

The Buen Vivir as a Real Utopia?

Analysing the transformative potential of the Ecuadorian socio-political project for the Good Living

Alexandra Gerer

Master Thesis Series in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science,
No 2022:046

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University
International Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science
(30hp/credits)



LUCSUS

Lund University Centre for
Sustainability Studies



LUND
UNIVERSITY

The Buen Vivir as a Real Utopia?

Analysing the transformative potential of the Ecuadorian socio-political project
for the Good Living

Alexandra Gerer

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University International
Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science

Submitted May 09, 2022

Supervisor: Mine Islar, LUCSUS, Lund University

Abstract

Motivated by the need for transformative change and more holistic conceptions of wellbeing, this thesis aims to explore the transformative potential of the Buen Vivir. As a synthesis of indigenous and modern principles, it was integrated in the Ecuadorian constitution.

In order to evaluate the socio-political project of the Buen Vivir in the realm of a Real Utopia, I will investigate the transformation process and its challenges and limitations.

Findings show that the constitutional reform comprises many remarkable ideas. Yet it is a compromise of different visions of the Buen Vivir, that is prone to diversification and conflicting interpretation. The translation into practice was dampened by delocalisation and alienation of the Buen Vivir, an insufficient confrontation of the structural dependence, and an inconsistent operationalisation. These factors, however, do not overshadow the improvements that have been achieved on the national level nor the transformation that was set into motion on the discursive and global level.

Keywords: Buen Vivir; Real Utopia; socio-political project; Ecuador; transformation; wellbeing

Wordcount: 11346

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank my supervisor Mine for guiding me through this thesis writing process and giving me valuable feedback whenever needed.

Thank you to the inspiring teachers at LUCSUS, that always succeed so well in creating engaging and co-creative learning environments.

Thank you to my parents, for being supportive and enabling me to pursue my studies, to my sisters – especially to Kat, for always having an open ear.

Thanks to these, that accompanied my weekend-hikes for the right amount of escapism; and to the sun that gave me so much new energy and motivation once being prevalent on the Scanian sky again in early spring.

A special thanks goes to my friend Laura, the most committed proof-reader, for giving me helpful and precise feedback on the last meters of my thesis writing journey.

Table of Content

1 Introduction	4
1.1 Research aims and research questions	5
1.2 Contribution to sustainability science	6
1.3 Thesis outline	6
2 Background and theoretical framework.....	6
2.1 The need for a just socio-ecological transformation.....	7
2.2 Wrights' framework of Real Utopias	7
2.3 Introducing the moral principles.....	8
2.4 The Buen Vivir.....	10
3 Methodology.....	11
3.1 Systematic literature review	11
3.2 Document analysis.....	12
3.3 Transformation analysis	12
4 Analysis and findings	13
4.1 RQ1: Definition and provision of wellbeing in the Buen Vivir.....	13
4.2 RQ2: Process of Institutionalisation	16
4.2.1 Discursive emergence.....	16
4.2.2 <i>Constitution</i>	17
4.2.3 <i>Plan Nacional de Buen Vivir</i>	18
4.3 RQ3: Analysis of the transformative potential.....	21
4.3.1 Characterisation of the transformation process.....	22
4.3.2 Challenges and limitations.....	25
4.3.3 Socio-political project of the Buen Vivir as a Real Utopia?.....	29
5 Summary of discussion	30
6 Conclusion	31
7 References.....	33
8 Appendixes.....	39

1 Introduction

Los mundos nuevos deben ser vividos antes de ser explicados

Alejo Capentier

The concept of the *Buen Vivir (BV)*, loosely translated to ‘good living’, ‘living well’ or ‘living a plentiful life’ (Vanhulst & Beling, 2019) synthesises indigenous principles and is, according to Acosta (2015), part of the search for alternative approaches to life. Although the *BV* is sharply distinct from the idea of individual good life (Fatheuer, 2011), it became part of the expanding western discourse on wellbeing.

Current approaches to wellbeing are advocated by capitalist policies of welfare with reference to ideas of freedom of decision (de Oliveira, 2018). This individualistic, market-based approach focuses on economic success; denies ‘the other’ – human and non-human; and is blind to the harmful consequences of neoliberalism. Although economic success appears to be relevant for a nation’s wellbeing, Diener & Tay (2015) found that Individual wellbeing is consistently associated with satisfaction with life; a sense of meaning; physical health; supportive social relationships; and a healthy natural environment. Based on these findings Diener & Tay (2015) conclude by indicating the challenge “to have economic growth without endangering the environment, and also without lowering enjoyment of life and social cohesion”. Economic growth, however, cannot continue infinitely in a world of finite resources (Meadows et. al., 1972).

In relation to the challenges and crisis humanity is facing, the overlap between global environmental change, socio-economic dynamics and impacts on wellbeing and health was taken up within the latest assessment report of the *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2022)*. This report identified the worldwide increase in affluence and its underlying root cause, a structural growth imperative, as the main systemic driver of ecological destruction. Post-development literature further argues that wellbeing and quality of life cannot be supported by economic growth as the latter creates dysfunctional and unequal societies and “will make large parts of the planet unfit for human habitation” (Chassagne, 2019, p. 9). Worldwide growth has, for instance, continuously increased resource use and pollutant emissions so fast that the possibility of their reduction is complicated (Wiedmann et al., 2020). Carbon intensive practices and policies, in turn, result in poor air- and food quality that disproportionately harm the health of disadvantaged populations. Climate change and the increasing occurrence of weather extremes yearly affect millions of people (de Oliveira, 2018; Watts, et al. 2021).

With the acknowledgement that human wellbeing goes hand in hand with an intact and thriving nature, more comprehensive frameworks, including an ecological perspective, have emerged (IPCC, 2022). Indigenous approaches can give valuable guidance in this context as they follow more holistic ways of thinking and practising wellbeing, that mostly include a healthy relationship with the natural world, emotional and mental health, and a strong emphasis on cultural identity (IPCC, 2022).

As the *BV* strives for a good living rather than a better living, it opposes the concept of development in the sense of continuous optimisation and growth. Thus, it bears the possibility to overcome problems inherent to economic growth. Most indigenous communities, in fact, lack a conception of poverty associated with material scarcity and wealth associated with abundance. Therefore, there is no state of underdevelopment that needs to be overcome (Campos Navarrete & Zohar, 2021). In that way, the *BV* rejects a notion of linear development and is not focused on achieving outcomes. It rather aims to change the distribution of power and the way economy and society are structured (Chassagne & Everingham, 2019; Gerlach, 2019). Attempts to integrate the *BV* on the institutional level have already been made in Ecuador and Bolivia. As already practised approaches offer the opportunity to gain valuable insights for future investigations and pathways, I choose the Ecuadorian *socio-political project of the Buen Vivir (SPPBV)* to be the subject of my thesis.

1.1 Research aims and research questions

In this thesis I aim to explore the *SPPBV* in the light of Wright's framework of *Real Utopias*. The latter refers to alternatives to dominant institutions "that are attentive to problems, unintended consequences, self-destructive dynamics and difficult dilemmas of normative trade-offs" (Wright, 2013, p. 8). I will analyse how the ontological dimension of the *BV* is translated into the socio-political sphere. Based on that I will identify emerging challenges and limitations to eventually derive what the *SPBV* can teach regarding transformative change. The following research questions will guide the analytical process:

RQ1: *How does the BV define and provide wellbeing? (Ontological dimension)*

RQ2: *What challenges and limitations can be identified in the process of institutionalisation? (Socio-political dimension)*

RQ3: *What is the transformative potential of the socio-political project for the Good Living? (Practical-transformative dimension)*

1.2 Contribution to sustainability science

The exploration of the *BV* as a *Real Utopia* relates to sustainability science with the aim for transformative change, and with that to a serious confrontation of current socio-ecological crises. Transformation of institutions and structures hold the potential to substantially reduce human suffering and expand the possibilities for human flourishing and wellbeing (Wright, 2013). By analysing the challenges and limitations of already practised approaches to decouple wellbeing and growth and alter humanity's relationship to nature, valuable insights for future investigations can emerge. The latter is of specific importance, because, unless sustainability research explicitly and effectively addresses the capitalist roots of social-ecological degradation, it is unlikely to meaningfully contribute to the needed transformations (Asara et al., 2015).

1.3 Thesis outline

This thesis is structured in six chapters. The introduction in Chapter 1 provides a larger picture leading to the articulation of the research questions, that will guide the analytical process. Chapter 2 and 3 will each introduce the framework of the theory, and the methodology applied. The investigation of the *SPPBV* implemented in Ecuador can help to tackle limitations and challenges accompanied by the institutional implementation of alternative approaches to wellbeing such as the *BV*. The findings, evaluated in the context of a *Real Utopia* will be presented in Chapter 4 and further discussed in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will formally conclude what has been researched on.

2 Background and theoretical framework

In order to analyse the transformative potential of the *SPPBV*, I will base my research on Wright's (2013) four-step approach to explore *Real Utopias*. After introducing the concept of transformation and its applied (end)form of *Real Utopias*, I will shortly present the moral principles proposed by Wright. In addition to these I will, however, introduce and reason for the additional principle of 'ecocentrism'.

2.1 The need for a just socio-ecological transformation

As briefly indicated in the introduction, the current socio-ecological crisis, and its implications on the wellbeing of people and the planet asks for radical societal changes. As research on the latter has broadened rapidly in terms of topics and geographical applications (Köhler et al., 2019), its understanding is diverse, fragmented and contested.

Past research made a clear distinction between ‘transition’ and ‘transformation’ as two ways of radical social change (Stirling, 2014), with transformation holding an inherent structural critique (Brand, 2014). Contemporary scholars such as Hölscher et al. (2018), in contrast, argue that the two research communities have moved closer together in recent years. The concepts are often used interchangeably or complementarily. At times transformation is claimed to be a specific transition pathway (Feola, 2015; Köhler et al., 2019). Overall, the two concepts express the same ambition to “shift from analysing and understanding problems towards identifying pathways and solutions for desirable environmental and social change” (Hölscher et al., 2018, p. 20). As they follow similar constraints and are mutually not exclusive in referring to profound, irreversible change at agency-level or structural-level they should be perceived as a duality rather than a dualism (Brown et al., 2013; Stirling, 2014). However, tying the two concepts back to their etymological origin illustrates the slight differences that are still prevalent within the respective research communities. In this thesis I will continue to use the term ‘transformation’, as it originates from a more fundamental understanding of change, one that refers to human-environmental interactions and tackles outcomes on a systemic level (Stirling, 2014). Transformation is often used as a metaphor “to convey the idea of fundamental, systemic or radical change” (Feola, 2015, p. 379). Societal change through transformation can therefore be understood as a redesign of modern societies as a whole, that aims to promote ecological sustainability and social prosperity (Feola, 2015).

2.2 Wrights’ framework of Real Utopias

In Wright’s words, utopias are “visions of alternatives to dominant institutions that embody our deepest aspiration for a world in which all people have access to the condition to live flourishing lives” (2013, p. 9). The idea and the need of *Real Utopias* in turn is based on two propositions:

(1) *Many forms of human suffering and many deficits of human flourishing are the result of existing institutions and social structures.*

(2) *Transforming existing institutions and social structures in the right way has the potential to substantially reduce human suffering and expand the possibilities for human flourishing.*

While scholars in mainstream social science acknowledge the first proportion, they are concerned that uncontrollable effects of a fundamental transformation could only make things worse. *Real Utopias* in turn are a response to this concern. They propose alternatives “that are attentive to problems of unintended consequences, self-destructive dynamics and difficult dilemmas or normative trade-offs” (Wright, 2013, p. 9) and in that way aim to bridge vision and practice.

Wright’s (2013) four-step approach to explore *Real Utopias* aligns with the characteristic ‘re-construction’ inherent to transformation research. It analyses alternatives following the overarching goal to combine critical deconstruction with a “more positive, fundamental and action-oriented elements” (Köhler et al., 2019, p. 20). The four steps are to (1.) specify the moral principles for judging social institutions, (2.) use these principles as a basis for diagnosis and critique, (3.) develop viable alternatives in response to the critique and (4.) propose a theory of transformation for realising those alternatives.

2.3 Introducing the moral principles

Wright (2013) argues that in order to judge existing institutions and social structures, a variety of different principles can be used, which can however result in different transformation pathways. These principles serve to evaluate existing institutions but also to frame the elaboration of alternatives and define the tasks required for transformation. Wright himself introduces the principles of ‘equality’, ‘democracy’, and ‘sustainability’.

With the principle of ‘equality’, Wright refers to the notion of equal access of all people to the social and material conditions necessary to live a flourishing life. Flourishing, he argues, can be equated with the other egalitarian principles welfare, wellbeing, and happiness. It is, however, the least vulnerable to “purely subjective interpretation” (2013, p. 10). While the material conditions entail personal security and the economic resources used to satisfy needs, the social conditions include aspects like social respect, community, solidarity, and trust.

The principle of ‘democracy’ expands the notion of equal access in the realm of participation. Instead of having their lives controlled by others, people should be in control of their lives and be able to shape

decisions that affect their life. In that way democracy underlies the value of self-determination. Wright refers to 'sustainability' as a justice principle for people in the future that aims to expand equal access beyond one generation. In that way it holds an inherent critique to the belief in technological fixes for future problems that result in the argumentation that there is no need to "deprive the present generation of anything to protect the environment for future generations" (Wright, 2013, p.12).

While these principles all aim towards human flourishing and can thus be seen as universally applicable, they all follow a rather anthropocentric approach to wellbeing. Such an approach values non-human lifeforms and ecosystems only in their value for human wellbeing. In order to expand wellbeing to the non-human sphere, I will introduce 'ecocentrism' as a further moral principle that stands in opposition to the anthropocentric approach. Washington et al. (2017) argue that ecocentrism is the broadest term of worldviews that recognize intrinsic value of nature. Other than biocentrism, which prescribes all living beings an intrinsic value, ecocentrism expands this implication to ecosystems as a whole, including all biological and physical elements as well as the ecological processes that spatially and temporally connect them (Gray et al., 2018). Washington et al. (2017) further acknowledge that nature has an intrinsic value, irrespective of whether humans are the ones who value it. Ecocentrism gives moral consideration for human and nonhuman communities and the basic functioning and interdependence of the ecological community as a whole (Köhler et al., 2019). As social systems depend on the ecological sphere, it is to give priority to the health and wellbeing of the latter (Gray et al., 2018).

According to Gray et al. (2018), ecocentrism offers a robust ethical analysis of the negative impact humanity has on the planet. The quest for ecocentrism in that realm comes from the destructive impacts of current anthropocentric value systems, gathered under the current dominant form of neoliberal market capitalism. This very system does not pay sufficient attention to humans' domination and destruction of nature (Costanza et al., 1997), but in contrast, under-produces the nature it relies on. Neoliberal market capitalism depends on the availability and quality of resources. Padilla (2002) argues that the ecological sphere therefore is primarily valued for its provision of ecosystem services and resources: resources are extracted beyond their regenerative capacity and residual assimilations such as waste and greenhouse gases are released and dumped into the atmosphere, biosphere, and hydrosphere. As a result, ecosystems are altered in favour of capitalistic values such as efficiency, productivity, and profit, eventually endangering the thriving of ecosystems and its species while simultaneously putting pressure on the life support system of humanity itself.

In the context of solving the environmental crisis Rowe (1994) argued that ecocentrism is the only promising universal belief system. As all organisms evolved from and are sustained by earth, the ecosphere must thus be acknowledged as the centre of life. Ecocentrism can "through its recognition

of humanity's duties towards nature be central to solve our unprecedented environmental crisis" (Washington et al., 2017, p. 4). It extends respect and care to all life and recognises that humans are part of nature rather than apart from it. This erodes the human-nature divide that alienates humanity from nature and leads to the ongoing domination of the former over the latter.

2.4 The Buen Vivir

The *BV* does not formulate clear proposals, nor does it claim to hold an indisputable position. But in following a distinct conceptual, ontological, and cultural basis, different to conventional development, scholars regard it as an alternative postcapitalist and post developmentalist paradigm. Indigenous movements present it as an option that is not exclusively addressing indigenous people but is instead directed at society as a whole (Avila Larrea, 2014).

Indigenous perspectives perceive the provision of wellbeing as an ongoing practice that is characterised as dynamic and adaptable (Campos Navarrete & Zohar, 2021) and as a practice anchored in contextual change and reciprocity between humans and nature. In that way, it contrasts Western ideas of wellbeing and sustainable development, that put human needs above all. Because *BV* refers to a process, it implies that there is a constantly changing relationship between humans and nature. Due to its dynamic nature that is more consistent with the processes of social change, advocates say, the *BV* can and should be applied globally (Kauffman & Martin 2014, p. 56). In that realm the *BV* does not simply coincide with the western term of wellbeing; rather its understanding is locally rooted and contextual (Campos Navarrete & Zohar, 2021). Therefore, the *BV* requires new types of basic needs that are identified by the particular community (Avila Larrea, 2014). The identification of these needs, in turn, starts by exploring what each community understands by having a good and joyful life in their own terms. This not only enables a bottom-up approach to identify and meet needs but equally valorises indigenous identities and cultures (Chassagne, 2019).

The *SPPBV* implemented in Ecuador seeks to leave behind paradigms of competition, productivism and accumulation, while proposing values of equality, cohesion, and social inclusion. Policies, goals, and indicators have been proposed to counter economy-oriented approaches that measure wellbeing only based on monetary achievements (Prudencio & Blanco, 2017).

3 Methodology

In this thesis I will follow a qualitative approach, combining a systematic literature review with a document analysis. I will conduct a systematic literature review to give an overview on how the *BV* defines and provides wellbeing. To link these insights to the *SPPBV* and investigate to what degree the identified original ideas are set into practice, I will analyse the Ecuadorian Constitution of 2008 as well as the three subsequent versions of the *Plan Nacional de Buen Vivir (National Plan for the Good Living)*, to which in the following will be referred to as *PNBV*.

I will further draw on transformative science, that aims to “achieve a deeper understanding of ongoing transformations and increased societal capacity for reflexivity with regard to these fundamental change processes” (Schneidewind et al., 2016, p. 2). Transformative science calls on the social sciences to take a more strategic and operational approach to issues of change. It holds a transdisciplinary, action-oriented approach and promotes a more active role of science in the process of social change (Feola, 2015).

3.1 Systematic literature review

A Systematic literature review – in contrast to a narrative literature review – follows a systematic and explicit methodology to answer specific research questions (Rother, 2007). It builds upon prior existing work and offers the possibility to advance knowledge. Applying systematic literature can follow different purposes such as acquiring a deep understanding of a certain topic; identifying research gaps; testing specific hypothesis; developing theories; or summarizing, analysing and synthesizing literature (Xiao & Watson, 2019). As there is a broad body of literature on the *BV*, the concept itself however vaguely defined and consists of various layers, I will follow the latter purpose to screen and eventually synthesise how the *BV* defines and provides wellbeing.

I will select relevant literature on the *BV* by running a Scopus search with the search string *TITLE-ABS-KEY ("Buen Vivir" AND (wellbeing OR welfare)) AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , "English") OR LIMIT-TO LANGUAGE , "Spanish")* for publications published in the past ten years (2012 to 2022). This search string serves as a review protocol, containing all relevant exclusion criteria that in turn makes the systematic literature review valid, reliable, and repeatable. I will then screen and read the articles while coding relevant insights using the software NVivo and applying an inductive coding approach as introduced by Charmaz (2006). The latter refers to the procedure of naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorises, summarises, and accounts for each piece of data. I will divide

the coding into the two phases of initial and focused coding. While initial coding aims to make sense of the data and remains open to all theoretical directions, focused coding is more direct, selective, and directional (Charmaz, 2006). An exemplary visualisation of this process can be found in **Appendix B**.

3.2 Document analysis

Document analysis is an analytical method in qualitative research that follows a systematic procedure to review or evaluate documents. The analytical part consists of finding, selecting, synthesising, and making sense of data. As documents are created for a specific purpose and target audience, and can thus hold a bias, the method presupposes the researcher to triangulate findings in order to provide a “confluence of evidence that breeds credibility” (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). My thesis aims to evaluate the content of legal documents based on given criteria. Therefore, it does not require triangulation. Regardless of document type, it is however important to demonstrate objectivity and sensitivity within the analytical process. The researcher is expected to represent the research material adequately and “respond to even subtle cues to meaning” (Bowen, 2009, p. 32).

To investigate to what degree the key features of wellbeing in the BV, identified in RQ1, are set into practice, I will analyse the Ecuadorian Constitution of 2008 (Gorgetown University, 2022) as well as of the three subsequent versions of the PNBV, covering the periods 2009-2013 (SENPLADES, 2010), 2013-202017 (SENPLADES, 2013) and 2017-2021 (SENPLADES, 2017). Analysing the latter offers the possibility to tackle the change and development of policy design over a longer period of time.

Through skimming, scanning, and interpreting the given documents, information is organised into categories related to a central research question. Bowen (2009) indicates that such categories can be predefined, especially when document analysis is applied in combination with other methods. I will use the findings of the systematic literature review, as predefined categories for my document analysis.

3.3 Transformation analysis

As the attempt to systematically conceptualise transformation is still in its early stages (Feola, 2015), I will not apply an existing method. Instead, I will use the findings of RQ2 – which indicate the change in policy design as well as the framing and the selection of objectives in the Ecuadorian Constitution of 2008 and the three versions of the *PNBV* – to demarcate and characterise the transformation process.

This will be complemented by taking sentiments of non-governmental actors as well as identified limitations and challenges into account. I will conclude with the evaluation of the transformative potential of the *SPPBV*.

4 Analysis and findings

4.1 RQ1: Definition and provision of wellbeing in the BV

By running a SCOPUS search with the search string *TITLE-ABS-KEY ("Buen Vivir" AND (wellbeing OR welfare)) AND (LIMIT-TO (LANGUAGE , "English") OR LIMIT-TO LANGUAGE , "Spanish")*), 24 relevant articles could be identified. A list of these articles can be found in **Appendix A**. Despite the fluid conception of the BV, which was already elaborated in Chapter 2.4., I could identify four features inherent to the wellbeing understanding of the BV. These features emerged through the coding process explained in Chapter 3.2 and exemplary visualised in **Appendix C**. Figure 1 shows the findings of this coding process, including the key features of wellbeing in the *BV*.

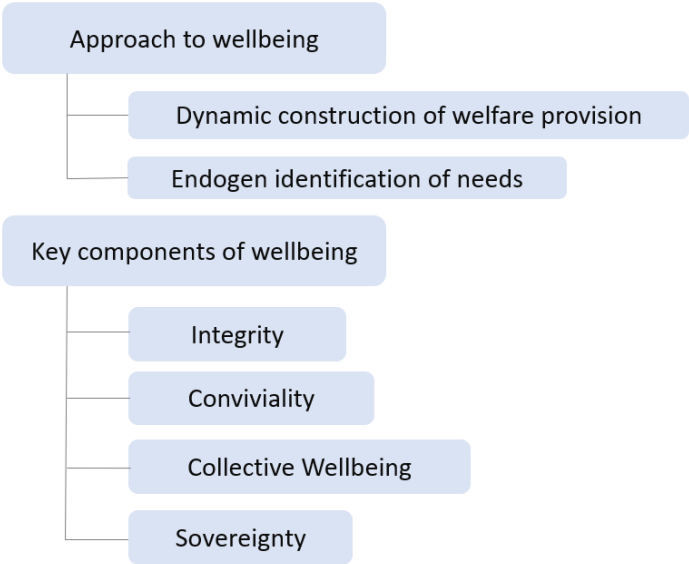


Figure 1: Conception of wellbeing in the Buen Vivir (author made representation)

Integrity

11 articles highlight integrity in their conception of wellbeing. The idea of integrity starts with the recognition that humans are an integral part of nature. When acknowledging the complementary

relations within the planetary community, the search for wellbeing encompasses all living beings. Ascribing all living beings the same ontological value does not imply that they are all identical, it rather refers to unity in diversity. As wellbeing therefore is a social and an eco-systemic phenomenon rather than one that resides on the individual, it can only occur in the absence of the dualism between nature and society. From an indigenous perspective there needs to be a harmonious state between spiritual and material components that incorporate members of the community and the natural environment (Acosta, 2015; Bracarense & Gil-Vasquez, 2018, Kauffman & Martin, 2014). When accepting that all living beings have the same ontological value, the 'rights of nature' become a fundamental part of wellbeing. Acosta (2015) argues that the core of the 'rights of nature' is to rescue the right to existence of human beings themselves. Nature is perceived as a whole, encompassing the material-, the spiritual- and the human sphere. This worldview links humans and nature through a perspective of respect and is based on the idea that the set of living beings that coexist in an ecosystem must be cared for (Avila Larrea, 2014).

Conviviality

The principle of conviviality, identified in 12 articles builds on the ideas of integrity. It entails the understanding of a harmonious relationship between humans individually and collectively and a deep care for nature (Acosta, 2015, Campos Navarrete & Zohar, 2021). In relating to nature as a subject which involves human life, there is a notion of subordination: To live well would from this perspective requires that all human objectives must be subordinated to the well-functioning of an ecosystem (Gerlach, 2019). On the other hand, "there is no legal protection of nature without the guarantee of a human life in the fullness of complementary relations with the other members of the human community and those of the larger nonhuman planetary community" (de Oliveira, 2018). To illustrate this, one can draw on Martínez Dalmau's (2016) explanation of the 'four integrated moments of conviviality'. These are (1) the territory itself that entails the land, the nature, and the soil; (2) the society, community or family that treads that territory; (3) the work and activities that are carried out by that community; and (4) what is obtained from the work that is carried out by the community and that in turn treats threats that nature: "wellbeing, festivities, distraction, satisfaction, and exhaustion" (Campos Navarrete & Zohar, 2012, p. 7).

Collective Wellbeing

An underlying principle of *BV* – identified in 12 articles – is that wellbeing can only occur on a collective level (Kauffman & Martin, 2014). This principle gives environmental wellbeing the same importance as human wellbeing. Humans should relate to each other and their environment in reciprocity, cooperation, and mutual support. Although individual happiness does affect community wellbeing and

vice-versa, the notion of wellbeing prescribed in the *BV* focuses on community wellbeing (Chassagne, 2019). However, individual wellbeing is intrinsically linked with and promoted by collective practice (Spiegel et al., 2019) and warranted through dignity and cultural identity (Ciofalo, 2021; Everingham & Chassagne, 2020). Considering the agency of human beings, environmental wellbeing is practised in activities such as the nurturing and preservation of the land, maintained by the values of integrity and conviviality, and guaranteed by the 'rights of nature' (Huambachano, 2018). In conserving and maintaining the land and protecting its resources and products, the standard of living of communities in turn can be improved (Avila Larrea, 2014). Questions of the good life and justice are linked (Gerlach, 2019), especially in the sense of distribution and access to common goods which should among the principles of the *BV* be commonly inherited or collectively built – this applies to natural and social goods as well as to tangible and intangible goods (Acosta, 2015).

Sovereignty

The notion of sovereignty was found in only two of the article's conceptions of the *BV*. As indigenous communities live from the land, the fulfilment of certain needs in large parts depends on the access and use of the land. Therefore, the *BV* promotes sovereign control of resources and land (Huambachano, 2018). The notion of sovereignty for wellbeing however spans beyond the material dimension. Peredo (2019), for instance, found that communities explicitly expressed the need of control over their lives and communities as an important dimension of their wellbeing. As this principle is not an explicit part of the indigenous *sumak kawsay*, it can be understood as a reaction to external influences.

After providing a more detailed description of the identified principles inherent to the wellbeing understanding of the *BV*, one could glean that these clearly coincide with the moral principles for the judgement of existing institutions introduced in 2.3. The moral principle of 'equality' refers to an egalitarian and socially just access to material and social conditions; this is mirrored in the *BV*-principle of conviviality that aims for collective rather than individualistic wellbeing. According to Wright "the value of democracy underlies the value of self-determination, of people being in control of their lives rather than having their lives controlled by others" (Wright, 2013, p. 11). Whereas self-determination in that context combines collective decision making and individual freedom and sovereignty refers to the self-determination of a larger group of individuals, the underlying value of autonomy is a defining element of both. Sustainability as a conscious handling of the environment and a justice principle for people in the future, entails the vision of understanding wellbeing on the collective level. The principle of 'ecocentrism' is based on the understanding that all life is interdependent and interconnected (Washington et al., 2017). It therefore contains the *BV*-value integrity.

4.2 RQ2: Process of Institutionalisation

4.2.1 *Discursive emergence*

The institutionalisation of the *BV* must be understood as a hybrid-discursive process, as it draws from two distinct currents of the *BV* that developed parallelly in the early twenty-first century while influencing each other. The indigenous current draws from a communitarian worldview and was first systematised in the early 1990s, when the *Organización de Pueblos Indígenas de Pastaza* led by the Quechuan community of *Sarayaku* and their indigenous intellectuals entered a process of reflection of their way of life and alternatives to capitalist development agendas (Cubillo-Guevara et al., 2018). It synthesises the Quechua *sumak kawsay*, the Aymara *sumaj quamaña* and similar ideas that can be found in Andean and Amazonian indigenous cultures (Prudencio & Blanco, 2017; Vanhulst & Beling, 2019). Due to its plural origin, it includes a diversity of spiritual, ontological, and epistemological dimensions (Campos Navarrete & Zohar, 2021). It further “incorporates a dynamic critique of modernity from the perspective of radical otherness that identifies the instruments of domination created by the structures of colonial power” (Bracarense & Gil-Vasquez, 2018, p. 622). The second current stems from the Latin American school of post-Marxism and integrates national and international voices from the global legitimacy crisis of the growth- and development paradigm (Vanhulst & Beling, 2019). It combines indigenous values with neo-Aristotelian and Christian values, and centres around an environmentalist perspective that prioritises human wellbeing. This current has a more political stance (Campos Navarrete & Zohar, 2021).

Beling et al. (2021) indicate Viteri’s “*Visión Indígena del desarrollo en la Amazonía*” as a historical milestone in bringing the discourse to the political sphere. Later, the Ecuadorian economist Acosta explicitly linked *BV* to the design of alternatives to currently dominant unsustainable ways of life. In that regard, the *National Confederation of Indigenous People of Ecuador (CONAIE)* and its political wing, the *Panchakutik Party*, that came into power in 2002, can equally be seen as key-actors in introducing the *BV* to the political sphere. With the electoral victory of Rafael Correa and the citizens revolution in 2006 the drafting of the new constitution, based on many proposals developed in previous years, began (Benalcázar & Rosa, 2021).

4.2.2 Constitution

Around 2008, within the constituent debates in Ecuador, the *BV* was eventually proposed to be incorporated into the constitution. This demand transitioned into a supposedly consensual process of conceptual hybridisation that strongly mitigated the indigenous understanding. It is rather a 'triple helix' that merges Andean-Amazonian principles with contemporary, national, and foreign critical discourses (such as Post-development, Eco-Marxism, Post-developmentalism, Interculturalism and Feminism) and the results of a participatory decision-making process. The latter encompassed the contribution of different social movements and members of the new progressive national political elites (Cubillo-Guevara et al., 2018). In succession and enriched by an enormous social debate, the *BV* was used as a backbone for the constitution. The analysis found that all four key features of wellbeing in the *BV* identified in RQ1 are considered in the constitution (**Appendix D**).

Integrity

Approved by the majority of the Ecuadorian population, the constitution follows a right-based approach aiming for "a new form of public coexistence, in diversity and harmony with nature, to achieve the good way of living". Art. 1 acknowledges the Ecuadorian State as a constitutional body of rights and justice that not only encompasses human society but also nature. In that sense, the constitution prescribes a governance that is orientated by the principles and rights of the *BV* (Art. 14). In that aspect it is the first constitution that recognises the 'rights of nature' (Art. 71-74) by guaranteeing an integrated respect of nature's existence and by promoting its maintenance and the regenerations of its life cycles and evolutionary processes. Art. 71 further promotes a more holistic, life-centred approach in which nature is referred to as "the place where life happens".

Conviviality

Art. 275 emphasises the enforcement of rights as a precondition for 'Good Living' which leads to the responsibility for interculturalism and harmonious coexistence with nature. Art. 23 promotes a culture of democratic, intercultural, and creative coexistence among agents who recognize and respect each other reciprocally. This contains the notion of inclusiveness, explicitly stated in Art. 57 as the recognition, reparation and compensation for community groups affected by racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance and discrimination. Art. 16 and 17 further ensure the conditions to express diversity in equality and Art. 22, 24 and 66 ensure equal agency of all people.

Collective Wellbeing

The constitution emphasises the enforcement of rights as a precondition for Good Living. In that realm, the constitution acknowledges the economic system as a social and fraternal system, in which the economy must serve the reproduction of expanded life. Art. 12, 14, 30, 31, 32, 340, 358, 381 and 389 guarantee all people the rights necessary to improve quality of life. Art. 343 and 350 consolidate peoples' capacities and opportunities through education and Art. 66 guarantee for the right to live a life in dignity.

Sovereignty

The constitution indicates that sovereignty lies with the people, who will be the basis of all authority and it guarantees direct participatory forms of governance, including decentralized and transparent planning that fosters social and territorial equity and promotes consensus-building (Art. 275 and 279). The constitution further aims to produce a democratisation of the government by modifying the supreme order of the legal system (Martínez Dalmau, 2016). Art. 248 recognizes communities, communes, hamlets, neighbourhoods, and urban parishes as its basic units for participation. At the international level Art. 276 guarantees national sovereignty and promotes Latin Americas' integration while protecting and promoting cultural diversity. Art. 3, 11, 66 and 85 establishes the principle of equality, non-discrimination and solidarity and guarantee for equal rights, individually and collectively. Art. 16 and 17 ensure the conditions to express diversity in equality.

4.2.3 *Plan Nacional de Buen Vivir*

The proposal for implementing the *BV* on the national level was already recoded in the 2007-2010 *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo (National Development Plan)*, but first put into action in the subsequent *PNBV* in response to its institutionalisation. **Appendix D** summarises in what way the four key features of wellbeing in the *BV*, identified in RQ1, are referred to in the constitution and the three subsequent versions of the *PNBV*.

The *PNBV* aims to put the new social contract into action and is supported by a periodic monitoring and evaluation system that shows changes which can be attributed to public policies and changes of people's wellbeing. The development of the *PNBV* followed a participative planning approach inspired by a profoundly ethical understanding of democracy according to which the interests, knowledge and

abilities of the target beneficiaries are co-responsible for policy formulation. In that realm the approach encompassed citizen inspectorships to suggest amendments and to structure the previous cycle of public policies with regard to the *PNBV* and a consolidation process through an ongoing dialog with organisation, social movements, and people. Furthermore, citizen consolidation workshops have been organised, including 4000 representatives of the Ecuadorian civil society from different regional and social backgrounds. The decentralised workshops aimed to identify national policy proposals based on the knowledge of local actors and their regional reality, in order to examine the country's problems all together.

The first version of the *PNBV* has a strong emphasis on an endogen transformation and a polycentric State, taken up in the *Estrategia Territorial Nacional (National Territorial Strategy)*. In locating the main interventions and projects in the territorial level, specific needs, qualities, potentialities, and limitations can be identified. An equitable territorial organisation should favour responsible autonomy and sovereignty. In that realm, it aims for a radical democratic state and the recognition of the diversity of people and nationalities. (Objectives 1 and 8) In addition to the strong focus on societal diversity and integrity the relation between humans and nature is reinterpreted through the reconciliations of multiple, indigenous cosmovision, eventually institutionalised as the 'rights of nature'. A transition towards a model based on moderate and sustainable use of resources that considers spatial variables intelligently aims for natural regeneration and responsibility towards nature (Objectives 4 and 11). Even though the *PNBV* points towards the 'rights of nature', the wellbeing of the non-human sphere is not mentioned explicitly. The vision of a harmonious relation with nature is anchored in humans' economic dependence on nature, and thus mismatches the intrinsic valuation of nature prevalent in indigenous communities. Conviviality is mostly understood as an expansion of societal integrity, with the aim to build relations that foster solidarity and cooperation among citizens who recognise themselves as part of a social and political community (Objectives 7 and 10). Objective 3 acknowledges that people are interdependent and not isolated beings that rely and depend on other individuals to be autonomous, achieve wellbeing and social reproduction and aims to improve life within this understanding and by providing citizens with individual capabilities and positive liberties (Objective 2).

The second version of the *PNBV* (2013-2017) frames the political project of the *BV* as a "Socialism of Good Living" and in that realm promotes socialist values such as an equitable and egalitarian society; intergenerational and international justice; deep democracy guaranteed through a radical democratic state that is responsive to the needs of the great majority; self-determination through liberating work; and the ability to sustain life and autonomy. These values become visible in the *PNBV's* interpretation of conviviality that aims to deepen a just transformation and to reinforcing citizens security and

coexistence (Objective 6). Along with this, it aims to erase negative factors that endanger equity such as poverty, deprivation, and violence (Objective 5). In naming the change of power relations as the means to overcome historical processes of inequality and oppression as an overarching goal, this version of the *PNBV* explicitly follows a Marxist-post-colonial approach. It emphasises work and production stronger than the former version of the *PNBV*, with one of the three key-areas being the “economic and productive transformation based on changing the productive structure”. In that realm the *PNBV* reclaims growth as a mean to achieve prosperity. In stating that “economic growth is desirable in a society, but [that] it’s distributive and redistributive patterns matter, too” it breaks with the indigenous understanding of the *BV* that rejects a notion of linear development and is not focused on achieving outcomes. Another overarching goal is to liberate society from its subordination to the economic system and make it instead an active participant of its own transformation. This should be achieved by a “radically new measurement system that considers new indicators and reorders their importance, so that society is no longer subordinate to the economic system and so that the *BV* can become the organising principle for the planning and implementation of public policies”, as well as by international sovereignty and economic independency. This outward directed focus of sovereignty becomes visible in Objectives 11 and 12. Societal integrity and a strong focus on a harmonious relation to nature that prevailed in the first version of the *PNBV* shifted the target towards the integration and preservation of the cultural and the natural heritage. The aim is a transformation towards an eco-efficient economy based on the infinite resource of knowledge (Objective 4) with greater economic, social, and environmental value (Objective 7).

The third version of the *PNBV* 2017-2021 framed as a “Plan for a Lifetime” is based on the constitution as well as the *Sustainable Development Goals* of the *Agenda 2030*. This orientation directs the plan’s focus towards sustainable development and environmental sustainability – specifically in the realm of future generations and intergenerational justice – rather than following the counter approach to development inherent to the *BV*. A second focus that can be perceived is that the *PNBV* takes historical developments into account. Following a retrospective analysis of Ecuador, it aims to read the current moment “beyond limited conjunctures but reasons it in the key to a long time”. As a program for the society, education, production, and work in dignity it follows the theme of the *PNBV* 2013-2017, while setting three overarching, new-defined goals. These are namely (1) ‘To guarantee the rights for all throughout life’, which aims to promote pluri-and internationality and erase poverty, discrimination, and violence, guarantees ‘rights of nature’; (2) ‘To build an economy at the service of society’, which aims for a social and solidaric economy; and (3) ‘To strive for more society and a better state’, which promotes participation and a new social ethic based on transparency and solidarity.

With aiming for a new social ethic, the *PNBV* further ascribes humans the ethical responsibility to maintain, protect and support life in all its forms. In specifically pointing towards environmentally friendly practices, bio-knowledge, and bioeconomy as an alternative to primary export-oriented production (Objective 6) it follows a notion of human-nature relation that already prevailed in the second version of the *PNBV* and that mismatches the intrinsic valuation of nature. As the *PNBV* aims to ensure the integrity, connectivity, and functionality of natural and cultural landscapes, it promotes a human-nature relation aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (Objective 5). The socialistic stance on integrity taken in the second version of the *PNBV* is overshadowed by one that emphasises personal integrity and a revaluation of different identities, acknowledges that this must be conceived beyond a vision centred on ethnicity, referring for instance, to the LGBTTTIQ community and to urban cultures (Objective 2). The *PNBV* aims for collective wellbeing in the condition of equality and justice and for building an inclusive market society that seeks wellbeing and prosperity through adequate generation and redistribution of wealth. The territorial perspective is incorporated into national planning, rather than remaining a separate instrument that is managed on its own as it has been in the two former versions. The *PNBV* states that its planning process is the result of all experiences of participation acquired since the elaboration of the *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo (National Development Plan)* in 2007. As this process put into discussion proposals that came from citizens and their organisation, it is referred to as a plan from and a plan for the use of citizens. An essential purpose of the plan is to generate a dialog within society to jointly shape the path to development under the parameters of efficiency, co-responsibility and compliance with human rights and nature.

4.3 RQ3: Analysis of the transformative potential

There are some dilemmas dividing the different research directions of transformation research. On the one hand, there is a tension between in depth particularity and generic insight. While case based, in-depth research brings the potential to construct detailed narratives of particular contexts as well as sensitivity towards complex causation and empirical detail; more comparative efforts or meta-analysis can bring more generic insights eventually leading to theory-building. This results in the challenge of whether it is more desirable to structure complexity in order to disclose a hidden structure and provide a clear and coherent representation of the process or to articulate the irreducible complexity. The latter allows for modelling and indicator development to project transformation pathways whilst remaining attentive to uncertainties. Adequate and relevant indicators and measurements can further enable transferability and with that increase the societal role of transformation research (Köhler et al. 2019). Regarding the exploration of the *BV*, which falls into the case-based in-depth research direction,

there have been several studies, trying to model the transformation dynamics with indicators. Prudencio & Blanco (2017), for instance, introduced an *BV*-index, based on the goals elaborated in the *PNBV*, to measure the achievements of the institutionalisation of *BV*.

4.3.1 Characterisation of the transformation process

In aiming for an irreversible and radical change with a clear common vision – on the institutional level expressed as a right based new social contract – the transformation process can be characterised as normative and directional.

Form of transformation

Due to its ontological and epistemological plurality, the transformation proceeds in a non-linear way and is shaped through both top-down and bottom-up processes. During the discursive emergence, the latter predominated, as subaltern social actors with no links to the traditional political elites shaped the discourse. Intellectuals close to grassroots organisations transmitted the *BV* into the political sphere (Cubillo-Guevara et al., 2018). Within the institutionalisation, top-down processes gained importance. The transformation on the institutional level is a result of a combination of bottom-up and top-down processes. While representatives from the Ecuadorian civil society from different regional and social backgrounds were integrated in the discursive transfer and planning process, political representatives adopted the decision- and meaning-making in the constituent assemblies. Even if the political leadership at this point included many representatives of grassroots organisations which had influence on the otherwise conservative political elites (Beling et al., 2021), the indigenous *BV* was subject of retroactive reinterpretation, alternation and instrumentalization. Highlighted by the former undersecretary of the *Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo (National Secretariat for Planning and Development)*, it is up to the state to define what *BV* is (Benalcázar & Rosa, 2021). This became especially visible in the second version of the *PNBV*, where the principles of conviviality and collective wellbeing were used to legitimise a socialistic course; as well as in third version of the *PNBV*, where the principle of sovereignty was used as a mean to improve the competitive advantage in the agricultural production system and collective wellbeing is aimed to be achieved by the adequate generation and redistribution of wealth (**Appendix C**).

The *SPPBV* can be located between what Wright refers to as a ‘ruptural’ and a ‘symbiotic’ strategy of transformation: Ruptural, in the sense of “creating new emancipatory institutions through sharp breaks within existing institutions and social structures” (2013, p. 34), as it rapidly transforms the state through a new constitution. The *SPPBV* however does not manage to use this new social structure to undermine the power of the dominant elite within the economy. Symbiotic, in the sense of following

“strategies in which extending and deepening the institutional forms of social empowerment [...] help to solve certain practical problems faced by the dominant elites”. Even though the SPPBV, according to this definition, expanded the potential for future advances of democratic power, Prada-Trigo (2016, p. 310) argues that participatory mechanisms have not always been followed, that “participatory structures are fragile and the capacity to get involved in politics is limited”.

To some extent the *SPPBV* is a response to the implementation of neoliberal policies in the 1980s and 1990s, that resulted in a massive rise of poverty and high levels of social unrest (Benalcázar & Rosa, 2021). Instead of a sharp break, the transformation towards the *BV* however emerged slowly and instead of creating a new form of existence, the SPPBV continuously dropped back to traditional values and structures, promoting strategies to make life better within the existing system.

Moving force behind transformation

The moving forces behind the transformation towards the *BV* contain endogen and exogen components in equal parts. The context of global political confrontation with the dominant neoliberal model of development points towards an outside-insides dynamic. Beling et al. (2021, p. 17) who described the *SPPBV* as a “glocal discursive articulation in pursuit of post-developmental utopias” identified various dynamics on the global level that favoured the transformation towards the *BV*. Among others, these are the awareness of the earth’s ecological situation and the imperative of socio-ecological sustainability that emerged in the late 1960s; the “cultural turn” as a global discourse from the 1970s onwards; and the crisis of the nation-states, in the aftermath of the neoliberal globalisation of the 1990s and 2000s. In addition to that, the critiques and legitimacy crisis of the development idea and with it the build-up of an international agenda in the search for alternatives has contributed to open a window of opportunity for the institutionalisation of the *BV*. Collective action and social movements that stand up against diverse forms of injustice and oppression on a global scale have enhanced this dynamic. At the same time endogen dynamics such as the re-democratisation of many Latin American countries from the 1980s onwards and a slow restructuring and reorganisation of civil society in the 1990s and 2000s have contributed to lay the groundwork for the emergence and the subsequent mainstreaming of the *BV*. An increasing powerful process of indigenous self-assertion led to recognition of the identity and collective rights of the indigenous peoples. Lastly, the building of subaltern electoral coalitions among alternative social movements; and the “left turn” of many Latin American governments after the turn of the century contributed to the transformation process. Considering these multiple dynamics and the re-distribution of human agency following these

processes, the moving force behind the transformation is an active and collective one that is in its nature both reactive and anticipatory.

“End result“ of the transformative process

The *BV* within the *SPPBV* was a continuous subject to reinterpretation, alteration and instrumentalization. The ontological, conceptual, and cultural diversity of the *BV* could not be covered by the hybrid, institutionalised form. This resulted in a diversification that eventually led to three currents with different foci as visualised in Figure 2.

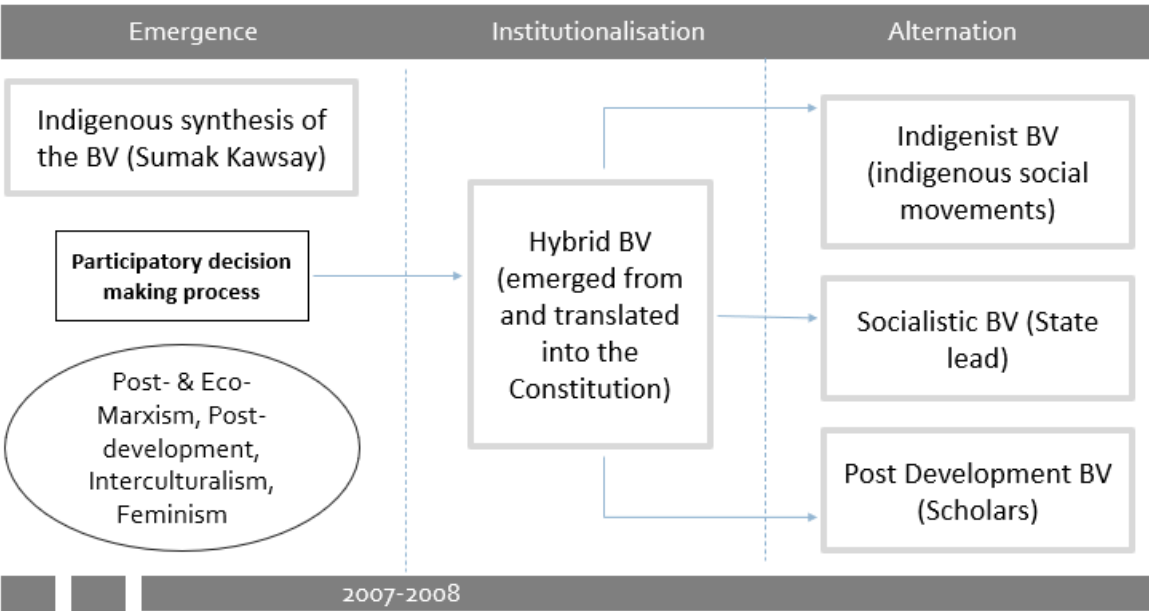


Figure 2: Author made representation, adapted from Cubillo-Guevara et al. (2018)

According to scholars such as Benalcázar & Rosa (2021), Cubillo-Guevara et al. (2018), and Hidalgo-Capitán & Cubillo-Guevara (2014), the indigenist *BV* is driven by demands for territorial autonomy and identity and aims for recognition of indigenous people, culture, and land. It is mostly promoted by social movements and has a close link to indigenous groups. In contrast to socialist and developmentalist approaches it does not seek to influence beyond the local sphere, but rather seeks to avoid exogen interference. The socialistic notion of the *BV* prioritises socio-economic justice over other aspects of the *BV* and is led by neo-Marxist intellectuals that are linked to institutional politics. Therefore, this focus became especially visible within the second version of the *PNBV*. In aiming for a transformation of the modes of production coupled with social justice, it corresponds in large parts

with classical western-socialist versions of development. The post-development *BV*, in contrast, holds a strong socio-ecological focus and is driven by scholars and social activists from Latin America and Europe. It is influenced by indigenous elements but integrates other principles such as eco-socialism, post-development, post-colonial and decolonial theories. In that regard the post-developmental *BV* is specifically concerned with the ecological and participative aspects of the *BV*.

Of the three discursive currents, the post-developmental had the most intersection with other visions of fundamental social transformation towards global social and ecological sustainability and therefore received the most academic attention in the global discourse production and reproduction around the *BV* and the innovative character of the constitution (Beling et al., 2021).

Temporal range of the transformation

In the *PNBV* the *SPPBV* is referred to as a silent and ongoing revolution. Considering the distinct endogen and exogen dynamics influencing the discursive emergence and institutionalisation, there is no clear starting point. The process of systematic reflection by the *Organización de Pueblos Indígenas de Pastaza (Organisation of Indigenous People of Pastaza)* in the early 1990s however can clearly be seen as a key moment, translating implicit knowledge into communicable knowledge. From there, the transformation gained momentum on the national level, eventually finding its peak with the institutionalisation in 2008. After the institutional debates and the establishment of the new constitution, the transformation can be identified as rather regressive on the national level, while increasing influence in international discourses. Albeit the diversification may have weakened the original course of the transformation, but it simultaneously contributed to the broadening of its influence. As the ideas of the *BV* and dynamics of the *SPPBV* still prevail and resonate with the broader search for alternatives, it is referred to as “an unstoppable underground movement of civil society” (Ruttenberg, 2013).

4.3.2 Challenges and limitations

The transformation towards the *BV*, and the translation of the constitutional version of the commonly agreed, hybrid version of the *BV* was dampened by several processes, that will be presented in the following.

Delocalisation and alienation of the BV

During the phase of institutionalisation of the *BV*, the Ecuadorian government took ownership of the *BV*, introducing it to its constitutional reform and its subsequent policy making plans. Due to the combination of different interpretations and concepts, the *BV* needs to be understood as a multifaceted paradigm (Acosta, 2015; Beling et al., 2018; Cubillo-Guevara et al., 2018). Critics argue that the institutionalised version holds a very shallow understanding of the indigenous *BV*, which in turn, could possibly lead to disrespect and devaluation of ancient traditions (Benalcázar & de la Rosa, 2021). While parts of the indigenous *BV*, such as values of happiness, diversity, equity, and solidarity, community participation, and the care and 'rights of nature' remained, the dynamism inherent to the *BV* got lost. The mainstreaming of the *BV* and its dissemination in social and ecological debates beyond the region (Beling et al., 2021) resulted in a remarkable inside-outward dynamic shortly after the institutionalisation. This development delocalised the *BV* from its spatial origin and led to an intense struggle for the approbation of the *BV* on the territorial level. At the state level many key figures that contributed to the institutionalisation of the *BV* distanced themselves from the government, which in turn became increasingly disconnected from the grassroots.

Mismatch between discourse and practice and between constitution and practice

The translation of the discursive and institutional achievements into practice turns out to be rather shallow, with the emancipatory vision of "a new form of public coexistence, in diversity and harmony with nature, to achieve the good way of living" eroding over time. When looking at the aims the *PNBV* claims to pursue, it can be considered as a useful instrument. Nonetheless, its implementation was limited and Benalcáza (2021, p. 165) argues that what was actually implemented, was a "state-guided developmentalist plan mostly inspired by classical social-democratic templates rather than by an innovative and alternative paradigm". In that way the *SPPBV* contributed to develop a welfare-state but lacks the changes necessary to build the envisioned society.

Whereas the constitution holds the opportunity to transform the national society, civil society and indigenous organisations were increasingly marginalised from key political processes and projects. The conflict around a new legislation on water and mining, for instance, marked the political break with the government, that ever since steadily grew. The second version of the *PNBV* promoted large mining projects to achieve the *BV*. This laid the foundation for the exploitation of the oil field in the Parque Nacional Yasuní (Yasuní National Park) (Forero, 2021) and was the starting point for an increasingly developmentalist orientation of the state. The policy dynamic of the current administration of Lenín

Moreno follows the statist current of the BV, aiming to build a redistributive Welfare-State in the sense of a '21st-Century-Socialism' (Benalcázar & Rosa, 2021).

Structural dependence

As Ruttenberg (2013) stresses, it is important to recognize current structural and institutional limitations that threaten the potential for a true transformation towards post-extractivist and post-developmental alternatives. It is to overcome its reliance on natural resources and export-led growth to fund public expenditure on social programs. Ecuador is embedded in the extractivist matrix of the global neoliberal economy. Without an effective transformation of the material basis, the ability to effectively challenge this very system and to implement an alternative proposal has little chance (Beling et al., 2018). Therefore, Ecuador aimed to reduce its enormous dependency on foreign capital, technology, and import. While following no autarchic approach, Ecuador is compelled to strengthen its own productive capacity and an economic policy independent of foreign interests (Benalcázar & de la Rosa, 2021).

Returning social services to the government reduced foreign influence and strengthened governmental control over key resources (Friederic & Burke, 2019). In this context, Ecuador also proclaimed to exit its purely extractivist schemes by the means of the transformation of the national productive matrix. This entailed the sovereignty and efficiency of certain sectors (Prudencio & Blanco, 2017) and the establishment of new sectors. The third version of the *PNBV*, for instance, promotes the generation of bio-knowledge as an alternative to primary export-oriented production, pointing towards biotechnology and a bioeconomy. Due to the slow progress in the transformation of the production and energy system, Ecuador's historical elites – which in fact lost their formal power – retained their ability to influence the economy and to put pressure on the government (Benalcáza & Rosa, 2021). This shows that structural dependency favoured the resilience of elites and could therefore potentially pose unforeseen obstacles in the future.

Operationalisation

Another challenge is to measure the progress and the success of the implementation of *the BV* by quantifiable and generalizable indicators. The *BV* is no linear conception of wellbeing that can be assimilated into existing bureaucratic structures and rationales (Beling et al., 2021). The institutionalisation of the *BV* however entailed the establishment of control mechanisms on the national and local level. The independent and elected *Consejo de Participación Ciudadana y Control Social* (Council for Citizen Participation and Social Control) as a fourth branch of the State, for instance, was established to audit and control all state entities (Benalcáza & Rosa, 2021).

Even though the plurinational framework of the Constitution ensured the possibility of an increased engagement on behalf of the citizen. Even though the *PNBV* aspired an ongoing dialog with organisations, social movements and people, the participation system yet does not allow for continuous and permanent integration of societies aspirations. In fact, the role of the public was limited to the possibility of presenting complaints in the case of irregularities (Prada-Trigo, 2016). The political structure established by the constitution that gives full control to the executives, in contrast, limits citizen participation as well as checks and balances, once plans are established (Benalcáza & de la Rosa, 2021).

The *Estrategia Territorial Nacional (National Territorial Strategy)* established during the process of institutionalisation of the *BV* strives for a harmonious articulation between different territorial levels and intends high levels of agreement between regional and national objectives. This processes, however, remained incoherent and limited at the local level, due to the lack of coordination of those responsible for implementing measures and due to the absence of local initiatives. Prada-Trigo (2016) identifies problems with carrying out measures put forward by the national government on the territorial level, as officials in charge are often not trained adequately, have limited knowledge of the territory, or rotate often. The absence of an adequate tax collection system further causes constraints for the local governments and often requires direct investments from the central government.

These limitations seem inevitable when applying a concept like the *BV* to a state-led project that needs to be planned, measured, and integrated into a specific socio-economic context (Friederic & Burke, 2019; Prudencio & Blanco, 2017).

Knowledge integration

By orienting its economic, political, social, and cultural life on the guiding vision of the *BV*, Ecuador not only drew on indigenous traditions for the first time, but also dismantled colonial power structures through a deliberate policy design. It calls upon the wisdom of all the cultures that could enrich the plurinational State of Ecuador, takes into consideration indigenous epistemic conditions; and radically breaks with the idea of the neoliberal society (Prudencio, 2017).

The access and integration of different forms of knowledge are specifically mentioned in the second version to the *PNBV*. Its objectives point towards the revaluation of ancestral knowledge and wisdom and promotes the “knowledge and expression of the diverse socio-cultural identities of the different peoples and nationalities that make up Ecuador, as well as of the Ecuadorians who live abroad, in order to strengthen Ecuadorian identity”. Knowledge is referred to as an instrument for individual freedom, social emancipation, meeting needs, guarantee rights, changing the patterns of accumulation and (re)distribution, and living in harmony with nature. Integrating and using different ontologies and

epistemologies however entails a high degree of responsibility. Its translation and consolidation are tasks that need to be addressed properly. When the use and application go beyond the consistent participation of its proponents and the continuous consideration of coherence, there is a risk of knowledge extraction, knowledge approbation, and knowledge misuse. As the knowledge integration was applied to the modernist framework of a nation-state these concerns remain highly relevant.

4.3.3 Socio-political project of the Buen Vivir as a Real Utopia?

Wright concludes his elaboration of *Real Utopias* by evaluating the proposed alternatives according to their desirability, viability, and achievability (Wright, 2013). Whether an alternative is desirable or not, can be derived from its alignment with the moral principles established to judge and criticise existing social institutions. As elaborated in 3.3, the moral principles ‘equality’, ‘democracy’, ‘sustainability’ and ‘ecocentrism’ in large parts coincide with the key features of wellbeing the *BV* and are in turn all considered in the constitution. Therefore, the *SPPBV* can at the stage of its institutionalisation be considered as desirable. It holds a clear common vision of a rights-based social contract, that was agreed upon through a long process of deliberation. Yet, it needs to be regarded as a compromise of different visions, that is prone to diversification and conflicting interpretation.

To be viable alternatives, when implemented, need to transform existing social structures and institutions to the degree that the emancipatory consequences that motivated the transformation, are generated in a robust and sustainable manner (Wright, 2010). The *SPPBV* transformed social institutions in a way that succeeded to improve the living standard nationwide, decrease poverty and improve the overall health and education within society (Prada-Trigo, 2016). The constitution is a legal basis for an integrated and established alternative and emancipatory approaches to life. Its translation into practice was however dampened. The factors responsible for this are – as elaborated in 4.3.2 – the delocalisation and alienation of the *BV*; the shallow and eroding translation of the discursive and institutional achievements into practice; the insufficient confrontation of the structural dependence and the inconsistency of operationalisation.

The probability of the achievements of alternatives depends, according to Wright (2010), on two kinds of processes: Consciously pursued strategies that are able to overcome various obstacles, and the form and relative power of opposition. In the case of the *SPPBV* there is no clear opposition as the project was implemented on a common basis. As shown in 4.3.2, the influence exercised by historical elites remains present. The diversification in the different currents of the *BV* can further be perceived as a challenge for the consistent implementation of the *SPPBV*. Whereas the post-developmental

received the most academic attention, it was the socialist-state-led *BV* that influenced the policymaking in large parts. This resulted in a policy pragmatism that favours short-term goals and the same capitalist production means based on neoliberal power structures (Ruttenberg, 2013). In that regard, a contradiction is already visible within the three currents of the *BV* that are owned by the different actors: (1) indigenous people 2) white and mestizo left-wing intellectuals and social movements; 3) the political and technocratic apparatus (Benalcázar & Rose, 2021).

5 Summary of discussion

The *SPPBV* started as a commonly agreed proposal for a transformation align the *BV*, aiming for a new form of coexistence in diversity and in harmony with nature. The constitutional reform promotes some crucial new ideas such as a plurinational, intercultural state; the ‘rights of nature’; and a social, solidarity-based economy. The constitution dismantled colonial power structures through a deliberative policy design and through the integration of indigenous knowledge and ontologies. Yet it cannot be characterised as fully post-developmental and decolonial. Indigenous values are appropriated, mixed and instrumentalised. The *SPPBV* reintroduces notions of development and growth by making it “sustainable”, “solidarity based” and “value added” (Benalcázar & Rosa, 2021, para. 19) rather than bringing about a change in ontology and practice.

The *SPPBV* transformed social institutions in a way that accomplished an improvement in the living standard nationwide, the decrease in poverty and an improvement of the overall health and education within the society (Prada-Trigo, 2016). Principles of integrity, conviviality, collective wellbeing, and sovereignty – that were identified as intrinsic to the *BV* – have shaped policy making and were considered in the *PNBV* one form or another. However, their framing and implementation was increasingly subject to reinterpretation, alternation and instrumentalization. The *SPPBV* therefore resulted in a development-oriented welfare-state rather than the building of the envisioned society align the *BV*. The participation of the broad society, which influenced the discursive institutionalisation in large parts, increasingly declined as the participation system still does not allow for continuous and permanent integration of societies’ aspirations. In this context, the society was increasingly marginalised from key political processes and full control was given to the executives once plans were established. The aim for decentralisation and a harmonious articulation between different territorial levels, warranted in the *Estrategia Territorial Nacional (National Territorial Strategy)* remained incoherent and limited at the local level.

Beyond the identified challenges and limitation, the *SPPBV* showed that a society built on alternative pillars is thinkable. At the stage of its institutionalisation the *SPPBV* has a clear common vision, that was agreed upon after a long process of deliberation and that aligns with the defined moral principles to evaluate the desirability of an alternative. As the common vision is the result of a conceptual hybridisation, it needs to be viewed as compromise, which, in turn, can easily be subject to diversification and conflicting interpretations.

The diversification in fact was a factor contributing to the many challenges the *SPBV* was and still is facing. The robust and sustainable transformation of social institutions was mitigated by the delocalisation and alienation of the BV; the shallow and eroding translation of the discursive and institutional achievements into practice; the insufficient confrontation of the structural dependence and the inconsistency of operationalisation. These factors however are not able to overshadow the improvements that have been achieved on the national level nor the transformation that the *SPPBV* contributed to set into motion on the global level. The *SPPBV* contributed to the re-politicisation of the socio-economic and ecological implications of the development paradigm and to the reorientation of the growth paradigm (Beling et al., 2018) and became part of a greater campaign for the ‘rights of nature’ (Kauffman & Martin, 2014). Overall, it can be considered as an experiment for discursive articulation of modern and non-modern ontologies, that acknowledges and reframes indigenous cosmologies as a key to transformation while disclosing the limitations of modern ontologies (Beling et al., 2018).

As the believe in the viability of alternatives can – especially when backed with historical experiments – enhance the achievability of alternatives (Wright, 2010), the *SPPBV* contributed – regardless of its challenges and limitations – to make real utopias more viable and thus implementable.

6 Conclusion

In the context of *Real Utopias*, Wright (2010, p.4) stresses that “the idea that social institutions can be rationally transformed in ways that enhance human wellbeing and happiness has a long and controversial history.” The *SPPBV can be viewed a* realisation of such an idea. In opening new dimensions of wellbeing through ensuring not only collective human wellbeing, but also the wellbeing of non-human life and the planet on the institutional level, the *SPPBV* resulted in a rich discourse on wider forms of “being well and doing well with others” (Artaraz et al., 2021, p. 15). It is ideologically grounded and integrates diverse modern and traditional principles that could however not prevail on the practical-institutional level.

Yet, the SPPBV and the way the *BV* is implemented by the Rafael Correa and Lenín Moreno administrations of Ecuador can be seen as one possible pathway, that expanded the socio-political space to dare *Real Utopias* and holds valuable insights for future endeavours to substantially reduce suffering and expand the possibilities for wellbeing.

7 References

- Acosta, A. (2015). El Buen Vivir como alternativa al desarrollo. Algunas reflexiones económicas y no tan económicas. *Política y Sociedad*, 52(2), 299–330.
https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_POSO.2015.v52.n2.45203
- Artaraz, K., Calestani, M., & Trueba, M. L. (2021). Introduction: Vivir bien/Buen vivir and Post-Neoliberal Development Paths in Latin America: Scope, Strategies, and the Realities of Implementation. *Latin American Perspectives*, 48(3), 4–16.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X211009461>
- Asara, V., Otero, I., Demaria, F., & Corbera, E. (2015). Socially sustainable degrowth as a social–ecological transformation: Repoliticizing sustainability. *Sustainability Science*, 10(3), 375–384.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-015-0321-9>
- Avila Larrea, J. A. (2014). The approach of good living as a collective vision. *OBETS*, 9(1), 43–72.
Scopus. <https://doi.org/10.14198/OBETS2014.9.1.02>
- Beling, A. E., Cubillo-Guevara, A. P., Vanhulst, J., & Hidalgo-Capitán, A. L. (2021). Buen vivir (Good Living): A “Glocal” Genealogy of a Latin American Utopia for the World. *Latin American Perspectives*, 48(3), 17–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X211009242>
- Beling, A. E., Vanhulst, J., Demaria, F., Rabi, V., Carballo, A. E., & Pelenc, J. (2018). Discursive Synergies for a ‘Great Transformation’ Towards Sustainability: Pragmatic Contributions to a Necessary Dialogue Between Human Development, Degrowth, and Buen Vivir. *Ecological Economics*, 144, 304–313. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2017.08.025>
- Benalcázar, P. C., & de la Rosa, F. J. U. (2021). The Buen vivir Postdevelopmentalist Paradigm under Ecuador’s Citizens’ Revolution Governments (2007–2017): An Appraisal. *Latin American Perspectives*, 48(3), 152–171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X211004910>
- Benalcázar, P. C., & Rosa, F. J. U. de L. (2021). The institutionalized Buen Vivir: A new hegemonic political paradigm for Ecuador. *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 64(1). Retrieved 1 May 2022, from <https://www.redalyc.org/journal/358/35866229001/html/#B84>

- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative research journal*.
- Bracarense, N., & Gil-Vasquez, K. (2018). Bolivia's Institutional Transformation: Contact Zones, Social Movements, and the Emergence of an Ethnic Class Consciousness. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 52(3), 615–636. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00213624.2018.1495986>
- Brand, U. (2014). *Transition und Transformation: Sozialökologische Perspektiven* (pp. 242–280).
- Campos Navarrete, M., & Zohar, A. (2021). Rethinking sustainable development by following Indigenous approaches to community wellbeing. *Tapuya: Latin American Science, Technology and Society*, 4(1), 1946315. <https://doi.org/10.1080/25729861.2021.1946315>
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. sage.
- Chassagne, N. (2019). Sustaining the 'Good Life': Buen Vivir as an alternative to sustainable development. *Community Development Journal*, 54(3), 482–500. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsx062>
- Chassagne, N., & Everingham, P. (2019). Buen Vivir: Degrowing extractivism and growing wellbeing through tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(12), 1909–1925. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2019.1660668>
- Ciofalo, N. (2021). Making the road caminando de otra manera: Co-constructing decolonial community psychologies from the Global South. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, n/a(n/a). <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12562>
- Costanza, R., d'Arge, R., De Groot, R., Farber, S., Grasso, M., Hannon, B., ... & Van Den Belt, M. (1997). The value of the world's ecosystem services and natural capital. *nature*, 387(6630), 253-260.
- Cubillo-Guevara, A. P., Vanhulst, J., Hidalgo-Capitán, A. L., & Beling, A. (2018). Die lateinamerikanischen Diskurse zu buen vivir. Entstehung, Institutionalisierung und Veränderung. *PERIPHERIE – Politik, Ökonomie, Kultur*, 38(149), Article 149. <https://www.budrich-journals.de/index.php/peripherie/article/view/31182>

- de Oliveira, V. H. (2018). Public Policies to Live Well (Buen Vivir) in Harmony with Nature. In U. M. Azeiteiro, M. Akerman, W. Leal Filho, A. F. F. Setti, & L. L. Brandli (Eds.), *Lifelong Learning and Education in Healthy and Sustainable Cities* (pp. 127–139). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-69474-0_7
- Diener, E., & Tay, L. (2015). Subjective well-being and human welfare around the world as reflected in the Gallup World Poll. *International Journal of Psychology, 50*(2), 135–149. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12136>
- Everingham, P., & Chassagne, N. (2020). Post COVID-19 ecological and social reset: Moving away from capitalist growth models towards tourism as Buen Vivir. *Tourism Geographies, 22*(3), 555–566. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1762119>
- Fatheuer, T. (2011). *Buen vivir: A brief introduction to Latin America's new concepts for the good life and the rights of nature*. Heinrich Böll Foundation.
- Feola, G. (2015). Societal transformation in response to global environmental change: A review of emerging concepts. *Ambio, 44*(5), 376–390. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13280-014-0582-z>
- Forero, J. E. (2021). Buen vivir as an Alternative Development Model: Ecuador's Bumpy Road toward a Postextractivist Society. *Latin American Perspectives, 48*(3), 227–244. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X211008147>
- Friederic, K., & Burke, B. J. (2019). *La Revolución Ciudadana* and social medicine: Undermining community in the state provision of health care in Ecuador. *Global Public Health, 14*(6–7), 884–898. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2018.1481219>
- Gerlach, M. (2019). The Concept of “Buen Vivir” and the Social Work Profession. *Journal of Human Rights and Social Work, 4*(2), 116–118. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41134-018-0081-4>
- Georgetown University (2022, May 4) Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador. Political Database of the Americas. <https://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Ecuador/english08.html>
- Gray, J., Whyte, I., & Curry, P. (2018). Ecocentrism: What it means and what it implies. *The Ecological Citizen, 1*(2), 130-131.

- Hidalgo-Capitán, A. L., & Cubillo-Guevara, A. P. (2014). Seis debates abiertos sobre el sumak kawsay. *Íconos - Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 48, 25–40.
<https://doi.org/10.17141/iconos.48.2014.1204>
- Huambachano, M. (2018). Enacting food sovereignty in Aotearoa New Zealand and Peru: Revitalizing Indigenous knowledge, food practices and ecological philosophies. *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems*, 42(9), 1003–1028.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/21683565.2018.1468380>
- Hölscher, K., Wittmayer, J. M., & Loorbach, D. (2018). Transition versus transformation: What's the difference?. *Environmental innovation and societal transitions*, 27, 1-3.
- IPCC, 2022: *Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability*. Contribution of Working Group II to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [H.-O. Pörtner, D.C. Roberts, M. Tignor, E.S. Poloczanska, K. Mintenbeck, A. Alegría, M. Craig, S. Langsdorf, S. Löschke, V. Möller, A. Okem, B. Rama (eds.)]. Cambridge University Press. In Press.
- Kauffman, C. M., & Martin, P. L. (2014). Scaling up Buen Vivir: globalizing local environmental governance from ecuador. *Global Environmental Politics*, 14(1), 40-58.
- Köhler, J., Geels, F. W., Kern, F., Markard, J., Onsongo, E., Wiecek, A., Alkemade, F., Avelino, F., Bergek, A., Boons, F., Fünfschilling, L., Hess, D., Holtz, G., Hyysalo, S., Jenkins, K., Kivimaa, P., Martiskainen, M., McMeekin, A., Mühlemeier, M. S., ... Wells, P. (2019). An agenda for sustainability transitions research: State of the art and future directions. *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions*, 31, 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2019.01.004>
- Martínez Dalmau, R. (2016). Democratic Constitutionalism and Constitutional Innovation in Ecuador: The 2008 Constitution. *Latin American Perspectives*, 43(1), 158–174.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X15571277>
- Meadows, D. H., Meadows, D. H., Randers, J., & Behrens III, W. W. (1972). The limits to growth: a report to the club of Rome (1972). *Google Scholar*, 91.

- Padilla, E. (2002). Intergenerational equity and sustainability. *Ecological Economics*, 41(1), 69–83.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0921-8009\(02\)00026-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0921-8009(02)00026-5)
- Peredo, A. M. (2019). Notions of wellbeing among Indigenous peoples of South America. Routledge Handbook of Indigenous Wellbeing.
- Prada-Trigo, J. (2016). *Governance and Territorial Development in Ecuador: The Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir in Zaruma, Piñas and Portovelo*. 28.
- Prudencio, G. G., & Blanco, J. P. (2017). LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DISCURSIVA DEL SUMAK KAWSAY ECUATORIANO Y SU RELACIÓN CON LA CONSECUCIÓN DE LOS OBJETIVOS DEL BUEN VIVIR. *Análisis Político*, 30(89), 76–90. <https://doi.org/10.15446/anpol.v30n89.66218>
- Rother, E. T. (2007). Systematic literature review X narrative review. *Acta paulista de enfermagem*, 20, v-vi.
- Rowe, J.S. (2022, May 4.). Ecocentrism and traditional ecological knowledge: Ecosphereics
<http://environment-ecology.com/ecology-writings/700-ecocentrism-and-traditional-ecological-knowledge.html>
- Ruttenberg, T. (2013). *Wellbeing Economics and Buen Vivir: Development Alternatives for Inclusive Human Security*. 26.
- Schneidewind, U., Singer-Brodowski, M., Augenstein, K., & Stelzer, F. (2016). *Pledge for a transformative science: A conceptual framework* (No. 191). Wuppertal papers.
- SENPLADES (2010). National Plan for Good Living 2009-2013: Building a Plurinational and Intercultural State. Summarized Version. Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo.
- SENPLADES (2013). National Development Plan/ National Plan for Good Living 2009-2013. Summarized Version. Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo.
- SENPLADES (2017). Plan Nacional para el Buen Vivir 2017-2021. Secretaría Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo.
- Spiegel, J. B., Ortiz Choukroun, B., Campaña, A., Boydell, K. M., Breilh, J., & Yassi, A. (2019). Social transformation, collective health and community-based arts: ‘Buen Vivir’ and Ecuador’s

- social circus programme. *Global Public Health*, 14(6–7), 899–922.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2018.1504102>
- Stirling, A. (2014). From sustainability to transformation: dynamics and diversity in reflexive governance of vulnerability. *Vulnerability in technological cultures: new directions in research and governance*. MIT Press, Cambridge, 1-61.
- Vanhulst, J., & Beling, A. (2019). *Post-Eurocentric sustainability governance: Lessons from the Latin-American Buen Vivir experiment* (pp. 115–128). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315170237>
- Washington, W., Taylor, B., Kopnina, H. N., Cryer, P., & Piccolo, J. J. (2017). Why ecocentrism is the key pathway to sustainability. *Ecological Citizen*, 1(1), 35-41.
- Watts, N., Amann, M., Arnell, N., Ayeb-Karlsson, S., Beagley, J., Belesova, K., ... & Costello, A. (2021). The 2020 report of the Lancet Countdown on health and climate change: responding to converging crises. *The Lancet*, 397(10269), 129-170.
- Wiedmann, T., Lenzen, M., Keyßer, L. T., & Steinberger, J. K. (2020). Scientists' warning on affluence. *Nature Communications*, 11(1), 3107. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-020-16941-y>
- Wright, E. O. (2010). *Envisioning real utopias*. Verso.
- Wright, E. O. (2013). Transforming Capitalism through Real Utopias. *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 21(2), 6–40. <https://doi.org/10.7227/IJS.21.2.2>
- Xiao, Y., & Watson, M. (2019). Guidance on Conducting a Systematic Literature Review. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 39(1), 93–112.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X17723971>

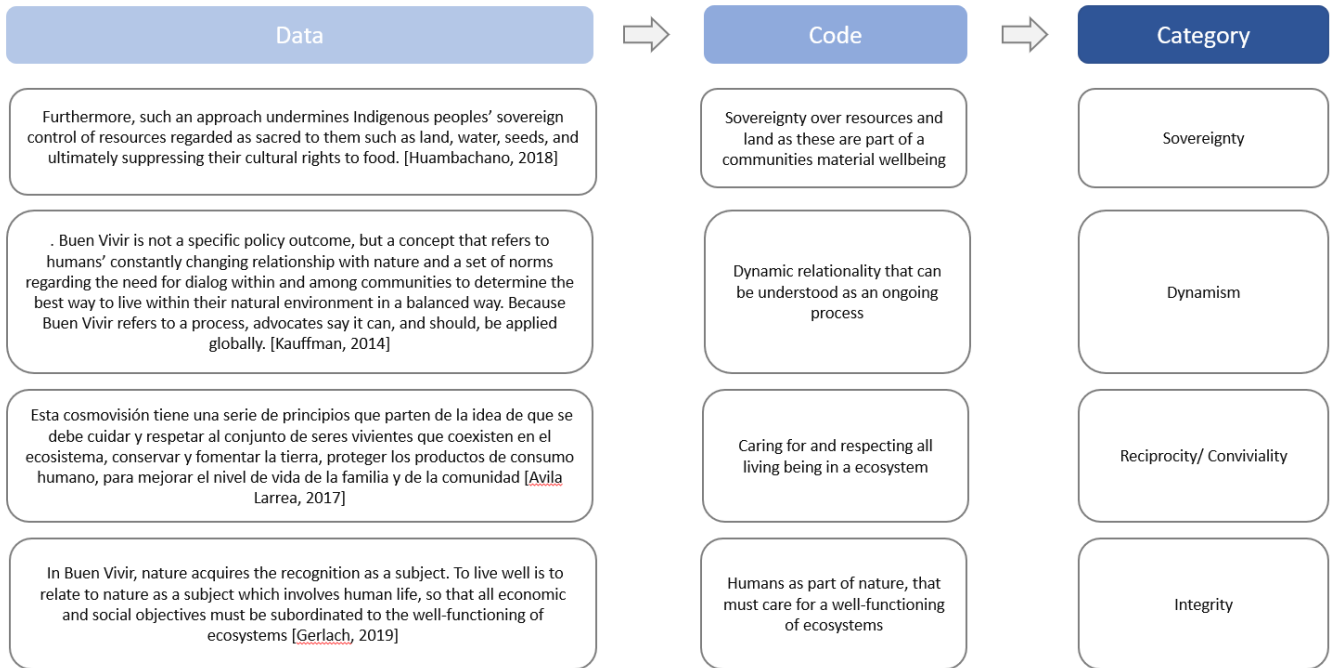
8 Appendixes

Appendix A

Acosta A.	2015	El Buen Vivir como alternativa al desarrollo Algunas reflexiones económicas y no tan económicas
Avila Larrea J.A.	2014	The approach of good living as a collective vision [El enfoque del buen vivir como una visión colectiva]
Benalcázar P.C., de la Rosa F.J.U.	2021	The Buen vivir Postdevelopmentalist Paradigm under Ecuador's Citizens' Revolution Governments (2007–2017): An Appraisal
Bracarense N., Gil-Vasquez K.	2018	Bolivia's Institutional Transformation: Contact Zones, Social Movements, and the Emergence of an Ethnic Class Consciousness
Campos Navarrete M., Zohar A.	2021	Rethinking sustainable development by following Indigenous approaches to community wellbeing [Repensando o desenvolvimento sustentável a partir das perspectivas indígenas de bem-estar da comunidade] [Repensar el desarrollo sostenible desde las perspectivas Indígenas del bienestar comunitario]
Chassagne N.	2019	Sustaining the 'Good Life': Buen Vivir as an alternative to sustainable development
Chassagne N., Everingham P.	2019	Buen Vivir: Degrowing extractivism and growing wellbeing through tourism
Ciofalo N.	2021	Making the road caminando de otra manera: Co-constructing decolonial community psychologies from the Global South
Ciofalo N., Dudgeon P., Nikora L.W.	2022	Indigenous community psychologies, decolonization, and radical imagination within ecologies of knowledges
de Oliveira V.H.	2018	Public Policies to Live Well (Buen Vivir) in Harmony with Nature
Everingham P., Chassagne N.	2020	Post COVID-19 ecological and social reset: moving away from capitalist growth models towards tourism as Buen Vivir
Friederic K., Burke B.J.	2019	La Revolución Ciudadana and social medicine: Undermining community in the state provision of health care in Ecuador
Gallegos R.R., Schobin J., Burchardt H.-J.	2020	The good and bad living of welfare/development in germany and ecuador. Reflections from an analysis of time use [Le bien et le mal vivre du bien-être/développement en Allemagne et en Équateur. Réflexions à partir d'une analyse de l'emploi du temps] [El buen y mal vivir del bienestar/desarrollo en Alemania y Ecuador. Reflexiones a partir del análisis del tiempo]
Gerlach M.	2019	The Concept of "Buen Vivir" and the Social Work Profession
González N.C.	2016	Resource nationalism and environmental changes
Guardiola J., García-Quero F.	2014	Buen Vivir (living well) in Ecuador: Community and environmental satisfaction without household material prosperity?
Hartmann C.	2019	'Live Beautiful, Live Well' ('Vivir Bonito, Vivir Bien') in Nicaragua: Environmental health citizenship in a post-neoliberal context

Huambachano M.	2018	Enacting food sovereignty in Aotearoa New Zealand and Peru: revitalizing Indigenous knowledge, food practices and ecological philosophies
Kauffman C.M., Martin P.L.	2014	Scaling up Buen Vivir: Globalizing Local Environmental Governance from Ecuador
Peredo A.M.	2019	El buen vivir: Notions of wellbeing among Indigenous peoples of South America
Prudencio G.G., Polo Blanco J.	2017	The discursive construction of the ecuadorian Sumak Kawsay and its relation to the attainment of the objectives of good living [La construcción discursiva del Sumak Kawsay ecuatoriano y su relación con la consecución de los objetivos del buen vivir]
Spiegel J.B., Ortiz Choukroun B., Campaña A., Boydell K.M., Breilh J., Yassi A.	2019	Social transformation, collective health and community-based arts: 'Buen Vivir' and Ecuador's social circus programme
Torres-Solis M., Ramírez-Valverde B., Juárez-Sánchez J.P., Martínez Carrera D., Fernández M.A., Vázquez M.P., Valverde G.R.	2021	Good living among the indigenous totonaca families of the municipality of huehuetla, puebla-mexico [Buen vivir entre las familias indígenas totonacas del municipio de huehuetla, puebla-méxico]
Torres-Solis M., Ramírez-Valverde B., Juárez-Sánchez J.P., Aliphath-Fernández M., Ramírez-Valverde G.	2020	Good living and family farming in the Totonacapan of Puebla, Mexico [Buen vivir y agricultura familiar en el Totonacapan poblano, México]

Appendix B



Appendix C

Nodes

Name	Files	References
Approach to wellbeing	0	0
Dynamic construction of wellbeing	3	5
Endogen identification of needs	5	9
Key components of wellbeing	0	0
Collective wellbeing	11	21
Conviviality	12	23
Integrity	11	15
Sovereignty	2	4

Appendix D

<p>Objectives of the PNBV 2009-2013</p>	<p>Objective 1: To Foster Social and Territorial Equality, Cohesion, and Integration with Diversity</p> <p>Objective 2: To Improve the Citizens' Capabilities and Potentialities</p> <p>Objective 3: To Improve the Quality of Life of the Population</p> <p>Objective 4: To Guarantee the rights of nature and Promote a Healthy and Sustainable Environment</p> <p>Objective 5: To Guarantee Sovereignty and Peace; to Promote Ecuador's Strategic Insertion in the World, and Latin American Integration</p> <p>Objective 6: To Guarantee Stable, Fair and Dignified Work in its Diverse Forms</p> <p>Objective 7: To Build and Strengthen Public and Intercultural Spaces for Social Interactions</p> <p>Objective 8: To Affirm and Strengthen National Identity, Diverse Identities, Plurinationalism and Interculturalism</p> <p>Objective 9: To Guarantee Rights and Justice</p> <p>Objective 10: To Guarantee Access to Public and Political Participation</p> <p>Objective 11: To Establish a Sustainable Socio-economic System Based on Solidarity</p> <p>Objective 12: To Build a Democratic State for Good Living</p>
<p>Objectives of the PNBV 2013-2017</p>	<p>Objective 1. To consolidate democratic governance and construct the people's power</p> <p>Objective 2. To foster social and territorial equity, cohesion, inclusion, and equality in diversity</p> <p>Objective 3. To improve people's quality of life</p> <p>Objective 4. To strengthen citizen capacities and potential</p> <p>Objective 5. To build spaces for social interaction and strengthen national identity, diverse identities, pluri-nationality and interculturality</p> <p>Objective 6. To consolidate the transformation of the judicial system and reinforce comprehensive security, with strict respect for human rights</p> <p>Objective 7. To guarantee the rights of nature and promote environmental sustainability globally</p> <p>Objective 8. To consolidate the social and solidary economic system, sustainably</p> <p>Objective 9. To guarantee dignified work in all forms</p> <p>Objective 10. To promote transformation of the productive structure</p> <p>Objective 11. To ensure the sovereignty and efficiency of the strategic sectors for industrial and technological transformation</p> <p>Objective 12. To guarantee sovereignty and peace, enhancing strategic insertion worldwide and Latin-American integration</p>
<p>Objectives of the PNBV 2017-2021</p>	<p>Objective 1: To guarantee a life in dignity with equal opportunities for all people</p> <p>Objective 2: To affirm interculturality and plurinationality and revalue different identities</p> <p>Objective 3: To guarantee the rights of nature for current and future generations</p> <p>Objective 4: To consolidate the sustainability of the social and solidaric economic system and secure dollarisation</p> <p>Objective 5: To promote productivity and competitiveness for sustainable economic growth in a redistributive and supportive manner</p> <p>Objective 6: To develop productive and environmental capacities to achieve food security and integral rural development</p>

	<p>Objective 7: To encourage a participatory society with a State close to the service of citizens</p> <p>Objective 8: To promote transparency and co-responsibility for a new social ethic</p> <p>Objective 9: To guarantee sovereignty and peace and strategically position the country in the region and the world</p>
--	---

Appendix E

	Constitution 2008	Plan Nacional de Buen Vivir 2009-2013	Plan Nacional de Buen Vivir 2013-2017	Plan Nacional de Buen Vivir 2017-2021
Approach to wellbeing				
Endogen identification of needs		The <i>PNBV</i> builds on the territorial perspective used in the former Plan (2007-2010 Plan Nacional de Desarrollo) and introduces the <i>Estrategia Territorial Nacional</i> , which identifies the main interventions and strategic projects in the territories. This helps to identify needs, qualities, potentialities, and limitations on the territory level aiming towards a polycentric State. The Strategy further entails participative planning and feedback from autonomous, decentralized governments	Good living is based on the pursuit of the common goods and individual happiness and demands a radically democratic State that is responsive to the needs of the great majority.	Ties to the right based approach of the Constitution and understands the State as a bearer of the three obligations respect, protection, and fulfilment of rights
Dynamic construction of wellbeing		The <i>PNBV</i> aims to create the adequate institutional and material conditions for civil societies dynamics to effectively influence the orientation of government processes	The <i>PNBV</i> describes the Good Living as a day-to-day effort and aims for a society in which life is the supreme asset.	
Key components of wellbeing				
Sovereignty	Art. 1 indicates that sovereignty lies with the people, whose will be the basis of all	In the <i>PNBV</i> sovereignty is taken up as a vision that recognizes diverse forms of organization in society. It aims for developing processes of self-	The second version of the <i>PNBV</i> refers to sovereignty mostly in the realm of building of a favourable international context and a resulting	The third version of the <i>PNBV</i> promotes equitable territorial development which entails food and energy sovereignty. <i>Objective</i>

	<p>authority, and it is exercised through public bodies using direct participatory forms of government as provided for by the Constitution. This includes a participatory, decentralized and transparent planning that fosters social and territorial equity and promote consensus-building (Art. 275).</p> <p>Further sovereignty is referred to explicitly in a variety of contexts such as people's sovereignty (Art. 96), national sovereignty (Articles 3, 158, 276, 290 and 423), food sovereignty (Articles 13, 15, 281, 284, 304, 318, 334, 410 and 423), economic sovereignty, energy sovereignty (Articles 15, 284, 304 and 334) and</p>	<p>determination and influencing public decisions and policies. It also rejects the traditional and homogenizing notion of the "mestizo" nation and emphasizes the need to recognize the diversity of the peoples and nationalities.</p> <p>The PNBV acknowledges people's capacity for self-determination in their public decisions and in their political, territorial, food, energy, economic, financial, commercial, and cultural matters as well as the diversity of different human groups that share the global territory but uses sovereignty mostly in the context of international and multilateral relations when formulating explicit objectives. <i>Objective 5: "To Guarantee Sovereignty and Peace; to Promote Ecuador's Strategic Insertion in the World, and Latin American Integration"</i> for example promotes endogen development through the reengineering of international relations and autonomy (e.g., energy self-sufficiency). The objective further points towards the shifting focus of foreign policy, which should promote dialog and the construction of symmetric relations.</p>	<p>economic independency, i.e., in <i>Objective 12: "To guarantee sovereignty and peace, enhancing strategic insertion worldwide and Latin-American integration"</i></p> <p>It states that Ecuador has reappropriated resources and has recovered its relative autonomy and sovereignty, but according to <i>Objective 11: "To ensure the sovereignty and efficiency of the strategic sectors for industrial and technological transformation"</i> Ecuador continues to stive for a sound counterproposal to the market expansion strategy and aims to break out of the international division of labour. This not only increases sovereignty but also addresses the transformation of the productive structure.</p> <p>However, the <i>Estrategia Territorial Nacional (National Territorial Strategy)</i>, which aims to guarantee territorial sovereignty and participation remains to be an important part of the Plan.</p>	<p><i>6: "To develop productive and environmental capacities to achieve food sovereignty and comprehensive rural development" put a strong focus on food sovereignty and encourages conventional production and agroecological production of peasant family farming under equal conditions. It further stresses the advantages of sovereign territories which can build competitive advantage based on diversification, aggregation of value and differentiation.</i></p> <p><i>Objective 9: "To guarantee sovereignty and peace, and strategically position the country in the region and the world"</i> supports regional political spaces that seek to consolidate common positions and promotes sovereignty as a condition for integration and self-determination. On the national level objective 9 expands sovereignty towards the establishment of relationships with neighbouring countries as zones of peace.</p> <p>The territorial perspective of The National Territorial perspective is</p>
--	--	---	---	--

	<p>sovereignty within international affairs (Article 3, 147, 158, 276, 400, 416).</p> <p>At an intranational level Art. 279 names the National Decentralized Participatory Planning System (SNDPP) to guarantee decentralised autonomous governments based on participation. Art. 248 recognizes communities, communes, hamlets, neighbourhoods, and urban parishes as its basic units for participation.</p> <p>At the international level Art. 276 guarantees national sovereignty and promotes Latin Americas integration while protecting, and promoting cultural diversity</p>	<p><i>The Autonomy of smaller spatial entities or territories is taken up in Objective 12” Build a Democratic State for Good Living” as well as in the Estrategia Territorial Nacional (National Territorial Strategy). Both hold a micro-macro perspective and promote an equitable territorial organization that favours among other things responsible autonomy. Objective 12 aims for a deep transformation towards a radical democratic State that is close to its citizens and territorially and culturally diverse. The Estrategia Territorial Nacional (National Territorial Strategy) also aims to enable a balanced and sustainable livelihood for the nation’s inhabitants. It specifically aims promotes Good Living and food sovereignty in rural territories. The latter implies to recover the role of society in deciding what, how, where, and for whom to produce, while emphasising the strengthening of small producers who, in the case of Ecuador cultivate the majority of food.</i></p>		<p>incorporated into national planning, rather than remaining a separate instrument that is managed on its own. This links national objectives, policies, and goals with guidelines for territorial planning and ensures that policy is carried out under a real principle of territorial relevance.</p>
--	---	---	--	--

Integrity	<p>Art. 1 acknowledges the Ecuadorian State as a constitutional body of rights and justice that not only encompass human society but also nature. Art. 14, 71, 72, 73 and 74 contain the ‘rights of nature’ by guaranteeing an integrated respect of nature’s existence and promoting its maintenance and the regenerations of its life cycles and evolutionary processes. Art. 71 further promotes a more holistic, life-centred approach in which nature is referred to as “the place where life happens”</p> <p>Art. 3, 11, 66 and 85 establishes the principle of equality, non-discrimination</p>	<p>The PNBV aims to shift from the current prevailing anthropocentrism to bio-pluralism and revise and reinterpret the relation between nature and human beings through the reconciliation with multiple cosmovision. It recognises of the existence of other legal systems such as the indigenous, regional, inter-regional, and universal systems and with that promotes equality and avoids exclusion and discrimination.</p> <p><i>Objective 1: “To Foster Social and Territorial Equality, Cohesion, and Integration with Diversity”</i> and <i>Objective 9: “To Guarantee Rights and Justice”</i> sets the basis of an egalitarian, right based approach through promoting recognition of diversity, inclusion, social protection, and territorial integration, respectively redefining the relations between State, society, and nature. <i>Goal 8: “To Affirm and Strengthen National Identity, Diverse Identities, Plurinationalism and Interculturalism”</i> promotes the pluri-national and intercultural character if the Ecuadorian state and aims to societal integrity as well as the recognition of</p>	<p>The second version of the PNBV puts and equal strong focus on the integrity within society as the former, however takes a more socialist approach</p> <p><i>Objective 5: “To build spaces for social interaction and strengthen national identity, diverse identities, plurinationality and interculturality”</i> points to the integrity of cultural diversity and cultural heritage. It ties to the problems of cultural and social domination and calls for the construction of a national identity in diversity. This aim is based on the idea of constant circulation of symbolic elements such as collective and individual memories and tangible and intangible cultural heritage.</p> <p>The integrity between society and nature is mentioned in the realm of a society in harmony with Nature and is taken up in <i>Objective 7: “To guarantee the rights of nature and promote environmental sustainability globally”</i>. Its aims strive towards a transformation under an eco-efficient model with greater economic, social, and environmental value entailing conservation, sustainable use of the</p>	<p>The PNBV acknowledges a society that is plural and sustained by its differences, therefore public policy supposes cultural adaptability, inclusion, integration, and comprehensiveness to respond with the required specify and speciality to all people and population groups as well as collective rights.</p> <p><i>Objective 2: “To affirm interculturality and plurinationality and revalue different identities”</i> recognises past improvements in closing gaps in societal integrity but acknowledges that challenges remain on the broader understanding and realization of the constitutional mandate of the plurinational and intercultural State. It acknowledges collective rights as an imperative for historical reparation and for a joint construction of the country. Objective 2 explicitly refers to indigenous people but also acknowledges that interculturality must be conceived beyond a vision centred on ethnicity, referring e.g., to the LGBTTTIQ community and to</p>

	and solidarity and guarantee for equal rights, individually and collectively. This also includes the right to individual physical and psychological integrity (Art. 45, 46, 54, 347)	the multiplicity of practices and cosmovision of cultural groups that emerge as the result of Ecuador's diverse historic memories and contemporary social transformations. <i>Objective 4: "To guarantee the rights of nature and promote a healthy and sustainable Environment"</i> points towards the responsibility towards nature. Even though the PNBV guarantees the 'rights of nature' and aims for the incorporation of an environmental approach in all social, economic, and cultural public policies is promoted; nature is primary perceived as a strategic legacy (e.g., for energy production or for the improvement for the quality of life). In the PNBV the vision of a harmonious relation with nature is based on the humans' economy dependence on nature, and thus mismatches the intrinsic valuation of nature prevalent in indigenous communities.	natural heritage and the safeguarding of people, other living beings, and nature. <i>Objective 3: "To improve people's quality of life"</i> further aims for integrated preservation and protection of the cultural and natural heritage and the citizenry against treats and risks of natural or human origin	urban cultures. This notion is also taken up in Objective 1: "To guarantee a life in dignity with equal opportunities for all people", which aims for a society that respect, protects, and fulfils the opportunities and rights in all their dimensions , throughout the life cycle for all people. <i>Objective 3: "To guarantee the rights of nature for current and future generations"</i> aims to ensure the integrity, connectivity, and functionality of natural and cultural landscapes and in that realm promotes a society-nature relation align with the Sustainable Development Goals to ensure essential environmental services for sustainable development.
Conviviality	Art. 275 emphasizes the enforcement of rights as a precondition for Good Living which leads to the responsibility for interculturalism and harmonious	In the PNBV conviviality is mostly understood as an expansion of societal integrity. The aim is to build relations that foster solidarity and cooperation among citizen who recognise themselves as part of a social and political community. This includes the fraternity to acknowledge	The second version of the PNBV and explicitly <i>Objective 6: "To consolidate the transformation of the judicial system and reinforce comprehensive security, with strict respect for human rights"</i> focus on the legal aspect of conviviality in aiming to deepen the transformation of justice and	The third version of the PNBV understands human being as the centre of development, while proposing solidarity rather than individualism. <i>Objective 2: "To affirm interculturality and plurinationality</i>

	<p>coexistence with nature. It acknowledges the 'rights of nature' and relates to nature as the space where life is reproduced</p> <p>Art. 23 promotes a culture of democratic, intercultural, and creative coexistence among agents who recognize and respect each other reciprocally. This contains the notion of inclusiveness, explicitly stated in Art. 57 as the recognition, reparation and compensation for community groups affected by racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance and discrimination. Art. 16 and 17 further ensure the conditions to express diversity in equality and Art. 22, 24 and 66 ensure</p>	<p>the needs and interests of the other. <i>Objective 7: "To Build and Strengthen Public and Intercultural Spaces for Social Interactions"</i> and <i>Objective 10: "To Guarantee Access to Public and Political Participation"</i> aim to create an inclusive culture of exchange and deliberation in public spaces. <i>Objective 8: "To Affirm and Strengthen National Identity, Diverse Identities, Plurinationalism and Interculturalism"</i> aims for the exchange and deliberation between differentiated cultural, social, political, and institutional actors, within the context of an inclusive, sovereign, and reciprocal society.</p> <p>In regard to the conviviality beyond the human sphere a transition from the current extractivist, dependent and territorially disordered model, to a model based on moderate and sustainable use of resources that considers spatial variables intelligently is aimed for. Humans should use natural resources in a way that allows their natural regeneration, and the territorial sphere must be understood as both a physical-spatial sphere, and as a sphere in which culture interacts with nature. <i>Objective 4: "To Guarantee the rights of nature and</i></p>	<p>reinforcing citizens security and coexistence.</p> <p><i>Objective 2: "To foster social and territorial equity, cohesion, inclusion, and equality in diversity"</i> and <i>Objective 5: "To build spaces for social interaction and strengthen national identity, diverse identities, plurinationality and interculturality"</i> stress the aim for equity within diversity. Whereas Objective 2 promotes social and political coexistence and a life of dignity that explicitly refers to the eradication of negative factors that endanger equity such as poverty, deprivation, and violence, <i>Objective 5</i> also incorporates an individualistic perspective when pointing towards personal freedom and respect, in which the diverse forms of coexistence chosen by each will meet with no discrimination.</p>	<p><i>and revalue different identities"</i> promotes an inclusive society with equitable relations between people, groups, communities, and nationalities. Diversity is perceived as an opportunity to achieve common goals based on a constant and responsible dialog.</p> <p>Objective 3: "To guarantee the rights of nature for current and future generations" refers to the right to life in a healthy and ecologically balanced environment. This right aims to guaranteeing sustainability and Good Living. It further ascribes humans the ethic responsibility to maintain, protect and support life in all its forms and specifically points towards bio-knowledge as an alternative to primary export orientated production and environmentally friendly practices.</p>
--	--	--	---	---

	equal agency of all people.	<i>Promote a Healthy and Sustainable Environment</i> ” stresses the responsibility towards nature. The social co-responsibility requires that individuals, communities, peoples and nationalities, the private sector, social communities, and the population at large, take care and protect nature. It further aims for an effective transformation in order to prevent, control and mitigate environmental damage and strategically confront global warming.		
Collective Wellbeing	The Constitution acknowledges that the economic system is a social and fraternal system. Economy must serve the reproduction of expanded life. Art. 12, 14, 30, 31, 32, 340, 358, 381 and 389 guarantee all people the rights necessary to improve quality of life. Art. 343 and 350 consolidate people’ capacities and opportunities through education and Art. 66 guarantee to the right to live a life in dignity.	The PNBV acknowledges that people are interdependent and not isolated beings, that rely and depend on other individuals in order to be autonomous, achieve “wellbeing” and social reproduction. Derived from this understanding <i>Objective 3: “To Improve the Quality of Life of the Population”</i> links individual and collective wellbeing. Collective wellbeing in that understanding integrates happiness, satisfaction, interpersonal solidarity as well as respectful relations between humans and nature. These factors are aimed to be guaranteed in the context of the cultures and value systems in which individuals live, and in relation to their expectations and demands.	The second version of the PNBV proposes the decommodification of wellbeing. Substantial improvements have already been made in the access to education, the reduction of literacy, the improvement of quality of higher education. However, gaps in equal access exist, therefore <i>Objective 4: “To strengthen citizen capacities and potential”</i> aims to establish holistic education in order to guarantee equality and social inclusion and work towards s economy based on the infinite resource of knowledge <i>Objective 3:”Improve people’s quality of life”</i> aims for a Good Living of all citizens while pointing specifically towards the urban space and their	The third version of the PNBV place human beings and nature at the centre of public management, priorities wellbeing and their harmonious relationship to build a society in diversity. It aims for collective wellbeing in the condition of equality and justice and for building an inclusive market society that seeks wellbeing and prosperity through adequate generation and redistribution of wealth. <i>Objective 1: “To guarantee a life in dignity with equal opportunities for all people”</i> is directed towards the <i>Good Living</i> which is aimed to be achieved by generating capacities

		<p>With <i>Objective 2: To Improve the Citizens' Capabilities and Potentialities</i> the PNBV aims to provide citizens with individual capabilities and positive liberties. Even though this effort holds a prescribed notion of wellbeing, this objective can be perceived as an effort towards equality of access. In contrast, wellbeing of the more than human sphere is not mentioned explicitly. <i>Objective 11: "To Establish a Sustainable Socio-economic System based on Solidarity"</i> however aims to shift away from the primary export-led and extractivist economic model towards an economic model based on knowledge and biodiversity, such as ecotourism and biomedicine and could thus facilitate a more genuine contract between humans and nature.</p>	<p>equilibrium with rural areas, which is claimed to be necessary for the construction of a collective life. The focus lies on the lived space and its environment, in which nature is part of.</p>	<p><i>and promoting opportunities in equal condition for all people throughout life, Objective 7: "To encourage a participatory society with a State close to the service of citizens" further aims to provide all citizen with social and economic wellbeing.</i></p>
--	--	--	---	--