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**Development from the state in Ecuador: the  
analysis of the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo* and  
the *Constitución 2008***

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## – To the South –

Aquí abajo, abajo  
el hambre disponible  
recurre al fruto amargo  
de lo que otros deciden  
mientras el tiempo pasa  
y pasan los desfiles  
y se hacen otras cosas  
que el Norte no prohíbe.  
Con su esperanza dura  
el Sur también existe.

Con sus predicadores  
sus gases que envenenan  
su escuela de Chicago  
sus dueños de la tierra  
con sus trapos de lujo  
y su pobre osamenta  
sus defensas gastadas  
sus gastos de defensa  
con su gesta invasora  
el Norte es el que ordena.

Pero aquí abajo, abajo  
cada uno en su escondite  
hay hombres y mujeres  
que saben a qué asirse  
aprovechando el sol  
y también los eclipses  
apartando lo inútil  
y usando lo que sirve.  
Con su fe veterana  
el Sur también existe.

El Sur también existe  
Mario Benedetti

## ABSTRACT

Rafael Correa took office as president of Ecuador in January 2007; his presidency has been linked to the “rebirth” of the left in Latin America. He presented himself as an outsider an alternative to the traditional way of doing politics in the country. This study pretends to make sense of what I consider as basic notions presented in two key documents elaborated by the government; the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2007 2010 and the Constitución 2008, both part of the *revolución ciudadana*. By reflecting on notions of development, rights vs. Vulnerability and citizenship, I attempt to construct a framework to understand not only both documents but the project of the government.

This is a discussion on mainly issues of equality and justice. I propose a way of *seen* these documents through a series of lenses; to make reference to the governmental initiatives of development in Ecuador. On April 26 Correa won the latest electoral elections in the country allowing him to stay as president one more term, the majority of Ecuadorians have decided to back up the project of the government, thus I consider that an effort of making sense of the project.

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## INTRODUCTION

In January 2007 Rafael Correa took office as President of Ecuador with a discourse of change and revolution, as an alternative to the traditional way of doing politics in the country. According to the current administration the discourse of change and revolution represent a series of mechanisms to overcome problems of discrimination in the country that are seen as the result of years of neoliberal governments. At the same time this new revolution requires a new kind of citizen with the possibility to decide the path of development and to participate in the decision making process. The project of Rafael Correa's government relies on a big state able to oversee initiatives of development in the country and overall in control of planning strategies.

My study is an attempt to *make sense* of the basic notions that are applied by the government and are intended to establish the path for the country to development; notions expressed in both documents I am analyzing here, the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo* and the *Constitución 2008*. This study is a document analysis done following the rationality of Scriven (1976), seeing selected fragments of the documents as statements made by actors; as informants in a way. My main concern is not whether these arguments are valid or not, but instead the process in which they have been built and thus providing a framework to understand and explore them further. I am also interested in trying to *see* the effects (hidden meanings) of both documents in the Ecuadorian context. Both documents, the Plan and the Constitution, were presented to the Ecuadorian society as campaign proposals by the current administration and involve a different way of understanding development and the role of the state in planning the economic and governmental activities. This reconfiguration of the state relates more to an idea of a nation in a way equal to the one that existed before the initiatives proposed by institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank (WB).

I work with these documents, because I consider that they present central notions of the project for the government in the country. My point of departure is the currently support from the civil society to the project of the government personalized in the figure of Rafael Correa. It is clear that at this point my main focus is not the actual quality of the

democratic processes, even if this quality might be contested; but instead, I have decided to consider these victories as a *voice* that has backed up the project of the government. My main objective in this thesis is to explore and discuss some of the notions and ideas that are central in both documents and that I explore here; development, rights vs. vulnerability and citizenship. At the same time I try to provide a framework (theoretical and conceptual) to understand the whole project of the government of Rafael Correa.

During my research I have tried to use an approach similar to what Steans (1998 in Sjoberg, 2006: 12) calls “gender lenses” to focus on what can be seen as a more philosophical discussion of equality and justice. At this stage I consider that it is fair to mention the fact that the issue of gender might be difficult to see in my study, something that can be somehow problematic. However, I have chosen to *use* gender as one of the dimensions to *see* the project of the government, in connection to a discussion of equality and justice, when I refer to the citizen I use the masculine version of the pronoun not with any gender implication but instead Here I present a table that summarizes the objectives of my research as well as the justification for it, the table comes from Des Gasper (2002)

### RESEARCH TOPIC

TOPIC RESEARCH AREA	QUESTIONS	RATIONALE WHY?	WHAT FOR?
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Constitución 2008	Development Rights vs. Vulnerability Citizenship	How women are portrayed as vulnerable and later as subjects of rights  How the category of citizenship relates to the project of development in both documents	To give a framework to the documents and see how the notions I study here (development, rights vs. vulnerability and citizenship) are portrayed in both documents

**Table 1:** Research Topic based in the table presented in Des Gasper, 2002: 32

## Overview

The structure of this thesis is related to the notions I have decided to reflect upon; development, rights vs. Vulnerability and citizenship. The analysis of the documents will be made in Chapters IV, V and VI. In Chapter I, I present a methodological discussion, sources of information for the thesis and the mechanisms for processing both documents. In this section, I also present a reflection on the relevance of my stand point as an Ecuadorian, a female and as a scholar conducting this kind of research, when I will definitely experience as a citizen the impact of these policies in what is meant to be a transcendental change in the way my country works.

In Chapter II, I present a background to the investigation. The structure of the chapter is divided in two parts; a sort of before and after the administration of Rafael Correa in the country. As a conclusion to this part, I present the role of both documents within the discourse of the government and to some extent I try to answer to the question of why development has been turned into a key topic in the discourse of the administration of Rafael Correa. In order to do so in this chapter I work not only with information from the documents, but also the media, and discourses from Correa. To some extent, in this Chapter as well as in the Conclusions, I consider that I leave aside the neutrality that otherwise try to keep in the rest of the thesis, in the sense that I reflect on possible implications (hidden meanings) of the actions of the government, such as the overexpansion of the state and the relation with the rights of the citizens.

I have written Chapter III as both a literature review and a theoretical discussion of the approaches that I use in my work in order to see how the thinking processes behind the fragments of the documents can be seen to be constructed. In the part reserved to the literature review I present some works that have influenced my research conceptually or theoretically, and relate them to the issues I discuss in the thesis.

I begin the analysis of the documents in Chapter IV, starting with the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo* (National Development Plan). I work in this section with notions of development as presented in the document and also what kind of state that the project of the government of Rafael Correa suggests. I do not work with the whole document but



rather focus on three selected sections. I have chosen to focus on these sections because they present the rationality behind the Plan and what limitations they pretend to overcome as well as basic notions of development. The Chapter is divided in two sections: failure vs. success, where I present the way in which the current administration links the failure of the previous administrations to the deepening of the inequality gap in the country. I then discuss the presentation of the path forward, where I make reference to the way in which the project understands not only development but also the institutions in the country.

After discussing the way in which development is understood in the Plan in clear contradiction to the previous administrations in Chapter V, I continue to work with the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo*. As I mentioned before I have decided to *see* the project of the government from different perspectives as *lenses* that would allow me to some extent to *make sense* of both documents. With that approach in mind, in this chapter I refer to the gender dimension of the project of the government, through attempting to see how by using the notion of vulnerability women are portrayed first as a object of policies and then as subjects of rights. I also address here the construction of the category of citizenship; a discussion that I continue to develop in the next chapter. I do so by tracing the change in the definition of the notion of vulnerability from victims to subjects of rights made by the document. As a way to justify targeted projects for groups that are vulnerable in reference to other groups in the country, despite the constant critic to that strategy from previous economic initiatives.

After addressing the issue of vulnerability, in Chapter VI, I discuss two notions that I consider are key to the project of the government; citizenship and nation. In this Chapter, I include the Constitution to reflect on issues of rights and duties in relation to the notion of citizenship. Although I do use theoretical frameworks in the previous two chapters, it is clear that this chapter is probably the most theoretically charged. At this stage, I consider that John Rawls's notions of equality and justice can broaden the understanding of citizenship in both documents, an approach that I begin exploring in Chapter V. Here, I also introduce Robert Nozick's concept of minimal state to show a different model of state that it is in clear contradiction to what the project of the Ecuadorian government requires.

# CHAPTER I

## Methodology

As I have mentioned before, in this thesis I analyze the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo* and the *Constitución 2008*, both documents presented by the government of Rafael Correa in the political campaign that took him to the presidency of Ecuador in January 2007. The Development Plan was elaborated by SENPLADES (National Secretary of Planning) and the Constitution is the result of the Constitutional Assembly and was put to vote in 2008. Originally in addition to the document analysis, I was going to interview the people involved in the elaboration of the plan, but, this was difficult to achieve, because during my time in Ecuador it became evident that people and the media were more interested in dealing with the new Constitution than discussing the Plan. When Rafael Correa took office, he addressed the nation with a discourse that made reference to the *revolución ciudadana* (the revolution of citizens) a term created by his team since early in the campaign. This new *revolución* required the redaction and the approval of a new Constitution that according to the government “it won’t solve the problems of our country from one day to the other; it will provide tools to create a deep transformation”<sup>1</sup>.

Despite the change of the situation in Ecuador, my original idea of making a document analysis did not change, but as a result of this new setting I broadened the initial objectives to also include the new Constitution, although I am still primarily concerned with the Plan. Due to my inclusion of the new Constitution I am also interested in analyzing the notion of citizenship and how it relates to the notion of state in both the Constitution and the Plan. In the weeks before arriving to Ecuador, as a preparation for the field work I followed the situation through the Ecuadorian online media closely and had a preconfigured political picture of my country concerning the discourse and the actions of the government, as well as the way that the president was *performing* his leadership in public speeches and meetings. However, I was only able to feel the actual

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<sup>1</sup> Acuerdo País, Líneas Centrales de la Propuesta, [http://www.acuerdopais.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=blogcategory&id=37&Itemid=52](http://www.acuerdopais.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=37&Itemid=52), retrieved on September 29, 2008

degree of publicity created by the regime when I arrived in Ecuador, through continuous advertisements from the government, catchy phrases used in discourses, and the president acting like the typical stereotype of the Latin American charismatic leader<sup>2</sup>. Within a very polarized context in Ecuador, before the referendum about the Constitution, it became very difficult to shift the focus from the new Constitution to the Plan. My original identified informants and the media were more concerned with the advantages and disadvantages of the project of the Constitution than with the Plan, despite the fact that the Plan already put into action a series of critical changes of the way in which the state works and the distribution of resources among others. The administration of Rafael Correa uses the notion of change as a key strategy of his leadership. The approval of the new Constitution has granted his government the possibility to carry on his notion of change regarding economy, state and development policies. Both documents; the Plan and the Constitution come from the government and are framed within the same discourse.

### **Information and Analysis**

Both documents are extensive, and I will not work with the whole documents. Instead the following is an overview of how I am answering the objectives of this thesis with the available information:

#### **Information and Analysis of the Material**

<b>Objective</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Section Analysed</b>	<b>Why this section?</b>
To Identify the different notions of development presented in the plan	Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2007 2010. Plan para la revolución ciudadana	Principles and Orientations of the Plan  What do we refer by development	The rationality behind the plan and what kind of limitations pretend to overcome.

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<sup>2</sup> Max Weber establishes three different forms of what he calls legitimate rule, his theory of the charismatic leader makes reference to the kind of leader that bases his authority on the ability to create a personal devotion as a result of a series of non routine qualities. This notion has also been used to define populist leaders that seem to be very successful in areas like Latin America. This thesis will not focus on this issue but there is a debate of the renaissance of the populist governments in Latin America that makes reference to new leaders in the region (Correa in Ecuador, Chavez in Venezuela and Morales in Bolivia) being considered as non routine politicians and using among other tools their charisma to sustain their governments. (Seligson, Mitchell, 2007)

			The concept of development, and how it is going to be understood in the Plan
Identify what role the notion of vulnerability plays in the way in which women are portrayed in the development Plan and, then reflect on the conceptual construction of the notion of identity and the new idea of citizenship required within the project of <i>Revolución Ciudadana</i> .	Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2007 2010. Plan para la revolución ciudadana	<p><u>Objective 1:</u> To promote cohesion, social and territorial integration</p> <p><u>Objective 2:</u> To improve the capacities and capabilities of the citizens</p> <p><u>Objective 8:</u> To affirm national identity, diverse identities and intercultural</p>	<p>The idea of women as part of the vulnerable groups, from objects to subjects of rights and citizens.</p> <p>The impact of the redefinition of the notion of vulnerability in the process of constructing identity as part of the new <i>patria</i> proposed by the government.</p>
To reflect on the category of citizenship. Through the analysis of rights and duties and the role of citizenship in the construction of the new model of state proposed by the government of Rafael Correa.	<p>Constitución 2008. Dejemos el Pasado Atrás</p> <p>Plan Nacional de Desarrollo</p>	<p><u>Plan Nacional de Desarrollo</u></p> <p>Objective 7: To build and strengthen the public space and the shared meeting places.</p> <p>Objective 12: To reform the State for the shared well being.</p> <p><u>Constitución Política del Ecuador</u></p> <p>Title 1: Constitutive elements of the state</p> <p>Title 2: Rights.</p>	<p>Definition of Well Being and full citizenship</p> <p>Citizenship and vulnerable groups</p>

**Table 2:** Sections of both documents to be selected and the rationality behind the fragments.

In order to process the information from the documents I follow Michael Scriven (1976: 45) and his idea of argument analysis. In his book “Reasoning” Scriven presents seven steps as a method to analyze texts and arguments that I reproduce in the following:

1. Clarification of the meaning of terms, phrases, sentences, suggestions or implications. Prior to the analysis the argument has to be fully understandable and unclear parts should be rewritten using a clearer language. Any important

arguments unstated have to be clarified. Within a study one must not assume any special meaning to words; they have to maintain their usual meaning.

2. Identification of Conclusions by writing the unstated conclusions in the text and looking for *conclusive* words. It is necessary to find main conclusions and rank them according to importance.
3. Portrayal of structure, the relations between conclusions and premises.
4. Formulation of (*unstated*) assumptions (the “missing premises”), and identify what the speaker is taking as common knowledge, what is a logical assumption as part of the original argument and what has to be an assumption for the validity of the original argument
5. Criticism of the premises and the inferences, those that are given and those missing; they have to be strong and reliable. If they make reference to definitions or matters of common knowledge, these have to be assessed.
6. Introduction of other relevant arguments; although Scriven notes that these two last steps (number 6 and 7) are not a requirement, he states that they will give tools for further analysis. It might also include the possibility that the conclusions could derive into different premises or arguments that might lead to different conclusions.
7. Overall evaluation of the argument in the light of 1 to 6. Scriven states that it is necessary to make a final judgment of the original argument. Taking into consideration if it has been over criticized. If it has relevance, enough force or rather too little. The point here is not to argue the truthfulness or wrongness of the argument, but to see if the premises derive into a conclusion and if this conclusion is well supported by the information presented.

I consider that it is clear that to follow exactly the list that Scriven proposes with the length of documents I have decided to work with becomes impractical. Therefore I

consider that by using the rationality behind the elaboration of the list and his idea of argument analysis on the chosen chapters and sections, I get tools for answering the objectives of my research.

### **Sources of information**

#### **Types of Material and Relevance for the Research**

<b>Type of Material</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Relevance</b>
Documents and Media	Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2007 2010. Planificación para la Revolución Ciudadana	Created by SENPLADES
	Constitución 2008, Dejemos el Pasado Atrás	Approved by 64% of Ecuadorians on September 28 2008
	El Comercio	Online version of the biggest circulation news paper in Ecuador

**Table 3:** Type of material and relevance for the study, elaborated by the author.

### **Limitations and Stand Point**

The topic of this thesis is not a controversial one and therefore no major dilemmas are involved. However it is clear that my stand point as Ecuadorian, as a female and as a scholar will definitely have an impact on the thesis, and it is impossible to guarantee a total objective point of view when I most likely will feel the impacts of these public policies. This will also influence my conclusions since I am proposing a critical analysis of a process where the state has decided to take the responsibility for fulfilling the rights of citizens, but without a pragmatic explanation of how this will be done. Nonetheless I will try to be as impartial as possible throughout this thesis. All the material is Spanish and has been translated to English, taking all the precautions to keep the same meaning and avoiding any influence or letting my personal posture interfere in the original intention behind the statements.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **Background**

This chapter is divided in two main sections. The first is related to Coronil's (2007) argument that in order to understand the new presidencies from the left in the sub-continent, it is necessary to see how previous administrations have failed to answer problems of inequality. Then I refer to the political scenario of the 10 years previous to Rafael Correa taking office. The second part of this chapter refers to the government of Correa and his campaign to get to power and then to carry on his project. I also discuss the role in the discourse of the government of the documents that I will analyze in this thesis. As a conclusion to this section I try to present an answer to why development plays such a big role in the project of the government of Correa.

The presidency of Rafael Correa has been linked to the shift towards the left in Latin America (Castañeda, 2006). Correa, with Evo Morales from Bolivia and H. Chávez from Venezuela are seen as members of a group sharing a more radical, nationalist and populist discourse. Rafael Correa was unknown in the political scenario in Ecuador until the presidency of Alfredo Palacio (2005-2007), when he was appointed as Minister of Economy, an office that Correa held for less than 100 days. In the campaign for the presidency, Correa was portrayed as an outsider with no political affiliation, trained as an economist with a PhD from the University of Illinois. Since the beginning he saw that his chance to stay in power in a country with "one of the most troubled democracies in Latin America" (Conaghan and De la Torre, 2008: 270), was to go public in the sense that his actions would have to have the support of the civil society.

#### **10 years of instability**

I consider that in order to understand part of the current success of Rafael Correa, it is relevant to make an exploration of the previous administrations in the country. I do not mention the economic crisis that accompanied these episodes, with the idea that there is a clear relation between poor administrations and poor economic equality.

By 1996 Abdalá Bucaram<sup>3</sup>, a well known figure in the political arena in the country, served as mayor of Guayaquil; from where he left in the middle of scandals of misuse of money and corruption. He auto-exiled to Panama after a short incarceration accused of drug trafficking. Bucaram was a strong candidate in the two previous presidential elections where he was able to get a spot in the runoff. In his third try he won a very close election against one of the other representative of the traditional political parties from the coast, Jaime Nebot<sup>4</sup>. Abdalá Bucaram was considered an expression of the populism in the country, a leader that conceptualized “democracy as mass mobilization and the occupation of the public space rather than as respect for procedures and the rule of law” (De la Torre, 1997: 2). This was illustrated in his campaign style and in his governing tactics where he was accused of ignoring the law but had a strong support from the most impoverished areas of the country. The discourse of Bucaram charged against the oligarchy, e.g. with statements such as: “the oligarchy is an amorphous entity, an insensitive and exploitative system, an anti-Christian system ... I think that the oligarchy is everywhere” (Bucaram, 1990: 24). Constantly he questioned the masculinity of his contenders (see Fernandez and Ortiz, 1988) in contrast to his own. Through the feminization of his opponents, he constructed himself as a sort of very masculine messiah fitted to *save* the country.

The figure of Bucaram embodied all the fears of the dominant class especially from the highlands. His image did not correspond with the stereotype of a leader and was continuously challenging the dominant discourse represented by Jamil Mahuad<sup>5</sup> among others. Once in power, Bucaram opened too many fronts; he challenged the army, the public employees. In early 1996 Bucaram celebrated his son first million dollars in the customs obtained by very questionably means (Pallares, 1997). Bucaram actions and discourse clashed against a very conservative political class from the highlands. After a series of public protests mainly in the capital; Quito, the Congress considered that they had the popular support to cease Bucaram. In February 6, 1996 after a controversial

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<sup>3</sup> Leader of the Roldoscit Ecuadorian Party (Spanish: Partido Roldoscista Ecuatoriano PRE) centre-left populist. The party was named after former President Jaime Roldós, who died in an airplane crash.

<sup>4</sup> Member of the Social Christian Party (Spanish: Partido Social Cristiano; PSC) is a centre-right political party. Great Popularity in the coast areas specially in Guayaquil.

<sup>5</sup> Member of the Popular Democracy, later renamed Christian Democratic Union (Unión Demócrata Cristiana) from the christian left.



session Bucaram was declared mentally unstable to govern without a medical diagnosis, ironically Bucaram has always refer to himself as the *loco* (madman) (Bucaram, 1990).

After the impeachment the Congress proceeded to revisit the actions of Bucaram's administration, and found a series of irregularities involving not only him but his closest collaborators. When the army withdraw their support to the government, Bucaram left the country; he left the Presidential Palace allegedly with plastic bags full of money (Pallares, 1997) and took assail in Panama. His sitting vice president; Rosalía Arteaga, was the first female president in Ecuador for a couple of days while the president of the Congress also was acting as President. But Arteaga did not have the support of the Congress or the Army and had to resign leaving Fabian Alarcon<sup>6</sup> to exercise the Presidency of the country until the new elections.

After the provisional government of Alarcon in 1998 Jamil Mahuad (DP) took office as president and as a representative from a more conservative way of doing politics, completely different to Bucaram. During his government he had to face record low prices of oil; in late 1999 and early 2000 after a series of devaluations of the currency and the bankruptcy of several banks in the country, his government dictated a series of economic reforms that legalized and enforced the dollarization of the economy. At the same time, the government declared the freezing of all the private accounts in a *feriado bancario* (bank holiday) in order to change the currency to dollars, control the inflation in the country and avoid a massive withdraw of capital. By January 2000, Quito was taken by thousands of indigenous people led by the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) that demanded the immediate resignation of Mahuad and the derogation of the decree of dollarization. In January 21, the CONAIE got the support of a small group of colonels from the army that were discontent with the government of Mahuad, and took over the Legislative Palace and the Presidential House and forced J. Mahuad to resign in an army base where he was taken in between a series of contradictory orders from the higher army commandants.

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<sup>6</sup> Leader of the Alfarista Radical Front (Spanish: Frente Radical Alfarista) a centrist liberal party founded in 1972. One of its best known figures is former acting president Fabián Alarcón. Named after the most prominent liberal politician in Ecuadorian history, Eloy Alfaro, who founded the country's first institutionalized Liberal Party in 1884.

After Mahuad resigned and left the country, a *Junta de Salvación Nacional* (National Junta of Salvation) was formed by the participants of the coup d'état. The Junta was directed by col. Lucio Gutierrez, Antonio Vargas the leader of the CONAIE and Carlos Solórzano a lawyer from the coast. The Junta stayed in power only for a few hours, and as the result of the refusal of USA to tolerate a military oriented government in the country and the lack of support of the rest of the army, Gutierrez was forced to surrender the power to a higher member of the army that consequently yielded the power in favor of the sitting vice president Gustavo Noboa. (El Comercio, 2000)

Gustavo Noboa<sup>7</sup> pretty much followed the route that his predecessor had already designed and embraced all the requirements of the IMF (Vinueza, 2005: 99), maintaining the dollarization and establishing a calendar to defrost the money in the private banking system together with a series of audits to establish the true state of the banking system in the country. A year after the indigenous uprising that ended the government of Mahuad; the indigenous organizations took the streets of the capital again and demanded a “discussion of equals” (Vinueza, 2005) with the leaders of the government. However they were not able to agree on anything new and Noboa carried on with his government as projected. The CONAIE decided then to re direct their efforts to get a presidential victory in the next elections in order to be able to make the changes they considered necessary in the model of the state.

In January 2003, Lucio Gutierrez<sup>8</sup> took office after winning the elections in alliance with CONAIE. He was already known in the public scenario after the coup d'état against Mahuad three years before. His project was to undo the neoliberal reforms of the government of Mahuad. However, his government was full of contradictions and continuous changes in his alliances. His closest collaborators held high offices in the government; after breaking the alliance with CONAIE he got into alliance with PRE that demanded the return of their leader A. Bucaram exiled in Panama since 1996. In December 2004, Gutierrez closed the Supreme Court of Justice and reopened it with new judges loyal to him and to the PRE. Consequently, the new Court declared the annulment of all the process against Bucaram allowing him to return to the country. The

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<sup>7</sup> Member of the DP with Jamil Mahuad.

<sup>8</sup> Leader of the Partido Sociedad Patriótica 21 de Enero (Patriotic Society 21 January Party). He formed the party after leaving jail using the date of the coup d etat against Mahuad.

return of Bucaram fueled a series of public protest in Quito that were already escalating to the point that Gutierrez declared the state of emergency, annulling civil rights of citizens in the capital and allowing strong responses by the police and the involvement of the army. However, neither the police nor the citizens respected the decree of state of emergency and continued to protest in the streets, being repressed by the police only when the protesters were getting close to the Presidential Palace.

The Congress proposed to impeach Gutierrez on charges of corruption and jeopardizing the security of the state after he called people to literally burn several governmental buildings to the ground; but the Congress was not able to achieve a majority. In April 20, 2005 the Congress was going to meet to address the state of emergency in the capital, but the meeting was suspended when members of the opposition abandoned the room arguing that the president of the Congress no longer represented them. They later went to attend a special meeting in a private building in the city where they proceeded to elect new authorities and decided that Gutierrez abandoned his presidential duties; even when he was still at the Presidential Palace. The vice president flew from Guayaquil (where he was working after several months of distancing from the president) in the early hours of April 20. The new Congress swore him as the President, yet it took some time before there was some state of normality in the city. Outside the building supporters and detractors of Gutierrez were attacking the members of the opposition Congress either for their role in the destitution their leader or for considering them still members of the same institutionalism. At the same time, it also took some hours before the army recognized the vice president as president and give him protection.

Alfredo Palacio took office in April 2005 in the middle of civil protests in the capital. His authority was not immediately recognized by not only the army but the thousands of civil population who were shouting *Que se vayan todos!* (Everybody out!), demanding a complete reform of the political institutions. In consequence, his first hours as President he was bunkered in the same private building where he was sworn in with thousand of civil protesters outside demanding a meeting with him. His initial compromise with the civil population to call for a new Constitutional Assembly did not materialize mainly because he lacked of political affiliation what finally compromised his ability to create alliances and to govern. As part of the new cabinet *post* Gutierrez, Palacio called a

rather unknown university teacher; Rafael Correa to be a Ministry of Economy, Correa was in office less than three months.

### **Rafael Correa Delgado**

Let's not be naïve. We won the election, but not power. Power is controlled by economic interest, the banks, the patriarchy and the media connected to the banks

R. Correa in *La Correlación de Fuerzas tiene que cambiar en el país*, 2007

In the elections of 2006, Rafael Correa<sup>9</sup> faced a complex political scenario with multiple actors and a civil society not too enthusiastic to trust the political institutions in the country. He, a young economist confessed from the left, with no political experience in a scenario of several candidates, was able to get a spot in the runoff where his contender was the richest man in Ecuador, Alvaro Noboa<sup>10</sup> who participated in the previous elections but never got to the presidency. The differences between both candidates were huge (see Conaghan 2007) the campaign staff of Correa focused in portraying Noboa as a representative of the traditional politics and Correa as the opposite. Initially, no one believed that Correa would be able to win against the enormous campaign machinery of A. Noboa, and weeks before the runoff the polls gave Noboa a lead that seemed very difficult to overcome (Conaghan, 2007). Yet, at the end Correa won with 57% of the votes.

Correa proposed in the campaign a series of risky political transformations and was able to channel the public sentiment of discredit in the political institutions. Correa was clever enough to see that without a strong political party his only option was to “go public” (Conaghan and De la Torre, 2008) in order to create a strong support for his project, overcoming the risk of being ceased by public discontent. At the same time and since he took office he has been fully aware of the role the army had played in deciding

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<sup>9</sup> Leader of PAIS Alliance (Proud and Sovereign Fatherland) (Spanish: Alianza PAIS (Patria Altiva I Soberana); país also means country) political movement comprised of both leftists and moderates. The party was created in 2006 as an electoral vehicle to Correa to the Presidency, currently after the last elections in Ecuador it is the first force in the Assambley and has the majority of authorities to a local level

<sup>10</sup> Leader of the Institutional Renewal Party of National Action (Partido Renovador Institucional de Acción Nacional) a right wing populist political party.

the episodes of instability in the country and has been very keen to keep them on his side despite of episodes where Correa has *call* them to order, more clearly after the incidents in the border with Colombia in March 2008 that ended with both countries breaking diplomatic relationships with no solution on sight.

Since Correa was relatively unknown before the campaign, the principal strategy was to make him visible and the media played a key role in reproducing the image that the candidate created with his campaign staff. Correa was presented as “born to a family of modest means in Guayaquil, a former Boy Scout, a devoted Roman Catholic mission volunteer, a scholarship winner, and a dedicated family man” (Conaghan and De la Torre, 2008: 272). But he was not presented as all *soft*; the campaign staff smartly recognized that that image only would not have the desired effects on the country, because the citizens in the country were demanding a candidate with enough force to overcome the past. Playing with Correa’s last name – translated as belt or whip – they built his early campaign slogans, “*Dale Correa*” (Hit them Correa), “*Se viene el correazo*” (Here comes the whipping). As Conaghan and De la Torre (2008) explain, the association of the belt and the candidate was criticized by the feminist organizations that saw the slogans as a call for violence arguing that the belt was a reference to a father that punishes. In consequence, the campaign staff later tone down the reference to the belt but kept the idea of Correa as strong and masculine leader with enough force and youth to challenge the traditional political system.

During campaign Correa relied on creating a feeling of ownership over his project – changing the country – as De la Torre (2006) describes “when the candidate has manifested a simple and moving idea, his words are stopped by the songs of the campaign either recorded or live from a protest music group and the lyrics are sung by the candidate and the public”. The campaign of Rafael Correa was conducted in a method that remembered the traditional way of doing politics, in the sense that he was in continuous contact with the people, traveling in caravans connecting his image to musical groups; the use of songs played a great role in his campaign, the message played made reference to a change in the institution or directed against Noboa: “*no queremos ser lo que un rico quiera, pueblo de mendigos en una hacienda bananera*” (we don’t want to be what a rich guy wants, a country of people begging in a banana farm). The staff of Correa has transformed the name the political party (Patria Altiva y

Soberana, PAIS) into a brand easily recognized by the colors and then playing with words making the association with *país* (country) and then *patria* (homeland, nation). Although the campaign of Correa reminded the traditional model, his staff has been very good at including new ways and using the technology to its advance. Musical *anthems*, word association, well shot campaigns spots and a recurrent calling to a collective ownership of the project nestled under the slogan *La Patria ya es de todos* or *La Patria vuelve*. (The homeland now belongs to everybody and the homeland is back)

Once Correa took office, he faced an opposition ruled Congress, as a result of his strategy of not presenting any candidates to the elections of the new members. Correa's main proposal to call for a Constitutional Assembly of broad powers to write a new Constitution was quickly stopped by Alvaro Noboa's political party that was in control of the Congress who formed an alliance with Lucio Gutierrez's party and the extreme right party Partido Social Cristiano. Correa had to assure himself a scenario where no institution could block his project of a new Assembly and where at the same he would have to have a majority in order to guarantee his permanence as president. Correa kept a high dose of publicity and in order to secure his project of a new Constitution, he called for civil pressure on the Congress, the Electoral and Constitutional Tribunal to allow the call for the Assembly. In a well played move by his political bureau, he was able to convince the Electoral Tribunal to be in favor of the call for the Assembly that consequently ceased all the opposition Congress members accusing them of obstructing the electoral process. Correa took his project to the public and after a campaign conducted similarly as the one that put him in power; personalizing the process to the point that he said that he would quit if the call to an Assembly was not approved. He was able to obtain 82% of the support to the calling, and later his political party was able to get an absolute majority, thus assuring a complete control in writing the new Constitution and carrying on the series of reforms that were justified under the figure of broad powers among others suspending the sitting Congress therefore assuming all the legislative actions.

Correa has recognized the role of the civil society in maintaining his government, and in consequence his image has been presented "as a man of action in office, a president who delivers substantive public policy" (Conaghan and De la Torre, 2008: 275). According to the discourse of the government the process of writing the Constitution and the whole

project of the government is highly popular in the sense that the civil society is meant to have a great impact in the issues discussed and the decisions made. Since the inauguration of the Assembly and during the process of writing the regimen, there has been a series of *dialogues* between the president and the citizens transmitted by radio every Saturday morning called “*el Presidente dialoga con los Constituyentes*” (the president dialogues with the constituents). These dialogues mirror Chávez programs in Venezuela. After the Assembly the dialogues have been replaced for *enlaces ciudadanos* (citizen’s links) as mechanisms of accountability, where Correa from different cities in the country informs the citizens about his actions in office. Yet this *enlaces* have quickly transformed into a mechanism to criticize the opponents and a platform to call for electoral support for the successive elections, including the current campaign to choose a new president. This is despite the critic from organizations like the OAS (Organization of American States), the opposition in the country and the media.

Since the beginning, Correa has said that he pretends to spend his time as a president campaigning: “I will spend the four years in campaign, because the thing that this country mostly need is to regain the hope, and I will go to every corner in the Nation to tell them that now the homeland belongs to everybody” (Correa cited in Carondelet en Campaña, 2008). And he has been faithful to his idea, 115 *enlaces ciudadanos* from different parts in the country, *gabinetes itinerantes* (mobile cabinets) every week where the ministers present accountability over their actions to the civil society, a innumerable series of *cadena nacionales* (national networks) whereby law the TV stations in the country have to yield air time for the government and various presentations by the candidate-president in order to link his image with the rest of the candidates of the movement.

During the administration there has been a change in the relation with the media and Correa. During campaign Correa had to make himself visible, he was willing to give as many interviews as required in different radios, TV stations and news papers and enjoyed the support of several top political commentators in TV. Though once in power Correa charged against the media specially newspapers columnists, when they questioned his tactics to secure his project of the Assembly, and his way of governing. Since then, he has called them “mafiosos, journalist pornography, human wretchedness, savage beasts and idiots who publish trash” (Ecuador, 63<sup>rd</sup> General Assembly of the

Inter- American Press Association). Although according to Correa the whole media is corrupted in the country, he has directed his attacks to the biggest means of communication, and a couple of political commentators.

Using the definition of populist leaders elaborated by De la Torre (1997) Correa's have been continuously discredited as corrupt and representatives of the oligarchy; Correa has called them "bigwigs, gangsters, liars and dinosaurs doomed to extinction" (Conaghan and De la Torre, 2008: 278) the opposition has not know how to react to Correa and due to a lack of a solid figure to counter him, it has gradually lost any credibility. In the goal of the government for unfiltered communication with the citizens there is now among other strategies a YouTube channel, stated based public newspapers and TV stations. The government has made reference to the importance of the civil accountability and has created mechanism like the *Sistema de Seguimiento de Metas del Gobierno de la Revolución Ciudadana* (System of following the goals of the government of the citizen revolution)<sup>11</sup> and from the web page of the presidency<sup>12</sup> all the discourses, *enlaces ciudadanos*, videos, slogans and commercials are available to be seen and to download.

### **The Role of the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2007*, and the *Constitución 2008* in the discourse of the government.**

The Plan was elaborated by the SENPLADES (National Secretary of Planning) as part of the process of the reconstruction of the state proposed by the government of Rafael Correa. Although with different names an organism like SENPLADES has always existed as part of the state but never has had as important role as now, maybe the only exception being in the previous incarnation of the organism CONAM (Council for the Modernization of the State) that conducted the processes of privatization during the government of S. Durán Ballén (1992- 1996). The higher members of SENPLADES come from the academia and have some relation with Correa; they do not have a previous political affiliation and were relatively unknown until the protests in Quito that ended the government of Gutierrez.

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.sigob.gov.ec/metas/main/consulta/default.asp?inst=2002>

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.presidencia.gov.ec/articulo.php?ar\\_codigo=177&ca\\_codigo=113&ca\\_padre=0&tipo=1](http://www.presidencia.gov.ec/articulo.php?ar_codigo=177&ca_codigo=113&ca_padre=0&tipo=1)



SENPLADES is a planning entity of the government and as such has no visible means of enforcing the changes proposed in the Plan. Although it was already a campaign proposal, the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo began its construction first in January 2007, in a series of tables of discussion under the responsibility of the SENPLADES. The Development Plan follows the idea that the proposals of the Washington Consensus have translated into mechanisms that broaden the gap between poor and rich in the country (SENPLADES, 2007: 11). A central idea is to change the notion of development and link it with the creation of wealth and the increment of capital. The Plan proposes a shift back to a more integral conception of development that will privilege the individual well being as the key element. As illustrated in the speech of Rafael Correa to the American Council in 2007, where Correa presented the initiative to the presidents of the region as part of his new plan for Ecuador

The current pattern of state management has been unable to overcome issues like the depletion of the central state, that concentrates power, generates inequalities and political crises, the gap between the citizens and the political the political system and the crisis of political representation.

Therefore, the recovery of state capacity for regulation, redistribution of wealth and social and territorial planning, in addition to enhancing its effectiveness in the context of modern logic of governance, should be placed at the heart of any democratic, social and economic agenda of transformation of the country.

One of the most significant steps in this direction has been the definition of a National Development Plan for 2007-2010, which sets guidelines for the much longer term and that is a real paradigm shift in the conception of development.<sup>13</sup>

Rafael Correa  
Discourse presented to the Consejo de las Américas  
25 September 2007

There is in the discourse of the government an idea that previous administrations have

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<sup>13</sup> Original version in Spanish: El actual patrón de gestión estatal no ha sido capaz de superar problemas como el agotamiento del Estado centralista, generador de concentración, inequidades y crisis políticas; el distanciamiento entre los/las ciudadanos/as y el sistema político; y la crisis de representación política.

Por tanto, la recuperación estatal de las capacidades de regulación, de redistribución de la riqueza social y territorial y de planificación, además del aumento de su eficacia institucional, en el marco de lógicas modernas de gestión pública, deben colocarse en el centro de cualquier agenda democrática de transformación social y económica del país.

Uno de los pasos más significativos en este sentido ha sido la definición de un Plan Nacional de Desarrollo para el período 2007-2010, que establece lineamientos de mucho más largo plazo, y que constituye un auténtico cambio de paradigma en la concepción del desarrollo

failed because they have deepened the gap between citizens and the political system. For the government of R. Correa, a weak state is unable to participate in the definition of goals and courses of action for the country, and therefore find it necessary to regain the big state that was dismantled by the initiatives of the neoliberalism. The *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo* is a very important tool in the discourse of the government because it gives back to the state the possibility to plan and have a bigger influence in the economy. At the same time the Plan makes emphasis in the importance of a development from within, in contrast to the interventions of international organism like the WB and the IMF, criticising the conditionality usually associated with them. The Plan proposes changes to the way the understanding of development and lays with the state the responsibility of achieving the *sumac kawsay*, a term roughly translated from quichua as the good living or the good life.

The development of public policies in a country seeking a radical change, as the case of Ecuador, can not conform to minimum goals. (...) Focusing only on minimum goals we take the chance of conforming to the human life as a simple process of resistance that is designed to extend a few hours the existence of individuals.

We propose, therefore, not only common goals of minimal life, but social maximums. For example, we consider it is possible to share different identities, build and restore public areas, ensuring access to justice, having a job that guarantees the right to earn one's livelihood, to have time for contemplation, artistic creation and recreation, objectives that are in the National Development Plan which was put into effect by the Government of Ecuador.

Our view of development is very different: we understand by development the achieving of the good living, in peace and harmony with the nature and the prolongation of the human cultures<sup>14</sup>.

Rafael Correa  
Discourse in front of the General Assembly at the UN 2007

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<sup>14</sup> Original version in Spanish: El desarrollo de políticas públicas en un país que pretende un cambio radical, como el caso ecuatoriano, no puede conformarse con alcanzar objetivos mínimos. (...) Sin embargo, centrándonos sólo en aquello, corremos el riesgo de conformarnos con que la vida humana sea simplemente un proceso de resistencia que tenga como fin alargar unas horas más la existencia de las personas.

Proponemos, en consecuencia, objetivos comunes no sólo sobre mínimos de vida sino sobre máximos sociales. Por ejemplo, consideramos que es posible compartir identidades diversas, construir y recuperar espacios públicos, garantizar el acceso a la justicia, tener un trabajo que garantice el derecho a ganarse el propio sustento, tener tiempo para la contemplación, la creación artística y la recreación, objetivos que ya se encuentran en el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo que ha puesto en vigencia el Gobierno del Ecuador.

Nuestra mirada de desarrollo es muy diferente: entendemos por desarrollo la consecución del buen vivir de todos, en paz y armonía con la naturaleza y la prolongación indefinida de las culturas humanas.

The whole project of the government is conceptualized as a notion of a radical change, as a way of justifying a new way of doing things. The government has manifested that it will not conform only obtaining minimum goals like those proposed by the Millennium Goals but instead will aim for better results. This is interesting –and ambitious – in a country where 38, 3% of the population is consider poor and with an unemployment rate of 7, 3% (INEC, 2009) and where the country seems to be failing in achieving even the minimal goals established by the Millennium Goals.

The discourse of the government plays with notions of equality, participation, protagonist, youth, respect to the human dignity, being represented in one the most recognizable slogan in the campaign; the “cleaner hands, the more lucid minds and the more alive hearts to regain the *Patria*” (Campaign Slogan). This new *Patria* stressed in the discourses of the government, is conceptualized as an inclusive entity where “the mothers are anonymous heroes and where the bigger wealth of the country is each and every one of us, we are the homeland” (Discourse of creation of Alianza País, 2006). It is an element where the citizens can exercise their citizenship, being able to decide what the way to pursue the future and development is. But, it would seem after seeing the news papers in the country that the new definition of citizen is limited to those that accept the discourse of the government there is not a space for the questioning of the project; all those who are against the project are portrayed as the negative qualities of the citizens, the past and the *partidocracia* (the traditional political party system).

The government said that the Constitution of 1998 had all the vices of the neoliberal system and therefore had to be rewritten in order to change the state apparatus (El Comercio, 26 July 2008), indeed the Assembly did not only wrote a new Constitution but also dictated 20 *Mandatos Constitucionales* (Constitutional Mandates) justified under the figure of broad powers of the Assembly. Those mandates acquired immediately the condition of laws and were not added to the referendum to approve the Constitution; in consequence those laws were used by the government as a mechanism to make changes that gave them good doses of public support.

This Constitution is a house of air, land, water and fire that has been built with an eye on our Ecuadorian and universal land, taking care of the planet and its sustainability for present and future generations. Built by hand, the many different hands that on three consecutive occasions in the polls rose to ask the floor to say

enough! Taking control of their lives and regain their dignity and future.<sup>15</sup>

Fernando Cordero  
President of the Constitutional Assembly  
Discourse when delivering the new Constitution to the Electoral  
Tribunal  
7, July, 2009

The Assembly was supposed to end working after the writing of the Constitution, yet it is currently in power, consisting of a fraction of the original members, and where the majority of the government is even stronger. The *new* Assembly has been renamed and it is now a *congresillo* (little congress), it has the power to legislate but it has not exercised the power to oversight the actions of the executive. Following the discourses of both the president of the Assembly; Fernando Cordero and Rafael Correa it is clear<sup>4</sup> that the Constitution 2008 has been presented as a conductive tool to decide what path the country will follow. The document constitutes a complex document that legislate various aspects of the social, political and economic life. It is supposed to be one of the most progressive in the region; in the sense that it incorporates notions of third generation rights<sup>16</sup> for every citizen in the country, and recognizes the value of the environment and the interrelation with the citizens in order to build the good life.

### **Why Development?**

They have already stolen many things. We cannot allow them to steal our hope. The moment we lose hope we will be the perfect victims of our perpetual executioners. Let's restore hope; let's believe again, not just in a leader, not in an alliance, let's go back to believing in each other.

These wonderful good people deserve a better fate. The greatest asset we have is we, the decided people, the united people; the future is in our hands. Here we begin to build the new homeland. Here we begin to build our future. We all are the entire nation, all we want this haughty and sovereign fatherland that we deserve and that historical right

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<sup>15</sup> Original version in Spanish: Esta Constitución es una casa de aire, tierra, agua y fuego por que se ha edificado con la mirada en nuestra tierra, ecuatoriana y universal, cuidando el planeta y su sostenibilidad para las generaciones del presente y del futuro. Construida con las manos, las muchas y diversas manos que en tres ocasiones sucesivas en las urnas, se levantaron para pedir la palabra, para decir que ¡ya basta!, para tomar control de su vida y recuperar su dignidad y su futuro.

<sup>16</sup> Here I make reference to the division made by Karel Vasak in 1979 at the International Institute for Human Rights and that it is mention in: David Forsythe, 1985. Vasak's ideas has had a big impact on the European Law, Vasak uses the rationality behind the French Revolution; liberty, equality and fraternity. First Generation Rights deal with participation in political life and liberty, designed to protect the citizen against the big state. Second Generation Rights assure that every citizen is treated equally in the eyes of the law and the state. And Third Generation Rights make reference to rights that go beyond social and economic. They refer to the right to a healthy environment, self determination, etc.

belongs to us.<sup>17</sup>.

An interesting question is why the state chooses to use the notion of development in the formulation of the state policy. The previous administrations in Ecuador addressed the issue of development in a different way focussing more in the economy understood as the growth of capital. The government Plan of Rafael Correa is conceptualized as revolutions, not in the form of violent change but radical transformations meant to produce a transformation of the whole state, not only when Correa is in power but as a longer process. This new state prioritizes the citizen not only as centre of the economic activity but also as key element of the process itself. It is that where the new notion of development from the government comes in, no longer related to the growth of capital but related to the notions of Human Development. This involves a focus on development as a better life and justifies the weight given to the issue by the Plan. The project of the government proposes a big revolution that has different components:

1. An ethical revolution
2. A social economic, sustainable and democratic revolution
3. A political revolution
4. A *Patria* sovereign and with dignity and
5. A Latin American integration

According to the discourse of the government the role of corruption in the country is directly linked with the lack of confidence in the *other* as result of the episodes of crisis in the previous years. To balance this lack of confidence the government calls for increased accountability of all its members beginning with the President to restore the confidence in the political system. The economic revolution constitutes the biggest part

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<sup>17</sup> Original Version in Spanish: Ya nos han robado muchas cosas. No podemos permitir que nos roben la esperanza. El momento que perdamos la esperanza seremos las victimas perfectas de nuestros perpetuos verdugos. Recuperemos la esperanza, volvamos a creer, no simplemente en un líder, no en una alianza, volvamos a creer en cada uno de nosotros.

Este pueblo maravilloso de gente buena, merece un mejor destino. La mayor riqueza que tenemos somos nosotros, la gente decidida, la gente unida, el futuro está en nuestras manos. Aquí empezamos a construir la patria nueva. Aquí empezamos a construir nuestro futuro. Todos somos PAÍS, todos queremos esa Patria Altiva y Soberana que nos merecemos y que por derecho histórico nos pertenece.

in the project of the government. It is argued that the economic system that links development with economic growth has had terrible consequences not only for the Ecuadorians but for the environment as well. Therefore the government proposes a shift where the human being will be the centre of the economic activity. The political revolution sees that the pre Correa state has failed completely, and “no longer works” (Ejes Programaticos Alianza Pais) and therefore needs to be reconfigured, through the call for the Assembly and the new Constitution as the key elements of the political revolution. This new state is only viable in a *patria* that is proud and sovereign with less influence of external organizations and where the state has the last word in the affairs of the country. Finally, another central argument for the government is that Latin America has to be united in order to counteract the weight of the international institutions.

The ultimate goal of the project of the government would seem to be related to the strengthening of the category of being Ecuadorians, reinforced by the requirement to be seen as equal (I discuss this later in the thesis) by the state and the law. No group in the country can be seen as less; as argued in the Plan in relation to vulnerable groups in previous development initiatives, because it goes against this proposal of being equal. I have found that even though it is not explicitly mentioned, the way in which the project of the government refers to equality is closely related to J. Rawls (1971) explanation, in the sense of being equal as being “same” but equally valued. Also the notion of inalienable human rights gives the state the responsibility to improve the quality of life of groups that are in a situation of vulnerability in the country.

The project of the government is meant to aim for bigger goals that can not only be expressed in traditional indicators of development but instead through a bigger discussion that will include the possibility to be free (in the sense given by Sen, 2004), and able to enjoy life and to decide what to do with that life. However, the new citizen has to be able to *join* the project by sometimes yielding key rights in favour of a bigger picture, the new Ecuadorian state.

## CHAPTER III

### Theory and Literature Review

#### Success vs. Failure Justice, Equality and Rights

To look at the world through gender lenses is to focus on gender as a particular kind of power relation, or to trace out the ways in which gender is central to understanding international processes. Gender lenses also focus on the everyday experiences of women as *women* and highlight the consequences of their unequal social position.

Steans (1998) in Sjoberg (2006: 12)

I have divided this chapter in two main sections. First I present a selection of studies that have influenced my work, that are similar either methodologically or conceptually. I then present theoretical tendencies that I have identified in the analysis of both documents and that provide a conceptual outline for my work. My main objective is not to argue for or against the validity of the conclusions to which the documents arrive, but instead to see how the thinking process behind the statements from the documents can be understood, and see how they are conceptually or theoretically built.

Considering the current presidency of Rafael Correa as a member of the new left wing in Latin America, F. Coronil (2007) argues that the importance of this change in the subcontinent cannot be fully explained without an analysis of the neoliberal system and more precisely the process of state-building in the region. Coronil links the *rebirth* of the left to the fact that the neoliberal system has clearly failed and is no longer capable of giving answers to the problems of inequality and poverty. Coronil also argues that because there has been an effort to link the combat of poverty to the stability of the state, new projects to target poverty have been fuelled not only at a governmental but also at higher level like by the IMF. Coronil argues that this link explains a call for specific projects in what is instead a political discourse that is against homogenization.

For Coronil, the discussion centres on the fact that there is not what can be considered

as a homogeneous left movement in the region, but instead a plurality of movements that work for a more inclusive system. Coronil presents a definition of the left that is more a compendium of characteristics that include different elements, like an opposition to the market, support to the intervention of the State, to be in favour of the civil society and to promote popular participation; all elements that are present in the project of the government of Rafael Correa. According to Coronil, this new left lacks what he considers as credible means to carry out a significant reform of the world system, but instead these new governments would seem to move between what he calls a discursive aggressiveness towards the institutionalization and rather mild actions.

The left that Coronil identifies in Latin America requires a state that seeks to objectivise a relation between the concrete and the abstract in the sense that it appeals to deeper feelings of belonging to justify the projects. This is evident in both documents that I have analysed in this thesis. For instance this new state, which I see suggested in the project of the government of Correa, demands deeper feelings of participation and belonging as a way of overcoming differences related to inequalities and discrimination. Coronil is clear to argue that even if the project is meant to be inclusive, it still will exclude and will therefore stimulate new battles for inclusion, in order to create a mechanism for changes in the model of the political structures. It is impossible to achieve a rather perfect system because this perfectiveness will also entail a lack of movement.

The project of the government of Rafael Correa suggests expanding and redistributing the benefits of the economic activity in order to realize what is presented as a democratization of development. There is in the project of the government an overall idea that previously benefits have been reserved to smaller groups in the Ecuadorian society, and thus becoming mechanisms of exclusion that creates vulnerability for certain groups in the country (SENPLADES, 2007: 171).

J. Bustamante (2002) works with the notion of vulnerability as related to differences in the distribution of power. Bustamante explores how immigrants relate to the system and to what degree is there an influence in their existence as subjects of rights by their vulnerability. His work was originally presented as an empirical basis to the resolution of the United Nations 1997/15 regarding immigration and Human Rights. Bustamante



presents different aspects that deepen this situation of vulnerability, like discrimination and stereotypes; all elements that compromise the ability to be part of the process of state-building. Bustamante tries to give a general picture of basic demographic data and other indicators about how aware the state members are of human rights and migration. I have not explored the issue of immigration in my work, but I believe that the idea of vulnerability as entailing a difference in the distribution of power is a notion that is present in the project of the government of R. Correa, and in fact is transformed into a theoretical key element. Any exclusion that derives into expropriation of rights by discrimination, force or violence is clearly expressed by the documents as a limit to the participation in the citizen revolution.

In the project of R. Correa, the failure of previous initiatives of development is linked to poor institutionalization, an issue that is explored in Alberts (2008) where she analyses the elements that have contributed to poor processes of democratization in Ecuador. Alberts argues that the lack of incentives for cooperation between the different branches of the government is one of the issues responsible for the failure of the democratization process in the country. At the same time, Alberts states that the characteristics of the political scenario in the country make difficult the creation of alliances between the different branches of government what compromise the capacity of governing. Towards the end of her study, she says that the new provisions in the new Constitution create what she calls a mixture mechanism of survival, where both the President and the Assembly will see their periods ended if any one decides to cease the other; and may produce incentives for cooperation within the government. I do not reflect on this issue at the same level as Alberts, but I do analyse the link between failed institutionalization and failed processes of democratization visible as the ability to plan development initiatives, a link that I see visible in the development plan of the government.

On this point, and following the argument of Coronil by linking the new left governments with the lack of solutions from the neoliberal system, it is relevant here to bring in studies like P. Andrade (2005). He examines the process of crisis in Ecuador in the light of two hypotheses. First, he sees the instability in the country not as the result of independent periods of in-governability, but instead a longer period. Secondly he argues that the crisis in the country comes from trying to reconcile an economy that has been organized around the free market and a representative democracy. Andrade argues

that the crisis comes from before and as such does not constitute a new event in the country. By using an historical approach he shows that the current period of instability is not a result of the failure of the policies adopted during the implementation of neoliberalism, but instead of their success. According to Andrade, the broadening of inequality and economic gaps were used by the better “organized electoral machinery” (Andrade, 2005: 171) who were able to canalize big sectors of the population as the bases of the political parties.

This new left in the continent has an understanding of development that theoretically can be link to arguments like A. Escobar (1988, 1999). He argues against a conceptualization of development as a linear process constructed in contrast to what it is perceived as develop. Escobar argues that the *discovery* (the emphasis is his) of poverty has been used as a justification for claiming a reconfiguration of the world order. Economic growth and development understood as incrementing capital and resources have been transformed into strategies applied in every country in the same way. Escobar argues that this initiative serves to homogenise not only the countries but also the citizens, assuming that everybody will answer in the same way. For Escobar development has become a discourse and as such, it is important to see who can speak and who decides the topics of discussion as well as the rules, the authority and the expertise.

Escobar is not particularly concerned with development itself but instead with its *alter ego*, underdevelopment. He is concerned with how the moral conditionality that he perceives as associated with the word works, and especially how social life becomes transformed into a technical problem in the sense that every issue is transformed into an object of expertise to be explored under the new *development studies*. In the project of the government of Correa there is a notion that development initiatives have demanded a degree of homogenization that denies the richness of difference.

As I mention earlier I believe that the project of the government is to a certain degree gender neutral in the sense that the proposed notion of citizenship points towards a concept where there is not a difference between men and women but instead a sense of inclusion under the basic premise of participation in the new initiative of state-building. The term “gender neutral citizenship” is presented in by Meier and Lombardo (2008)

when referring to the citizenship notions in the gender equality policies of the EU. Furthermore, Meier and Lombardo use a similar methodological approach to mine by using the documents from the EU as a frame to analyse the political discourse.

The link between gender and the state is explored by Bolzendahl (2009) where she presents a review of the social spending in twelve industrialized democratic countries, and how the states prioritize their spending in relation to gender differences. Bolzendahl argues that there is an empirical and theoretical importance of gender for understanding the welfare state. She says that there has been a shift in traditional attitudes from men and women that have influenced the institutions. In her discussion of previous literature Bolzendahl proves that there are various studies that explore the relation between state and gender but not exactly in relation to the change in women's autonomy access to resources. "There has been a focus on women as the object of policy [...] as victim and powerless" (2009:4). She argues that new studies have to focus on what Bolzendahl calls women as claimants and actors. This redefinition of women, or vulnerable groups; from victim to actors is one of the main points of my study, and is an idea that I explore later on in this thesis as a one of the dimensions of the project of the state.

## **Theory**

As I have mentioned before, I use theory as a way to evaluate and explore the aims, ideas and conclusions that derive from the fragments of both documents. From the notions I explore in my thesis, [development, rights vs. vulnerability and citizenship], I have identified different theoretical themes that I present here:

### **Global Public Goods**

Paul Samuelson      (1954)  
Richard Cornes      (2008)  
Severine Denevlin

The notion of Global Public Goods becomes relevant for my study as one of the tools to explain the role of the state as a guarantor of the new development. The dominant discourse of the government of R. Correa points toward the existence of goods that are essential for the project and as such, have to be protected by the state by any means. At

the same time, the project identifies certain elements, like the environment, the reduction of poverty and the stability of the country as goods that benefit not only Ecuadorian but also the rest of the world. For example the government is proposing to sell the international community the benefits of leaving the oil on the ground in a part of the Amazon Jungle, instead of exploiting the oil for economic benefits as a good of ordinary private consumption.

The definition of public goods is presented by Paul Samuelson (1954) when he is discussing the difference between goods. Samuelson divided them in two categories according to the kind of consumption. Goods of ordinary private consumption can be sold among individuals, are countable and therefore influenced by the selling of the good, collective [public] consumption goods which we all enjoy collectively are less likely going to be sold and their existence is more difficult to count. Samuelson argues that each individual has a set of “ordinal preferences” that summarize the utility and therefore the value of the good. According to Samuelson, the limit of the utility is given by the Pareto optimums where the only way to be better is by making others worse.

The notion of global public goods derives from this definition, and it has been presented by the United Nations to refer to goods that are beyond boundaries and that require a “structure of incentives” (Cornes: 2008, 354). It has also transformed into a conceptual framework for referring to the issues of global degradation, initially linked to the environment and now including a range of elements all related to the idea of a well being. According to Denevlin, a successful understanding of global goods depends on recognizing people’s well being as a collective issue.

### **Capacities and Capabilities, Freedom and Poverty**

Amartya Sen           (1976, 79, 80, 2004)  
Martha Nussbaum   (2002)

In both documents of the government that I explore in this thesis there is a notion of well being and the right of the citizen to be entitled with the option to choose what kind of life to pursue. There is not a clear reference to Sen in the documents that I have analysed here, but nonetheless the idea of capacity and especially the notion of poverty

as not only a lack of resources but a lack of opportunities, is present in both documents. I see a clear influence of this approach in the way that conceptually the model of the new state is built. Consciously I do not use this approach as widely as I could have; because I believe that the evaluation of the arguments and the relations might have been too easily made, focusing instead in the notion of justice, equality, rights and duties of Rawls.

The capability approach formulated by A. Sen (1976, 79, 80, and 2004) stresses multidimensional aspects of well-being and social arrangements. It focus mainly in notions of inequality, poverty and the well being for members of the society, and it gives tools to conceptualize the phenomena instead of actually providing explanations. Although the philosophical connotations behind the approach deal with more complicated issues like differences between freedom and functionings, here I am simplifying the approach to the most common use, and what seems to be the basis for the notion of development in the project of the government. This involves the respect for what people are able to do and to be, and also to remove obstacles so that one has the freedom to live the kind of life that one has the reason to value.

M. Nussbaum (2002) expands the capabilities approach from a feminist point of view. She argues that women are in a position of vulnerability that is greater than men and thus lack of support and fundamental resources. Nussbaum states that women, due to inequalities in the system, have access to unequal capacities that translate into a limitation of what they (women) are able to be and to do. Women are often burdened by double responsibilities that, according to Nussbaum, deny these women the possibility to participate in activities of play and to develop other capacities. By creating a list of central human capabilities with which Sen disagrees, Nussbaum works with the idea of basic human rights and sustains that no society can be conceived as fair if there are elements of denial of basic capacities. Sen is against the list of capacities of Nussbaum, mainly from a perspective of social choice by saying that without a discussion or a public reasoning, there is not a way to determinate the relevance and the weight of what has to be included and what not, at the same time there is the issue of who is going to define the content.

## **Justice, Fairness and the State**

J. Rawls (1958, 71)  
R.Nozick (1974)

The notion of Justice as Fairness is present in various articles by Rawls until a complete theory that is presented in his book “A theory of Justice” (1971). Rawls understands justice as “restrictions as to how practices may define positions and offices, and assign thereto powers and liabilities, rights and duties” (1958: 164). Justice does not apply to individuals but instead institutions, “nations, provinces, business firms, churches, teams, and so on” (1958: 166). He is not concerned with an utilitarian meaning of justice in the sense of being able judge over good and evil, instead the notion of justice is “only one part of any such conception” (Rawls, 1958: 165). Rawls focus his study on the fact that justice is the elimination of random distinctions in order to achieve what he calls a balance between competing claims.

Rights and duties would ideally have been decided under what Rawls calls a *veil of ignorance* where, “particular inclinations and aspirations, and persons conceptions of their good do not affect the principles adopted” (Rawls, 1971: 18). Under these conditions, parties would not have information regarding the outcome of their actions and therefore they would choose the fairer set of rules only knowing that the rules would apply to them. Rawls recognizes that practically it is impossible to submit the redaction of rules to this veil of ignorance. Nonetheless, he argues for an interpretation of his posture that will enable to adopt the idea as a theoretical exercise. Yet, one might argue that this position of original ignorance does not necessarily fully comply with the principles of fairness expressed by the same Rawls, and that it would require a set of preconditions in order to actually fulfil its role. For instance, everybody must have had access to the same resources to begin with, and as with any discourse, it is important to see who had the *voice* to suggest the rules of the game upon which to agree and how they would apply.

Rawls’s theory is not about economics but is a theory of justice. He does however propose a system of taxation over income in order to redistribute wealth in the state, assuming that income has been fairly obtained. Once that Rawls has expressed the

principles of justice for institutions, he addresses the principles for individuals under the definition of rights, duties and obligations. He argues that when the institution is fair and has been accepted by the members as such, the range of possible actions for the individuals is less open in the sense that they (the persons) would tend to behave justly. The first duty that Rawls mentions is the duty to maintain the just institution that means to “comply with and to do our share in just institutions when they exist and apply to us, and second we are to assist in the establishment of just arrangements when they do not exist” (1971: 334).

I include the reflections of R. Nozick (1974) in comparison with Rawls. Nozick gives human rights a role that he considers is unquestionable, therefore his critique towards the idea of a practice that can claim appropriation over the rights of the citizens; a big state. Nozick follows a Hobbesian understanding of the society where all individuals are in a state of nature and where there is a risk to their existence. Nozick argues that these individuals would agree to form part of associations on the basis of potential better outcome for the members. For Nozick the members of the associations behave in a sense like clients and demand protection in return for a payment, and do not have any wish to accept to pay to extend the benefits of protection to those that have refused to participate in the association. What Nozick proposes is different from the social choice state of Rawls, and is a dominate association that comes out of conflict or agreement from different associations and that keeps the monopoly of the violence. He calls this association a “minimal state” arguing that anything more than this will be a violation of rights. To control the citizen even by using *good arguments* is still a control and unjust.

The state that Nozick proposes is as far as it gets from the state of the Ecuadorian model. However, I use his idea to point towards the fact that a strong state attempts to take control an increasing set of rights of the citizens may post several threats to the citizens. Although it is not fair to compare this theory of 1974 to more current perspectives like for instance the capabilities approach, it is clear that the analysis of Nozick does not recognize other limits to the possibility of doing something that does not relate to one’s ability.

# CHAPTER IV

## **Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana 2007 2010**

When we began building the National Development Plan 2007-2010, Plan for Citizen Revolution in January 2007, we did not begin from zero. The agenda for change was defined by the government Plan presented by Movimiento País to the country while participating in the elections of 2006. (...)

The government plan has the democratic legitimacy given by the majority of the popular vote in the elections of November 26, 2006. This electoral recognition is an element to back up to the political change agenda and the social transformation of the government.<sup>18</sup>

Presentation  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan Para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007: 10)

In this chapter I analyze the “*Plan Nacional de Desarrollo*” to identify the notions of development present in the document. Since the “*Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana*” has 500 pages, I have decided not to work with the whole document, but focus mainly on three sections:

1. *Presentación* (Presentation)
2. *Que entendemos por Desarrollo* (What do we understand by development)
3. *Una nueva estrategia para el Desarrollo* (A new strategy for development).

I have chosen these sections because they lay the basic premises used throughout the

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<sup>18</sup> Original version in Spanish: Cuando en enero de 2007 iniciamos la construcción del Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2007-2010, Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana, no partimos de cero. La agenda de cambio, definida en el Plan de Gobierno que el Movimiento País presentó a la ciudadanía, en el marco de su participación electoral del año 2006. (...)

El Plan de Gobierno cuenta con la legitimidad democrática que le dio el mayoritario voto popular de la ciudadanía en las elecciones del 26 de noviembre de 2006. Este reconocimiento electoral es el respaldo de la agenda de cambio político y transformación social del gobierno.



document, regarding development and the state. The sections also outline the way to achieve the transition from the inefficient state to an efficient entity in charge of improving the quality of life for the citizens in the country.

Regarding the methodology I am following the rationality suggested by Scriven (1976), as previously mentioned, by working with sections of the document as statements made by an actor because in a way I consider both documents as informants to my research. I try to find the rationality behind the choice of words and the structure of the document, identifying the assumed notions and the unstated premises in the original argument. The intention is not to give a positive or negative value of the statement but try to establish the validity of the arguments on the face of what they (the document) identify as development.

In this chapter, I focus on notions of development and have identified two central concepts; the idea of a new kind of development and the new state as an entity that is defined in contrast to the perceived failure of the previous governments in the country and in the region. Finally, as a conclusion to this section, there is an analysis of the relationship between the levels of discourse (global, regional and local) and the idea of development in the plan as a way of contextualizing the notion within the discourse of the government and in the global discourse.

### **From failure to success**

The ideas found on the National Development Plan 2007 2010 allow us to concrete the citizenship revolution; they entangle important technical and political changes as well as methodological and instrumental innovations. However the most profound meaning of the Plan is the conceptual rupture with the ideas of the Washington Consensus and its stabilizing and structural adjustment policies and the reduction of the state to its minimal expression, to the neoliberalism in its local application, which created a weakness in the political and institutional system as well as a profound economic crisis.

The plan brings back a notion of development that privilege achieving a well being, a notion that requires the increase freedom, opportunities and potentialities of human beings and the recognition of one another to reach a share future. This requires the change in the model of the state, to get back its capacities to plan, regulate and redistribute and to create a deeper processes of decentralization and stronger citizen participation.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Original version in Spanish: Las propuestas contenidas en el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2007-2010

The *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo* is a public policy document that draws upon the critique of the neoliberal economy and the way that it has been carried out in Ecuador, making special reference to poor economic results as well as the increment of social inequality and poverty in the country. The government relies in a situation of perceived strong legitimacy achieved through consequent electoral victories. Within this project the Plan, plays an important role because it serves to create an agenda for the actions of the state, there is in the document a new and strong notion of change and revolution as the key aspects of a project stressing the failure of not only previous conceptions of development but of the state model itself. The new agenda of change is mentioned not only in this document but is part of the whole narrative of the government, and is portrayed especially here, referring to the need for a political and social transformation not only for the current administration but for the country itself.

The plan follows the government discourse and argues that policies like the Washington Consensus have created for the country what is called by the government a “*larga noche neoliberal*” (long neoliberal night). This is used by the government as a narrative tool to call attention upon the influence of the credit organizations in the economic policies of the country. The idea of a *larga noche neoliberal* and the way in which is presented to the country now justifies a new model of development with a big state involved in the economy and in the redistribution of resources. The economic crisis during the last years in the country has, according to the discourse of the government and the Plan, annulled the state’s possibility of controlling the economy, forcing it to reduce itself.

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permiten concretar la Revolución Ciudadana, plantean importantes desafíos técnicos y políticos e innovaciones metodológicas e instrumentales. Sin embargo, el significado más profundo del Plan está en la ruptura conceptual que plantea con los idearios del Consenso de Washington, con sus políticas estabilizadoras, de ajuste estructural y de reducción del Estado a su mínima expresión, y el neoliberalismo aplicado en su versión criolla, que provocaron una debilidad del sistema político e institucional y una profunda crisis socioeconómica.

El Plan recupera una visión de desarrollo que privilegia la consecución del buen vivir, que presupone la ampliación de las libertades, oportunidades y potencialidades de los seres humanos, y el reconocimiento de unos a otros para alcanzar un porvenir compartido. Ello, necesariamente, implica un cambio en el modo de Estado, que recupere sus capacidades de gestión, planificación, regulación y redistribución y que profundice los procesos de desconcentración, descentralización y participación ciudadana

The state institutions have thus become unable of planning and therefore incapable of choosing the right path for the country. The plan is understood as a public policy that pretends to become a tool for giving back to the State the influence lost during the era of reforms and structural adjustments<sup>20</sup>

Within the discourse of the government, and visible here, the role of the state is bigger to the one before and it becomes the institution responsible for not only achieving economic growth, but more importantly for overseeing the translation of this growth into lasting development. In the document, development is built over the notion of well being, capacities and opportunities as a way of improving people's quality of life. The Plan treats these terms in the same level as A. Sen (2002) does; in the sense that they are key elements to create a real, sustainable and lasting development. It is clear that it is assumed in the Plan that in order to construct this new understanding of development, beyond economic growth, a new State is needed; one that regains its role into planning.

Is within this conceptual framework that the factors of transmission of inequality in the country can be understood. The imperatives of the economic policy, prioritizing stability through fiscal adjustment, transformed the social policy not only in subsidiary and patronize but inefficient to redistribute wealth. Inequality [*in the country*] is explained by the low resources put into social inversion; the decrease in the spending during the second lustrum of the decade to reduce the fiscal burden, and the inefficacy to focalize emergency social programs, that were not at any moment there to promote social mobility. The result was that the "new" social policy had scarce impact on poverty and wellbeing of the population.<sup>21</sup>

What do we understand by development?  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007: 31)

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<sup>20</sup> Structural adjustment (SAPs) describes policy changes implemented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (the Bretton Woods Institutions) in developing countries. These policy changes become conditionalities for getting new loans or lower interest rates in existing loans. The SAPs aim to move countries away from self-directed models of national development that focus on the domestic market and toward outward-looking development models that stress the importance of complete integration into the dominant global structures of trade, finance, and production. See: Carol Welch and Jason Oringer 1998.

<sup>21</sup> Original version in Spanish: En este marco se entienden los factores de transmisión de la desigualdad en el país. Los imperativos de la política económica, al priorizar la estabilidad por medio del ajuste fiscal, convirtieron a la política social no sólo en subsidiaria y asistencial sino en insustancial para la redistribución de la riqueza. La desigualdad se explica así en torno a los bajos recursos destinados a la inversión social; a los recortes del gasto producidos en el segundo lustro de la década para disminuir la carga fiscal, y a la poca eficiencia de la focalización de los programas sociales de emergencia que, en ningún momento, promovieron la movilidad social. El resultado fue que la 'nueva' política social tuvo escaso impacto sobre la pobreza y el bienestar de la población.

This new state presented in the document requires a notion of citizenship strongly linked to participation, something that currently is a new power within the institutionalization of the state, demanding that the citizen is understood as subject of rights entitled to make decisions and have stronger input. The bigger but at the same time more efficient state has to be transformed by processes of decentralization that would determine new models of distribution of resources, in contrast to previous styles of development. The new model argues to go beyond the dichotomy between the centre and the marginal areas that used to dominate the public and private initiatives of development, assuming that resources would expand into the rest of the society.

Given that this process [*development*] works on the basis of the fulfillment of universal human rights, the axes of a new human development strategy cannot be conducted on the basis of selective policies. In consequence the objective of production and the distribution of public goods demands to universalize the services and improve its quality, as the objective of the production of goods and services are to improve the quality of citizen's life.<sup>22</sup>

A new development strategy  
A state with capacity to plan, regulate and develop  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007:62)

Development in this new state is closely related to the idea of universal human rights, yet still recognizing difference as a way of portraying the complexity of the Ecuadorian society, which is acknowledged as a very important aspect of development itself. However, it is clear that the acknowledgement of difference cannot be translated into selective policies as a way of obtaining development. Implicitly, there is recognition that creating a policy focused on the presupposed vulnerability of a specific group actually invalidates this group as an actor able to take the decision process as their own.

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<sup>22</sup> Original version in Spanish: Dado que este proceso se sustenta en el cumplimiento de los derechos humanos universales, los ejes de una nueva estrategia de desarrollo humano no pueden conducirse en base a políticas selectivas. En consecuencia, el objetivo de la producción y distribución de bienes públicos supone universalizar las coberturas y mejorar la calidad de las prestaciones, así como el objetivo de la producción de bienes y servicios de mercado es mejorar la calidad de vida de los ciudadanos

This conceptual rupture that we propose has ethical orientations and principles that show the way to a radical change. The ethical orientations are expressed in three dimensions: social and economic justice, democratic and participative justice and intergenerational justice. There are also several principles that sustain this rupture towards a fair, free, democratic and sustainable society and that can be summarizing in:

- The human being who desires to live in society.
- Equality, integration and social cohesion.
- The fulfilling of rights and capabilities. The reconstruction of the public space.
- Work and leisure to set the human being free.
- Solidarity and cooperative living.
- Harmonic living with the nature.
- A democratic, plurinational, mega diverse and laic state.
- A democracy that at the same time is representative, participative and deliberative.<sup>23</sup>

Presentación  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan Para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007: 11)

### **The state, as a key element of the *Revolución Ciudadana***

The new state suggested in the Plan still recognizes the link between development and economic growth, but attaining different values to the parts of the process and not only focusing on the revenues of capital. As a result of this new conceptualization of the economic process, there is the idea that the productive activity has to be subordinated to the impacts that it might inflict not only upon the land but society as well. The economic activity as the ultimate and sole goal of the development initiatives, as it was understood prior to the new discourse of the Plan, is, at least on paper, no longer a

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<sup>23</sup> Original in Spanish: Esta ruptura conceptual que proponemos tiene orientaciones éticas y principios que marcan el camino hacia un cambio radical. Las orientaciones éticas se expresan en tres dimensiones: la justicia social y económica, la justicia democrática participativa y la justicia intergeneracional.

A su vez, existen varios principios que sustentan esta ruptura hacia una sociedad justa, libre, democrática y sustentable y que se pueden sintetizar en:

- El ser humano que desea vivir en sociedad.
- La igualdad, integración y cohesión social.
- El cumplimiento de derechos y potenciación de las capacidades.
- La reconstrucción de lo público.
- Un trabajo y ocio liberadores.
- Una convivencia solidaria y cooperativa.
- Una convivencia armónica con la naturaleza.
- Un Estado democrático, plurinacional, mega diverso y laico.
- Una democracia que sea a la vez representativa, participativa y deliberativa

mechanism to justify activities that do not consider the future generations. Discursively the economic activity needs to create development, and has to be closely related to the improvement of the quality of life.

Throughout the Plan, there is an understanding of poverty not only as shortage of income but also as an impoverished life. This relationship has been stressed by Sen (200), and even though his work is not explicitly mentioned in the plan, the use of his ideas is clear and evident. For instance, the scarcity of income; although playing a big part in the kind of life one can lead, is not as important as the fact that poverty means living an impoverished life, or as Sen refers to, the lack of freedom to lead minimally decent lives. Having freedom to live the life one chooses is linked to income, but also includes other factors not necessarily related to economy.

Energy, water and natural resources, because of its finiteness have to be use responsibly, democratically and rationally. (...) There are key areas to potentiate an economic growth that will create human development (energy, oil, telecommunications, science and technology, mining, water and rural development), that demand special attention from the state. To manage them, trough law, we will create as many public companies as necessary, capable of managing key resources that are competence of the state, independent, rentable, transparent and sustainable, according to the objectives proposed.

This new model of state will focus on the results, in the improvement of efficacy and effectiveness of public policies to the simplification of making transparent procedures, to the improvement of public services and the fight against corruption and the recovery of the public power<sup>24</sup>.

A New Strategy of Development  
A state with effective capacities to plan, regulate and develop  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007:73)

As these sections illustrate, as a way to successfully pass beyond a stage of poverty understood as an impoverished life, the state has to play a bigger role and ultimately

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<sup>24</sup> Original version in Spanish: La energía, el agua y los recursos naturales, dada su finitud, requieren usarse responsable, democrática y racionalmente. (...) Existen áreas estratégicas para potenciar el crecimiento económico que sustenta el desarrollo humano (energía, petróleo, telecomunicaciones, ciencia y tecnología, minería, agua y desarrollo rural), de especial atención por parte del Estado. Para gestionarlas se consolidarán, mediante una ley, las empresas públicas que se consideren necesarias, capaces de administrar los recursos estratégicos de competencia del Estado, en forma independiente, rentable, transparente y sustentable, de acuerdo a los objetivos propuestos.

Este nuevo modelo de Estado se orienta al logro de resultados, al mejoramiento de la eficiencia y eficacia de las políticas públicas, a la simplificación y transparentación de los procedimientos, al mejoramiento de los servicios públicos, al combate contra la corrupción y a la recuperación de la potestad pública

regain the management of the sectors considered as strategic for development. There is no explicit mention of private inversion in these sectors, but the Plan calls again for respecting the independence of the country as one of the key factors for the success of the initiative. The narrative of the government points toward the idea that public power has been withdrawn from the state as a consequence of policies targeting a small state, and the stress on the importance of the market and its ability to regulate itself. The new state proposed in the document not only focuses on creating wealth, (which is still a key factor for development) but also works for a democratic redistribution of it. At the same time, there is implicitly an understanding of corruption as a factor that compromises the possibility to create a better future for the whole country and future generations.

It is assumed in the Plan that the state has to be able to create a solid economic situation that will play a key role in creating a sustainable development. This involves markets transformed into mechanisms to create wealth and to redistribute it; and stressing the need of regulating and democratizing their activities. This is regarded as the only way to limit what, the government assumes as perverse influence. In the document, there is the idea that being competitive and efficient are among the goals within this new idea of development, but in addition to competition, one has to have in mind a common well being. Once again, there is in the document a requirement for a bigger State that will be accountable for democratizing the distribution of resources and wealth in the country. It is assumed here that civil initiatives to control economic activity have not been successful, and therefore the state needs to deal with this lack of control in various aspects of the production activity, such as the environment and quality for workers. The idea of accountability to the citizens as it is expressed in the document and visible in the sections above, is explained as representation from the state, assuming that preferences and needs of citizens are expressed in the government actions and decisions.

### **The path forward**

In order to democratize the results of development and economic growth; big social inequalities and territorial disparities in Ecuador cannot be seen solely as a inefficacy problem in the collective appropriation of resources, but at the same time as a restriction to the possibilities of expanding the local market and as an ethic and moral obstacle to make all the citizens recognizable among each other as fit individuals to exercise their freedom. The levels of economic growth that might be reached are useless if they are not transformed into resources that can potential the individual capacities and

possibility the development of the whole national community.<sup>25</sup>

What do we understand by development?  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan Para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007: 46)

According to the rhetoric of the government presented in the Plan, the understanding of development in the country linked economic growth with development, and within that notion, the ultimate goal of the initiatives was to improve the ability to create wealth. Now, there is still in the Plan the recognition that wealth is a factor for development, with the argument that growth alone is not sufficient to create lasting development, since it requires a better distribution of resources and an enhanced planning to establish a national agenda in every sector and not only in economy. This is presented as a way of creating a development that goes beyond economic growth itself. The document repeatedly makes reference to the kind of state that would be needed in order to achieve these changes, a big entity with a strong role in the economy, which will promote economic activities to improve citizen's ability of living what the citizen values as a dignified existence. In this sense, according to the Plan the state needs to generate a market that is not only capable of creating wealth, but also will assure an adequate distribution of resources.

***Queremos una Patria altiva y soberana donde Todos y Todas podamos vivir bien y luchar por lo que soñamos***<sup>26</sup>

That is why, we propose a way of seeing development that will allow us to deepen the work to create more ambitious national objective. With this in mind we understand by development the well being of everybody, in peace and harmony with the nature and the indefinite prolongation of the human cultures. The well being presupposes that freedoms, opportunities, capacities and real potentialities of individuals will growth in a way that would allow to simultaneously obtaining what the

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<sup>25</sup> Original version in Spanish: Democratizar los frutos del desarrollo y crecimiento económico: las enormes desigualdades sociales y disparidades territoriales del Ecuador no pueden ser vistos únicamente como un problema de ineficacia en la apropiación colectiva de los recursos sino, a la vez, como un freno a las posibilidades de expansión del mercado interno y como un obstáculo ético y moral para que todos los ciudadanos se reconozcan entre sí como individuos aptos para ejercer sus libertades. Los niveles de crecimiento económico que puedan alcanzarse son inútiles sino logran ser transformados en recursos que potencien las capacidades individuales y habiliten el desarrollo de toda la comunidad nacional

<sup>26</sup> This is the phrase with which the Government Plan of Rafael Correa opens, the translation is: we want a sovereign, pride and solidarity Country, where we (men and women) can live well and fight for whatever we dream for.



society, land, diverse collective identities and one – seen as a universal human being and particular at the same time – value as an object of a desirable life. Our concept of development forces us to recognize, understand and value each other as a way of enabling auto realization and the construction of a share future.<sup>27</sup>

Que entendemos por Desarrollo  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan Para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007: 59)

There is the stress on the lack of positive results from earlier development initiatives in the country as responsible for worsening the quality of life in Ecuador. There is in also an assumption that poor economic results translate into inability to create a better life for the whole community. The new understanding of development expressed in the Plan and visible here in these sections of the document, no longer accepts a conceptualization of individual well being as the ultimate goal of economic activity and development but, requires a move back to the idea of collective well being as a community goal.

Although the Plan does not clarify the notion of freedom, I see it that it is similar to the one that Amartya Sen presents in his book *Development as Freedom* (2000). There he sustains that “freedom is what development advances, (...) viewing development in terms of expanding substantive freedoms directs attention to the ends that make development important, rather than merely to some of the means that, inter alia, play a prominent part in the process”. (Sen, 2000: 3). In Sen and in the Plan, freedom is presented as the key factor for development understood as an issue that would allow citizens to reclaim their role in the process of decision making. Freedom then becomes a mechanism to understand each other as the subject in charge not only one’s own development but the communal as well. Freedom, in the case I am analysing here, has to be understood as not only the absence of imposition to take a decision but, and more important, as the possibility to take a decision not limited by the lack of resources of any kind.

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<sup>27</sup> Original version in Spanish: Por ello proponemos una mirada de desarrollo que nos permita ahondar esfuerzos para conseguir objetivos nacionales más ambiciosos. En tal virtud, entendemos por desarrollo la consecución del buen vivir de todos y todas, en paz y armonía con la naturaleza y la prolongación indefinida de las culturas humanas. El buen vivir presupone que las libertades, oportunidades, capacidades y potencialidades reales de los individuos se amplien de modo que permitan lograr simultáneamente aquello que la sociedad, los territorios, las diversas identidades colectivas y cada uno - visto como un ser humano universal y particular a la vez- valora como objetivo de vida deseable. Nuestro concepto de desarrollo nos obliga a reconocernos, comprendernos y valorarnos unos a otros a fin de posibilitar la autorrealización y la construcción de un porvenir compartido.

The Plan stresses that improving people's capacities to take decisions and the redistribution of resources will have a strong impact on citizen's quality of life and the possibility to create a better future. The idea of the new development in the Plan is correlated with the growth of the nation through bigger national objectives, something that has to go beyond economic growth, to include a definition of well being for everybody (female and male) and the idea of an intergenerational justice to secure the existence of resources for future generations. At the same time, there is an assumed perception of failure of previous development initiatives to accept the significance of difference within the complex Ecuadorian society. This involves a critique of targeted policies from preceding governments translated in the lack of positive results for the country.

We believe that we are taking a huge step into the global proposal that would allow giving a radical and qualitative turnaround when proposing to the international community the recognition of the value of things and actions. The recognition of this value, will imply a radical turn from the usual understanding of development, because it will make reference to things that exist but not necessarily are for sale in the market, but they still have a social, cultural, aesthetic or ambient value that everybody (Ecuadorians and the rest of the world) need to cooperate in order to assure its existence.

It is within the recovery of the perspective that global public goods can exist, that we would erase the frontiers between countries betting for the construction of development that calls for a global collective well being. If there would be a global recognition we would be taking a huge step, like the one taken by the man in the moon, into the hope of believing that another world can be possible<sup>28</sup>.

What do we understand by development?  
A new strategy in development  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007:60)

This notion of well being for the citizen expands to other considerations specially those relating to the nature and the environment. In the Plan, land as a physical space is

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<sup>28</sup> Original version in Spanish: Creemos que estamos dando un paso enorme en una propuesta mundial que permita dar un cambio de rumbo radical y cualitativo al proponer a la comunidad internacional el reconocimiento del valor de uso de las cosas y de las acciones. El reconocimiento de tal valor, implicaría un viraje radical sobre las usuales perspectivas de desarrollo, dado que reconocería que existen cosas que no necesariamente se venden ni se compran en el mercado, pero no por ello no tienen un valor social, cultural, estético o ambiental en la cual todos (ecuatorianos y resto del mundo) debemos cooperar para que sigan existiendo.

Es la recuperación de la perspectiva de que pueden existir bienes públicos mundiales, de tal forma que se ponga en tela las fronteras entre naciones apostando a la construcción de un desarrollo que implica un bienestar colectivo mundial. De existir un reconocimiento a nivel mundial estaríamos dando un gran paso, como el del hombre a la luna, en la esperanza de creer que otro mundo es posible.

incorporated into the policy, getting the possibility to be considered as a subject and therefore, in a sense able to choose an existence worth living. It is clear that there is not such a thing as the environment expressing its will; hence this assumption lays the responsibility of respecting this will on the citizens that live in the space. It also leaves the door open for limiting capital generating activities if these get into a conflict with the existence of the nature itself. This can be related to the idea of global public goods as expressed in the discourse of the UN. A healthy environment is presented as a good that has impact not only in the well being of the Ecuadorians but also to the global community.

Development from within requires a sovereign foreign policy exercised through international commercial and financial policies, to support a harmonic territorial development of the country. That is why, we promote the multilateralism and the negotiation as a block and we refuse unilateral non negotiated concessions.

For Ecuador it is a priority international negotiations in subjects like environment and climate changing, the need of negotiating compensation with the industrialized countries for the impacts on the environment and the establishment of global mechanisms to pay the ecological debt and the creation of a global responsible vision to the management of water resources with a base of agreements regional and global<sup>29</sup>.

What do we understand by development?  
A new strategy in development  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007:66)

The notion of development suggested in these sections involves the recognition of the value of things beyond the one they have if they are to be traded in the market. In this way the document utterly attains a higher significance to other values rather than the economic. As Samuelson (1954) explains in his definition of goods, different goods can attain different values and nobody has the right to deny these elements of its value for someone else. In this case, this definition is extrapolated here to the environment, at the

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<sup>29</sup> Original version in Spanish: El desarrollo endógeno requiere una política exterior soberana ejercida mediante políticas internacionales comerciales y financieras pragmáticas, de apoyo al desarrollo territorial armónico del país. Para ello, promueve el multilateralismo y la negociación en bloque y rechaza las concesiones unilaterales no negociadas.

Para el Ecuador son prioritarias las negociaciones internacionales en temas de medio ambiente y cambio climático, la necesidad de negociar compensaciones con los países industrializados debido a los efectos causados en el ambiente, el establecimiento de mecanismos globales para el pago de la deuda ecológica y el fomento de una visión responsable de alcance mundial para la gestión de los recursos hídricos, con base en convenios y acuerdos regionales y mundiales

same time making responsible the global community for an initiative to create a better future for everybody.

For the Plan, development has to be the result of a process originating inside the country. This is seen as a way of guaranteeing a lasting, sustainable and positive outcome. This does not disqualify the interrelation between countries, this interrelation has to be regulated through an effective foreign policy that would be different from the one exercised by earlier administrations, where according to the narrative there has not been a notion of sovereignty. In the document there is the idea that a weak foreign policy has made room for different arrangements non negotiated and imposed on the country, although development has to come from inside, the foreign direct inversion is recognized as a way of creating development through the expansion of knowledge for the key sectors of the economy.

This new cooperation has to create transference of knowledge to improve the qualifications of the domestic industries, and not to produce and take the revenues outside the country. In this sense, international cooperation is a way of accelerating the changes, controlled by the state that will be responsible for judging the influence of the cooperation and the possible outcomes. The government through the Plan argues that on a global level the industrialized nations need to compensate for the resources used and the impact on the environment for this and future generations. The Plan proposes to consider non traditional goods; like the environment, which can be brought to a global market and at the end generate revenues for the country, similar to the ones produced by more traditional goods like oil. At the same time the quality of the environment is seen to have a bigger role and therefore should have priority over the economic activities.

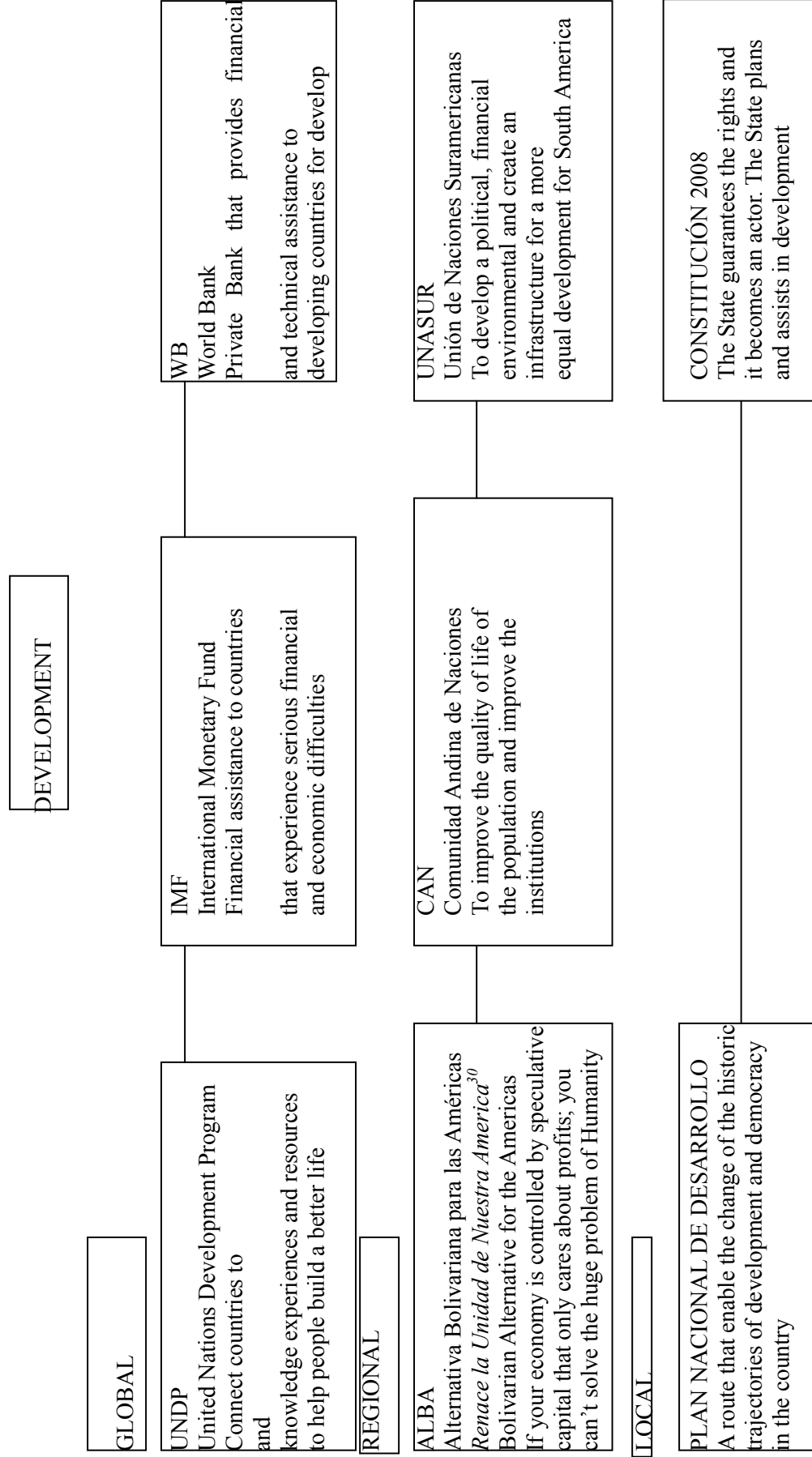
### **The Discourse of Development**

In this chapter I have tried to identify the notions of development present in the Development Plan. Considering that Ecuador currently is in the middle of what is called a revolution and change, I think it is important to make sense of the document that it is considered as the key element in the country policy. It is clear that the two concepts that are more present in the sections I have analyzed here are state and development, both formulated as key elements of the new model. The perception of failure as well as the responsibility of the previous governments is present. This argument has been

transformed into a narrative tool to justify the reforms of the government and the bigger role in the economy.

Within this notion of development, the state turns into an entity that guarantees the rights at the same time is an actor. In Graphic 1, there are the *dominant* discourses that now define development in Latin America, the idea of the UNDP and the concept of a new kind of development beyond economic growth that still influence organizations like the WB or the IMF. Regionally the idea of the ALBA originally created by Hugo Chavez, although Ecuador is not a member Correa has repeatedly mentioned that a united Latin America has better chances to overcome the effects of the economic crisis and limit the influence of the global institutions. The CAN and UNASUR have an idea of development that is linked with improving the quality of life of citizens of the region

**Figure 1:** The levels of discourse regarding development. Elaborated by the author



<sup>30</sup> The Unity of our America is reborn

## CHAPTER V

### Vulnerability vs. Rights

Within the logic of a full citizenship, the category of vulnerable groups that has oriented the public policy of the last two decades, fixated on those groups as special objects of social protection from the state has to be discarded. That it is why it is necessary to modify the current constitutional definition of vulnerable groups; because it implies that children, teenagers, pregnant women, incapacitates and elders are beneficiaries of special public policies and objects of priory attention from the state and the society.

These social groups cannot be only treated as objects of a welfare policy but will have to be subjects of rights guarantee by public policies that will be differentials and universals.<sup>31</sup>

Rights Guarantee  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan Para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007:73)

In this chapter I analyse the notions of development and rights in relation to gender. I focus on three objectives of the “Plan Nacional de Desarrollo”.

- Objective 1: Social cohesion and territorial integration
- Objective 2: The improvement of capacities and capabilities of the population
- Objective 8: The construction of identity

My intention is first to identify what role the notion of vulnerability plays in the way in which women are presented in the development Plan and, then reflect on the conceptual construction of the notion of identity and the new idea of citizenship required within the

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<sup>31</sup> Original version in Spanish: En la lógica de abogar por una ciudadanía plena, debe descartarse la categoría de grupos vulnerables que ha orientado la política pública de las dos últimas décadas y que se ha fijado en aquellas personas objeto de especial protección por parte del Estado. Por ello, es necesario modificar la actual definición constitucional de grupos vulnerables, pues plantea que los niños, adolescentes, mujeres embarazadas, discapacitados y personas de la tercera edad son beneficiarios de políticas públicas especiales y objetos de atención prioritaria por parte del Estado y la sociedad. Estos grupos sociales no pueden ser tratados como meros objetos de una política pública asistencial, sino que deben pasar a ser titulares directos de derechos que deben ser garantizados por políticas públicas diferenciadas y universales.

project. According to the government, vulnerability as it has been understood by previous governments has conceptually translated into a mechanism that objectivises citizens, transforming them into elements portrayed as depending of an outsider intervening. According to this discourse the citizens, are seen as no longer capable of choosing what is important, but also they lose their ability to participate in the decision making process. In the discourse of the current administration, it is argued that the stress on vulnerability in the development initiatives of the last decades has fail to produce an actual and lasting process of change, because it does not facilitate a realistic process of inclusion and integration.

The Plan aims to include minorities into the process of decision making, arguing that previous strategies have failed to do so, e.g. by neglecting to take into account the complexity of the Ecuadorian society. I have chosen to work with these objectives for this section because they mention aspects that I want to explore further here; first, the idea of women as citizens and subjects of rights beyond conceptualizing as vulnerable group. And also the issue of the impact of the redefinition of the notion of vulnerability in the process of the construction of the identity as part of the new *patria* proposed by the government.

This chapter is divided in two main sections; the first addresses the changes in the definition of the notion of vulnerability, tracing the path from an object of targeted policies to a subject of rights. In the second section, I lay the basis for the discussion that will be explored further in the next chapter, considering the kind of citizenship that the Plan requires; focusing here on the issue of identity. As a conclusion to this section, I reflect on the fact that the document uses concrete and abstract notions to build a set of strategies to socialize the benefits of development.

### **The Notion of Vulnerability**

An element that it is behind this deepening of inequality is the historic process of social exclusion to which have been subjected many of the groups of the country: women, indians, afro Ecuadorians and the habitants of the marginal areas. Sexism, racism, discrimination regarding sexual orientation, age and others incite negatively in getting and keeping a job, in the access and management of resources and in the incorporation of everybody without discrimination to economic and social life.

The state has the obligation to assure well being of the human beings, trough



public policies that allow the increment of capacities and guarantee the full exercise of rights. That it is why we plan an articulation between social protection policies, to generate capacities and social inclusion through work, a clear commitment to the well being of the least favorable groups in the country <sup>32</sup>

Objective 1  
Fostering equality, cohesion and social integration and territorial  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007:88)

Throughout the document, there is a critique of previous strategies of development conducted by the state and private initiatives, pointing to the fact that these have failed to create a lasting development for everybody in the country. And although there are cultural and historical reasons that have contributed to deepen the processes of inequality (SENPLADES, 2007:87), the Plan presents these processes of discrimination as the direct result of the work of previous administrations arguing that they have focused in creating difference and not on working for inclusion, and thus broadening the gap between social groups in the country. According to the Plan, problems of exclusion are the result of a series of historical and political practices that have been directed toward different groups like women (SENPLADES, 2007: 88) categorizing them as vulnerable, transforming this vulnerability in a mechanism of objetivatization of them annulling the possibility to make decisions and have a say in the kind of development desired. At the same time these processes of exclusion translate into a limitation to the labour market or the public life, becoming a definitive setback to the ability of the citizens to create a better quality of life. This discrimination directed towards groups like women is something that the Plan is trying to overcome.

In general terms, the Plan proposes the construction of a new country; one that is the direct result of the change and the revolution, and that will end with processes of discrimination and inequality not only in the economic sphere but also in other spheres

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<sup>32</sup> Original version in Spanish: Un elemento que está detrás de esta profundización de la desigualdad es el proceso histórico de exclusión social al que han sido sometidos muchos grupos poblacionales del país: las mujeres, los indígenas, los afro-ecuatorianos y los habitantes del campo y de las zonas urbanas marginales. El sexismo, el racismo, la discriminación por orientación sexual, por edad y otros inciden negativamente en la obtención y mantenimiento del empleo, en el acceso y gestión de recursos, y en la incorporación de todas las personas, sin discriminación, a la vida económica y social.

El Estado tiene la obligación de asegurar el bienestar de los seres humanos, a través de políticas públicas que permitan la ampliación de capacidades y garanticen el ejercicio pleno de derechos. Para ello, se plantea la articulación entre políticas de protección social, de generación de capacidades y de inclusión económica a partir del trabajo, desde una clara apuesta por el bienestar de los grupos menos favorecidos del país.

of the society. This is sought to be accomplished by giving room to a process of inclusion that will create a scenario of discussion and therefore further strengthening the public arena. In the sections cited above there is an implicit critique that has already been presented before in the Plan; against traditional development policies (SENPLADES, 2007: 85, 91). Instead, the Plan calls for respect of diverse identities in the country and thus improving opportunities, in the sense that these opportunities will become tools to decide what kind of future is desired.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter this idea of change and revolution required a different type of state, one that brings back the idea of a big body directly involved in not only taking care of every need of the citizen, but at the same time one that is able to satisfy every demand. This new big state also has to be able to work to overcome restrictions due to processes of inequality and exclusion, in close relation with the issues of development in the country. Within this new model proposed by the Plan, economic inclusion plays a key role and becomes an element that will assure social integration. Implicitly also there is a notion that is mentioned also elsewhere in the Plan (SENPLADES, 2007: 16, 37, 46), that is, that the traditional understanding of development has been link to the satisfaction of needs only of certain groups. This has eventually transformed into a mechanism of exclusion instead of something that will improve the citizen's quality of life, because it fails to democratized the benefits and include everybody into the process.

### **Being vulnerable understood as being a victim; the critique of notions of vulnerability**

Physiological, physic and sexual violence is the result of unequal and oppressive relations that principally affect vulnerable groups and historically disadvantage like Indians, Afro-Americans, women and GLBT people. Violence, cohesion of any kind and a denigrate treatment diminish or annul the possibility of exercising and fully enjoying some basic rights and fundamental freedoms and deny the participation of every person in society<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Original version in Spanish: La violencia física, psicológica y sexual es el resultado de relaciones desiguales y opresivas y afectan principalmente a grupos vulnerables e históricamente desaventajados, como indígenas, afroamericanos/as, mujeres y personas GLBT. La violencia, la coacción de cualquier tipo y los tratos denigrantes disminuyen o anulan la posibilidad de ejercer y disfrutar plenamente de ciertos derechos básicos y libertades fundamentales e impiden la participación de todas las personas en la sociedad

There is here the argument that notions of vulnerability have transformed subjects into objects and at the same time victims. According to this discourse, a vulnerable group becomes an easy target for factors like violence. Violence then turns into an element that invalidates the possibility of creating a lasting development, because it diminishes the ability of building a set of tools that will allow every citizen to live a life worth living. Implicit in this section, there is an understanding of a collective well being as the ultimate goal, an idea that has been explored in other parts of the Plan (SENPLADES, 2007:11) as well as in my previous chapter.

The discourse presented in the Plan also addresses the impact of violence in relation to the construction of a shared well being, in the sense that when a person is exposed to actions like violence, it sees the possibility to integrate in society severely compromised. According to the Plan, violence has a huge impact on the confidence needed to take part in the process of decision making, and in consequence, should be part of the change that is being proposed by the government. Implicit here there is a justification for the government to control violence in society, not only in the public sphere, but also in the private sphere. This is in order to guarantee better citizens capable of taking part in the process of revolution and in the construction of the new *patria*.

According to the Plan, vulnerability transforms citizens into objects and victims and as such, in need of constant care, unable to play any role in their own future. This stress on the vulnerable as victim is carried further when related to the problem of being left outside of the economic system. The idea of autonomy in the Plan (SENPLADES, 2007: 88) is related among other things to being able to receive money through participation in the market. The lack of such participation is seen to put citizens first into a position of risk, and then transforms into an inability to be in charge of taking decisions and to be responsible for the future to pursue.

By lacking to recognize the domestic work is another mechanism of perpetuation of poverty and exclusion of women. The difference in the absence of own

income for women shows the lack of economical autonomy and poverty, and it is linked above all to doing non remunerated domestic work<sup>34</sup>.

Objective 1  
Fostering equality, cohesion and social integration and territorial  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007:90)

According to the Plan, not recognizing domestic labour as a work in itself, seems to perpetuate the gender roles that implicitly are stressed here as reasons for the position of vulnerability and exclusion of women, not only in the economy but in the rest of the society. In the Plan, the term domestic labour is replaced with “*trabajo reproductivo*” (reproductive work), which the Plan argues become equivalent to any other job and should be recognized as socially needed work, creating rights like that of being covered by the social security (Policy 1,1). In order to secure this a goal of this policy becomes to sponsor the equality on the amount of hours put into reproductive work (Goal 1, 6). Nevertheless there is not; at least not at this stage, a clear mechanism to achieve this kind of recognition or to sponsor equality in practice. In general, the Plan is only a planning strategy and not an “executorial” tool, and therefore, the mechanisms to actually carry out the policies and the goals are left to be implemented by different institutions of the society.

Recognize and respect diversity and eradicate all sexual, ethnic, generational, incapacity politic or religious discriminative practice. The first element of this policy is to create sustainable and massive education programs to create sensibility and conscience to eliminate all physical, psychological, sexual violence and coercion of any type and the inhuman activities and denigrate and to promote the equality in rights and obligations inside the family, to eradicate traditional gender stereotypes. A key element in this sense is the actions to eliminate discriminatory stereotypes and gender violence of the communicational products<sup>35</sup>

Policy 1.4  
Objective 1

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<sup>34</sup> Original version in Spanish: La falta de reconocimiento al trabajo doméstico es otro de los mecanismos que perpetúan la pobreza y la exclusión de las mujeres. La diferencia en la carencia de ingresos propios de las mujeres es una muestra de su falta de autonomía económica y pobreza y está ligada, sobre todo, a la realización de trabajo doméstico no remunerado

<sup>35</sup> Original version in Spanish: Reconocer y respetar la diversidad y erradicar toda práctica de discriminación sexual, étnica, generacional, por discapacidad, política o religiosa El primer componente de esta política consiste en generar programas sostenidos y masivos de educación, sensibilización y concienciación con el fin de eliminar la violencia física, psicológica, sexual, la coacción de cualquier tipo y las actitudes inhumanas y denigrantes y para promover la igualdad de derechos y obligaciones al interior de la familia, erradicando estereotipos sobre los roles tradicionales de género. Un elemento fundamental en este sentido constituyen las acciones para eliminar los estereotipos discriminatorios y las expresiones de violencia de género de los productos comunicacionales.

As it has been mentioned earlier here, the general aim of the Plan is to include marginal groups that have traditionally been left out of the process of development. In order to do so, the new model proposes to combat discrimination in every field, not only in the most obvious and traditional aspects (gender, age, economy) but also in the symbolic (culture, myth, beliefs) as one of the key strategies to achieve a sustainable development. According to the Plan, these changes would be achieved through processes of re-education in the society to eliminate elements that work against integration; such as violence, discrimination and stereotypes. This would begin first at the schools with the idea that it would facilitate to create a set of citizens that would be better prepared to live in the new state, to form part of the revolution and therefore play a bigger role in achieving a common global well being.

Throughout the document there is a critique of the media, something that has been vocalized by the government on different occasions. Here it refers to what is considered as the problematic portrayal of gender roles and labels in the media, and that the Plan identifies as impeding the construction of the new citizenship. Implicitly here the Plan calls for a regulatory initiative from the state to control the media, it is implicitly argued that media has become a tool to perpetuate roles that have been built upon a model that focus on exclusion and marginalization, a model that the Plan argues eventually translates into vulnerability.

The document points toward a notion of capacities and freedom as key elements to obtain a lasting development (SENPLADES, 2007: 108). Even though the Plan does not draw explicitly upon the work of Sen, I see a clear similarity to his work in relation to a series of basic capacities and needs, which are stressed in order to enable people to take part in the development process. Although there is recognition of a set of different basic capacities, the Plan chooses two in the formulation of key elements to overcome vulnerability; that is, adequate nutrition and access to education. These elements become a justification from the state for its requirement to regain control, through the guarantee of universal access, then according to the rhetoric of the government

socializing the benefits of development.

In the educative system there are also efforts to eradicate sexual crimes and to promote sexual education. However, gender equality, which is one of the constitutional mandates, is still far from being achieved. The curriculum does not include this dimension in the majority of the cases; there is not also a focus on interculturality.<sup>36</sup>

Interventions and current policies  
Objective 2  
To improve the capacities and potentialities of the citizenship  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007: 114)

According to the discourse expressed in the Plan the current educative system of the country has not done anything to overcome stereotypes that have translated into vulnerability and that are therefore being reproduced in the curriculum of schools. These stereotypes are seen to perpetuate an idea of traditional gender roles that do not respect the capacities of women and recognize them as equally valuable as men. Mentioning the fact that the previous Constitution already included the mandate to eliminate all forms of discrimination, but failed to do it the Plan once again criticises the previous model and argue for a change that would materialize in the writing of the new Constitution; which is the key strategic document of the project of the government. Previous proposals are seen to have been linked to an utilitarianism understanding of development and economy, in the sense that the ultimate goal has been to create wealth and not necessarily a better quality of life for the citizens in the country.

### **From Vulnerable to a subject of rights:**

Although SENPLADES keeps using the term vulnerability in the Plan, to refer to determinate groups in the country, it no longer makes relates to an object that is not in charge of its own future, but instead to a subject of rights that is due to historical practices of exclusion have come in a vulnerable position in relation to other groups of the society. I consider that equality in the plan is conceptualized in a way similar to the notion of Rawls (1958), in the sense that it refers to practices and not to persons.

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<sup>36</sup> Original version in Spanish: En el sistema educativo también se hacen algunos esfuerzos para erradicar los delitos sexuales y promover la educación sexual. Sin embargo, la equidad de género, que es uno de los mandatos constitucionales para la educación, dista mucho de ser cumplida. El currículo no incorpora esta dimensión en la mayoría de casos, tampoco un enfoque de derechos ni la interculturalidad claramente.

According to the Plan the call for a total equality becomes unrealistic due to human diversity<sup>37</sup>, and instead, all the resources from the state have to be redirected to find what the government argues as “*limites socialmente tolerables de desigualdad*” (socially tolerant limits of inequality) (SENPLADES, 2007: 50). In the Plan the process of achieving these tolerable limits are linked to the notion of justice understood in a similar way as Rawls, that is, as “the elimination of arbitrary distinctions and the establishment, within the structure of practice, of a proper balance between competing claims” (Rawls, 1958: 165).

Once again following Rawls in relation to this case, the citizens are obliged to fulfil a series of duties on the basis of their agreement to take part in the practice (here, the construction of the new state). According to the Plan, part of these duties compel the citizens to “reduce the social and economic gaps and to sponsor integration” (SENPLADES, 2007: 50). Here I see a relation to Sen's understanding of Human Rights as “primarily ethical demands” (Sen, 2004:319) and the underlined requirement to reasonably prevent the violation of these rights. At the same time, it is clear that the new conceptual understanding of vulnerability – something that I will come back later – does not automatically translate into a justification for targeted projects from the government, and cannot be used to demand special treatment. I consider that the Plan aims to pursue equality as a key strategy of development, and it does not imply the homogenising of the society, instead it requires respecting the competing claims that Rawls talks about. This understanding of vulnerability and pursuing of equality would give room for having projects directed toward these sectors taking into account their input.

According to the rhetoric presented in the Plan to overcome vulnerability, education and health are mentioned as key elements for creating a lasting development, a process that not only will have to articulate the element of difference but at the same time will celebrate it. In the area of education, there is the argument that every citizen in the country has the right to be educated and to be healthy, but at the same time there is the recognition that it is more difficult for the vulnerable groups to be able to overcome economic and symbolical barriers (SENPLADES, 2007: 117). I consider that the Plan

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<sup>37</sup> The Plan mentions difference due to more collective causes like natural and social environment, heritage. And to personal like age, sexual orientation, ethnic background, metabolism

tries to reconcile the dilemma between targeted projects as a development strategy, by focusing in the issue of rights of the groups benefited by these policies.

Since education is seen by the Plan as one of the key tools to overcome vulnerability, it has to be free for every child in the country. This as a way of not only guaranteeing a higher enrolment in school, but securing access to an inclusive education, targeting discrimination and creating a better curriculum (SENPLADES, 2007:117). The Plan does acknowledge that women in the country have traditionally found the access to education denied. At the same time there is in the Plan the argument that pursuing the inclusion of women cannot translate into exclusion of other groups; e.g. strategies that improve the quality of life for women on the basis of the detriment of other groups, for example men. Throughout the document it is stressed that every citizen is born as a subject of rights, and no one has benefit over the rest. In this case education transforms in a right that is not only available to children but exists for everyone who wants to learn. Education has to be reformed in order to create one that becomes a tool for the revolution and change proposed by the government and the Plan.

We are looking for an education according to our context, cultures and identities, an education for life, that will unleash free process and that will be the base for a generation of critical thinking. That it is why it is necessary to promote a curricular modernization that will include the notions of diversity, will eliminate gender, sexists, racists, classist and andocentric stereotypes and promoting an harmonic relation between the human being and the nature.<sup>38</sup>

Policy 2.2  
Objective 2  
To improve the capacities and potentialities of the citizenship  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan Para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007:117)

As it has been expressed before in this thesis, there is in the Plan the idea that change has to come from within and no longer as a response to foreign initiatives. According to the rhetoric reproduced by the Plan, the traditional models in both the economy and the education have reproduced roles in the country and perpetuate exclusion. Therefore it is

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<sup>38</sup> Original version in Spanish: Se busca una educación de acuerdo con nuestros contextos, culturas e identidades; una educación para la vida, que desencadene procesos liberadores y sea la base para la generación de un pensamiento crítico. Para ello es necesario promover una reforma curricular que incorpore principios de diversidad, elimine los estereotipos de género, sexistas, racistas, clasistas y androcéntricos y promueva una relación armónica entre el ser humano y la naturaleza.



necessary to create a revolution to change all the institutions in the country, beginning with the Constitution and the way in which the government understands something as key as development. Although, the Plan is not the first governmental initiative to conduct state policies, it is the first one that incorporates notions of well being and satisfaction of needs at a general level and not necessarily related to economic activity. In this sense, the project of the government expressed in this Plan argues that previous strategies have failed to make the distinction between a subject of rights and an object for targeted policies, and thus neglecting the aim to democratize the benefits of development.

### **Identity and Citizenship**

Equality of opportunities can not only refer to individuals, and even less if by that it refers to those who belong to an ethnicity, gender, age or dominant group. Equality refers to the groups, to overcome every form of discrimination, a principle recognized by the current Constitution.

Within this perspective, it is necessary to incorporate a new concept of “interculturality”, which represents a significative advance respect to the old definitions of “multiculturalism” and “pluriculturality”. This last two describe the existence of multiple cultures in a determinate place and present their recognition, respect and tolerance within a frame of equality.

However, they are not useful when analyzing the conflict relationships or the coexistence among diverse cultures, they don’t allow examining other forms of regional, gender and generational diversity and overall they don’t allow analyzing their capacity to contribute and give to the build of coexistence, equity, creativity and the construction of the new.<sup>39</sup>

Objective 8  
To affirm and strengthen the national identity and diverse identities and the  
interculturality  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(2007:261)

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<sup>39</sup> Original version in Spanish: La igualdad de oportunidades no puede referirse solamente a los individuos, y menos si por tales se entiende a quienes pertenecen a una etnia, género, edad o grupo dominante. La igualdad se refiere también a los grupos, a fin de superar todas las formas de discriminación, principio reconocido por la Constitución Política vigente.

En esta perspectiva, es necesario incorporar el nuevo concepto de “interculturalidad”, que representa un avance significativo respecto a las antiguas definiciones de “multiculturalismo” y de “pluriculturalidad”. Estos últimos describen la existencia de múltiples culturas en determinado lugar y plantean su reconocimiento, respeto y tolerancia en un marco de igualdad. Sin embargo, no son útiles para analizar las relaciones de conflicto o convivencia entre las diversas culturas, no permiten examinar otras formas de diversidad regional, de género, generacional, y, sobre todo, no permiten analizar la capacidad que cada una de ellas tiene para contribuir y aportar a la construcción de relaciones de convivencia, equidad, creatividad y construcción de lo nuevo.

As I have noted before, there is throughout the document the notion that not only the development strategies, but every previous governmental initiative have been directed toward the benefit of small groups within the country, leaving big sectors outside the process. What this section refers to is tendency to a shift in the exclusion as a result of prioritizing the groups perceived as once vulnerable. To have special projects targeted to specific groups justified only on the basis of their previous segregation cannot translate into lasting development because it stills works for exclusion.

The citation below makes reference to the Constitution of 1998, where in Art. 1 the country is defined as: “*un estado social de derecho, soberano, unitario, independiente, democrático, pluricultural y multiétnico*”(A social state of rights, sovereign, unitarian, independent, democratic, pluricultural and multiethnic). This is formulated to promote the recognition of different cultures and different ethnic groups within the unity of the Ecuadorian state. The Plan draws upon this formulation to call for the construction of a new concept in order to include not only the recognition of this diversity, but also to recognize the interrelation between the cultures as a path to achieve a total inclusion.

This concept of “interculturality” opens a new politic agenda: the construction of an intercultural society, one that not only demands the recognition of diversity and the respect and equality, but also the recognition of the need of permanent negotiations among the diverse to build a new synthesis, to achieve a plural understanding of the reality, to build the future and to revalue the material and immaterial cultural patrimony.

As such interculturality has the capacity to achieve an agreement among the social, political and institutional actors to fund a lasting development strategy, a concerted vision about the future Ecuador, because it appeals to feelings and values that go beyond the difference that separate. Even when the social pact is finally politic, its driving tread is definitely cultural<sup>40</sup>.

Objective 8  
To affirm and strengthen the national identity and diverse identities and the  
interculturality  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo

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<sup>40</sup> Original version in Spanish: Este concepto de “interculturalidad” abre una nueva agenda política: la construcción de una sociedad intercultural no solo demanda el reconocimiento de la diversidad, su respeto e igualdad, sino también el reconocimiento de la necesidad de negociaciones permanentes entre los diversos para construir nuevas síntesis, lograr una comprensión plural de la realidad, construir el futuro y revalorar el patrimonio cultural material e inmaterial.

Así entendida, la interculturalidad tiene capacidad para lograr un mínimo acuerdo entre los actores sociales, políticos e institucionales diferenciados para fundamentar una propuesta de desarrollo a largo plazo, una visión concertada sobre el Ecuador del futuro, porque apela a sentimientos y valores que trascienden las diferencias que desunen. Aunque el pacto social es finalmente político, su hilo conductor es profundamente cultural

I consider that it becomes evident that the project of the government expressed throughout the Plan relies heavily on the conceptual reconstruction of the society. The construction of the new *patria* relies on the redefinition of conceptual categories that according to the discourse of the government will have a great impact on the process. It becomes here relevant to see that as in any discourse who speaks and decides what to say; for example in the case of citizenship, a different term still recognizes the complexity of the society but conceptually broadens the interrelation among the different cultures, becomes a mechanism to overcome not only processes of discrimination or vulnerability, but a key strategy to achieve development. Another example is in the use of the term *patria* (homeland) as an abstract concept that carries a sentimental connotation and it is more likely to create the kind of feelings that the Plan talks about.

### **Abstract vs. Concrete**

In this chapter, I have tried to reflect on two main issues, the notion of vulnerability and citizenship. These two concepts have a key role in the definition of the Plan and in the strategy of taking this project to the civil society. It would seem that the government of Rafael Correa has seen that in a country that is plagued with what Arturo Valenzuela (2004) calls “interrupted presidencies”, the social support to the project of the government becomes critical to assure the permanence of the government in power and to carry on its strategies.

The conceptual redefinition of the category of vulnerability is an example of the important role that the project of the government attains to the conceptual restructuring of categories that are part of the society. In the case of vulnerability, as I have illustrated here, a new conceptual understanding of this concept is promoted as a key strategy to overcome the limits of exclusion and at the same time universalize the benefits of the development. Here there is also a different understanding of universality that does not refer to the homogenization, but to *universalization* of the benefits of the project of development. These distinctions are not very explicit throughout the document, and I

have tried to provide a deeper analysis of what is implicitly there.

By stressing on violence, the Plan links vulnerability with the notion of a victim. This victim is not capable of participating in the state building process, and has an impact on the consecution of the “ultimate goal” quite different to the utilitarian conception of previous initiatives, instead calling for a shared well being. Since the state proposes the control of bigger areas of the performance of the citizens, with the discourse of guaranteeing a better shared well being. There is here, a problem of accountability that would have to be explored further, it seems that the state progressively seeks to take more control over the citizens, a task that might be welcomed by the citizens after the dismantling of the welfare state; but nonetheless a task that might translate into a coercive state if not overseen by a neutral element.

In the second part of this chapter I have addressed a discussion regarding citizenship that will be expanded in the next chapter; that is, the role of this new identity in the project and in the construction of the *patria altiva y soberana* (a sovereign and proud homeland) to which the President makes reference. Through the reference to Sen and to Rawls, I have tried to explain how the project at the same time calls for special projects when criticising previous initiatives for doing exactly that.

The plurality of the country is reformulated as a *tool kit* to overcome processes of vulnerability and exclusion, and the Plan implicitly also makes the argument that to focus on difference can be a way also of limiting development, because difference can also be used to separate. The ultimate goal of the project has to be to respect difference, while at the same time be able to include everybody in the definition of the shared well being.

The Plan argues that the consequent victories from the government and the high popularity of the president<sup>41</sup> express in a way the willingness of the Ecuadorian citizen to participate in the practice of the *revolución ciudadana* and therefore creating a set of duties for the subjects of rights. But there is not in this *revolución* what using Rawls

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<sup>41</sup> The government has a 70% approval rate and the president has a 61% rate of credibility. CEDATOS: <http://www.cedatos.com.ec/contenido.asp?id=110>

would be the respect of competing claims, and as a result every sector that has contested the methods from the government; have been call down by the government.

Conceptually, the Plan argues for the shared well being as a way of transcending difference and achieving a shared identity in the construction of the new Ecuador. According to the Plan, this desire for a better country would be a sufficient strong element to bind the different ideas under one only project. The Plan argues that total inclusion is the only path to achieve lasting development, and every other alternative will fail to work. It is implicitly stated here that to be a subject of rights means to be able to compromise own agendas in favour of the bigger picture. As I expressed before in this thesis, I have chosen to use gender as one of the dimensions I use to *see* both documents. In this chapter, I have addressed gender from the notion of vulnerability as a way of expressing the treatment of women in traditional development initiatives and in contrast to the initiative of the government now. This approach might not be easily seen in my thesis but I have chosen to focus instead in what can be perceived as a more general and in a way more philosophical understanding of the issue. My aim here has been to trace the shift between vulnerability as an object and vulnerability as a subject, by doing so I consider that I have reflect on one part of a gender dimension in the country, related to public policies.

# CHAPTER VI

## Citizenship and Nation

To be GOVERNED is to be at every operation, at every transaction noted, registered, counted, taxed, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licensed, authorized, admonished, prevented, forbidden, reformed, corrected, punished.

(Proudhon in Nozick 1974: 11)

In this chapter, I focus on the Constitution 2008 while I continue to examine the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo. My intention is to carry further the discussion I outlined in the last part of the previous chapter; that is, to reflect on the category of citizenship in the two documents. In this chapter, I will do this through the analysis of rights and duties and the role of citizenship in the construction of the new model of state proposed by the government of Rafael Correa. To do so, I have chosen two objectives from the Plan and two titles from the Constitution.

### Plan Nacional de Desarrollo

Objective 7: To build and strengthen the public space and the shared meeting places.

Objective 12: To reform the State for the shared well being.

### Constitución Política del Ecuador

Title 1: Constitutive elements of the state

Title 2: Rights.

This chapter is divided in two main sections; citizenship, and the question of the state. First, I reflect upon the notion of rights and duties and then go back to something that I already present in Chapter IV, regarding the construction of the state, adding here a consideration of the initiatives of a conceptual reconstruction. Finally, and as a conclusion to this Chapter, I reflect upon the relation between the state and the citizen.

As I explained before in the methodology chapter of this thesis, my original idea was to work only with the Plan, here I include an analysis of certain parts of the new Constitution, because the Constitution represents the main document of public policy and determinates the way in which the state works, and at the same time how far the initiatives of development and strategies of reconstructing the state can go. The chapter follows the same structure as the two previous ones, using fragments from the texts and analysing them as statements made by an actor.

I explore the documents in light of the notions of equality, inequality, justice and injustice. To do so I am following Rawls (1958, 1971) and Nozick (1974). From Rawls I borrow his notion of equality, and his understanding of practice as a social interaction, a concept that I use in this section in relation to the project of rebuilding the state. My reflection on the question of duties and rights is based on Rawls's idea of justice as a formulation of "restrictions as to how practices may define positions and offices, and assign thereto powers and liabilities, rights and duties" (Rawls, 1958: 164).

In this chapter, I understand the society also by using Rawls's term, as a "cooperative venture for mutual advantage typically marked by a conflict as by an identity of interest" (Rawls, 1971: 4). To expand the analysis I introduce Nozick's minimal state and his theory of entitlements as a critique to Rawls's theory of distributive justice presented in "Justice as Fairness" (1958) and "A theory of Justice" (1971) and relate it to the kind of project I see when the state is described not only in the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo* but also in the *Constitución*.

### **Citizenship**

Every Ecuadorian is a citizen and will have the rights established in the Constitution. The Ecuadorian nationality is the judicial and political link of the persons with the state, without the prejudice of its membership to other indigenous nationalities that coexist in the plurinational Ecuador.<sup>42</sup>

Article 6  
Chapter 2

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<sup>42</sup> Original version in Spanish: Todas las ecuatorianas y los ecuatorianos son ciudadanos y gozarán de los derechos establecidos en la Constitución. La nacionalidad ecuatoriana es el vínculo jurídico político de las personas con el Estado, sin perjuicio de su pertenencia a alguna de las nacionalidades indígenas que coexisten en el Ecuador plurinacional

The project of the government formulates the notion of difference in direct contrast with the efforts of homogenization that have traditionally been linked to development initiatives. There is the idea in both, the Plan and the Constitution, that society is a complex entity formed by citizens with conflicting interests, yet all worth of being respected and taken into account. The project of the government implies the fact that difference has to be countered by feelings of pertinence to a bigger project that has as a key element pursuing of a good life.

Every person is equal and will enjoy the same rights, duties and opportunities. No one will be discriminated on the basis of ethnicity, place of birth, age, sex, gender identity, cultural identity, civil status, language, religion, ideology, political affiliation, judicial past, socioeconomic condition, migratory condition, sexual orientation, health, having HIV, incapacity, physical difference or for any other personal or collective distinction, either temporal or permanent that have as an objective or as a result to impair or annul the recognition, enjoyment or exercise of rights. Law will punish all forms of discrimination. The state will adopt positive actions measures to promote the real equality for the subjects of rights that are in situation of inequality<sup>43</sup>.

Article 11  
Chapter I  
Principles and application of rights  
Title II, Rights  
Constitución Política del Ecuador 2008

First, it is clear that there is nothing like a literal consult to participate in the practice [the society] and that it is not a strictly voluntary process; since citizens take part in it by being born in the country, [a circumstance that definitely affects “his life prospects” (Rawls, 1971: 13)] or by expressing their will to be considered, in this case, as Ecuadorians. This participation is regulated by a notion of justice that not only assigns rights but also duties on the basis that “a person taking part in an institution knows what the rules demand of him and the others” (Rawls, 1971: 56).

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<sup>43</sup> Original version in Spanish: Todas las personas son iguales y gozaran de los mismos derechos, deberes y oportunidades. Nadie podrá ser discriminado por razones de etnia, lugar de nacimiento, edad, sexo, identidad de género, identidad cultural, estado civil, idioma, religión, ideología, filiación política, pasado judicial, condición socio-económica, condición migratoria, orientación sexual, estado de salud, portar VIH, discapacidad, diferencia física ni por cualquier otra distinción, personal o colectiva, temporal o permanente, que tenga por objeto o resultado menoscabar o anular el reconocimiento, goce o ejercicio de los derechos. La ley sancionara toda forma de discriminación. El Estado adoptará medidas de acción afirmativa que promuevan la igualdad real en favor de los titulares de derechos en situación de desigualdad



In the case of the project of the government that I have analysed here through both documents, the category of citizenship becomes the link with the state, something which is not lost until one expresses the will to cut the connection. This participatory citizenship is the vehicle for becoming part of the process and agreeing to participate in a contract. This kind of contract becomes desirable, following Rawls, because there is a possibility to have a better outcome inside of it, both individually and collectively. As Rawls argues this participation does not come from an altruistic vision of sacrifice towards an ultimately greater good, but instead from the acceptance of the different conflictive interests of the members of the society.

As it has been mentioned earlier in this thesis, the government discourse would seem to revolve around the search for a mechanism of conceptual reconstruction of the society as a way to obtain a new model of state that will promote an inclusive development for every citizen within the country. And although the actual strategies and implications of this are not clarified, the project calls for the reconfiguration of conceptual issues; e.g. the use of the female as well as male version of a substantive (visible in the Spanish version), as a linguistic strategy to create a more inclusive system. This is not common either in daily language or used in other Constitutions in the region; even in the new Constitutions of Venezuela and Bolivia, countries that discursively follow the same route as Ecuador.

In other aspects, the Constitution recognizes the collective representation in front of the authority as a legal acknowledgement of a common well being as the ultimate aim. A collective that demands the compliance of rights from the authorities, becomes, according to the project a body where the individual compromises their own aims for a bigger picture as what could be a sort of safe dispositive for guaranteeing a better outcome. By making reference to the difference between material and formal equality<sup>44</sup>, the project has found a mechanism to justify specific programs for groups in a position of vulnerability; this point was already addressed in the previous chapter of this thesis where there is a trace of the concept of vulnerability in the *Plan de Desarrollo* to a

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<sup>44</sup> Formal equality refers to two persons that have equal status in at least one normatively relevant aspect. Material equality refers to reducing the differences in the material condition between individuals. See: Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.

subject of rights.

## **Rights**

The recognition of rights and guarantees established in the Constitution and in the international Human Rights instruments, will not exclude the rest of rights derived from the dignity of persons, communities, peoples and nationalities that are needed for their full development<sup>45</sup>.

Article 11  
Chapter I  
Principles and application of rights  
Title II, Rights  
Constitución Política del Ecuador 2008

According to the project of the government, citizens have a set of rights that are a direct result of their participation in the state. Yet, there are also rights that come as the result of the interrelation among different cultures and nationalities<sup>46</sup>. The project does not mention a list of the rights to be included, but does give them the status of basic for the full development of citizens. There is what it may well be perceived as a search for at least a more inclusive and democratic system, because there is not in any moment a hierarchy established from the government between different rights and therefore no one can overwrite them. At the same time the notion of a collective well being as the key element in the project of the government is reinforced by the notion of collective rights that have equal function as individual rights at the moment of being *seen* by the law and the state. Through the recognition of the collective rights, citizens are entitled to the option of a process of shared reflection and the construction of a shared future.

People and collectives have the right to safe access, permanent to healthy, sufficient and nutritive food; preferably local products and in correspondence with their

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<sup>45</sup> Original version in Spanish: El reconocimiento de los derechos y garantías establecidos en la Constitución y en los instrumentos internacionales de derechos humanos no excluirá los demás derechos derivados de la dignidad de las personas, comunidades, pueblos y nacionalidades, que sean necesarios para su pleno desenvolvimiento

<sup>46</sup> Although is not the main objective of my thesis, I consider that it is relevant on this point to give some data regarding the demographic composition in the country. Although the issue of ethnicity can be complicated in a country as Ecuador in the sense that depends directly on the way the citizen perceives himself. Ecuador has a population of 13.973.723, from those the biggest group is the mestizos, 65% of the populations. Amerindian groups represent a quarter of the population, white or caucasian are a 7% and afro Americans are a 3%.

own diverse identities and cultural traditions. The Ecuadorian state will recognize and guarantee the right to the food sovereignty.<sup>47</sup>

Article 13  
First Section  
Chapter II  
Rights for well living  
Title II, Rights  
Constitución Política del Ecuador 2008

The *Constitución* guarantees *soberanía alimentaria* (food sovereignty) for all citizens, and thus making food a key element of the project outlined in the documents. I also see an effort to make a linkage between healthy individuals and good citizens. In the case of the food, it should preferably be locally grown to help boosting local economies and comply with the requirements for a «good life» and minimizing the impacts of the productive activity on the nature. As previously illustrated in Chapter IV when referring to the kind of state that the project of the government requires; the state transforms into a guarantor of rights and the one that administrates justice, and thus applies duties. This state transforms into an entity with multiples responsibilities, and consequently becomes entitled to plan and to execute any kind of policy to deal with what might be perceived as a threat to its existence.

[*the state*] recognizes the right of the population to live in a healthy environment, and ecologically balanced that will guarantee the sustainability and the well being. Sumac Kawsay (the good life).<sup>48</sup>

Article 14  
Second Section  
Healthy Environment  
Chapter II  
Rights of the good living  
Title II, Rights

The *sumak kawsay* can be translated from quichua<sup>49</sup> as the good life; and it is this notion of good life that is formulated as the base of the project of the government. This

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<sup>47</sup> Original version in Spanish: Las personas y colectividades tienen derecho al acceso seguro, permanente a los alimentos sanos, suficientes y nutritivos; preferentemente productos a nivel local y en correspondencia con sus diversas identidades y tradiciones culturales. El Estado ecuatoriano reconocerá y garantizará el derecho a la soberanía alimentaria.

<sup>48</sup> Original version in Spanish: Se reconoce el derecho a la población a vivir en un ambiente sano y ecológicamente equilibrado, que garantice la sostenibilidad y el buen vivir, Sumak Kawsay

<sup>49</sup> Amerindian language spoken in Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia.

indigenous notion makes reference to elements that come from culture and the recognition of the mutual dependence between persons and nature including the right to live in harmony with oneself, society and nature. With the appropriation of this concept by the state and by giving it a central role in the project; the state justifies its role as not only the responsible for achieving the good life, but also as the guardian and entitled to dictate regulations to control and protect the right to a harmonic existence. At the same time, the use of quichua notions in the document can be seen as a strategy to legitimatise the claim of culture inclusion in the project.

The state will guarantee and make effective the full exercise of the right to the social security, that includes persons that do non-paid work at home, auto-sustain activities at the country, every form of autonomic work and those unemployed<sup>50</sup>

Article 34  
Work and Social Security  
Eight Section  
Chapter II  
Rights of the Good life  
Title II, Rights  
Constitución Política del Ecuador 2008

In the project of the government, there is what I see as an effort to link welfare with equality through public social security for everybody in the country, a right that previously was reserved for those with stable work. Through the pursual of a more inclusive system where opportunities are meant to be equal for all citizens, the document presents what can be seen as a strategy to overcome limits due to exclusion and discrimination, yet, and as I have mentioned earlier when referring to the recognition of domestic labour, there is not a clear mechanism to accomplish these goals in practice. In a juncture of economic crisis in the country it will also be very difficult for the state to guarantee and make effective these new policies.

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<sup>50</sup> Original version in Spanish: El estado garantizara y hará efectivo el ejercicio pleno del derecho a la seguridad social, que incluye a las personas que realizan un trabajo no remunerado en los hogares, actividades para el auto sustento en el campo, toda forma de trabajo autónomo y a quienes se encuentren en situación de desempleo.

## Duties

The principles of justice are chosen behind a veil of ignorance. This ensures that no one is advantaged or disadvantaged in the choice of principles by the outcome of natural change or the contingency of social circumstances. Since all are similarly situated and no one is able to design principles to favour his particular condition, the principles of justice are the result of a fair agreement of bargain

A theory of Justice  
Justice as Fairness  
(Rawls, 1971: 12)

Rawls argues that once the institutions have been accepted as just, meaning that they are believed to be set within a “coherent conception of duty and obligation taken with the two principles of justice” (Rawls, 1971: 335), the set of options for the individuals to choose patterns of actions inside of the institution is considerably smaller. To act accordingly to the practice implies the initial and most basic duty that is to support and work for additional just institutions. If the institution is fair and it applies to the citizen, it is given that citizens will behave justly. If the institution is not fair, the citizen has the duty to do “just arrangements” (Rawls, 1971: 334) to achieve principles of fairness and obtain a just institution, at least when the personal cost is not high. In this light, it is interesting to see what the set of duties for the Ecuadorian citizens in the new Constitution, first here those related to maintaining the institution [the state], and since the state building is a process of reform, the citizen still have the duty to do better arrangements.

- To abide and follow the Constitution, the laws and other legitimate decisions of the competent authority.
- To defend the territorial integrity of Ecuador and its natural resources.
- To respect human rights and fight for its compliance.
- To cooperate with the State and the community in the social security and to pay the tributes established by law.
- To collaborate in keeping peace and security.
- Do not be idle, do not lie, and do not steal.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Original version in Spanish:

- Acatar y cumplir la Constitución, la ley y las decisiones legítimas de la autoridad competente.
- Defender la integridad territorial del Ecuador y sus recursos naturales
- Respetar los derechos humanos y luchar por su cumplimiento
- Cooperar con el Estado y la comunidad en la seguridad social y pagar los tributos establecidos por la ley
- Colaborar en el mantenimiento de la paz y la seguridad

On a cooperative venue; the society, the citizen has to be assured that his collaboration can translate into a better outcome personally, and if not, he will participate. At the same time, he has to believe that the rest of the citizens are fulfilling their part as well. According to Rawls, a fair institution will see that these requirements are met, and assuring the participation of every member in the society. To be bound under a *just constitution*, citizens have to accept the benefits and accept to continue living under it. In the case of the Ecuadorian Constitution, the whole process was submitted to a popular referendum assuring at least the legitimacy from a majority. Yet, in a political environment like the current one in Ecuador, where the redaction of the new Constitutions has been closely linked to the leader the popular support is actually a vote of confidence to or rejection of the president and his administration.

As well as different rights, there are also different duties that are stated in a in the Constitution. The understanding of these duties can be enriched by using Rawls. The duty to mutual respect (1971: 337) is exemplified by the requirement of recognizing difference that is continuously stressed in the documents. In Rawls's terms, it means to "see the situation of others from their point of view, from the perspective of their conception of good; and (...) being prepared to give reasons for actions whenever the interest of others are materially affected" (Rawls, 1971: 337). Interestingly, since the project of the government gives nature an equivalent status an individual the duty of mutual respect also applies here, as it shows below.

- To respect and recognize ethnic, national, social, generational, gender and sexual identity and orientation differences.
- To promote unity and equality in diversity and intercultural relations.
- To promote the common well being and to set before the general interest to the particular interest according to the well being.
- To respect the rights of the nature, to preserve a healthy environment and to use the natural resources in a rational and sustainable way.
- To assist, feed, educate and care of daughters and sons. This duty is a co-responsibility of mothers and fathers in the same proportion and will

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• Ama killa, ama llulla, ama shwa. No ser ocioso, no mentir, no robar

correspond also to daughters and sons when mothers and fathers need it.<sup>52</sup>

Article 83  
Chapter IX  
Responsibilities  
Constitución Política del Ecuador 2008

In the case of the Constitution I also see the “duty of mutual aid” (Rawls, 1971: 339) that the project of the government closely links it to public administration and participating in public life, this duty relies on the assumption that a citizen may do something that is not necessarily within his interests, since it might “eventually gain on balance at least over the longer run under normal circumstances” (Rawls, 1971: 338) The project of the government looks to regain the appreciation of public office as a selfless action by making emphasis on mechanisms of accountability and decentralization of the state.

- To faithfully administrate and following the lay the public patrimony and to denounce and combat acts of corruption,
- To assume public roles as a service to the community and to be accountable to the society and the authority according the law.
- The exercise of the profession or the occupation following ethics<sup>53</sup>

Artículo 83  
Capítulo Noveno  
Responsabilidades  
Constitución Política del Ecuador 2008

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<sup>52</sup> Original version in Spanish:

- Respetar y reconocer las diferencias étnicas, nacionales, sociales, generacionales, de género y la orientación e identidad sexual
- Promover la unidad y la igualdad en la diversidad y en las relaciones interculturales
- Promover el bien común y anteponer el interés general al interés particular, conforme al buen vivir
- Respetar los derechos de la naturaleza, preservar un ambiente sano y utilizar los recursos naturales de modo racional, sustentable y sostenible
- Asistir, alimentar, educar y cuidar a las hijas e hijos. Este deber es corresponsabilidad de madres y padres en igual proporción y corresponderá también a las hijas e hijos cuando las madres y padres lo necesiten

<sup>53</sup> Original version in Spanish:

- Administrar honradamente y con apego irrestricto a la ley el patrimonio público y denunciar y combatir los actos de corrupción
- Asumir las funciones públicas como un servicio a la colectividad y rendir cuentas a la sociedad y a la autoridad de acuerdo con la ley
- Ejercer la profesión u oficio con sujeción a la ética
- Participar en la vida política, cívica y comunitaria del país, de manera honesta y transparente

## The Patria or the State

To plan the development of the country, to eradicate poverty, promote sustainable development and a fair distribution of the resources and the wealth in order to achieve the good life.<sup>54</sup>

Article 3  
Primordial duties of the state  
Title I  
Constitutive elements of the state  
Constitución Política del Ecuador 2008

The idea of fairness and justice is present not only in the Constitution but also in the Plan directly linked to the kind of model of the state that the attempts to build; a state that theoretically includes everybody in the process of development as part of an strategy to socialize the benefits of development. I consider that this state is similar to the one proposed by Rawls, because presupposes the agreement between the members to accept the rules of the game, and at the same time accepts the fact that there are some rights that the citizen is willing to yield. Through taxation the welfare state redistributes the wealth through a mechanism that hypothetically speaking works because those who are better off finance the rest. Theoretically the rules of taxation as redistribution of welfare were created under a veil of ignorance; nobody knew the outcome, only that the rules would apply to everybody. Therefore one would agree to participate even if eventually one would have to pay more for equal services from the state. This idea of redistribution to fix inequalities would seem to be present in the project of the government, especially evident in the primordial duties of the State mentioned in the Constitution.

Within the project of the government, the state becomes the key institution to oversee and control the development by guaranteeing rights and deciding duties. Through this process, the government gets the possibility to choose a set of essential factors for the fulfilment of the project. In the case of the current administration, the state itself is attempted to an essential element of the project, relying on a strong feeling of ownership. The word *patria* becomes a way to communicate deeper feelings of belonging, in the line with the government discourse to regain an important part of the

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<sup>54</sup> Original in Spanish: Planificar el desarrollo nacional, erradicar la pobreza, promover el desarrollo sustentable y la redistribución equitativa de los recursos y la riqueza, para acceder al buen vivir



public life of the citizen. The slogans of the government: *La Patria ya es de todos, La Patria vuelve* (The nation now belongs to everybody, the Nation is back) or the rebirth of the song *Patria Tierra Sagrada*<sup>55</sup> in the schools, bring back the idea of a nation as the big entity that wraps every feeling. For the *Patria* to be back, the project of the government plays with the idea that due to the failure of previous administrations, the bond between citizen and the country has been broken stressing the importance of rebuilding this bond in order to secure the development of the citizen.

Consequently although the idea in the Plan is to form citizens that are able to choose the path for their own development by themselves, their goals in life and the things that they appreciate, there is also an idea of a merging of this individuality in the bigger project of the *patria*. As a space to create a democratic society, following Habermas (1981) approach to public spheres, something that becomes more evident going back to the Plan de Desarrollo where there is a discussion of public spaces and the construction of public meeting spaces for dialogue and debate.

Building spaces of shared meeting is primordial for the creation of a democratic society. Public spaces potentiate and give to the members of the society a sense of equal and active participation in the construction of the collective projects that involve the common interest of the members.

By talking of the increase of places of shared meeting we are referring to the construction and strengthening of the public sphere as a basic principle of modernity and as a guarantee to the existence of emancipator projects: in public spaces one can deliberate on shared interest and put in questioning the hierarchy of ethnicity, class, gender and the nature of the power and traditions.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> The song was written by Manuel Maria Sanchez, it was common during the 70s in the schools and lost protagonist in the subsequent generations, the song makes reference to a patria that is a mother. It has been used by the government in the campaigns: *Patria, tierra sagrada de honor y de hidalguía, que fecundó la sangre y engrandeció el dolor, ¡como me enorgullece poder llamarte mía, mía, como a mi madre, con infinito amor!* (Nation, sacred land of honour and hidalgo, that fecund the blood and enlarged the pain It makes me so proud to be able to call you mine!, mine as my own mother with infinity love).

<sup>56</sup> Original version in Spanish: *La construcción de espacios de encuentro común es primordial para la creación de una sociedad democrática. Los espacios públicos potencian y dan a los miembros de la sociedad un sentido de participación igualitaria y activa en la construcción de proyectos colectivos que involucran los intereses comunes de dichos miembros.*

Al hablar de incrementar los lugares de encuentro común pensamos en la construcción y fortalecimiento de una esfera pública como principio básico de la modernidad y como garantía para la existencia de proyectos emancipadores: en los lugares públicos se puede deliberar sobre los intereses comunes y poner en cuestionamiento las jerarquías étnicas, de clase y de género, así como la naturaleza de los poderes y las tradiciones

Objective 7  
To build and to strengthen the public space and the common meeting place  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan Para la Revolución Ciudadana  
(SENPLADES, 2007:248)

The citizen agrees freely to collaborate with the institution either as what Rawls explains as a cooperative venture with a better possibility to create gain, or as a more altruistic version of pursuing an ultimate good as it would seem to be the case of the project of the Ecuadorian government. Yet the conceptualization of the citizen as subject of rights implies that he is the one who decides what it is better for him and what would be the better course of action to achieve this goal.

Individuals have rights, and there are things no person or group may do to them (without violating their rights). So strong and far-reaching are these rights that they raise the question of what, if anything, the state and its officials may do. How much room do individual rights leave to the state?

Anarchy, State and Utopia  
Preface  
Robert Nozick, 1974: ix

The idea of *self ownership* of Nozick points toward the issue, that the citizen is an individual in a “state of perfect freedom to order their actions and dispose (...) their possessions and persons as they think fit (...) without asking leave or dependency upon the will of any other man” (Locke in Nozick, 1974: 10) and therefore no one can force this individual to do anything even if this actions are justified out of a discourse of goodness or the common well being, as it is the case in the project of the government of Correa.

Nozick does not disqualify voluntary associations between individuals, because “not everybody will remain in a non cooperative situation if there is some other beneficial cooperative agreement involving some, but not all” (Nozick, 1974: 193). These associations are according to Nozick the result of the search for protection of rights. These protective associations will eventually produce conflict when defending the rights of their clients; yet as the result or either a battle or an agreement, the protective associations will leave room for a dominant association that would have to have the monopoly of the power and be able to punish free riders [those that have refused to

form part of the association but benefited from the protection] and any attempts to go against the rights of the clients of the association.

In the case of the model of the new state that the project of the government proposes, and that I consider in a sense similar to Rawls notion, the *surplus* of work created when one's own necessities have already been satisfied becomes appropriated by the state to finance its activities through taxes. This is, according to Nozick, morally illegitimate and can be seen as equivalent to forced labour. In any case, the state exercises the control on the basis of a relation of rights and duties that, following Nozick this involves an appropriation of rights even if the discursive justification is, as in the case of the Ecuadorian project the common good. This institution will never be just.

The role of the state is to protect and guarantee rights and the role of the society is to be a vigilant observatory. The state and the society, considered as a whole, have precise responsibilities relating culture, given the fact that their own finality drives them to secure the conditions of their own permanence. None the one neither the other can escape of the responsibilities because it would be an attack to the existence of the society and the consecution of their goals.<sup>57</sup>

#### Objective 8

To affirm the national identity and to strengthen the national identity and the diverse identities and the interculturality  
Plan Nacional de Desarrollo  
Plan para la Revolución Ciudadana  
SENPLADES, 2007: 261

Nozick idea of the minimal state is as far as it gets from the kind of the state the project of the government of Ecuador demands. The constant expansion of elements of control relates more instead to notions of securitization expressed by the constant apparition of new existential threats to the state itself. The new reconfiguration of the state is justified mainly from a more emotive point of view that attains feelings of ownership over the state; a *patria*. The minimal state proposed by Nozick made reference to a dominant association; however the new *responsibilities* of the state involve a control on public and private lives. This ever - expanding control might transform in a mechanism of

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<sup>57</sup> Original version in Spanish: El rol del Estado es de protección y garantía de derechos y el de la sociedad, de observación vigilante y exigencia. El Estado y la sociedad, considerada en su conjunto, tienen, por lo tanto, precisas responsabilidades con relación a la cultura, ya que su propia finalidad les conduce a asegurar las condiciones de su permanencia. Ni el uno ni la otra pueden sustraerse a tales responsabilidades, so pena de atentar contra la propia existencia de la sociedad y contra la consecución de sus metas

violation of rights. The issue here demands a neutral mechanism of accountability, civil oversight of the actions of the state, and the possibility to be part of the opposition.

### **The Citizenship and the Nation**

In this chapter, I have reflected upon the notions of citizenship and nation state in the Constitution of 2008, while also referring to Plan as well. The first part of this chapter refers to the idea of citizenship; rights and duties. Theoretically I have used the notions of justice and fairness as presented by Rawls and the idea of a minimal state and to some extent the theory of entitlements presented by Nozick. These notions are not explicit in the Constitution but I consider that they give tools to analyse citizenship in the document, in relation to equality, justice and fairness. I have included a reflection on issues of rights and duties to make reference to the kind of citizenship the project requires.

The state acquires a key role, in the sense that aims to regain the ability to plan and to control. The state becomes the only actor responsible for overseeing all the process and deciding what it is important and exercises the element of control. If the state behaves like a vehicle for development and the same time an entity of control, the possibility that the state will pursue more aggressive paths to secure its existence gets bigger. This could explain, in the case of Ecuador the successive attempts from the state to control the media with the justification of protecting the citizen but in clear contradiction with the right of freedom of speech.

The redistribution of wealth in the state faces an essential challenge, identified by Nozick, when elaborating his theory of the entitlements. The distributive state of Rawls, assumes that in the beginning the resources were available to everybody and the rules were dictated under a veil of ignorance, however inequality is as Nozick argues an historical process than a circumstance in the present. In this sense the project of the Ecuadorian government proposes what can be seen as a mixture of both arguments, the redistribution has to be done in order to guarantee attention for those who are worse in the practice. But at the same time the project recognizes that discrimination and inequality is a direct consequence of historical processes, making a distinction of how the goods were obtained.

## CONCLUSIONS

This conclusion is divided in two sections. In the first part I present a summary of the main arguments and *findings* in this work. The second part of this conclusion is meant to be an effort to carry the discussion one step further by reflecting on a theme I have mentioned several times in the thesis, that is, the new role of the state in a society with poor civil oversight mechanisms. In the second part, I try to pose new questions regarding the quality of the democratic legitimacy of the process of change and revolution in the country and the actual possibility to carry out these changes in the country.

### **Development from the state in Ecuador, The analysis of the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo and the Constitution 2008, a resume**

One of my aims in this thesis has been to *make sense* of the project of *la revolución ciudadana* proposed by the government of Rafael Correa, specifically in the documents I analyse here. I have chosen to work with these documents since they are key planning tools to achieve the new state that is central for the project. Both documents come from the government and are therefore framed within the same discourse, and argue for drastic reforms of the way the Ecuadorian state works. I deal with the paragraphs from the documents as statements made by actors, a technique that has allowed me to see the way in which the arguments are built. Since I have followed Scriven's rationality, my objective has not been to see the arguments as positive or negative but rather as strong or weak, and at the same time provide a framework for a further understanding of the intentions and arguments in the documents.

In Chapter IV, I mention the notions of development proposed in the Plan by going to several parts of the document where development is presented as a process where the human being is conceptualized as a citizen at the centre of the project and the economic activity. As I mention before the idea of development is closely related to the idea of revolution that comes from the government. The constant reminder to the failure of the previous initiatives, both private and public in the country is in a way a mechanism to justify the requirement for a reconfiguration of all the institutions in the country. By

focusing on the human being as the citizen and key of the project, there is a shift to a new way of seeing development. All the *revoluciones* proposed by the government point towards strengthening not only the citizen but are a point of departure for a collective well being.

In this Chapter, I have also presented a notion that I consider as key to understand the whole project of the government, which is the new kind of state in contrast to previous models and as an entity that regains the possibility to plan and control. There is in this point an issue that I will briefly mention here, although it has not been explored earlier in my thesis, which is the similarity to the discourses of security and existential threats used mainly by the USA to justify exceptional courses of action in order to protect the state and the order. This new state is not only accountable for development but also for *governing* seen as guaranteeing a better life for every citizen in the country, then the combat of discrimination becomes a key tool that will justify claims for inclusion by the groups traditionally left out of the decision process and therefore out of the *benefits* of development.

In Chapter V, I presented a reflection on two issues, vulnerability and citizenship as key concepts in the definition of the Plan and the strategy to make the project visible in the society. I consider that I am able to trace the shift in the definition of the notion of vulnerability from objects to subjects of rights. I have chosen this dimension as a way to explore with “gender lenses” the way in which women are portrayed in the Plan as well as the new role of the vulnerable groups as citizens in the project. By linking the notion of vulnerability and victim transforms in a way of again mentioning the need for strong citizens able to participate in the state-building project.

I consider that throughout the documents there is the effort to transform the difference in the country into something that would overcome limitations due to vulnerability and exclusion; thus making reference to the importance of the citizen as the one in charge of making decisions and a common well being as the ultimate aim of the project of the government in the country. As I have mentioned earlier, I consider gender in this thesis as one of the dimensions I use to make sense of the project of the government, in this chapter I link gender to the notion of vulnerability in a way related to ideas of equality and fairness. I explore the link between vulnerability and violence made by the

document in relation to the consecution of the good living. At the end of this Chapter, I discuss identity and citizenship, something that I explore further in the next chapter but at this stage related to a conceptual reconstruction of the state.

In Chapter VI, I present a reflection on the issue of Citizenship and Nation as key elements of the *revolución ciudadana*. In this stage, I refer to the Constitution 2008 to broaden the analysis on rights and duties as constitutive elements of the citizen. In my discussion of these terms, I have used notions of equality and Justice by Rawls as theoretical tools to analyse these two notions while, keeping the same methodological approach of the two previous chapters where I focus on seek to provide a framework to understand the documents. In this part I have also used Nozick, first in contradiction to Rawls and the theory of distributive justice, and then his idea of a minimal state that it is as far as one can go from the project proposed by the government of Rafael Correa.

### Relation between pre and current text and the audience

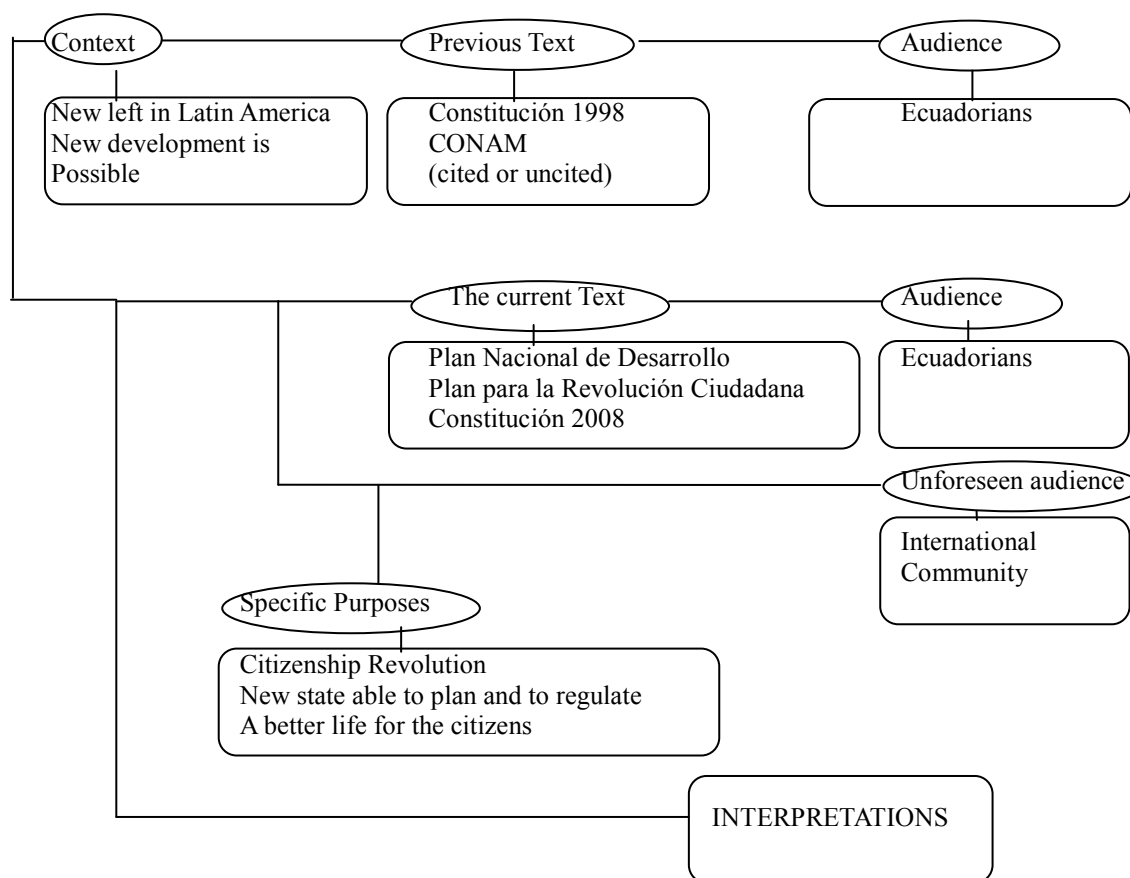


Figure 2: The Relation between pre and current text. Relation between audience and interpretations. Elaborated by the author

### *So now what?*

In April 26, 2009 Rafael Correa won the latest elections of the Presidency of the Country with the 51.99% and his party has achieved an absolute majority in the National Assembly as well as in various local authorities in various cities in the country. So it seems that the project has been able to obtain a significant support from the civil society that manifests in recurrent electoral victories. At the same time, the project seems to have been personalized in the figure of Rafael Correa rather than in a discussion of the actual reforms proposed by the government and carried out during his terms in office. The *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo* and the Constitution present a new way of not only understanding development but also of governing in the country, this new state that comes out of this project is a big institution that can transform into a threat to the rights of the citizens. Even when the objective of my thesis has not been to see the practical policy implications of both documents in Ecuador, a rapid examination of the debates in the media in the country would seem to show how with the discourse of change and revolution, putting in risk some civil guarantees<sup>58</sup>, or *bending* the law and the institutionalization of the state.

The new state, reborn as *La Patria altiva y soberana*, (The Nation proud and sovereign) becomes the element that wraps in the notions of development, vulnerability and rights. The Ecuadorian state as it is presented now is as far as it gets from a concept of a minimal state, but gradually becomes in charge of everything. The citizen seem to be agree to yield rights in favour of the state is a way of guaranteeing a better outcome, accepting a bigger role of the state apparatus in the private life. The government of Ecuador has included notions of sovereignty and nationalism to justify a wide range of activities, and in a juncture of high prices of oil, the government was able to carry on with the discourse of redistribution of wealth through subsidies and low prices being artificially maintained. In the case of the Ecuadorian government the president embodies all the power and the personalization of the project expresses that now he faces the challenge to keep the high levels of acceptance without money. This big state, required in the Ecuadorian case, argues from the protection of basic rights and justifies radical approaches that otherwise would not be tolerated, in the case of the project of the government relies on a very strong Presidential power with very weak (sometimes

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<sup>5858</sup> See: Jaramillo Grace, 2007 and Vera, Carlos, 2008.



inexistent) mechanism of civil oversight.

This new state in continuous growth under the figure of revolution and with a justification of protecting the citizens would seem to do exactly the opposite; following Nozick argument this state could easily come to violate the rights of its members. Finally a question that I will not answer here but that becomes relevant at this point, is what kind of state will be suitable to approaches like the Human Development or this new notions that present a reconfiguration of the traditional way of understanding not only development but also the state, and how far is too far when talking about yielding rights to guarantee protection from the state.

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