectiveness of an integration process, it must be well founded and backed by democratic policies. The majority of electoral and democratic processes in the South American region involve the participation of several organizations that provide teams of specialized observers for the subject (Observers from the European Union, Observers from the Organization of American States, and other non-governmental organizations).

In 2012, at the VI Ordinary Meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Government of UNASUR, and they create the UNASUR Electoral Council (CEU). They highlighted the importance of cooperation, transfer of knowledge of a different nature, and which has the possibility of performing "on request of a member state" processes of observation and accompaniment to its electoral processes (Unasur, 2016). In the same year in Quito, the First Meeting of Schools and Training Institutes for Democracy and Electoral Training of the electoral bodies of the countries of

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<sup>58</sup> We could recognize the will to demand respect for some characteristics of sovereignty.



UNASUR (National Electoral Council of Ecuador, 2012) was held. Research and cooperation in democratic-electoral material within the organization, at the moment there is no further information on the progress of these commitments. The Center for Studies for Democracy (Cedem) is an alternative of voluntary participation mainly promoted by Peru and Brazil (Andina, 2012). This organization would function as a space for the exchange of ideas, strengthening institutions and a democratic culture. Since then, it is possible to train those who participate in the Electoral Missions sent by Unasur to different member countries, the same ones that have already been present on some electoral dates as in the elections of Peru in 2016 (Unasur, 2016). With all this, we can say that in some way progress has been made in the fulfillment of Unasur's objectives in the CEU.

The analysis of the "Constitutional and Democratic Revolution" promoted by the Ecuadorian government is important to understand how the issue of democracy in the country is handled since 2008-9 with the entry into force of the new Constitution. Article 1 recognizes Ecuador as "a Constitutional State of rights and justice, social, democratic, sovereign, independent, unitary, intercultural, pluri-national and secular" (Asamblea Constituyente, 2008) and recognizes a series of rights Civil and political rights of Ecuadorian citizens that allow them greater participation in the democratic process of the country (see article 61-62).

On the other hand, there are some organizations like The Economist Intelligence Unit (EUI) that evaluates the level of democracy in different countries. In 2015, it concluded that countries like Ecuador have a hybrid democracy (Hola Chamy, 2015), that is, they present some irregularities in the elections and in which the government puts pressure on opposition parties. In recent years, the Ecuadorian National Assembly has discussed controversial constitutional amendments, including that of indefinite re-election.

According to Alberto Acosta, who participated as president of the Constituent Assembly for the Constitution of Ecuador in 2008, now opposed to Correismo, he says that the president "is the commander of the XXI century" since his figure is the only one that apparently supports the collective political will (El Mercurio, 2014). In this sense, it is interesting to pick up the ideas of the author José Sánchez Parga who

states that in Ecuador, as well as in several parts of Latin America, a "caudillista democracy" could be developing. Sánchez defines it thus:

The caudillista democracy is the result of: 1) an accumulation of powers (legislative and judicial) in the Executive, 2) a displacement of (parliamentary) political representation towards the President with a strong personalization (scenic and high-profile, populist) in the conduct of government, and finally 3) above all a high level of precariousness and delegitimation of democratic institutions and processes. (Sánchez Parga, 2012, p. 8)

Ecuador has 5 constitutionally functions or powers that are considered as independent: Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Electoral and Transparency and Social Control. It is fundamental for a democratic State to establish mechanisms that limit the power according to the will of the people. In theory, all powers should be monitored and limited to each other. However, the 3 traditional powers exercise a much more privileged position with respect to those newly integrated within this division of powers. Several criticisms have existed on the excessive influence of the Executive power (the presidential figure), on the actions of other powers such as the Legislative through the presidential veto to laws, for example or the fact that of the 137 National Assembly members of Ecuador, 96 Assembly members are from Alianza PAÍS (whose leader is Rafael Correa).

The Executive branch of the Correa government has grown considerably, with twenty-one Ecuadorian government ministries, six coordinating ministries, eight national secretariats and other institutions attached to it (Presidency of the Republic of Ecuador, in April 2016). With respect to the Legislative, the Foundation for Due Process of Law (DPLF) presented a report in Washington on the influence of the Ecuadorian leader in the area of justice (Caracol Radio, 2014), which states that there is no judicial independence. It is also questioned that the Council of the Ecuadorian Judiciary has since 2011 former officials of the Correa government, through which several judges were dismissed and others suspended.

Although some of the most visible manifestations of democracy in Ecuador are visible, such as the right to vote, or the existence of non-governmental means of communication, there is no true democratic practice with full citizen participation. The power of Transparency and Social Control should be the one in direct contact

with the citizens. However, it has had serious failings and not great activities that impacted Ecuador's governance. Electoral power, on the other hand, only manifests itself in election season and although there have been slight contributions such as electronic voting or assisted voting, these institutions represent a large state investment.

In addition, it should be pointed out that fraudulent processes such as improper admissions to computer systems have taken place in the National Electoral Council (CNE) in 2013. As mentioned above, the "Citizen Revolution" should really make democracy effective, since citizenship and democracy are intimately related. Again I emphasize that through this government a passive citizenship has been strengthened, that manifests and supports the activity of the government through the vote and that is limited to that since the social mobilization in the last Decade in Ecuador has been delegitimized. The government created a process of "demobilization" (Sánchez Parga, 2012).

The gradual transfer of a part of sovereignty to Unasur is necessary to thrive in integration. In this case, if each government decides to invite an observation for electoral processes only when it deems convenient, its existence is not logical if nobody considers it so by internal instabilities. Therefore, a democracy studies center in Unasur would be effective only to the extent that the regional organization gets genuine supranational power. Otherwise, it will continue being a forum for political agreement, identifying only some countries' initiatives. In addition, democracy in Latin America has been lagging only behind a framework of electoral participation of the population. Nevertheless, the region requires different mechanisms that facilitate dialogue, considering people's influence in decision-making and the integration of all social and international actors.

#### **About a center of analysis and reflection of the information channels (mass media)**

Information is power. However, much more power grants the administration of that information and its management. For that reason, communication channels and sources of information are important in the process to maintain control and influence

over the population. In his speech, Correa questions the position of the media as entities that judge the activity and intentions of governments and places them as companies that only seek the lucre. The intention of Correa's statements, apart from delegitimizing media, is to manifest the effect they have on the system, for example:

The companies that control the media have believed that by the simple fact of doing so, they already have the moral quality to become judges of all the steps, and even of the intentions of the governments. They aim to win the moral battle, deprive our actions of legitimacy, minimize the transformative sense of our policies, and devalue our efforts. All this without any democratic legitimacy, pretend to become legislators, judges, installers or eliminators of presidents, etc. [...] the validity of democracy requires free, independent and critical media. However, one thing is the existence of means endowed with these characteristics, and another, quite different, the **impersonation of public opinion** by the private interests of the information business. (Correa Delgado, 2009)

Therefore, Correa proposes two characteristics of this center of analysis. In the first place, do not directly question the actions and intentions of governments, and secondly, a greater observance of public opinion. With respect to the first point, the president designates a threatening role of the media towards the present audience (presidents and high commanders of Unasur) by using verbs like "pretend to win us, deprive us of legitimacy, minimize, devalue, and eliminate presidents." Reinforcing a confrontation between governments, their actions, and the media. However, public opinion is a political concept that needs reflection. An opinion becomes public mainly when it presents two particularities: it is shared (collective knowledge) and it is published. However, there is also the possibility that this "public opinion" is only the opinion of a minority that has the means to be heard. Apparently, this is Correa's intentionality. The president agrees with the Marx-Engels conception, who argue that there is no real public opinion but a false consciousness created by the ruling class that gradually becomes an imposition on the social imaginary (Marx and Engels quoted in Tuesta Soldevilla).

In this sense, he demonstrates some characteristics of a neo-Marxist model (in the terms proposed by Theotonio Dos Santos, see chapter 1). This model presupposes the strengthening of the State (mainly the government, in this case) to provide the conditions and limitations for different members of society. Therefore, there is a scenario of extremes, but within the same reality: the belief and practice of a pseudo-

public opinion, whether manipulated by the owners of the media or by government interests. Consequently, this last approach is one more aspect that should be the subject of analysis and reflection in the region and imminently within each country. It requires a real possibility of critical mediation in political communication, in a real, rational and plural dialogue (Habermas, 1981) within democratic states. This dialogue could be projected at an international level. Unfortunately, achieving this premise implies a great complexity.

In the case of Ecuador, the model implemented by the current government prompted the enactment of an Organic Law of Communication (June 2013), which presents some innovative issues and contributions towards the democratization of communication, but which also has perfectible and controversial articles. Its in-depth analysis goes beyond the objectives of this research, however it is necessary to mention some important issues (Registro Oficial Ecuador, 2013). The inclusion of communitarian media in addition to public and private media is positive. It is also good to restrict the monopolies and oligopolies, and the guarantee of greater accessibility to the use of ICT, as well as the protection of human dignity, and the contribution towards the promotion and diffusion of the national production, among others. On the other hand, more controversial articles such as those dealing with the subsequent responsibility of the media, media lynching, the creation of official public media, the possibility of rectification and replica, etc. have received countless reactions and criticisms against.

In 2008, several media confiscation belonging to the Isaías Group<sup>59</sup> were seized at the beginning of the Correista government through the Deposit Guarantee Agency (AGD). Therefore, it was the first and not only direct confrontation government-private media. Several journalists and human rights defenders (mainly freedom of expression) have stated that Correa negatively stigmatizes the majority of journalists or opinion leaders, media and NGOs (such as Fundamedios-Fundación Andina for the Observation and Study of Media) which criticize his government. The latter organization points out that even private citizens (tweeters and independent bloggers) have been attacked in terms of their freedom of expression (Fundamedios, 2013). In

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<sup>59</sup> For more information on the topic see Filanbanco Case in Ecuador.

several "Enlaces ciudadanos/ Citizen Linkages" pejorative appeals are made for several journalists who have even come to international instances<sup>60</sup> such as the Inter-American Court of Human Rights to present their cases. The relationship between government and the media in Ecuador is an example of intolerance, hostility and constant criticism.

The phrase "for a true rule of law and not of opinion" has been popularized in the *sabatinas*. In a state with true rule of law, law and guarantees of the rights and freedoms are elementary. Then, it is necessary a freedom of expression that could create public opinion. Having a regulatory body such as the Communication Law is important but it should not prioritize government interests. The population is made up of communities, social organizations and individuals, but also the private sector that must be regulated but not restricted. It is a rule of law and this in essence is a contrast to absolutism not its reinforcement, it is all about balance.

Observing a scenario such as the Ecuadorian, which has been exposed very briefly, I can conclude that if a regional authority is necessary for the analysis of the situation of the media, it should not be linked exclusively to the governments of member countries. This would imply an additional expense for Unasur in an entity that is only "representative" of an alleged freedom of expression, or that controls only means of communication that are considered convenient. Although it is true in Unasur, on the initiative of Alí Rodríguez, the organization's former Secretary General, a Communication and Information Center was created, which is responsible for providing resources for decision-making in the organization. However, it is far from being a center of analysis and reflection of the media in the region. Again, I emphasize the importance of citizen participation through social and community organizations, the academy and its investigations, leaders, and presidents in order to generate effective and real public opinion that demonstrates progress toward democracy. Governance is not achieved with greater pressure or state repression but through an integration of wills and actions that are promoted by an efficient State, which prepares the integration.

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<sup>60</sup> See cases César Raúl Rodríguez, Carlos Navarrete, Emilio Palacio, Juan Carlos Calderón and Christian Zurita, Wilson Cabrera, El Universo Case, Revista Vistazo Case, among others.

## **A "new" vision of development**

For this section, I will present not only the expressions of the leader in the Forum of Unasur but also and in particular, in the multiple presentations he has made at international academic level. Subsequently a comparative analysis will be carried out as the one that has been developed with the reference of some of the public policies implemented in Ecuador. From the beginning of his government Correa identifying himself as an academic has participated in several universities sharing his knowledge about 21st century Socialism and Buen Vivir/Good living. In theory the model of development applied in Ecuador, is an alternative to development: El Buen Vivir/Good living. However, as discussed in previous sections, many contradictions exist between what this philosophy really implies and the intention of the Ecuadorian leader in his planning and execution of public policies.

Next I will analyze one of the first conferences of Rafael Correa on the Socialism of the Twenty-First Century, which was realized in the University of Teheran, Iran in December, 2008. The audience consists of different careers' students of the University of Teheran, university authorities, and representatives of the Iranian diplomacy. Considering the strong opposition of the Ecuadorian chief with regard to the foreign policy of the United States, he wanted to propitiate international relations spaces out of the habitual. Therefore, from the first years of government, he maintained good relation with Iran. In this visit, Correa also signed agreements with Ahmadinejad on several topics including refinery building, agriculture, renewable energy, health, among others (El Universo, 2012). According to Correa, opting for a model of government and national planning centered on Good Living would generate new and better possibilities for the well-being of the Ecuadorian population. However, it is observed that he uses the alternative of Buen Vivir/Good living as an ideological tool, not fully as a practical concept, but to place itself in opposition to neoliberalism.

The president introduces his country by using two adjectives: haughty and sovereign<sup>61</sup>. Haughtiness refers to pride and arrogance, while sovereignty alludes to

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<sup>61</sup> These words identify precisely the party of government PAÍS (Homeland haughty and sovereign/ Patria Altiva i Soberana)

the supreme power of an independent state. Therefore, he builds an imaginary of a proud people that united and with identity seeks its independence and development. He also proposes factors for development, in this order: a) equity, b) economic independence, c) health and education for all, d) international solidarity, pro-activity, respect and mutual collaboration. The Ecuadorian president frequently uses the same terminology and concepts to deal with certain issues. Thus, he defends societies **with** markets and not **market societies**. He attempts to criticize the Washington Consensus and all the institutions that emerge from it and, of course, neoliberalism.

### **On the economic-commercial policy**

With respect to this last point, Correa explains that the great failure is the priority given to capital by which countries had to apply a series of prescriptions and policies that produced the announced decadence of liberalism. He also believes that free trade minimizes the State and also declares that "there is no country in the world that has developed with free trade" (Correa Delgado, 2008). Free trade brings a multiplicity of consequences that can be seen as either positive or negative, depending on the section of the population. It does not exist a free trade measure which application has not had any impact within a population, for the industrial and productive sector of all countries but especially for countries that seek development in the terms of modernity. According to neoliberal concepts, free trade is the best choice. However, a greater concentration of government activity towards the promotion of industry reduces to some extent the capacity of investment or public expenditure towards more "vulnerable" sectors. Among the promoters of free trade are international organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) or the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as business associations and chambers of commerce.

According to President Correa, there has been no country that has developed through free trade. On the other hand, the IMF considers that exist many cases, particularly in East Asia. These countries improved and generated a "gradual reduction of poverty". Therefore, the central matter of this research is: Development models to be applied



will depend to a large extent on the priorities that individuals and groups have, according to their particular interests, not generalized interests<sup>62</sup>.

Therefore, Correa will seemingly prioritize a development on a human scale, theoretically rejecting neoliberalism, since it knows its operation and its results and considers them equivocations within a society. Consequently, one of the ways in which he sees as possible to deconstruct this ideological inclination is through the creation of confrontations (they-us) and delegitimation of which it makes permanent use in the majority of interventions, for example in the following fragment:

- (1) [regarding neoliberalism] This dogma disguised as science, wanted to reduce development to a purely technical problem,
- (2) where any political act smeared the "purity" of the strategy.
- (3) All things political were maligned. Public policies, despite their name "policies."
- (4) [...] Frequently, there were certain stateless bureaucrats, who decided what was good and what was bad for our countries;
- (5) bureaucrats who went three days to a five-star hotel in our countries to "make the diagnosis" and give us the solution,
- (6) because we were fools and they were enlightened, because we were corrupt and they were honest.
- (7) They failed, and organized a seminar in the same five-star hotel for three days to see why they failed and ... to experience again.
- (8) After all, they did not pay the consequences of their mistakes, we paid them.
- (9) We are convinced that public policy decisions must be taken by women and politicians, with a comprehensive vision and with democratic legitimacy, fully responsible for their actions.

As it is observed, it is fundamental within the development model of Ecuador to have public policies (government actions in the name of public interest), public actions that differentiate this process with respect to previous periods. It is criticized as we had mentioned to international organizations (IMF, for example) that they sent personnel for the "diagnosis" of the developing countries and the confrontation they-we begins. Through the personal pronoun "we", he refers to the victim population (8) of neoliberal processes and he includes himself within it. Finally, in (9) the idea of a new social demand for integral democracy is given, through which it justifies the ideology he seeks to impart. In this phrase he uses again "we" but this time to refer to

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<sup>62</sup> These interests are created through the personal experiences, knowledge and formation, social relations, and an innumerable conglomerate of particular aspects of the individual. That is to say a sort of personal ideology, from its own epistemology.

the supporters of his political project, delegitimizing those who do not share his vision. In the same section, he emphasizes the importance of having "democratic legitimacy" to participate in decision-making on public policy. It means to limit citizen participation solely to the exercise of suffrage at the polls.

Considering the refusal of the Ecuadorian leader on trade liberalization, which is permanently present in his speech, he proposes a commercial alternative that falls within the PNBV. Thus, several instruments were developed within the Ecuadorian public policy in commercial and economic matters such as the Trade Development Agreements (ACD) and the Investment Development Agreements (CID). This development would be framed in the two PNBV for the fight against poverty, inequality, incorporating different forms of production that recognize and value the knowledge, culture, and lifestyles of the people. The Multiparty Agreement with the European Union (in negotiation to 2015) could have been one of them. However, no greater benefits have been received from other projects with these characteristics.

According to the regime, DTAs differ from common commercial agreements because they not only promote tariff opening but are based on: a) Sovereignty: to avoid dependency on international financial power centers, while promoting respect for Life, biodiversity, ancestral knowledge, food sovereignty, health and access to medicines, etc., b) Diversification: both production and market niches to generate new external demand, c) Transformation of productive sectors: Development of industries with higher added value, again this leads to the strategy of the change of productive matrix, and therefore to support the 14 priority sectors and 5 strategic industries, established in the National Development Plan and the Production Code (Plan Nacional de Desarrollo y el Código de la Producción):

<b>PRIORITIZED INDUSTRIES</b>	
<b>SECTOR</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>
<b>GOODS</b>	1) Fresh and processed foods
	2) Biotechnology (biochemistry and biomedicine)
	3) Clothing and footwear
	4) Renewable energy

	5) Pharmaceutical industry
	6) Metalworking
	7) Petrochemistry
	8) Wood Forest Products
<b>SERVICES</b>	9) Environmental services
	10) Technology (software, hardware and IT services)
	11) Vehicles, motor vehicles, car bodies and parts
	12) Building trade
	13) Transport and logistics
	14) Tourism

Figure 15 Change of productive matrix: Prioritized Industries. Source: SENPLADES

INDUSTRY	POSSIBLE GOODS OR SERVICES	PROJECTS
<b>1) Refinery</b>	Methane, butane, propane, gasoline, kerosene, diesel	Pacific Refinery Project
<b>2) Shipyard</b>	Construction and repair of ships, associated services	Posorja Shipyard Implementation Project
<b>3) Petrochemistry</b>	Urea, pesticides, herbicides, fertilizers, foliars, plastics, synthetic fibers, resins	Studies for the production of urea and nitrogen fertilizers  Basic Petrochemical Plant
<b>4) Metallurgy (copper)</b>	Electrical cables, tubes, rolling	System for the automation of cadastral activities, mining monitoring and control, monitoring control and oversight of large-scale operations.
<b>5) Steelworks</b>	Plans	Geological mapping nationwide scale 1: 100,000 and 1: 50,000 for the areas of greatest

		geological potential.	mining
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**Figure 16 Change of productive matrix: Strategic Industries. Source: SENPLADES**

All these industries promoted in the political project of the Citizen Revolution still consider to a large extent the importance of a neo-extractivism for the generation of physical capital. In an interview for *Diario EL TELÉGRAFO*, in particular to celebrate the 5 years of the Government of Correa, he stated that:

We could not have changed the accumulation model drastically. Basically we are doing better with the same model of accumulation, rather than change it, because it is not our desire to hurt the rich, but it is our intention to have a more just and equitable society. (Correa Delgado, 2012)

Therefore, although in theory he tries to apply strategies to achieve Good Living, Ecuador continues in a capitalist model of accumulation but in a Prebischian style. This means it promotes national accumulation and industrial development, strategically replacing imports to reinvest in public work. The Good Living on its side established a non-accumulation of material goods, rethinking the state from the community. For example, let's observe the case of food sovereignty<sup>63</sup> that is constitutionally guaranteed. He prioritizes the food industry based on a large-scale agriculture (monocultures), and the situation of small farmers and their traditional farming techniques is again minimized. This would lead to a loss of biodiversity and would benefit the large industrialists who generate the greatest demand. Therefore, in the case of these agreements for development, he tries to integrate certain aspects of Good Living within the tools of free trade, typical of liberalism. It is at this point that the ideological-practical concretion of this alternative to development is complicated.

One of Unasur's agendas, which was named in the first chapter of this research, referred to economic issues, including the establishment of an alternative model of regional development, considering the possibility of promoting intraregional trade.

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<sup>63</sup> "Popular right to control the agri-food and production system, where family farming, peasant, indigenous, agro-ecological, fishing and artisanal collection are developed autonomously; to ensure the human right to the permanent provision of healthy, nutritious and culturally appropriate food." (Acción Ecológica, 2016)



**Figure 17 Regional Infrastructure Projects Completed by Country (as of July 2016).**  
Source: COSIPLAN- Foro técnico IIRSA

However, economic integration is not one of the central areas of Unasur. Some States consider that State intervention is fundamental in trade policies, and that the tools of free trade do not contribute to its development (such as Ecuador) and other States have been more optimistic about the Free Trade Agreements and the opening of

markets (such as Peru). The non-prioritization of economic integration can be a double-edged sword for Unasur. On the one hand it avoids a fragmentation between the members that converge in a political space. On the other hand, it exist a need to generate greater economic income with diverse strategies. Consequently, some countries give more importance to other more ambitious integration initiatives in the economic-trade area such as the Pacific Alliance or Mercosur.

However, something to be highlighted in Unasur's activity in this field is the promotion of infrastructure for greater intraregional connectivity through the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America (IIRSA) and the South American Council of Infrastructure and Planning of Unasur (COSIPLAN). Among the main projects that have been promoted are the rehabilitation or expansion of roads, paving, construction of bridges and bypasses, as well as works of energy interconnection. In the case of Ecuador and Peru, roads along the Coast have been completed, facilitating transportation and access to border centers. Also, one of the largest works is the Binational Border Care Center (CEBAF) Axis Road No. 1 located between the communities of Huaquillas (Ecuador) and Aguas Verdes (Peru) (COSIPLAN Technical Forum IIRSA, 2016). This center facilitates the exchange of goods and free movement of persons between the two Unasur member countries. However, through these institutions, the idea of a development in the extreme (developmentalism) is reinforced where large investments are made in infrastructure,

to generate industrialization and economic growth, and even to favor from the point of view of several critics the transnational extractivist activities, for example.

About 115 projects were completed, mostly financed by the public sector (65%). This implies a high commitment to promoting integration in infrastructure and mobility by most member countries based on their national income. However, Unasur's progress is generated in terms of the political agreement, infrastructure, energy, defense, but they do not work on the basis of economic-commercial integration, so there is no integrated model of regional development in this area. In spite of these recent infrastructure works, intraregional trade in Unasur has not increased significantly. Institutions such as ECLAC stress the importance of strengthening the regional market both in terms of exports of value-added goods as well as in terms of knowledge and employment that would imply improvements for SME. Unfortunately, with low intraregional trade and no regional accumulation mechanisms, the actions of coordinating macroeconomic policies as a bloc are even more complicated.

In the case of Ecuador, in the last five years, it has presented negative trade balances with three countries of the organization: Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina. Therefore, the intra-regional trade could increase, but this would be done only in one direction (Rhodes, 2015). This means that in these cases Ecuadorian intraregional imports would exceed its exports. Although these commercial activities occur in South America this does not necessarily involve an effective participation of Unasur. This is so there have been no tools to facilitate or support trade between member countries. According to ECLAC's report (2011), the region has low scores on indicators related to cross-border trade (for example, on exported container costs and time optimization for commercial transactions, among others).

In this speech in Iran, Correa also mentions the following: "The end of the production is not shoes, not shirts. It is the human being, the human well-being; and we cannot sacrifice the end by the means" (Correa Delgado, 2008). There is a clear tendency towards socialism, but he also emphasizes the idea of anthropocentrism. According to him, this idea should be printed in the policies of this new trend of thought. It should be highlighted that the president mentions that "consumerism,

industrialization, modernization, accumulation" (ibid. Fragment not included) are not ways to development, but cloister our vision within capitalism. However, these statements do not come close to as alternatives to development, but rather shares characteristics of development with a focus on Streeten's basic human needs.

Towards the final part of his exposition the president proposes the definition of the development of which he is partisan and creative:

In Latin America, we are even challenging the notions of development of capitalism and in general of the Western world. You [the Iranian people] advanced more than us in that topic. With proposals such as the one we use in our National Development Plan, where we define development as **"the attainment of the good life of all (todos y todas<sup>64</sup>), the expansion of their freedoms and potentialities in peace and harmony with nature, and the indefinite extension of human cultures"**

With the fragment above I glimpse the prioritization of the human being over capital. In this fragment he attempts to integrate between the Andean philosophy of *Sumak Kawsay* and sustainable development. In making the differentiation in the genre of the word "todos", and extending it to "todos y todas" he seeks to include the position of women in his discourse to universalize their statements, a sexist battle that several Latin American leaders have been creating regarding the use of the Spanish language (Sack, 2012)

On the other hand, as we have been analyzing throughout the last pages of this research, it does not exist a great congruence between these approaches within the Ecuadorian public policy. Therefore, alternatives to development have not yet managed to materialize within the socio-political system of Ecuador. At the end of his speech, Rafael Correa again poses a strategic comparison, insisting once again on the different nature of his project. It uses an adjectivation towards the governments of Latin America, with the strategy harmony-opposition.

- (1) Very profound changes are taking place in Latin America;
- (2) ten years ago all governments were right-wing, neoliberal, surrendering, subjugated to the United States; [...]
- (3) and today there are progressive, nationalist, sovereign,
- (4) looking for this south-south union throughout the region

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<sup>64</sup> In Spanish, it exists a gender difference between the word "all/everyone". "Todos" refers only to masculine and "todas" only to feminine.

(5) and which, for the most part, follow this doctrine which I have briefly explained to you, which is Socialism of the 21st Century. (Correa Delgado, 2008)

Michel Foucault considers that in speeches there is a constant desire for truth, that is to say, that exerts a certain pressure or coercion to verify the foundation of what is said. In this case, the tool Correa prefers is not to ignore or exclude what he considers to be unlawful, but instead, he refers to historical references to oppose them to the new doctrine. On the one hand, in (2) he presents a series of situations that must be changed: right-wing, neoliberal governments, and surrender to the United States (2008). Additionally, his "truth" in Foucault's terms would be progressivism, nationalism, sovereignty, the South-South Union. Several of these aspects correspond to classical development alternatives: popular national development, new developmentalism, neo-extractivism (See Figure 9 in chapter I). He observes integration from finding common points as to the types of government in the countries of the South that fulfill the characteristics of his truth. In a certain way, he proposes an idea that segregates governments with a non-progressive tendency of the region, within the process of South-South union.

Next, I will take the inaugural speech of Rafael Correa Delgado at the Third International Congress on University, Development, and Cooperation, held in Guayaquil, Ecuador from May 10 to 13, 2011. The event was attended by several delegates from higher education institutions, professionals and experts in various fields, IESALC-UNESCO academic representatives, students and university teachers (UNESCO-IESALC, 2011). He detailed the importance of the University within the development process of the country and Latin America. At the same time, I will analyze his Master's Conference at the University of Harvard (John F. Kennedy School of Government) called "Development as a political process: The Ecuadorian Dream." From the first one, I will take the most representative points of the speech about Correa's conception of development will. Considering the author as a source of significance for the discourse (Foucault, 1970), it is worth noting that in all the discourses he performs in academic forums, he identifies himself as an academic expressing his satisfaction for teaching within these spaces. From the second, I will focus on how this development project is evaluated in Ecuador.



In the introductory part of the first speech, he argues that at the Latin American and Ecuadorian levels, society has suffered from "a crisis of its own thinking" which allowed the application of the Washington Consensus (Correa Delgado, 2011). Also he stresses the importance of Latin American universities being able to influence the global debate on development and its strategies. The rejection of the president and his government towards development in terms of capitalism has already been mentioned, but this time he also makes a critique of traditional socialism:

[Traditional socialism ...] did not dispute the idea of development. It was the same modernization, industrialization, mass consumption; it only proposed a faster and supposedly fairer way to reach the same end. We are now questioning that notion of Western development. We have talked about Good Living, *Sumak Kawsay*, and a different way to understand our development, with emphasis on happiness, social coexistence, beyond purely material considerations or consumption power.

Again, he reinforces *Sumak Kawsay's* proposal as an ideology that allows him to evade the traditional Western terms of development, but which do not correspond to the precise approaches promulgated by Buen Vivir/Good living. It emphasizes on this 3 fundamental points: a) happiness, b) social coexistence, c) leaving aside the material conditions of consumption.

On the other hand, the well-known Human Development Index (IDH) is used in the second discourse in the section on the achievements of the government project (Correa Delgado, 2014, pp. 2-3). Correa states that Ecuador is one of the Countries that presented the greatest advances in the period 2007-2012. The HDI considers three parameters for calculating the cost: 1) Economy: National income per capita<sup>65</sup>, 2) Education: average and expected years of schooling, 3) Health: life expectancy at birth (United Nations Development Program, 2016). Statistics on poverty reduction are then evaluated, followed by the average economic growth of the country in the period 2007-2013. In this sense, the president explains the progress of his project using traditional tools for evaluating public policies. None of the used indicators considers the importance of the environment within the development process. It does not highlight the level of satisfaction or happiness of the people, nor the level of citizen participation in decision-making for the implementation of public policies. That is, "happiness" and "social coexistence" are not fully evaluated by the president

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<sup>65</sup> Data extracted from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

who maintains a series of economic indicators as a source to argue his governmental work. Therefore, even if *Sumak Kawsay* is preferred for development, structures of the more classical alternatives that prioritize the human being, its economy and some basic needs on any element of development are still reinforced.

Consequently, it becomes necessary to analyze what elements Correa considers necessary to include within the development process. In the speech of 2011 he emphasizes the importance of "seven heritages" for development, and emphasizes that he expresses them in order of importance:

- (1) **Cultural heritage**, culture understood as the set of ideas, beliefs, visions and values transmitted socially,
- (2) **Human talent**,
- (3) **Science and technology**, i.e. knowledge
- (4) **Social acquis**, i.e. having a national project [...] motivated and cohesive societies with a vision of the future [...] as a country.
- (5) **Institutional collection**, those rules of game that organize, order a society but that if they are bad can impede development. The equalitarianism at its best, for example [...]
- (6) **Physical capital stock**
- (7) And **stock of natural resources**.

Correa, therefore, raises the importance of generating a change in the mentality and values of society. In this way, they can be constituted as the basis of society in search of development. It is an interesting and logical approach considering the inclusion of new concepts outside development, an alternative to it. As mentioned in the first chapter, a discourse is the favorite vehicle of an ideology. Therefore, Correa has sought to extend his discourse and his ideology through constant contact with the population through the Citizen Linkages/Enlaces ciudadanos. He visits all the country and also the world, to get closer to migrant populations, among others.

For this reason, Correa has been called "populist" by some of his opponents. However, being a theoretician in favor of an unfulfilled<sup>66</sup> ideology, he still consciously or unconsciously retains classical ideologies. With respect to the following elements or heritages, it is necessary to emphasize the important investment that has been made in terms of education, science and technology (as mentioned before). However, investing mostly in strengthening infrastructure

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<sup>66</sup> In reference to Buen Vivir/Good Living, fully applied as a way of life and crystallized as an alternative to development that has not yet been seen in any country.

(Buildings, schools, CIBV hospitals, health centers, etc.) is a mistake. He did not encourage reading, for example, to support the development of critical thinking.

Regarding the institutional acquis, the excessive bureaucratic and institutional expenditure that the government has given may be considered as negative, since it opened many ministries, secretariats, which I discussed in the previous section. Finally, there is the need for physical capital and natural resources, as the last ones in the process. However, there is a contradiction as to its location in importance according to Correa. In order to achieve a great social investment, to support a great institutionalization of the government, and to develop public policies more effectively, it is necessary to have a reliable financing, which until today is maintained through the exploitation of natural resources and the export of raw materials.

It is necessary to emphasize an issue that Correa states in 2014:

Development is basically a political problem. The fundamental problem is who rules in a society: the elites or large majorities, capital or human beings, the market or society. [...] The problem of development is that it requires many necessary conditions, but none in itself is sufficient. There are many other factors, in addition to the political [...] there is something very important external constraints. (Correa Delgado, 2014)

In this statement, which is much more pessimistic than the previous one, the word "problem" is repeated several times to refer to development, understanding more concisely its complexity. It was essential to make reference to the importance of working from development from politics, but it is not a purely political issue. Development must focus on multidimensional and multidisciplinary perspectives. It is not a question of confronting "the elites against the majorities", but of working together on the national project. Concerning to external constraints, it is pointed out that the industrialization for import substitution of the structuralist Prebisch became necessary given the unjust international order and inequality in terms of trade. At this point, it is only possible to obtain some compensation or benefit from natural resources exploitation, from industrialized countries.

In conclusion, Unasur shows a pluralistic integration. This means that the institution has no more power than its members have decided to grant it. The progress towards

its objectives has been given in some aspects, especially in the areas of infrastructure, energy, defense and political agreement. However, transcendental issues such as South American citizenship or the possibility of creating economic, financial or commercial structures of a supranational nature are left behind.

Correa has stated on many occasions his political will towards integration. However, establishing a common development model at the regional level becomes quite complicated. Ecuador's public policies are biased towards development that satisfies some of the basic needs of a population and generate greater human development. Environmental and cultural issues, speaking in an alternative process to development such as the Sumak Kawsay, are far from being fulfilled in their essence. The government of Rafael Correa, while strongly criticizing neoliberalism, still relies on the use of some of its main instruments as indicators, or the attempt to vary the terminology of free trade agreements ("Trade Agreements for Development").

## **PERU**

### **About Peru: Ollanta Humala, the Peruvian Nationalist Party and the trends of its government towards the development and the integration**

Ollanta Humala Tasso<sup>67</sup>, of military formation, by the paternal influence supported lefty nationalistic ideas. From its revolt against the dictatorial government of Alberto Fujimori towards the end of the nineties and beginnings of the new century, he tried to be linked more to the politics of his country. Humala tried twice to become the president of the Republic of Peru. The first in 2006, in which he chose to match some of his ideas with the growing boom of 21st-century socialism and the figure of Hugo Chávez and Evo Morales. It should be noted that at this time he had already shown his preference for international integration, particularly in the region, so he held meetings on the subject with Néstor Kirchner and Luis Inácio Lula da Silva. This formula did not work for him to win the elections and was defeated by Alan García (center-left). In his second attempt to become president, the speeches presented were more moderate and of a social-democratic tendency where he manifests a certain

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<sup>67</sup> Constitutional President of the Republic of Peru, from July 2011 to July 2016.

preference for market economies without leaving aside the possibility of a redistribution of wealth, through a more controlling State, a social and inclusive State (CIDOB, 2016).

The Peruvian Nationalist Party (PNP) was founded by Ollanta Humala and was with which he managed to become president. This party is based fundamentally on four axes: a) anti-imperialism, b) democratic republicanism, c) Andean-Amazonian socialism, and d) Latin Americanism (Partido Nacionalista Peruano, 2016). In order to be able to act within these axes, the tool that Humala proposes is leftist nationalism. This involves a call for social justice, popular sovereignty, and political-economic self-determination. Therefore, one of the main objectives was the creation of a "Peruvian nation". In this way they put it in the Plan of Government 2011-2016:

"We must complete the construction of the Peruvian nation, with a strategy of modernization and development rooted in **the expansion of domestic markets and social and cultural inclusion**, with justice, freedom and democracy. This is our proposal of the Great Transformation. [...] For us nationalism **is a democratic alternative to the current neoliberal modernization** exclusionary and denationalizing. It is, therefore, a political program of radical change of a neoliberal model that accentuates social inequality, depredates natural resources, violates legality and democracy, and does not generate development. We are committed to culminating **the construction of the Democratic Nation State**, which will provide well-being and a dignified life for all Peruvians" (Comisión de Plan de Gobierno-Gana Perú, 2010).

The development vision of Humala and his party rejects neoliberalism as a model imposed from abroad, and it is replaced by a leftist nationalism that defends its culture, its language, its administration and state institutions, its economic and natural resources, its market, etc. As opposed to foreign interference (in this case, in particular, transnational companies). In a country like Peru with a multiplicity of indigenous cultures and communities, the idea of generating a single nation-state is complex. Some indigenous critics such as Jym Qhapaq Amaru (Peruvian Nationalist Andean Movement) consider that the Peruvian state, at the beginning of the colonial and republican life of the country, limited and prohibited the Indians and cholos from

participating fully in national political life. Additionally, Qhapaq Amaru argues that the Peruvian army itself tried to impose a nationalistic feeling through the obligatory military service that only managed to suppress some of the customs and traditions of the indigenous communities. Undoubtedly, these criticisms and other additional ones will permanently question the management of Humala and its propitiating character of a democratic nationalism. Some of the proposals Humala refers to are the promotion of the State's role not only as a guarantor of human rights but as an active participant that promotes the free private initiative.

On the other hand, the proposed economic regime acts on the basis of social justice and the confidence of the citizen based on an administration that reduces corruption. It implies an internal economic development that contributes to social change. In a general context, I could classify this conception within the hard theories of development, since it presents some similarities with respect to the theory of the modernization and dependency. This involves an economic effort of societies (in this case the redistribution of the income generated by the industry) so that social development can be experienced. In this way, the welfare of the domestic market is promoted to achieve the social prosperity of the State. However, by positioning the State as the main instrument of action, there is a slight disjunction with respect to neoliberalism in which the market is the main objective and strategy. The way in which this development model is called is a "national market economy open to the world" through which the country's economy is industrialized, adding value to raw materials. Although criticizing neoliberal modernization is not discarded, one of its main systems (the market economy) is maintained as a strategy for development. This shows the complexity of moving from a purely economic development strategy to other alternatives.

This model contemplates strategies similar to the ECLAC structuralist model, given its will to generate industry and development of the internal market. However, it is necessary to consider that within the government plan, Humala emphasizes that this strategy does not correspond either to a trend towards the industrialization of imports or to neoliberalism because none of them have had the desired results in the Andean country. However, it exists the intention to give priority to the development of internal markets and the interconnection of the state economy. This requires greater

support both economic and institutional, which facilitates the internal development of the country without completely closing its borders to foreign trade (Jiménez, 2010). In other words, mentioning that none of the applied development models did not work, does not prevent them from falling into its failures (i.e., neoliberalism or structuralism). That is to say, a severe restructuring is needed to crystallize new approaches and institutions for development that serve the fulfillment of the left nationalist objectives of the PNP. I will observe this issue throughout this analysis.

With regard to the foreign policy of the country, he states several important issues such as the differentiation that should be promoted between trade agreements and integration alternatives. Apparently, within the Humala Government Plan, integration ceases to be considered an opportunity only for the promotion of foreign trade. However, it also provides space for reducing inequality in the region, a coordinated action between public and private sectors and to promote scientific and technological development. The will of Peru through its government plan is to integrate first in the Andean region and then to be inserted within Latin America and finally to the world. In this way, they would avoid the growth and the impact of transnational threats related mainly to the environment, health, labor, drug trafficking, among others.

On the other hand, Peru's participation in other integration blocs or alternatives give a glimpse of the preference for economic growth based on free trade, beyond the social benefit it could generate. Some of these alternatives include the Pacific Alliance (along with Colombia, Chile and Mexico), the Trans-Pacific Agreement, and the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Forum, a possible integration of the Asia-Pacific region whose main objectives are economic and trade development. Both situations may seem contradictory. Internally a nationalist anti-neoliberal discourse grants the presidential office to Humala, where he cannot ignore the capitalist globalization in which the free trade and the modernization offer a different projection to future. On the other hand is Unasur, a melting pot of political, ideological, economic and social diversity. I will now examine the intentionality of Ollanta Humala's speeches within the Union of South American Nations, in order to know to what extent a compromise is generated beyond political consensus, specifically with regard to the possibility of regional development.

### **Discourse analysis on regional integration in Unasur**

On July 28, 2011, President Ollanta Humala assumed the presidency of Peru. He did it in front of the Congress of the Republic and also in the presence of several Latin American presidents such as Juan Manuel Santos, Cristina Correa, Rafael Correa, José Mujica, Desiré Bouterse, Evo Morales, Sebastián Piñera, Dilma Rousseff, Ricardo Martinelli, some other Central American heads of state, Venezuelan Foreign Minister Nicolás Maduro, Argentine Foreign Minister Héctor Timerman, among other international representatives, including the Minister of Agriculture of China and the representative of the British Government.

In the first part of the intervention the idea of "the homeland" is reinforced with historical references to the founding of the Republic, stating the following:

The homeland is an aspiration to our common destiny, a hope, an unfinished promise by which the Peruvian people have always been willing to give their life in peace and war, to defend it and to bequeath it to their children with pride. The homeland is our common history, it is the space where all Peruvian women and men want to live in peace and democracy. That is why we are all proud of our flag, symbol of our struggles and our love to peace. This aspiration to an inclusive homeland opens the way to social progress. [...] Reality demands transformations so that equality, tolerance, recognition of our diversity and a development that includes us all, at the same time, becomes a civilizing act and a collective commitment. Reality challenges us daily and demands a new social contract that makes possible the harmonious coexistence of all Peruvians. (Humala Tasso, Discurso Completo del Presidente Ollanta Humala, 2011)

With this in mind, it is necessary to understand that beyond the text, it exists a subjective representation that is intended to convey to society: the need for a homeland. The intentionality of these statements is fundamentally related to the spirit and feelings of the audience (Note by the author: the authorities present, but especially the Peruvians who followed it through a national radio and television network). The concept of "homeland" generally corresponds to a sentimental or historical identification. In this sense, it shows a familiar and friendly image that proposes closeness of the presidential figure with elements that are known to the audience "the pride" of a won battle. Likewise, it is important to consider that this discourse calling patriotism is justified by observing the political-military formation of the speaker. He emphasizes the importance of fighting for the country. In the same way, he illustrates this concept by making use of figures such as the national flag



representing peace and democracy. The concept of nation implies cultural diversity, traditions and populations. According to him, these elements should coexist in democracy and well-being within the same community. Finally, he emphasizes the importance of the figure of the fatherland as essential to achieve social progress, which would be understood as one of the main objectives of development.

The following selected fragment of his intervention outlines the procedure of the Peruvian model to reach this goal. Firstly, he manages to illustrate an image of power through metaphors and comparisons that he makes of his own person in a description of the acquired presidential representation:

I want you to see in me a real soldier of the Republic, a jealous guardian of the Rule of Law and a defender of human rights and freedom of the press and of expression. The characteristics of this government can be summarized as follows: reform, democracy, liberties, inclusion, redistribution, and growth, peace with justice, security, decentralization, transparency, sovereignty and consensus.

The main characteristic attributed to his role is that of a "soldier of the Republic" through which he again highlights his military past. He labels this figure as "true" against probably soldiers or groups not committed to the objectives. By referring to respect for the rule of law, he accepts its own limitation by the supreme legal framework and the legality and the fulfillment of fundamental rights. Finally, by attributing qualities to his government, of which the majority are positive, he tries beforehand to validate the reputation of the process that was about to begin.

Next, the idea of development is conceptualized with the seal of Humala. He states a Peruvian model with established priorities and processes.

We want to build a proper path, a Peruvian model [...] that the state serves as a promoter not only of growth, but also of social progress. Prioritizing education, health and child nutrition, improving working conditions. [...] Investing in infrastructure, in schools, in medical posts, in cribs and improving basic salary. In this new relationship, the State will be a promoter of investment and development, guarantor of the exercise of rights and freedoms, impelling opportunities for all.

Apparently, it tends to a development with focus on the basic needs (food, health, education, labor conditions). Humala organized them according to his priorities. He makes a comparison in which the term education is equivalent to the construction of schools; health are medical posts and cribs, and better working conditions would be achieved with improvements in basic salary. For this reason, he thinks about a

development oriented mainly to the investment in infrastructure, which is remarkably insufficient for being considered a public policy. Therefore, he acquires the mission of satisfying in the most efficient way a need of the population with the participation of both decision-makers, operators, and beneficiaries. A public policy that decides to invest heavily in infrastructure to promote poverty reduction may be socially undesirable, since it may enhance or inhibit the ability of other mechanisms to achieve individual and collective well-being. For example, would it not be more efficient to implement preventive mechanisms or priority attention in public health, rather than building more hospitals? Finally, Humala proposes a strong State that participates in several changes of collective life, specifically in relation to its economy and its rights.

The following scheme proposes a summary of the main points addressed by Humala in his speech to the Sixth Meeting of Heads of State and Government of UNASUR. It is worth mentioning the importance of this speech since the president Ollanta Humala held his position as pro-tempore president of the South American organization. Only to facilitate the organization of this analysis, I divided into three sections, which can be overlap because they are very interrelated, but I did not alter the order of priority that Humala maintained during his intervention.

GENERAL THEME	DETAILS ON THE TOPIC
<p><b>Calling / Motivation to the unity of the members of the Unasur</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Historical references to similar processes (Congreso Anfictiónico de Panamá, CAN, Mercosur)</li> <li>• Establishment of "common hazards" for the region</li> <li>• Exhortation to the commitment of the authorities to the organization</li> </ul>
<p><b>Specifications on the vision of development</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Invocation of UNASUR principles</li> <li>• Universalization of the benefits of development, similarities to development with an approach on basic needs</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inequality and poverty, its relation to democratic stability</li> </ul>
<p><b>Role of regional integration with UNASUR</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UNASUR as a tool for development</li> <li>• The role of environmental policies</li> <li>• The South American citizenship project. The importance of infrastructure in integration.</li> <li>• The economy in terms of industrial development</li> </ul>

Figure 18 Breakdown of topics covered in Ollanta Humala's speech in 2012. Source: Prepared by the author based on the welcome address to the VI Ordinary Meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Government of UNASUR

### **Calling / Motivation to the unity of the members of the Unasur**

On June 29, 2012, Ollanta Humala receives the pro tempore presidency of the Union of South American Nations. On November 30 of the same year, the VI Ordinary Meeting of Heads of State and Government of Unasur was held in Lima. On this occasion Humala intervenes to welcome the group of leaders, in addition to presenting his ideas on the approach that should have regional integration. Referring to the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama and its spirit of unity in 1826 in relation to Unasur, he emphasizes the following:

[...] today, it is more imperative than ever to unite to deepen our relations and to jointly confront the common dangers of today: inequality, poverty, climate change, violation of democratic principles, terrorism in its various forms, and other forms of instability. [...] South American countries have identified our coincidences to work together for the freedom and development of our peoples. In this line, Unasur proves to be a young process [...] but in this short time we have determined steps, transcending ideologies, looking beyond our immediate geography to promote a regional agenda that reaffirms us, links us and strengthens us. It is for this reason that upon assuming the presidential command on July 28 of last year, I emphasized my commitment and that of my government with integration in general and with UNASUR in particular. (Humala Tasso, Cancillería del Perú, 2012)

First, Humala evokes a sense of belonging among the members of the region. He emphasizes the importance of acting together. Therefore, he constantly uses possessive adjectives: our (s). On the other hand, as regards the order established in the discourse, Humala's fundamental intention in Unasur is the protection against "common dangers". That is to say, a joint defense intention against (in this order): 1) Inequality, 2) Poverty, 3) Climate Change, 4) Violation of democratic principles, 5) Terrorism, 6) Other forms of instability. A number of milestones, such as independence in South America, the creation of the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) and Mercosur as examples of the unity of work in South America (fragment not included) are recreated, emphasizing in freedom and development. Unasur is described as "young" with respect to previous processes. Nevertheless, Unasur would make possible to extend a regional agenda beyond the ideologies. The recognition of this last statement indicates the vision for the future that Humala desires of the organization. The president uses of the personal pronoun "us" referring to the members of this community, but specifically to the Heads of State, and directly introduces the verbs "to reaffirm" and "to strengthen" (to reinforce its position), and "to link" (subject to the obligations it generates). Therefore, he demonstrates the need to invigorate the commitment to Unasur and its mandates. Finally, he places himself as an example of this pact towards integration, both personally ("my commitment") and at the level of his political party and cabinet ("and that of my government") on behalf of his country. He also calls on the leaders to also be linked as managers of the future of their countries.

### **Specifications on the vision of development**

Later in his speech, he elaborates again a conceptualization of development. He continues in the line of the sensitization on the unit in Unasur. Considering that the UNASUR principles call for peace, respect for human rights and democracy, in addition to their countries sharing a common historical past and similarities in culture and society. Therefore, the creation of South American identity becomes a sort of possible regional agreement:

Solidarity and hope are two concepts that have characterized the identity of the peoples of South America [...] great causes, are almost always linked to great hopes, and we are a region with the hope of turning this economic

growth into development, and improving the living conditions of our peoples starting with the poorest. For this, we have the great task of strengthening States and putting them at the service of all, and not just minorities. [...] In this context, we must be able to create conditions of development, peace, and well-being for all.

The Peruvian leader mentioned two feelings that reflect on the one hand the existence of common goals or objectives (solidarity) and on the other, the expectation of positive or favorable results in the future (hope). He aims to reinforce the process of construction of this regional identity. Consequently, he argues that the common objective would be "to turn this economic growth into development" and "to improve living conditions ... starting with the poorest". It contains a weak concept of development with a focus on basic needs, in which equal solutions are promoted through the increase of wages, better coverage of public services, assurance of the quality of production, more sources of employment, among others. Apparently, economic growth ceases to be the main objective and is replaced by the welfare of the human being (See Chapter I, Development with an approach on basic needs and development on a human scale). Therefore, the creation of an appropriate environment in the State that is conducive to development is proposed. Humala includes in his speech his will of the redistribution of the wealth and the fight against the poverty. He also emphasizes the importance of orienting public policies towards all.

Likewise, he declares himself against inequality by emphasizing it is a threat towards the South American region and its objectives:

- (1) [...] Inequality conspires against development and security, our region can grow more and better.
- (2) The paradigm today is to be equal to grow and to grow to be equal.
- (3) It is not possible, then, to build democracy in the midst of misery, poverty, injustice [...]
- (4) We must continue to promote social inclusion and the fight against inequality as a priority for the region.
- (5) It is not possible to think about integration without the consolidation of our democracies. [...] The creation of a Study Center on Democracy (CEDEM) launched in Lima last August is a contribution made by Peru in this *indignant*<sup>68</sup> task for integration. [...]
- (6) at the South American Council for Social Development, our ministers have worked on a 2012-2014 action plan that prioritizes the fight against poverty and economic and social inequality.

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<sup>68</sup> Probably Humala confused this word in his speech.

- (7) And today I invoke you not to lower your guard and to make the opportunities come for all equally. (Humala Tasso, Cancillería del Perú, 2012)

He mentioned two main issues. The first is that it is necessary to face inequality as a prerequisite for development. He confirms its partisan position to the principles of development on a human scale "equalize for growth" (2). He introduces the second question, the consolidation of democracy in the region (3). He highlights the participation of the Peruvian government in the construction of CEDEM and also in the action plan 2012-14 in the South American Council of Social Development. At the same time, he calls for vigilance on the part of the leaders to ensure the fulfillment of these activities, respecting their universalizing vision of development.

### **Role of regional integration with UNASUR**

Afterward, he referred to Unasur as an instrument that favored regional development and the position of South America within the international arena, as follows: "Unasur is the possibility of contributing to a region to the development of a new international order, more supportive and tolerant. Where development is not incompatible with happiness. On the contrary, it is its purpose" (Humala Tasso, Chancellery of Peru, 2012). Therefore, it exists a clear intention to promote Unasur insofar as it contributes to the development proposed by Humala. He sees happiness as the last objective, considering it a state of satisfaction that is not measurable and quantifiable with the usual methods which idealizes its proposal. However, he does not include the possibility of reaching the supranationality of the organization.

Humala's traditional anthropocentric developmental position does not include environmental issues. He briefly said: "Environmental care [...] cannot be incompatible with development. The States have the responsibility to lead environmental policies and not leave them abandoned" (Humala Tasso, Ministry of Peru, 2012). This was the only reference made by the president on the subject. He did not outline further actions to perform in addition to "lead environmental policies" that turns out to be a generic indicative.

One of the points that deserves to be highlighted is the construction of the South American citizenship, where the speech becomes again an instructive talk that motivates the regional unity, highlighting in the end its intention:

Convergence will be the basis for building a South American citizenship that identifies us beyond the territory. It should distinguish itself from rhetorical integration, it should become a concrete reality, with a human face, a face in solidarity with the integration. This will allow us to transcend borders and become citizens of a region. In this way, we would be authentically South American. Citizenship requires not only migratory facilities to mobilize for a territory but also needs the means to do so. For this reason, physical integration continues to be part of the backbone of South American integration. (Humala Tasso, Cancillería del Perú, 2012)

Humala calls for an agreement on the concept of citizenship. In the same way, he sees integration as an imaginary. It exists a need to transform it into a "concrete reality", using a reification strategy that attributes characteristics to integration (for example, a human face) to support the "South American authenticity". He does not deepen aspects such as the migratory situation of undocumented persons, nor on the protection or equality of human and labor rights, the free movement of persons, the fight against illicit trafficking and human trafficking, among many other aspects that could stand out.

He emphasized the importance of physical integration (mainly, infrastructure) was. In 2004 in Cuzco and Ayacucho, those who thought of Unasur sought to "develop a South American space integrated into the political, social, economic, environmental and infrastructure" (Morales Ayma, 2006). To 2012 it was reduced only to political and infrastructure integration observing the minimum advances in the rest of points. He also mentioned road projects undertaken by IIRSA (mentioned above) that can be turned into "integration and development hubs that articulate the region and facilitate its link with the rest of the world, thus creating an integrated and competitive South American productive structure" (Humala Tasso, Cancillería del Perú, 2012). This structure would strengthen the importance to the road construction executed by the South American Council of Infrastructure and Planning-COSIPLAN.

Humala argues that migration facilities "are not enough," but neither would be infrastructure alone. The construction of a citizenship encompasses a broad spectrum of elements that transcend economic, social, cultural, environmental and that at the

political-institutional level. This should be reflected in agreements binding on member states to adopt the commitment to action, one that frequently motivates the Peruvian leader in his speech. Concerning to South American citizenship, in the approximate course of 10 years of the presentation of this subject in the South American Community of Nations later Unasur, in 2012, the Working Group on South American Citizens (GTCS) (UNASUR, 2014) was created at the VI Meeting of the Council of Heads of State and Unasur in 2012, and in 2014 it was approved. Terms developed by the GTCS. The Secretary General of the organization Ernesto Samper Pizano, on June 28, 2016, publishes in his Twitter account: "Today the project of South American citizenship gives his first steps in @unasur, it will unite 400 million South Americans" (Samper, 2016).

In summary, the process of construction of South American citizenship (seen only as a project) has taken a very long time and actions have not yet been taken on any subject. South American passports and permits of work for 2 years, among other benefits, reported by GTCS, would be granted "in the future" not established. Therefore, all collective actions are reduced to the reports and studies carried out by the mentioned GTCS without tangible results.

- (1) [...] in Latin America, large companies generate approximately 70% of GDP. While in the OECD countries, SME represent 60%.
- (2) This inverted structure in Latin America reflects a productive matrix that remains focused on products with low added value and with a small participation of small and micro-enterprises in the export sector.
- (3) We must continue working to reduce this productive gap with policies aimed at improving the infrastructure, to which I previously referred, but also with knowledge management policies.
- (4) I agree with ECLAC that small and micro-enterprises are important agents of cultural change and productivity growth,
- (5) I would add that South American integration has the catalytic potential for this change to occur by promoting the formation of value chains for industrial development. (Humala Tasso, Cancillería del Perú, 2012)

By comparing these two organizations (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) with very different basic objectives, he emphasizes the importance of having cooperation for economic development in South America. Part of the governance plan contemplates the importance of capital market development, specifically the generation of value chains in SMEs and SMEs (small and micro



enterprises) in order to obtain competitive advantages. He shares this vision in the UNASUR forum. The solution provided is again related to improvements in infrastructure, and policies on knowledge management (science, technology and innovation, according to Humala's government plan). The fundamental intention of promoting this series of small incentives to the national and regional industry is to generate industrial development and productivity.

Therefore, the theory of a development whose purpose is "modernization" is not avoided in Humala's discourse. His industrialization project is based on the development of a consumer society and industrial productivity and uses concepts such as the value chain of Michael Porter. At the same time, he proposes that these SME would reverse this regional structure of "dependence" (production of goods with minimum added value), so that foreign trade can provide economic resources for national development. At the beginning of this analysis I mentioned that Humala's intention (according to his plan of government) was not to fall back on neoliberal or structuralist models. However, it is an unlikely issue because his economic nationalist ideology could get transformed into protectionism or imports substitution, or on the other hand, Peru being immersed in the neoliberal globalization process would lead it to expand domestic markets through greater productivity without greater restrictions on free trade. It is so that although the personal will of the president is inclined by an option, it is necessary to consider the impulse that requires the Peruvian economy.

To conclude his speech, he proposes his vision on the activities of UNASUR. The speech continues on the path of encouraging the union, rather than proposing more topics to enrich the meeting agenda. The president maintains the universalizing position of his political discourse of redistribution of wealth, democratic participation and the empowerment of South America as a zone of peace. The trust placed in the organization is interesting in highlighting the importance of remaining united, and finding common grounds on the different proposals that would transcend borders.

In the same year, the region presented an economic slowdown. Some institutions as the International Monetary Fund projected at the time an increase of inflation, and therefore a devaluation of a great part of the currencies. Region's largest economies (Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela) were facing declining international commodity prices. Only countries such as Peru or Chile showed stability in terms of economic growth. (CERLALC-UNESCO, 2015). For Unasur, the exit of the power of Inacio Lula da Silva (2011) and the deaths of both Néstor Kirchner (2010) and Hugo Chavez (2013) were significant events since the three were the main representatives of the South American integration. Thus, Unasur remained without a strong leadership figure. It was apparently a period of a recession of the integrationist will in UNASUR that only highlighted the constant political support for maintaining democracy, specifically in the defense of its governments.

Thus, Humala's next speech responds to the need to maintain democratic stability in Venezuela, a country that was experiencing a complex political situation with the results of the presidential elections of Nicolas Maduro (April 15, 2013). Venezuelan society deeply affected by the country's economic situation <sup>69</sup>(excessive inflation, low international oil prices, external indebtedness, among others). Venezuelan population turned to the streets to show its disapproval with the results of the referendum and some even demanded Maduro's get out of power.

Thus, an Extraordinary Meeting of Heads of State and Government of UNASUR is convened on April 19, 2013, when a statement is issued in which Maduro is recognized as President of the Republic of Venezuela. Unasur urges the maintenance of social peace. In addition, it organizes a commission to clarify the violent events of April 15. Similar actions have taken place in the Unasur forum to protect democratic stability and provide intergovernmental diplomatic support to several member states, for example in the cases of Paraguay and Bolivia, respectively.

In this sense, these were words of the Peruvian leader: "What we have in Unasur is a block of South American nations with a greater dynamism than the OAS itself, especially for the resolution of conflicts" (Humala, *Gestión Peru: The newspaper of economy and business of Peru*, 2012). The president then declares his preference for

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<sup>69</sup> Probably originated as a consequence of the application of a Petro-diplomacy in the Chavista government and dependence on raw materials.(Avalo, 2010)

the sub regional bloc in terms of conflict resolution. Thus, it has to be recognized Unasur's efficiency as a forum for political agreement and defense of the governments of the Member States at all levels.

On the other hand, it raises an interesting question. Humala justifies the participation of Peru in different commercial economic blocks as follows: "Peru has a foreign policy to value Peru, in the window of the world, the full potential that Peru has as a recipient of investments, products of raw materials, tourism"(Humala, 2012). He just explained its national objective of achieving economic-industrial development. Therefore, it is part of organizations such as the Pacific Alliance, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum. Although in his speeches at the Unasur forum he proposes a unity that transcends the individual interests of the countries, there is still the national interest of acquiring greater importance at the international level for the promotion of Peruvian economy.

### **Brief evaluation of the public policy and the administration of the Government of Ollanta Humala in function of the objectives of development and regional integration of his speech**

At the beginning of the analysis a radical change project was mentioned, a "Great Transformation" with which Humala arrives at the presidency. In most of his speeches he makes a permanent reference to productive development, the promotion of free trade and the creation of national competitive advantages where the state does not play a regulatory role, but rather becomes a benefactor State and promoter of inclusive social policies. Several critics of this government argue that although the "Great Transformation" was the democratically elected project, factual economic powers influenced the conformation of the *Humalist* cabinet by tilting the balance to the neoliberal and conservative right (Gonzales de Olarte, 2012). Therefore, the discourse of a radical nationalism with redistribution of wealth faced the traditional neoliberalism that gave Peru economic growth and sustained investments in previous decades.

The *Humalist* vision of development corresponds to a promotion of human development from the benefits of economic growth. However, one situation becomes

interesting. During the Humala period of government, growth rates in the country's economy diminish with respect to previous years<sup>70</sup>, either because of the low international *commodity* prices (mainly of the gold-mining sector, copper, fishery, hydrocarbons), the lower demand for traditional products (miners, agricultural), and some climatological problems affect production. It does not exist communion between the political, economic and social sector. The efforts for the redistribution of wealth and a universalizable development were represented only by policies based on subsidies of the government mainly towards the consumption of the population, and to a much smaller extent towards industrial production.

Thus, most of the successes that the government had with regard to social inclusion are directed towards programs that represent a strong investment from the State towards certain sectors of the population:

- Pensión 65: third age sector,
- Qali Warma: school feeding,
- JUNTOS program: peasants considered as agricultural producers,
- Beca +18 (Scholarships): university education for high school graduates,
- Plan Esperanza (Hope Plan): free care for cancer patients,
- Cuna más (More cribs): child care centers, among others.

With respect to the previous paragraph and following the economic cycle, if there is less industrial production, investment is lower and unemployment increases. Therefore, poverty and inequality are directly affected.

In a country managed with neoliberal structures and focused on a primary export and service model, it exists resistance to new development models. This would represents a very complex transition process. In the international scenario the prices of raw materials represent remarkable income for the country. Therefore, it is imperative to favor productive activities and motivate investment in these social sectors. Consequently, it was essential to reach agreement on private sector contributions towards financing this type of initiative. Any public policy stated this fact. Humala's "fight against poverty and inequality" project was limited to the promotion of inclusion programs by a "paternalistic State".

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<sup>70</sup> However, they remain plausible with respect to the other countries in the region, according to International Monetary Fund reports. (Fondo Monetario Internacional, 2016)

Regarding his position in the regional integration process, he had a concentric circles' plan. Firstly, he wanted Andean integration (Andean Community-CAN), then regional integration (which would correspond to UNASUR, Mercosur) and finally, global integration. However, the Andean circle negotiations were stalled. However, the Andean Community is visible can easily be absorbed by other initiatives or disappear due to its lack of dynamization and linkage. The second stage would correspond to an integration in Unasur. In Humala's exists a political will to stay and participate in the bloc especially in matters related to infrastructure. However, some of the objectives of the organization as financial integration, protection of biodiversity, citizen participation through regional interaction mechanisms, citizen security, sector cooperation, among others, were not considered as main in most of their interventions. Despite judging processes of "rhetorical integration", that is the way how Unasur is managed.

In several of his messages to the nation, Humala referred to his achievements in the area of citizen security and control of drug trafficking. However, his participation in Unasur in this field was not significant. Domestically, the government focused on "pacifying" certain domestically dangerous sectors, such as the Tingo María-Huánuco (Alto Huallaga) region declared in a state of emergency by the large number of illicit crops and drug trafficking. "We are going to reorient the budget in the Alto Huallaga, to reinforce it. What used to be for security, will be derived much to infrastructure, social programs and modernization of agriculture"(Humala, The Republic-Peru, 2015). In this way, a space for industrial development and large-scale agricultural production is propitiated. The objective of these measures was basically to boost agro-export and to obtain income from this activity apparently for social investment. The fact of withdrawing the state of emergency gives the government a greater credibility on the part of the population. However, the post-emergency measures applied in the region had to be handled with the participation of the population. Only in that way, his vision of building a multicultural nation will be respected. The latter is not done. The humalist vision reinforces an idea of economic growth and industrialization with social inclusion as the best option.

In this sense, the role of the nation-state is preponderant in the speech of Humala. He is still far from contemplating any possibility of reaching a supra-nationality in

Unasur. In founding the PNP, his ideology contemplated a complete opposition to the imperialism of the Washington Consensus, promoter of neoliberalism and intrusive policies on economic growth. However, he found a country in which (as several Latin American countries) large economic sectors tended to influence politics. As mentioned earlier, the Humala government had to relinquish in many aspects of its government plan. This demonstrated the weakness of its program and his leadership. This led him to seek economic stability through free trade, economic opening, industrialization and a slight compensation towards the redistribution of wealth with the name of social inclusion.

The article 43 of the Constitution of Peru states that this Republic is "democratic, social, independent and sovereign". In the following article (article 44) it is proposed that it is "the duty of the State to establish and execute the border policy, and promote integration, particularly Latin American integration" (Peru's Political Constitution, 1993). Although a promotion of the Latin American integration in the constitutional text is proposed, what prevails is the sovereignty of this state and its independence. Therefore, the proposed integration in Unasur with the option of becoming a supranational organization is quite far from what the governments perform and the content of its laws and its fundamental norm.

In conclusion, the speech of Ollanta Humala as representative of Peru has several ideological contradictions. Thus, for example, it exists an ideological struggle (with its political party, PNP) regarding neoliberalism and all its mechanisms, but on the other hand ideas about development fall into a paternalistic and benefactor state that uses a multiplicity of free trade agreements to promote productivity and reach national industrialization. Furthermore, he promotes social inclusion, paying special attention to infrastructure. However, infrastructure is important for achieving progress, but it is not the only factor that must be considered in order to overcome poverty and inequality. In my opinion, Humala's discourse can be classified as part of a human scale development with a focus on the satisfaction of needs following Max-Neef's approach. Additionally, he does not demonstrate transition towards any alternative to development.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **UNASUR'S FUTURE AND THE CHALLENGE OF DIVERSITY**

Speaking of integration, contemporary thinking tends to exemplify it with the case of the European Union (EU) and its institutions. The EU evolved from the European communities of coal, steel (merely for economic reasons) and atomic energy to the idea of a macroeconomic union. Additionally, the EU wanted to achieve a governance and integration mechanism among its Member States. In the Latin American scenario, the international organizations tried to follow the route proposed by the EU. That is, Latin America tried to transform economic and commercial unions and agreements into entities or agreements of a superior character apparently with the purpose of integration in this new century. It was thought that in the case of South America, oil would play a role similar to that of coal or steel. However, the present research explained the pillars on which Unasur was founded as an integration initiative for South America. These pillars include peace, human rights, and democracy. Unasur is the opportunity to confront United States hegemony in the region and even various international institutions such as the Organization of American States (OAS). Unasur is seen as the opportunity to build a multipolar system. Therefore, economic and commercial purposes were not given a special preference in the future approach of the organization.

Intergovernmental political-ideological consensus will hardly sustain a process of superior integration that exceeds the purely economic-commercial objectives and guarantees the adequate space for the construction of a South American identity. Therefore, the different visions of development should be included to support the possible transition towards a supranational, solidary, cooperative, complementary, efficient and positive Unasur for all the elements of the diversity of South America (societies, knowledge, cultures, and environment, among others). As discussed in the first chapter of this study, a great variety of nuances with which the concept of development exists, bringing with it a constant fragmentation in society: the productive versus the unproductive. The paradigm of modernity has become the preferred justification for most public policies since developmentalism has been present consciously and unconsciously in the memory of Latin Americans.

Developmentalism fostered consumer societies at the state level, and later at international levels since Globalization.

### **The challenge of diversity in Unasur, diversity of development**

Currently, development is the genesis of political activity, which is based on a *bonun commune*. This means it follows the pursuit of collective well-being. However, it is necessary to question the true purpose of political activity while observing conscientiously the ideological bases of development. Since 1945, with the Truman doctrine (and even long before), the dominant social structure has assumed as reality the existence of development and underdevelopment as reasonable, measurable truths. Nevertheless, it must be considered that society is changing. For this reason, the foundations of society and the structures of power deserve to change.

In the summary of the main applied theories of development and also in the analysis of public policies of Ecuador and Peru, the majority included economic concepts. Therefore, that is the way in which the notion of development according to capitalism is understood. However, it is necessary to clarify that development itself is a vast concept, which has neither an original momentum nor a fully conceived goal. Therefore, each of the theories and theorists whose academic contributions and practices have built over time the social, State and institutional structures. The same happens to ideologies <sup>71</sup> that currently exist at the international level.

An old song resonates in my mind: "Time and disillusion are two loyal friends, who awaken the one who sleeps and teach the one who does not know" (Machado y Álvarez, 1881). Latin America and the world has expanded and given adjectives to the concept of development in multiple ways (both BLAST and GALA categories, discussed in the first chapter). Time has taken us along the path of modernization, dependency theories, neoliberalism, human development, and more recently towards a development of a sustainable and ecological character. We should lose the illusion of development. We should unlearn and experience different development issues by reorienting strategies in an anti-modern way. We should understand this as a way of

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<sup>71</sup> These ideologies are in the individualities of citizens either through movements, social groups (including non-governmental organizations and transnational companies), or political parties.



questioning the logic of the market, where development is not our center. We should maybe experiment alternatives to development.

Development and its constant hunt have placed us in the current world. As I mentioned at the beginning of this analysis, the human being constantly denies the part of the being that integrates. That is to say, we live in a constant fragmentation denying "the other". For example, the importance of a productive society supported by economic indicators is maintained, however, it does not consider other elements. It is not considered that an increase in the GDP rate does not include multiple factors that testify to a real quality of life of people, of economic activities that are not recognized within the market (for example, detailed within the care economy, the informal sector of trade, volunteering), or the environmental impact of economic growth. Additionally, the idea that any agreement on sustainability does not compromise the production of large-scale consumer goods and the processes of industrialization. The discourse of development is a sample of that fragmentation, where productivity, equity or sustainability are promoted, insofar as none of the categories exceeds the other, although by their very nature they are indivisible and require transdisciplinarity. Consequently, in the contemporary era, we have tried to find options to independently satisfy one of these categories, in terms of abstract objectives, programs, and mechanisms, postures and knowledge that are labeled as valid.

This has been visualized during this discourse analysis, in which Ecuador and Peru seemingly at first demonstrated opposing positions but which fit perfectly into the logic of development, alike most communities in the world. The real policies become maintainers of the system. The radical transformation of the concept of development or the presentation of alternatives is difficult. Moving from theory to development practice, even in itself, involves big problems. In general, the issue is that the international system is fully focused on building a development with different adjectives, recognizing its shortcomings but paradoxically reproducing them, because it is "what we know how to do", mainly in places where it is still believed that its search will save us (read "developing countries"). Why do we persist in underdevelopment instead of opting for non-development?

In the case of Peruvian President Ollanta Humala, it exists a trend toward social inclusion. However, it cannot escape from the old structures of development towards national industrialization, the higher levels of productivity that generate an increasing international competitiveness. So, is there a way to achieve social inclusion, radically criticizing systems of exclusion? Is a subsidized inclusion by the State necessary, or is it more appropriate for the State as a reflection of the community to foster an understanding of the different, the local, the ancestral, and often considered "unproductive, undeveloped"? The idea of the 'Great Transformation'<sup>72</sup> of the Humala government raised the expansion of markets for the service of social and cultural inclusion, a transition to development on a human scale. This implies a remarkably anthropocentric position of development, which cannot be divorced from the market economy or free trade. Humala's analyzed discourse presents contradictions both at the level of his personal ideology and at the level of his discourse and political practice. Thus, the president comes to power with a nationalist left-leaning discourse moderately supportive of 21st-century socialism. However, it ends up becoming a statist promoter of neo-extractivism and generator of spaces and alliances that facilitate free trade and economic development. He considered that investing in infrastructure is the way out of poverty and inequality. At this point, Unasur and its objectives are limited to the promotion of an area of political concertation and a regional interconnection (called integration) through infrastructure.

Humala's speech excluded several subjects with respect to the integration and the creation of a South American identity. As Foucault (1970) put it, the will to truth is a fundamental component of a discourse. This means that in a discourse, what is "not true" or "should not be mentioned" is dispensed with the intention of prioritizing other topics or restricting reactions and actions on what is desired to be communicated. The issues that prevail in the humalist discourse of regional unity are basically: a) maintenance of peace and democracy in the region, b) the universalization of the benefits of development (as tools to overcome poverty and inequality) C) interconnection through infrastructure, which are frequently themes

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<sup>72</sup> In this way it is called the Government Plan of Ollanta Humala Tasso in Peru.

supported by the cliché of South American citizenship. About citizenship at the South American level little is said, deepened or executed.

Regarding Ecuador and President Rafael Correa, the terminology of development was apparently changed by an alternative as Good Living or Sumak Kawsay. However, it exists a continuity with respect to the logic of a market economy. The change of the productive matrix, the emblematic project of the government, still maintains the structure of a primary-exporting and extractivist country, dependent on the export and international sale of raw materials. Correa's large public investment in the first years of government (since 2007) apparently contributed in part to the reduction of poverty rates in the country. However, in the last years of the government, the proposed model was exhausted. The country did not have a direct foreign investment in ostensible percentages, the private sector did not invest in the country and the generation of employment was very limited. All these factors generated severe social and economic problems which produced external indebtedness<sup>73</sup>.

In the same way, it exists constant dispute between ecological groups that defend nature over neo-extractive government projects. Correa tried to apply the project of Buen Vivir (Good living) as an alternative philosophy which proposes the balance of human being and nature. However, Good living in its essence is not shown beyond the documents such as the Constitution of the Republic or the National Plans of Development (PNBV). In his speech, Rafael Correa replaced the word "development" with "Good living", ignoring the fundamental differences of its antimodernist and postmodern nature<sup>74</sup>.

Additionally, Correa shared his ideas on development (Good Living) even at an international academic level. He did it always with the characteristic of representing

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<sup>73</sup> Correa initially denied institutions such as the World Bank, but later he accepted assistance from IBRD-IDA and the Inter-American Development Bank. In a way he replaced part of this external financing with loans from the Chinese government, destined mostly for the investment of energy infrastructure projects such as hydroelectric or mining projects.

<sup>74</sup> Antimodernity and post-development are two critical theoretical currents of development. The first originates from a denial of development as a universal notion, it maintains the intention to re-problematize development in terms other than modernization. The latter deeply reorients the concept, and radically denies the ideology of development. In this sense there are several authors that can be highlighted: Wolfgang Sachs, Gustavo Esteva, Arturo Escobar, Majid Rahnema, Vandana Shiva, among others. To go deeper into the topic, we recommend the article "Critical Theory of Development: Results and Prospects" written by Ronaldo Munck (2010)

an opposite option towards neoliberalism rather than an alternative for the population. Some of the tools generated by Correa, such as the "Development Agreements", raised interesting issues such as respect for the people's food sovereignty, respect for biodiversity, and rescuing ancestral wisdom. However, he was not able to avoid relying on accumulation models of capitalism. Therefore, it does not exist a congruence between his discourse and the public policies implemented, that were analyzed in the Second Chapter. From the above one can conclude that, although the actions of Rafael Correa do not coincide with the philosophy of Sumak Kawsay, he did not fully follow the traditional theories of development but he conjugated them with the premises of a human development.

Regarding Rafael Correa's speeches in Unasur were very oriented to support integration and its structure showed a deep will for this process. Since his Pro Tempore Presidency in 2009, it existed a strong feeling of identification to this South American project. In his speech, he stated important topics such as the creation of a new regional financial architecture, free human mobility, South American citizenship, energy complementarity, and above all the search for the independence of extra-regional mechanisms and hegemonies, among others. However, for all of them, it exists a very low level of commitment on the part of the majority of Member States (visible in the number and amount of contributions to regional initiatives), which again demonstrates that the Unasur organization is far from being considered a supranational entity. As stated before on several occasions, political dialogue and concerted action on specific issues such as democracy and infrastructure existed, but the minimal progress that reinforces South American integration in social, energy, biodiversity protection, migration, cultural diversity, among other topics.

### **Challenges for the supranationality of Unasur**

Almost imperceptibly, globalization has become a part of society. It gradually brought new actors, new subjects of international law who request the creation of new legal rules and power mechanisms to adapt to new realities. However, due to the lack of commitment within the countries, South America self-positions itself in the

path of a "socioeconomic childhood"<sup>75</sup>, resuming its "function" as an exporter of raw materials and agricultural products. It exists an urgent need to build a regional strategic agenda that prioritizes and generates commitment on regional issues. Otherwise, South America by itself is reproducing its own subordination. In these years, Latin American integration registered important advances. The creation of several institutions to present an agenda of dialogue allows seeing the needs of the continent, with their own experiences, their contextualized realities, and the demand of its population. One of these organisms in South America is Unasur.

Thus, some argue that regional integration arises from globalization, considering the difficulty faced by sovereign States in formulating public policies that benefit them internally and guarantee them a suitable international insertion through cooperation. However, it exists a constant need to assess the level of coincidence in the "common" interests within any organization, which keeps them united and their level of collaboration. In order to project Unasur to a true integration of the peoples in a globalizing context, it is necessary to achieve a congruence between the common interests of all the nations. Diversity was initially seen as positive (and in my opinion should continue to be considered as an advantage to achieve a synergy based on well-being), but it has played negatively on the South American stage.

The idea proposed by Evo Morales (2006) at Unasur's dawn of "a process of integration of different speeds" was not understood. Instead of countries created an organization with quite general objectives, with a great scope but little depth and insufficient commitment by the Member States. Although at the beginning they were able to favor the bloc's action on the international stage, the countries now prefer to opt to revalue their sovereignty and independence. Countries prefer to participate in blocks that prioritize economic and trade objectives that represent a direct income for the countries' economies, such as the Pacific Alliance and the multiple trade agreements that have, for example, Peru, Colombia Chile.

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<sup>75</sup>The Brazilian author Amado Cervo uses this expression to define Latin America, in his book "International Relations of Latin America: Old and New Paradigms". (Cervo, 2001) To explain that the vast majority of Latin American countries continue to be on the global stage with exactly the same economic characteristics and dependency relationships they have had since the colony. A childhood that must be overcome to grow, to "develop."

In the beginning of the organization, the economic strength of Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina and the democratic turn towards progressive, lefty and national-popular governments facilitated the establishment of the organization and its emergence. However, without Hugo Chavez, Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, or Nestor Kirschner in power, there was a gradual slowdown in this counter-hegemonic struggle. Also, there is a stagnation of the integration process of Unasur<sup>76</sup>. From the South American route change, the crude passage from Dilma Rousseff to Michel Temer, as well as from Cristina Fernández (12 years of Kirchnerism in Argentina) to Mauricio Macri, the problems of political instability in Venezuela with the majority of the opposition parliament, the defeat of Evo Morales in referendum to continue in the presidency of Bolivia, the rise of Pedro Pablo Kuczynski in Peru, and the multiple problems of Rafael Correa in Ecuador and Michelle Bachelet in Chile show widespread malaise in the region.

Therefore, among the current challenges that Unasur faces are the different versions regarding the exercise of power in the organization, overcoming mistrust and generate concrete objectives that facilitate the transition of the organization towards supranationality. On the one hand, this would be achieved by fostering a South American identity that generates welfare in different spheres of society. On the other hand, it exists an inescapable need to work with sovereign and independent states and several development versions in the terms created by “developed countries”. South America has great potential in terms of natural resources, geopolitical, cultural and social situation to consolidate itself as a region that contributes to maintaining the world's multi-polar equilibrium. Recognizing the economic problems of the region, it is important to consider the complementarity of countries. However, it exists a need to associate countries using specific mechanisms.

Integration should definitely cease to be considered as a discourse and demonstrate with action its effectiveness towards the population, the environment, peace, democracy, and rights. Diverse political and administrative structures, as well as economies and cultures, must work together, in compliance with the objectives of Unasur and its regional interests. Governments, however, have their own national

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<sup>76</sup> Although this stagnation is not only seen at Unasur level, it also occurs in organizations such as the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (ECLAC) or the Bolivarian Alliance

interests, which limit their political and diplomatic participation in this international process through selective cooperation. For example, with respect to security matters. For a long time, integration and development have been considered as two related processes. In the opinion of some, integration is conducive to regional development, since it joins the struggle against common problems represents a strength of unity. Others say that development should be a pre-integration condition, the requirement of a relative welfare state that opens the door to common strategies. Unasur raises the possibility that solidarity and will of the States allow to carry out the two actions at the same time. However, in this process of current globalization, is it appropriate to think about alternatives to development within integration?

### **Unasur's vision of development**

In the Constitutive Treaty of the Union of South American Nations (TCU), the general objective of the organization is detailed (Article 2) and 21 specific objectives are proposed (Article 3) in order to achieve social inclusion, citizen participation, democracy, and reduction of asymmetries. However, Unasur does not have a firm autonomy, its statutes and regulations are carefully drafted, in such a way that they do not compromise the sovereignty nor the independence of any State. In this same way, Unasur's regional development proposal would correspond only to the analysis of documents. The vision of the block is the reduction of asymmetries through an equitable integration that considers:

- Energy and infrastructure integration that promotes social and economic development,
- Industrial and productive integration with transfer of knowledge and technology,
- Social and human development: eradicating poverty, universalizing quality education, social security, and health services,
- Protection of biodiversity, water resources, and ecosystems,
- Promotion of cultural diversity, creation of South American identity,
- Respect for human rights, cooperation on migration topics

There are very few issues that maintain the preference for the economic and industrial growth of the region. On the other hand, it also exists other issues that

evoke the solidarity nature of cooperation between nations. However, as we mentioned in the cases of Peru and Ecuador, they share primary interests for interconnecting the region through infrastructure and energy and prioritizing national development plans over any other, including regional options. Unasur does not have any concrete and binding mechanism that enable States to link to the regional development project and develop common policies.

The scenario seems pessimistic because during these years Unasur has not yet achieved the expected benefits for its Member States. Nevertheless, it is very positive to highlight its importance as a regional political forum. Unasur's actions in cooperation and regional defense and the commitment of the leaders for the maintenance of democracy in South America in the last decade is very important. Unasur proposes an interesting question in the international scenario where the characteristic is not the inter-state competition but the agreement for cooperation. This question differentiates the organization from other alternatives of regional integration focused on economic-commercial objectives. Therefore, it exists a need to strengthen these characteristics of the Union, in a way it can get a greater presence at international level and benefit from dialogue and convergence of interests at the intraregional level.

### **Unasur: The problem of intergovernmentalism**

In the case of Unasur, the member countries have a favorable geographical proximity and also certain cultural and social affinities, however, not all the alternatives of integration have taken this as a forced condition for their union. In several cases of regionalism, one can see a preference for organizations that encourage interdependent economic relations aimed at satisfying the needs of their nationals. Therefore, integration is faced with issues that strengthen concepts such as full state sovereignty versus the need for a partial transfer of sovereignty to a supranational entity. In addition, Unasur has been an organization characterized by its progress in the political arena more than any other.

Thus, a "trilemma" occurs, where the importance of persisting in the maintenance of a nation-state, versus the expectation of effective regional integration and the demand for autonomy on the international scene have to reach its balance (Sanahuja



cited in Coellar, 2013). Unasur then faces a context where it is necessary to prioritize the establishment of common policies that shape the activity of the new political community supported by adequate institutionalization. Ideally, Unasur should fulfill a neo-functionalist<sup>77</sup> integration. Nevertheless, the only profile that it has managed to represent is that of a pluralistic integration, in which the international organization has no political will and generally depends on the power that sovereign States want to grant it.

Each country independently implements public policies and prioritizes different elements for its governance, and in addition, there is no convergence with the favorable development model to be applied at the regional level. Therefore, the scope of the organization will be confined exclusively to political coordination with little or no capacity to act vis-à-vis other actors at the international level, and even among States. If Unasur and its members consider the possibility of supranationality, it is urgent to generate a greater commitment in other spheres apart from the political one, this will allow a "convergence in diversity" (Llenderrozas, 2015). At the same time, it would propitiate a space for a regional policy-making. Only by proposing Unasur as a strong entity not only in the political-ideological field, it will be possible to reinforce its external projection.

UNASUR, as well as several international institutions in Latin America, has a character in excess presidential ruled. Consequently, the survival of the organization will largely depend on the quality of inter-presidential relations, lacking the proper institutionalism and capacity for normative cohesion. The agreements or resolutions issued from UNASUR will not be obligatory if they are not incorporated in the legal system of each country (Sanahuja, 2008). In addition, Unasur Secretary General (of great importance for the Union) has quite restricted functions. As mentioned earlier, in the first years of Unasur, it existed a certain concurrence of leftist nationalist political strands. However, currently, there is a "right-wing turn in Latin America" (Rojas, 2016). In this context, the conflict in South America can generate a growing sense of instability and make future agreements difficult. On the other hand, at the

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<sup>77</sup> Concept developed in the first chapter, in which it is considered that the integration would be successful when the political community can achieve the progressive establishment of socioeconomic links supported by an efficient institutionalization.

domestic level, a series of government policies would delay the generation of common policies at the regional level.

In addition, it has always been thought that integration from nation-states or maximum include the participation of transnational companies. However, since Unasur is an organization that proposes the possibility of achieving "citizenship", it is essential that the population, social movements and organizations, the academy, the private sector be involved among the many other actors in society. You cannot predict the behavior of a cluster by looking at its elements separately.

In addition, integration has always been thought with nation-states structure or maximum including the participation of transnational companies. However, since Unasur is an organization that proposes the possibility of achieving "citizenship", it is essential that the population, social movements, and organizations, the academy, the private sector be involved among the many other actors in society. It is impossible to predict the behavior of a cluster by looking at its elements separately. The region needs creativity for binding, common, socially participatory, innovative agreements with respect to proposed strategies for its development (or not development). This implies good relations between governments to conclude in a synergistic alliance, taking advantage of the great region's diversity.

UNASUR is not currently a supranational entity, it is a regional intergovernmental organization. It would be interesting to see UNASUR vigorous and complete, in which complementarity contributes to equity, where cooperation is not limited to the political sphere, where similarities and differences work together in terms of common strategic objectives. It would be interesting to see an international organization, with the capacity to allow its citizens to live in harmony with their environment. The commitment to Unasur demands both a top-down process in which States decide to unify in a higher organization to generate greater impact in the international scenario. Additionally, it is necessary a bottom-up process in which the internal structure of the State, public and governmental policies seek to homogenize respecting the objectives of Unasur. There is, for example, the possibility of acting at the level of scientific and technological research, rescue of ancestral knowledge, effective social and economic agreements that can be transformed into regional

projects. But above all, considering that the true objective of any political activity is the service of the integral population and its environment in a holistic way.

No one better than the community knows about their own needs, their bases, and principles, their daily struggles, their hopes for the future. In addition to the voluntary participation, commitment, and dedication on the part of the representatives of the government of each country, it is necessary the collaboration of the communities and of each citizen. It is necessary to take into account the human being in all its dimensions, its capacity of adaptation to different environments to be able to organize itself in superior communities. Motivations such as the idea of a better quality of life, the freedom and guarantee of their rights, personal and collective well-being, equality of conditions, the possibility of growing up in a healthy environment respond to a feeling of permanent vital dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction is the product of a society oriented towards consumerism, social disintegration, and deterioration of human relations, the construction of social-economic classes/breaches of capitalism, characteristics of the search for the horizon of progress.

Alternatives to development emerged as responses to development approaches, from social movements, ecologists, feminists, communities, villages, scholars, philosophers, economists among other individuals and organizations, who respond from different fronts to these motivations. Development as a discourse of power (Escobar, 2007) has to be deconstructed. Currently, other ontologies exist besides modernity. The planet and societies call for alternatives that allow us to be and understand the world in another way. To paraphrase Sergio Álvarez de Neira (2007) from his article "Local solutions to global problems", it is necessary to liberate the predominance of the individual that makes us forget how to create community, develop a teamwork conscience and how to create a vision beyond our own interests and particular situations.

## CONCLUSIONS

South America is a region with great potential in multiple spheres, therefore regional integration alternative in Unasur by promoting multipolarity and the balance of power at the global level is interesting and necessary in a fragmented world. For many years, the region was identified with the label "underdevelopment" or "emerging economy" (in the case of Brazil). The Western vision of development has penetrated so deeply in the international system, in the diverse ideologies, in the political action and therefore in the public policies, and even in the behavior of each person who is constantly dehumanized and denaturalized in function of an endless progress. Competitiveness has become the cardinal feature of international relations. The eradication of poverty, hunger, and illiteracy are apparently some of the objectives of any development plan. Despite all the time invested, this is not achieved. Rather it is from the search for this utopian progress that socio-economic gaps have increased. The multiple theories of development analyzed throughout these chapters prioritize the economic-commercial issues, other times to the human being, other times the environment, other times to themselves. However, the planet demands alternatives and care, societies need to be more social, more supportive, more tolerant, and more respectful. All at the same time, not separately. In response to this, alternatives to development are proposed which, although little experienced, perhaps require an opportunity to be lived.

Through the discursive analysis of President Rafael Correa, the difficulty of practicing a different philosophy such as Sumak Kawsay is visible. He could not avoid serving capitalism, nor extractivist policies. In the case of Peru, Ollanta Humala moved from policies of social inclusion and human well-being to sign devastating trade agreements for some of the most sensitive portions of the population as the indigenous sector. These issues are at least contradictory and generate dissatisfaction. This in order to mention only a few questions which are found in detail in the second chapter. The lack of congruence between the speeches issued both at the national level and at the Unasur forum decrease South American hope. It is essential to consider the population and their needs, to have citizen participation in decision-making and in the processes of dialogue. Furthermore, it is

vital not to be alienated by issues that independently benefit only certain economic or political spheres.

Unasur needs more effective structures to link and engage countries. It requires an effective leadership, trust, and integrity. At present, the role of the General Secretariat is rather limited. In the same way, for a real integration, regional strategic plans are needed for encouraging and enabling a gradual transfer of sovereignty towards the organization. It is important to demonstrate peace, democracy, solidarity and cooperation within the region. There are a number of alternatives for economic and trade integration, some prior to Unasur and others later. However, the Union should be consolidated in such a way that although some of its members decide to be included in other processes, none of these alternatives would be against the objectives and common regional policies. Otherwise, Unasur will remain a political forum, a presidential ruled intergovernmental organization.

The work to be carried out is intense. From the State point of view, knowledge and balance are needed to establish issues of national interest to be solved through sovereign actions. On the other hand, it is necessary to propose issues for a regional scale work. Moreover, each individual must have a proper ambience in which it can participate in the political, economic, cultural, social, educational issues. In that way, the individual would become critical and would demand and work for its rights and its convictions, facilitating and approving the activities of its governments.

The world requires an active and participatory citizenship, an equitable society that builds day by day the integration from its own position. Regardless of whether a country "is or is not developed," societies should fight for their ideals, should know what they need and their values and principles. Communities must stand out and decide for its present and future. There is no guarantee that a supranational integrationist international organization is the most appropriate option but in 1648 the "modern state" was neither guaranteed.

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