Well-Being, Community Development, and Andean Worldview: An Analysis of Meanings and Changes in Pedro Moncayo, Ecuador using Photovoice

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA BY

Jennifer Lynn Fricas

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Dr. Joan DeJaeghere

Apr 2019

© Jennifer Lynn Fricas 2019

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing a PhD program, with its coursework, its requirement for original research, and its book-length writing, can feel lonely at times. However, it is nothing if not an effort of communities coming together, each in their own ways, to buoy an individual. Throughout these four and a half years, for every time I felt frustrated, curious, or confused, I have felt lifted, stimulated, and guided in twice the measure. First, I must acknowledge and thank my advisor, Dr. Joan DeJaeghere. I remember being so nervous when I first reached out to her during my second year of coursework. She did not teach our cohort, so I was going a bit beyond the boundaries I felt had been set for me; I am so glad I did. Throughout this entire journey, Joan has been supportive, generous, reliable, collegial, and intellectually stimulating. She always made me feel that I was doing something worthwhile and she always expected high quality work of me, just as she does of herself and all of her students. Additionally, Joan is kind and nurturing. During the Comparative International Education Society's Annual Meeting in Atlanta in 2017 – a meeting at which she is always in high demand due to her well-regarded scholarship and her service to the field – she arranged for a dinner of her current and former PhD students who were in conference attendance. Despite the fact that I had hardly begun the research portion of my work, I was invited into and embraced by this group of "sisters from the same academic mother," as one of my fellow students put it. As a faculty member myself, I know it can be difficult to walk the line between having professional boundaries and being productive for oneself, and pouring one's time into students. Yet Joan seems to glide along this tightrope, being just hands-off enough that you feel the expectation to produce and just nurturing enough that you never feel alone. Thank you, Joan.

Second, I wish to express my gratitude to the other members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Andrew Furco, Dr. Christopher Johnstone, and Dr. Teddie Potter. The three of them challenged me to think through details pertaining to their respective fields and stemming from their extensive experience mentoring students, engaging with communities, and thinking critically about what it is we are doing when we "do research." Again, I felt I hit the dissertation jackpot with these three, who were always quick to reply to questions and to send encouragement from afar. Andy, Chris, and Teddie, please know how much I appreciate each of you.

This PhD program admits cohorts every three years and these cohorts journey through the degree's coursework for three consecutive summers on campus and together online for the intervening semesters. I myself teach in a cohort-based program and I am sometimes skeptical of its merits. However, being a member of a cohort was an invaluable support during this process. My peers are like family and I will always treasure the times we spent together, studying in the common areas of Yudof Hall, eating wood-fired pizza from Punch, debating what we were learning over beers, answering late-night texted questions about proper APA style, and generally trying to support one another through the insanity that is 9 to 11 doctoral credits in three to four weeks for three summers straight. Every one of my cohort-mates had a family, a full-time job, and a pile of other responsibilities. But not once have any of them be too overwhelmed to respond when one of us is in need. From these people I learned what it means to strive together, to be pressed – sometimes to our limits – and keep showing up. In addition, I learned that kindness and hospitality are the most important human qualities to cultivate. So, thank you, from the bottom of my heart to: Charles Anderson, Mandy Bai, Peter

Burnside, Barry Dequanne, Mark Dunn, Michael Hibbeln, Dean Kokonas, Dan Lundin, Mina Mizumatsu, Heather Naro, Derek Nelson, Olúwáşeun Opeyemi, Bethany Peters, Awa Kebba Saidy, Ken Yanes Schäfer, Mary Schlarb, Ghada Swadek, Mary Slinger Yeboah, Rebecca Webb, Brent Zeise, and honorary cohort member, Phil Lundin. An extra special thanks to Seun, Heather, Bethany, Mary S., Ken, Ghada, and Mary Y., who always cheered me on, and who I know will always embrace me whenever our paths cross, forevermore. Ken did extra work by graciously checking all of my Chapter Four and Five translations: *Gracias, hermanito.*

Other University of Minnesota faculty members from the College of Education and Human Development were key to my success in this program, among them, Dr. Deanne Magnusson, Dr. Gerry Fry, Dr. R. Michael Paige, Dr. Richard Krueger, Dr. Barbara Kappler, Dr. Alexandre Ardichvili, and Dr. Takehito Kamata. I extend my sincere gratitude to each of you.

Of course, as my paternal grandmother used to say, "*No salí de la tierra como los hongos*" ("I did not emerge from the ground like the mushrooms"). I came from a loving family. My mother, father, and sister have encouraged me to pursue education, to work hard, and to persevere beyond obstacles. My father, John Fricas, cultivated critical thinking via dinnertime debates, discussions of the news, and explorations of new lands throughout our many Army-induced moves as a family. My mother, Donna Fricas, taught me to be kind and to listen well, to note the details and then follow-up on them, while not losing sight of the bigger, interpersonal picture. And my sister, Katie Fricas, teaches me always to be bold, to take risks and to know I can deal with what comes. She is a massively creative artist and she, together with the love of art and cultures of the world

sowed by my parents and our travels, were the subliminal inspirations for this international research study using visual methods. Mom, Dad, Katie: I love you.

Beyond my cohort-mates, I have so many dear friends who have encouraged and supported me throughout this endeavor. Among them are Karen Cowgill, Lori Cray, Therry Eparwa, Marie Gehman, Emily and Yancy Hughes Dominick, Anita Jablonski, Sonora Jha, Robin Narruhn, Maria Pettinato, Harriet Phinney, and Ruth White. They have done everything from talk me out of a slump to invite me to guest lecture in their global health and development courses, so I could explain my research to willing (and captive) audiences. They have also read drafts, taken me to coffee, listened to me complain, and inspired me to work harder; in short, they have been friends through all the highs and lows, as the best people are. I am also grateful to Serena Cosgrove for her insightful comments on a draft of Chapter Three and; to Robin Narruhn for her personal investment in reading and providing feedback on Chapters One through Three.

In October 2017, I joined a writing group, the creation of which was facilitated by the Center for Faculty Development at Seattle University. Only four of us showed up that day to the launch; the room was set for many more. As our numbers were small, forming the groups was not hard: we were *the* one group, the four of us. I did not know at the time how important those three people would be throughout this process. To Dr. Therry Eparwa, Dr. Erica Rauff, and Dr. Mehmet Vurkaç: thank you for being a sounding board, for sharing your own stories of dissertation completion, for reminding me to eat, for assuring me, again and again, that I could do it, and would. I did, and you three were part of it.

Beyond my writing group, I express gratitude to my many colleagues at Seattle University College of Nursing (and beyond), who encouraged me to pursue a PhD long before I was ready, and who supported me in innumerable ways during the four and a half years I completed the program while working full-time. I know I was not always cheerful or available during that stretch of time, but I cannot count the number of times a colleague would spot me in the lunchroom or at the copy machine and ask, “How is your PhD coming?” That acknowledgement and the tacit support it implied sustained me on many occasions. I am appreciative to be working with such caring and flexible individuals.

Next, to my colleagues and friends in Ecuador, who planted and watered the seed of an idea I had to undertake this dissertation there, I cannot thank each of you enough. First, I am grateful to my longtime colleagues at *Fundación Cimas*, Dr. José Suárez-Torres and Dr. Delores “Loli” López Paredes, who responded enthusiastically to my ideas and provided invaluable guidance about how to be successful. José and Loli are academics and community organizers all rolled into one; they have worked with the people of Pedro Moncayo since José’s rural rotation there during medical school, over 30 years ago. They love Pedro Moncayo and its residents and leaders. They believe in its hardworking people and its numerous assets. They have devoted their professional lives and a great deal of their personal lives to advancing community development there in a grassroots, critical, and sustainable way. My own views of how to work with and learn from communities aligned perfectly with theirs from the start, but I learned so much from them about what it means to be devoted, to persevere, and to honor a place and its people. Much like with Joan, my relationship with José and Loli was one of mutual respect and

belief in each other's autonomy and goals, mixed with direct and caring guidance. I only hope I can serve communities with as authentic and long lasting a commitment as they have.

Also at *Fundación Cimas* was my friend, Natalia Cespedes, who was my daily teacher about all things community and health development in the Ecuadorian context. Natalia pointed me towards reading materials, helped me to unravel nuances in language and culture that were beyond me, and indispensably arranged the countless logistics of my three visits to Ecuador. More than all that, she *accompanied me* in so many ways, whether it was inviting me to a meal, browsing the mall, going sightseeing, or modeling the work of community meetings and data collection in various settings. Natalia has a quiet nature, a sharp intellect, and a vast well of patience that I learned from every moment I spent with her. Also, I would be remiss to not thank Emilia Castelo, who coordinated my introduction to the Mantilla-Castro family and who provided me with an invaluable cache of resources on *cosmovisión Andina*.

In Pedro Moncayo, first I wish to acknowledge my host family. I did not have the opportunity to study abroad during my undergraduate degree and the first time I went abroad as part of an educational program was during my Master of Public Health. However, at that time, I lived in a shared facility for volunteers of the foundation I worked for. So at age 40 I experienced my first home stay in another country. What might have been an awkward adjustment was immediately diffused by the warmth and authentic commitment to hospitality I was met with from Cecilia Mantilla, Germán Castro, and their children Maqui, Milena, and Nslin, along with Doña Berta, Doña Maríanita, and Doña María. Though Ceci and Germán were not that much older than I

am, I was honored to call them my host mom and dad and we settled into an easy balance of giving and accepting respect and nurturance. When I was confused, Ceci straightened me out in no time. When I was curious about history or wanted to debate politics, Germán was a ready partner. When I wanted to learn Ecuadorian card games or roll around in the grass with the dogs, Maqui obliged. When I was alone, Doña Berta would use me as a sounding board for her complaints, perhaps thinking that I might not be understanding as much as I did. When I was curious about local plant life, Doña Maríanita read the garden to me for over an hour. And Doña María fed me, teased me about eating like a bird, helped me learn how to use a washing machine that was not attached to water, and generally kept my life comfortable. When I was sick every single person cared for me in their own way. When I departed, every person embraced me and bid me return. To welcome a stranger so thoroughly and so genuinely into the home and routines of your household is, I know, not an easy task. But the Mantilla-Castros did it with such grace and genuineness that I will remain forever grateful.

María Victoria Cachipuendo Vásquez, or Vicky, really needs to be included as part of my family in Pedro Moncayo. Vicky, also a lawyer, was Ceci's assistant, and became my right arm throughout the entire study. Vicky had a kind heart, a cutting wit, and the supernatural ability I have witnessed in community work to be immersed in multiple tasks at once while keeping her head and sense of humor. I would not have been able to do this study if it were not for her. There really is not a way to adequately thank her – despite her sweet tooth, no amount of candy from the U.S. will do – so I just have to live in a way that will honor and preserve my memories of her generosity to me.

Also in Pedro Moncayo, I met some of the hardest working, most dedicated community servants I have ever had the pleasure to work with. The members of the technical team of the *mancomunidad* – Andres Jaramillo, Rolando Pulamarín, Milena Lema, and Hector Tupiza – were gracious and curious about my work and provided support in many small and large ways. The presidents and other officials on the *GADs* of the *parroquias rurales* of Pedro Moncayo greeted a perfect stranger and provided me with information and encouragement. They embodied hospitality – really, the notion of extending *sumak kawsay* to all in their territory – in interacting with me and addressing the needs of the study, despite their long list of responsibilities. *Entonces, gracias a* Fernando Vineuza, Carlos Cabascango, María Quilimbaquin, Cristina Cuascota, José Luis Rodríguez, Yolanda Heredia, Paulina Iza, Iban Topanta, Luis Campos, Cristina Cóndor, Bolívar Boada, Victoria Andagoya, and Margarita Boada. In addition, I would like to thank the community leaders at the sub-parish level, who helped recruit co-researchers and attended study events to lend their support. Finally, in the Mantilla-Castro office, Jenny, Luchito, and Josue were a constant presence and often helped me with the day-to-day office mysteries that I struggled to solve in a new location.

Early in this PhD program, both of my surviving grandparents died, within five months of each other. The losses broke me open in a way that was both excruciating and valuable. I would not have been the same person in Ecuador were it not for the way the deaths of my grandparents allowed me to be enveloped for a time in deep sadness, and to learn how to reconcile their losses, so that I could be truly vulnerable to the new. So I close these acknowledgements with two of the most important:

To my grandmother, Louise Pagnotto (4/3/21 — 9/23/14)

who always made me feel seen, and

To my grandfather, Emanuel Pagnotto (4/26/23 — 2/13/15)

who always told me I could be a leader.

You cultivated this.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the women who made my work in Ecuador possible, principally:

María Victoria "Vicky" Cachipuendo Vásquez

Natalia Céspedes

and

Cecilia Mantilla Valencia

and to the co-researchers of this study and their communities,

to whom this knowledge really belongs.

"Nosotros somos como los granos de quinua: si estamos solos, el viento lleva lejos. Pero si estamos unidos en un costal, nada hace el viento. Bamboleará, pero no nos hará caer."

—Dolores Cacuango

ABSTRACT

The goals of the research presented in this dissertation were to understand and analyze how communities in Andean Ecuador think about, initiate, and engage with their own community development. The study focused on health-related community development and its findings contribute to broader debates about what constitutes development and about how community members act as agents of their own development. The findings also resist the traditional discourse and practices of international development and complicate the ways in which U.S. university faculty educate students about global (health) development. The study was framed by decolonial theoretical approaches and the notion of *cosmovisión Andina* – an epistemology of the south – which I bring into conversation with the capability approach.

Data collection was informed by ethnography, community-based participatory research, and the visual arts. The data collection method was photovoice, a form of participatory photography which enables co-researchers to build capacity in basic photography, after which they engage with the themes under investigation by capturing photos of parts of their daily lives and belief systems, which they then choose to bring forward for further explanation, discussion, and debate. I spent a total of four and a half months in Cantón Pedro Moncayo and during this time I also employed the ethnographic research methods of participant observation, interviewing, and document review.

The study findings are presented here in two separate results chapters, the first of which deals with the characteristics of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir*, the way they appear in and condition everyday life, and the ways in which they have changed in the last two decades. These findings are analyzed in terms of embodiment, which can be thought of as a way of looking at the interaction between human bodies and their environments by

regarding the body not just as an object, but an existential ground for culture. Embodiment presupposes certain ideas that also align with principles of *Cosmo vision Andina*, such that the human being is social and intersubjective, living in a community and an environment simultaneously, as well as within an evolving historical context. Particularities of embodiment appeared repeatedly in the co-researchers' explanations of what it means to actively enact a good life and how these meanings are under tension, changing, and continually negotiated with a context of various internal and external development-related pressures.

The second results chapter pertains to modes of participation and area programs and services which either operate to help co-researchers live in alignment with *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* or need improvement in order to do so. These study findings point to the ways in which co-researchers and their communities simultaneously work to produce and survive community development. What emerged was an interesting tension between the scale of services (both among governmental levels and within areas of parishes), citizen involvement in services, and their perceptions of the utility of their involvement. Issues of scale and friction help to problematize the effectiveness of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* at a national versus a hyper-local scale and shed light on the sources of and possible solutions to frustrated development aspirations and cross-level community development collaboration.

This study produced a number of implications for the fields of international development, global health, and U.S. higher education teaching and research in these disciplines. First, the study reinforces the need for a discourse and practice of development which centers hyper-local development, which is better aligned with the

epistemologies and praxis of indigenous knowledges and represents a refusal of being coopted into discourses of sustainable or participatory development. Second, those working in health and development nonetheless need to expand their notions of what constitutes well-being. An enlargement of notions of well-being which is more aligned with the embodied characteristics of *sumak kawsay* counters the narrowmindedness of traditional economically-based notions of development. Third, and based on the previous two points, I argue that we must actively resist the single narrative of development and the single narrative of well-being in U.S. higher education institutions. Finally, I outline the ways in which visual research methods hold unique possibilities for advancing active participation and additional understanding of indigenous knowledges of well-being and practices of hyper-local development. I also outline the challenges which stem from an international, participatory, visual arts, and cross-language research study and how I dealt with these. What all of the study implications share is a decolonial focus on the absolute necessity of coupling concepts *and* praxis in resistance to the status quo, whether that be in development practice, health practice, teaching practice, or research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments…………………………………………………………………………i

Dedication………………………………………………………………………….......x

Abstract…………………………………………………………………………….....xi

List of Tables……………………………………………………………………….xx

List of Figures…………………………………………………………………...…xxi

List of Illustrations or Photographs……………………………………………….xxii

Chapter One – Introducing the Problem: Contesting the Terms of International Development………………………………………………………………………...1

Introduction…………………………………………………………………...…1

Statement of the Problem……………………………………………………….5

Understanding International Development: A Brief History……………...5

Development as Modernization: The Need for a Decolonial Approach…..9

Linking International Development and Health Development…………..13

Broadening the Scope of Development…………………………………16

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks Guiding the Study……………………18

Study Purpose and Research Questions…………………………………………20

Context of the Study……………………………………………………………..21

Significance of the Study………………………………………………………...23

Researcher Orientations…………………………………………………………25

Definition of Key Terms…………………………………………………………26

Development……………………………………………………………..26

Community Development………………………………………………..29

Referencing to ‘Developing Nations’ and Other World Regions………..30

References to Indigenous Peoples and Non-English Concepts………….31

Organization of the Dissertation…………………………………………………32

Chapter Two – Framing the Research: Problematizing and Resisting International Development Discourse and Practices………………………………………………...34

Introduction………………………………………………………………………34

Problematizing International Development and Its Alternatives……………….35

The Damage of International Development……………………………36

Marginalization of Indigenous Knowledges: The Epistemic Violence of Development………………………………………………………………39

A Series of Development Alternatives………………………………….45

Participatory development………………………………………46

Sustainable development………………………………………..48

Human development…………………………………………….50

Indigenous development…………………………………………53

Indigenous Peoples, Development, and Health in Ecuador……………………...54

Indigenous Organizing and Self-Determination in Recent History……...54

Resistance to Appropriation of Indigenous Knowledges: Countering Social Capital …………………………………………………...........59

Health and Development…………………………………………………64

Andean Worldview, Well-Being, and Grassroots Development………………...66

Limits of Human Development and Capability Approach………………67

An Introduction to *Cosmovisión Andina* (Andean Worldview)…………70

Temporospatial orientation of *cosmovisión Andina*…..……………71

Four key principles of *cosmovisión Andina*……………………..72

Implications of *cosmovisión Andina* for development and health.74

Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir: What Is It and Why Is It Important?.............79

Chapter Summary………………………………………………………………..84

Chapter Three – Decolonial Design: Seeing and Learning through Participatory Photography……………………………………………………………………….86

Introduction………………………………………………………………………86

Intersectional Positionality and Relational Ethics……………………….87

Research Questions………………………………………………………89

Social Location – Influences of Researcher Being and Becoming………………90

Positionality……………………………………………………………………...90

Personal Experiences……………………………………………………….91
Professional Experiences…………………………………………….....93
Description of Cantón Pedro Moncayo………………………………………..98
Organization of Government and Its Effects on Local Development……98
Official Health Data from the Rural Parishes of Pedro Moncayo…...…102
Key Individuals and Their Roles…………………………………..…110
Methodology…………………………………………………………………112
Methods………………………………………………………………………116
Design………………………………………………………………………..123
Partners and Approvals………………………………………………123
Time and Duration of Study…………………………………………127
Sampling and Recruitment…………………………………………..128
Summary of Co-Researchers……………………………………......132
Problematizing Pseudonyms and Anonymizing……………………..133
Consent………………………………………………………………136
Data Collection………………………………………………………………137
Photovoice……………………………………………………………137
Principles and processes of data collection……………..……137
Interviewing…………………………………………………………141
Recognition and closure………………………………….......144
Other Ethnographic Data Collection…………………………………144
Document review……………………………………………144
Participant observations……………………………………...145
Data Analysis…………………………………………………………...…150
Qualitative and Photovoice Data Analysis Principles………………….150
Data Analysis Processes, Including Use of Atlas.ti…………………….152
Analysis of Ethnographic Data…………………………………………155
Criteria to Ensure Rigor………………………………………………...156

Chapter Summary……………………………………………………………..…..158

Chapter Four – Andean Epistemology and Changes to *Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir*……...159

Introduction……………………………………………………………………..159

Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir: Embodied and Enacted in Community Space-Time…………………………………………………………………………….160

Home and Family……………………………………………………….162

The (Natural) Environment – Animals…………………………………164

The (Natural) Environment – Corn and Other Plants…………………..168

Past, Honor, and Culture………………………………………………..178

Feeling, Thinking, and Coping: Tensions from Changes to *SK/BV*……………186

The Varied Influences of *Florícolas*……………………………………188

Re-Experiencing the Ordinary: Embodied Losses and Gains…………..198

Infrastructure Improvements: Then and Now…………………………..210

Community Support in Transition……………………………………......213

New decisions…………………………………………………..214

Youth in families and commuities……………………………...223

Out-migration and family……………………………………….226

Chapter Summary……………………………………………………………….228

Chapter Five – Producing and Surviving Development…………………………….229

Introduction……………………………………………………………………..229

Cooperation and Participation: Vitality and Tensions………………………….230

Buen Vivir/Sumak Kawsay and the Minga…………………………….230

Vitality…………………………………………………………..231

Tensions……………………………………………………….......235

Other Forms of Mutuality……………………………………………….241

Associations……………………………………………………..242

Government-based participation………………………………..250

Service-Provision and Service Seeking: Scale, Cooperation, and Messaging….252

Priority Attention Groups: BV/SK and the 2008 Constitution at the Local Level ……………………………………………………..253

The Constitution and local development services……………...254

Elders……………………………………………………...255

Children…………………………………………………261

Other services: transport, police, and sports……………………264

Missing Services: Frustrated Development Aspirations………………..276

Stalled infrastructure improvements……………………………276

Cross-level government linkages: Limits of individual and collective agency? ……………………………………...280

Parish planning and participatory processes……………281

Parish-Municipal-Province planning tensions…………285

Chapter Summary……………………………………………………………295

Chapter Six – Sowing New Conceptions of International Development: Implications for Practice, Teachings, and Research………………………………………………297

Introduction……………………………………………………………..297

Similarities and Differences in Manifestations of *Cosmovisión Andina* in Parish Development……………………………………………………………297

Similarities……………………………………………………………...297

Differences……………………………………………………………...299

Regrounding in Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks……………………..303

Cosmovisión Andina, Local Health, and Development in Andean Ecuador………………………………………………………………303

Alternatives *to* Development and Problematizing the International Development Paradigm…………………………………………………310

Study Implications………………………………………………….........313

Hyper-Local, Place-Based Development……………………………….314

Expanding Notions of Well-Being……………………………………...316

Resisting the Single Epistemology of U.S. Higher Education………….324

Possibilities in Visual Research Methods………………………………328

Limitations……………………………………………………………...........335
Methodological Limitations…………………………………………….335
Ethnography…………………………………………………….335
Photovoice……………………………………………………...336
Cross-language research………………………………………..339
Finding Limitations……………………………………………………..342
Data quality……………………………………………………..342
External validity/transferability………………………………...344
Conclusion……………………………………………………………………...346
Bibliography…………………………………………………………………………349
Appendices…………………………………………………………………………...384
Appendix A – Research questions with alternate and detailed wordings………384
Appendix B – Participant observation notes: *el CINCA*………………………..385
Appendix C – Short research proposal to Ecuadorian partners………………...391
Appendix D – University of Minnesota IRB exempt letter……………………398
Appendix E – Study affiliation and approval letters……………………………401
Appendix F – List of official documents reviewed…………………………….405
Appendix G – Co-researcher autobiographies………………………………….408
Appendix H – Consent forms…………………………………………………..417
Appendix I – Summary of volume of data produced…………………………...424
Appendix J – Group interview guide…………………………………………...426
Appendix K – Participant observation notes: *cajas de ahorro y crédito*……….428
Appendix L – Handout on photovoice exhibition action steps…………………432
Epílogo……………………………………………………………………………..434

List of Tables

Table 1: Research questions and data matrix……………………………………..…89-90
Table 2: Summary of key community development indicators………………..105-106
Table 3: Important people from research in Ecuador………………………….110-112
Table 4: Co-researcher characteristics, by parish……………………………...132-133
Table 5: Introductory photography/photovoice workshop…………………….139-140

List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Ecuador's Provinces…………………………………………..100
Figure 2: Map of Pichincha Province………………………………………………101

List of Illustrations and Photographs

Illustration 1: Tupigachi Rurality…………………………………………………….106
Illustration 2: Malchingui Rurality……………………………………………………107
Illustration 3: La Esperanza Rurality…………………………………………………..108
Illustration 4: Tocachi Rurality………………………………………………………...109
Illustration 5: At Mitad del Mundo……………………………………………………125
Illustration 6: Photovoice Workshop…………………………………………………..139
Illustration 7: Group Interruption ……………………………………………………142
Illustration 8: Closure …………………………………………………………………144
Illustration 9: Host Family ……………………………………………………………..145
Illustration 10: Tocachi—Rotary Meeting……………………………………………...148
Illustration 11: Malchingui Foundation Celebration……………………………………149
Illustration 12: Canadian Rotary Volunteers Celebration………………………………149
Illustration 13: At Lagunas Mojanda …………………………………………………..149
Illustration 14: El Castillo……………………………………………………………...149
Illustration 15: El Buen Vivir…………………………………………………………..163
Illustration 16: Ser Unico………………………………………………………………163
Illustration 17: Mi Casa, Mi Seguridad y Felicidad……………………………………163
Illustration 18: La Amistad……………………………………………………………..163
Illustration 19: Mis Vacas………………………………………………………………165
Illustration 20: La Vaca es Mi Compañera……………………………………………..165
Illustration 21: Mi Granjita Feliz AniLu (I) ……………………………………………166
Illustration 22: Mi Mama ………………………………………………………………166
Illustration 23: Producción de Leche…………………………………………………...167
Illustration 24: Cuy Sumak Kawsay……………………………………………………167
Illustration 25: Mi Granjita Feliz (II) …………………………………………………168
Illustration 26: Alimento Milenario……………………………………………………169
Illustration 27: Clasificación de Nuestro Producto……………………………………..169
Illustration 28: Maíz…………………………………………………………………….170
Illustration 29: El Maíz…………………………………………………………………170
Illustration 30: Mi Bosque……………………………………………………………...173
Illustration 31: Mi huerto de hortalizas…………………………………………………175
Illustration 32: Hortalizas……………………………………………………………175
Illustration 33: Frutos Sanos……………………………………………………………175
Illustration 34: Comer Sano…………………………………………………………….175
Illustration 35: El Rescate de Nuestra Tradición y Lengua…………………………….179
Illustration 36: Vida Natural …………………………………………………………...179
Illustration 37: Cocinando en Leña……………………………………………………..180
Illustration 38: Cortando Leña………………………………………………………….180
Illustration 39: La Ollita de Café……………………………………………………….182
Illustration 40: Cocinar con el Gas……………………………………………………..182
Illustration 41: Curandera………………………………………………………………183
Illustration 42: Seguir Conservando Nuestros Vertientes………………………………185
Illustration 43: San Pablito ……………………………………………………………..185
Illustration 44: Preparing for Valentine's Day…………………………………………192
Illustration 45: Producción de Flores…………………………………………………...195

Illustration 46: Las Florícolas…………………………………………………………..195
Illustration 47: Una Plantación…………………………………………………………195
Illustration 48: Contaminación…………………………………………………………195
Illustration 49: Invernaderos de Rosas, Barrio Mojanda………………………………196
Illustration 50: Tierra Abandonada……………………………………………………..199
Illustration 51: Molestias para la Planeta………………………………………………199
Illustration 52: Sombras………………………………………………………………...200
Illustration 53: Sembrío de Maíz y Rosas en el Barrio Mojanda………………………200
Illustration 54: La Esperanza Green Space……………………………………………..202
Illustration 55: Eucaliptos………………………………………………………………207
Illustration 56: Nuestras Plantas Enfermas……………………………………………..207
Illustration 57: Sonidos Imparables………………...…………………………………..208
Illustration 58: Camino Alchipichi……………………………………………………..208
Illustration 59A&B: Agua Segura……………………………………………………...211
Illustration 60A&B: La Choza…………………………………………………………212
Illustration 61A&B: Mis Lavanderías…………………………………………………212
Illustration 62A&B: Vías Públicas……………………………………………………..213
Illustration 63: Talentos de los niños de la Parroquia La Esperanza: Rescatando Talentos………………………………………………………………………………217
Illustration 64: Salud y Vida……………………………………..……………..217
Illustration 65: Instrumentos Musicales: Trompeta, Güiro, Timbal, y Platillos………..217
Illustration 66: "TICS" Para Todos……………………………………………………..217
Illustration 67A&B: Comunicación……………………………………...………..219
Illustration 68: The Cat and The Mouse………………………………………………..223
Illustration 69: Una Amiga por Siempre………………………………………………..226
Illustration 70: Minga…………………………………………………………………..232
Illustration 71: Trabajo Comunitario…………………………………………………...232
Illustration 72: El Compañerismo………………………………………………………233
Illustration 73A&B: La Minga: Un Proceso al Desarrollo……………………………..233
Illustration 74: Mingas: Que Nunca Se Acabe…………………………………………236
Illustration 75: Calle Jorge Hidalgo ………………………………….………………..236
Illustration 76: Trabajo ………………………………………………………….……..236
Illustration 77: Queso Maduro…………………………………………………………243
Illustration 78: Caja Solidaria…………………………………………………………..243
Illustration 79: La Casa Parroquial……………………………………………………..243
Illustration 80: Entrega en Buena Presentación………………………………………...243
Illustration 81: Directive………………………………………………………………..249
Illustration 82: Directiva………………………………………………………………..251
Illustration 83: Reunión de Funcionarios del GAD Parroquial, con Presidentes de Barrios de La Esperanza……………………………………………………………………...251
Illustration 84: Rendición de Cuentas…………………………………………………..251
Illustration 85: Una Mancomunidad Activa y Participativa……………………………251
Illustration 86: El Compañerismo………………………………………………………256
Illustration 87: Tengo a Donde Llegar………………………………………………….256
Illustration 88: Adulto Mayor …………………………………………………………256
Illustration 89: Centro de Rehabilitación……………………………………………….256

Illustration 90: Entretenimiento para Nuestros Niños…………………………………262
Illustration 91: Centro Infantil del Buen Vivir "Luz y Vida" …………………………262
Illustration 92: El CIBV……………………………………………………………..262
Illustration 93: Niños Activos y Preparados……………………………………………262
Illustration 94: Servicios de Transporte…………………………………………...265
Illustration 95: CIA TRAMSA………..……………………………………………..265
Illustration 96: La Movilización……………………………………………………..266
Illustration 97: Servicio de Transporte …………………………………………...266
Illustration 98: Esperando el Bus……………………………………………………269
Illustration 99: "UPC" ………………………………………………………………270
Illustration 100: Seguridad ………………………………………………………..270
Illustration 101: La Policía…………………………………………………………...271
Illustration 102: Seguridad (II) ……………………………………………………...271
Illustration 103: Deporte y Salud……………………………………………………274
Illustration 104: Cancha Deportiva Estadio ………………………………………....274
Illustration 105: Juegos Saludables…………………………………………………..274
Illustration 106: El Estadio…………………………………………………………..274
Illustration 107A&B: *Promeso y Destrucción*……………………………………......277
Illustration 108: No Es el Camino Bueno………………………..………………..278
Illustration 109: Servicio de Maquinaria Agrícola……………………………………..278
Illustration 110: La Maquinaria……………………………………………………...278
Illustration 111: La Recolección Basura………………………………………………..278
Illustration 112: Tanque de Tratamiento ………………………………………………279
Illustration 113: Líquido Vital……………………...………………………………..279
Illustration 114: Un Puente que Tenemos en la Parroquia…………………………..280
Illustration 115: El Canal de Riego de Mi Pueblo……………………………………...280
Illustration 116: Centro de Salud de San Juan …………………………………………291
Illustration 117: *Sub-Centro de Salud Loma Gorda*……………………………………291

Chapter One – Introducing the Problem: Contesting the Terms of International Development

"All domination involves invasion – at times physical and overt – at times camouflaged, with the invader assuming the role of a helping friend." —Paulo Freire (2000)

Introduction

The goal of the research presented in this dissertation is to understand and analyze how communities in Andean Ecuador think about, initiate, and engage with their own community development. I have situated the research in this study at the intersection of health, education, and community development, while recognizing the community as a special kind of organization that requires attention to the continually changing processes and outcomes of its collective work, its diversity, and its sociocultural, political, and historical contexts. In order to complicate the ways in which we discuss how community development happens, we must understand not only what is meant by the term, but we must also delve into the influence of these multiple layers of history, culture, and discourse which surround the 'pursuit' of development, both in general specifically, in relation to health. That is, if the methods and goals of international development stem from a response to post-World War II (WWII) globalization and the end of imperialism, we must acknowledge the ways in which they were transformed into the creation of neocolonial institutions that replicated these relationships of control through new means. Moreover, the ways we have been conditioned to think about development have been largely U.S. and Euro-centric and a look at the history of these discourses and practices reveal that the "history of international development is replete with errors of knowledge and practice and self-sustaining myths" (Chambers, 2017, Chapter 1, abstract). The experiences of Ecuador, the site of this study, include an interesting historical to present

day combination of colonization, indigenous organizing, and progressive Constitutional declarations that are instructive for an analysis of both the scale and effectiveness of resistance to dominant international health and development paradigms.

For the examination of community development using a critical lens, Ecuador is both a typical and an unusual case. It is typical in that it is an example of a postcolonial, low to middle-income country in South America. That is, Ecuador's history is similar to other nations formerly subjected to colonial rule, having been a Spanish colony from about 1563 to 1820. It is unique in that it was the first in Latin America, in 1809, to have its people call for independence from Spain. An additional unique feature of Ecuador pertinent to this study is that is has a large proportion of indigenous peoples (approximately ten percent of the total population of about 16 million) who have a long history of organization and negotiation with the government and outside entities around self-determination and self-management (Andolina, 2012). Finally, the current Constitution of Ecuador (adopted in 2008) was the first in the world to recognize the rights of nature or the environment. The constitution also recognizes the right to food, and protects national sovereignty in negotiating trade contracts and disputes. In addition, the 2013 National Development Plan of Ecuador centers *sumak kawsay* as an organizing concept around which to pursue development. All of these characteristics are designed, at least in part, to manage the type of development that occurs in the country, to what ends, and to delineate whose rights are to be considered.

For decades, many authors have introduced or framed their writing about international or community development in the context of globalization and, indeed, the roots of international development are intertwined with the roots of modern-day

globalization (Stiglitz, 2002). One popular definition of globalization asserts it is "the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and…people across borders" (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 9). Certain positive consequences of globalization have been documented, among them, advances in scientific and technological innovation and diffusion, increased life expectancy, lower incidence of child labor, and lower rates of infant mortality. However, most of the benefits of globalization (and the development policies that enmesh themselves in globalization's networks) have accrued to only about twenty percent of the world's population (Grodin, Tarantola, Annas, & Gruskin, 2013).

In addition, those who reiterate these links between development and globalization chance knowingly or unwittingly replicating the links between development and domination. My goal with this dissertation is to explore those links, to acknowledge the complexity this history has brought to the ideas and practice of development, and to amplify the voices, ideals, and approaches of those who choose to trouble neocolonial discourses and practices of development. Specifically, I will do this in the context of a largely indigenous community in northern Andean Ecuador, a country with an indigenous population of nearly ten percent; a long history engagement by both U.S. and European governments, as well as multinational international development organizations, in their postcolonial development; and a rich network of indigenous organizations advocating autonomy.

My purpose in choosing this approach and setting is to complicate our largely Western-centric knowledge of development. As an U.S.-based educator and scholar of education, I am also interested in problematizing the ways in which we teach about health-related development in order to grow new global leaders with epistemological humility. To be able to teach about alternatives *to* development, one must understand and honor alternate epistemologies, the actions they spur, and the effectiveness of these actions, and then act to insert new dialogues into the predominant academic discourse. This study is framed by the intersections of work from a Colombian critical development scholar (Escobar), an Indian development economist (Sen), and a Portuguese scholar of epistemologies of the South (Santos). By relating these scholars in new ways, I aspire to incorporate into the dominant development conversation the experiences of co-researchers from four rural communities in northern Andean Ecuador, while contextualizing the significance of the data. This includes how community members have applied their ways of knowing and doing – based in their worldview – to achieve the kind of well-being that they and their communities have reason to value, while simultaneously negotiating and, in some cases, refusing or resisting traditional development discourse and practices. In this way, I hope to highlight social injustices resulting from and unresolved by development, richly describe the lived experiences of health and development within communities made up of indigenous and non-indigenous individuals, and emphasize the perspectives and strengths that they bring to the development issues affecting their lives.

Statement of the Problem

Understanding International Development: A Brief History

Towards the end of WWII, in July 1944, the major economic powers of the time convened the United Nations (UN) Monetary and Financial Conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA. The goals of this conference were to come to agreement on a collective effort to finance Europe's post-WWII reconstruction and to avert future world economic downturns. The World Bank was founded at this time with the initial purpose of financing this reconstruction; it later shifted its focus to lending money to countries (typically for limited-scope development projects, such as the construction of a dam), which were newly independent as imperial powers began to divest themselves and leave their previous colonies to fend for themselves governmentally and economically (World Bank, 2016). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was established shortly thereafter, in December 1945, to make short-term loans to stabilize world currencies as part of an effort to prevent another Great Depression (IMF, n.d.). At this time, most of what was known as the 'developing world' (see Definitions, below) were still colonies of many of the major economic players participating in Bretton Woods. Voting power within the IMF, outlined by economists in attendance at its founding, was awarded proportionally according to the relative size of the member country's economy. As a result, in its 75-year history, countries with small economies, whether by virtue of their size, circumstance, or as a result of development policies which had not produced their promised growth, have been systematically marginalized from influencing change in development policy at this major institution.

Based on this history, Escobar (1995) argues that a discourse of the 'Third World' was born in this post-WWII period. The international development discourse, its practices, and professionals established during that time have persisted unto present and continue to reproduce the idea that development itself would "solve the social and economic problems" of the Global South (Escobar, 1995, p. 5). In fact, it is in the decade between 1948 and 1958 that the term development, as it is currently used, first came into being. Prior to the 1930s, the word development "was usually understood in a naturalistic sense, as the emergence of something over time" but beginning in the 1940s, the use of the term shifted to refer to "the economic development of 'underdeveloped areas'" (Escobar, 1995, p. 73). In this way, economic *growth* became a means to reduced poverty and unemployment rather than a natural phenomenon. This shift in the use of the term development is important because it prescribed a set of actions: capital investment through industrialization, which would lead to increased gross national product (GNP) and 'productive' employment; in turn, the 'right things' to boost an economy would be produced, resulting in economic growth. However, as we will see, economic growth does not always translate into a reduction of poverty or the development of communities.

Development actions required planning: underdeveloped nations needed expert technical assistance, external aid, and development institutions to oversee it all. Planning became the link between policy, the state, and the activities of development programs. This involved outsider experts, short-term assistance, long-term loans, and the training of social technicians from underdeveloped countries in the universities of the West (Escobar, 1995, pp. 86-87), so that "within the span of a few years, an entirely new strategy for dealing with the problems of the poorer countries emerged and took definite

shape" (Escobar, 1995, p. 30). The power of modern international development to justify intervention in other countries' affairs entailed the creation of a metaphor, which followed easily from colonialism, through which the "Third World [was represented] as a child in need of adult guidance" (Escobar, 1995, p. 30). This metaphor became historically codified during the early post-WWII period, through post-war transformations, into the relationship between rich and poor countries of the world that we have known since within the discourse of development. As the model replicated through ever-multiplying institutions and projects, "older styles of knowledge and assistance progressively disappeared as development economics and planning became consolidated" (Escobar, 1995, p. 89). Indigenous ways of knowing and local development practices, though perhaps not named as such by those who employed them, were drowned out by the loud volume of the mainstream development economics discourse and its systems of control.

Further, far from the abundance that was promised, these early development theories and international policies produced the opposite of their intention: "massive under development and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression" (Escobar, 1995, p. 4). Despite the fact that promises of poverty reduction generally accompany most international economic policy – and indeed are the backbone of international development – the actual number of people living in poverty increased almost 100 million in the last decade of the 20th century[1]. During this same period, the total world

[1] Stiglitz notes that his claim has been met with controversy, but cites the following World Bank data: "In 1990, 2.718 billion people were living on less than $2 a day. In 1998, the number of poor living on less than $2 a day is estimated at 2.801 billion" (p. 259). Most progress eliminating poverty has accrued in Asia, especially China, while in sub-Saharan Africa nearly half of the population lives on less than a dollar a day and "in Latin America and the former Soviet Union the percentage of the population in poverty…is 16 percent and 15 percent, respectively" (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 259).

income increased 2.5 percent annually (Stiglitz, 2002). Specifically, in Latin America, Stiglitz (2002) notes that application of the neoliberal economic policies of the Washington Consensus may have created growth in some cases, but that "growth has not been accompanied by a reduction in inequality, or even a reduction in poverty" (p. 79). Latin America did experience a short burst of economic growth in the 1990s, but it was followed by stagnation that persists (Stiglitz, 2002). At times, the IMF pressed experimental financial policy on Ecuador, economically or politically unable to resist, despite the uncertainty over whether the policy would contribute to development (Stiglitz, 2002). Moreover, average increases in a nation's gross domestic product (GDP) may be a flawed indicator of development progress for several reasons; one important economic one is that these figures "do not reveal the distributive impact resulting from [policies of] market liberalization and economic growth" thus obscuring growing inequities (Grodin, et al, 2013, pp. 491-492). Latin American countries in general, and Ecuador specifically, are uniquely burdened by income inequality and the disparities in health and well-being to which it contributes. According to Gasparini and Lustig (2011), Latin America is one of the most unequal regions of the world, with ten of the fifteen most income-unequal countries belonging to the region. The Gini coefficient is an indicator, often presented as a percent, which is used to measure income inequality on a scale from zero to 100 with zero representing perfect equality and 100 representing perfect inequality; Gasparini and Lustig (2011) note that, in practice, Gini values usually fall between 20 and 65 (p. 3). "The average income Gini in Latin America is eight points higher than in Asia, 18 higher

than in Eastern Europe, and 20 higher than in the developed countries[2];" in 2013, Ecuador's Gini was 47.3 (up from 46.6 and 46.2 in 2012 and 2011, respectively) (Gasparini & Lustig, 2011; World Bank, 2016a). In addition, economic policy forwarded by international development entities, which prioritizes national industrialization "requires vast accumulation and, in turn, produces marked social differentiation" (e.g. inequality) (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979, p. 154). In Ecuador 4.4 percent of the population live on less than $1.90 per day and nearly twelve percent live on less than $3.10 per day (World Bank, 2016b; World Bank, 2016c). A 2015 study of ten thousand subnational units within various Latin American countries demonstrated that only about twelve percent of these "experienced decade-long development dynamics that resulted simultaneously in economic growth, poverty reduction, and improved distribution of income" (Berdegúe, Bebbington, & Escobal, 2015, p. 2). Given these conditions, it is important to ask whether development is achieving its stated aims in Ecuador and what alternatives *to* development, including indigenous practices, may contribute under these circumstances.

Development as Modernization: The Need for a Decolonial Approach

An organizing premise driving Western-led development of postcolonial countries was a belief in modernization "as the only force capable of destroying archaic superstitions and relations, at whatever social, cultural, and political cost. Industrialization and urbanization were seen as the inevitable and necessarily progressive routes to modernization" (Escobar, 1995, p. 39). Thus, capital investment, commerce,

[2] Insofar as terms like 'developed countries' are used in the international development literature which I quote here, I maintain them. See the section of Definitions, below, for my own approach to referring to post-colonial nations.

trade, population control, agricultural development, and education emerged as activities required in the name of development to "foster modern cultural values" (Escobar, 1995, p. 40). Since development was conceived largely as a neocolonial project of Europe, North America, and other post-WWII industrialized countries, these beliefs shaped its organization. Development is situated in a paradigm of a linear continuum by which some countries could be labeled 'undeveloped' and those providing assistance were considered 'developed.' This is sometimes referred to as the center-periphery model (Vanhulst & Beling, 2014). "Development was seen as the process of transition from one situation to the other" and conditions in postcolonial nations – poverty, lack of technology, lack of capital, inadequate public services, 'antiquated' agricultural practices, and so on – became the object of development actions by the new experts (Escobar, 1995, p. 38). The meaning and implications of modernization theory will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

Viewing international development as a neocolonial manifestation of modernization theory shows why adopting a decolonial approach is important. Colonialism is defined as "a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another" (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2012, para. 1). Like with modern development theory, colonial rule was "legitimized by anthropological theories which…portrayed the peoples of the colonized world as inferior, childlike, or feminine, incapable of looking after themselves…and requiring paternal rule of the west for their own best interests (today they are deemed to require 'development')" (Young, 2003, p. 2). Postcolonialism "names a politics and philosophy of activism that contests" the subordination of people on the continents of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to North

America and Europe (Young, 2003, p. 4). Decolonization refers to the processes employed by newly-independent colonies to claim their sovereignty and set up their nation states. Unfortunately, decolonization processes often replicated patterns of colonial power (Mignolo &Walsh, 2018). Thus, the frame of decoloniality is critical, as the process of decolonization may have resulted in national sovereignty but did not always result in the freedom of the peoples of former colonies to choose the means and ends of their own development. Mignolo & Walsh (2018) define decoloniality as "a form of struggle and survival, an epistemic and existence-based response and practice – most especially by colonized and racialize subjects – *against* the colonial matrix of power in all of its dimensions, and *for* the possibility of an otherwise" (p. 17, emphasis in original). Decoloniality aligns with Escobar's (1995) dismantling of development discourse as neocolonial and his arguments for alternatives *to* development. It also aligns with the ideals of *cosmovisión Andina* as an entirely different epistemology on which to organize development. Briefly, *cosmovisión Andina*, or Andean worldview, is a view of the interrelationships that underlie the workings of the universe that contains ontological and epistemological orientations specific to the peoples who inhabit the Andean region of South America. Its key terms and organizing principles will be discussed in Chapter Two.

The founding premises in the early days of development were decidedly colonial, but overtures towards community participation were soon to come. Perhaps in recognition of the neocolonial potential of international development, starting in the 1970s, scholars and practitioners in development including, eventually, the World Bank and the UN, advocated for increased participation of local communities in development projects. Though development has changed since its inception to include more input and

participation from local communities, it is still necessary to critically examine the concept of development as neocolonial, because alternative ideas such as participatory development were still most often situated within the ideals of the development apparatus itself. Thus, I posit that 'alternative developments,' such as participatory development, do not go far enough in rejecting the neocolonial domination of development. Not only can participation fall short of assuring enhanced freedoms for people and communities to choose their own methods of development, it can itself become a process by which community ideals are appropriated so that exogenous plans can receive a rubber stamp by having said they are including those who are its object as participants. These ideas will be expanded in Chapter Two.

Decoloniality also implies a reorientation towards multiple epistemologies, towards a pluralism of knowledges, not just those which flow from the West. As an educator from a social justice oriented institution, I identify with Young's (2001) assertion that "the global situation of injustice demands postcolonial critique – from the position of its victims, not its perpetrators" (p. 58). A decolonial approach entails an acknowledgement of lived realities, of the lives and experiences of those "on the other side of the line that someone traced while thinking of us but aiming at not thinking of us anymore" (Santos, 2014, p. 8). Both Santos (2014) and Spivak (1988) call the perpetuation of preferencing Western ways of knowing while excluding others 'epistemic violence.' Examples of this are numerous and include:

> (1) the positioning of "universal aspirations of Western thought…[as] sites of its coercion of other local histories, or local ways of knowing and being" (Langdon, 2009, p. 4);
> (2) the presence, throughout and beyond the imperial period, of its "dehumanizing imperatives, which were structured into the language, economy, social relations and cultural life of colonial societies" (Smith, 2012, p. 27);

> (3) empowering, through the creation of the disciplines of social welfare and international development, the "setting into place of apparatuses of knowledge and power that took it upon themselves to optimize life by producing it under modern, 'scientific' conditions" (Escobar, 1995, p. 23), and;
> (4) the reduction of the relationship between knowing and acting "to the relation between knowledge validated by modern science and rational social engineering" (Santos, 2014, p. 5).

The significance of decoloniality is that it is "necessarily tied to the lived contexts of…struggles against the structures, matrices, and manifestations of modernity/coloniality/capitalism/hetero-patriarchy, among other structural, systemic, [and] systematic modes of power" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, pp. 49-50). It was vitally important to me in this study that I not only expose and contest development as domination, which is reproduced by the powerful through its discourse and practices, but that this study consider alternatives *to* development in order to counter this epistemic violence. In this way, I am aligning with the work of Santos (2014), who argues that "starting anew means rendering creativity and interruption possible under hostile conditions that promote reproduction and repetition" (p. 5). I propose that hyper-local development, situated within an understanding of Andean worldview, is the creativity and interruption in the midst of the reproducing dominant development regime and, thus, it requires our attention. Ecuador, with its history of indigenous organization and constitutional attempts to preference alternate development ideals, provides a unique setting in which to explore these themes.

Linking International Development and Health Development

There are numerous ways in which health-related development, aimed at improving holistic well-being of communities – the specific focus of this study – parallels international development in general, both in terms of history and practice. Though the

discipline of public health formally emerged in the mid-19th century, global health is a more recent and as yet indistinct discipline and term. According to Koplan and colleagues (2009), "global health is derived from public health and international health, which, in turn, evolved from hygiene and tropical medicine" (p. 1993). In the post-WWII era, the global expansion of these fields served to reproduce language and practices of domination also appearing in the international development discourse. For instance, communities were delineated as objects to be served through the application of expert health and hygiene knowledge that reproduced existing gendered, racialized, and classist relationships (Arur, 2014). This marks a continuation of earlier colonial practices in which diseases and other public health issues could be framed by the educated and upper class as problems of the poor, with solutions that would make the poor less grotesque and more manageable by applying scientific medical notions (Arur, 2014).

A commonly accepted definition of international health illustrates its problem orientation and utilization of Western solutions to health problems which are situated 'out there:' international health is "the application of the principles of public health to problems and challenges that affect low and middle-income countries and to the complex array of global and local forces that influence them" (Merson, Black, & Mills, 2006, p. xiv; Kaplan, et al., 2009). Another similarity between health and international development is that global health is framed with the global North as its center. In a commentary appearing in his own journal, Richard Horton (2014), editor-in-chief of *The Lancet*, argues that "global health has evolved into [a] curious creature: an instrument for a new era of scientific, programmatic, and policy imperialism" (p. 1705). There is subtle evidence of this in the ways in which health is framed as both an input for economic

well-being and an output for individual, community, and national stability. For instance, both older and more recent health policy reports focus on the economic benefits stemming from a healthy populace and the connections between good health and human capital, an input into a 'well-functioning' national economy; that is, "healthier is wealthier" (Ariana & Naveed, 2009, pp. 230-232). Arguments have also been advanced that increasing country wealth will lead to healthier citizens, though this seems unlikely in the absence of social policies to promote health. While Sen (1999) argues this need for social policies extensively, I propose that both views assume concepts of health that are limited to a biomedical paradigm and largely ignore communal influences on and benefits of health. However, continued economic framing – adopted from the overarching international development discourse – is currently reproduced by large multinational health institutions (including private foundations) that help set and fund global health policy and programs according to economic tenets such as efficiency, scalability, and evidence of GDP growth spurred by healthy workers.

The scope of modern global health issues is broadly defined and includes health concerns that involve some form of cross-national or cross-regional significance either because: (1) the issue crosses international borders; (2) the issue is affected by transnational determinants, and/or; (3) the issue involves sharing or building resources necessary for a population's health (Koplan, et al, 2009). As a discipline, health work that takes place in the Global South has tended to replicate some of the same neocolonial approaches as development in general: coopting participation by calling recipients of grants and programs 'partners,' wielding funding and expertise, and controlling the production of knowledge using conversations guided by biomedical paradigms and

positivist orientations. For example, biomedical and positivist orientations reduce individuals to their diseases and reduce information for decision-making to that which can be readily measured, respectively. Scaled to the level of communities, these orientations mean that health 'problems,' identified by outside experts, become another object for development programs and practices. Western-centric orientations to both health-related development and development in general privilege outcomes (e.g., what it means to be healthy from a biomedical perspective) that stem from U.S. and Euro-centric epistemological orientations. Expanding this view is the subject of the next section.

Broadening the Scope of Development

As I argue, international development discourse has primarily pertained to economic development and, in turn, the scope and success of development projects has often been judged by international economic criteria in countries receiving development assistance. These power relationships were established with the creation of modern day international development and persist to present day. Scholars note that, regardless of their political affiliations, Ecuador's leaders "govern within the context of one of the most burdensome foreign debts in the region, an unpredictable world market, and a continuing need for (and dependence on) foreign investment" (de la Torre & Striffler, 2008, p. 278). Acknowledging the dynamics perpetuated by foreign investment and multinational oversight is key to understanding why alternate forms of development have been forwarded over time as the development field has modified its methods. This is what Vanhulst and Beling (2014) are referring to when they note that "several 'substitute' discourses have emerged alongside the axial idea of development" (p. 54).

There is a gap between the view of development which has dominated international development practice – provide funding and clear instructions for what outcomes are expected – and the idea of development as something broader. Sen (1999) articulates this as a distinction "between an exclusive concentration on economic wealth and a broader focus on the lives we can lead" (p. 14). Other South American and indigenous ways of knowing and defining development have also illustrated this distinction. One such way of knowing which will serve as a focal point for this research, expanded upon in Chapter Two, is the idea of *cosmovisión Andina*, or Andean worldview, and how it makes possible the South American notion of *sumak kawsay* (or *buen vivir*[3]). *Sumak kawsay/buen vivir (SK/BV)* represents a uniquely Latin American manifestation of an ontological and epistemological orientation from South America which can shed light on indigenous responses to issues of global development in the local context, especially within the social and environmental realms (Vanhulst & Beling, 2014). The idea of *buen vivir*, a term translated into Spanish from the Kichwa *sumak kawsay* and incompletely described as 'good living,' 'having a good life,' or 'a life of fullness,' is one such alternate goal of development. *Buen vivir* refers to the "opportunity to build a different society sustained in the coexistence of human beings in their diversity and in harmony with nature, based on recognition of the diverse cultural values existing in each country and worldwide" (Vanhulst & Beling, 2014, p. 56).

[3] In this dissertation, I present the terms *sumak kawsay* and *buen vivir* together, not because they are equivalent in either translation or meaning, but because they are often used interchangeably in the various Andean Ecuador sites of this research. Another term, *bienestar*, which translates more literally to well-being, was used in conversations with co-researchers as clarity necessitated, but holds less meaning that the former terms and, therefore, was not included in the written dissertation.

Some definitions of *SK/BV* align with Sen's assertion that thinking of development as freedom incorporates social relationships more effectively than do conventional development orientations. That is, social arrangements, when acknowledged and leveraged by communities, can (1) expand freedoms and (2) these expanded freedoms can make social arrangements more effective (Sen, 1999). Freedom is both intrinsic (what Sen calls "constitutive") and instrumental: it is a primary end and the principal means of development (Sen, 1999, p. 36). However, in examining *SK/BV* as a potential alternative to development, one must be cautious about the possibility for it to be appropriated within Sen's human development-centered approach or any other development alternative. Therefore, deconstructing (a decolonial act) the often invisible differences between development outcomes and development processes, from the perspectives of community members themselves, is a fundamental step in examining the distinctions between different means to and ends of development. Two major foci of my research are to examine how health and development are conceived of in selected communities in northern Andean Ecuador and to analyze the processes by which their development ideals are met by these same communities.

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks Guiding the Study

This study is guided by two intersecting theoretical frameworks that align with two conceptual frameworks. As stated above, Escobar's alternatives *to* development forms the first theoretical framework employed in this study. This framework is both an epistemological stance and a critical response to development as neocolonialism. At the same time, all approaches which critique the colonial matrix of power need to also guard against perpetuating dependency-related thought and rationales (Nederveen Pieterse,

2010). Thus, Mignolo & Walsh's (2018) concepts, analytics, and praxis of decoloniality also contribute theoretically. Next, I employed Sen's capability approach (CA) to 'development' as a conceptual framework, in part, to mediate any tendency to oversimplify or tokenize endogenous development. Sen's definition of development as freedom to choose options based on ways of being or doing that one has reason to value is especially important in this regard (1999). Sen's CA sits within human development, which Escobar would critique as one of many alternative developments (rather than an alternative *to* development); however, Sen's concepts of agency and capabilities may align usefully with South American concepts pertaining to development. Bringing Sen into a decolonially oriented study may also help to decolonize his perspective of capabilities and well-being. The South American ontological and epistemological orientations of *cosmovisión Andina*, including the notion of *SK/BV*, form the final conceptual framework I will use to examine community level context and relationships around development. In Chapter Two, I will discuss these frameworks in more detail, including their relationships to the local context of local health-related development efforts in Andean South America and Ecuador specifically.

My goal in employing these frameworks is to bring several scholars, including those from South America, into conversation through a decolonial view of development in order to understand the relationships between development-related concepts such as well-being, self-determination, and indigeneity, and the actual development efforts of communities in Andean Ecuador. It is unlikely that there is any such phenomenon as purely local or purely exogenous development (see Definitions, below). Tsing (2005) notes that any examination of a global phenomenon such as development relies on an

acknowledgement of "*universal* dreams and schemes" and yet this universality "can only be charged and enacted in the sticky materiality of practical encounters" which produce, as she calls it, friction (p.1, emphasis in original). Therefore, one needs to guard against the tendency to think "foreign bad, local good" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2010, p. 178). Yet the questions remain, what *are* the alternatives *to* development Escobar suggested we should nurture? How do we begin to learn from those who have negotiated these spaces of friction to amplify local and/or indigenous ways of achieving community development? I propose that decoloniality is a useful theoretical framework through which to view these questions, especially when joined with other concepts that can help specify the complexity of the lived realities of both health and community development, from the perspectives of those who are closest to both their potential benefits and ills.

Study Purpose and Research Questions

Having provided this introduction to the problem and outlined theoretical and conceptual frameworks, I turn now to the purpose of and research questions for my study. The purpose of this study is to analyze the relationships between Andean worldview, well-being, and local development by examining the meaning and outcomes of community development from the perspectives of community members in Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Ecuador. To achieve the study's purpose, I have woven together my professional experiences in health, community engagement, and higher education with a critical examination of development through a participatory investigation of local perspectives. I pursue the following research questions (these questions, along with alternate or more detailed wordings used with co-researchers are found in Appendix A):

- How is *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* integral to development in the rural parishes of Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Ecuador?

- How has *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* changed over the past two decades (in each rural parish) and how does it look today?
- How do community development processes (participation) embody the ideals of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* in this rural parish?
- Which services and programs facilitate the community's pursuit of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* and which do not?

Context of the Study

It is important to be clear why Ecuador and specifically, why Cantón Pedro Moncayo in its northern Andes, has been chosen as the site for this research. For the examination of community development using a critical lens, Ecuador is both a typical and an unusual case. It is typical in that it is an example of a postcolonial, low to middle-income country in South America. That is, Ecuador's history is similar to other nations formerly subjected to colonial rule, having been a Spanish colony from about 1563 to 1820. It is unique in that it was the first in Latin America, in 1809, to have its people call for independence from Spain. An additional unique feature of Ecuador pertinent to this study is that is has a large proportion of indigenous peoples (approximately ten percent of the total population of about 16 million) who have a long history of organization and negotiation with the government and outside entities around self-determination and self-management (Andolina, 2012). Finally, the current Constitution of Ecuador (adopted in 2008) was the first in the world to recognize the rights of nature or the environment. The constitution also recognizes the right to food, and protects national sovereignty in negotiating trade contracts and disputes. In addition, the 2013 National Development Plan of Ecuador centers *sumak kawsay* as an organizing concept around which to pursue development. All of these characteristics are designed, at least in part, to manage the type

of development that occurs in the country, to what ends, and to delineate whose rights are to be considered.

In Chapter Three, I outline my prior experiences in Ecuador, which influenced the development of this study. To partner with the community, I worked with an Ecuadorian nonprofit organization, *Fundación Cimas del Ecuador* (Cimas). Cimas was founded in 1997 through a cooperative agreement with the Ecuadorian Ministry of the Environment to work on community development in the northern Andean Region. Its mission is "to facilitate a comprehensive human development and the construction of collectives of local and alternative development designed to promote social equity, combining the world views, knowledge and wisdom of various peoples and cultures with the ultimate goal of building a united world" (*Fundación Cimas del Ecuador*, 2013). Cimas operates as a research-based academic organization with links to universities in Ecuador and the U.S., and to local governments and communities working on development issues in Ecuador. The organization works together with communities in order to create dialogue "for the construction of local development alternatives" (*Fundación Cimas del Ecuador*, 2013). Past projects include community, research, and small business endeavors in the areas of elderly care, land management, public health, cultural perspectives on health, and microcredit enterprises (*Fundación Cimas del Ecuador*, 2013a). The foundation works directly as partners in these projects and as a linking organization for university students from the U.S. (including for the University of Minnesota's Studies in International Development program) to their work through courses with various community and academic faculty. Cimas has worked with residents and leaders from Cantón Pedro Moncayo since 2000 on local development projects, and Cimas has facilitated my

introduction within the Cantón (*Fundación Cimas del Ecuador*, 2013b). The focus of this dissertation on health issues in Ecuador stems from my background as a community and public health nurse, the work of Cimas on these community health issues, and the profile of health issues in Ecuador which pertain to the Andean region and indigenous communities, which will be discussed more in Chapter Two.

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to the international and organizational development literature, the health development literature, and to the field of education in three primary ways. First, it fills a gap between theoretical and empirical studies on alternatives *to* development; that is, it empirically examines place-based development through the explication of local realities, both in terms of the meaning of development and through an analysis of what makes such alternatives successful. This approach opens an opportunity to explore Escobar's (1995) alternatives *to* development in terms of specific epistemologies of the South, including *SK/BV*. It also provides an occasion to bring Escobar's (1995), Mignolo & Walsh's (2018), and Sen's (1999) concepts into conversation. Escobar has interrogated Western-centric development models theoretically, Mignolo & Walsh (2018) have explicated the importance of a decolonial lens to elevate refusal of colonial and neocolonial apparatuses, and Sen has proposed alternative conceptions of the reach of such models without situating himself decolonially.[4] This study will link these three approaches in an empirical way, contributing to the philosophical decolonial debate around development while

[4] As an economist, Sen initially framed his capability approach arguments towards fellow economists, arguing against Rawlsian theories of justice and Marxist ideas of equality, but he does not interrogate the entire field of international development as neocolonial or explicitly incorporate an analysis of the colonial matrix of power into his work on capabilities.

illuminating the pragmatic approaches and successes of its alternatives in communities and development projects.

Second, this research expands the literature on self-determined health-related community development. Much of the research from Andean Ecuador on indigenous or endogenous development is in the fields of agriculture, water management, extractive industries, and microenterprise (Andolina, 2012; Armijos, 2013; Bebbington, 1993; Radcliffe & Pequeño, 2010) or simply critiques biomedical models of health development while incompletely explicating how endogenous alternatives are forwarded and self-managed (Aizenberg, 2014; Chino & DeBruyn, 2006; Rasch & Bywater, 2014). This study extends inquiry into health and well-being (while asking which well-beings the community has reason to value based on their ontological and epistemological orientations) by employing similar theoretical frameworks as the previous studies in other fields.

Third, it is my hope that this study will enhance our understanding of indigenous views of and alternatives to development, in order to influence (1) the scope of our teaching about international development in U.S. higher education and (2) the ways in which our higher education systems socialize young adults to reproduce neocolonial North-South relationships. To form young people for socially just leadership in a diverse world, it is imperative that disciplines whose work intersects with international development (including health and education) incorporate and elevate locally endogenous ways of knowing in their curricula. This includes acknowledging the colonial history of the field of comparative education and its linkages to international development as well. Takayama (2018) points out that even the work of the International Institute at Teachers

College, Columbia University – one of the oldest and first research institutes in international and comparative education – was underpinned by racist hierarchy and a desire to provide "education for 'retarded' and 'backwards' peoples" (p. 466). I propose that acknowledging this history, understanding indigenous ways of knowing, and re-inserting them into our teaching would help achieve two educational goals: balancing the profile of 'solutions' available to address health and education development-related issues beyond those which privilege U.S. or Euro-centric expertise, and stimulating self-reflexivity among students about the ways in which they approach development.

Researcher Orientations

As discussed, I will employ a decolonial critical orientation in this study. This is predicated on the links between colonialism and international development, both involving forms of domination. That is, if postcolonialism and decolonization arose as responses to and undoing of colonialism, and development is a form of neocolonialism, then a decolonial approach to analyzing development is needed. Moreover, international development, constituted formally as a discipline and practice for the past 75 years, has been ethnocentric and lacking intercultural knowledge (Escobar, 1995; Santos, 2014; Stiglitz, 2002). In many areas, this has led to a 'dis-placement' of local and indigenous ways of knowing and doing around community development. In addition, neocolonial (economic) development policies have been largely ineffective. Thus, a critical examination of development, involving investigation of power, domination, linearity, and interventionism, is required to counter this epistemic violence and the perpetuation of Western models of development (Escobar, 1995; Santos, 2014).

Additional orientations have bearing on the design and conduct of this research. My overarching orientation is constructivist, meaning I believe that people construct multiple meanings of their realities, I am interested in how meaning is made, and I will privilege co-researchers'[5] views and explanations to help understand these meanings. In addition, my research employs a transformative worldview, with a goal of highlighting social injustices resulting from and unresolved by international development. I also consider myself a critical researcher in that I am seeking to critique predominant international and health development actions and discourses as neocolonial and, thus, limiting the agency of people closest to their communities' issues to assert endogenous solutions. In Chapter Three, I will expand more on my positionality (including my values, professional histories, and personal history) and the ethical implications of these.

Definition of Key Terms

Development

It is vital to note that, in this study, the first and second research questions ask co-researchers to define development and outline its relationships (and the ways in which they have changed over the past decades) to the Andean worldview concepts of *SV/BV*. Their responses will form the framework of the analysis; however, it is also important to be clear that I entered into this work with my own definitions for development by which to frame the concept based on my philosophical orientations and research goals. In this dissertation, development is viewed in two ways: as discourse, and as freedom. The purpose of regarding development as discourse is to interrupt the usual U.S. or Euro-

[5] Throughout this study, I use the term co-researchers to refer to the people in the communities who participated in this study and who would ordinarily be called 'participants' in research writings. See Chapter Three.

centric thinking about international development and critique it from a decolonial viewpoint. In so doing, I will argue that Escobar's notion of alternatives *to* development arises as an orientation valuable for resisting development discourse and practices in terms of localities and counter-hegemonic considerations of what it means to be engaged with development. Through this orientation I hope to concentrate on understanding the ways in which indigenous communities work to contest, navigate, or respond to domination-by-development. This, in turn, synchronizes with Mignolo & Walsh's (2018) concepts of decoloniality.

The purpose of viewing development broadly as freedom is to widen the lens through which we view what is considered development, moving it out of the realm of solely development economics and aligning it with a more holistic view that judges achievement of change – and the processes by which change is reached – by the values and objectives of community members themselves (Sen, 1999). This orientation draws upon Sen's notions of agency and capabilities while investigating ways in which they may align with or appropriate indigenous conceptions of development. Sen's work is normative[6], which I posit is useful for this study to the extent that considering development as the opportunities that people have could, if done collaboratively, create an inclusive space for the recognition of both individual and collective autonomy. This, in turn, can lead to the formation of their own community development goals in a way that the imposition of narrow definitions of development cannot. If we consider that

[6] By normative here I mean that shared sociocultural beliefs promote social activity (e.g. behaviors, decisions) that is *socially valued* within that context. For my study, this is an important link to the notion that indigenous beliefs around the means and ends of community development may differ from those put forth by Western international development discourse and practice or even by national development policy and discourse.

Sen's idea of normativity is based on a context-specific orientation to justice and equity – rather than simply an accumulative economic notion of development – then I ask whether it may open a space for consideration of non-Western epistemologies, another foundation of this study. In this sense, Sen's (1999) idea of freedom means the opportunities people have to make their "lives richer and more unfettered" and to influence their social sphere and the world in which they live (p. 15). In this way, spaces for local definitions of and processes for development can be opened and a new localized discourse of what richer and more unfettered lives means can be elevated.

There are two additional important reasons for including Sen's work. First, his notion of freedoms has the potential to temper a tendency of approaches critical of colonialism to themselves become neocolonial through an incorrect assumption that people in postcolonial nations are somehow incapable of moving beyond the legacy of colonialism. (The concept of decoloniality also helps temper this tendency.) Second, I wish to examine whether concepts from Sen's work, rejected in some circles as neglecting certain important aspects of community development[7], can be compatible with indigenous notions of development's purposes and means. While Sen does not propose a need for alternatives *to* development, as Escobar does, his concepts of capabilities and freedoms offer a valuable addition to Escobar's critical approaches. I will argue that both scholars, as well as others such as Santos and Illich, are talking about self-determination,

[7] For instance, Dean (2009) argues that Sen's capability approach is fundamentally a "liberal-individualist concept" which "neglects three key realities: the constitutive nature of human interdependency; the problematic nature of the public realm; and the exploitative nature of capitalism" (p. 261). Fraser (1995) cites Escobar's (1995) thesis in noting how it is problematic to simply call for an economic system or a form of community development which meets needs without acknowledging that "needs are contextualized in a political struggle over who gets to define whose and for what purpose" (p. 155). This is especially important in the context of non-indigenous persons or power entities defining needs for indigenous persons.

albeit by employing different concepts: freedom, alternatives, knowledges, and conviviality (respectively) (Sen, 1999; Escobar, 1995; Santos, 2014; Illich, 2001).

Community Development

Beyond the broader context of international development, this study will focus on development at a community level. Community development is defined by the UN (2013) as "a process where community members come together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems" (para. 1). Since there is no official definition of indigenous development (see Chapter Two), it is important to refer to the source of community development endeavors and their governing power structures. Much of community development is imposed by outside entities (national or international, regardless of whether they employ participatory methods) and could therefore be considered 'exogenous.' If we follow Ledwith's (2016) idea of community development as necessarily radical and transformative, then it requires that we abolish inequitable and oppressive structures that, within the *context and discourse of 'development,'* serve to maintain relative social position and possibilities. This means we must think of community development as self-determined and self-managed, privileging local knowledges and local people as experts, and focusing on the reflexive inclusion of cultural and contextual identities into the processes of development. This stance may be considered post-development or postmodern, though these orientations, along with Escobar, are critiqued by Nederveen Pieterse (2010) as overly narrow and essentializing in their views on the ills of exogenous development. It is likely that a mixing of global and local orientations to development exists at the country and community levels (see Tsing, 2011).

References to ‘Developing Nations’ and Other World Regions

Particularly problematic in writing about international development is the choice of a term for referring to countries considered by scholars to be ‘under-developed.’ I considered this issue at length and reviewed several authors before making a decision, reflecting on the terms ‘Third World’ (Escobar, 1995), ‘Global South’ (Santos, 2014, and others), ‘low-income country’ (World Bank, 2016d, and others), and ‘persons experiencing unfreedoms’ (Sen, 1999), but deciding not to use them. For the purposes of this study, I will adopt Young’s notion of *postcolonial nations* to refer to those countries which are both postcolonial and currently find themselves the object of Western-centric development activities. This term fits with my theoretical orientation of decoloniality and applies to Ecuador, if not to every country in a similar situation. In addition, the term postcolonial nation aligns appropriately with Ecuador’s long history of anti-colonial indigenous movements (Andolina, Laurie, & Radcliffe, 2009), which fits with Young’s (2003) assertion that the postcolonialism of tricontinental nations during the Cold War was meant as a “global alliance resisting the continuing imperialism of the west” (p. 17). Finally, the term *nation* is appropriate due to its multiple possible interpretations and the tensions they highlight; it can refer to a country, but it may also refer to an “aggregate of people united by common descent, history, culture, or language, inhabiting a particular” geographic area (Oxford Dictionary, 2016). Thus, the use of nation is inclusive of an autonomous or semi-autonomous indigenous group within a country whose experiences with colonialism could both resemble and differ from those in the broader postcolonial country. In addition, the interplay between the term postcolonial nation and the experience of indigenous peoples leaves room to problematize the ways in which

postcolonial nation governments have often contributed – through their policies and practices of 'decolonization' – to the recolonization of indigenous peoples within their own borders.

Having said this, I do employ the term Global South in this dissertation. Rather than referring to a particular nation, however, I use this term to refer to the countries and peoples who have been the objects of "global, systemic, and unjust suffering caused by capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy" and those who resist "against the causes of such suffering" (Santos, 2014, pp. 222-223). Geographically, it happens that many of the countries and peoples who have been oppressed in this way and who resist such oppression are also located at or below the equator. I also use the term Western throughout this writing. By Western (for instance, in the use "Western-centric development"), I am referring to the relationship "between knowing and acting [that]…has been reduced to the relation between knowledge validated by modern science and rational social engineering" (Santos, 2014, p. 5).

References to Indigenous Peoples and Non-English Concepts

People of various backgrounds and ethnicities were part of this research. Every effort was made to refer to individuals by their specific and chosen identities, insofar as this information is known and the individual consented to its use (see Chapter Three for a discussion of pseudonyms and anonymity). In general, the term 'indigenous peoples' is defined by affiliation and social, historical, and cultural characteristics and may vary from region to region. The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (n.d.) notes that the term generally refers to "self-identification as indigenous…, historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies…, [and] resolve to maintain and reproduce their

ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples, and communities" among other characteristics. In addition, several non-English language concepts are employed throughout the study, among them *sumak kawsay, buen vivir*, *pachamama*, *reciprocidad, solidaridad,* and others. It is important to me to use definitions of such terms which come from South American scholars or peoples, in order to shed light on conceptualizations of these words using an epistemologies of the South lens, which I believe is vital both to counter the predominant development discourse and to maintain meaning without Anglicization. In Chapter Two I will define these terms in detail, along with their relationships to and within *cosmovisión Andina*, and how they relate to my theoretical and conceptual orientations and are found in the literature on Latin American or Ecuadorian development. Non-English terms appear in italics through the dissertation.

Organization of the Dissertation

Thus far, in Chapter One, I have outlined the problems addressed in this dissertation, presented theoretical and conceptual frameworks under which the study will be organized, introduced the study's purpose and research questions, made an argument for the study's significance, and defined key terms. In Chapter Two, I transition to introducing and analyzing three key bodies of literature underlying my study: a problematization of international development and its alternatives; an analysis of indigenous peoples, health, and development in Ecuador, and; an investigation of *cosmovisión Andina* (Andean worldview) and its intersections with well-being, and grassroots development in the highlands of Ecuador. In Chapter Three, I outline my researcher positionality and approach to ethical issues, as well as the study's methodology, methods, design, data collection and analysis procedures, and criteria to

ensure rigor. In Chapters Four and Five I present the study's main findings: Chapter Four corresponds to findings from research questions one and two, while Chapter Five presents findings from research questions three and four. Finally, in Chapter Six I will further analyze the findings and their various implications as well as suggestions for future research and study limitations.

Chapter Two – Framing the Research: Problematizing and Resisting International Development Discourse and Practices

"From the places that you have been instructed to ignore or rendered unable to see come the stories that change the world…" —Rebecca Solnit (2016)

Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine three bodies of literature informing this study. I will begin with the literature problematizing international development, which aligns with the decolonial theoretical framework of alternatives *to* development and helps describe why these stances are vital to the exploration of the development experiences of local communities. In this first section, I will also briefly review alternative developments, as they pertain to the Latin American context, to show the evolution of the international development apparatus. Overall, this first section forms the macro context of the study.

Next, I will examine the health and development of the peoples of Ecuador, focusing mostly on those of the Andean region and presenting data pertaining to indigenous populations when it is available. This will include a review of the literature of the organization, self-management, and self-determination of Andean Ecuador indigenous groups. In addition, I will present a brief investigation of the health profile of Ecuador, including empirical studies on health and development in the Andean region. This second section of literature bridges the larger context of international development with the micro context of Andean Ecuadorian beliefs and practices, through an exploration of the development context and practices within indigenous Ecuadorian communities. It also contextualizes and problematizes questions of health and well-being

as viewed through the data about health status within the research communities typically produced by multilateral global health organizations.

Finally, I will analyze indigenous notions of well-being from Ecuador, focusing on the ideas of *cosmovisión Andina* (Andean worldview) and how these concepts are critical to understanding a broadened scope of and alternate local processes for community development. Included in this section is a discussion of the indigenous concept of *sumak kawsay* (in Kichwa), sometimes referred to as *buen vivir* (in Spanish), depending on the location, culture, and ethnic make-up of the community. I will also present and analyze additional components of *cosmovisión Andina*, such as *relacionalidad*, *correspondencia*, *complementariedad*, and *reciprocidad* in this section. These views embody both outcomes of and processes for development in a holistic way that differs significantly from mainstream development discourse. As such, this final section of literature will both link to and provide a mediating framework for the larger context of decoloniality, while contesting traditional Western ideas of development outcomes and methods. Indigenous ways of knowing, and specifically *cosmovisión Andina,* simultaneously provides a micro context for understanding approaches specific to the local communities involved in this research and introduces a broader epistemological orientation that may be useful in examining the ways communities develop while negotiating exogenous influences.

Problematizing International Development and Its Alternatives

The purpose of this section is to argue that discourses and practices of international development, in their 75-year history, have perpetuated problematic and ineffective thinking about both the means and ends of development. I will start by

reviewing the literature on what we might call damages from international development, acknowledging that these damages are not universal but are significant. Next, I will show that one of the consequences of these damages has been the partial or complete 'dis-placement' of endogenous and indigenous knowledges about and practices in development, both systematically and accidentally (with the attendant consequences of this marginalization). Finally, I will discuss how alternative developments have arisen and incompletely addressed this 'dis-placement.' These alternatives include participatory development, sustainable development, human development (including Sen's capability approach), and the incompletely explicated idea of indigenous development. I will present the literature from a macro view, detailing specifics from the increasingly local Latin American, Ecuadorian, and Andean Ecuador contexts when available in the literature. As applicable, I will also reference evidence pertaining to health-related development in order to bridge it to the broad international development literature.

The Damage of International Development

As mentioned briefly in Chapter One, a pillar of international development is modernization theory. This, in turn, is based on an idea some call the Westernization thesis. That is, the dominant development discourse stresses development activities – including those which may be considered community development – based on Western ideals, practices, and priorities and, as such, are "a manifestation of the power of Western hegemony" (Kenny, Fanany, & Rahayu, 2013, p. 281). Kenny and colleagues (2013) delineate three themes upon which the Westernization thesis rest; the two most pertinent are briefly discussed here. The first theme pertains to the nature of economic development, which values societies based on their level of economic progress, with the

"most developed" countries being the "most industrialized and enterprising" (Kenny, et al, 2013, p. 282). Structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and the IMF are examples of this theme, with development critical theorists interpreting such schemes as a method of control from 'the Western world' over the postcolonial nations. The second theme is that of modernity. Modernity has been the fulcrum upon which the transition from agrarian to industrial economies has pivoted and has produced the bureaucratic structures and professionalization characteristics of development. This is notable for what Kretzmann and McKnight (1996) call the 'professional problem' it creates in which "outside experts, who tend to focus on deficits in communities, are identified as the best people to run development programs" and, in so doing, "undermine the capacities of those they are helping" (Kenny, et al, 2013, p. 284). This serves to decrease agency and stands in contrast to the purported focus of development on self-responsibility. Mignolo and Walsh (2018) describe modernity as "an imaginary of itself and of a world in which modernization and development were the engines" (p. 110). This echoes Escobar's (1995) arguments about the teleological nature of development and its discourse. Modernity, "decolonially speaking…is a fiction, a construction made by actors, institutions and languages that benefit those who build the imaginary and sustain it;" in the case of international development: multilateral development institutions and their experts (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 110).

Activists and scholars in Latin America were some of the first in the world to systematically criticize the tenets of modernization underpinning international development through their elaboration of dependency theory. South American scholars such as Cardoso and Faletto critiqued modernization theory as unable to "account for the

difficulties of the colonial legacy and the unequal international structures of trade that developing countries confronted in their path towards development" (Carballo, 2015, p. 8). These same authors directly interrogated the linear center-periphery concept of development, noting that these notions "stress the functions that underdeveloped economies perform in the world market, but overlook the socio-political factors involved in the situation of dependence" (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979, p. 18). Mignolo and Walsh (2018) go further, arguing that critiques of postmodernity "originated…in the same place the word modernity appeared first: France…In other words, the West's particular ontology of history continues to assert its universality" (p. 119).

Further, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) writes about the ways in which ideas about history, when unexamined, further 'Otherness' and exclude from the discourse those who can, by whatever means, be shown to be less than fully human. In this we can see parallels to the infantilizing processes of a neocolonial international development. Indeed, these processes are built into the operating systems of institutions such as the World Bank and IMF: while almost all of their activities take place in postcolonial nations, they are led by representatives from industrialized nations, chosen "behind closed doors…[without] a prerequisite…[of] any experience in the developing world" (Stiglitz, 2002, p.19). Thus, the teleology of development to which Escobar (1995) refers: those invested in development crafted the fiction of underdevelopment based in their own countries' likenesses, and declared that 'natives' would be reformed through development, while endlessly reinforcing the distance between the reformers and those who would be reformed by continuously nurturing the differences between them. This construct forms the premise for why any examination of development must be grounded

in a decolonial examination of power relationships and why alternatives *to* development (not alternative developments) must examine local responses to and problematization of development interventions.

Marginalization of Indigenous Knowledges: The Epistemic Violence of Development

I turn now to the ways in which activities stemming from dominant development practices have often resulted in 'dis-placement' or appropriation of endogenous knowledges. As stated above, one of my goals with this dissertation is to counter the single epistemology present in U.S. higher education teaching of global health and development. This requires that we 're-place' indigenous (or endogenous) knowledges about development in the academy. Further, an investigation into the ways in which indigenous knowledges produce ideals and processes about development helps to fill a gap in the international development literature which Escobar (1995) refers to as "much-needed local ethnographies of development and modernity" (p. 17). Such investigations as this could hold the potential for better understanding both the effects of the dominant (exogenous) development discourse and the place-based, endogenous motivations for and methods of development which the dominant discourse has marginalized. In this way, "instead of searching for grand alternative models" to development (as we will see has been attempted many times), one can interrogate development's founding premises through the elaboration of "alternative representations and practices in concrete local settings" (Escobar, 1995, p. 19). This can also be thought of in terms of understanding the motivations and actions of those who may be working "for the possibility of an otherwise" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 17).

Epistemological ‘dis-placement’ began as the development field consolidated into an institution through the proliferation of experts, organizations (academic and programmatic), and knowledge communities imbued with the power inherent in the development discourse. Knowledge produced in these groups circulated through linked networks so that “poverty, illiteracy, and even hunger became the basis of a lucrative industry for planners, experts, and civil servants;” this was not “an innocent effort on behalf of the poor” but rather a carefully crafted system of management (Escobar, 1995, p. 46). Formation of development professionals is a key feature of the creation and persistence of development as a discourse. Experts instilled with the correct thinking from academic study or experience in the developed world assessed, observed, measured, planned, and intervened in the problem objects created by the system. “Development proceeded by creating ‘abnormalities’…which it would later treat and reform. Approaches that could have had positive effects in terms of easing material constraints became, linked to this type of rationality, instruments of power and control” (Escobar, 1995, pp. 41-42). Since a deficits-orientation is promoted, it follows that “as long as development aims to transform people’s thinking, the villager must be someone who doesn’t understand” (Pigg, 1992, p. 17, 20, as quoted in Escobar, 1995, p. 49).

This deficits-orientation is an important point of ‘dis-placement.’ It is prominent not only in the field of development but also in health fields. In one recent critique, Horton (2014) noted that global health has become inextricably intertwined with the interests of its multinational institution partners; he describes global health as, “a discipline in which those who claim the right to study, speak, argue, publish, perform, and judge…are part of an apparatus of power, self-interest and control that denies justice

and dignity to billions of people worldwide" (p. 1705). Concerns of health have been subsumed within the larger development apparatus, in part because of the positioning of communities' health matters as problems, defined by the West and to be solved by experts' solutions. Moreover, in development in general, and in health development specifically, only certain kinds of solutions (e.g. biomedical approaches or those based on curative care of individuals) are considered appropriate. The predominance of these approaches in dealing with problems marginalizes the expertise of those who are experiencing the issues, thus maintaining a cycle of passive clientelism.

Kretzmann and McKnight (1996) describe the damages from such deficits-focused assessment and planning in the context of health-related community development. They explain that an overwhelming focus on needs and problems becomes the entire truth around which the creation of solutions rotates. As a result, "public, private and non-profit human service systems, often supported by university research and foundation funding, translate the programs into local activities that teach people the nature and extent of their problems, and the value of [provided human] service[s] as the answer to their problems" (p. 1). Thus, countries and specific populations within countries (e.g., women) are represented as having 'needs and problems' but few choices and limited freedom to act, which is an ascribed lack of agency and a reductionism of postcolonial nation situations. Professional education is another location where labels (e.g., program 'beneficiaries') are taught and learned, perpetuating a system of objectification. These dynamics are often hidden, as the person is turned into a 'case' in the name of education. Labeling is not neutral; it is an outgrowth of a development system that holds power to influence categories, grant resources, and establish

institutions. Coloniality, in this form (and others) "is shorthand for *coloniality of power*" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 141, emphasis in original). These activities shape an outlook on people in postcolonial nations and the ways in which professionals and their programs interact with them.

Since 1978's Declaration of Alma-Ata, which outlined global health goals emerging from the first International Conference on Primary Health Care, primary and community health fields worldwide have emphasized a "right and duty" of people "to participate individually and collectively in the planning and implementation of their healthcare" (UN, 1978, para. 4). This interest in the health of 'the people' (including indigenous peoples) is related to both local politics and the demand of major development organizations. Indeed, participation is an oft-touted bridge by which to connect the goals of culturally diverse groups and health development programs. However, Aizenberg (2014), in her writing on indigenous women's health participation in Bolivia, argues that "in practice [this bridging was] a way of inculcating cultural values regarding health that were more in line with modern medicine" reinforcing existing ways of thinking about and designing health policies and programs (p. 93). Unfortunately, the training of professionals in health development was often "based on the belief that certain behaviors of Indigenous peoples…must be modified in order to meet modern medicine views to optimize their practices with the aim of obtaining improvements" in population health (Aizenberg, 2014, p. 93).

Despite their 2008 Constitution which guarantees access to healthcare for all residents and a 2013 National Development Plan which centers on concepts of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir*, Ecuador's healthcare resources have remained focused on biomedical

and top-down, episodic care (Rasch & Bywater, 2014). The legacy of neoliberal economic policy from the 1980s, which decimated Ecuador's healthcare system through systematic divestment, has replicated itself, no longer "a matter of money, but [of] the fact that the biomedical model continues to function as the dominant health discourse within the healthcare realm" (Rasch & Bywater, 2014, p. 920). Paralleling the deficits-model and proliferation of experts discussed above, Rasch and Bywater (2014) note that in the Ecuadorian Ministry of Health (MOH) model "interventions are developed, administered, and overseen by MOH administrators as dictated by the biomedical paradigm, which posits that only physicians, researchers, and other experts possess the training and know-how to solve health problems" (p. 921). There is some evidence (Rasch & Bywater, 2014) that a biomedical view predominates more fully in regions with a small indigenous population, perhaps suggesting a more effective convergence of *SK/BV* and health-related development in areas with majority indigenous peoples, though data on this are still evolving.

A knowledge-subsuming approach can be contrasted to epistemologies of the South and what Kretzmann and McKnight (1996) refer to as viewing 'citizens as experts.' Santos (2014) calls this an "epistemology of absent knowledges" which asks us to recognize and honor that "practices not based on science, rather than being ignorant practices, are practices of alternative, rival knowledges" (p. 157). Viewing these knowledges as practical and effective is sensible because they "collapse cause and intention; [and] rest on a worldview based on action" (Santos, 2014, p. 158). To reorient development theories and practices towards a fuller respect of these epistemologies of the South seems an important activity given development's purported aims of enhancing the

living conditions of people in communities. According to Escobar (1995), this reorientation is difficult because "the coming into dominance of modern economics meant that many other existing conversations or models were appropriated, suppressed, or overlooked" (p. 62). Therefore, it is important to explore at the local level what Escobar (1995) calls the "rich texture of resistance" to development in order to understand ways in which local communities act against and/or incorporate into their own models various development languages and practices (p. 48). This resistance can be physical, epistemological, and/or intellectual (incorporating the discourse of the dominant international development paradigm into community development activities in a form of re-appropriation), depending on the local context, history, and culture (Escobar, 1995). Indeed, as Mignolo and Walsh (2018) note, the "praxis of living and knowledges that have been devalued and demonized are resurging today, even if the devaluation continues" (p. 173). This means we must look for this praxis of living and knowledges. We must work to make these other constructions visible, while resisting the temptation to make them universal; what works within one community may not work in another, despite a desire to scale and replicate. Asking questions about meaning and resistance when it comes to development is an important first step in enhancing the visibility of indigenous ways of knowing and doing within a development discourse which has largely excluded them. However, extending indigenous epistemologies into other communities without dialogue or permission would be akin to replicating appropriation and domination. My hope in this study is to work with local communities to illustrate how community-driven development can happen outside of a pathology-model and can utilize endogenous knowledges and practices to counter paternalistic development methods.

A Series of Development Alternatives

Over time, development economics grew within academia and, in 1979, Dudley Seers, a British development economist, advocated that it be incorporated into the field of (international) development studies, with the hope that doing so would imbue it with social, political, and cultural considerations (Escobar, 1995). However, despite minor changes along the way, the discourse of international development created in the period from 1945 to 1955 has remained largely unchanged and resulted in a "succession of development strategies and substrategies… always within the confines of the same discursive space" (Escobar, 1995, p. 42). This is critically important to note and explains why this study is not framed by the concepts of participatory, sustainable, human, or even indigenous development. Such alternative developments still remain defined by and executed within the construct of the international development apparatus itself, the parent discourse, which limits their ability to contribute to the acknowledgement and honoring of endogenous knowledges and practices. The means and ends of these developments are already prescribed by the discourse, thus precluding the introduction of alternative discourses, including the possibility that social change "could be conceived of not only in economic terms but as a whole life project" (Escobar, 1995, p. 83). As Santos (2014) puts is, "no matter how many qualifiers are added to the concept of development, development keeps intact the idea of infinite growth and the unstoppable development of productive forces" (p. 23). By contrast, to undertake research on alternatives *to* development is to contribute to the creation or elevation of new discourses which can challenge the domination of development based on Western ideals of economic growth and modernization. Despite this, a series of alternative developments has evolved and

become elaborated. I will review each of these briefly below because I believe it is important, in the context of this study, to understand their aims and their inadequacies; specifics pertaining to Latin America are noted where available.

Participatory development. First appearing in the late 1950s and early 1960s, participatory development waned in the 1970s and then realized a resurgence of interest in the 1990s. During the 1990s, Robert Chambers is often cited as one of the first scholars to explicate participatory development, in the context of participatory rural appraisal (PRA), and to contrast it to previous rural development approaches. According to Chambers (1994), PRA developed in the late 1980s and early 1990s was introduced and used primarily by non-governmental organizations and government field organizations working in rural development, and took as its objective empowerment of local people through facilitation of their participation in development assessments and programs. He describes PRA approaches as an evolution from "our past ignorance" in which "agricultural scientists, medical staff, teachers, officials, extension agents, and [other development professionals] have believed that their knowledge was superior and that the knowledge of farmers and other local people was inferior" (Chambers, 1994, p. 963). However, overtones of the neocolonial space which development still occupied – in which local people could be infantilized and needed guidance from 'reformed' officials – can be found in Chambers' (1994) comment that "the ignorance and inabilities of rural people were then not just an illusion; they were an artifact of outsiders' behavior and attitudes" (p. 963).

A decade later, Mansuri and Rao (2004) report that the World Bank's investment in participatory development programs had risen from approximately $325 million in

1996 to $2 billion in 2003. Agency and power-sharing are ostensibly explicit objectives of community-driven development. However, there are important consequences of the uncritical application of community participation to development work, specifically that "most of the literature on development policy uses the term *community* without much qualification to denote a culturally and politically homogenous social system or one that at least implicitly is internally cohesive and more or less harmonious…" (Mansuri & Rao, 2004, p. 8). This is particularly problematic for participatory development, which seeks to involve those who are traditionally excluded or marginalized. As the concept of participation has evolved, development multinationals such as the World Bank have tended to understand "participatory interventions as a response to a development failure" and failures of civil society[8] (Mansuri & Rao, 2012, p. 49). With this assertion, participatory development is placed squarely in the realm of political science and economics; development apparatuses themselves can be absolved of responsibility for participatory development failures and instead civil society can shoulder the blame. That is, despite the actual efforts or gains of civil society organizations, this conception of participatory development can shift failures to a local level without an explicit examination of the power, resources, or discourse inherent in the international development apparatus.

Various problems stem from conceiving of and executing participatory development from within the mainstream development discourse: maintenance of decision making and control of resources at the central level, thus making participation

[8] In this case, civil society refers to both non-governmental organizations working on development issues in a particular location, as well as affinity or issue-based organizations, or collectives of community members engaging with development issues.

nominal only; a conception of participation in a one-size-fits-all academic sense, for the purposes of scalability and management; or a viewing of participation as a "bureaucratic problem" needing an institutional solution without accounting for political and cultural factors (Escobar, 1995, p. 141). If participation is to be a means toward truly understanding the economic and other development needs of communities, the ability to exercise one's political and civil participation rights requires active discussion, debate, dissent, and criticism, not nominal passive engagement (Sen, 1999).

Sustainable development. A full discussion of the ways in which sustainable development is defined and applied is beyond the scope of this review. However, I believe it is important to briefly introduce sustainable development as another chapter in the evolution of alternative developments. Initially emerging in 1987 with the UN *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future*, sustainable development was defined as development which "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (UN, 1987, p. 16). The report's authors argued that development and the environments in which development took place were inseparable: the "environment does not exist as a sphere separate from human actions, ambitions, and needs" (UN, 1987, p. 7). However, this birth of sustainable development concepts, via the *Our Common Future* report, was critiqued for its Western-centric orientation. Escobar (1995) argued that the message contained within the report was that "sustainable development would make possible the eradication of poverty and the protection of the environment in one single feat of Western rationality" (p. 192). Sustainable development launched from a perception of the world originating from Western power centers and made its case, in part, by shifting visibility

and blame for environmental degradation associated with development away from large polluters and onto postcolonial nations. It also appropriated the idea of nature as an asset to be managed and a force to be controlled, rather than employing an indigenous view of nature as having its own agency and rights (discussed below). In many indigenous communities in Ecuador, defending the rights of the environment while seeking a truly sustainable development has been a decades-long project with numerous successes as well as setbacks (Andolina, Laurie, & Radcliffe, 2009; Armijos, 2013; Vanhulst & Beling, 2014).

In concluding this section, I want to note that the language of sustainable development persists in the adoption in late 2015 of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This set of seventeen broad goals intended to "end poverty, fight inequality and injustice, and tackle climate change by 2030" updates and replaces the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were published in 2000 as a fifteen-year plan for comprehensive poverty eradication (UNDP, 2015). According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), "the SDGs and the broader sustainability agenda, go much further than the MDGs, addressing the root causes of poverty and the universal need for development that works for all people" (UNDP, 2015). Sustainable development, as a post-MDG term, refers to an integrated approach to multiple development objectives in which the UNDP will collaborate with member nations by "*bringing our extensive programming experience to bear*…to develop their national SDG efforts" (UNDP, 2015, emphasis added). Though the language of sustainable development has shifted somewhat between the MDGs and the SDGs, it still appears to

reproduce, intentionally or through cooptation by multinational development organizations, the broader neocolonial relationships from which it originated.

Human development. The human development paradigm, emerging in the 1990s and gaining visibility through the UNDP's *Human Development Reports*, is another alternative development. Human development refers to "the process of enlarging people's choices" and attempts to expand the purpose of development beyond economic considerations and into a broader discussion of options available to people in multiple areas of life (UNDP, 1990, p. 10; Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). The UNDP's *Human Development Reports* were conceived of by Mahbub ul Haq, a Pakistani economist, who wanted to forward an alternative to the nearly-exclusive focus on income and economic growth highlighted in the World Bank's *World Development Reports* (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). As Alkire and Deneulin (2009) write of human development, "no aspect of the development model falls outside of its scope, but [the] point of reference remains the widening of people's choices and the enrichment of their lives" (p. 26). Some characteristics of human development include putting people at the center of development's concerns; enlarging the choices people have, not just their incomes; and focusing on equality, sustainability, productivity, and empowerment (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009).

Amartya Sen's (1999) research and writings on development (including his conception of development as freedom) are major contributions to the broad human development paradigm, in which development decision-makers are asked to consider the agency and capabilities of people who may have previously been constructed as objects of development policies and plans. The goal is to build human capabilities by investing in

people so that those people are able to use their capabilities more fully and effectively; from these principles emerged Sen's capability approach (CA) (Sen, 1999; Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). Sen's (1999) introduction of the CA was a response to economists and philosophers, the former of which used utility to measure people's well-being and the latter of which espoused Rawls' theory of justice based on access to primary goods as the assessment for well-being. A full discussion of the various original arguments to which CA formed a response is too lengthy for this section. Essentially, in response to Rawls in particular, and in an attempt to convince his fellow economists, Sen argues that it is much more useful to apply CA as a comparative approach for assessing what resources are needed for people to live well according to their own definition. That is, to shift "primary attention away from *means* [such as income]…to *ends* that people have reason to pursue, and, correspondingly, to the *freedoms* to be able to satisfy these ends" (Sen, 1999, p. 90, emphasis in original).

The UN's HDRs have repeatedly shown (and Sen echoes) that "there is no straightforward positive link between a country's material wealth," which ostensibly would include increased choices or availability of choices, and "how well its people live" (Deneulin, 2014, p. 29). If the normative language of neoclassical economics is applied, so that poverty or 'being undeveloped' refers to income poverty, the solutions that flow from this valuing "will typically focus on raising people's incomes and pushing people above the…poverty line" (Deneulin, 2014, p. 31). However if CA, as an alternate normative language, is applied, the situation is framed much differently in terms of what beings and doings individuals have reason to value, and whether they have both the agency and opportunity to engage in these. While fitting with a human development

view, this albeit basic view of CA sets up a significant tension between the individual and the state, and does not adequately address the notion of community and the lingering colonial matrix of power.

Recently, there have been critiques of the application of both the human development paradigm and its capability approach in Latin America. Scholars have argued that human development is a “new mainstream perspective on development” which shifts the measurement of development outcomes from GDP to multidimensional indices such as the human development index (HDI) (Carballo, 2015, p. 10). People are incorporated into these development strategies, but the strategies soon “became the norm in all development agencies and in national governments” and served as a mechanism through which Latin American indigenous notions of development (such as *sumak kawsay*) were coopted and cherry-picked for inclusion within the human development paradigm (Carballo, 2015, p. 11). For instance, Ecuador’s 2008 Constitution and 2013 National Development Plan outlined *sumak kawsay* or *buen vivir* as the country’s goal for and roadmap to development. However, “throughout the document, and despite its attempts to part ways from previous notions and practices of development, several connections are made to Amartya Sen’s work and the ideas of Human Development” (Carballo, 2015, p. 15). Partridge (2016) notes that the implementation of indigenous self-determination that the Constitution intended “has encountered difficulties, with more success in some fields (e.g., indigenous rights) than in others (e.g., food sovereignty)” (p. 347). Sen (1999) has discussed how national policies often serve as arbiters of what people have reason to value with regard to development and it seems this challenge also applies to Ecuador. That is, there is a limiting delocalization inherent in national policy

documents. It is my intention to employ concepts such as agency and freedom from Sen's CA as a mediating framework for postcolonialism in the course of this study, as a way of moving towards a praxis of decoloniality. Bringing Escobar's, Mignolo & Walsh's, and Sen's work on development into conversation advances the development literature in the South American context by extending it into health. However, I would also like to demonstrate how and in what ways the CA varies significantly from indigenous notions of development (discussed below), which may align to produce an alternative to development.

Indigenous development. 'Indigenous development' is not a universally accepted term and has been defined in various ways. One definition, submitted by the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (AIPP) Foundation to the ninth session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues defines indigenous development as "the growth or progress of an indigenous community in their originality or within the context of their ethnic identity in a holistic way" (AIPP, 2010, p. 2). Officially, the UN has not published a definition of indigenous development but does refer to the concept of 'development-with-identity' (sometimes, 'development with culture and identity,' or ethnodevelopment) in its 2009 report on the state of the world's indigenous peoples. Development-with-identity is defined as

> a process that includes strengthening of indigenous peoples, harmony and sustained interaction with their environment, sound management of natural resources and territories, the creation and exercise of authority, and respect for the rights and values of indigenous peoples, including cultural, economic, social and institutional rights, in accordance with their own worldview and governance (UN, 2009, p. 64).

Put somewhat differently, the UN also chooses to focus on what it considers substantive issues related to development for indigenous peoples (rather than process), noting that these include access to lands, territories, and other natural resources; participation; and free, prior, and informed consent for development endeavors involving their communities (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2008, pp. 13-18). These align with key characteristics of indigenous development identified by other authors (Andolina, 2012; Iturralde & Krotz, 1996; Radcliffe & Pequeño, 2010): the need for increased resources (beyond natural resources) and the desire for self-determination. Self-determination implies a willingness on the part of non-indigenous peoples to accept and honor the rationales for and processes of development based in indigenous knowledges.

Although there are many similarities between development issues faced by indigenous peoples worldwide, I will turn in the next section to the history of indigenous peoples and development in Ecuador, focusing mainly on the Andean region known as the Highlands, a part of which forms the site of this study. I will then link this section of the literature review to the final section in this Chapter, in which I investigate South American and Ecuadorian concepts of individual and collective well-being.

Indigenous Peoples, Development, and Health in Ecuador

Indigenous Organizing and Self-Determination in Recent History

Broadly speaking, in Latin America, "all indigenous movements aspire to create a zone in which indigenous norms, authorities, and cultures are allowed to develop without interference from the state or nonindigenous actors" (Van Cott, 2010, p. 388). In Ecuador, marked indigenous organizing intensified in the 1960s and 1970s. At that time, "government policy toward indigenous groups was ambivalent:" claims to ancestral lands

and communal governance generally had government support, though the government's broader policy was "underpinned by racist assumptions about the inferior contributions of indigenous peoples to national development" (Andolina, Laurie, & Radcliffe, 2009, p. 25). Until 1986, when the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE) was established, indigenous movements were organized by separate regions and loosely affiliated with each other or international NGOs. In Ecuador, indigenous political movements have now succeeded in obtaining seats in the national congress as well as cabinet posts (Andolina, Laurie, & Radcliffe, 2009). Though a hybridity of local and global concerns emerges in an analysis of Ecuadorian indigenous organizations and activities, most "have demanded ethnic autonomy and direct participation, greater socioeconomic equity, and self-directed development," often framed in anti-neoliberal terms (Andolina, Laurie, & Radcliffe, 2009, p. 30).

Several authors chronicle the history and evolution of the political organization and dialogue of indigenous Ecuadorians', along with their participation in and responses to development concerning their communities (Andolina, 2012; Armijos, 2013; Bebbington, 1993; Bebbington & Perreault, 1999; Beck & Mijeski, 2000; Becker, 2012; Radcliffe & Pequeño, 2010); many authors utilize case studies linked to this history (Andolina, 2012; Armijos, 2013; Bebbington & Perreault, 1999; Radcliffe & Pequeño, 2010). Becker (2012) provides the most historical view, through document analysis and interviews, tracing the written history of *indigenismo* in Ecuador back to 1894 and linking it with the efforts of other Latin American countries known for their indigenous movements, such as Mexico and Peru. Becker (2012) argues that Ecuador's indigenous movement started promisingly, was one of the first to endorse the Inter-American Indian

Institute, and contributed a great deal to Latin American indigenous studies. However, he criticizes the movement as not being radical enough, based upon historical evidence of Whites within Ecuador framing indigenous movements paternalistically, by noting that indigenous peoples were subject to exploitation which they could not resist and therefore "governments needed to include these backward populations" in their development plans (Becker, 2012, p. 47). This view positioned indigenous peoples as inferior to Whites and *mestizos*[9] and continued as the dominant vein of development discourse in Ecuador until indigenous groups began in the 1920s to join with others from neighboring countries and recognize a regional movement towards increased self-determination.

Within this movement from paternalism to activism is where most other authors pick up the storyline. The creation of the important CONAIE in 1986, with its mission of "the search for our own identity, or…the forging of an identity that continuously adjusts itself to this society and this proposed democracy," stood both in contrast to and in alignment with evolving regional and global development agendas (Bebbington, 1993, p. 279). Through CONAIE, the advocacy message of indigenous Ecuadorians solidified; they began to claim "that because indigenous peoples are both Ecuadorian and Indian they are entitled to both community self-determination and rights of access to state resources" (Bebbington, 1993, p. 280). This statement mirrors the UN's Declaration of Indigenous Peoples' Rights and other later UN statements, recognizing the right of indigenous peoples to "development in accordance with their own needs and interests" and "the fundamental importance of the right to self-determination…[to] freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous

[9] The term *mestizo* refers to an individual of mixed Spanish and indigenous descent.

Issues, 2008, pp. 5 & 6). In contrast to the long history of indigenous movements in Latin America, it is notable that the UN only adopted its Declaration of Indigenous Peoples' Rights in 2007.

Armijos (2013) and Andolina (2012) echo much of this history, illustrated with case studies on water issues, though the former focuses on drinking water (and sanitation) while the latter focuses on irrigation. Both contextualize their research in the history of Ecuadorian indigenous movements, discussing key moments in the establishment and advancement of indigenous peoples' organization and protest within Ecuador. Armijos tackles the issue of drinking water management in the northern indigenous communities surrounding Otavalo. She situates her study within an environment in which Ecuador was pressured to demonstrate, in the context of the involvement of foreign aid, that it was becoming a "modern state;" this led it to adopt the project known as "*mestizaje*" which sought to make indigenous populations more like European society by "educating people, providing medical services and improving hygiene" (Armijos, 2013, p. 88). It was through these programs that state control of indigenous areas and of the messages circulated about indigenous peoples came to be grounded (some might say, reinforced) in a discourse of deprivation and backwardness (Armijos, 2013). This created a justification for state control over problems that could interfere with its development and positioned the indigenous population of Ecuador as subordinate. Relevant to my exploration of health-related development, hygiene (or cleanliness) came to represent the primary tangible goal for numerous rural campaigns through which the Ecuadorian government entered into bilateral and multilateral agreements with outside development agencies that facilitated power over the health of indigenous peoples. These programs often coopted

indigenous labor – and thus the idea of participation – to create needed infrastructure, serving the dual role of demonstrating both economic efficiency (cheaper and easier construction) and a productive social structure in terms understandable to outsiders. Armijos (2013) writes, “there was an underlying notion that collective work and effort, not of the ‘unorganized’ type that was believed to exist in the *comunidades* [communities], but…guided by the program, would aid the formation of more productive systems” (p. 92).

Andolina (2012), in his work on the value of water in the central highlands of Ecuador (Cañar), also outlines how development intending to involve indigenous peoples may actually have the effect of reproducing colonial relationships and result in unintended deleterious effects to communities, rather than improvements. By linking a brief review of neoliberal development theory to his political economy case study, Andolina (2012) shows that the evolution of capabilities-focused (human) development, while involving indigenous groups as never before, nonetheless serves to reproduce subject-orientation by relying on the demonstration of certain criteria after which indigenous peoples are “deemed ready for autonomy” by the social neoliberal development organizations which work with them (p. 21). He notes that grassroots involvement in development and the importance of community level social institutions are hallmarks of social neoliberalism, but that this construct contains contradictions: it dictates market outcomes as integral to the meaning of successful development and ignores relational values or other meanings situated in or stemming from an indigenous worldview (Andolina, 2012). Through his study, as he charts the community’s involvement with the state, national and international NGOs, and with each other, a

picture emerges of the unintended consequences of indigenous mobilization around market-defined value. For instance, the indigenous custom of reciprocity through *mingas* (collective work parties), as well as the importance of social ties, deteriorated as young adults, unable to meet the criteria of 'success' as defined in economic terms, emigrated out of the community in search of other opportunities. Resulting labor scarcity and decreased financial contributions to pooled community-management systems created a feedback loop that further eroded the ability of the indigenous Cañaris to demonstrate their ability to 'develop.' In addition, economic pressures to use agricultural inputs such as fertilizer had unintended health consequences, as did social and economic losses related to emigration which undermined the traditional collective fabric of the community and its ability to provide mutual support (Andolina, 2012). These studies outline the mechanisms by which social relations intersect with indigenous practices of mutual support and are important for my study's third research question in which I attempt to understand the participatory processes used by co-researchers within their communities to achieve grassroots development goals.

Resistance to Appropriation of Indigenous Knowledges: Countering Social Capital

The concepts of self-determination and self-management of development endeavors are common to the description of methods in which indigenous peoples are genuinely involved with the development projects and decisions that affect their lives. Andolina (2012), Bebbington (1993), and Radcliffe and Pequeño (2010) all outline and critique the evolution of theories of development from the perspective of indigenous peoples of Ecuador. Many of these authors also echo the decolonial approach taken in this study. For instance, Andolina (2012) writes, "informal, subjective assessments

underpin the coloniality of development, because development providers commonly act as superiors to project recipients without acknowledgement because altruistic sentiments mask the superiority" (p. 5). Even 'empowerment' discourses in development promote an image of indigenous peoples as powerless to do something before they receive assistance, thus limiting the abilities of the very people whose capacities they claim to bolster (Andolina, 2012).

Andolina's (2010) argument that development is often rooted in unexamined ethnocentrism is an affirmation of Bebbington's (1993) earlier argument: that attempts to incorporate indigenous knowledge into agrarian development in highland Ecuador "must be situated in social, political, and cultural structures" lest alternative visions of development undermine community self-determination (p. 278). Bebbington (1993) wrote about the Green Revolution in Ecuador, a precursor to modern-day sustainable development movements, but noted at the time that the most important distinction between indigenous agricultural knowledge and that forwarded by the Green Revolution was self-management: "the notion that local space, and modernization within it, should be administered and negotiated by Indian organizations at the communal and supra-communal levels" (p. 283). Seventeen years later, Radcliffe and Pequeño (2010) acknowledge that, while indigenous peoples have historically been subjects of development, recent Ecuadorian policies at the national, multilateral, bilateral, and non-governmental levels have recognized the rights of indigenous groups to retain decision-making power over their own development; this largely resulted from their own demands to land rights and human rights.

Today's indigenous self-management has evolved from historical contexts and indigenous responses to these contexts. For instance, Armijos (2013) provides a detailed history of the water usage association (WUA), which emerged in the late 1970s and was "envisioned as an institution that…would strengthen the rural *comunidades'* [communities'] organizational capacity and thus their ability to participate in and benefit from the national economic and social structures available in the country" (p. 93). The WUAs were an outgrowth of the *cabildo,* or community council system, which had existed since the late 1930s in rural areas; both provide examples of how local indigenous communities self-organized in a sophisticated manner to serve local needs and desires (Armijos, 2013). The importance of such institutions is further explained by illustrating both the gains they offer communities in terms of their own development and the ways in which the leaders of these local organizations intersect with and flow into and out of local political leadership. For instance, indigenous communities were able to adapt state policies which "originally aimed at incorporating [them]" such that they were instead "able not only to increase control over their water resources but also to legitimize local ways of managing them" (Armijos, 2013, p. 94). As a result, communities were better able to exercise their rights to water, in this case, and more broadly to the decision-making and construction phases of other development projects.

Armijos (2013) seems to refer to an example of the establishment, growth, and use of a specific form of human capital – social capital – and its discourse within development, though she does not name it as such nor ground it in such theory. Briefly, human capital is a concept which emerged within economics to indicate the collection of traits found within an individual which represent resources which can be leveraged,

individually or in a group such as a business, to produce economic (or, later, other) value. A basic distinction between human capital and social capital is that the former resides in individuals while the latter resides within the social relations between and among individuals (Roberts & Lacey, 2008). Some track the early emergence of the concept of social capital back to Alexis de Toqueville's writings in *Democracy in America*, published in 1835, in which he analyzed the democratic wins that could emerge from citizens joining forces to fight for what they valued (Ferragina &Arrigoni, 2017). The definition of social capital is still contested despite its frequent use in the development literature. In 1988, James Coleman defined it functionally as "a variety of entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of actors…within the structure" (p. S98). Coleman's work on social capital is cited frequently in the education field. Pierre Bourdieu is often noted for his critical analysis of social capital, drawing attention to the ways in which the concept can be used to perpetuate social inequities, which is relevant to this study. Bourdieu (1985) defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (p. 248, as cited in Portes, 1998, p. 3).

Social capital is a problematic concept in a critique of development, however, because it does not challenge the prevailing goals of development and oversimplifies through a "simple diagnosis of the country's problems" (too little social capital); this reinforces the potential for paternalism in implementing development (Portes, 1998, p. 18). Moreover, like participatory development, explaining insufficient development by

relating it to a lack of or inadequate use of social capital blames communities and their members while overlooking the structures reproducing relationships of power (often rooted in colonialism) that enable or disable effective participation in social networks. According to Kay (2006), “proponents of social capital generally do not advocate the radical political mobilization of the rural poor. Quite the opposite, policies or measures of social capital mobilization are often used to prevent tackling the far more important problem of the unequal distribution of assets and other forms of capital” (pp. 462-463).

However, it is quite common to encounter a social capital lens in the international development literature and among the foundations for practices of major development multinationals such as the World Bank. Bebbington and Perreault (1999) incorporate both Coleman and Putnam’s writings on social capital theory and the ways in which it works within civic societies, in reporting on their work in Guamote, a small town in the central Highlands of Ecuador. They posit that the move from vertical community integration through the colonial *hacienda* land and labor system to more horizontal community integration was achieved through the accumulation of social capital by local indigenous communities, who collaborated with other community institutions to exercise their rights to land reacquisition afforded through new national legislation. Doing so required them to “be organized into formally constituted communities…which were very few in Guamote in the 1970s” (Bebbington & Perreault, 1999, p. 407). These initial collaborations provided the impetus for the forging of Indian federations, which became a new form of community-level social capital. Foreshadowing what Tsing (2005) refers to as friction, the authors note that gaps in the research exist around how social capital is created because the “relationships between civil society, good government, and economic

performance…remain unspecified, as does their possible variation across society and space" (Bebbington & Perreault, 1999, p. 400). This finding, combined with Escobar's call for the elaboration of local ethnographies of alternatives *to* development (1995), aligns with my research goal to highlight the processes employed by indigenous communities in determining and managing their own development, in addition to the outcomes of those processes.

Health and Development

The way in which global health data are collected, analyzed, and presented is, as I have argued, a further replication of the colonial matrix of power that allows experts to frame the health conditions of communities and entire nations in totalizing terms and through a lens of modernization. Nevertheless, my own socialization in public and global health, as well as the Western context of my doctoral studies, press me to present this data as part of the literature review. It is also important to present this data in order to enable later critique of it and the ways in contrasts to broader views of well-being that emerged from the study. In Chapter Three, I present additional health data specific to the four rural parishes of Cantón Pedro Moncayo in which the study took place.

The health profile of Ecuador is typical of a country in epidemiologic transition, dealing with both diseases of poverty (communicable diseases and those affected by lack of infrastructure) and diseases of increasing longevity and evolving lifestyles (non-communicable or chronic diseases). Illustrating this mix are the top three causes of years of life lost (YLLs) from premature death in Ecuador: lower respiratory infections, road injuries, and ischemic heart disease (IHME, 2013). In fact, compared to the YLLs of other countries in the same region, Ecuador's burden is significantly higher than the mean

in the categories of lower respiratory infections, road injuries, and congenital anomalies (IHME, 2013). Ecuador's maternal mortality ratio is 87 per 100,000 births and its infant mortality rate is 18.4 per 1,000 live births (WHO, 2015; World Bank, 2015). These data compare to Latin American regional averages of 67 per 100,000 for maternal mortality and 15.2 per 1,000 for infant mortality (World Bank, 2015a; World Bank, 2015b). Indigenous peoples in Ecuador (and elsewhere) are known to have poorer health outcomes than their non-indigenous counterparts, including higher rates of maternal mortality and women's morbidity (Aizenberg, 2014). Chronic malnutrition is twice as prevalent among Ecuadorian indigenous populations as the country's overall average (WHO, 2013). In addition, rural-urban health disparities can affect indigenous populations. For instance, the proportion of Ecuador's urban population with access to clean water and improved sanitation is 93 and 87 percent, respectively. In contrast, the proportion of the rural population – where most indigenous peoples live – with access to clean water and improved sanitation[10] is 76 and 81 percent, respectively (WHO/UNICEF, 2015). These health indicators, though important for context, favor a way of thinking about, monitoring, and evaluating health and illness that is decidedly Western and positivist. Part of the purpose of this study is to understand what rural Andean community members consider to be indicators of health, well-being, and 'good living,' while positing that these points of view are not often taken into account or regularly monitored in the same ways as those favored by the global health and development field.

Most scholars writing about indigenous or community development in Ecuador have focused on issues of water, other natural resources (and resource extraction),

[10] According to the World Health Organization (n.d.), improved sanitation refers to any facility that "hygienically separates human excreta from human contact."

tourism, micro-enterprise, the flower (roses) industry, and geography or political economy. Few empirical studies about health and community development from an endogenous or alternatives *to* development perspective have been published. Some unpublished masters' theses exist: Cárdenas Oleas (2015) focuses on quinoa production and women's well-being; Dandy (2013) investigates motherhood, autonomy, and anti-mining activism; and Hammar (2014) writes about her study of mothers' healthcare and food practices. Additional studies pertaining to Ecuador focus on health development of Amazonian indigenous communities (Cartwright, 2014) and on indigenous mobilization for community development in general (Nasmith, 2015; Romero, 2015).

Andean Worldview, Well-Being, and Grassroots Development

The purpose of this third section of the literature review is to explore the contributions of *cosmovisión Andina*, or Andean worldview, to the notions of well-being, both individual and collective, and their links to community development. I start with revisiting the limits of the alternative development called human development and of Sen's capability approach more specifically. Next, I introduce the concepts and principles of Andean worldview and analyze their implications in order to propose a wider picture of what international and health development could encompass and through what practices and ways of being it could accomplish its goals. In keeping with a critical decolonial orientation and in order to honor epistemologies of the South, it is important to me to use definitions of key concepts from South American scholars or peoples. Moreover, it was critical to me to understand the intended meanings of these concepts and how they have been discussed in the literature before I entered into fieldwork in which I asked co-researchers to explain their own meanings. In this way, my goal was to

analyze the similarities and differences in how these concepts are intended by their originators and how they may be appropriately or inappropriately incorporated into wider development policies and practices. These knowledges were critical to investigating, within indigenous communities, how health-related development takes place, while resisting the documented tendency to appropriate these endogenous notions into Western-centric paradigms.

Limits of Human Development and Capability Approach

As we have seen, the introduction of the capability approach (CA) was in response to ideals of well-being and justice forwarded by both economists and philosophers (Deneulin, 2014). Amartya Sen and, later, Martha Nussbaum, offered alternatives to these moral judgments from the perspective of assessing capabilities. The CA, as an alternate normative language, frames development outcomes much differently than development economics, in terms of what beings and doings individuals have reason to value, and whether they are able to exercise agency to engage in opportunities to pursue these valued beings and doings. Sen's (1999) definition of an agent as "someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well" (p. 19) can be applied to a variety of disciplines within development, and one often finds similar language in health programs and literature. While Sen's conception of development as freedom may be helpful for extending the scope of development, it is limited by the fact that it became a primary construct of human development which, as an alternative development, does not sufficiently address issues of cooptation and domination inherent within the international development apparatus. In its

definitional sense, Sen's view of agency could harmonize with *SK/BV* and indigenous self-determination; however, as we have seen, there is a risk that the view of who is agentic and to what end can be manipulated by policymakers and development organizations in imposing their work within communities. This is what is meant by some critiques of Sen's work, articulated in particular in Deneulin (2014), in which it has been argued that his normative language of 'development as freedom' does not sufficiently address issues of power which "deeply [affect] which questions are asked and how they are answered" (p. 26). Indeed, Carballo (2015) notes how new Ecuadorian development strategies espousing *SK/BV* are nominally incorporating indigenous peoples but may simply be coopting their notions of what it means to live a good life into a human development paradigm. I would argue that these are reasons for researchers to inquire about the meanings and endogenous ideas of progress of development directly from local community members.

Human development's complexities in 'producing' well-being can result from the fact that collective deliberation may be forgone or obscured, therefore ignoring that what "counts as 'development' [for each community] is closely connected to what counts as 'living well' or 'living better lives'" (Deneulin, 2014, pp. 11, 12). For example, governments may view resource extraction from indigenous lands as a means to living well for the country as a whole (setting aside for a moment to whom the ability to live well actually accrues), while indigenous peoples may define living well as the ability to interdependently coexist with the land and its riches, which are respected as much as human life. In this way, the CA, through its centering of public reasoning, can focus debate on socially unjust situations by asking whose lives are bettered from such actions,

but may not necessarily adopt a decolonial lens in doing so. Deneulin (2014) notes that "wellbeing and agency were the two keywords of the language of the capability approach, and that 'public reasoning' was the verb which gave the language its dynamic" (p. 100). However, Sen's (1999) call for participatory resolution of a situation in which "a traditional way of life has to be sacrificed to escape grinding poverty or miniscule longevity" is decidedly anti-*SK/BV* (pp. 31-32). It returns to dualism and re-centers paternalistic notions of sacrifice under a cloak of participation by people whose traditions are affected. I am more inclined to see alignment between *SK/BV* and what Sen (1999) refers to as the importance of a conception of needs, which he writes "relates to our ideas of the preventable nature of some deprivations, and to our understanding of what can be done about them" (p. 154). This is a view from the negative or deficits standpoint, however. Fischer (2014) echoes Nussbaum in talking about the importance of aspirations as a key step to seeing one's agency as viable to act upon. In turn, aspirations imply hope, which is rooted in existential beliefs about values and life possibilities, that is: one's worldview (Fischer, 2014). One goal of this research was to examine more closely the ways in which Sen's concepts of freedom and agency from his capability approach, Escobar's alternatives *to* development, and indigenous ways of knowing – discussed in the next sections – may be combined to highlight hyper-local, place-based development grounded in indigenous epistemology. Thus far, I have written mostly in general terms of indigenous ways of knowing. In this next section, I will introduce and analyze *cosmovisión Andina*, which is a way of knowing, making meaning, and organizing interactions specific to the people of the Andean region of South America and predominant in the study area of highland Ecuador.

An Introduction to *Cosmovisión Andina* (Andean Worldview)

Cosmovisión Andina, or Andean worldview, is a view of the interrelationships that underlie the workings of the universe that contains ontological and epistemological orientations specific to the peoples who inhabit the Andean region of South America. To paraphrase Balarezo (2015), c*osmovisión Andina* can be described as a holistic and integrated way of viewing the world distinct from 'western' logic and characterized by (1) a symbolic and syncretic orientation; an organization based on the laws and structures of the Universe; (2) a preference for deductive reasoning, and; (3) a centering on the inter-relatedness of all things. Andean worldview intertwines philosophy, religion, and culture and views human beings as one piece of the grander universal scheme that also includes nature and magico-ritualistic aspects (Balarezo, 2015; Mendoza, 2013). As Stadel (2001) writes, "an important element of the Andean philosophy is the recognition that the human being and the human society are embedded in a network of relationships which represent the individual as well as for the communities a source of comfort and protection as well as strength" (p. 7). Put another way, the world is seen as a "*totalidad viva*" (living totality or whole): each one of the beings that inhabit the world is equivalent to any other, each (whether a man, tree, or rock) being a complete and essential being with a unique responsibility for harmony within the universe (Wanamey, 2016, para. 5; para. 15). In the Andean worldview, a human being does not exist as such, but rather as a community subject (Mendoza, 2013). Duality or dichotomy is generally rejected, including dichotomies stemming from separation of time and space (Balarezo, 2015; Mendoza, 2015). According to Balarezo (2015), "past and future are constructed mutually, that which is in view is the present but to construct the future one must go to

the past," thus indicating an "eternal elliptical movement" of time (p. 90). Mendoza (2015) similarly notes that a characteristic of space-time conception in c*osmovisión Andina* is the absence of an inflexible distinction between the past and the future. Relatedly, Andean worldview is considered syncretic (Balarezo, 2016) in that it incorporates beliefs and practices from pre-Incan, Incan, and colonial times, as well as animist aspects. I interpret this as another example of the principles of non-duality or interrelatedness of everything (see below) at work within the construct of the worldview.

Temporospatial orientation of *cosmovisión Andina.* Before moving into an analysis of the principles of c*osmovisión Andina* and their relationships with the concepts of health and development examined in this study, it is important to clarify phrases and words central to understanding temporospatial notions of Andean worldview. The concept of *Pacha* in c*osmovisión Andina* can refer to the Earth, the world, the living space, or the broader cosmic order of the worldview (Stadel, 2001, p. 9). *Pacha* can also signify both "space" and "time" in a larger sense, which has implications on the concepts of development programs with concrete timeframes (Stadel, 2001, p. 10). In general, *Pacha* is understood as the whole of all living communities, in their diversity, each of which represents its own Whole (Wanamey, 2016, para. 5). Mother Earth, or nature, is commonly referred to as *Pachamama*, which in Ecuador has been included in the Constitution and other political documents as being afforded its (her) own rights (Guzñay, 2014). Moreover, *Pacha*, in its temporospatial conception, can be divided into three levels according to Andean worldview. *Hanan pacha* represents the higher world, its knowledge about the universe and creative forces that form the universe. *Kay pacha* represents the external or tangible world, including knowledge of the laws of nature. *Uku*

pacha, or the lower world or internal world, refers to the beliefs of the people, inherited traditions, in which events, acts, and phenomena take place (Balarezo, 2015, p. 91). These three dimensions of *Pacha* are important in understanding the origins of and possible solutions for ill health, which I discuss below. Finally, to link the inseparability of humans and the environment within Andean worldview, Gudemos (2012) has used the term "*la piel compartida*" (the shared skin) to refer to the fact that "world and man share the same skin, are mutually involved, transforming one another naturally and culturally…," arguing that this "dialectical interaction has been culturally assimilated since time immemorial" in Andean communities (p. 10).

Four key principles of *cosmovisión Andina.* According to Balarezo (2015), four key principles of Andean worldview can help us to understand the foundation upon which health and community development take place according to notions that differ from U.S. or Euro-centric ideas. Mendoza (2013) also discusses these principles, though he includes them in a broader context in which he also defines key terms, as above. The first of these principles is *relacionalidad de todo* (interrelatedness of everything), which refers to the belief that everything is linked or connected to everything else, or that nothing exists as isolated or separated (Balarezo, 2015). An important implication of this for my study comes in a statement by Mendoza (2015) in which he notes that *cosmovisión Andina* "assumes that the individual is nothing without being in relation with the community; from this stems the Andean difficulty of understanding, for example, methodological individualism or 'economic man' as a unit of economic analysis" (p. 380). The second principle is *correspondencia* (correspondence), which indicates that every phenomenon can be understood by analyzing its corresponding opposites, in which

each one needs the others to create its significance or feeling (Balarezo, 2015). In addition, correspondence can be understood in contrast to the Western idea of cause and effect; correspondence implies additional complexity in understanding the relationship between phenomena that involves acts of nature in addition to acts of humans (Mendoza, 2015). The third principle is *complementariedad* (complementarity) which, linking with correspondence, refers to the inclusion of opposites to form an integrated whole. Importantly, opposites are considered complementary and not opposing one another, nor mutually exclusive, thus there is not a conflict with ideals of non-duality (Balarezo, 2015). Finally, and of importance to this study, is the fourth principle of *reciprocidad* (reciprocity). Reciprocity refers to the way in which the principle of correspondence is expressed at a pragmatic level or as an ethical principle in life. It implies that every action corresponds to another, or the idea of "give and take" not only between humans, but between *Pachamama* and beings of the universe as well (Balarezo, 2015, p. 90). *Reciprocidad* is also manifested in the concept of the *minga* (or *minca*), which is a collective work party organized within communities to achieve an end that is undertaken for the benefit or welfare of the community (Stadel, 2001, p. 8). Reciprocity also has a broader cosmic interpretation, in which acts are "mutually conditioned" so that the effort one puts into an action at any given time will be rewarded at another time by an effort of the same magnitude (Mendoza, 2015, p. 382). Mendoza (2015) notes there is an element of "cosmic justice" implied here with very real implications: "for the Andean, a relationship between someone who always grants and another who only receives is not an imaginable relationship and will have a very short term existence" (p. 382). In practical

terms this results in "*la Voluntad de Ser"* (the willingness to be) which implies a necessity to reciprocate for what you receive (Mendoza, 2015, pp. 382-3).

Implications of *cosmovisión Andina* for development and health. Andean worldview and its key principles hold important implications for an investigation of community development and health. In keeping with a decolonial theoretical orientation, c*osmovisión Andina* enables an understanding of a key alternative *to* development, that of *sumak kawsay*. Within the context of the Andean worldview presented here, we can understand the assertion of Jijón (2011) who writes that "ancestral Indian thought awakens to challenge the 'coloniality of power' still present [in the region] in spite of democratic regimes, to contest the coloniality of knowledge led by the occident" (p. 1). He frames *sumak kawsay* as a "paradigm of liberation" which invites us "to rethink the matrix of power…, the structure of the state and the economy…, and [as] a 'development with identity' that [can] implement a new productive matrix by supporting" development that is anti-capitalist (Jijón, 2011, p. 2). This outlook has implications that intersect with both Sen's capability approach and decolonial views of development, namely that "dialogue and reciprocity between communities that feel [recognize] each other, that have equal value and, that recognize their own insufficiency, makes possible a harmony with well-being for all of the communities…" (Wanamey, 2016, para. 10). Jijón (2011) argues that this orientation presents a fundamental paradigm shift from those typical of international development: "the indigenous vision of harmony with neighbors, harmony with nature and the balanced use of the wealth that is obtained and that [can] be understood as the good life together, tends to [contradict] the structural asymmetries and the macro-social imbalances derived from the capitalist model" of development (p. 2).

Again, here the ideas of *holismo* (holism) apply to the conception of a world that is collectivist and interconnected (Wanamey, 2016). A "clash" between Western scientific concepts based on rationality, efficiency, technology, quantitative thinking, and linear ideas of time is produced within the realm of development in the Andean region, with attendant repercussions (Stadel, 2001, p. 8). Inquiring of community members about the ways in which *SK/BV* has changed over the past two decades is intended to uncover the ways in which globalization may have affected these ideas of *holismo*.

As an alternative to development, *sumak kawsay* utilizes several concepts from c*osmovisión Andina* that can serve to differentiate it from other treatments of development examined in this literature review. First, the idea that humanity is inextricably interrelated with nature implies a search for a harmonious life with nature (Guzñay, 2014). This is the antithesis – and the root of several indigenous peoples protests in both Ecuador and worldwide – of forms of economic development which rely on the extraction, manipulation, or domination of natural resources. Guzñay argues that *sumak kawsay* is a "post-neoliberal and post-capitalist" ideal in which "natural resources are not seen as a condition for economic growth, but neither can they be a simple object of development politics" (2014, p. 26). As such, I would assess that *sumak kawsay* fits within Escobar's (1995) criteria for an alternate *to* development. It is important to be aware, however, that *sumak kawsay*, based in principles of c*osmovisión Andina*, is not anti-development: "*sumak kawsay* never says, we are not advancing, we are not learning" instead "it says that we will not develop ourselves according to a capitalist concept of development… that is to say, humanity should continue forward, interrelating itself with nature" (Ceceña, 2013, as quoted in Guzñay, 2014, p. 27). Similarly, Balarezo (2015)

writes, "*sumak kawsay* transcends the personal, and is included within the collective and in relation to *Pachamama*; it refers to a category in permanent construction that starts from a philosophy which is not human-centric but rather ordered as geocentric, which is to say: *Pacha*-centric" (p. 90).

These ideas also have important implications for health and several authors have addressed these (Balarezo, 2015; Gudemos, 2012; Highleyman, 2013; Soru, Boris, Carreras, & Duero, 2012). The first implication is that health is dependent on harmony and is embedded within social relations. According to Soru and colleagues (2012), "health and well-being depend in the individual being able to maintain a state of personal, family, social, and spiritual harmony and being able to involve himself and be useful within community" (p. 112). Similarly, Gudemos (2012) notes that the concept of health is understood through the idea of linkages: social links between each "natural person" and the interaction of each person's respective links with those of others (p. 11). Somewhat more broadly, in her work on the connections between Occidental medicine and holistic medicine in Riobamba, Ecuador, Highleyman (2013)noted that a "tryptic of health" was referred to or implied in her interviews with healthcare workers and patients alike: that "health is the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being that each of us should have" (pp. 12-13). In a reference perhaps to the spiritual aspect of this tryptic, Gudemos (2012) notes that "man is only manifested and valued in this cosmos through the links he is capable of establishing to strengthen his own health" (p. 10). Understanding, experience, and treatment of illness is also conditioned by this influence of Andean worldview on the conceptualization of health. Illness is often understood – and needs to be treated on – a spiritual, moral, and religious basis at the same time as being understood

and treated as a physical experience (Soru, et al., 2012). In addition, illness or health is considered a community act; therefore, disharmony or disequilibrium resulting in ill health (for an individual or a community) is also a community affair (Balarezo, 2015). The causes of illness may include disrespect of, offenses toward, or poor maintenance of "*el ritmo de gestos sociales*" (the rhythm of social gestures) (Gudemos, 2012, p. 11).

These principles may also overlap with concepts related to another epistemology of the south, *solidaridad*. If *SK/BV* ask us to shift our ideas about potential outcomes of development worth pursuing, *solidaridad* asks us to examine the processes by which those outcomes are obtained. It is possible that it has connections or overlap with Andean worldview concepts such as *reciprocidad*. Because the meaning of *solidaridad* in relation to service and civic engagement in Latin America is much richer in Spanish than its translation into "solidarity" in English, and in keeping with my commitment to use the work and definitions of South American scholars where possible, I employ Aranguren's (1997) definition of solidarity in my research. It is presented below, in its entirety in Spanish and in English translation[11]:

> *[Solidaridad] se trata de potenciar los procesos de promoción y crecimiento de las personas y colectivas con los que se realiza la acción solidaria (...) Los proyectos no son fines en sí mismos sino medios de crecimiento y desarrollo humano de aquellos con los intentamos caminar.*
>
> *Los proyectos forman parte de un proceso global de promoción humana, de dinamización comunitaria en el territorio, de autogestión de los propios problemas y soluciones, de ayuda mutua y de invención de nuevas formas de profundización de la democracia de base.*
>
> *Ese proceso responde al dinamismo del movimiento social que heredarán los propios colectivos excluidos, (...);* ***desde esta perspectiva la solidaridad como encuentro hace de los destinatarios de su acción los auténticos protagonistas y sujetos de su proceso de lucha por lo que es***

[11] All translations within this dissertation are my own and I take responsibility for all errors. I am grateful to Ken Yanes Schäfer for his generous assistance in reviewing my translation work.

> ***justo, por la resolución de sus problemas, por al consecución de su autonomía personal y colectiva**.*
>
> ---
>
> [Solidarity] is about maximizing [strengthening] the processes of promotion and growth of the persons and groups with which to realize solidarity action. The projects aren't ends to themselves but rather pathways [means] for growth and human development of those with whom we try to walk.
>
> The projects form a part of a global process of [human] development, of community revitalization in this area [territory], of self-management of one's own problems and solutions, of mutual aid [help] and of the invention [creation] of new forms of deepening grassroots democracy.
>
> This process refers back to revitalization of the social movement through which the very marginalized collectives will inherit that revitalization movement (itself). **From this perspective, solidarity as encounter makes the recipients of one's action into authentic protagonists and subjects of one's own struggle for that which is just, for the resolution of one's problems, for the achievement of one's personal and collective autonomy** (Aranguren, 1997, as quoted in Nieves Tapia, Bridi, Maidana, & Rial, 2015, emphasis in original).

Using this definition, one can see how the notion of *solidaridad* differs from that of social capital, and encompasses a strengths-based perspective while honoring the collective and justice-oriented principles of *SK/BV*. At the same time, there are echoes of the idea of affiliation, forwarded by Nussbaum who builds upon Sen's capability approach by explicating "central human capabilities" of supposedly universal importance. One of these central capabilities is affiliation, which is intended to acknowledge that "one's own good is never pursued alone" but is instead linked to being in relation to other people, either implicitly or explicitly (Deneulin, 2014, p. 57). Aligning affiliation and a decolonial development approach such as *SK/BV*, it may become more possible for a community's social justice goals "to redefine the vision of the common good held by the society at large and the structuring conditions which guarantee it" (Deneulin, 2014, p.

59). There has been some empirical evidence from Africa that the notion of affiliation "is more than being a part of a network or social organization; it includes being valued by others" (DeJaeghere, Pellowski Wiger, & Wangsness Willemsen, 2016, p.475) and this would seem to affirm how concepts like *solidaridad* or *reciprocidad* go beyond social capital theory. From a decolonial perspective, relationality or *vincularidad* [connectedness] is a vital aim of entering "into conversations and build[ing] understandings that both cross geopolitical locations and colonial differences, and contest the totalizing claims and political-epistemic violence of modernity" (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 1). Exploring the local mechanisms by which this happens, in the context of grassroots health development, is one aim of this study; in fact, part of what emerged revealed the importance of the embodiment of this solidarity through enacted practices (see Chapter Four).

***Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir*: What Is It and Why Is It Important?**

I begin this next section by describing the central implication of c*osmovisión Andina* to the study of development proposed in this dissertation: that of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* (*SK/BV*). I will first discuss issues of defining *SK/BV* emerging from the literature, then I will analyze the significance of the concept to indigenous communities and to development in Ecuador.

Sumak kawsay/buen vivir is a specific Latin American discourse[12] which emerged in the 1990s in response to indigenous social movements, growing global frustration with the idea of development, and as an alternative to U.S. and Euro-centric discourse of

[12] Of course, *sumak kawsay* as an *ontology* or *epistemology* has existed as long as the indigenous peoples of the Andean region, but here I talk of the way in which it became incorporated into the discourse of development.

sustainable development (Vanhulst & Beling, 2014). Villalba (2013) attempts to define *buen vivir* while noting that there is no single, universally accepted definition of the term. In fact, *buen vivir* could be considered to encompass multiple ontologies for various social contexts and environments. There are also issues of translation and interpretation of meaning across languages between the Kichwa and Aymara originals (*Sumak Kawsay* and *Suma Qamaña*, respectively), the Spanish *buen vivir*, and then the further inadequate English definitions of the same. Calling the Spanish translation of these concepts a "pale metaphor" compared to the originals, Villalba (2013) nonetheless outlines the various constituent meanings of the Kichwa and Aymara equivalents; one possible short definition would be "life of fullness" (pp. 1429-1431). Carballo (2015) notes that the term is also found in Guaraní as *Ñandereko*, in Awajún as *Shin pujut*, and in Mapuche as *Kyme mogen* (p. 13). Walsh (2010) defines *SK/BV* as "based on the communion of humans and nature and on the spatial-temporal-harmonious totality of existence" (p. 18).

Giovannini (2015) notes that common characteristics emerge from writings about *buen vivir*: it espouses a communitarian view including concepts of solidarity and reciprocity, it lauds indigenous identity and culture, and it emphasizes the well-being of both humans and the environment. *Buen vivir* refers to a uniquely Latin American response to the issues of global development that holds the "opportunity to build a different society sustained in the coexistence of human beings in their diversity and in harmony with nature, based on recognition of the diverse cultural values existing in each country and worldwide" (Vanhulst & Beling, 2014, p. 56). Similarly, Carballo (2015) writes that four major principles are key to understanding *SK/BV*: relationality, which considers spiritual, intellectual, material, and productive ideals about life together in

coexistence; correspondence, which "refers to the correlation of the human and the extra-human;" and complementarity and reciprocity, which underlie the holistic vision of the life cycle and notions of "community…achievement of development goals" (p. 13).

All definitions of *SK/BV* should be interpreted in the context of an Andean worldview in which harmonious living extends beyond humans into the environment and all beings, and in which internal and external community equilibrium is negotiated via consensus-based decision making and reciprocity (Villalba, 2013). This shift in worldview necessitates a shift in the examination of *SK/BV* as an alternative *to* development. That is, to study *SK/BV* one must discard certain expectations of findings which accompany engrained notions of typical international economic development models, while simultaneously recognizing that *SK/BV* may not be conceptualized or embodied in the same ways, or at all, in the rural communities under study. Some assumptions which need to be challenged in this process include: (1) "addressing development as a linear process;" (2) "the Western notion of nature as external to humans and used as a resource;" (3) the need "to decolonize knowledge…in order to prevent *Buen Vivir* from becoming reductionist" or hegemonic; (4) the need to avoid turning social relationships "into commodities" or lowering everything "to the level of marketable goods and services;" (5) a reframing of quality of life around happiness and spirituality and not "based on the ownership of property and levels of income alone" and; (6) "the principle of reciprocity" in trade, government relations, and other interactions between people (Villalba, 2013, pp. 1433-1434).

Sumak kawsay/buen vivir holds significance for a study of hyper-local community development within Latin American because it is a pluralistic concept with multiple

meanings which has the potential to interface effectively with "critical development studies, radical environmentalism, and feminist perspectives as three approaches from non-indigenous traditions that can make positive contributions to *buen vivir* as an alternative to development" (Jarrett, 2014, p. 50). The defining concepts of *buen vivir* stand as a rejection of several concepts associated with the view of development predicated on modernity, such as "the myth of progress, a certain conception of the nation-state, [and] individual rationality" (Villalba, 2013, p. 1433). As such, it represents a paradigm shift presenting an alternative to long-standing practices of development, confirming Escobar and others' assertions that recent successive trends in 'new' forms of development (such as those discussed above) are, in fact, not new at all, but reiterations of the traditional Western international development paradigm. Villalba (2013) cites Kapoor in describing this phenomenon: "just as product differentiation is a corporate strategy to ensure the reproduction of consumerism and capital, so each new [development] trend safeguards development's renewal and marketability" (Kapoor, 2005, p. 1211, as cited in Villalba, 2013, p. 1428).

These trends can be linked to the history of colonialism in Latin America and neoliberal and post-neoliberal economic policies within the region. In Ecuador, this post-neoliberal transition has been marked by the rise of *SK/BV* and the inclusion of this concept in the country's 2008 Constitution and 2013 National Development Plan. *Buen vivir*, in this context, is expressly advocating "a form of social ecology and practices of equality, sustainability and peace that would ensure 'a better life for all within the community' as an alternative to the development model" (Villalba, 2013, p. 1428). However, it is important to take a critical view of these changes from within the

Ecuadorian political context in which they arose, in order to place them along a continuum from potential cooptation to progressive social policy change. To truly assess whether *SK/BV* represents an alternative to development, one must analyze both rhetoric and implementation (Villalba, 2013) while keeping in mind that *SK/BV* requires "paradigmatic shifts that move beyond development's ethnocentrism and take non-Western philosophies seriously" (Jarrett, 2014, p. 51). For instance, Giovannini (2015) points out that "the Western idea of progress is antithetic to *buen vivir,*" noting how modernization theory has asked indigenous groups to denounce their culture as an "obstacle to development" (p. 74); this supports the caution from Villalba (2013) to researchers to abandon certain expectations of what one might find that is considered development. These findings underlie my first research question, which asks community members in Andean Ecuador to first describe the meaning they ascribe to *SK/BV* and its linkages to development. Carballo (2015) notes that "while some see [*SK/BV* as] a project that is fundamentally distinct from that of 'development' and others merely a notion of 'alternative development,' at the very least the *SK/BV* framework…opens up a space to question the boundaries that the project of development…entails" (p. 14).

Sumak kawsay/buen vivir may both intersect with and complicate Sen's capability approach. As an alternative epistemology for development gaining traction in South America, it has produced a political and social mobilization that can be viewed as an example of addressing justice through a CA. *Buen vivir*, like capability approach language, provides "tools by which to judge whether a situation is just or unjust" and by which to assess whether the public reasoning used to arrive at this judgment is oriented towards a capability lens of advancing people towards what they have reason to value

(Deneulin, 2014, p. 61, 62). Additionally, using *SK/BV*, as one conception of well-being (which is also the outcome of interest within the capability approach), can involve the assessment of structures and institutional arrangements by which to judge how well society is supporting the ability of people to live well. Thus, the three prongs of the capability approach – advancing individuals towards their freedoms, quality of public reasoning, and assessment of societal structures – seem to be woven together into the language of *SK/BV*. However, Walsh (2010) cautions against an uncritical blending of *SK/BV* with human development approaches such as Sen's. Uses of *SK/BV* which are "institutionalized…are based in practice on alternative understandings of development from the West" such as the capability approach (Jarrett, 2014, p. 50). Thus, understanding the ways in which indigenous Ecuadorians were consulted (or not) in the application of *SK/BV* principles to development in their communities is vital to understanding whether *SK/BV* is being appropriated or honored as an alternative *to* development. With regard to Latin America – and Ecuador and Bolivia especially, Carballo (2015) warns that "the work of national governments and international agencies for development that seeks to translate the indigenous mandate for good life into concrete policies has, more often than not, rushed the incorporation of ideas into the notion of *buen vivir*…without a holistic consideration of their implications" (p. 17).

Chapter Summary

In Chapter Two I have outlined and analyzed the three bodies of literature informing this study. At the macro level, I began with a detailed problematization of international development and its alternatives, which led to a discussion of Escobar's critical theory view of alternatives *to* development and Mignolo and Walsh's concepts of

decoloniality as the broad theoretical frameworks supporting this work. I proposed an intersection between Escobar's and Mignolo & Walsh's frameworks and Sen's capability approach in which the latter would serve to add elements of individual agency and valuing within development to the formers' approach of interrogating inter-national and inter-institutional development discourse. Next, I presented an analysis of the history of indigenous peoples and their self-organization and self-management of development activities within Ecuador, with a focus on the Highland region. This section included an introduction to the 'official' common health conditions and health service infrastructure within the country. This second section forms a meso-level of context for the study. Finally, I investigated indigenous notions of well-being from Ecuador, focusing on the principles of *cosmovisión Andina*, examining how these concepts are critical for understanding a broadened scope of and alternate local processes for grassroots health development in the study site. This section, which included a detailed discussion of key terms such as *sumak kawsay*, *relacionalidad,* and *reciprocidad* (among others)*,* formed the micro context for the study.

Chapter Three – Decolonial Design: Seeing and Learning through Participatory Photography

"We do not want to be spoken about. We want to speak for ourselves. We do not want to be seen on the other side of the line. We want to eliminate the line."
—Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2014)

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the research design used in my dissertation. In this study, I employed a decolonial, critical theory framework. This is an approach predicated on the ideas that colonialism and international development are linked, both involving forms of domination. These theoretical frameworks dictate certain methodological decisions, which I explain below. The quote from de Sousa Santos, which I opened with above, is an acknowledgement of the complexity of co-performing decolonial research in the Global South as a person from the Global North. Decolonizing methods (Smith, 2012) demands unflagging researcher reflexivity (as it should) and complicates the ways in which I write here about methods (and later, results) for a largely Western (or at least English-speaking) audience. I was mindful from my first conception of these ideas – and they were my conceptions, which is problematic through required by our U.S. system of doctoral education – that I did not want to *speak for*, but rather *learn from*. How to design a study that would meet the requirements I faced as a student while honoring the obligation I felt to not reinforce imperial forms of research within the Global South was a constant struggle: the line was always there – sometimes bolded, sometimes barely visible – despite de Sousa Santos' enjoinder to eliminate it.

Thus, my goal throughout this chapter is to present the required information while acknowledging the reflexivity I endeavored to maintain as a researcher. As such, I will weave my own positionality and views of ethics issues pertaining to research throughout

the sections I present here. In addition, I refer to the people who worked with me during the study as co-researchers. They are traditionally called “participants” in Western views of research. However, in keeping with the community-based participatory research and decolonial lenses I use, and to reflect the actual relationships I came to have with each person, the use of the term co-researcher is intended to convey respect, mutuality, and an intentionality about decolonizing methodologies.

Intersectional Positionality and Relational Ethics

As this study takes place in a non-U.S. setting and involves indigenous peoples and worldviews, I was concerned with numerous ethical issues throughout the research process. To begin, research undertaken by a U.S. student/researcher in a non-U.S. country brings with it a set of cross-cultural and linguistic issues. These can be summarized by recognizing that “history is filled with the abuse and exploitation of ethnic, non-Western and indigenous people which was calculatedly carried out by Western researchers” (Liamputtong, 2010, p. 8). Despite this knowledge, very little evidence on “culturally sensitive methodologies” exists in the literature, limiting the guidance available to researchers attempting to be socially responsible in cross-cultural settings (Liamputtong, 2010). Indeed, some researchers consider cross-cultural or indigenous beliefs, values, or customs barriers to research or simple cultural facts which researchers need to be aware of so as not to cause offense, rather than a vital part of research methodology to be discussed and honored in the research process (Smith, 2012). A focus on positivist epistemology or quantitative research methodologies has tended to reinforce this thinking, as it “has insisted on using researcher-determined…evaluative criteria, internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity and this has dismissed, marginalized, or

maintained control over the voice of others" (Liamputtong, 2010, p. 11). Santos (2014) refers to this as epistemic violence and suggests it can be countered by working towards an "epistemology of seeing" in which one questions "the validity of a form of knowledge whose point of ignorance is colonialism" while acknowledging that "we cannot easily practice or even imagine a form of knowledge that knows by creating solidarity in both nature and in society" (p. 156).

Both positionality and ethics are situated within a particular context, time, and set of relationships. In addition, both involve normativity, a sense of what is right or what one 'should' do based on a set of principles. Both issues have profound implications for knowledge production. It is not only me as a researcher who is producing knowledge in this study; the co-researchers are situated, from the beginning, as knowledge producers. The ways in which I intersect with the co-researchers, with different disciplines from my education and experiences, and across cultures, combine to reveal the various modes of knowledge production that pertain to areas of our mutual work (although this work happens in different settings). This dissertation is an accumulative project, not a singular project; it is about story-adding, not story selecting (Kelly, Khoja-Moolji, Manion, & Sperandio, 2017). These distinctions produce implications for positionality and ethics.

I have written this chapter with the intention of incorporating throughout issues of intersectional and relational positionality and ethics, recognizing the importance of my own identities, context, and history, and how these affect my situatedness. I do this guided by general principles associated with community-based participatory research, as well as by the work of Liamputtong (2010), who cites Wallace in advocating for a "relational ethics" to guide cross-cultural research, calling this approach "a mutual and

respectful dialogue between the researchers and the prospective individuals and communities of research in order to ensure that the values, hopes, and concerns of co-researchers will be reflected in the design, implementation, and interpretation of research" (pp. 16-17). This approach takes power relations into account, recognizing the need to decenter power and knowledge "from academia to the periphery" which would support "a transformative and healing approach to research" which this study seeks to embody (Gaudet, 2014, p. 71). Given the theoretical and conceptual orientations of this study, and its research questions, it is critical for me to adopt an ethical and methodological approach that values the indigenous ideal of "coming to knowledge," involves community benefit, and respects nonconformity to Western research 'ideals' (Gaudet, 2014). This was important not only in the design, planning, and implementation stages of the research, but also through the analysis and writing phases of the dissertation in which issues of representation and of "selecting, arranging, and presenting knowledge" arose (Smith, 2012, p. 37).

Research Questions

To begin, research questions along with the types of data they elicited from co-researchers, are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Research questions and data matrix. Outline of research questions and alternate wordings with type of data produced from each.

Research Questions (with sub-questions and alternate wordings)	**Category of Data Produced**
How is *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* integral to development in the rural parishes of Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Ecuador?	Significance and meaning of well-being, from a local perspective

How has *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* changed over the past two decades[13] (in each rural parish) and how does it look today?	Local changes stemming from local, regional, national and/or international development; intergenerational differences; community changes resulting from development and tensions produced from changes
How do community development processes embody the ideals of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* in this rural parish?	Information about community processes and how community members, associations, and institutions work together
Which services and programs allow communities to reach *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* and which do not?	Connections between the proposed and the reality in community development; feedback about services and projects

Social Location – Influences of Researcher Being and Becoming

Positionality

From a research perspective, positionality – sometimes referred to as social location – signifies both "ascribed and achieved identities that confer status on an individual researcher" as well as "the specific relationships between academics and community members, which are mediated by personal life experiences, motivations and connections, and extent of commitment and shared values" (Muhammad, Wallerstein, Sussman, Avila, Belone, & Duran, 2014, p. 8). In addition to this important definition, I view positionality through an intersectionality frame, as the way in which sociopolitical interactions – including conducting research – manifest through social identities. In addition, these manifestations are influenced by the importance of the contexts and histories of those identities and the ways in which identity categories are formed and

[13] Two decades was chosen to span a period of time that most Ecuadorian adults would have experience with: from ten years before the institution of the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution to present day. As discussed in Chapter Two, the 2008 Constitution was significant for a number of reasons and also influenced the 2013 National Development Plan in which *buen vivir* is the stated organizing development principle.

maintained, as well as through the importance of situating and re-situating identities and lenses based on the context in which one is operating. Adopting an intersectional view is important because it reminds us to account for the multiple identities and experiences of both research co-researchers and the researcher. An intersectional approach recognizes, in the words of Choo & Ferree (2010):

> the importance of including the perspectives of multiply-marginalized people, especially women of color; an analytic shift from addition of multiple independent strands of inequality toward a multiplication and thus transformation of their main effects into interactions; and a focus on seeing multiple institutions as overlapping in their co-determination of inequalities… (p. 131).

My own identity as a researcher springs from my intersectional experiences as a woman from an upper-middle class upbringing that included both the instability of multiple moves (including living internationally at young ages), with its lack of constant community or place, and the stability that comes from a tight nuclear family unit. In addition, these experiences interact with my Italian and Greek ethnic identities which have, over time, been re-informed by the revelation in adulthood of my earlier-unknown Mexican ethnicity. Stories of immigration and of economic struggle also permeate my understanding of my family history and my orientation to issues of international politics, health, and community development.

Personal Experiences

My father grew up on the U.S.-Mexico border in Arizona. He is bilingual in English and Spanish, not remembering which he learned or started speaking first. (My mother's side of the family is Italian. All four of her grandparents [my great-grandparents] emigrated to the U.S. between 1905 and 1918 from four different towns in

Italy.) Until the last decade, I believed my father's family heritage to originate solely in Greece; an often-told family story concerns how my paternal grandfather immigrated from Skopia, Greece to Veracruz, Mexico in 1926, instead of to the U.S., because of a U.S. quota on immigrants from Southern Europe that prevented him from immigrating directly. That, along with the story of how my paternal grandfather met my paternal grandmother through an arranged marriage among similar Greek immigrants to Mexico, are, indeed, true. However, my paternal grandmother's mother (my great-grandmother), I recently learned, was fully Mexican. She met my Greek great-grandfather in Cananea, Mexico at the turn of the 20th century and later – sometime around 1915, when they were married and my grandmother was an infant – they fled to the U.S. to escape the Mexican Revolution.

The discovery of my Mexican ancestry has had a profound effect on how I view my family and myself in the world. Though my father occasionally spoke Spanish with my sister and me at home growing up, I was never encouraged to learn Spanish. Indeed, I believe my father did not want me to know about my Mexican heritage. Over time, I have come to understand this as a sort of internalized racism, based on the prevailing discrimination at the time of my father's upbringing against Mexican immigrants in the U.S. (now seeing a resurgence), combined with judgment of those from lower socioeconomic status families. Having arrived at the realization of my Mexican heritage later in life, I simultaneously experienced a retrospective explanation for certain tendencies (all of my previous work in global health had been focused on Latin America, for instance) and a profound feeling of uncertainty about how to incorporate my updated ethnicity into my personal and professional lives. Despite this air of secrecy, I remember

many day-trips across the border from the U.S. into Mexico when my paternal grandparents were alive and still living along the border. I have internalized the meaning of certain Spanish-language idioms and use them in my life now, while not knowing until recently their true meaning or significance in a family sense.

As a White woman, I was (and am) deeply cautious in guarding against appropriating Mexican culture. At the same time I reflect on what it means to have had a part of my ethnicity actively hidden from me and how that influences the ways in which I can incorporate it in an authentic way, especially given that I have always felt an unexplained connection to the cultures of Mexico and Central and South America. This brief personal history affects my work in this dissertation in two ways. First, it motivates me to learn more, make connections, and do justice to the complexity of life in postcolonial, Spanish-speaking nations. Second, it makes me cautious (and, often, self-critical) about how I carry myself, the quality of my Spanish skills, and how much of my identity and history I reveal while working in Latin America. Having this self-awareness is important for both research and writing. Decisions about how much of my identity and its meaning to disclose to research partners and co-researchers, and when, is also difficult and complex. In a way, this is a form of "the space between" referred to by Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009), which "challenges the dichotomy of insider versus outsider status" by having "an appreciation for the fluidity and multilayered complexity of human experience" (p. 60).

Professional Experiences

My professional identities have been equally intersectional, combining nursing, public health, global health, and education. I have been a registered nurse for almost two

decades, with all but one of those years practicing the specialty of community and public health nursing. Those who commit themselves to this specialty focus on health promotion and disease prevention and the care of primarily groups or aggregates, rather than of primarily individuals. My dedication to this type of nursing is important for two reasons. First, I came to it quite early in my nursing career, which is unusual, and as a result, I have a great deal of experience working with a variety of traditionally marginalized populations in the U.S. and outside of the U.S., learning about life from their perspectives. Second, public health nursing employs a strengths-based approach to working with communities, which often stands in stark contrast to the problem-based approaches of much of nursing which still employs a largely biomedical view.

Beyond these somewhat academic considerations, however, has been my experience as a believer in working alongside communities, and working against the domination of quantitative, positivist (and often, economic) indicators for 'successful' community engagement in health and development. This factor marginalizes me within both the nursing and public/global health disciplines. My experience of nursing has been largely aligned with that theorized by Elayne Puzan (2003) in her article *The Unbearable Whiteness of Being (In Nursing)*:

> whiteness, which includes 'acting white,' is required for full assimilation into the nursing establishment….Acting white means adhering to the behaviors, values, beliefs, and practices of the dominant white culture…[including] predetermined and nuanced discourses that involve what constitutes accepted and unaccepted patterns of communication, appropriate and inappropriate attitudes toward authority, the geographical location and non-location of health services…and many other detailed but taken-for-granted yet racially determined performances that are deeply embedded within the institutions where nurses learn and practice (p. 195).

These same power dynamics appear in the practice of nursing education, where I have worked for the past twelve years, as well as in the general practice of nursing specialties and the acting out of routine professional discourses. These experiences have had a profound impact on the ways in which I view my work. When I realized that my marginalization within the profession was not a result of personal ineffectiveness as I had often been told, but rather a manifestation of the systems of socialization and cultural monitoring in which I found myself, I was able to make clearer connections between the intersectionality of the experiences of living with marginalized identities and those of professional marginalization. To be sure, the former are fixed characteristics while the latter is an adopted professional identity, but for many people – including myself – professional identity is deeply intertwined with self-esteem and personal well-being. Unknowingly, I had been engaged in a battle of ‘not acting white’ within my profession for many years and had felt the effects of efforts to maintain the dominant sociocultural orientation towards ‘doing nursing.’

With attention to systems, however, I would like to note that my twelve years of experience in nursing education have taken place in an institution which espouses a social justice orientation and among selected colleagues who have immersed me in feminist and critical theory and helped me to interrogate my own social location as well as the social identity training project inherent in nursing and health education. I value this social justice focus. As a critical theorist, I like Nancy Fraser’s (1999) conceptualization of social justice as having aspects of both redistribution and recognition. In terms of redistribution, a social justice orientation looks to reform socio-economic, gender, and racial-ethnic injustice. In terms of recognition, a social justice orientation seeks a

"difference-friendly world, where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect" (Fraser, 1999, p. 25). Both of these paradigms are important because "in the redistribution paradigm, the remedy for injustice is political-economic restructuring" while in "the paradigm of recognition…the remedy for injustice is cultural or symbolic change" (Fraser, 1999, p. 27). Both of these conceptualizations fit well with a study of health and community development, as well as with a transformative research worldview, in that they imply a critical orientation towards issues of power, privilege, and systems.

These professional positions have also been influenced by my work in my current institution with university students in global education through both education abroad leadership and the development of on-campus interdisciplinary courses in which the students and I employ critical approaches to examining issues of global health, human rights, and education. Here I have been able to further examine the methods through which our U.S. higher education systems perpetuate certain ways of knowing and thinking about global issues, while simultaneously developing students into experts who may believe they have the knowledge needed to change problems they see in the world. In my view, this uncritical use of education, especially in the areas of health and development, has dangerous repercussions in that it leaves students poised to replicate relationships of power and exclusion. To counter this, I try to engage with my students in critical examination of the systems and structures which undergird the creation of knowledge and the sources of the temptations to apply this knowledge to others. Having had the opportunity to think about and practice this epistemological orientation has greatly shaped my thinking about how to engage with issues of development in this

research using a decolonial framework. My ongoing reflection on these issues is foundational to the intersection of critical theory and participatory methods. According to Giroux (1983), critical reflection "lays bare the historically and socially sedimented values at work in the construction of knowledge, social relations, and material practices…it situates critique within a radical notion of interest and social transformation" (pp. 154-5).

While I have not been deeply involved in scholarship during all of these years of teaching, I have adopted a scholar-activist orientation that has been informed by my institutional setting, colleague interactions, and the evolution of my teaching philosophy through experiences with students inside and outside of the classroom. This scholar-activist orientation has bearing on the design and conduct of this research. It is constructivist, meaning I believe in that we each construct multiple, diverse meanings of reality and even of our shared realities. In addition, I am interested in how these meanings are made, and relied on co-researchers' views and explanations to help understand these meanings. My critical theory orientation arises as I seek to critique predominant international development practices and discourses as neocolonial and, thus, limiting the agency of and endogenous solutions from people who are closest to their own community development issues. A decolonial approach also implies a reorientation towards a pluralism of knowledges. These orientations have been nurtured and expanded through my interactions with peers and faculty within my PhD program at the University of Minnesota.

Description of Cantón Pedro Moncayo

Before detailing the study's methodology, methods, design, and potential limitations, it is important to provide a clear description of the study site. In Chapter One, I outlined the broad reasons why Ecuador presents a unique opportunity for the examination of community development using a critical lens. Here I will expand on details specific to the Ecuadorian and community contexts pertinent to understanding the methodology, methods, and overall design of this study.

Organization of Government and Its Effects on Local Development

To begin, the organization of Ecuador's government influences its community development processes in unique ways that impacted both the selection of this research setting and the study co-researchers. One needs a basic understanding of the broader structure of governmental organization and management, from the macro to the micro levels in Ecuador, in order to understand health development at the community (parish and lower neighborhood) levels. This is important because Ecuador's government is organized in a decentralized manner in which each level of government is assigned, through Article 41 of the *Código Orgánico Organización Territorial Autonomía Descentralización* (Territorial Code of Autonomous Decentralized Organization) a set of *competencias* (competencies, or a scope of work) which they are responsible for executing and managing (*Gobierno del Ecuador*, 2010). When looking up or down through the levels of decentralized government, this knowledge makes it possible to appreciate how each level contributes its own expertise to a focus on selected parts of the whole.

In Ecuador the *gobierno del estado* (national government) and its ministries and secretariats are responsible for passing laws and promulgating operational guidance related to laws, including those which pertain to creating access to the various rights guaranteed in the Ecuadorian Constitution. National plans relevant to this study include the *Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir*, issued by the *Secretaria Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo* (SENPLADES) and the *Modelo Integral de Salud* (MAIS) and the *Lineamientos Operativos para la Implementación del MAIS y RPIS*, both issued by the Ministry of Health. Of additional relevance to health and community development, eight groups are recognized in Article 34 of the Ecuadorian Constitution as *grupos de atención prioritaria* (priority attention groups) related to their special vulnerability. Among these are older adults, children and adolescents, pregnant women, people with disabilities, prisoners, persons with catastrophic or complicated illnesses, victims of sexual or domestic violence and child maltreatment, and victims of disasters (*Gobierno del Ecuador*, 2008, p. 6). In Ecuador, issues pertaining to the *health* of all people and communities – infrastructure, resources, protocols, and national policies and plans – are considered within the jurisdiction of the national government, regardless of the geographic level or location at which services are provided.

Governmental decisions and management at the level of the *provincia* (province), *cantón* (roughly, county), and *parroquia* (parish) are the responsibilities of that level's respective *Gobierno Autónomo Descentralizado* (Decentralized Autonomous Government, or *GAD* by its Spanish acronym). All *GADs* have the following competencies in common, which are applied at the level of their management jurisdiction: policy creation, planning, regulation and management of public services,

application of standards of quality and efficiency, and management of publicly-financed services (*Comisión Especializada de Gobiernos Autónomos, Descentralización, Competencias y Organización del Territorio*, n.d.). The province of this study is Pichincha. Competencies specific to the *GAD Provincial* include: promoting sustainable provincial development; designing and implementing policies to promote equity and inclusion; implementing citizen participation systems; elaborating and executing provincial development plans; promoting productive agricultural activities; promoting integrated systems of services to priority groups; encouraging artistic, cultural, and recreational activities for the benefit of its residents, and; coordinating the organization of public safety and security (*Gobierno de Pichincha*, 2013).

Figure 1: Map of Ecuador’s Provinces. Depicts Pichincha in yellow at top center.

Figure 2: Map of Pichincha Province. Depicts Cantón Pedro Moncayo in blue.

The day-to-day work of realizing community development takes place at the *cantón* and *parroquia* levels. In this study, *Cantón Pedro Moncayo* was the location of the research. At about 130 square miles in area, it is roughly the equivalent size of the city of Columbia, South Carolina, in the United States, or about the size of the Caribbean island of Grenada. The *GAD Cantonal* in Pedro Moncayo is responsible for all typical *GAD* functions at this municipal level, executed through the *cantón* seat in the urban parish of Tabacundo. However, these functions and activities exist more "on paper" than in action at the sub-administrative level within the *cantón* (C. Mantilla, personal communication, Jan 30, 2017).

Within *Cantón Pedro Moncayo* there are four *parroquias rurales* (rural parishes) and one *parroquia urbana* (urban parish), which serves as the urban center of municipal government services, such as the largest health center in the *cantón,* and the hub of commercial activity. In Pedro Moncayo, the rural parishes are La Esperanza, Malchinguí, Tocachi, and Tupigachi; the urban parish is Tabacundo[14]. As at the province and cantón

[14] All of the rural parishes within Pedro Moncayo are rural throughout, based on population density and level of development. However, within each rural parish, leaders and residents referred to smaller, within-parish subdivisions as either rural neighborhoods (*comunidades*) or urban neighborhoods (*barrios*). The

levels, each parish also has its own *GAD*. That is, in Ecuador, the parish serves as a third-level administrative unit, responsible for executing, monitoring, and evaluating the projects and programs stemming from the multi-level development planning process. Each rural parish *GAD* is led by elected officials, including a president who is the head of an executive committee consisting of a vice-president, secretary—treasurer, and at-large representatives (called *vocales*). At an even more micro level, some parishes have community or neighborhood associations with their own presidents and representatives, which report to the *GAD parroquial rural*. The existence and level of active participation of this smallest stage of cooperation varies from parish to parish and neighborhood to neighborhood.

The presidents of each rural parish *GAD* come together to form what is called a *mancomunidad*, or parish association, which represents a level of legally constituted coordination among the various parishes in a *cantón*. The *mancomunidad* is led by its own president, also elected, who collaborates with each of the parish *GAD* presidents to coordinate the work of implementing, monitoring, and evaluating community development plans with the help of an *equipo técnico* (technical team) consisting of four members (see Table 3, below).

Official Health Data from the Rural Parishes of Pedro Moncayo

While my focus in this study is on the co-researchers' own conceptualizations of well-being – through investigation of the meanings and changes of *SK/BV* – in this section I will present health data about the rural parishes within Pedro Moncayo. As mentioned in Chapter Two, health indicators reported in official government documents

---

term *barrio* was used when talking about the center of the parish, where services were often concentrated, or another relatively more developed or densely settled neighborhood.

often favor a positivist definition of health and illness, outlining quantifiable measures with minimal qualitative contextualization and often obscuring within-group inequities. Additionally, as this data is produced through biomedical surveys and research, and compiled by or vetted through health and development organizations, it is considered 'official' by the state and international bodies working on health and development. However, 'official data' can often point to disjunctures between different ideals of well-being, which result in real consequences in the choices available to people in pursuing health. Further, as Puzan (2003) writes, "the hegemony of scientific discourse serves to displace or dismiss other voices that might counter or simply alter its vested interests" (p. 196). This refers to both health-related practices (such as nursing or public health) with patients or 'clients' as well as the self-regulation of health professional education and knowledge production. Public health, the discipline of my master's degree, though interdisciplinary in nature, reproduces the same scientific hegemonic rules within its study and practice. Ironically, my work as a community health nurse and, later, in global health and education, afforded me opportunities to work alongside a variety of community members as a matter of practice, which in turn allowed me to interrogate the very premises on which the formation of my profession-hood was founded. Now, teaching nursing in Seattle, WA (a state with over 190 global health non-profit organizations [Beyers, Divine, Weatherford, & Hagopian, 2007]), I see from the position of a faculty member the ways in which nursing, public health, and global health reify the subjects of their assessments and interventions in order to reproduce the conditions of power in which they operate. Official health data, such as those in this section, codify that discourse. This institutionalization of external influence is especially strong within the

global health field, where national and international policy is often driven by the work of a relatively small number of private foundations, in collaboration with the academic communities which prepare their future employees.[15]

My experiences speaking out against these neocolonial practices in the socialization of health workers, while working to incorporate opportunities for nursing and public health students to thoughtfully and humbly engage in mutually beneficial partnership with institutions in postcolonial nations, has demonstrated the ways in which not 'acting white' within the profession results in professional and personal challenges to one's epistemological legitimacy. These professional experiences have also combined to produce in me an abiding respect for the approach to intersectionality suggested by Choo & Ferree (2010) in which we analyze groups, processes, and systems for the effects of their power, rather than simply viewing individuals as intersectional beings in a neutral vacuum. Presenting this data here facilitates such an analysis later.

Table 2, below, summarizes many key health and community development indicators for the four rural parishes of Pedro Moncayo. In the documents from which this data came[16], the *cantón* is considered to have a positive position in terms of its proximity to Quito and other large cities, the existence of traditional values of community support (such as *mingas*), the articulation between human services, and the capacity and organization of community members. The problems of the *cantón* include insufficient

---

[15] The rise of this phenomenon has sometimes been referred to, since the first appearance of the term in 2006, as philathrocapitalism. The use of this term denotes the ways in which philanthropists and their foundations have become more like for-profit markets with investors, return on investments, and other capitalistic indicators (Ramdas, 2011).

[16] Data in this section come from Cimas-authored documents called PDyOTs (*Actualización plan de desarrollo y ordenamiento territorial de la parroquia rural de [SPECIFIC PARISH] del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Provincia de Pichincha*. Full references for the PDyOTs for each rural parish, all published in June or October of 2015, can be found in the main reference list, under the author *Fundación Cimas del Ecuador*.

resources to increase the coverage of sewerage and other basic infrastructure, uneven health and education coverage, the lack of tertiary education options within the *cantón*, and the wide variation in access to organized social care services. From informal interviews of key stakeholders within the community during the January 2017 pre-fieldwork visit, the following health issues were reported in more than one of the rural parishes: childhood malnutrition and anemia, lack of adequate prenatal care for pregnant women, variable access to sexual and reproductive health information and services, challenges in providing care for persons with disabilities and for older adults, health conditions stemming from work in flower industry (i.e. pesticide exposure and other occupational health hazards), and health issues stemming from lack of reliable access to improved water and sanitation (i.e. parasites).

Table 2. Summary of key community development indicators. Overview for the rural parishes of Pedro Moncayo, with red and green highlighting indicating parish with highest or lowest ranking for that indicator, of all four parishes.

Key Indicators	Tupigachi	Malchinguí	La Esperanza	Tocachi
Total Area (km^2)	43	86	38	96
Total Population	6,174	5,395	4,650	1,985
Percent of Pedro Moncayo Population	18.6	14	12	6
Percent Population Under 25 to 29*	67	50	55	50
Percent Elderly Population†	7	11	9	12.5
Percent Mestizo (self-identified)	25	94	65	91
Percent Indigenous (self-identified)	73	2	32	53
Percent Below National Poverty Line	95	71	71	87
Percent in Extreme Poverty	25	67	30	45
Percent Completed Primary School	94	96	95	93
Percent Completed Secondary School	54	66	55	43

Percent Completed Higher Education	9.4	32	17	11
Percent Illiterate	17	13	7	12
Total Mortality Rate (per 1,000)	5.6	3.0	2.4	4.1
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)	4.5	2.0	3.4	1.4
Percent Access to Safe Water	41	87	90	78
Percent Access to Improved Sanitation	85	96	93	82
Percent Access to Garbage Collection	50	78	74	62

*This data is reported differently for different parishes, with some reporting all children and youth under age 25 and some reporting all those under age 29

†This data is reported differently for different parishes, with some reporting all adults over age 61 and some reporting all adults over age 65

In the order of my engagement with them, next I will introduce each rural parish briefly. This introduction is accompanied by a photo I took within each parish which is intended to help the reader visualize the research settings more clearly. I began the study in Tupigachi. The photo to the left (Illustration 1) was taken as Vicky and I walked along a dirt road in the neighborhood of Chaupiloma. It demonstrates how the area is sparsely settled and how encountering farm animals is quite common. Tupigachi is the most populous rural parish as well as the one with a majority indigenous population. This demographic characteristic was reflected in the study co-researchers, all of whom identified as *Indígena*.

Illustration 1.
Tupigachi Rurality

The parish has the highest proportion of the population under the age of 25, at 67 percent. Tupigachi is also home to the most and the largest flower plantations. Nevertheless, they have the highest percent of residents living in poverty of all the four rural parishes (95

percent living below the national poverty line). From my experiences in the communities of Tupigachi, I found that residents are rich in other areas, including the processes used for community-based participation. These were reflected in the modes of participant recruitment for the parish (see below) and the data that came from the photos. Tupigachi also had the most grassroots community participation. I would come to learn that the co-researchers from Tupigachi also seemed the most focused (of all the co-researchers I worked with) on expanding their agency through both their intense involvement in community processes and their engagement with a variety of economic and productive opportunities (see Results Chapters for more on this).

Malchinguí is the Pedro Moncayo parish closest to Quito. It is also the parish with the largest proportion of Mestizo residents and the least proportion of Indigenous residents. Malchinguí's proximity to Quito also affects the sort of opportunities available (e.g. a daily bus directly to the capital) and the ways in which it engages within community. Malchinguí has seen a great deal of outmigration (Fundación Cimas, 2015b), the consequences of which arose in the data collection through photos and discussion of 'abandoned' elders whose children have moved away, an erosion of *mingas*, and an orientation to a 'services' model with remuneration for community development rather than a voluntary, solidarity model. The photo to the left (Illustration 2) depicts the

Illustration 2.
Malchingui Rurality

engagement of parish *GAD* and *mancomunidad* leaders in the planting of trees intended to honor Canadian volunteers who served in the community, thus depicting the connection that Malchinguí had to groups beyond the cantón. Malchinguí has the highest proportion of its population in extreme poverty, according to national income guidelines. I found this surprising given the high proportion of individuals with access to basic services (e.g. 96 percent with access to improved sanitation), the high educational attainment of residents, and the proximity to a variety of work options in Quito. Themes around this tension are explored in the results chapters.

La Esperanza is the smallest of the parishes in Pedro Moncayo by area. La Esperanza residents have the lowest illiteracy rate of all the rural parishes in the cantón. They have the highest rate of access to improved water. Nevertheless, the infrastructure for delivery of water use for irrigation and household chores was an issue that emerged from participant photos in La Esperanza. This tension emerged in discussions, as reported in the results chapters, and is illustrated by the photo to the left (Illustration 3) which shows the proximity of rose greenhouses to food crops. La Esperanza is considered the 'greenest' by those I worked with, including the co-researchers from La Esperanza themselves. This may relate to the fact that I found the La Esperanza study co-researchers the most reflective about changes representing 'modernity.' La Esperanza has a number of

Illustration 3.
La Esperanza Rurality

community leaders (official and unofficial) who advocate strongly for the revitalization of ancestral practices of agricultural production and land use within the parish. As a result, the parish is the site for an important local-national-international collaborative project called the *Centro Intercultural de Capacitación en Agroecología*, known locally as “el CINCA.” I made numerous visits to the CINCA and found these visits useful in understanding both the motivations and processes for agroecology practices in La Esperanza specifically and the cantón as a whole. I have included my participant observation notes about the CINCA in Appendix B.

Tocachi is the least densely populated rural parish of Pedro Moncayo and also the parish with the largest proportion of elderly residents. Perhaps because of its low density and recent changes in the size of the chief economic activity of agriculture, its community participation seemed the most arranged around the services and potential of the *GAD parroquial*. The photo to the left (Illustration 4) was taken on the steps of the *GAD* parish offices, at the center of town, and shows expansive views of Tocachi’s area and its high, rural elevation which, on a clear day, meant you could see the runway at Quito’s Mariscal Sucre International Airport, 43 kilometers away. Almost half of the residents in Tocachi live in extreme poverty. It also has the lowest infant mortality rate of all the rural

Illustration 4.
Tocachi Rurality

parishes, which I attribute to the fact that its aging population means it also has one of the lowest (relative) proportions of children and youth.

Key Individuals and Their Roles

In keeping with the importance of relationships in community-based, participatory research and the cultural norms of Ecuador, in this section I am introducing the reader to a number of people who served as either informants, gatekeepers, or supports in various proportions. Many people below played multiple of these roles. In a decolonial study, I believe it is critical to honor and recognize their contributions here. In Chapter Six, I discuss the ways in which the study findings have been shared with these various collaborators. Key contacts and their various roles are summarized in Table 3, below.

Table 3. Important people from research in Ecuador. Introduction to key figures in Ecuador research along with their role(s).

Organization	Name	Role(s)
Fundación Cimas	Jose Suarez-Torres	Executive Director of Cimas; physician (MD) with a Master's Degree and PhD in Public Health with the latter focused on epidemiology; began work in Pedro Moncayo 30+ years ago when he worked and lived there as part of his required rural rotation as a medical student
Fundación Cimas	Delores ("Loli") Lopez-Paredes	President of Cimas and Coordinator of its community programs; PhD candidate in Latin American Cultural Studies; applies anthropological perspective to local development. Both Loli and Jose lived in Quito, in a large home just adjacent to the Cimas office.
Fundación Cimas	Natalia Cespedes Paliz	Technical team member for community projects and academic programs at Cimas; primary Cimas contact for day-to-day matters. Lives in Quito with her parents and sisters.
Mancomunidad; Host Family	Cecilia Mantilla	President of the *Mancomunidad* of Rural Parishes of Pedro Moncayo; my host mother during four months of fieldwork; attorney;

		vocale in Malchinguí GAD parroquial; former mayor of Tabacundo
Mancomunidad	María Victoria ("Vicky") Cachipuendo Vásquez	Assistant to Cecilia Mantilla; my research assistant during fieldwork; active member of the *mancomunidad* team; attorney
Mancomunidad	Andres Jaramillo	Technical officer for the *mancomunidad*, for Malchinguí and Tocachi
Mancomunidad	Rolando Pulamarín	Technical officer for the *mancomunidad*, for Tupigachi and La Esperanza; economist
Mancomunidad	Milena Lema	Treasurer for the *mancomunidad*; accountant
Mancomunidad	Hector Tupiza	At-large member of the *mancomunidad*
GAD Parroquial Tupigachi	Fernando Vineuza	President, GAD parroquial de Tupigachi
GAD Parroquial Tupigachi	Carlos Cabascango	Vice-President, GAD parroquial de Tupigachi
GAD Parroquial Tupigachi	María Quilimbaquin	Secretary—Treasurer, GAD parroquial de Tupigachi
GAD Parroquial Malchinguí	Jose Luis Rodriguez	President, GAD parroquial de Malchinguí
GAD Parroquial Malchinguí	Yolanda Heredia	Vice-President, GAD parroquial de Malchinguí
GAD Parroquial Malchinguí	Paulina Iza	Secretary—Treasurer, GAD parroquial de Malchinguí
GAD Parroquial La Esperanza	Iban Toapanta	President, GAD parroquial de La Esperanza
GAD Parroquial La Esperanza	Luis Campos	Vice-President, GAD parroquial de La Esperanza
GAD Parroquial La Esperanza	Cristina Condor	Secretary—Treasurer, GAD parroquial de La Esperanza
GAD Parroquial Tocachi	Bolivar Boada	President, GAD parroquial de Tocachi
GAD Parroquial Tocachi	Victoria Andagoya	Secretary—Treasurer, GAD parroquial de Tocachi
Community Leader, Malchinguí	Margarita Boada	*CECUIDAM* leader, Malchinguí; active community member
Host Family	Germán Castro	My host father during four months of fieldwork; attorney
Host Family	Maqui	My host brother (14 years) during four months of fieldwork; lived in household
Host Family	Milena	My host sister during four months of fieldwork; college student; lived in Quito and visited periodically
Host Family	Nslin	My host brother during four months of fieldwork; young adult working in technology

		firm; lived in Chile and in Quito and visited periodically
Host Family	Doña Berta	My host grandmother during four months of fieldwork; mother of Cecilia; lived in household
Host Family	Doña Maríanita	My host grandmother during four months of fieldwork; mother of Germán; lived in Cayambe and came to visit/stay over most weekends
Host Family	Doña María	Housekeeper and cook for the Mantilla-Castro family; worked in household every weekday from about 9 am to 4 pm; lived in Tocachi

Methodology

This is an ethnographically-influenced photovoice study. More specifically, this study leveraged a visual ethnography approach, combined with other sources of data which are used to contextualize co-researcher-made images and co-researchers' explanations of their images, in order to answer the research questions. As such, this study was influenced largely by principles of visual ethnography with important modifications to align with the participatory and decolonial aspects of the study. However, it is important to begin with a definition of ethnography more broadly. In this study, I used Pink's (2013) definition of ethnography as "an approach to experiencing, interpreting and representing experience, culture, society and material and sensory environments that informs and is informed by sets of different disciplinary agendas and theoretical principles" (p. 34). Furthermore, visual ethnography should "engage with issues of representation that question the right of the researcher to represent other people" (Pink, 2013, p. 35) and, in this way, the participatory photography method of photovoice, discussed below, is vitally important to conditioning the ethnographic inquiry used here. While I also use data collection methods common to ethnography, such as participant observation, interviewing, and document analysis, in this study, the choice to focus on

images created and debated by the co-researchers enables an analysis of discourse and framing which is in keeping with the critical decolonial orientation of this study and its emphasis on epistemologies of the South. Nevertheless, these two approaches coincide. Pink cites Bourdieu in arguing that "images produced by individual photographers…inevitably express the shared norms of that individual's society" (2013, p. 44). I would argue that participatory photography holds the potential to provide insight into culture – which is by definition shared – as well as allow for individual expression. Indeed, critical ethnographers focus on elevating the "viewpoints and persons who hitherto have been marginal or silenced," asking questions formulated in unique ways, interpreting results through novel lenses, and "portray[ing] more adequately the multiplicity of viewpoints…recognized to constitute the reality of any social setting" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 27).

In addition, ideals of community-based participatory research (CBPR) influenced this study. Specifically, CBPR is relevant in a decolonial study of grassroots community development because it can promote "trust and shared power and decision-making between researchers and community representatives, two-way capacity building, and mutually beneficial cocreation and dissemination of study findings" (Mikesell, Bromley, & Khodyakov, 2013, p. e7). A key tenet of CBPR is discussion about and agreement on the purposes of the project or study at the outset of the work. This discussion began through my engagement with partners at *Fundación Cimas* as early as September 2014. It continued through interactions with key stakeholders during my January 2017 pre-data collection visit to Ecuador and through the photovoice workshops which marked the start of the research process for co-researchers (described below). I also provided a photovoice

training to employees and affiliates of Cimas in Mar 2018, at their request, as well as presented preliminary research results at that time. I anticipate continuing the partnership with Cimas, as their leaders envisioned additional queries of the study data that would be useful to their work, as well as possible follow-up studies. This sort of integrating of CBPR principles is an especially important intersection with visual ethnography in order "to articulate clear goals for supporting the production and sharing of stories in ways that aim to improve the lives of…participants and their communities" (Gubrium, Hill, & Flicker, 2014, p. 1613). Of note is the fact that this study, while it may result in later community development and/or political action by co-researchers and/or partners, is not situated as 'action research,' but *is* considered participatory and community-based (see Limitations in Chapter Six).

Participatory research methods present unique ethical considerations to researchers: CBPR is "both a…method and an ethical practice" (Mikesell, Bromley, & Khodyakov, 2013, p. e12). One distinct characteristic is that CBPR focuses not only on individual co-researchers, but on the community at large and, as such, involves discussions of community autonomy and justice which differ from those a researcher may have with individuals (Mikesell, Bromley, & Khodyakov, 2013; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2008). Though community is the key unit, it is vital to remember that "not all experiences can be shared by everyone in any given population" (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 60). Other key ethical issues concerning CBPR include social and community justice, which refers to the prioritization of community benefits, the negotiation of compromises, the assurance that research risks and benefits are equitably distributed in the community, and the issue of beneficence, which for communities refers to how risks and benefits

affect both community researchers and the community at large (Mikesell, Bromley, & Khodyakov, 2013). The collaboration required in CBPR includes elements of engagement, shared leadership, trust, transparency, and mutual empowerment. In addition, community control in CBPR literature usually refers to (at a minimum) "joint ownership of data or negotiation of control of data" as well as joint interpretation of findings and dissemination of results (Mikesell, Bromley, & Khodyakov, 2013, p. e9; e8; Israel, et al, 2005). This also implies a close relationship between the researcher and her co-researchers: "the intimacy of qualitative research no longer allows us to remain true outsiders to the experience under study and, because of our role as researchers, it does not qualify us as complete insiders. We…occupy the space between, with the costs and benefits this status affords" (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 61). There is a link between feminist and critical research orientations and participatory research methods in their common goals to (at a minimum) avoid participation within or (at best) deconstruct hierarchical, manipulative research relationships of the past (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), despite the ethical implications that result from the closeness required between research parties. In their systematic review of ethical issues in CBPR, Mikesell, et al. (2013) find that the most frequently employed strategies for ensuring ethical CBPR include: open and continuous engagement with the community; prioritization of transparency through honest and continual communication, as well as formalized research agreements and data-sharing protocols, and; the development of community advisory boards. Israel, et al. (2005) reported similar findings, with additional detail reported with regard to specific community engagement processes.

Methods

Photovoice was the principal study method. According to Wang and Burris (1997), photovoice is a participatory method "…by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique" (p. 369). This method builds upon and extends previous uses of visual research, such as visual ethnography, visual sociology, documentary photography, and interpretive video analysis (Wang & Burris, 1994; Schnettler, 2013). In photovoice, co-researchers receive cameras and brief training in basic photography. Co-researchers jointly discuss and decide upon themes relating to the research questions and then images of the community, relating to these themes, are made *by* community members themselves. Detailed data on each theme are mined via individual and group photographic analyses. A detailed description of the cycle used for photovoice training and individual and group interactions is outlined below. There is an important distinction between photovoice (small letters) as the research method developed by Wang (and colleagues), and PhotoVoice (capital P and V), the trademarked name of a charitable organization in the United Kingdom, whose mission is to build skills within marginalized communities through the use of participatory photography and digital storytelling methods (PhotoVoice, n.d.). PhotoVoice the organization also offers a three-day (22-hour) training in which their leaders teach a successful, field-tested model for designing, implementing, and evaluating participatory photography projects to researchers, practitioners, and professional photographers from around the world (PhotoVoice, n.d.[a]). I will refer to PhotoVoice organizational processes within my design section, as their procedures and resources are

well-developed, and I attended their training in designing, facilitating, and evaluating photovoice projects from January 15-17, 2017.

Photovoice is a form of participatory photography, a term whose meaning is varied and contested. The PhotoVoice organization uses the following definition, which I also adopt: participatory photography is the use of photography by those affected by or involved in the issues or situations that are the subjects of the photographs (Personal Communications, PhotoVoice Training, January 15, 2017). Aims of research using this method include making voices heard, enhancing community advocacy and self-advocacy, engaging in dialogue and education, and building the self-confidence and skills of co-researchers (PhotoVoice, n.d.[b]). As such, use of photovoice supports this study's participatory and critical orientations; it allows for a first-person viewpoint, affirms local perspectives, generates a broad sample of images, illuminates complexity, and creates community discussion (Wang & Burris, 1997). Photovoice processes align with self-determined social action. They enable community-generated data to be applied by members themselves to improve or adjust grassroots health development efforts and they illuminate epistemologies of the South which have been traditionally marginalized in the international development discourse. Photovoice has been used successfully in health research in international settings and with marginalized populations (Delgado, 2015; PhotoVoice, n.d.[b]).

Photovoice is also categorized in health and social work research as a participatory methodology (Catalini & Minkler, 2010; Hergenrather, et al., 2009). Initial uses of photovoice contained echoes of Freirean-like praxis elements and techniques for data analysis which put some control of the research process into the hands of co-

researchers; later uses incorporated even more participation through the use of participatory visual analysis, pioneered by Wang and colleagues (Catalini & Minkler, 2010). Hergenrather, et al. (2009) note that the photovoice method "provides opportunity from a constructivist approach to define learning through the participant's interactive process of developing and constructing meaning through experiences" (p. 695). Nevertheless, photovoice studies are not *necessarily* participatory. In their literature review of the subject, Catalini and Minkler (2010) identify four characteristics of "high participation" photovoice studies: they originated from ongoing community partnerships, had a longer than average duration (at least several months), reported an emphasis on training and community capacity building, and engaged with participant-led community action (p. 440). In a similar literature review, Hergenrather and colleagues (2009) wrote that the participatory nature of photovoice often relied on the collaborative data analysis process and stressed the importance of using this process, along with member checking, to assure the quality, validity, and interpretation of the data. I spent a total of four and a half months immersed in the study site and employed various ethnographic data collection methods in addition to photovoice. My study excelled at the participatory characteristics of researcher as facilitator, ongoing partnership, an emphasis on training, and collaborative analysis with co-researchers. My study could have been more participatory in the areas of participant-led action and member checking. Much of the participatory nature of photovoice as a research method lies in the collaborative design of the study and the ability of the researcher to be "in a process-facilitating role…[which] creates a shared commitment by the researcher and community members" to apply an assets-based view of community and elevate the experiences of the co-researchers

themselves in the representation of the issues under investigation (Hergenrather, et al., 2009, p. 695). This characteristic fits with my experience in community engagement and assets-based community development. Pink (2013) also notes that "re-defining…visual ethnography as a collaborative and reflexive exercise…acknowledges its roots in anthropology, yet simultaneously connects with the participatory and collaborative trends in other disciplines and interdisciplinary fields" (p. 39). Bridging the areas of ethnography and participatory photography, she also notes that "we can understand photography as a mobile ethnographic method, a process of making images as we go through the world" (2013, p. 81). Yet there is a difference between being photographed and being the photographer. There is a difference between having someone else make meaning of your image – as in the traditional uses of visual anthropology – and in sharing your own meaning from the photographs you take yourself. This is an important construct underlying my combination of methodology and method.

As a form of visual ethnography and a form of CBPR, photovoice has a unique set of ethical issues embedded within its processes. As the PhotoVoice organization writes in its Statement of Ethical Practice (2016, p. 73):

> The participatory photography process centers around taking photographs, but also incorporates a broad range of elements beyond 'pressing the shutter.' It involves learning to express opinions, interpret and discuss images, to work as part of a group, to listen to others, to develop ideas and a voice, to edit and caption images…deciding what picture to take and for whom.

According to the UK organization, photovoice processes center on the core principles of choice, creativity, partnership, sustainability, and cultural sensitivity (PhotoVoice, 2016, p. 74). These principles help frame the ethical issues which may arise

during the course of a photovoice project, and how the researcher and participants can plan for and respond to these issues. Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001) frame their discussion of ethical issues in the use of photovoice during a project in Flint, MI differently, citing the text *Image Ethics* and analyzing project risks as they relate to U.S. privacy law. Using this lens, they write that the main risks to participants are (1) intrusion into private space or into privacy while one is in public, without consent; (2) disclosure of embarrassing facts or states; (3) creation of a false image or showing someone or some circumstance in a false light, and; (4) use of likenesses without benefit or with expense to the individual (Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001, pp. 563-564). In my study, I found that issues of the use of likenesses and possible benefits or harms to the relevant individuals generated the most discussion among co-researchers; the other potential issues raised by Wang & Redwood-Jones did not create concern or discussion. In the study region of Ecuador I quickly recognized, through participant observation and discussion of cultural norms and ethical issues with key informants, that photo-taking in communities and at events was routine and culturally normalized. Indeed, this was one of the first questions I asked Cimas and other collaborators when discussing the possibility of photovoice as a method in January 2017, as it would be inappropriate and therefore infeasible to conduct a study using photovoice if photo-taking was not culturally acceptable.

Additionally, Gubrium, Hill, and Flicker (2014) categorize the risks of digital storytelling – a process similar to photovoice – using a taxonomy that involves fuzzy boundaries, issues around recruitment and consent to participate, the power of shaping, issues of representation and harm, confidentiality, and release of materials (p. 1607). Finally, Delgado (2015) advocates an approach to dealing with ethical issues of

photovoice projects in which risks, benefits, and ethically-fraught situations are methodically considered at each stage of the research process. All of these authors make reference to the links between photovoice and community-based or participatory research in consideration of ethical issues.

Of these approaches, I found that of Gubrium and colleagues (2014) to be the most useful for my photovoice project. Their taxonomy, along with the resources available from PhotoVoice (2016) were helpful in offering practical considerations of and language for the creation of group agreements, control and decision-making, and co-researcher/community well-being. In addition, I also find Bryce's (2012) notion of "co-curation" a useful frame. She writes, "photovoice can be considered as a form of 'co-curation.' The act of curation is the process of organizing and maintaining a collection of art works or artefacts….Curation is intimately connected with narrative…[and] the process of curation involves using both the narrative and the image to tell a story" (Bryce, 2012, pp. 44-45). This is meaningful to me, and is linked to research ethics, as it illustrates the connections between positionality of the researcher, the co-researchers, and the process of creation and curation inherent in the photovoice method. By remembering the co-curation aspect of photovoice, I did my best to situate myself, each participant, and each co-researchers' works – as well as the work of the parish groups – within a context that encompasses aspects of research, community self-determination and self-knowledge, and visual representation.

Of note is the fact that a few articles exist which address the intersections of these ethical concerns, such as the use of participatory research with indigenous peoples (Gaudet, 2014) and the use of photovoice with indigenous communities (Castelden,

Garvin, & the Huu-ay-aht First Nation, 2008). Nonetheless, these were particularly useful guides throughout the dissertation fieldwork and writing processes. From Gaudet (2014), I took the lesson of how important it can be to "drop the academic persona, and to remain present without any agenda to somehow evoke community interest" (p. 72). Both Gaudet (2014) and Castelden, Garvin, & the Huu-ay-aht First Nation (2008) discussed the importance of recognizing and centering power relations in the acts of research with indigenous peoples and in the writing of research for various audiences. Given the aims of my study, it was critical to me to guard against what Gaudet (2014) called "subscribing knowingly or unknowingly to an imposing approach to research…[which] leads to re-enacting epistemological conflict and risks dismissing Indigenous knowledge" (p. 75). Castelden and colleagues (2008) wrote of the ways in which photovoice enabled them to foster a sense of trust and provide opportunities for community dialogue, which their participants said made photovoice "an appropriate and effective approach to explore their environment and health issues" (p. 1400).

Photovoice, as a method, contains planning, implementation, and evaluation phases, all of which are meant to be executed in collaboration with local partners and co-researchers. It is important to distinguish between the design and management of the overall project and the design, implementation, and evaluation of workshops, which are meant to train and involve the co-researchers in the skills and knowledge they need to complete a project and analyze the data they collectively produce (PhotoVoice, n.d.[b]). In the design section, below, the term 'project' is used to refer to the overall research project, with its statement of study purpose and specific research questions, as well as its own overarching timeline, approval, and funding considerations. The term 'workshop' is

used to refer to the individual sessions in which the researcher is training, meeting with, and progressing alongside the co-researchers as they collect and analyze data pertaining to the themes which relate to the project's research questions.

Design

In this section, I will describe the logistics of the study design I executed, including its partners and approvals, the time and duration of the study, and sampling and recruitment.

Partners and Approvals

I first traveled to Ecuador in 2006, as part of my Master of Public Health final internship, to work for a month with the Jatun Sacha Foundation. I returned to Ecuador in 2011 as part of a delegation of Washington State universities who partnered with *Fundación Cimas*, with which I partnered for this study. While I am by no means an expert on the country, this familiarity with the culture, language, and people of Ecuador led to a better inquiry given the nature of my research questions and proposed methods of data collection. To enter into and conduct participatory research with the people of Cantón Pedro Moncayo, I partnered with the Ecuadorian nonprofit organization, Cimas. Cimas' history and work is detailed in Chapter One. Briefly, Cimas operates as a research-based academic organization with links to universities in Ecuador and the U.S., and to various levels of governments and communities within cantón Pedro Moncayo working on development issues. The organization works together with communities in order to create dialogue "for the construction of local development alternatives" (Fundación Cimas del Ecuador, 2013). Past projects include community, research, and small business endeavors in the areas of elderly care, land management, public health,

cultural perspectives on health, and microcredit enterprises (*Fundación Cimas del Ecuador*, 2013a). The foundation works directly as partners in these projects and as a linking organization for university students from the U.S. (including for the University of Minnesota's Studies in International Development program) to their work through courses with various community and academic faculty. In February 2016, the foundation's leaders presented my short research proposal (see Appendix C for English and Spanish versions) to the Association of Rural Parishes of Pedro Moncayo County (the *mancomunidad*), who approved my entry into and work with the community. During my January 2017 visit to Ecuador, these relationships were reconfirmed (with Cimas) and formally established (with the *mancomunidad*).

The University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed a full protocol for this study which I submitted on June 30, 2017 and determined it to be exempt (see Appendix D). In Ecuador, a letter of affiliation with Cimas was received on January 6, 2017; this letter was created in the context of fellowship application which, in the end I did not receive, however it clearly outlines the agreements Cimas and I had regarding study collaboration. In addition, as the study concerns local development processes and outcomes, which are activities under the responsibility of the Decentralized Autonomous Governments (*GAD*) of the parishes in Ecuador, research approval was obtained from the Pedro Moncayo *mancomunidad* (see Appendix E for partner study approval letters). Various study proposals were sent to Cimas and Cecilia Mantilla between Mar 2017, after the January 2017 pre-data collection planning visit to Ecuador, and July 2017 when the initial data collection period began; these proposals were edited collaboratively with Cimas in order to take into account local circumstances and needs.

In addition to these formal approvals, I also established relationships with key community members during my January 2017 visit. At Cimas, I met and worked closely with Natalia Cespedes, whose official title is 'technical team member for community projects and academic programs' (*técnica miembro de equipo de proyectos comunitarios y programas académicos*), and whose focus area is in health. Natalia has a master's degree in public health with a focus on nutrition. She and I spent a good deal of time together in the Cimas offices, on trips to the community, and sight-seeing within Quito.

Illustration 5.
At *Mitad del Mundo*

Natalia was invaluable in helping me access documents (see Appendix F) that Cimas produced in partnership with various national and local development agencies, as well as official government documents, which provided context about the history and nature of participatory development and the health, socioeconomic, and environmental status of each of the rural parishes within PM County. In addition, Natalia helped me to understand the history of Cimas' work in the region, the relationships between various key stakeholders, and culturally-appropriate methods for interacting with diverse community members (largely through modeling them herself). We quickly became friends and also socialized and did sightseeing together (see Illustration 5 above which, from left to right, shows Vicky, Natalia, and me at *Mitad del Mundo*).

During my January 2017 visit, after my initial period in Quito, I spent about three days in Pedro Moncayo, where I was hosted in the home of Cecilia Mantilla. Dra.[17] Mantilla introduced me to several other key partners, including Vicky, Andres, Rolando, Hector, and Milena, among others. During my time in the rural communities, I visited each of the parishes and met with many formal and informal leaders involved with community and/or health development work. I met with each of the rural parish *GAD* Presidents, except the President for La Esperanza, who was busy at the time of my visit. I also visited each rural parish *centro de salud* (health center) and spoke with key informants there and at other social service agencies, including physicians (who also occasionally served as the health center's managing director), dentists, nurses, childcare workers, elder care workers, and others. During these informal visits, which were accompanied by the *mancomunidad* technical officer and sometimes Vicky, I asked questions about the key health issues in the parish, the ways in which services are delivered to community members, the challenges faced with regard to health service provision in the parish, and the ways in which community members or community-led bodies shape and participate in the provision and monitoring of health services.

In addition to visiting health centers, in January 2017 I also visited other sites of health-related community development, including *los centros de adultos mayores* (older adult centers) and *los centros infantiles* (child care centers), and met briefly with their leaders. These visits were tremendously helpful in painting a picture for me of the daily life of health and well-being within the rural parishes, the types of services that were

[17] *Doctor* and *doctora* are used in Ecuador as honorifics for professionals with a university degree – not only for medical doctors or holders of a doctoral degree – especially when the person being referred to is held in high esteem.

available, the attitudes of local government leaders to health and development issues, and the ways in which community members are involved with these activities. The visits and conversations also illustrated the ways in which institutional leadership intersects with community leadership, as many people I spoke with held both 'official' roles within community organizations as well as roles in which they acted as community representatives bridging the experiences of their neighbors to the services they were involved with delivering or assuring. Child and elder care employees were almost always community residents. The notable exception to this was within the health centers, in which most official roles were held by community outsiders who work for the Ministry of Health and are placed for temporary assignments in rural communities as part of their health education practicum rotations.

Time and Duration of Study

The research took place over the course of four and a half months in three periods: January 21 to February 4, 2017, July 15 to September 13, 2017, and January 30 to Mar 24, 2018. In July to September 2017 I worked with co-researchers from the parishes of Tupigachi and Malchinguí. In January to Mar 2018, I worked with co-researchers from the parishes of La Esperanza and Tocachi. In each parish, the process of recruitment took approximately one to two weeks (often happening simultaneously or overlapping in time in multiple parishes) and the process of data collection and collaborative analysis took approximately two to three weeks in each parish. During the latter time, co-researchers completed an introductory photovoice workshop and two data collection "rounds," the first pertaining to research questions one and two and the second corresponding to research questions three and four. Each round contained analysis as

well, chiefly through the two group discussions and photo-sharing experiences at the end of each outshoot period in each parish.

Sampling and Recruitment

I was guided by both Western research ideals of sampling and culturally appropriate recognition of local community members who play key roles in community and/or health development. From a Western research perspective, I used purposive sampling, primarily operational construct sampling as an organizing ideal, with the addition of typical and unusual cases (individuals) as needed to answer the research questions and/or address cultural expectations. Operational construct sampling is based on selecting incidents, time periods, and people on the basis of their potential to manifest the phenomenon and/or theoretical constructs under investigation, in this case local community development and ideals of well-being in the research setting (Patton, 1990). Purposive sampling involves the application of both boundaries and an idea of the conceptual frame of one's study in order to assure participants recruited will be suitable to answer the research questions (Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, 2014). Both of these characteristics can be seen in my study. Its geographic focus on Cantón Pedro Moncayo from which to draw co-researchers is based on the access to and willingness of these communities to participate in the study due to their long-term collaborative relationship with *Fundación Cimas* on local development issues. As such, the selected areas meet operational construct sampling criteria in that they have manifested and can be expected to continue to manifest behaviors and have experiences with the local community development phenomena under study. However, it is important to attend to issues of representation and the power to shape narratives in critical ethnographic work and in

visual methods. There are “power dimensions inherent to the participatory process, which affect whose voices are privileged and whose may be silenced” (Gubrium, Hill, & Flicker, 2014, p. 1610). Thus, it was important to me to acknowledge the fact that the co-researchers, as described above, are also individuals who hold a certain level of power within their community at the outset of the study. A study purporting to be about community meaning and interpretation of well-being and its relationships to development must also account for the voices of those in the community who may not hold official or unofficial power. This was accomplished in various ways.

At the outset of the summer 2017 field work period, I met with the technical team of the *mancomunidad* to discuss various logistics of the study, including recruitment. At that meeting, I presented various criteria for possible co-researcher recruitment, informed by reading local development documents, thinking about Western and culturally appropriate recruitment tenets, and discussions I had with Cimas. There was some debate within the technical team about how best to approach recruitment in each parish and which criteria could be applied relatively consistently across all four rural parishes. In the end, we decided to recruit co-researchers in a manner than mirrored the identification of key “priority groups” as outlined in numerous Ecuadorian development documents. As minors were excluded from the study, and the target number of co-researchers was between four and six in each parish, we determined that in each parish, we would attempt to recruit one woman of childbearing age or a pregnant woman, one young adult (aged 20 – 49), one adult (aged 50 – 64), and one older adult (greater than or equal to age 65).

In keeping with the CBPR nature of this study, Vicky and I met with the *GAD* president in each parish, or his designee, to obtain advice about the best way to recruit the

co-researchers. In addition to sharing the criteria described above, we explained that, ideally, the co-researchers would represent a variety of different *comunidades* and *barrios* (rural communities and urban neighborhoods) within each parish and include both men and women. I respected (and welcomed) that each parish conducted the recruitment process slightly differently. In Tupigachi, the *GAD parroquial* president was consulted and convened a meeting of the presidents of various community associations. At that meeting, Vicky and I presented the recruitment criteria and timeline, suggesting that certain community leaders attempt to recruit one person from the criteria and others recruit a different person from the criteria, so that collectively we would have the total amount. The community presidents resisted this idea. They indicated they would each like to recruit one woman of childbearing age (or a pregnant woman), one adult, and one older adult. As there were three rural communities represented, this meant a potential total of nine co-researchers. After discussion, I agreed. In Tupigachi, Vicky and I also went from door to door, after a recruitment period by the community presidents, to explain the study and consent process to each potential co-researcher, with the help of a *GAD parroquial vocale*, Cristina Cuascota. Though nine co-researchers were recruited in Tupigachi and all attended the introductory photovoice workshop, one pregnant participant dropped out of the study during round one after she unexpectedly gave birth ahead of her due date.

In Malchinguí, Vicky and I worked with the *GAD parroquial* president's delegate, the vice-president, to accomplish recruitment. Here the process was quite different. We reviewed the recruitment criteria and created a list of possible co-researchers based on the vice-president's suggestions. She explained to us that the co-

researchers would require a formal letter inviting them to participate in the study, signed by President Rodriguez and me. Vicky and I created these letters using the suggested co-researcher names and a template procured from the *GAD parroquial* secretary—treasurer. The vice-president hand-delivered these invitation letters with a brief explanation of the study. The exception to this method in Malchinguí was he woman of child-bearing age whom I recruited by discussing the study when I was seated next to her during a Cimas—Tocachi celebration.

In La Esperanza, the *GAD parroquial* president assigned the task of helping with recruitment to his secretary—treasurer, who used a process similar to that of Malchinguí, but without the formal invitation letters. In Tocachi, the *GAD parroquial* president assigned the task of helping with recruitment to one of his *vocales*. She seemed to take the least care in the recruitment process. Several co-researchers were quite late to the introductory photovoice workshop and, despite already having started with one woman of childbearing age, another pregnant woman arrived who was told she would be able to participate. Also, though I was not aware of it until after the introductory workshop was well underway, the young adult and the older adult whom the *vocale* recruited to participate were both members of her own family. Finally, though we asked for care to be taken to recruit co-researchers from both rural and urban areas of the parish, all co-researchers in Tocachi came from urban *barrios*. Vicky and I attempted to correct for this by visiting an older adult who lives in a rural community of Tocachi on the Saturday after the introductory photovoice workshop, at the suggestion of *GAD parroquial* President Boada. However, this woman had experienced a family medical emergency in the night and when we arrived at her home, a family member told us she had gone to a hospital in

Quito. Nevertheless, the six co-researchers from Tocachi did represent the various target age groups that were part of recruitment planning.

Summary of Co-Researchers

This study involved 24 co-researchers. The breakdown of these co-researchers by parish, as well as selected characteristics of each group, is presented below in Table 4. Tupigachi had the most co-researchers with eight. Malchinguí and La Esperanza each had five co-researchers. Tocachi had six co-researchers. There were twice as many females represented as males. In keeping with its overall demographics, Tupigachi's co-researchers all self-identified their ethnicity as indigenous. All co-researchers in the other parishes auto-identified their ethnicity as Mestizo. A wide range of ages was represented. Almost three times as many urban *barrios* (neighborhoods) were represented as were rural *comunidades* (communities) (again, while recalling that all of the parishes are themselves considered rural).

Table 4. Co-researcher characteristics, by parish. Summary of demographic characteristics of co-researchers who participated in study.

	Tupigachi	**Malchinguí**	**La Esperanza**	**Tocachi**
Total Number of Co-Researchers (n=24)	8	5	5	6
Female Co-Researchers (n=16)	5	3	4	4
Male Co-Researchers (n=8)	3	2	1	2
Mestizo Co-Researchers (n=16)	0	5	5	6
Indigenous Co-Researchers (n=7)	7*	0	0	0
Co-Researchers Under Age 20 (n=1)	0	0	0	1
Co-Researchers Age 21 to 30 (n=4)	1	1	2	2
Co-Researchers Age 31 to 40 (n=2)	1	0	0	1

Co-Researchers Age 41 to 50 (n=7)	3	3	0	1
Co-Researchers Age 51 to 60 (n=0)	0	0	0	0
Co-Researchers Age 61 to 70 (n=5)	2	1	2	0
Co-Researchers Age 71 to 80 (n=2)	0	0	1	1
Co-Researchers Over Age 80 (n=1)	1	0	0	0
Rural Communities (n=4)	3	1	0	0
Urban Neighborhoods (n=11)	0	4	4	3

*Ethnicity information missing for one participant in Tupigachi; however Vicky and I believe he would identify as indigenous

This information is intended to broadly introduce the co-researchers in the manner typical of U.S. and Euro-centric research paradigm. As part of the photovoice workshop that marked the start of the research collaboration, I asked co-researchers to write a mini-autobiography. We provided guidelines for some possible information they could include in their mini-autobiographies, but we also stressed that they could share anything that they wanted people who might read this study in the future to know about them. At the conclusion of the research process, I took photographic portraits of each co-researcher. For a more personal introduction to the co-researchers, these photos and their autobiographies can be found in Appendix G.

Problematizing Pseudonyms and Anonymizing

It is common practice in White, Western, and/or biomedical research paradigms to provide pseudonyms for research participants and to anonymize place names which could identify participants or other individuals or organizations involved in the research (Lahman, Rodriguez, Moses, Griffin, Mendoza & Yacoub, 2015; Tilley & Woodthorpe, 2011). These practices are normalized through research codes of ethics and institutional

or ethical review boards and, as such, are often left unquestioned (Tilley & Woodthorpe, 2011). Ironically, Lahman and colleagues (2015) note that "forcing biomedical human research standards on research participants risks paternalizing participants and taking away their autonomy, which is a fundamental reason human research ethical codes were created" in the first place (p. 446). Other research paradigms, such as community-based participatory research and critical race feminist theory hold that researchers must consider the implications of their power to rename participants and respect participant requests to have their research contributions associated with their real names (Lahman, et al, 2015). Moreover, the use of pseudonyms and anonymization is ahistorical and acontextual; it turns people and places into "usable examples or illustrations of generalizing theoretical categories" in which they can be interchanged and stand in for other constructs in the mind of the reader (Nespor, 2000, p. 550). Likewise place anonymizing transforms "concrete, historically and politically contingent settings" into anonymous and apolitical locales thus enabling the researcher to control the bounds of discourse about that space, including any possible contestation of their work (Nespor, 2000, p. 554).

I therefore intentionally decided not to necessarily create or require pseudonyms or to anonymize places or others involved with the research unless they expressed asked me to do so. In photovoice, the method provides a process by which co-researchers, as owners of their work (and in keeping with CBPR principles) can choose whether to be identified by their real names or a pseudonym in the photo credits which accompany all showings of their work. In my study, during the final meeting and celebration, Vicky and I explained this choice to the co-researchers and the possible implications of either

decision. This discussion fit nicely with the process of image consent, described below. In order to avoid group influence and to document the individual decisions, I provided a slip of paper to each co-researcher for them to mark to indicate whether they wished to use their real name or a pseudonym and, if a pseudonym, what they wanted that false name to be. The self-selection of pseudonyms is supported in the literature (Lahman, et al, 2015). In the end, five co-researchers selected a pseudonym and 19 chose to have their work accompanied by their real name.

These same reasons underpinned my choice to not anonymize Cantón Pedro Moncayo, its rural parishes, or the other key individuals and organizations with whom I worked. Many of these people are public servants and, as such were accustomed to having their names associated with community development work and research; in fact, Ecuadorian law requires such documentation. Moreover, all of them indicated to me, at some time or another, that they did have a need to remain anonymous and in fact felt that their association with this project brought positive feelings, impressions, and outcomes to them and their communities. Likewise the parish governments, the *mancomunidad*, and *Fundación Cimas* could all benefit from the results of the publication of our collaboration and/or research findings and to anonymize them without their consent would be to deny them these opportunities.

There are, of course, ethical considerations accompanying these decisions. Lahman and colleagues (2015) divide the ethical consideration surrounding confidentiality and anonymity[18] into three categories:

---

[18] While often mistakenly used interchangeably, confidentiality and anonymity are not the same. Confidentiality refers to the management of private information in order to minimize any harm to individuals that may come from its disclosure (Tilley & Woodthorpe, 2011). Anonymity – a near impossibility in research, if not in publication – means that the source of the data is unknown even to the

> *Relationally*, when real names are used, the persons directly connected to the participants are also known;
> *Developmentally*, as time passes, will the participants wish they had used their name?;
> *Economically*, could there be unanticipated impact on current and future work? (Lahman, et al, 2015, pp. 450-451, emphasis added)

Thus, in discussions with co-researchers about pseudonyms and anonymity, I covered these possible risks and presented information intended to help them make a decision that included their own ethical assessments.

Consent. The use of photovoice as a method requires multiple levels of consent. (See Appendix H for all consent forms.) After recruitment, at the outset of the study (usually at the photovoice introductory workshop), I engaged each potential co-researcher in a face-to-face discussion about informed consent for participation in the overall study using the general consent form. This initial consent form had been professionally translated from English to Spanish; the discussions I had about consent with co-researchers were conducted in Spanish. (I should mention that because the UMN IRB found my study exempt, a consent form was not actually required. However, I did not feel comfortable with this arrangement and created what the IRB calls an Information Sheet for Research. While this did not technically require a signature, I did have the co-researchers write their names, the date, their parish, and make a mark or a signature after the review in order to positively indicate their willingness to participate.)

During the study workshops, I discussed and trained co-researchers in the processes of obtaining the consent of 'models,' or identifiable persons contained within participant-taken photographs which form part of the study's data. In keeping with

---

researcher (hence, the biomedical origins relating to assigning codes to participants in blinded studies) (Lahman, et al, 2015).

Ecuadorian law and prudent photographic practices, we also discussed the importance of not photographing identifiable minors (children and youth under age 18). Lastly, at the conclusion of the study during the wrap-up and celebration meeting, the co-researchers and I reviewed the third level of consent in photovoice: image consent. Image consent refers to the level of permission each co-researcher grants for various uses of each of the photographs they created during the course of the study. Model and image consent forms were also translated into Spanish by a professional firm and discussed in Spanish. In the case where the participant was not literate, all consents were obtained verbally through a conversation between the researcher and each co-researcher, using the consent forms as scripts. Kichwa scripts were not needed as all co-researchers spoke Spanish. In the case that a co-researcher or "model" could not sign his or her name, we employed the Ecuadorian custom of using an ink-laden finger or thumb print as a signature.

Data Collection

Photovoice

Principles and processes of data collection. Certain general principles for data collection using photovoice guided this study. The method begins with the idea of the researcher working with participants as a facilitator. Wang and Burris (1997) note that facilitator "has a ring of neutrality. However...the facilitator is accountable to the group or community and openly committed to certain kinds of social change," recognizing "the political nature of photography and community-based work" (p. 376). Importantly, facilitation in photovoice employs a Freirean process of iterative dialogue about the social and political conditions in which individuals and communities find themselves. As such, the roles of the facilitator and the participants (in my case, the co-researchers) are

not mutually exclusive as co-researchers may also lead group discussions, question one another, and encourage opinions to be voiced and debated (Wang & Burris, 1997). Indeed, this happened in each parish to a certain extent. Generally speaking, photovoice as a method begins with a 'training' (called workshops, below) and proceeds through 'outshoots,' facilitated small and large group discussions, and participatory analysis, through to a community decision on the use of the photos and data generated from the method for their own identified purposes. In addition to generating research data, scholars have identified other usual outcomes of the photovoice method including identification of community concerns and priorities; creation of an exhibit of participant photos and photo-based themes; creation of community plans of action or enhanced community engagement in action and advocacy, and; increased individual empowerment (Catalini & Minkler, 2010; Hergenrather, Rhodes, Cowan, & Bardhoshi, 2009). In my study, additional outcomes I noted in co-researchers were debate about community priorities, creation of ideas for future uses of photos, and reports of increased feelings of self-efficacy and community belonging.

In order for photovoice to function properly, co-researchers must attend an introductory workshop that can be tailored to the time available in each study. In my study, the co-researchers first met as a group (and in some recruitment cases, first met me) at a four-hour basic photography workshop which marked the start of their study involvement. The workshop covered a variety of topics, which are outlined in the agenda

Illustration 6. Photovoice Workshop

presented in Table 5 below. This table is followed by the dates on which the workshop took place in each parish. To the left (Illustration 6) is a photo of Vicky working with a co-researcher from Tocachi during the photovoice workshop. In the background you can see the two posters: on the left, the suggested items to include in the autobiography and, on the right, the poster co-researchers made outlining their group ground rules.

Table 5. Introductory photography/photovoice workshop. Outline of topics covered in photovoice workshop and data workshop was conducted in each parish.

Workshop Agenda, in order of presentation
Welcome Greetings and Review of Study Consent Forms
Introductions, Official Welcome, and Review Agenda
Setting Ground Rules
Introduction to Study Purpose and Research Questions
What is Photovoice and Why Use It?
Activity: Create a Mini Biography
Initial Introduction to and Distribution of Cameras
Photography Practical: Treasure Hunt
Treasure Hunt Sharing & Review
Introduction to Visual Literacy – What Makes a Good Photo?
Visual Literacy Continued – Common Errors and How To Avoid Them, with examples
Photography Practical: A Self-Portrait
Self-Portrait Sharing and Review
Refreshments and Break
Visual Literacy Continued – Photos as Concrete and Abstract, with examples
Photography Practical: How Are You Feeling?
Feeling Photo Sharing & Review
Safety and Securing While Taking Photos
“Model” Consent and other Ethics of Photography
Review to Research Questions/Themes & Discussion of Round One Timeline

Appointments for First Individual Photo Downloads & Interviews	
Workshop Evaluation	
Refreshments and Adjourn	
Dates of Introductory Photography/Photovoice Workshops in Each Parish	
Aug 12, 2017	Tupigachi
Aug 19, 2017	Malchinguí
February 18, 2018	La Esperanza
February 24, 2018	Tocachi

The photovoice introductory workshops generally went according to this outline. There was a moment during the workshop with the first parish of Tupigachi in which Vicky quietly leaned over to me while the co-researchers were getting to know the cameras and whispered, “Are you really going to give a camera to that 85 year-old woman?!” I replied that I was. Despite Vicky’s concern that Doña Pastora may not be able to operate the camera or may lose it, I had no reason not to trust her. Doña Pastora herself was nervous about using the digital device, having never owned a camera before, but her fellow co-researchers supported her and when it was time to do a photography practical, they went outside to the town square together to accomplish their homework. In Malchinguí, another elderly co-researcher who was having a great deal more trouble operating the camera during the introductory workshop called me a few days after to admit he had lost the camera. He was mortified, as was our contact in Malchinguí who had recruited him. The man was so worried about the cost of replacing the camera, but I told him that no such worries were needed as accidents happen; the camera was lost and that, I had fully expected, is a part of community-engaged research.

At the end of each introductory workshop, a schedule was set for each of the data collection rounds and subsequent individual interviews and group discussions with each set of parish co-researchers. During the first round of photographic data collection, co-

researchers took photos that represented their responses to the first two research questions; in the second round of photographic data collection, co-researchers took photos that answered the third and fourth research questions. A summary of the volume of photographic data produced by the co-researchers can be found in Appendix I, along with a summary of the total hours and pages of data transcribed from audio-recorded interviews, which I discuss next.

Interviewing. Photovoice employs the use of semi-structured or open-ended interviewing with both individuals and groups. I conducted all individual interviews and group discussions in Spanish and these were audio-recorded. Researchers employing photovoice have documented the use of individual interviewing both prior to and after the small and large group discussions of participant photographs. I chose to use individual interviews in advance of group discussions. At the agreed upon end of each data collection period, I met individually with each co-researcher in order to download their photos and interview them. The interview consisted of us reviewing the photos together on my laptop. It was open-ended with probing. For instance, the most frequent questions to spur discussion included, "Tell me about this photo," "Why did you take this photo?" and "How does this photo answer the research question [for this round]?" The purposes of this interview were (1) to review the co-researcher's photos and to begin to understand their meaning, as described by the co-researcher, and (2) to narrow the co-researcher's total photos from that round to a sub-set to title, describe, present, and discuss in the group setting. Of course, the interview was not just "research business," in keeping with cultural customs and CBPR principles. At various individual interviews, Vicky and I

were offered food, drinks and tours of the household, and we were introduced to sons, daughters, wives, husbands, cows, chickens, and neighbors.

At the end of each individual interview, I asked the co-researcher to select (usually) between one and four photos per research question, of the total they took for that round, to be presented at the parish group discussion. At the group meeting, each co-researcher from the parish had a chance to write titles and brief descriptions for all of their selected photos and then they shared these titles and descriptions with the larger group while the photos were projected in turn via PowerPoint slides. Having access to the co-researcher's selected sub-set of photos facilitated my creation of the PowerPoint presentation which guided our parish group discussion, which usually occurred within a few days of the conclusion of all the individual co-researcher interviews for that round and parish.

The goal of parish group meetings for each round was to have a collaborative discussion in which, after each co-researcher had presented her selected photos from the outshoot, all co-researchers could dialogue about the similarities and differences between their photos in order to identify any key elements emerging from what was collectively produced in the outshoot for that round's theme. I facilitated the group meetings, with occasional help from Vicky, using a semi-structured group interview process, informed by photovoice group analysis methods

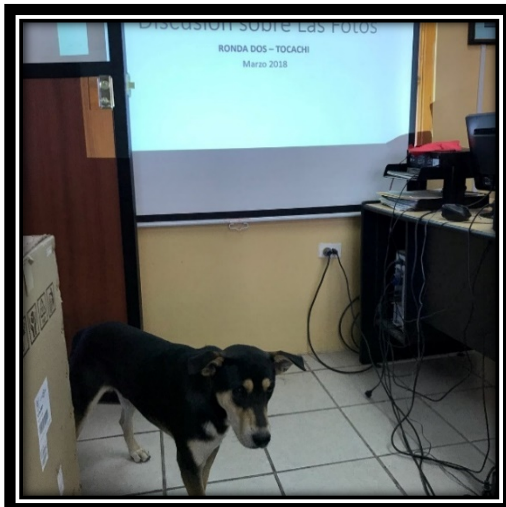

Illustration 7. Group Interruption

(Catalini & Minkler, 2010; Delgado, 2015; PhotoVoice, 2016), as outlined in Appendix J. These group meetings always took place in a common space at the center of the parish, usually in the parish *GAD* offices. We served refreshments and purposefully kept the tone conversational. Being in rural areas and community settings, we often had interruptions or surprise visitors to the meetings, as shown in the example (Illustration 7) from Tocachi at the bottom of the previous page.

Interviewing also involves decisions about how data generated from interviews will be presented. Given the participatory nature of this research, I was particularly concerned with these decisions. In Chapters Four and Five, the reader will notice that excerpts of individual and group interviews are presented in a discursive style; this is intentional. I also strove to include dialogue or exchanges between and among myself and/or the co-researchers because doing so helps to "maintain contextual elements and allows readers [to] be aware of conversational influences" (Cooper & Burnett, 2006, p. 124). Interviews reflect the "dynamic nature of talk" (Cooper & Burnett, 2006, p. 116) and in a study intended to elevate typically marginalized voices and epistemologies, I felt strongly about maintaining that dynamic nature, even in the case where the usual conversational practices of stopping, starting, revising, and interrupting one's own speech made the translation into English somewhat challenging. Moreover, research with indigenous peoples often reveal a topical organization to history, rather than a chronological one, in which "they use the past to comment on present events and they use repetition to help their audience remember what they are saying" (Dover, 2013, p. xix). Not everyone I interviewed self-identified as indigenous, but given the cultural saturation of indigenous worldview among the co-researchers and other people associated with the

study, I felt it was important to “let the text speak for itself” (Sarris, 1993, as quoted in Dover, 2013, p. xxi.)

Recognition and Closure. Recognition and celebration are vital parts of any community-based participatory research. Vicky and I scheduled a separate end-of-process celebration which followed the second round group interview/discussion in all parishes.

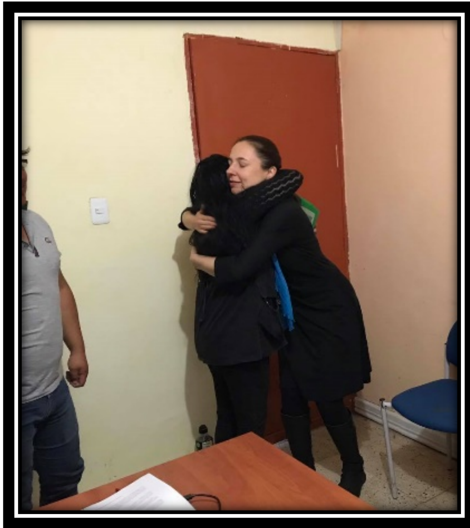

Illustration 8. Closure

We invited community leaders to this meeting (and asked them to make remarks if they wished), showed a slideshow of co-researcher-selected photos and their titles and captions, served refreshments, and presented items of recognition. The parish *GAD* president and I together presented the two certificates – one for attendance at the photovoice training workshop and one for completion of the co-researcher duties – to each participant. Their recognition folder also contained five print photos that they selected, a CD with their entire electronic portfolio of photos, and their economic stipend for participating. I enjoyed these celebrations immensely and was often met with hugs (as seen in Illustration 8, from Malchinguí) and tears from co-researchers who, like me, were proud of our accomplishments and sad to see the collaborative process come to a close.

Other Ethnographic Data Collection

Document review. During the January 2017 pre-data collection trip to Ecuador, Cimas granted me access to numerous official documents which outlined data about the health, social services, and environmental infrastructure of the parishes of cantón Pedro

Moncayo, as well as the processes for and progress towards community development planning and implementation. These documents contained a wealth of information about, among other topics, the amount and quality of local participation at the *GAD* and other community levels, the status of key components of communities which relate to the well-being of their members, and projected plans for the continued development at the parish and cantón levels. These documents provided an important official context for the study findings and were a useful source of data upon which to compare and contrast the (photographic and narrative) data which emerged from the participatory methods of the study (see Results). A listing of the documents I reviewed is found in Appendix F.

Participant Observations. Ethnographic research immerses the researcher within the community or communities of study for an extended period of time and participant observations made during this time are part of the study data. Simply put, "participant observers watch what people do, listen to what people say, and interact with participants" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 196). In my case, I lived in Pedro Moncayo for four months during summer of 2017 and winter of 2018. During this time, I was fortunate to live with Cecilia Mantilla, Germán Castro, and their family and thought of them as my host family or, as I soon began to call them, my second family (Illustration 9). Living with the Mantilla-Castros was invaluable for a number of reasons. Beyond their gracious and unwavering hospitality, their respected (almost,

Illustration 9. Host Family

revered) status within the community provided me with instant respect and consideration. I did not assess their status in the community to be problematic in any way in terms of access or possible co-researcher concerns; quite the opposite. Their work lives were busy and both Cecilia and Germán were competent, hardworking, and direct, while also being kind. I quickly realized that life with my second family entailed fewer work-life boundaries that I was used to. In fact, the boundaries between work life, community leadership, volunteering, and home life were quite fluid. Clients of the law practices came and called at all hours of the day and all days of the week, whether or not the office was "open." People brought gifts – often something from their home garden or animal husbandry – as signs of thanks and respect for Cecilia and Germán. More than once I saw Cecilia conduct "business" with a client out of the window of a car as we were about to leave to go somewhere, because the client came hurrying by with a bit of news or a question.

The front of the Mantilla-Castro household doubled as Cecilia and Germán's attorney offices and they generously offered me an empty desk there from which to work. Household routines added structure and predictability to my life in Pedro Moncayo, as well as provided me with access to individuals with whom I needed to coordinate on a regular basis, such as Cecilia, Vicky, Andres, and Rolando. Each day I took breakfast between 7:30 and 8:00 am and then "went to work" in the front office of the house. I was easily able to access needed services, such as copying and office supplies, in Tabacundo by walking and a taxi stand was situated across the street from the house. (Many of the drivers knew Cecilia, Vicky, and other members of the household by name, including Doña Berta, who sometimes liked to escape to do errands independently, against the

express advice to the contrary from Ceci). Lunch was always around 1:00 pm and everyone at home at that time stopped to eat. Dinner was at 7:00 pm. Meal structure was dictated in large part by the fact that Doña Berta was an insulin-dependent diabetic and Cecilia administered her insulin twice a day at breakfast and dinner, requiring that we eat as a family shortly after that. I would typically join Cecilia (and whoever else was there) in the kitchen around 6:15 or 6:30 pm. Despite my continual asking, I was never allowed to help cook dinner. Over time, I adopted (or was given) the job of setting the table for dinner and clearing the table along with putting away the dinner items each evening. This job belonged to Maqui, but I took it on most nights and no one – especially not Maqui – protested. I also cleared the table after dinner, scraping and stacking dishes and returning placemats and condiments to their home locations. After dinner, Germán, Maqui, and I would sit and visit or play games on some nights; this was a more frequent occurrence during my summer 2017 visit than during my winter 2018 visit. I also participated in other household chores and activities on the weekend, such as sweeping, playing with and caring for the dogs, and going with the family to buy groceries or on other errands in Cayambe.

Besides these home-stay related activities, during all visits to Ecuador, I made it a practice to say yes to as many invitations as possible. Unless I was ill, extremely tired, or had a study-related commitment, I accompanied any of my contacts to any meetings I was invited. At these meetings, I was often asked to participate, whether that was interacting around the subject matter (as in the case of meetings we had with nursing faculty from *Universidad Central del Ecuador*, who were collaborating with the *mancomunidad* to begin auxiliary nursing courses in the *cantón*), or by simply eating,

drinking, and dancing along with those present (as in the case of celebrations). During these participant observations, I usually took researcher jottings in a small notebook and later, once at home, wrote up extensive field notes describing details and my understanding of the event(s). These notes are used to contextualize or add to the research findings as relevant in the Results Chapters. The photo to the left (Illustration 10) is from an event in Tocachi celebrating the establishment of *cajas de ahorro y credito* (savings and credit groups), funded by one of the Rotary Clubs in Quito. The photos on the left-hand side of the following page depict (top, Ilustration 11) the celebration of the annual foundation of the rural parish of Malchinguí and (bottom, Illustration 12) the honoring of a repeat visit from a group of volunteers from a Canadian Rotary Club. In addition, I took time to sightsee and learn about Andean Ecuadorian culture from my friends and hosts, as shown in the photos on the right-hand side of the following page. These depict (top, Illustration 13) Vicky and me visiting las Lagunas Mojanda and (bottom, Illustration 14) me in front of *el castillo*, a fireworks creation lighted during the annual celebration of Mama Nati or the Virgin Mary.

Illustration 10.
Tocachi—Rotary Meeting

Illustration 11.
Malchingui Foundation Celebration

Illustration 13.
At Lagunas Mojanda

Illustration 12.
Canadian Rotary Volunteers
Celebration

Illustration 14.
El Castillo

Data Analysis

Qualitative and Photovoice Data Analysis Principles

Several data analysis methods can be used with photovoice. An initial method, developed by Wang and Burris (1997) involved three main steps to form the process of what they called participatory analysis: selecting, contextualizing, and codifying. Selecting involves a study's participants choosing the photographs that most accurately reflect the community's points of views of all the photographs taken in one round of photography around a theme. In order for the participants to lead the way in the discussion, it is vital that they select the photos at this stage. Elsewhere in the literature (Delgado, 2015), other procedures within this category to help with selection, such as pile sorting, are outlined. I followed the basic structure of selecting, contextualizing, and codifying. While I did not use pile sorting for data analysis, I did use a version of it for an activity within the photovoice training workshops.

The photo selection phase aids in the identification of cross-cutting themes that emerge from viewing similarities (or differences) in the images presented by individual photographers. In the second data analysis phase, contextualizing, storytelling about the selected photos occurs through the process of small and large group discussion. Here the 'voice' in photovoice becomes critical; in fact, Wang and Burris (1997) note that it may be useful to think of this step by the acronym "VOICE": Voicing Our Individual and Collective Experience. At the start of this phase and throughout, the photos become linked to their photographers' narrations; the two cannot and should not be separated. As Wang and Burris (1997) put it, "photographs alone, considered outside the context of [participants'] own voices and stories, would contradict the essence of photovoice" (p.

381). The third step of participatory analysis is codifying. In this phase, participants identify three types of dimensions that arise from the dialogue process: issues, themes, or theories (Wang and Burris, 1997).

This is Wang and Burris' original participatory analysis method. Catalini and Minkler (2010) note that photovoice data analysis has evolved through stages in which iterative, Freirean-like discussions using acronyms such as "SHOWeD" to prompt dialogue[19], gave way to participatory visual analysis in which telling stories about photographs was linked to a discussion of action the participants wished to take based on emerging themes. In deciding on a data analysis strategy, I recalled that photovoice "produces several types of data, from discussion and interview transcripts, to photographic images" and participants' written reflections, which enables data triangulation (Catalini & Minkler, 2009, pp. 441-442). The primary form of participatory data analysis reported in photovoice studies is termed "photo-elicited discussion" and most studies use data from two or more sources (including this photo-elicited discussion) to triangulate their findings (Catalini & Minkler, 2009, p. 443). Delgado (2015) describes data analysis in terms of intersecting realms of researcher analysis and community analysis. This was an apt description for my study as well, as I combined photo-elicited discussions with individuals and parish co-researcher groups with community contextualization through other ethnographic methods for my analysis.

Beyond photovoice analysis principles, I followed general principles for qualitative data analysis as outlined in Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014). After and

[19] SHOWeD refers to asking "(a) What do you **See** here? (b) What's really **Happening** here? (c) How does this relate to **Our** lives? (d) Why does this problem, concern, or strength **Exist**? and (e) What can we **Do** about it?" (Catalini & Minkler, 2010, p. 438)

guided by the initial co-researcher analysis, the process I used to organize and make sense of the data contained phases of data collection, data condensation, data display, and drawing and verifying conclusions. As the authors note, these activities happen continuously and concurrently throughout any qualitative research study.

Data Analysis Processes, Including Use of Atlas.ti

The study co-researchers and I generated a large volume of data over the four months of this study. When it came time to organize and analyze this data, I found the use of a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) invaluable. I have used Atlas.ti (Version 8) for this study. CAQDAS "does not automatically analyze qualitative data for the user, but [does] enable…display of data and codes in multiple configurations for researcher review and *analytic thinking*" (Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, 2014, p. 50, emphasis in original). Therefore, as I familiarized myself with the features of Atlas.ti and thought through the analysis process, I created a set of procedures which I followed to perform the initial analysis of the data and its uploading to Atlas.ti for additional manipulation. As recommended in the training I attended by the PhotoVoice UK organization, I created a strict taxonomy for organization of study data in folders on my computer, so that all naming and filing was done consistently. This proved invaluable given the volume of data. Once data collection was completed for a parish, I sent the audio recordings of individual interviews and group discussions for professional transcription (Spanish audio to Spanish written transcripts) by a company called GoTranscript. Upon receiving the audio recording transcriptions, I printed them and did an initial reading. During this first reading, I removed superfluous words and statements, corrected inaccuracies or errors, starred unintelligible or curious passages for later

follow-up, replaced or corrected names as needed, and began to form ideas for codes. This last step included noting possible ideas – or chunking – on a separate piece of paper during my read-through of each transcript for a given round in a given parish. Later, after I had read all the individual and group transcripts for that parish's round, I created an initial concept map on paper of these chunked ideas, sketching out their possible inter-relationships. From this, and the same process repeated for each round and parish, I decided which ideas were important and/or frequent enough that they should become a code for the data, which would be applied in Atlas.ti.

After this initial read-through on paper, I listened to the audio recordings from which the transcriptions were made, while reading the transcripts again. I paid special attention to the areas that had been marked by the transcriber as unintelligible and I reviewed areas in which, from my reading, it was not clear what the topic was, or the conversation seemed decontextualized. Again, I made notes of needed corrections or explanations. During this step, I also noted who was speaking in the case of group discussions when the transcriber had not noted this or had noted it incorrectly. All of these steps informed the cleaning of the electronic transcript files, which were then uploaded into Atlas.ti. In addition to all transcripts, I uploaded all of the selected participant photos to Atlas.ti using the same naming convention. I also uploaded a list of all selected participant photo titles and captions, by round, which I had summarized into one document for ease of coding. (The titles and captions that were hand-written during the group meetings could not be embedded with the photo files themselves.)

At this point, I created a list of codes which I had established based on the reading and concept-mapping process for each parish and each round which I described above.

As Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) note, "coding *is* analysis," requiring deep reflection, critical thinking, and interpretation of emerging findings (p. 72, emphasis in original). In the end, I created a total of 68 codes. Even though I worked on coding by myself, each code was given a definition for internal consistency. This also helped when I shared the code dictionary with key community partners; they could see what idea chunks existed within the data and request specific queries as useful to their work or interests. Next, I read each document and reviewed each photo again, this time within Atlas.ti. At this point, I used the study codes to mark various passages, quotations, and photos. Segments of data can carry an unlimited number of codes. During this process, I also made comments, within Atlas.ti, on quotations as needed.

Most of the codes were descriptive; they assigned a label to data based on a word or short phrase which characterized the photo or quotation (e.g. *maíz* [corn], *leche* [milk], *educación* [education]). However, I also found myself developing codes for processes (e.g. *cooperación* [cooperation], *capacitación* [training], *violencia/delincuencia* [violence/delinquency]) and for values and abstract states (e.g. *determinación* [determination], *posibilidad* [possibility], *perdida* [loss]). Regardless of the type, all of these codes were developed inductively, grounded in empirical data as it emerged and not based on a priori ideas (Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, 2014).

Finally, I created document groups within Atlas.ti. This allowed for me to further analyze data based on certain categories. There were a total of 60 document groups. They followed a rubric of creating categories within each parish in order to be able to home in on data by participant characteristics. The document groups, in each parish and for each round of data collection, were: men, women, *mestizo*, *indígena*, under [age] 20, 20/30s,

40/50s, over [age] 60, and ‘all’ (e.g. round one, all; round two, all [within a specific parish], etc.). Other document groupings are possible but have not been explored. (In the end, I did not use these document groupings as much as I anticipated and in some cases the number of data points in each group would not have made data conclusions very meaningful. Nevertheless, they exist for future possibility and partner queries.)

All of this organization and analysis within Atlas.ti enabled me to run various data queries based on codes, combinations of codes, and document groups. For instance, the Analyze function within Atlas.ti contains a Query tool which enables the user to ask for all the data within specific parameters. It was very useful to access a report for all of the photos and quotations carrying the codes “*buen vivir/sumak kawsay*” <u>and</u> “*cambios* [changes],” for instance. I produced and analyzed many such reports to support the results analysis presented in later chapters.

Analysis of Ethnographic Data

During the data analysis process, I returned to, read, re-read, and reflected on the copious participant observation notes and researcher reflection notes I made during my periods of field work. Several of these notes were formally summarized and inserted into results chapters to contextualize the findings. Others reminded me of particular events, feelings, and challenges which colored my work in Ecuador and influenced my evolving understanding of the co-researchers and their parishes and/or the interpretation of the research data once at home. Personal reflections were included in the results chapters when they helped me to make sense of the ethnographic and photovoice data. A limitation to my second winter 2018 field work period was that I took fewer participant observation notes and documented fewer researcher reflections. I was aware of this

happening while I was in Ecuador; I expect it was a product of that visit being my third in 18 months to the country and my second long stay with my host family. Plenty of observations occurred to me and I was still invited to community events and meetings, though not as frequently as in the summer of 2017. However, my processing of these happenings and events was more organic and ongoing, and my timeline was tighter in winter 2018, and therefore fewer written notes were produced.

Criteria to Ensure Rigor

Every researcher needs to be concerned that her study is rigorous, though the criteria used to assess this are vastly different between quantitative and qualitative studies. Considerations of rigor in a qualitative, participatory, decolonial study need to account for a balance between Western research conventions, English-language publication conventions, indigenous epistemologies, and participant expertise. Popay, Rogers, and Williams (1998) suggest several key questions which can be asked when assessing the rigor of a qualitative study:

- Does the research, as reported, illuminate the subjective meaning, actions, and context of those being researched? (p. 345);
- Is there evidence of the adaption and responsiveness of the research design to the circumstances and issues of real-life social settings met during the course of the study? (p. 346);
- Does the sample produce the type of knowledge necessary to understand the structures and processes within which the [participants] are located? (p. 346);
- Is the description [of results] provided detailed enough to allow the…reader to interpret the meaning and context of what is being researched? (p. 347);
- How are different sources of knowledge about the same issue compared and contrasted? (p. 347).

I have kept these criteria in mind in writing this chapter and the chapters presenting the study's results. Indeed, the primary marker suggested by Popay and colleagues (1998) for evaluating qualitative research is whether the data and account privilege subjective

meaning using an ontological reality appropriate to the study context and participants. This was especially important to me given the decolonial theoretical orientations of this study and its grounding in Andean epistemology, which I tried to incorporate throughout its design, data collection, data analysis, and writing phases, while simultaneously acknowledging my own social location. Smith (2012) writes that "research through imperial eyes describes an approach which assumes that Western ideas about the most fundamental things are the only ideas possible to hold" (p. 58); this extends to Western ideas about research rigor and generalizability. About the latter, in qualitative research, Popay, Rogers, and Williams (1998) comment, "the aim is to make logical generalizations to a theoretical understanding of a similar class of phenomena rather than probabilistic generalizations to a population" (p. 348). From a perspective of indigenous knowledges, rigor may be thought of as a connectedness between knowing, doing, and believing. As Gaudet (2014) writes, "when the process of coming to knowledge is absent of self-actualization, then 'knowledge exists apart from human beings and their communities' (Deloria, 1999, p.44)" (p. 78) which is a very different but useful way to think about an exhaustive account of reality. I also think it is important to note that writing and discussing the research for communities may look very different from writing and discussing the research for Western audiences or English-language academic publications.

Having said all this, my study is still born from and situated in a Western context, which means that I have been socialized and operate within certain U.S.-centric academic notions of what quality research looks like. In an attempt to acknowledge this while also remaining decolonial, I used several methods to help ensure rigor in my qualitative

research. Among these were long-term involvement; collecting rich, detailed data; the involvement of co-researchers in initial data analysis (through group discussions); and data triangulation using multiple methods, such as photovoice, interviewing, document analysis, and participant observation (Maxwell, 2013). In addition, the use of multiple-case sampling – as I have done here with various parishes within one cantón – adds a level of confidence to the study findings (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Multiple cases, especially when they illustrate similarities between responses to the research questions, "strengthen the precision, validity, stability, and trustworthiness of the findings" (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014, p. 33). They are a form of replication (Yin, 2013). In this way, the multiple 'cases' of four rural parishes allowed me to see and understand the different and similar ways that *SK/BV* is conceived of, changing, and acted upon in community health and development. In Chapters Four and Five which follow, I will present these results.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have presented a decolonial research design involving participatory photography, influenced by ethnography. I wove issues of intersectional positionality and relational ethics throughout, explaining how my social location and personal and professional experiences necessarily influenced the decisions I made in designing and carrying out this research. I introduced the reader to the study's partners, logistics, co-researchers, and data collection and analysis processes. Next, I turn to the study's findings, beginning in Chapter Four with the co-researchers' responses to research questions one and two.

Chapter Four – Andean Epistemology and Changes to *Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir*

"I am not simply for me, and the other is not given opposite me as an other, rather the other is my you, and speaking, listening, responding, we already constitute a we, one that is unified and communalized in a particular manner." —Edmund Husserl (1973)

Introduction

In this chapter, I present and discuss the study results through an analysis of the co-researchers' responses to research questions one and two. These questions asked about the nature and definition of *sumak kawsay/ buen vivir* (*SK/BV*), as well as the ways in which it had changed in the last ten to twenty years. I begin this presentation of study findings with certain assumptions. From a decolonial perspective, I am not interested in representing parish experiences with well-being related to community development as stages or arranging them into a linearity. But I have asked myself what it is that each parish best illustrates when it comes to understanding the way that *SK/BV* is understood and changes alongside a set of local participation and development processes informed by a variety of internal and external pressures.

I also worked under the assumption that the co-researchers honestly engaged in the processes of photography, interviewing, and group discussion. As such, their words, photographs, and photo titles and captions can tell stories that answer the research questions. My role was to listen to and regard the various forms of data for the patterns, variations, and insights they produced and then use these to weave a narrative of the beliefs and practices around community development and well-being for these particular co-researchers.

From the data collected in round one in each parish, I began to appreciate features of an Andean epistemology of well-being and community. I also heard about the ways in

which ideals related to *SK/BV* have changed in the last two decades, why the co-researchers believe these changes have occurred, and their varied reactions to these changes.

Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir: Embodied and Enacted in Community Space-Time

Sumak kawsay/buen vivir is a way of understanding well-being through feeling, thinking, and enacting that is unique to the co-researchers and seems to stem from their Andean worldview (*cosmovisión Andina*). In Chapter Two, I presented the various characteristics and key tenets of *cosmovisión Andina*, and the study findings reinforced the presence and importance of many of these principles among the co-researchers. Among those who participated in the study, *cosmovisión Andina* manifested in discussions of home and family, cooperation, the natural environment, and aspects of the past, with its honor and traditions. I came to think of *SK/BV* as the manifestation of *cosmovisión Andina* in a community development sense: what co-researchers are working *for*, as well as *why* and *how*, all rolled into one. *Sumak kawsay/buen vivir*, along with the activities supporting it, appeared as an embodied way of being with evidence in the world, not simply as conceptual or idealistic. Embodiment can be thought of as a way of looking at the interaction between human bodies and their environments through regarding the body not just as an object, but as "the existential ground for culture" (Csordas, 1990, p. 5, as quoted in Tewes, Durt, & Fuchs, 2017, p. 10). The human being is social and intersubjective, living in a community and an environment simultaneously, as well as within an evolving historical context (Moran, 2017). These particularities of embodiment and 'enaction'[20] appear repeatedly in the co-researchers' explanations of

---

[20] Enaction is the "process whereby a world is brought forth by the interaction or structural coupling between an embodied agent and its…environment; also the study of the manner in which a subject of

what it means to have a good life and how these meanings are under tension, changing, and continually negotiated with a context of various internal and external development-related pressures.

In responding to research question one, there was little disagreement or controversy among co-researchers across all four rural parishes in their decisions about and discussion of what constitutes *SK/BV*. Explanations most often manifested as matter-of-fact statements of normative behavior. I did not hear idealism and rarely heard romanticized notions of well-being. The four most common categories of responses from co-researchers when asked "What does *buen vivir* mean to you or this community?" were (1) home and family, (2) past, honor, and culture, (3) the (natural) environment, and (4) cooperation. I will illustrate each of these categories to help the reader become immersed within the world of the co-researchers and their communities. This, in turn, helps to explain the ways in which changes to *SK/BV* (responses to the second research question) present a uniquely disconcerting and difficult to express angst among some co-researchers. The photovoice method provided an apt means to read embodied understanding; by viewing participant photos and their titles and descriptions, we can immerse ourselves somewhat in the three dimensional worlds of the four rural parishes. If embodiment requires "sense-making" as an "ongoing engagement with the world by an agent that is sensitive to the consequences of that engagement" then we must review what it means to have well-being in a way that allows us to appreciate the co-researchers' experiential definitions (Di Paolo & De Jaegher, 2017, p. 90).

---

perception creatively matches its action to the requirements of its situation" (Toscani, in Protevi, 2006, p. 169).

Home and Family

In discussing *buen vivir*, co-researchers nearly always mentioned their *casa* (home), *familia* (family), or specific components of the household as a key part of what it means to have well-being and live a good life. The household consisted of its physical structure and family members, of course, but also extended to animals, plants, and other key cultural aspects of home. It also included the relationships between and among these players. Family life and members were considered critical by all co-researchers:

> *Para mí es el buen vivir, estar en equidad, en grupo con toda la familia, la comunidad, no discriminar a nadie. Es mi familia, mis hijas, mi mamá, mis primas. –"Isabel," Tupigachi*
>
> [For me, it is *buen vivir*, to be [live] in equity, in a group with the whole family, the community, to not discriminate against anyone. It is my family, my daughters, my mother, my cousins.]

> *Lo que yo entendía sobre eso del Sumak Kawsay que siguió mucho eso del Sumak Kawsay es el libertinaje de todas las edades como se desempeñaban cada niño, adulto o jóvenes están jugando frente de mi casa niños mezclados con jóvenes y adolescentes. – Karina, La Esperanza*
>
> [What I was understanding about this *sumak kawsay*, what was still great about *sumak kawsay*, is the freedom of those of all ages, the way they were involving each child, adult, or youth, playing in front of my house, children mixed with youth and adolescents.]

> *Para mí el buen vivir significa también hacer deporte, porque no solo es compartir, tener lo material, sino compartir en familia. Entonces, esa foto era que estaban dos familias jugando fútbol, así es que mejor compartir con la familia e integrar a los niños, porque también había un niño que jugaba ahí. – Elena, Tocachi*
>
> [For me, *buen vivir* also means playing sports, because it's not just for sharing, having the material [things], but rather sharing in family. So, this photo was when there were two families playing soccer, that's the best way of sharing within family and including the children, because there was also a child playing there.]

Illustration 15
"Isabel" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
El Buen Vivir – Estar unidos en la familia y vivir en harmonía
[*Buen Vivir* – To be together in family and to live in harmony]

Illustration 17
Carlos Vizcaino – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Mi Casa, Mi Seguridad y Felicidad – La felicidad y compartir en familia
[My Home, My Safety and Happiness – Happiness and family sharing]

Illustration 16
Juanito Navarrete – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Ser Único – Representa el valor, el cariño, el esfuerzo, y el compromiso con la vida
[Being Unique – She [the photographer's mother] represents courage, affection, strength, and commitment to life]

Illustration 18
Hugo Fernando Maila Mantilla – Tocachi – Mar 2018
La Amistad – Que comparten entre amigos y la pasan súper bien
[Friendship – That they share between friends and pass [the time] super well]

Of note is that in all of these photos of family, we see people in relationship to one another. Even in Juanito's photo of his mother, who is the only person in the frame, we see through his description that she is envisioned in relationship to her role in the family and its importance. Also notable is the use of words to indicate the positive

closeness of family and friend relationships: *amistad* (friendship), *harmonía* (harmony), *seguridad* (security). These two observations nicely illustrate a connection between *cosmovisión Andina* and embodiment. In their discussion of collective intentionality, Brinck and colleagues (2017) explain the "primacy of the 'We,'" noting that "plural self-awareness and group membership precede and ground singular self-awareness" (p. 133). In this I read echoes of the ideal of r*elacionalidad de todo* (interrelatedness of everything), within *cosmovisión Andina*, which refers to the belief that everything is linked or connected to everything else, or that nothing exists as isolated or separated (Balarezo, 2015). Mendoza (2015) writes that within this Andean worldview, lies the assumption "that the individual is nothing without being in relation with the community" which certainly seems to be on display in co-researchers' explanations of the ways in which their own well-being is linked to family (p. 380).

The (Natural) Environment – Animals

The environment – also critical to conceptions of *SK/BV*– consisted of animals, plants, and other natural features of the co-researchers' communities. Animals that co-researchers raised and tended, most often for food or commercialization, were generally considered part of the family by co-researchers. One way this manifested was the use of the term "my" in co-researchers' descriptions of animals, as seen in several of the examples presented below. Co-researchers seemed to use the word "my" unselfconsciously; it simply explained their intimate relationship to the animals in their household. It did not appear to me as possessive but rather as a term of endearment to express the esteem in which they held animals which, while providing income and sustenance, were also viewed as their own beings, intrinsically worthy of respect and

care. In addition, other words appeared which indicated the close relationships between people and animals: *compañero* (companion) and *sustento* (sustenance), for example. This manifested by co-researchers often photographing animals and their daily activities pertaining to animals in order to explain what well-being was to them. Prominent among animals discussed were cows and milk (*vacas* and *leche*), guinea pigs (*cuyes*), chickens (*gallinas*), rabbits (*conejos*), dogs (*perros*), and horses (*caballos*). Some photographic examples of animals and the personal aspects of relationships with their humans follow.

Illustration 19
César Castillo Catucuago – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Mis Vacas – Las vacas son una fuente de trabajo para las familias que viven en la casa
[My Cows – The cows are a source of work for families that live in the house]

Illustration 20
María Simbaña – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
La Vaca es Mi Compañera – También es muy importante vendo la leche y de eso me mantengo.
[The Cow is My Companion – It is also very important [that] I sell the milk and from this support myself]

Illustration 21
Ana Cahueñas – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Mi Granjita Feliz AniLu (I) – Es un trabajo de cada día y el sustento de mi hogar.
[My Happy Little Farm AniLu (I) – It is a daily job and the sustenance of my home]

Illustration 22
Carlos Rafael Marroquín – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Mi Mama – Una buena madre
[My Mother – A good mother]

Animals were also considered instrumentally, however. In some cases, the views of personal, family relationships with animals and instrumentalism merged. A good illustration of this is the explanation which follows from Carlos in La Esperanza who was telling us about a recent sale of some of his cows who had not had the best dispositions and were difficult to manage, and the cows he remained with now:

> *Insisto, esto es digamos el buen vivir de acá por supuesto de mi casa. Recién les vendí porque tenía dos vacas más grandes que no me daba el tiempo para cuidarlos, les vendí hace unos 15 días. Entonces siempre también lo que me dedico es a la leche, vendo la leche, todo eso. Dije, "Bueno, me quedo con estas dos muchachas que están aquí atrás que también ya mismo se hacen mamás y con la grande que también ya me va a dar la leche", como vieron ustedes, son amores, Dios santo, son amores.*
>
> [I insist, this is – let's say – what *buen vivir* is, at least here in my house. Recently, I sold [some cows] because I had two larger cows that I didn't have time to care for, I sold them about 15 days ago. So always what I dedicate myself to is the milk, I sell the milk, and all that. I said, "OK, I'll remain with these two girls [female cows] who are here behind [the house, where we had just seen them] and also they have already been mothers and with the big one she is already going to give me milk." As you all saw, they are loves, dear God, they are loves.]

Decisions about managing his cows, for Carlos, was not just about their economic productivity, but also consisted of assessment of their dispositions as this affected the ways in which he interacted with them daily, which included recognition of their intrinsic value as beings. In this way, and in the photos of animals from a more instrumental viewpoint (below), we can see that co-researchers held beliefs about animals and their purposes that stemmed from their enacted interactions with them daily, and a very close understanding of the economic and health/nutritional roles they played in the family. Their instrumental relationship with their animals nonetheless illustrated the *reciprocidad* (reciprocity) of *cosmovisión Andina*: the humans care for the animals and, in turn, the animals produce to care for the humans.

Illustration 23
José Rafael Cuascota Sanchez – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Producción de Leche – Esta producción es un ingreso adicional para la familia (comercialización).
[Milk Production – This production is an additional income for the family (commercialization)]

Illustration 24
César Castillo Catucuago – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Cuy Sumak Kawsay – Los cuyes dan carne, dinero para la familia que viven en la casa, son una fuente de trabajo
[*Cuy Sumak Kawsay* – Guinea pigs give meat, money for the family who live in the house, [and] are a source of work]

Illustration 25
Ana Cahueñas – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
(left)
Mi Granjita Feliz (II) – Mis animales como son mis gallinas con grandes coloridos son aquellas que pone sus huevos producto que tiene sus grandes beneficios en la salud. Un producto natural tanto en carne como en el huevo además su cascara es un ingrediente que se la polvoriza y nos sirve como calcio.
[My Happy Little Farm (II) – My animals, like these brightly colored chickens, lay their eggs, which have great health benefits. A natural product both for meat and eggs, moreover their shell is an ingredient that can be powdered and serves us as calcium]

The (Natural) Environment – Corn and Other Plants

Beyond animals, other components of the environment were critical for the well-being of co-researchers. These included grains, corn (as a specific grain which holds special meaning and importance), plants and trees, and home gardens or small agricultural plots along with their products. I will discuss corn (*maíz*) because it was mentioned and photographed so many times (333 in total), across all of the parishes in the study. Corn is grown by almost all families, regardless of the size of their plot. In almost all of the parishes, the traditional (family and community) cultural uses of corn were mentioned, as in this explanation from an individual interview with Estefany from Tupigachi:

> *Entonces le tome a lo que es el maíz porque aquí lo que hacemos es la sopa tradicional, lo que es el uchuaco, que tiene bastante alimento, eso se le mezcla con ocho granos, es bastante nutrición, también en la alimentación que es del buen vivir.*
>
> [So I took this photo of the corn because here what we make is the traditional soup, which is *uchuaco*, that is very nutritious, that is mixed with the eight grains, it's very nutritious, and also in the nutrition is the *buen vivir*.]

Living alongside corn and using it on a daily basis makes it a good illustration of embodied knowledge within individuals and the community. For instance, "Isabel" in Tupigachi took a photo (below) showing how she and her mother classify their corn harvest, simultaneously indicating its various uses and the need to be mindful of saving the best seeds for next year's planting. "Yoli," from Malchinguí, noted that corn is planted by everyone but that it is not always commercially successful (photo below).

Illustration 26
"Josecito Túqueres" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Alimento Milenario – Esto sirve para la convivencia familiar preparando tostado, harinas, y también la harina para la colada morada.
[Millennial Food – This serves for family unity, preparing toasted (corn), flours, and also flour for the spiced berry and purple corn drink]

Illustration 27
"Isabel" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Clasificación de Nuestro Producto – Es para sacar una buena semilla para la siembra del próximo año y para nuestro alimento
[Classification of Our Product – It is to remove the good seed for planting next year and for our food]

Illustration 28
"Yoli" – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Maíz – Producto que cultivan la mayoría de los campesinos de Malchinguí para ser consumido y comercializado no siempre al precio que se debe vender, muchas veces sacando lo invertido o perdiendo.
[Corn – Product that the majority of farmers in Malchinguí cultivate, to be consumed or commercialized, not always at the price it should be sold, many times taking out or losing the investment]

Illustration 28
Estefany Pozo – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
El Maíz – El maíz es importante y nos ayuda a mejorar la alimentación y tradición de nuestra cultura y raíces ancestrales y sobretodo económicamente
[Corn – Corn is important and it helps us to improve our nutrition and tradition of our culture and ancestral roots and, above all, economically]

Nélida from La Esperanza explained to me in detail in the following exchange both corn's growing cycle and its various uses. This conversation also indicates embodiment through Vicky's gentle admonition to Nélida to remember that she has to explain all of this to me because I do not know, being an outsider:

Jennifer: *También una buena foto, porque podemos ver adentro, de este parte [del maíz] creciendo.*
[Also a good photo, because we can see inside, to this part of the corn growing.]

Vicky: *Estas son las flores del maíz nuestro, ¿verdad?*
[These are the flowers of our corn, right?]

Nélida: *Sí, esas son las flores, le está saliendo florcita. Fuera más bonito cuando estuvieran choclos, ahí no estuviera…*
[Yes, those are the flowers, the flower is coming out. It would have been prettier if there were *choclos* [referring to the ear of this particular type of corn], but there weren't…]

Jennifer: *No, pero sí son bonitos.*
[No, but yes they are pretty.]

Vicky: *¿Cuánto falta para que dé el choclo?*
[How long until it gives the *choclo*?]

Nélida: *Unos dos meses, puede ser, sí. Como dos meses, porque ya está saliendo la flor, no importa que se haga la señorita, ya ahí botas el choclo.*
[About two months, it could be, yes. About two months, because the flower is still waning, it doesn't matter if it becomes the señorita [the stage where the corn grows long brown strands like a lady's hair], then there you would throw the *choclo*.]

Vicky: *Eso tiene que contarle así, ¿no ve que ella no sabe? Pero es que tiene que contarle a ella.*
[That's what you need to tell her, like that, don't you see that she doesn't know? But this is what you need to tell her.]

Nélida: *Ya, ya, no sabe de los choclos. Bueno, nosotros sembramos, ya estás aquí, a los dos meses ya sale la florcita, la flor. Después ya de un mesito ya sale la señorita que decimos, el pelito, el pelito que ya se va formando del choclo, después ya se hace el choclo, y después si queremos comemos los choclos y si no le dejamos para maíz para el tostado, para el mote.*
[Yes, yes, she doesn't know about *choclos*. Well, we plant [them], already you are here [to see], for two months the little flower will appear. After in about a month or less the señorita will appear, we say the little hair, the little hair that then goes on to form the *choclo*, after that the *choclo* is formed, and after that if we want, we eat the *choclos* or if we leave them, [then we use them] for the corn, for the toasted kernels, for the boiled corn.]

Jennifer: *Porque tiene un montón de usos.*
[Because it [the corn] has a ton of uses.]

Nélida: *Sí, bastantes. Si hoy de la harina de maíz se hacen bastantes cosas, se hace pan, se come así en el mote, bolas, se hace un dulzango, decimos nosotros aquí para cuando es con leche. [risas] Bastantes cosas se hacen del maíz.*
[Yes, many. Today from the corn flour many things are made, bread is made, it is eaten as boiled corn, little [corn] balls, corn sweets are made, that's what we say here when [we eat the corn] with milk. [Laughs.] Many things are made from corn.]

These corn-related examples further show that the natural world co-researchers surround themselves with on a daily basis is a function of their embodied cultural knowledge and not just a task related to their family development. In this case, the embodiment concept is collective body memories, which Fuchs (2017) describes by differentiating it from another typical understanding of 'memory:' "if 'memory' means not some kind of static inner depository, but *the capacity of a living being to actualize its dispositions acquired in earlier learning processes*, then this capacity is bound to the ongoing dynamic coupling between body and environment" (p. 337, emphasis in original). How do "Isabel" and her mother *know* how to classify their corn harvest? How is it that Nélida *knows* the corn growing cycle and the cultural terms for describing it? My sense, from co-researchers, as well as my own observations within the communities, is that this knowledge is culturally conveyed in ways that involved bodily interaction with corn that comes from it being in one's environment, from it being prized; in short, from being immersed, in a manner of speaking, within corn's community and family importance. As Fuchs (2017) writes, "body memory means my *lived past*" (p. 336, emphasis in original). I, without that lived past, was constantly confused about the many names for corn which I encountered during experiences and discussions in Ecuador. During Aug 2017, I made a field note trying to get clear on some of the types of corn referred to in my household:

> *Mote* = boiled corn
> *Palomitas* = popped corn
> *Tostado* = toasted corn kernels (eaten as snack)
> *Morocho* = dried, cracked kernels
> *Choclo* = roasted corn kernels, from a particular kind of corn grown in area
> *Chicha* = brewed and fermented ground corn kernels, made into drink

By contrast, to illustrate possible “negative cases” (Hsiung, 2010) of this same phenomenon, co-researchers also talked of their concern about youth not being able to engage in these embodied knowledges as readily. This could be termed a fear of disembodiment, perhaps; the result of not being immersed to the same extent in the same worldview of well-being and the consequences that result. As there was a significant amount of data pertaining to the manifestations of changes in *SK/BV* among youth, I discuss these in a separate section at the end of this chapter and in the next chapter, as these changes relate to community participation.

As illustrated above with the phenomenon of corn, co-researchers often discussed the importance of nature or the environment for its own intrinsic value, although they also mentioned its instrumental value. A prime example of both in one is Nélida’s explanation of the forest near her house in La Esperanza. In this case, her love of “her” forest is intrinsic in the way that its existence brings her joy; it is instrumental in the way that its trees offer her clean air to breathe and wood for cooking, so that she can nourish her body:

Illustration 30
Nélida Puga – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Mi Bosque – Le quiero mucho a mi bosque porque me da mucha alegría al estar junto a el porque me brinda el aire del bosque para respirar el olor agradable para mi salud, también la leña para cocinar…
[My Forest – I love my forest a lot because it gives me great joy to be together with it because it provides me with pleasant scent to breathe for my health, and also firewood to cook…]

Other examples of nature and its importance arose from the many photos co-researchers took of their home gardens. Through these gardens, they were able to explain the importance of growing their own food for their family: its roots in tradition, its importance for their health, and the convenience and pride it generated. Again, this is in keeping with *cosmovisión Andina* and its non-dualistic view of humans in/and the environment, thus requiring care for plants and earth as for one's self and children. It is a care focused not on extractivism[21], as would be centered in a capitalist view of development and production, but on coexistence and "cosmic brotherhood" (Álvarez-Gonzalez, n.d.). Consequently, it is important to care for plants naturally and not to harm them. Frequently co-researchers made it a point to note that their home planting was nurtured with organic fertilizer (*abono*) as opposed to chemical fertilizers. Co-researchers often cited this as the reason that their plants were healthy. For example, in this exchange I had with Favián:

Favián: *Bueno, de eso es como le decía, me gusta la naturaleza, me gustan los árboles frutales. Por ejemplo, esa es una planta de aguacate que está recién nuevamente ¿Cómo le digo? retoñando de lo que ella dejó de dar frutos, ahorita sigue creciendo más. Y como decía del "buen vivir" no, algo natural, por ejemplo un árbol de aguacate sano, sin fumigar, sin nada.*

[Well, from that as I was saying to you, I like nature, I like fruit trees. For example, this is an avocado tree which is recently – how do I say? – budding [again] after she stopped giving fruit, but right now she is continuing to grow more. And as I was saying, of *buen vivir*, right, [it means] something natural, for example a healthy avocado tree, without fumigation, without anything.]

[21] Extractivism refers to "those activities which remove large quantities of natural resources…for export" (Acosta, 2013, p. 62) from resource rich countries by multinational corporations, and/or colonial powers with or without the assistance or permission of the national government. The term is used frequently in literature about the economic and sociocultural effects of neocolonial development practices within Latin America.

Jen: *Claro, sin químicos.*
[Of course, without chemicals.]

Additional photos of co-researcher gardens and plants appear below.

Illustration 31
María Simbaña – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Mi huerto de hortalizas – Yo tomé esta foto porque es muy importante porque es un alimento muy bueno para la salud.
[My garden of vegetables – I took this photo because it is very important because it very good nutritious food for health]

Illustration 32
Lali Imelda Vilelo Mendoza – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Hortalizas – Los niños tengan una buena alimentación y crecer sanos
[Vegetables – The children have good food and grow up healthy]

Illustration 33
Luis Favián Yanchaguano – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Frutos Sanos – Para un buen vivir deberíamos consumir alimentos sin químicos.
[Healthy Fruits – For *buen vivir*, we should consume food without chemicals]

Illustration 34
Victoria Andagoya – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Comer Sano – En nuestra familia acostumbramos a sembrar productos con abono orgánico. También cultivamos hierba sin químicos para las amínales menores, mismos que son para la alimentación nuestra
[Eating Healthy – In our family we are accustomed to planting products with organic fertilizer. We also cultivate grasses without chemicals for the younger animals, who are also for our food.]

Anita from La Esperanza explained to me that there is a tension between the traditional and recognized importance of growing one's own fruits and vegetables (and food animals) naturally and the ease of purchasing food grown elsewhere and perhaps with chemical fertilizers:

> *¿Por qué tomé estas fotos? Porque casi la mayoría de personas se olvidan del medio ambiente o de lo bueno que tenemos, tal vez, a veces preferimos comprar hortalizas con químicos, pero no nos fijamos que la tierra de aquí puede ser fértil, y podremos sembrar nuestras propias hortalizas, podemos tener nuestro propio maíz, en vez de comprar leche, como dice la ceñito, tengo vaca, tengo leche de [aquí.]*
>
> [Why did I take these photos? Because almost the majority of people forget about the environment or about the good we have, maybe, sometimes we prefer to buy vegetables with chemicals, but we don't realize that the land here can be fertile, and we can plant our own vegetables, we can have our own corn, instead of buying milk, like the little miss says, I have a cow, I have milk from [here].]

These changes represent a disconnection from long-held knowledges and practices, accentuating inter-generational tensions in the views of well-being, which I will discuss further below. Karina, one of the young co-researchers from La Esperanza came to our first group session and reported on a conversation she had with her grandmother and older relatives and neighbors which she said helped her to understand *SK/BV*. This passage struck me as a clear example of embodied knowledge when it comes to home and community life, its connection to a respectful give and take relationship between humans and the environment, and intergenerational passage of values. From the second paragraph, we can see that these important beliefs are under tension from changes, which I will discuss more in the subsequent sections.

> *Pero lo tiene mi abuelita, las hermanas de mi abuelita, y si hay vecinitas que decían, "El buen vivir, lo que nosotros cosechamos, lo que nosotros tenemos, lo que se vive día a día, lo que se incrementa, lo que ha sido bueno o lo que nos obsequian" y dije, "Bueno" atrás de la casa de mi abuelita está el terreno con sus cosas, y se parecía muy bonito, y dije, "Sí el buen vivir es vida, las plantas nos dan alimentos y también son una forma de vida" que ella nos ayudan a nosotros a mantener un aire más puro,*

y los niños nos enseñan que no hay necesidad de que seamos adultos para dejar de jugar. O podemos involucrarnos con niños, jóvenes, personas adultas para tener un buen estilo de vida o disfrutar la vida.

[But my grandmother has it [and] the sisters of my grandmother, and there are neighbors who would say, "*Buen vivir*, [is] that which we harvest, that which we have, that which we live day to day, that which is increased, that which has been good and has been given to us" and I said, "Yes." Behind my grandmother's house is the land with her things and it seems very pretty and I said, "Yes, *buen vivir* is life, the plants give us food and also are a form of life" in that they help us keep the air more pure, and the children teach us that it's not necessary although we are adults to stop playing. We can involve ourselves with children, youth, adults to have a good lifestyle or to enjoy life.]

También darse cuenta que algunas cosas han cambiado en el transcurso de los años, porque ya la mayoría de personas ya no se dedican a lo que es la agricultura para su propio consumo, sino que se ha perdido la costumbre de sembrar diversidad de semillas, como es la cebada, el trigo, la quínoa, que se ha perdido bastante, ahora lo que más se siembra sólo es del maíz, y también el incremento de las florícolas en cada lugar, pero también se mantiene el ecosistema, las áreas verdes que son necesarias para nuestra vida y nuestro día a día...

[Also realize that some things have changed in the passage of the years, because now the majority of people do not devote themselves to agriculture for their own consumption, but rather the custom of planting a diversity of seeds has been lost – the barley, the wheat, the quinoa – that much has been lost… Now what is planted the most is only corn, and also the flower plantations have increased everywhere, but also the ecosystem is maintained, the green areas that are necessary for our life and our day to day…]

Bolin (2018) names the way that this inter-generational embodiment shows up in discourse "they-sense," which characterizes inter-generational references, and "we-sense," which points to intra-generational affirmations (p. 32). They-sense, according to Bolin (2018), "is most clearly visible in interview situations when informants refer directly to other generations – older or younger – by marking difference," whereas "we-sense" shows up when shared markers of identity within a common generation are highlighted. Interestingly, Karina's comments, above, point to both at once: she reports on a conversation she had with her grandmother in which her grandmother expressed we-

sense, but then she goes on to note how those remembrances of her grandmother have begun to shift, a form of they-sense. I found this construct useful to keep in mind when thinking through other issues that arose when co-researchers noted changes in youth and cooperation that defied the logic of their or previous generations, as discussed below.

Past, Honor, and Culture

In this section, I discuss the role of the past, of culture, and of honoring the past and culture, which emerged clearly from the co-researchers' photos and discussion as part of *SK/BV*. This section also bridges responses to research question one with responses to research question two, in which co-researchers talked about the ways in which having a good life/well-being had changed in the last two decades. Co-researchers referred to cultural aspects of life frequently in their explanations of *SK/BV.* Culture manifested in a variety of ways: through dance, dress, music, and food; through traditional health and cooking practices, and; through engagement with nature and the environment in ways that were taught by one's parents or ancestors. Several pieces of data illustrating these manifestations are presented below. To begin, Estefany in Tupigachi took the vibrant photo that appears on the top left of the page below of her friends dancing during a weekend festival. When I asked her whether it had significance for *buen vivir*, she replied:

> *Claro, es que vamos rescatando la tradición que es de aquí, mientras que rescatamos lo que es la vestimenta, lo que es aquí, está el gallo, tienen que ir con unas cintas, entonces eso se va a entregar en nuestra casa, o sea, lo que usted me ha prestado y yo tengo que devolverle a usted. Esas son las costumbres de aquí. Como puede ser lo que es honradez, o sea, la cultura de aquí, somos responsables de todas esas culturas.*
>
> [Of course, we are going to rescue the tradition which is from here, while we rescue that which is the clothing, that which is from here, there is the rooster

[referring to a tradition where numerous chickens are given to someone who loaned you money the year before], they have to go with the ribbons, then those are delivered to our house, that is, what you have loaned me then I have to return to you. Those are the customs from here. This is the honesty, that is, the culture here, we are responsible for all of these cultures [cultural traditions].]

Illustration 35
Estefany Pozo – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
El Rescate de Nuestra Tradición y Lengua – Es importante nuestro rescate de nuestra cultura y tradición para que no se pierda nuestra identidad y [para que] siga en la futura generación
[The Rescue of Our Tradition and Language – Our rescue of our culture and tradition is important so that our identity is not lost and [so that] it continues in the future generation.]

Illustration 36
Victoria Andagoya – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Vida Natural – Estos animalitos se llaman churos y son alimentos que perduran desde hace años atrás, se comen en tiempo invernal…
[Natural Life – These little animals are called *churos* and they are food that survives from years ago, they are eaten in the wintertime.]

Illustration 37
"Anita" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Cocinando en Leña – Cocinando sano y saludable, el frejol para nuestra alimentación
[Cooking with Firewood (*Leña*) – Cooking healthy and healthily, the beans for our nutrition.]

Illustration 38
Pastora Cachipuendo – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Cortando Leña – Siempre hace esto mi marido porque yo no puedo cortar los palitos gruesos. Los palitos son para la tulpa, para cocinar. [Con] la tulpa rápida se hierve la olla.
[Cutting Firewood (*Leña*) – My husband always does this because I can't cut the thick sticks. These sticks are for the *tulpa*, to cook. The *tulpa* boils the pot quickly.]

A photo from Victoria in Tocachi (previous page, bottom right) shows small snails called *churos* which are a favorite traditional food treat. The photographer, Victoria, further explained to Vicky and me the embodied knowledge required to collect *churos*:

Victoria: *Los churos son animalitos que cuando hay mucha lluvia salen, entonces eso desde niños nos enseñaron a comer, y creo que es igual algo sano, ellos se reproducen solos, no tienen nada de químicos, se reproducen en la parte alta, donde hay pajonales, entonces una vez que llueve, salen, nosotros cogemos.*

[The *churos* are small animals that come out when there is a lot of rain, so since childhood they taught us to eat them, and I think that it is also something healthy, they reproduce alone, they don't contain any chemicals, they reproduce in the high [mountainous] part, where there are grasslands, so then once it rains, they come out and we collect them.]

Vicky: *¿A qué hora salen para cogerlos?*
[What time do you go out to collect them?]

Victoria: *Depende de si es que llueve en la tarde o en la mañana. Ese día fuimos de mañana, como a las 6:30 AM más o menos, porque ahí amaneció*

lloviendo. Lastimosamente ya hay muy pocos, porque ya van desapareciendo ya, porque van aumentando la frontera agrícola que es, van todos los pajonales ya van tractorando para sembrar otros productos, entonces ellos ya mueren…. Esta es la tradicional colada de churos, ese es el producto que uno se acostumbra a comer los churos con colada, no se puede comer con otra comida.

[It depends on if it rained in the afternoon or the morning. That day [when I took the photo], about 6:30 in the morning or thereabouts, because it was raining at dawn. Unfortunately, there were already very few, because they had already started disappearing, because they go on increasing the agricultural border, all the grasslands are going and they are clearing land for planting other products, so they [the *churos*] are already dying… This is the traditional *churo* "shake," this is the product that one becomes accustomed to eating – the *churos* with a drink – it can't be eaten with other food.]

Jen: *Lo tradicional.* [The traditional [way].]

Victoria: *Sí.* [Yes.]

This kind of embodied knowledge is another example of Fuchs' (2017) "collective body memory" which in great part "has been passed from one generation to the next through performative practices and specifically socialized bodies" (p. 340). This collective body memory can also be understood through the importance co-researchers gave to the traditional cooking practice seen, depicted in the photos on the previous page, referred to as *cocinando con leña* or cooking with firewood. This was (and still is, in some cases) performed on a *tulpa*, which is a traditional open air fire stove consisting of a grating over firewood (*leña*) that was arranged on three stones positioned to support the wood fuel. Some co-researchers believe it imparted a better flavor into the food. In some cases, it was used for preparing certain kinds of food that required long cooking, such as when it was done at my own homestay for boiling *mote*, which needed to cook overnight. It was difficult to get co-researchers to explain exactly why *tulpa* cooking was so

important, which fits with the idea of collective body memory, in which "growing up and being immersed in a shared practice context results in an implicit understanding of the…typical" interactions and practices (Fuchs, 2017, p. 347). Some commented that it was faster to cook *con leña*, as can be seen in Pastora's comment, below. As the eldest participant in the study, Doña Pastora also noted that her tradition of and comfort with cooking *con leña* was changing, and that her children cooked on a gas stove which "scared her:"

Iluustration 39
Pastora Cachipuendo – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
La Ollita de Café – Estoy cocinando en la tulpa. Puede hacer el cafecito rápido. Tengo mis nietos que toman cafecito con pan.
[The Little Pot of Coffee – I am cooking at the *tulpa*. It can make coffee rapidly. I have my grandchildren who take a little coffee with bread.]

Iluustration 40
Pastora Cachipuendo – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Cocinar con el Gas – No me gusta cocinar con el gas porque me da miedo. Cuando están allí mi guaguas [Kichwa: niños], cocinan con gas pero me voy a la tulpa.
[Cooking with Gas – I don't like to cook with gas because they scare me. When my *guaguas* [Kichwa for children] are here, they cook with gas but I go to the *tulpa*.]

Though co-researchers often discussed the importance of plants in their traditional healing practices, only one participant (from Tupigachi, Iluustration 42) took a photo of a traditional healer or *curandera*, at work in his home. In his interview, César told me his wife had a bruise from where a farm animal had run into her and they knew of this young woman who learned traditional healing practices from her elders. César and his wife felt these practices should be honored and so they invited *la curandera* to attend to the leg injury. César's photo and explanatory description follow.

Illustration 42
César Castillo Catucuago – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Curandera – La curandera da una buena atención en tratamiento de lesiones y otras enfermedades y es valorizada como indígena.
[The Healer – The healer gives good attention to the treatment of lesions and other illnesses and is valued as indigenous.]

A final example in the area of traditional practices and honoring the past is the importance of knowledge about the environment passed down from generation to generation and maintained through particular practices. "Isabel" from Tupigachi illustrated this through a photo (see below) she took of her sister-in-law gathering water in a traditional vessel called a *malta* at a natural water source in the community. Similarly, Ana from Malchinguí captured a photo (also below) of a natural water cave and, through her description, explained a legend about how to make the water appear that had been passed down through her family. Rituals and storytelling, such as in these

examples below, can be “mediated through the performance itself” in that the act of getting water, knowing where one’s water comes from, and protecting water sources serves as “the concrete bodily enactment [which] *evokes or creates* the jointly intended reality” (Fuchs, 2017, p. 344, emphasis in original). Ana told us:

> *Bajo esto hay cuevas…de ahí de esas cuevas es de donde tomamos el agua, viene a unos tanques de filtración, estas cuevas tienen una historia, estas cuevas se hicieron por trabajadores muy antiguos en la época de mi papá y mucho antes también, donde de ahí sale el caudal del agua, estas cuevas se hicieron a base de mucho esfuerzo, pero también a base de pactos.*
>
> [Under this there are caves…from those caves is where we take the water, [now] it comes to some filtration tanks, those caves have a history, these caves were made by very old workers in the time of my father and much earlier as well, where from there the flow of water comes, these caves were made with much effort, but also based on pacts.]
>
> *Con pactos con él, ¿cómo se dice?, con el más allá, con el diablo, con quien sea el dueño de esto, entonces el cual les decía, "Que tienen que entregar una persona trabajadora o una persona embarazada", de ahí es donde sale el agua, si no se entregaban esas personas que él pide, no sale el agua, de ahí se obtuvo el agua.*
>
> [With pacts with him – How do you say? – with the hereafter, with the devil, with whoever is the owner of this, who told him, “You must deliver a hard worker or a pregnant person,” hence it is where the water comes out, if these people were not delivered, the water does not come out, hence the water was obtained.]

Illustration 42
“Isabel” – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Seguir Conservando Nuestros Vertientes – Dar las conservaciones del agua [y] sembrar árboles nativos. También los antepasados utilizaban la malta [para coger agua].
[Continuing Conservation of Our Watersheds – To give water conservations and to plant native trees. Also our ancestors used the *malta* [vessel pictured] [to collect water].]

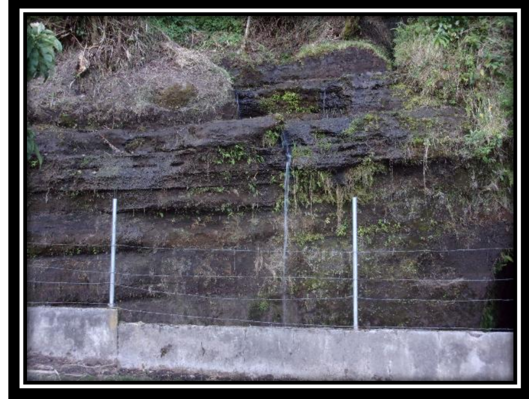

Illustration 43
Ana Cahueñas – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
San Pablito – Estas vertientes llamadas San Pablito bajo esta chorrera de agua existen tres cuevas que también sale el agua. Tiene su gran historia de arduo trabajo y sacrificios personales para la obtención de este líquido vital para nuestra parroquia. En aquellos tiempos tuvieron que entregar herramientas, hombres trabajadores, y una mujer embarazada pacto que se hacía para que salga el agua.
[San Pablito – These watersheds [are] called San Pablito… Below this spout of water exist three caves where water also comes out. It [the water source] has a great history of hard work and personal sacrifices for obtaining this vital liquid for our parish. In those times, they had to deliver tools, hardworking men, and a pregnant woman [to fulfill] the pact so that the water would flow.]

Through both the stories and the present day practices, the cognitive and bodily knowledge of how water was and can be obtained is preserved. Another example from my participant observation comes to mind. One day I returned home with a huge bouquet of long-stem roses, each stem thoroughly covered in thorns, from a co-researcher who gifted me the flowers during a visit to his small family *florícola*. Doña María offered to help arrange the roses for me when I confessed I didn’t have the first idea how to tame

the tangle of stems and leaves without drawing blood. Vicky and I stood with Doña María on the patio as she chatted with us while effortlessly removing each rose stalk from the tight bunch, stripping the thorns in mere seconds, clipping off the ends, and arranging each stem in a vase. Her hands seemed to move as if pre-programmed. Doña María had worked in a *florícola* in the past. As she chatted with us she remarked how these were inferior quality roses, "not good enough for the export market" and which wouldn't likely last more than a few days. Surprised at how she could tell, I remarked that the roses looked quite nice to me and not that different than other bunches I had seen nearby at the *florícola*. She explained further, meticulously pointing out each of the rose's characteristics and how she "read" these to determine the varietal, lifespan, water conditions and, therefore, market quality of the flower. I was astonished until I returned to the U.S. and began thinking about embodiment, which frames Doña María's knowledge clearly: the importance lies in the intersection of the knowing and doing. Through doing, knowing is reinforced; by knowing, doing is second nature. And in acknowledging this we begin to realize that this intersection of knowing and doing is a space fraught with changes stemming from the progression of time and the transformations of community development, which I will discuss next.

Feeling, Thinking, and Coping: Tensions from Changes to *SK/BV*

Embodied knowledge of how to have *sumak kawsay/buen vivir*, which was discussed above in response to research question one, is under pressure from changes in community development, producing tension in community structures. Co-researchers seemed dedicated to always seeking *SK/BV* in their own lives and within their communities and were pragmatic about how to do this. At the same time, there was also a

tension between their embodied knowledge of how to "have *sumak kawsay*" and the changes brought about by increasing economic opportunities and community development changes, even when these were initiated and/or managed by hyper-local entities. On the one hand, all of the co-researchers have internalized their obligation to work for and with community; they are reflective about it while at the same time also noting that "it goes without saying." Indeed, the concept of *reciprocidad* (reciprocity) is central to *cosmovisión Andina* and during my time living in Ecuador I often heard people refer to this by the local expression "*dando y dando*" (giving and giving, to connote a back and forth relationship between one's own giving and the giving one receives from others). On the other hand, co-researchers struggle with exercising their agency to engage with these evolving opportunities and changing community circumstances, while continuing to honor their past, culture, environment, and worldview. The natural and social landscapes they inhabit contain frontiers of possibilities which are shifting (Tsing, 2005).

In thinking about the findings presented in this section, I found it useful to delve into Ledwith's (2016) definition of community development as "a contested occupation that sits at the interface of *reactionary practice* and *revolutionary practice*" (p. 9, emphasis in original). Ledwith (2016) argues that community development begins with "extraordinarily re-experiencing the ordinary" which points to the recognition of the embodied every day and the way in which insidious changes which can result from doing things differently in a community can unsettle the ordinary (Shor, 1992, p. 122, as quoted in Ledwith, 2016, p. 5). She argues for a community development which is radical and transformative – rather than placatory, content with "making life just a little better around

the edges" – that aims to abolish structural discrimination while validating lived experience (2016, p. 9). In this way, Ledwith (2016) blends notions of local community development with a model of Freire's critical pedagogy and introspective self-awareness. This is the kind of community development practice I have sought to center in my own practice and it is the style of community development which emerged from the co-researchers as aligned with both their worldview and their circumstances as citizens of a country which has centered its development on *buen vivir*.

As I expect many people have experienced, unsettling the ordinary produces an embodied feeling of uncertainty. These shifts and tensions are explained through co-researcher responses to the second research question (How has *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* changed in the last one to two decades?), which produced the following themes: (1) changes stemming from and impacts around the presence and growth of *florícolas* (flower plantations); (2) the experience of re-experiencing the ordinary through embodied gains and losses and; (3) the ways in which community support (and the ideals of *cosmovisión Andina* it embodies) have been influenced by changes to family and community dynamics.

The Varied Influences of *Florícolas*

Co-researchers revealed tensions between long-held ideals of *buen vivir* and relatively recent changes within families and communities in responding to research question two. In the context of Pedro Moncayo, the self-proclaimed Roses Capital of the World, many of these tensions arose from economic development in the form of flower plantations (*florícolas*). The extent to which co-researchers viewed *florícolas* as opportunities, scourges, or something in between varied based on their personal

experiences and their parish. For the most part, new opportunities seemed to be viewed pragmatically or instrumentally, as additional options for family development available to those who were interested or in need. Views about *florícolas*, especially in Tupigachi, were rarely clear-cut, rarely characterized as either "good" or "bad" but rather referred to as a fact which affected individuals, families, and communities in both positive and negative ways simultaneously. This viewpoint aligns with the non-duality and complementarity inherent in *cosmovisión Andina*. An example of this comes from the round one group discussion with co-researchers from Tupigachi. I have edited the exchange to shorten it somewhat to reveal the pertinent tensions between the positives and negatives stemming from flower plantations, according to four Tupigachi co-researchers who have experiences with them:

Estefany: [About her flower plantation photo] *Como mujer nos ha ayudado a independizarnos también, ya que nosotros ahí trabajamos con equidad de género, hombres y mujeres, entonces nos ayuda a traer lo que es el dinero, ayudar a sostener a nuestras familias, a veces ya que somos mujeres solas y criamos a nuestros hijos solas. Entonces la empresa florícola…puede haber a favor y puede haber en contras. Pero a mi parecer, ha habido un mejoramiento ya que Pedro Moncayo se considera…la capital mundial de las rosas, nos llegaron a conocer más y crece económicamente más…. Entonces para mí esto ha sido bastante cambio…*

[As a woman, they have also helped us to make ourselves independent, because we work there with gender equity, men and women, so that helps us to bring home money, to help to sustain our families, sometimes because we are single women and we raise our children alone. So the flower factory, it can have pros and cons. But to my estimation, there has been an improvement because Pedro Moncayo is considered the roses capital of the world, they have made us known more and grow more economically… So for me this has been a big change…]

José: [Later] *Se ha visto un mejoramiento dentro de la sociedad Tabacundeña se ha visto que ha mejorado el Cantón, ha mejorado dentro de las comunidades ha mejorado, porque…ha mejorado la florícola, ha mejorado la educación y también ha mejorado la salud. Mediante eso*

yo he visto que las florícolas apoyan a la salud… En el mejoramiento de la comunidad han apoyado las florícolas. Esa similitud es muy interesante, porque si no estuvieran las florícolas aquí yo creo que Tabacundo fuera muerto. Sí, en realidad no creo que estas comunidades fueran grandes, ya con gente profesional...gente preparada. Es porque se prepararon mediante el bienestar que tienen las florícolas….Yo creo que los papás de esos señores que están ahí, trabajaron en las florícolas y ahí tuvieron el sustento para darles la educación a su hijo.

[Tabacundan society has seen an improvement, as has the Canton improved, it has improved within the communities, because the flower plantations have improved, education has improved and also health has improved. By these means, I have seen that the flower plantations support health…The improvement of the community has rested on the flower plantations. This similarity [in the photos] is very interesting, because if there were not flower plantations here, I think Tabacundo would be dead. Yes, actually I don't believe that these communities would be big, with professional people, [educationally] prepared people. It is because they were prepared by means of well-being that the flower plantations have [spurred]. I believe that the fathers of these gentlemen who are here, they worked in the flower plantations and there they had the [economic] sustenance to give their sons education.]

Jen: *…me dijo que las florícolas apoyan en la salud, pero yo no entiendo de eso. Entonces, ¿podemos charlar de eso? Es que, ¿sí apoyan en la salud o cómo apoyan en la salud?*

[You told me that the flower plantations help with health, but I don't understand this. So, can we talk about this? That is, do they support health or how do they support health?]

"Isabel": *Yo de experiencia diría, bueno, de que sí dicen que las florícolas apoyan en salud, es mentira. Y yo diría, gracias cuando entró Correa. Ahí es cuando a los empresarios lo aplicó todas las leyes. Yo he trabajado como 17 años en una empresa, es bien cierto, ahí cuando la planta está enferma, ahí se gastan por miles. Pero cuando el personal está enfermo a ellos no les importa. Estar enfermo, ¿les dan el permiso? No.*

[I, from experience, would say, well, yes they say that the flower plantations support health, [but] it is a lie. I would said, thanks to when Correa [President of Ecuador between 2007 and 2017] came in…. There is when the laws were applied to the businessmen. I have worked for 17 years in a flower plantation, it's very true, [that] there when a plant is sick, thousands will be spent. But when a worker is sick to them it doesn't matter. Being sick, do they give them permission [to take off]? No.]

Jen: *Interesante.* [Interesting.]

Rafael: *Un poquito sería, a ver sí me permiten. Por ejemplo, yo soy una persona que estoy trabajando y siempre he sido florícola. Hasta en la actualidad, a la edad que tengo…, porque que estamos diciendo, claro, ha venido el mejoramiento. Pero también ha venido, o sea, enfermedades. Y actualmente, a las personas que han trabajado de 17, de 18, hasta 19 años, están despidiéndose. O sea, no tienen derecho a la jubilación, no sé por qué, porque eso también es una discriminación, eso es una falta de respeto a la persona. Que trabajarse 18, 20 años y para no tener ningún derecho. Entonces, eso también se ha visto como negativo.*

[There is a bit more, if you'll permit me. For example, I am a person that is working and has always worked in a flower plantation. Even up to the present, at the age I am [66]…, because we are saying, of course, improvement has come. But also, I would say, illnesses have come. And nowadays, to the people who have worked 17, 18, 19 years, they are letting them go. That is, they don't have the right to retirement, I don't know why, because that is also a [form of] discrimination, that is a lack of respect for the person. To have worked 18, 20 years and to not have any rights… So, this also can be seen as a negative.]

Through this discussion we can see the inner conflict that co-researchers in Tupigachi experience about the flower plantations having both positive and negative effects simultaneously. For Estefany, a single mother, *florícolas* represent the kind of "secure and permanent source of employment that provides a steady income…[and allows] women…to change the patterns of decision making inside their household" that Friedemann-Sanchez (2006) noted in her work on flower plantations in Colombia (p. 6). Indeed, the co-researchers here echo what she noted in her own research, namely that "benefits and value [of flower plantations] are qualitative as well as quantitative. *Yet it is impossible to say that the influence of the flower industry is either all bad or all good*" (Friedemann-Sanchez, 2006, p. 8, emphasis added).

There is something of a tension of scale here as well. Tsing (2005) writes that "scale is the spatial dimensionality necessary for a particular kind of view" and, far from being a neutral frame, must be "brought into being…claimed and contested in cultural and political projects" (p. 58). Co-researchers' assessments of the effects of flower plantations very much imply scale, which I argue is especially relevant in Tupigachi where there is the largest contrast between the scale of the flower plantations (large) and the level of rurality (high) and community development that their workers live in. Co-researchers talk about the family and community development effects from *florícolas*: a hyper-local scale. Meanwhile, they note that *florícolas* as an industry have "made a name for Pedro Moncayo" on a global scale. Ecuador commands at least a 16 percent share of the value of U.S. cut flower imports and a six percent share of the total value of traded cut flowers on the international export market (Friedemann-Sanchez, 2006). The work in large flower plantations is dynamically influenced by this global scale. When I was in Ecuador in July 2017 and toured a flower plantation in Tupigachi, I was taken into a greenhouse which held rows upon rows of seedlings of rose plants that were nurtured in order to meet anticipated demand for Valentine's Day, February 2018 (Illustration 44, my own photo). Valentine's Day, our plantation tour guide shared, is the number one production goal of the plantation and they prepare for it at least six months in advance. The national clients of this

Illustration 44.
Preparing for Valentine's Day

particular plantation read as if from a primer in the commodity export aspect of global trade, and included the United States, various countries in Europe, Russia, Kuwait, and Dubai (Personal Communications, July 31, 2017). The *florícola* co-owner who gave me the tour seemed proud of this reach; I wondered about the impressions of his workers, as we walked by row after row of plants producing an extremely perishable, labor-intensive commodity, enabled by the almost exclusively manual work of these local individuals (Friedemann-Sanchez, 2006). Thus, as Tsing (2005) noted, "not all claims and commitments about scale are particularly effective" (p. 58). Are co-researchers demonstrating implicit agreement with the global scale of their employer by working in a Tupigachi *florícola*? Are they agreeing to participate in the *florícola*-owner's conception of the global market? Are they proud of the superlative, Roses Capital of the World? Or are they resigned to – maybe grateful for – the means the *florícolas* provide to achieve family and community goals? Considering these questions, we can appreciate the tension between hyper-local, regional, national, and international views of flower plantations. Friedemann-Sanchez's (2006) research has shown how flower plantations often operate as a kind of quasi-governmental entity locally; they are catalysts for social change (such as those providing women with more opportunities and autonomy) and yet they benefit from (and utilize) a large proportion of local resources such as land and water. The co-researchers in this study also discussed these tensions.

While co-researchers from Malchinguí spoke the least about *florícolas* (in part because they are not prominent in their parish), those from the other three parishes all had mixed views of flower plantations, despite the fact that the character of the plantations and their contributions to the family and larger economy in each parish differed

substantially. Here again we see differences in the scale of the operations. In Tupigachi, as we have seen, large corporate flower plantations predominate and approximately one in four workers report their principal economic activity is in *florícolas* (*Fundación Cimas*, 2015). In La Esperanza, flower plantations have grown in quantity most recently, but tend to be family-owned and operated, small-scale operations. In Tocachi, the *florícolas* are mostly family-owned as well. This tension is a feature of place-based development (which will be discussed more in the next chapter). "Who owns capital matters," according to Williamson, Imbroscio, & Alperovitz (2002), and whether a community's chief employers are predominantly owned by local or global entities has "profound consequences for the long-term economic security" and development of a place (p. 236). Though not photographed in Malchinguí, the co-researchers from that parish nonetheless made reference to this and other relationships between shifting community participation and *florícolas*, as noted in this comment from Favián about the various reasons why *SK/BV* had been changing:

> *También que ahora nuestra juventud no se dedica a sembrar. Se dedica solamente a lo más fácil, a lo más fácil. Se van a alguna empresa y ya tienen su mensualidad y listo. Pero hay terrenos que sí están botados.*
>
> [Also, now our youth don't dedicate themselves to planting. They dedicate themselves only to that which is easiest, to the easiest. They go to some factory [including flower plantations] and so they have their monthly paycheck and done. But there are lands that are abandoned [here].]

Further views about how youth are seen as reflecting different decisions and values related to well-being will be discussed in the next chapter. Below, additional examples of data about *florícolas* from Tupigachi, La Esperanza, and Tocachi are captured in participant photos and descriptions.

Illustration 45
José Rafael Cuascota Sanchez – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Producción de Flores – Es una fuente de trabajo, una alternativa a muchas personas [que] se han mejorado la educación de sus hijos
[Production of Flowers – It is a source of work, an alternative for many people that has improved the education of their children]

Illustration 46
Estefany Pozo – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Las Florícolas – Las florícolas nos ayudan a crecer económicamente y conocer a otras personas y cambiar a la cultura ya que allí trabajan toda clase de personas de otros países.
[The Flower Plantations – The flower plantations help us to grow economically and to know other people and to change the culture because all types of people from other countries work there.]

Illustration 47
María Simbaña – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Una Plantación – Es importante porque allí trabajan la familia para sobrevivir.
[A [Flower] Plantation – It is important because the family works there to survive.]

Illustration 48
Lali Imelda Vilelo Mendoza – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Contaminación – No debe tener las plantaciones dentro o alrededor del pueblo para que no contamine y [para que] el consumo de agua solo es para uso humano, anímale, [y para] productos y alimentos.
[Contamination – [The community] should not have these plantations within or around the people so that they don't contaminate and so that water consumption is only for human and animal use and for the [agricultural] products and food.]

Illustration 48
Ana Gabriela Clavijo – La Esperanza – Mar 2018 (left)
Invernaderos de Rosas, Barrio Mojanda – Los cambios que han efectuado la Parroquia La Esperanza son el incremento de empresas florícolas con pequeño bloques de rosas.
[Rose Greenhouses, Barrio Mojanda – The changes that effected the Parish of La Esperanza are the augmentation of flower companies with small [household] blocks of roses.]

Another aspect to this tension became clear when co-researchers considered the deleterious environmental effects from flower plantations. Surprisingly (to me), these effects were mentioned more often or at least positioned equally alongside the possible harmful effects to humans from repeated exposure to pesticides while working in *florícolas*. Here is an exchange I had with Lali from Tocachi, who had gone to great lengths to avoid being seen photographing the *florícola* of a neighbor in town (which can be seen in the upper right of the previous page):

Lali: *Eso es lo que yo no estoy de acuerdo, las plantaciones dentro de la población. No estoy de acuerdo, eso no. Yo también tengo una plantación, pero es por arriba, allá.*

[This is what I don't agree with, the plantations within the population. I don't agree, this, no. I also have a plantation, but it's up there [gesturing to the higher, most rural part of Tocachi].]

Jen: *Porque es bastante cerca, la contaminación…*

[Because it is too close, the contamination…]

Lali: *Contamina, es contaminante. Vea, solo yo me acuerdo cuando iba a arriba, donde tenemos nosotros la plantación. Sólo iba, entraba y miraba, así. Que mi marido dice, "Mira como está, ven a ver". Ya salía yo con el olor a la fumigación, y eso que él usa más orgánico que pesticidas, pero eso es lo malo, para mí.*

[It contaminates, it's a contaminant. Look, I remember when I was going up, to where we have our plantation. I only went, entered, and looked around, like this. My husband says, "Look at how it is, come and see." I left with the odor of the fumigation, and what he uses is the most organic of the pesticides, but this is the bad thing, for me.]

Vicky: *¿Desde cuándo están las plantaciones en Tocachi? Por qué no es muy común.*

[How long have the plantations been in Tocachi? Because it's not very common.]

Lali: *No es mucho tiempo, no sé, unos ocho años le pongo yo. La más vieja unos ocho, diez años; nueve, siete, no mucho. No más de ahí.*

[It's not long, I don't know, about eight years I would guess. The oldest one, eight, ten years; nine, seven, not long. Not more than that.]

Jen: *¿Cada año hay más? ¿O es como…?* [Are there more every year? Or is it like…]

Lali: *Ya gracias a Dios ahí como que se paralizó, porque ya estaba empezando a hacer más y ya nosotros decíamos, que la población nos vamos a quedar sin agua por una sola persona. Porque eso es bienestar para uno, no es para todos. Y aquí hay fuente de trabajo, pero ahí sólo trabajan tres personas.*

[Thank God it seem they have stopped, because it was already starting to do more and we were already saying that the people were going to be left without water even for a single person. Because this is well-being for one [water use by a plantation owner], it's not for everyone. And here [at the plantation in the photo] there is a source of work, but only three people work here.]

Jen: *Sí, hay poquito.* [Yes, that's very few.]

Lali: *Eso es lo malo.* [That is the bad thing.]

Interestingly here, Lali differentiates between poor and better placements of *florícolas*. She owns interest in a flower plantation herself, but hers is far away from the populated areas. She feels this is important because it minimizes the contact that humans have with the contamination which comes from the fumigation of roses. In Tocachi,

where there is no irrigation canal, water availability and use is also a tension that can be appreciated from Lali's explanation, as is the balance between the draw on resources like water and the number of people to whom the benefits accrue. Indeed, these same environmental and human health concerns are noted as the primary community effects of concern in other research on flower plantations; Friedemann-Sanchez (2006) writes of the industry in Colombia that the "use of exorbitant amounts of water by the floriculture industry is of concern to many municipalities" and "pesticides and fertilizers may be contaminating the ground water" (p. 31). Below, I will continue discussing these tensions in resource use stemming from community development.

Re-Experiencing the Ordinary: Embodied Losses and Gains[22]

As we have begun to see from the section above, new and changing opportunities that would be considered part of community economic development create friction as they rub up against long-held epistemological notions of what it means to have well-being. In this section, I will present data from all four parishes which serve as clear examples of these tensions in action and in debate. While changes have exerted pressure on all levels of family, community, and political life, co-researchers did not absolve themselves of responsibility for these processes and consequences, to the extent these factors existed at the family or community/neighborhood level. However, I did not get the sense that co-researchers viewed many of the **broader** enabling factors for *SK/BV* – and the ways they are changing – as within their influence. Only those co-researchers

[22] I must admit I have mixed feelings about using the term "losses and gains" as it sets up a dichotomous expectation which seems to conflict with the importance of non-duality within *cosmovisión Andina*. However, after much thought, the photos in this section – and the co-researchers' discussions about them – give the impression of struggling with a tension that fits the concepts. I am also grateful to my advisor, who pointed out that perhaps it is our own worldviews that frame them as binary and, thus, we are reading that onto their existence in this context.

who also held official roles within the local parish government, which provided an inside view to community development processes at the parish and cantonal level (and perhaps beyond), mentioned any ability to influence community development changes to the root causes of *buen vivir*. However, centering Ledwith's (2016) idea of community development as stemming from a re-experiencing of the ordinary, and coupling this with the notion of embodiment, I will present examples from the co-researchers which demonstrate their embodied reactions to community losses and gains.

Embodied reactions to losses and gains within communities manifested in photos and discussion of concerns related to land use and the environment, as well as in examples of improved community infrastructure, which co-researchers uniquely captured by taking paired "before and after" photos. First, I share the photos related to land use, which appeared in all of the rural parishes, and then discuss the analysis.

Illustration 50
"Josecito Túqueres" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Tierra Abandonada – Ha llegado en el abandono de tierra por las grandes empresas florícolas y ya no las cultiva
[Abandoned Land – Arriving at land abandonment by the big flower companies and now it is not cultivated]

Illustration 51
Victoria Andagoya – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Molestias para el Planeta – Cada vez crecen más las plantaciones florícolas, están cerca de hogares, y los químicos con los que fumigan son muy fuertes y se pueden percibir desde muy lejos. Estos son dañinos para los seres humanos y animales.
[Nuisances for the Planet – Every time the flower plantations grow more, they are near to homes, and the chemicals with which they fumigate are very strong and can be perceived from very far away. These are harmful for humans and animals.]

Illustration 52
Juanito Navarrete – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Sombras – Sombras que van dejando el ser humano en busca del progreso
[Shadows – Shadows that are stopping human beings in search of progress]

Illustration 53
Ana Gabriela Clavijo – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Sembrío de Maíz y Rosas en el Barrio Mojanda – La siembra de maíz y de rosas es lo que más se visualiza en la parroquia La Esperanza.
[Planting of Corn and Roses in Barrio Mojanda – The planting of corn and of roses is what is seen the most in the Parish of La Esperanza.]

Some land use tensions had to do with expansion coming from changing economic opportunities and family/community income. None of the co-researchers spoke of inequality between or among neighborhoods or households, interestingly. I did not specifically ask them their views of inequality, so I cannot be certain why this did not come up; it is possible it has to do with the relatively equivalent level of income in the four rural parishes or the primacy of community over individual (household) inherent to *cosmovisión Andina*. Nonetheless, co-researchers seemed concerned about the significance of the broader effects of changing economic opportunities, as demonstrated by this excerpt from a group conversation in Malchinguí (immediately below), and from an interview with Victoria in Tocachi (second below):

Juanito: *Para el buen vivir tenemos…Es que es lo malo de ser humanos, que nosotros para nuestro buen vivir, buscamos territorio y expandirnos, y para expandirnos nosotros tenemos que ir pisoteando, quitando todo lo que está atravesado.*

[For *buen vivi*r we have… This is the bad thing about human beings, that for our well-being, we look for territory to expand ourselves, and in expanding ourselves we have to go trampling, removing everything that [we] cross.]

Ana: *Somos buenos para destruir no para construir.*

[We are good for destroying, not constructing.]

Victoria: *Esas son las pirámides más cercanas.*

[Those are the closest pyramids [from the archeological site of Cochasqui].]

Jen: *Sí. Podemos ver la parte cubierta…allá. Ahora me estoy acordando de nuestra visita allá.*

[Yes. We can see the covered part…there. Now I am remembering our visit there.]

Vicky: *Mira, qué linda vista.*

[Look, what a beautiful view.]

Victoria: *Sí, ahí es como representarles aquí está nuestro pasado, y aquí está nuestro presente, lastimosamente lleno de plantaciones. Allá también existen plantaciones.*

[Yes, here is how our past is represented there, and here is our present, unfortunately full of plantations. Plantations also exist there.]

As demonstrated in the photos and quotes from above, co-researchers were concerned about who used the land, how occupied it was, and to what ends. Many co-researchers, drawing on the prompt from the research question to consider changes they'd witnessed or heard about, were reflective about how what they saw now in their environment differed or was starting to differ from what they saw before. There is an aspect of loss or fear of loss in some of these data. "Josecito" from Tupigachi noted, somewhat bitterly:

Esos terrenos, cuando yo era pequeño, sembraban cualquier cantidad de maíz, sembraban trigo, sembraban cebada. Pero ahora con la economía que se da aquí, ya no se siembra mucho. Esos terrenos los han comprado las empresas florícolas y han hecho potreros, pero para caballos. Lo que aquí prácticamente no tenemos caballos, pero esos señores tienen caballos finos. Y ellos siembran hierba para caballos.

[These lands, when I was young, they were planted with any amount of corn, they planted wheat, they planted barley. But now with the economy that is given here, they're not planted much. Flower companies have bought these lands and they have made pastures, but for horses. Here, practically, we don't have horses, but these gentlemen have fine horses. And they plant grasses for the horses.]

Anita from La Esperanza also expressed her concern about the tensions that come from balancing valued green space and growth related to population or development:

Illustration 54.
La Esperanza Green Space

Bueno, aquí en La Esperanza lo que más me ha parecido a mí bonito es que tienen espacios verdes. Los espacios verdes ya se están perdiendo. Entonces, me gusta así. Parece que no viviera gente, pero viven en esas partes sólidas del sistema, parece que no hubiera gente. Entonces, por eso lo tomé cerquita así esto del campo.

[Well, here in La Esperanza, the thing I have seen most which is nice to me is that they have green spaces. Green spaces are already being lost. So, I like it like this [as pictured]. It seems that people wouldn't live there, but they live in these solid parts of the system, it seems that there wouldn't be people. So, for this reason I took [the photo] very close of this part of the rural area.]

As mentioned, land use concerns were tightly linked to concerns stemming from environmental consequences and changes, as we have already seen. Additional examples abounded, in keeping with the high importance placed on the interaction between human health and environmental health, and between community development for humans and

the effects of community development on nature. Sometimes it seemed that co-researchers felt there were fighting a losing battle to keep the environment's health – and, by extension, their health – centered in daily life. In many cases, these issues stemmed from or linked to the existence of *florícolas*. In other cases, the proliferation of chemical fertilizers and treatments, initially started through the *florícolas*, had found their way into other aspects of life and food production, though not without concern. Nélida from La Esperanza illustrates the former example (immediately below), while Victoria from Tocachi illustrates the latter in discussing a photo she took of *sambo*, the Ecuadorian name for a popular kind of squash, in her home garden (far below).

Nélida: *También las flores, los que fumigan esas cosas hacen también daño, las fumigaciones…se enferman también la gente y los que son conscientes les hacen – patrones que son conscientes – les hacen curar, los demás tienen que salir porque están enfermos.*

[Also the flowers, those who fumigate, those things also do damage, the fumigations…the people get sick and those who are conscientious are made – the bosses who are conscientious – offer treatment, the others have to leave [work] because they are sick.]

Jennifer: *Esto me imagino afecta su vida del hogar, ¿no?*

[I imagine this affects your home life, no?]

Nélida: *…Yo estoy rodeada de las plantaciones, así encimita de mi casa por acá, esas fumigaciones también pueden afectar el hábitat de nuestros pueblos cada vez.*

[…I am surrounded by plantations, so that right above my house [the adjacent neighbor], right here, those fumigations can also affect the habitat of our neighborhoods every time [they fumigate].]

Victoria: *Sí, esos son unos sambos, y es un producto que desde hace años se han consumido, y creo que la mayoría de nuestros antepasados, o todos los antepasados, fueron bien alimentados, por eso eran bien fuertes, bien valientes. Ellos comían todos los productos naturales. Lastimosamente ahora todo es químico, todo es químico. Entonces nosotros lo que*

tratamos es de producir sambos, así que no es mucho, pero producimos sambos para nuestra alimentación, lo más sano posible, no se le fumiga, se le pone abono de los cuyes, de las gallinas, y no se utiliza químicos para poder tener un producto medio sano.

[Those are some *sambos*, and it is a product that has been consumed for years, and I believe that the majority of our ancestors, or all of the ancestors, were well-fed, because of it they were very strong, very brave. They used to eat all natural products. Unfortunately now everything is chemical, everything is chemical. So what we try to do is produce *sambos*, even if it's not a lot, but we produce *sambos* for our food in the healthiest possible way, they aren't fumigated, we treat them with fertilizer from the *cuyes*, from the chickens, and chemicals are not used, so that we're able to have a mostly healthy product.]

Jen: *Es como una lucha contra la entrada de químicos.*

[It is like a struggle against the entrance of chemicals.]

Victoria: *Sí*. [Yes.]

When people see their land, their water, their usual agricultural land, their trees changing before their eyes – and when these things are critical components of their own sense of well-being – how do they respond? How does one incorporate changes that may seem inexorable into one's deeply felt way of being? It seems this area of investigation is lacking.[23] One way to think about it may be using Bourdieu's concept of habitus, defined usefully for this study as "embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history…the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56, as quoted in Fuchs, 2017, p. 346). When embodied history is awakened through cognitive dissonance from changes that begin to surround one in their usual setting, that which is usually taken for granted or which usually goes unnoticed is suddenly in stark relief as different. Another way of framing these changes and the

[23] I found this a particularly challenging area for searching the literature, as the issues involved straddle multiple disciplines. In Chapters Five and Six I will discuss the limited articles I found in the areas of citizenship studies, community psychology, and mental health adjustment to climate change.

responses they engender may be to use the Freirean notion of *conscientisation* that Ledwith (2016) weaves with community development; she points out that Freire asked that we begin with “problematizing ordinary scenes from everyday life by decontextualizing them to present them in another form, codifying familiar situations so that they are seen in a different way, a way that raises questions” (p. 67). Co-researchers did not simply accept the fact of the proliferation of *florícolas*, though their presence in the community for one to three decades may have explained an unquestioning acceptance. Instead, they used the camera to problematize what may have become ordinary in order to answer the question about how changes to notions of *SK/BV* were affecting them and their communities. It is possible that the method of photography is especially suited to capturing and illustrating this dissonance, to making it real and thus discussable. This will be explored further in the Discussion Chapter.

In the photos that follow the story below from “Yoli, “I read a kind of confusion and a kind of sadness that I might expect to come from having one’s habitus disturbed in such a way, or which may result from re-experiencing the ordinary and noting its downsides. Victoria from Tocachi takes a trip to the capitol and reflects on the noise and other pollution; Favián from Malchinguí looks out at the sick tree in his yard and wonders how far the plant illness will spread and who is responsible; “Mercedes,” also from Malchinguí, goes walking in the lands behind her home and captures a photo showing a high-tension electricity line where she says there used to be only makeshift paths to plantings (see photos on the following page). An engaging story from “Yoli,” from Malchinguí, about the photo in the top left, below, powerfully incorporated her

official role as Vice President of the *GAD parroquial* in which she was in charge of issues relating to transportation, and her sense of duty to the past and the environment:

"Yoli": *Verá, esos árboles son añejos ya. Son acá en la parte de Cochasquí. Justo ayer que íbamos a hacer una gestión en Tabacundo, vino un señor transportista y dijo que los árboles le molestaban…. Entonces, a mí no me pareció justo. Entonces, dice, "Dígale a ¿cuál será el dueño? Pues, que les vuele a los árboles." Entonces, yo le digo al presidente, vamos a ver.*

[Look, those trees are already very old [vintage]. They are there in the part [of the road near] Cochasqui. Just yesterday I was going to have a management [meeting] in Tabacundo [and] a gentleman from the bus company came and said that the trees were bothering him. So, to me, this doesn't seem fair. Then he says, "Tell him – who is the owner? – that he needs to send the trees flying." So I said to the President, we'll see.]

Imagínese si nuestros abuelitos y más descendencias anteriores, plantaron -- Estos árboles son venidos de Australia, según la historia. Vinieron así chiquitos, les entregaron por miles aquí y ellos decidieron criar ¿Sabe cómo decidieron criar ellos? Cargando agua de las quebradas en maltas -- Y ahora para la comodidad de los señores transportistas.... "José Luis, por favor, usted y usted señora Yoli, que es de vialidad, dígales al dueño, al que sea, que corte esos árboles."

[Imagine if your grandparents and more descendants before that planted [the trees] – Those trees came from Australia, according to the history. They came very small and they delivered them through miles to here and they decided to grow them. Do you know how they decided to grow them? Carrying water from the ravines in *maltas*… And now for the comfort of the men at the bus companies… "Jose Luis [Malchinguí President], please, you and you Señora Yoli, who is in charge of roads, tell the owner, whoever it is, that they [should] cut the trees."]

[La foto muestra] la parte de los arbolitos que están rechazados ahorita por los señores. Está bien, a lo mejor podemos cortar estas ramas, pero igual soy un poco enemiga de cortar las plantas.

[[The photo shows] the part of the trees that are rejected right now by the gentlemen. OK, maybe we could cut these branches, but at the same time I'm a bit of an enemy of cutting plants.]

Jen: ¿Y por qué -- Los buses alcanzan por aquí en las ramas?

[And why…the buses reach up to here in the branches?]

“Yoli”: *Si, es que el Don Enrique dijo que se rompen las bujías, que se rompen los focos, que se rompen las antenas, que tiene muchas quejas. Entonces, puede ser que les afecte esto. Entonces, toca ver, pero los árboles son -- Ellos al menos tienen una ventaja y una desventaja, la ventaja es la madera y la desventaja es que ellos cogen todita el agua, y al lado, por ejemplo, en la parte de abajo donde hay terreno, ellos no permiten que haya producción debajo de ellos. Pero es bueno. Yo al menos, les quiero bastante. Tengo un bosque yo de árboles.*

[Yes, it’s that Don Enrique said that they break the spark plugs [sic], that they break the headlights, that they break the antennas, he has a lot of complaints. So, it could be that this affects them. Then, we can see, but the trees are…they at least have an advantage and a disadvantage, the advantage is the wood and the disadvantage is that they catch all the water, and…at the part below where there is open area, they [make it so there cannot] be production below them. But it is good. I, at least, love them a lot. I myself have a forest of trees.]

Illustration 55
“Yoli” – Malchinguí – Aug 2017 **Tierra Eucaliptos – Arboles de eucalipto existentes por mucho tiempo en la vía Malchinguí—Tocachi estorban a los transportistas de buses.**
[Eucalyptus – Eucalyptus trees existing for a long time on the Malchinguí—Tocachi road bother the bus companies.]

Illustration 56
Luis Favián Yanchaguano – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Nuestras Plantas Enfermas – Nuestras plantas se encuentran enfermas, tal vez será por contaminación propia de nosotros mismos.
[Our Sick Plants – Our plants are found sick, maybe it will be from our own contamination.]

Illustration 57
Victoria Andagoya – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Sonidos Imparables – Esto es en Quito, una ciudad muy grande, la capital de Ecuador. Existe mucha contaminación y afecta a nuestro mundo, que poco a poco está más deteriorado
[Unstoppable Sounds – This is in Quito, a very big city, the capital of Ecuador. A lot of contamination exists and affects our world, which little by little is more deteriorated.]

Illustration 58
"Mercedes" – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Camino Alchipichi – Se bajaba por estas laderas para ir a trabajar, sembrando y cosechando frejol, vainitas, tomate, camotes, en cambio, ahora se tiene las carreteras y caminos habilitados.
[Alchipichi Road – One used to go down [to the land below] by these hillsides to go to work, planting and harvesting beans, pea pods, tomato, yams…now in contrast it has highways and renovated roadways.]

Here we can see that "Yoli" is conflicted in her role as *GAD parroquial* Vice President: she sees the reasons for concern on the part of the bus drivers, but she feels deeply that it is wrong to cut down trees for such seemingly trivial reasons. She told me and her fellow co-researchers that the people who planted those trees carried water one load at a time from its source below to nurture the trees. Should the people of Malchinguí now consider them disposable because they interfere with the smooth running of the bus route? If the environment is considered disposable, what will be next? In Tupigachi, Anita drew a haunting parallel which reinforces the theme of the inseparability of human health and environmental health:

> *Igual los terrenos ya dejan de producir las flores, los terrenos no maduran. Toca dejarle un tiempo, volverle a [sic] tractorarle, aquí le llaman [sic] sursularle, entonces ahí nuevamente echándole bastante abono agrícola, ahí nuevamente vuelve a producir. De ahí, o sea, es como que la tierra se murió de tanto químico,*

si a la tierra le pasa eso, a nosotros los pobres humanos, que somos solamente de carne y hueso, nos enfermamos y por eso ya no trabajo, pasó en la casa.

[Also the areas [where] they have stopped producing flowers, the areas don't mature. You have to leave it for a time, return to it with the tractor, here we say let it breathe, and then again throw on it a lot of agricultural compost, then it will return to producing again. From there, I don't know, it's like the land died from so much chemical, if it happens like this to the land, to us poor humans, who are only of meat and bone, we fall sick and because of that I don't work, I stay at home.]

It is critically important to understand these data in the context of how those who hold an Andean worldview think about development. The embodied ideals of *SK/BV* are not anti-development. They represent, as I have argued earlier, an alternative *to* development. They stem from a non-Western epistemology that considers the means and ends of development in a totally different way and thus rejects and resists the dominant discourses of what development is for, who it serves, and why. In listening to my co-researchers talk and seeing their photos, I did not hear or regard representations of anti-development. While *SK/BV* may be situated as an anti-neoliberal development, an anti-extractivist development, and an anti-exploitative development by some authors (Álvarez-González, n.d.; Guzñay, 2014) (and I do not disagree with these characterizations), it cannot be defined by simply what it is not. Rather, co-researchers in this study declared and showed that the *relacionalidad de todo* [interrelationships of everything] must be centered in our understandings of both the goals and consequences of a transformative and critical kind of community development, which includes both beliefs and praxis. Failure to do so, some co-researchers feared, may result in a decentering of the key principles of *reciprocidad* [reciprocity] and *correspondencia* [correspondence], both key to an Andean view of well-being. Such decentering represents a real threat to people and culture through the uncertainty and dissonance it

creates. I also considered that these different viewpoints of the means and ends of community development are themselves linked to different embodied conceptions. Keogh (2017), in his work with HIV-positive patients noted, from an embodiment lens, that patients and healthcare providers have contrasting conceptions of both health and uncertainty. In his study, healthcare providers construct people with HIV as "uncertain in terms of their ability to adhere to regimens and regulate their risk behaviors" but the source of uncertainty for people with HIV "resides in the capacity of governments to deliver sufficient health care and of markets to deliver treatment innovations" (Keogh, 2017, p. 71). Therefore, the situation from an embodied perspective of those experiencing it is very different from the construct those outside of the experience would create for the primary actors. These encounters will be further addressed in the final section of this chapter.

Infrastructure Improvements: Then and Now

Beyond changes to land use and environmental health, another clear set of findings which emerged in response to research question two were those highlighting substantive changes in community infrastructure and the resulting changes in the lives of community members, framed as gains. In the first parish of the study, Tupigachi, Anita's interview helped the co-researchers and I hit upon the idea of presenting photos in pairs to the parish groups, in order to better explain the photographer's intention: to show the evolution of changes over time which is inherent in otherwise ordinary day-to-day community activities. All of the paired photos represented changes in infrastructure which co-researchers indicated were critical to their ability to live a good life. I present these photos here because they further highlight the point made above: that co-

researchers who hold an Andean worldview are not “anti-development,” that they recognize and appreciate changes that have come from increased economic prosperity, improvements to community infrastructure, and the ability to save time and live comfortably by incorporating household conveniences, such as indoor laundry. Again, these photos, which one would characterize as positive development changes, are nonetheless in tension with the means by which they have been made possible: the proliferation of *florícolas* and the losses resulting from changing family and community cooperation norms, which I will discuss next.

Illustrations 59a and 59b
“Anita” – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Agua Segura – Agua limpia y sana para la salud de mis hijos y toda la comunidad
[Safe Water – Clean and healthy water for the health of my children and the whole community]
(Before and after photo, above and to right)

Illustrations 60a and 60b
"Isabel" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
La Choza – Hace 20 años atrás, nuestros antepasados vivían como personas humildes. Actualmente, tenemos estos edificios.
[The *Choza* ["Shack"] – Twenty years back, our ancestors lived like humble people (photo above). Nowadays, we have these buildings (photo to right).]

Illustrations 61a and 61b
Nélida Puga – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Mis Lavanderías – Yo les quiero a mis lavanderías, las dos son útiles para mí, a las dos les ocupo a la una porque ahí lavo las cosas más sucias, y en la otra el resto de ropa que sale y descanso porque ella lave y yo ya no.
[My Laundries – I love my laundries, the two are useful to me, I occupy them both at once because there (above) I wash the dirtiest things, and in the other (right) the rest of the clothes come out and I [can] rest because she [the machine] washes and I no longer.

Illustrations 62a and 62b
Hugo Fernando Maila Mantilla – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Vías Públicas – Que las personas transitaban en las vías deterioradas para que pueden transitar las personas en mejores estados
[Public Roads – That people used to walk on deteriorated roads, so that [with improvement] people can move in a better state.]

Community Support in Transition

To close this chapter, I will discuss several aspects of a final theme which emerged from the data: (1) new decisions; (2) youth in families, (3) youth in communities, and; (4) out-migration and family. These aspects centered on subtle changes in communities that co-researchers, when asked, realized represented transitions to the ways in which community members supported one another and interacted. Community support or mutuality is a critical aspect of community development because such development "involves social change through collective action" (Ledwith, 2016, p. 164). Hyper-local community development – development which is rooted in the needs and assets of community members and grounded in place, requires collectives to analyze the context in which they live in order to determine the personal and collective actions necessary to make changes which will lead to more opportunity and/or better living

circumstances for those present. To this end, when existing development actions and consequences erode this collectivity, they block the ability of communities to determine their own paths in keeping with their own beliefs.

New decisions. To start, I will address the idea of new decisions: the ways in which individuals and families were "choosing differently" than what co-researchers may have thought an enacted sense of *SK/BV* would ordinarily dictate. For instance, Karina, from La Esperanza, spoke of the changes to houses in her neighborhood that she didn't really register until she needed to explain them to me:

> Karina: *Me gustó porque es la única casa que no ha cambiado su frente y mantienen esos árboles que yo me acuerdo que había desde pequeño y son cada vez más gruesos y verdes, nunca se han opacado.*
>
> [I liked it [the photo] because it is the only house that hasn't changed its front and they maintain those trees and I remembered that it had been [like that] since I was little and they [the trees] are increasingly thick and green, they have never been obscured.]
>
> Jennifer: *¿Qué pasó con las otras casas? ¿Han cambiado su frente? ¿Cómo?*
>
> [What happened with the other houses? They have changed their front? How?]
>
> Karina: *Han puesto ya de cemento.*
>
> [They have been cemented.]

Juanito from Malchinguí encapsulated the changes in this explanation during a moment in the round one Malchinguí group discussion when the co-researchers were being particularly nostalgic in comparing the changes in *buen vivir* in the last one to two decades:

> *Es lo que decía anteriormente en forma de chiste, creo que, si nosotros antes nos dedicamos a lo orgánico…para nuestro buen vivir, ahora existen muchos cambios como el que yo decía de la leche, mucha gente saca la leche, para ir a venderla y comprarse una Coca-Cola.*

> [It's like I said earlier as a joke, I think, if before we dedicated ourselves to the organic, for our *buen vivir*, now many changes exist, like I said about the milk: many people take the milk to go and sell it and buy themselves a Coca-Cola.]
>
> *Ese es uno de los cambios que a nosotros nos afecta, el tema del progreso que decíamos… nosotros vivíamos digamos en una casita más humilde, más sencilla, pero se vivía con* ***una agonía feliz****, con la familia, se reunían todos ahí o todos vivían de lo que hay…, también era para obtener una buena casa, obtener un carro yo que sé.*
>
> [That is one of the changes that affects us, the issue of progress that we talked about…we used to live we'd say in a humble house, simpler, but we lived in **a happy agony**, with the family, everyone would get together there and everyone lived from what there was…, it was also to obtain a good house, to obtain a car, that I know.]
>
> *La gente tiene que salir muchas veces a la ciudad, o salir a las plantaciones a trabajar porque no es justo su progreso y lo que afecta…[lo que decía la señora Yoli], tratar de destruir la naturaleza para mejorar nuestra calidad de vida, nosotros lo vemos, al parecer eso es algo positivo pero en realidad nos está afectando.*
>
> [The people often have to leave for the city, or leave for the plantations to work because their progress is not fair and [it creates effects][like what Señora Yoli was saying] to try to destroy nature to improve our quality of life, we see it, it appears to be something positive but in reality, it is affecting us.]

I find the use of the term "happy agony" especially interesting because in it we can feel both nostalgia for the way things were and the value of how things are in the present. In that phrase the tensions between "what was" and "what is" are encapsulated. And Juanito provides concrete examples of these in his preceding and following statements: first he laments the transactional nature of the economy which leads to forgetting about the values of milk in order to convert that commodity into purchasing power for a Coca-Cola; then he notes that economic mobility and new conceptions of "the good life" have subtle but detrimental environmental consequences. Tsing (2005) has an interesting metaphor which may apply here. She writes of a bridge which connects the present to a global dream space (of opportunity, of "development," to unity with the world). We are enticed onto the bridge by promises (sometimes imagined) of "the insights of science, the

freedom of individual rights, the possibility of wealth for all…" and yet, once across, it turns out the bridge we step off is not the bridge we stepped onto (Tsing, 2005, p. 85). Whether or not the costs of this journey can be clearly articulated, they can be felt in the body and in the changing intersubjectivities of community.

Youth in families and communities. Another way in which collectivity for community development and interpersonal intersubjectivities are transitioning had to do with youth, their ideals and actions, and the effects of these on communities, as referred to briefly above. These youth-related tensions manifested in conversations and photographs in communication, family interactions, and participation in community events. Before moving to those changes, however, I believe it is important to note that not everything co-researchers mentioned about youth was negative. Insofar as youth have outlets for participation, those who participated in the study could appreciate possibility and express optimism. From this we can learn that the intentional development of opportunities for youth to be involved in their communities is critical not only to maintain and revitalize community participation but also to counter concerns about losses to ideals of reciprocity embedded in *cosmosvisión Andina*. In Tocachi, two of the study's co-researchers were also involved in a formalized youth leadership group in the parish, which attempted to represent youth concerns to the parish *GAD* and participate in community development processes. Elena noted that the group looks for its own resources to finance their desired programming and assists with summer workshops at the preschool and primary school. Additionally, several photos taken across three parishes illustrate what other youth engagement opportunities look like:

Illustration 63
Ana Gabriela Clavijo – La Esperanza– Mar 2018
Talentos de los niños de la Parroquia La Esperanza: Rescatando Talentos – Pintura realizada por la niña K.Q. de 13 años de la Escuela Leopoldo Chávez en el concurso de pintura realizado por la Junta Parroquial La Esperanza y el Consejo Provincial de Pichincha
[Talents of the Children of La Esperanza Parish – Painting done by the 13 year-old girl K.Q. (name redacted) from the Leopoldo Chavez School in the painting course put on by the La Esperanza Parish and the Provincial Council of Pichincha]

Illustration 64
"Isabel" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Salud y Vida – Nuestras comunidades tenemos estadios para tener una buena acogida de personas como hombres, mujeres, y niños por el bien de desarrollo.
[Health and Life – Our communities have stadiums to have a good reception for men, women, and children, for the good of development]

Illustration 65
Ana Gabriela Clavijo – La Esperanza– Mar 2018
Instrumentos Musicales: Trompeta, Güiro, Timbal, y Platillos – Instrumentos musicales adquiridos por el GAD La Esperanza para conformar una Banda del Pueblo Juvenil de la Parroquia La Esperanza
[Musical Instruments – Trumpet, güiro, drum, and cymbals – Musical instruments acquired by the La Esperanza GAD to form a Youth Town Band of La Esperanza Parish (all instruments photographed; only drum shown here)]

Illustration 66
María Elena de la Torre Baraja – Tocachi – Mar 2018
"TICS" Para Todos [TICS = Tecnologías de la Información y la Comunicación]: Gracias al apoyo del GAD Parroquial los niños de las escuelas de las comunidades pueden aprender computación.
["TICS" for Everyone (Technologies of Information and Communication) – Thanks to the support of the Parish GAD, the schoolchildren of the communities can learn about computers]

However, plenty of concerns about youth emerged to form a theme in the four parishes. Below are a pair of photo from Hugo (Tocachi) which he used to describe "then and now"-type changes to the ways in which youth communicate. I feel this is especially powerful given that Hugo was himself 19 years old. In his interview he explained these photos (below, left column) to me:

> Hugo: *Esa es cuando antes salían a platicar y así, o sea, era entre personas, no por el teléfono.*
>
> [That is when before they would go out to talk like that, that is, it was between people, not by telephone [cell phone].]
>
> Jen: *Exacto en persona, no a través de texting, las redes sociales.*
>
> [Exactly, in person, not through texting, social networks.]
>
> Hugo: *Ahí está cuando está sola con el teléfono.*
>
> [[And] here is when it is only with the telephone [cell phone].]

Illustrations 67a and 67b
Hugo Fernando Maila Mantilla –
Tocachi – Feb 2018
Comunicación – Que antes hablaban frente a frente y era mejor y más divertido, mientras que ahora solo utilizan la tecnología para hablar solo por mensajes de texto o por Facebook
[Communication – Before they used to talk face to face and it was more fun, while nowadays they only use technology to talk through text messages or through Facebook]

In Tupigachi, the discussion about youth centered on concerns about 'delinquency' and drug addiction. Rafael and "Isabel," respectively, provided the examples that follow:

> *A ver, como cosas malas diría que, hablando de la juventud, no hay mucha participación. A veces no les importa, ellos están en otras cosas quizás los mayores estamos en reuniones escogiendo cualquier cosa para sacar en desarrollo, o sea no hay participación de la juventud.*
>
> [Let's see, as bad things I would say that, speaking of youth, there is not much participation. Sometimes they do not care, they are in other things, maybe we older ones are in meetings in order to move forward in development, that is, there is no [we are not encouraging the] participation of the youth.]
>
> ---
>
> *Aquí es en una cancha de fútbol, donde fines de semana es donde participan hombres y mujeres…que el fútbol es para la salud buena. Pero a pesar que últimos años se ha visto, ya no juegan por deportes. Ellos ya van a la pelea, es que quieren ser ellos los triunfadores. Se ha visto eso. No es como antes era, de que si ganaban era bien y si perdían también. Pero ahora es a la pelea, que quieren ser los que ganaron.*

[Here is the soccer field, where on weekends the [young] men and women participate, since soccer is for good health. But in recent years, it has been seen, they no longer play for sport. They go to fight, it's that they want to be the winners. That has been seen. It's not like it used to be, if they won it was good and if they lost too [it was also OK]. But now it is to the fight, they want to be the ones who won.]

In Malchinguí, co-researchers were concerned about decreasing participation from youth in *mingas* and about perceived changes in the ways in which youth greeted and/or interacted with those older than them (described respectively, below).

Ana: *Cosas que algunas ya se están perdiendo, hay poca participación con respecto a eso. Entonces, pienso que deberíamos seguir fomentando más en nuestros hijos.*

[[They, the *mingas*, are] things that some are already missing, there is little participation with respect to that. So, I think that we should continue to encourage more [participation] in our children.]

Jen: *Y ¿qué ha cambiado al respecto de las mingas?*
[And what has changed with respect to *mingas*?]

Margarita: *Ha cambiado mucho porque – ¿por qué? – la gente mayor de antes salía más, ahora la juventud, no sé, creo que les da recelo, les da vergüenza de trabajar, sí…Ya no es como la gente de antes…*

[It has changed a lot, because – why? – the older people from before came out more, now the youth, I don't know, I think that it gives them apprehension [or suspicion], they are ashamed to work, yes…It's not like the people before…]

Ana: *No es que solo por lo que ya trabajan en las flores, trabajan en las flores y ya no, ya no… Ya no hay – como se dice – de ese trabajo…con todos…por todos los domingos y no tienen ya lugar de salir a las mingas.*

[It is not only because they already work in the flowers [*florícolas*], they work in the flowers and not anymore, not anymore… There is no longer – how is it said – that kind of work…with everyone…for all the Sundays and now they don't have a place to go out to the *mingas*.]

[Here I had just asked what else the participants would say has changed in the last ten to 20 years]

Ana: *En el respeto. ¿Por qué digo así? En el respeto porque antes nuestros padres nos decían "Saluda. Duro, duro, saluda" Y ahora no saludan. Y por más que son colegiales no nos saludan. Por más que están estudiando...*

[In the respect. Why do I say that? In the respect because before our parents used to say, "Greet [them], loudly, loudly, greet [them]." And now they do not say hello. And even though they are college students, they do not greet us. As much as they are studying…]

Vicky: *Ese sería los cambios ¿no?* [That would be a change, right?]

Ana: *Un cambio…es feo. Mi papá nos decía "Saluda duro, duro, duro. Saluda" Y si no les contestas "Dios, contéstales". Entonces, ahora pregunte si nuestros hijos con "buenos días" apenitas.*

[A change…it's ugly. My father used to say to us, "Greet [them], loudly, loudly. Greet [them]." And if you didn't answer them, "God, answer them!" So, now ask if our children can barely say "good morning."]

"Mercedes": *Y a veces no saludan. A veces pasan.*

[And sometimes they don't say hello. Sometimes they just pass by.]

Jen: *¿Sin saludar?* [Without greeting?]

"Mercedes": *Sin saludar.* [Without greeting.]

Margarita: *A veces cuando están con los papás, por ejemplos, hay muchos vecinos ¿verdad? vienen a la casa – porque tengo una pequeña tiendita en la casa... Cuando están con la mamá dice "Buenas tardes," y ellos: "Buenas tardes." Pero cuando llega solito…no saluda.*

[Sometimes when the parents are there, for example, there are many neighbors, right?, they come to the house – because I have a little store in the house… When they are with the mom, she says "Good afternoon" and them: "Good afternoon." But when they come alone, they don't greet you.]

Interestingly, co-researchers saw their own roles (as adults and as families) in contributing and responding to the changes in youth that worried them. In Tupigachi, César said:

> *Otras cosas malas también son en cuanto a los jóvenes ¿no? Más que todo nos lleva…el alcoholismo, la drogadicción nos lleva a mal camino. Vienen asaltos, robos, la matanza…. Entonces para mi es malo ¿no? Pero esas cosas, en cada una de las comunidades que existen dependería de desde la organización o a su vez desde los padres que somos, tener una buena guía para poder frenar esos malos caminos que vienen practicando.*
>
> [Other bad things also are related to the youth, right? More than anything it takes us…alcoholism, drug addiction, this leads us astray. Assaults, robberies, killing, they come. So for me it is bad, no? But those things, in each of the communities that exist would depend on the [community] organization or in turn from the parents that we are, having a good guide to be able to stop [choosing] those bad pathways that they have been practicing.]

In Malchinguí, Anita noted:

> *Entonces también la participación de la juventud es por falta de comunicación con los padres. Mucha comunicación, a veces los padres como que nos hemos descuidado de nuestros hijos. Y por eso es el problema que ellos han empezado a descarriarse. O sea ése no es mi caso ¿no? Pero se ve en otros hogares. Y pienso que debe haber muchísima comunicación en toda la comunidad.*
>
> [So also the youth participation is because of the lack of communication with the parents. Much communication, sometimes the parents, [it is] like we have neglected our children. And that is why it is a problem that they have started to go astray. That is not my case, right? But it is seen in other homes. And I think there must be a lot of communication in the whole community.]

In Tocachi, co-researchers discussed the importance of maintaining cultural traditions and teaching or modeling for their children culturally valued ways of being in community. Two of the co-researchers in Tocachi, affiliated with the *Centro Infantil de Buen Vivir* (*CIBV*, or community preschool), were clear about the role they saw the *CIBV* playing in preserving cultural traditions. When I asked why co-researchers chose the *CIBV* as an important service in the community, Victoria replied:

> *Porque en el CIBV les enseñan sus primeras actividades, sus primeras costumbres, y sus primeras letras.*

[Because in the *CIBV* they teach them their first activities, their first customs, and their first letters.]

And Elena explained about her photo:

...se ha invertido bastante en la educación, pero a la vez también se está fortaleciendo para recuperar lo que es los juegos tradicionales, para que no se pierda. Este juego era el gato y el ratón. Ese es uno de los juegos que se practicaba anteriormente y se sigue fortaleciendo para que no se pierdan las costumbres.

Illustration 68.
The Cat and The Mouse

[…a lot has been invested in education, but at the same time it is also strengthening itself to recover that which are the traditional games, so they are not lost. This game was "the cat and the mouse." That is one of the games that was previously practiced and it continues to be strengthened so that customs are not lost.]

Youth in community. Co-researchers in Tocachi also discussed the importance of this modeling of cultural traditions and attendance at community meetings for their children and youth. With regard to family and school modeling, Victoria, Lali, and Hugo noted:

Victoria: *A nosotros poco a poco, perdemos lo que no nos enseñan, porque a mí en mi casa no me enseñaron ese gusto de bailar.*

[Little by little, we lose what they do not teach us, because in my house they did not teach me the pleasure of dancing.]

Lali: *Sus papas no lo hacían.*

[Your parents didn't do it.]

Victoria: *No, entonces yo solo me gusta ver, pero no lo práctico y además de eso también por mucho la tecnología no, todos los jóvenes nos interesamos-- Se interesan en el celular y no nos dedicamos a una actividad que sea fructífera.*

[No, then I just like to [watch], but I don't practice it and besides that also because of a lot of technology, not all of the young people are interested.

They are interested in the cell phone and we do not dedicate ourselves to an activity that could be fruitful.]

Lali: *Si es verdad, por eso muchas familias no me dicen cuándo van a cenar o hacer una reunión, dicen que muchas familias en un canasto, en los teléfonos y la llamadas apagadas, en mi casa ya lo hicieron [risas].*

[Yes, it's true, that's why many families don't tell me when they're going to have dinner or a meeting, they say that many families in a basket [they put] the telephones and the calls are turned off, in my house we've done it. [Laughs]]

Jen: *¿Que piensan los jóvenes sobre eso? ¿Qué piensan ustedes?*

[What do the young people think about this? What do you all think?]

Hugo: *Que no nos los enseñan desde la familia, ni es en la escuela nada, saber de las culturas.*

[That they do not teach us from the family nor is anything [taught] it in the school, to know about cultures.]

In addition, Lali discussed how when she received an invitation from the parish *GAD* to attend the budget accountability meeting, she would induce her children to attend as well by pointing out they could have lunch or cake, which is sometimes served at such events:

> *Mis hijos van a decir, " Mami voy." Primero vamos dicen, "¿Qué van a dar? ¿Pastel?" dicen ellos, porque los niños piensan que es una fiesta…*
>
> [My children are going to say, "Mommy, I'm going." First we go [and] they say, "What are they going to give? Cake?" they say, because the children think it is a party…]

Younger study co-researchers themselves had ideas about how to better include youth in community events. In La Esperanza, when I asked her how the parish *GAD* could incentivize more participation from the residents, Karina (22 years old) noted her perspective of the problem and offered a possible solution:

> *Que no sólo las personas adultas o grandes, tienen el derecho de opinar, también los jóvenes tienen opción a ser escuchados y a proponer ideas, y a colaborar también.*

[That not only adults or grown-ups have the right to express one's viewpoint, also the young people have the option to be heard and to propose ideas, and to collaborate as well.]

Mediante charlas, talleres, culturalización, fomentar a la cultura a inducirse mediante danza, comida, dibujo…bailes…para comenzar a creer que el pueblo o la comunidad se acoplen más y sea más participativa.

[Through chats, workshops, culturalization, encourage culture to be induced through dance, food, drawing…dances…to begin to believe that the people or the community are more linked up [engaged] and more participatory.]

And in Tocachi, Carlos (the 23 year-old participant of few words) and Lali (the 45 year-old participant of many words) said:

Jen: *¿Cómo podría incentivar más participación en las reuniones? Por ejemplo, para los jóvenes ¿por qué querían ir o venir a una reunión?*

[How could more participation in the meetings be incentivized? For example, for the young people, why would they go or come to a meeting?]

Lali: *Son aburridas, pero interesante al fondo.*
[They are boring, but interesting in the end.]

Carlos: *Tratar de cambiar el sistema de cómo hacer las reuniones.*
[Try to change the system of how the meetings are done.]

Jen: *Okay, entonces dígame*. [Okay, so tell me.]

Carlos: *Dinámicas.* [Dynamics]

Jen: *Más interactivo, algo así.* [More interactive, something like that.]

Lali: *Vamos a tener que ponerla a bailar al bolo [risa] sí bailas vamos a la reunión.*

[We are going to have to put it to dance, drunken [laughs], if you dance we'll go to the meeting.]

In Chapter Six, I will discuss the relationship between youth, community participation, and adjusting to cultural change in the context of community resilience and psychology.

One additional area of community support in-transition which emerged is the phenomenon of out-migration and its consequences.

Out-migration and family. Though not discussed extensively, some of the most poignant photographs and moments from the study involved changes to family and community support stemming from out-migration of youth or younger generations. Though I suspect I should not have favorites, one of the photos that impacted me the most was taken by Ana from Malchinguí and appears below with its caption.

Illustration 69
Ana Cahueñas – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Una Amiga por Siempre – En la vida pasamos todo por esta edad. No debemos olvidarnos de las personas que algún día nos ayudaron a dar los primeros pasos.
[A Friend for Always – In life we all pass through this age. We should not forget the people who once helped us to take our first steps.]

Ana also explained this photo to me, as well as another one she took of the woman's elderly, mute companion, in our individual interview:

> *En esta foto…yo hago porque…los viejitos deben tener mucha importancia en la vida social son las personas que más nos necesitan. Hay muchas personas – yo creo que no me hago de ser la creída, no – sino yo cuando he podido trabajar con un equipo que hemos visitado a los viejitos y hay muchos viejitos abandonados que les abandonan los padres, mejor los hijos los abandonan después de haberles dado los terrenos, propiedades y les abandonan.*
>
> [In this photo…I took it because…old people should be very important in social life, they are the people who needs us most. They are many people, I think I do not believe it [before], no – except when I have been able to work with a team that has visited old people – and there are many abandoned old people, they abandon their parents, the children abandon them after they have given them their lands, properties, and they abandon them.]

Es cuando ellos más nos necesitan es la parte débil mía. Ellos son mi debilidad en este sentido de la vida. Me gustan mucho los viejitos y por mí pudiese les ayudara mucho. En navidad es la única ocasión que hacemos un grupito. Fue iniciativa mía darles una pequeña canastilla a los más necesitados.

[It is when they need us most, it is my weakness. They are my weakness in that sense, of my life. I very much like old people and for me I could help them a lot. At Christmas is the only occasion we make a small group. It was my initiative to give a small basket to the most needy.]

This was not a relative of Ana's; it was her neighbor. Yet she told us with great feeling how upset she was that no one looked after this woman after her husband had died, nor did anyone check on her companion. Ana's use of the word *abandonar* here could have many uses, but Vicky and I understood her to be talking about elders who need care having been left without that care or attention by their children. I recalled "Josecito's" use of the word *abandonadas* to refer to the lands in Tupigachi that were not being cultivated any longer due to people finding jobs at *florícolas*. Indeed, the verb *abandonar* in Spanish has at least seven meanings, two of which are:

Dejar sola o sin atención ni cuidado a una persona, animal o cosa.
[To leave alone or without attention nor care a person, animal, or thing.]

Dejar de seguir una ideología, una religión, un estilo, etc.
[To stop following an ideology, a religion, a style, etc.]

One wonders the long-term community effects of this "leaving" – in both the literal and figurative senses. Indeed, the discussion of participant responses to these first two research questions have explored the ways in which the processes emanating from notions of *SK/BV* are thriving and, in some cases, transitioning in tension. This is especially relevant to politics and community development in Ecuador, where the

Constitution guarantees certain rights to both older adults and youth (Gobierno del Ecuador, 2008). Are these rights in conflict and, if so, what should be done?

Chapter Summary

In Chapter Four, I have analyzed the study's findings from research questions one and two, connecting them to the frameworks of embodiment and enaction and re-experiencing the ordinary, along with the embodied tensions that produces. Issues of community support in transition emerged and I explained the ways in which co-researchers experienced these transitions as producing tension in family and community relationships. In the next chapter, I will relay co-researchers' views on more concrete matters pertaining to community development. I will further analyze this thread of results by discussing modes of and changes to various forms of community cooperation and participation. And I will share the co-researchers' explanations of programs and services which they believe help them to move towards *SK/BV*, as well as those which need improvement in order to help them achieve this kind of well-being.

Chapter Five – Producing and Surviving Development

"What people want – why they consume and produce – takes shape at interfaces between global political economic structures, collective processes, and cultural representations, all of which coalesce around ideas about the good life." —Edward Fischer (2014)

Introduction

In this chapter, I present and discuss the study results through an analysis of the co-researchers' responses to research questions three and four. Question three asked co-researchers to describe what process of participation looked like in their communities. Question four requested that co-researchers think about the programs and services available in their communities and assess which ones were integral to their journey towards *buen vivir/sumak kawsay* (*SK/BV*) and which ones might need improvement in order to better help the community live in alignment with notions of *SK/BV*. In this second round of photography and discussions, an overarching theme appeared about what it takes, at a hyper-local level, to produce and survive community development. By produce I mean the ways in which co-researchers and other community members are actors in their communities' development and the ways in which they see themselves (or do not see themselves) influencing it. By survive I mean that changes to communities that result from economic development and its consequences necessarily result in pressure on "the way things are usually done" within families and communities. In the context of the results from research questions one and two, discussed in the previous chapter, we must examine how these changes prompted co-researchers to either reconcile their deeply help beliefs or live with the tension produced by the inevitable entrance of new modes of relating resulting from community development. Many co-researchers spoke of or captured photos that illustrated their desire to save community practices from such

changes; thus, they struggle with determining how to survive community development from existential and relational perspectives.

This chapter is broken into two broad sections, roughly mapping to research questions three and four, respectively. First, I will discuss the study results pertaining to community cooperation and participation, including the role of *mingas*, other forms of mutual assistance, and the pressures placed on collectivity from changing community structures. Second, I will present the study findings related to service provision and service seeking and how these data relate to the co-researchers' assessments of their ability to facilitate a life centered on *SK/BV* through development in-action within their respective communities.

Cooperation and Participation: Vitality and Tensions

Sumak Kawsay/Buen Vivir and the *Minga*

The *minga* is a collective work party common to the Andean region of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia. One definition which I find useful comes from the Izurieta-Varea (2017) who writes that the *minga* "is a voluntary, collaborative effort in which townspeople of all ages and genders contribute with their work, their motivation, their knowledge or their wit to finish a project of collective interest." I first learned of *mingas* during my 2006 trip to Ecuador as a Master of Public Health student completing my culminating internship. I worked with an Ecuadorian non-governmental organization focused on environmental conservation that had stations all around the country. I was assigned to the northwest coastal station in Esmeraldas Province. The volunteer coordinator at the station, Eduardo, was from the Andean region of Ecuador. To make progress on local community projects he had been trying to call *mingas* and, to his

frustration and confusion, had no success. He was perplexed because *mingas* were a common form of achieving community-valued work in the Andes and were not working along the coast. As a community health nurse with experience working alongside community members for health, this occurrence struck me as telling: the custom of collective work accomplished a great deal in the Highlands, but could not be reliably transferred to the coastal region of the same country. This stayed with me.

Thus, in my research in 2017 and 2018 in the Andes of Ecuador, I was keen to learn more about the relationship between *mingas* and community participation. What did the participants think about *mingas* and their importance, and how had that changed, if at all, over the preceding years? I learned that *mingas*, while valued a great deal, were stronger in some communities than others. And I learned that participants had concerns related to the ways in which they saw *mingas* changing.

Vitality. *Mingas* were mentioned in some form by at least some participants in all of the four parishes. The participants in Tupigachi had the most to say about the importance of *mingas* and their ongoing strength in accomplishing work considered vital by residents and neighborhoods. I suspect that the relative greater importance of *mingas* in Tupigachi as compared to the other parishes (which I will explain in greater detail below) may have to do with Tupigachi's rurality, majority indigenous population, and/or the relatively low level of service accessibility. But I cannot be certain of the exact reason(s). Below we can see the importance participants from various parishes placed on *mingas*. In these photos we see *mingas* within families and *mingas* with unrelated community members. We also see *mingas* for various purposes, such as community space improvement (i.e. Rafael's photo of work to improve the community church), agriculture

(i.e. Anita's photo of home potato planting and Ana's of improving a chicken coop), and broader community development goals (i.e. Elena's photos of the irrigation canal created in Tanda).

Illustration 70
José Rafael Cuascota Sanchez – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Minga – Es para el mejoramiento de la casa de oración y para el servicio de los demás miembros de la iglesia
[*Minga* – It is for the improvement of the house of prayer and for the service of the other members of the church.]

Illustration 71
"Anita" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Trabajo Comunitario – En esta foto representa la unidad, la colaboración, y la participación en familia para los trabajos. En este caso, estamos trabajando y poniendo tierra a las papitas para poder tener una buena cosecha.
[Community Work – This photo represents unity, collaboration, and family participation in work. In this case, we are working and putting soil on the little potatoes to be able to have a good harvest.]

Illustration 72
Ana Cahueñas – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
El Compañerismo – La unión hace la fuerza de mejor mañana.
[Fellowship – Union makes the strength of a better tomorrow.]

Illustration 73a and 73b
María Elena de la Torre Baraja – Tocachi – Mar 2018
La Minga: Un Proceso al Desarrollo – Mediante la minga se logra obtener grandes cosas para el desarrollo de nuestro pueblo.
[The *Minga*: A Process to Development – Through the *minga* it is possible to obtain great things for the development of our people.]

Mingas seem to exist and persist for various reasons, including extending the ability to support family beyond the household, providing mutual assistance to projects deemed important, and creating an overall sense of well-being from working collectively. Some interview examples of each of these follow.

Ana: *Es el trabajo a diario que hacemos, mi madrastra se quedó hace poco tiempo sola, falleció mi papá la cual también es triste porque ella tiene que trabajar sola porque por más que queramos ayudarle, no se puede porque tenemos también nuestros compromisos. Le ayudamos en lo que podemos. Este es el trabajo comunitario como se dice, las mingas que hacemos entre todos nos apoyamos antes existía las randimpas [Kichwa].*

Randimpas quiere decir yo me fui a ayudarle a tal persona un día y otro día viene ayudarme eso significa.

[It is the daily work that we do, my step-mother was left alone a little while ago, my father died, which is also sad because she has to work alone, because even though we want to help her we can't because we also have our own commitments. We help her in what we can. This is the community work, as it's called, the *mingas* that we do among all of us supported us before the *randimpas* [Kichwa] existed. *Randimpas* means I went to help another person one day and the other day he comes to help me.

Jen: *Y como son diferentes, mingas…*

[And how are they different, *mingas*…]

Ana: *Diferentes trabajos puede ser de mingas, diferentes trabajos, pero vamos ayudarnos unos a los otros.*

[*Mingas* can be different jobs, different jobs, but we are helping one another.]

Margarita: *...cuando vino el agua cada usuario puso 40 mingas, nos dan para cada sábado un tanto para cavar y tener los tubos, era así.*

[When the water came [when it was set up to be delivered in pipes to each household], every user put in 40 *mingas*, they gave us each Saturday a bit to dig and have [lay] the tubes, it was like that.]

Ana: *Las hormigas son, se les podría identificar como animalitos, nosotros deberíamos ser como ellos, que ellos trabajan como minga, unidos son fuertes. Son bien unidas.*

[The ants are – they could be identified as little animals – we should be like them, because they work as in a *minga*, united they are strong. They are well united.]

Participants also acknowledged that a great deal could be accomplished with *mingas*, that they held possibility. This is best illustrated by a story told by Elena from Tocachi, who chose to pair two of her photos (above, bottom right) to explain how the rural

neighborhood of Tanda was able to achieve economic prosperity from making their land more fertile by diverting the nearby river into an irrigation canal via *minga*.

Elena: *Eso son los cultivos que hay en Tanda, la mayoría de gente gracias al riego tienen árboles frutales, tienen aguacates, todo y el riego fue un trabajo comunitario, la gente se unió y pudo traer el agua desde el Río Pisque, ahí la comunidad, ellos ya tienen el riego.*

[These are the crops that are in Tanda, the majority of the people, thanks to the irrigation canal, have fruit trees, they have avocados, everything and the irrigation canal was a community work, the people got together and could bring the water from the Pisque River, the community there, they now have irrigation.

Jen: *¿En serio?* [Really?]

Elena: *Sí.* [Yes.]

Jen: *¿Cuándo fue esto?* [When was this?]

Elena: *¿El del agua? Ya es mucho tiempo porque desde antes tienen ya los árboles frutales y es bien cotizado las tierras en Tanda…. Y eso es alfalfa, es todo cultivado con el riego….*

[That with the water? It's already been a long time because they've had fruit trees [for a while] and the land in Tanda is well-valued…. And this is alfalfa, it's all cultivated with the irrigation.]

Jen: *Porque el resto de la parroquia ¿No tiene riego?*

[Because the rest of the parish [Tocachi], it doesn't have irrigation?]

Elena: *No tiene riego, Chimburlo tiene un poco de riego, pero Catocachi y Cochasqui no…Tanda sí porque es como le explico, sacan el agua desde el río.*

[It doesn't have irrigation. Chimburlo has a little irrigation, but not Catocachi or Cochasqui… Tanda yes, because it's like I explained to you, they take the water from the river.]

Tensions. Given the great possibilities and traditions that accompany *mingas*, one can understand why changes to communities that result in changes to *mingas* could produce tension and, in some cases, worry. In this study, this seemed to be of greatest

concern for the co-researchers from Malchinguí. However, co-researchers from La Esperanza and Tocachi also discussed this apprehension. First, some photos from Malchinguí:

Illustration 74
Ana Cahueñas – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Mingas: Que Nunca Se Acabe – Trabajo en unión [es] una forma de ayuda mutua. Se siente súper bien trabajando así.
[*Mingas*: May They Never End – Working together is a form of mutual help. It feels super good working like that.]

Illustration 75
"Yoli" – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Calle Jorge Hidalgo – Construcción de bordillos con participación comunitaria en mingas, aportando con la contribución de mejoras.
[Jorge Hidalgo Street – Construction of curbs with community participation in *mingas*, contributing with the contribution of improvements.]

Illustration 76 (left)
Juanito Navarrete – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Trabajo – Obreros que prestan su mano de obra para realizar una adecuación (a cambio de una remuneración).
[Work – Workers that lend their labor to make an improvement (in exchange for remuneration)]

In addition to the tensions on *mingas* resulting from youth changes (discussed in Chapter Four), additional tensions emerged having to do with (1) the increasing trend of paying the fines associated with non-participation in *mingas*, instead of putting in one's

time and efforts, and; (2) changing ideas around the expectations of which services are provided by government as part of taxation and how these influence decisions to participate. I heard a lot about decreasing overall participation and decreasing participation related to the ability to pay for replacement labor or fines for non-participation. These two phenomena were often discussed in relationship, as in the case of the following excerpts from the round two group interview in Malchinguí:

Juanito: *No sé si ahí se logra visualizar, son obreros que están abriendo un canal para -- creo que es un cambio de alcantarilla. Entonces, la primera pregunta creo que tocaba el tema de qué tal es la organización dentro de nuestra parroquia.*

[I don't know if here it can be seen [in the photo], they are workers who are opening a canal for, I think it's a change to the sewer. So, I think the first question concerned the subject of what's up with the organization within our parish.]

Jen: *Exacto*. [Exactly.]

Juanito: *Entonces, lamentablemente para este tipo de cosas, antes se lograban conciliar con mingas. Entonces, ahora por la dinámica de la gente, ese tipo de cosas se ha perdido. Entonces, ¿Qué es lo que es más fácil hacer? Es contratar personas para que vea este tipo de cosas.*

[So, unfortunately, for this type of things, before they could be achieved with *mingas*. So, now because of the dynamic of the people, these types of things have been lost. What is the easiest thing to do? It's to contract people so you see these types of things [workers making improvements, as in the photo, bottom left above]]

Jen: *Pero, ¿cuál es la dinámica de la gente? ¿Qué ha cambiado?*

[But, what is the dynamic of the people? What has changed?]

Juanito: *¿Cómo se diría? Su modus vivendi. No tiene tiempo, no le da importancia -- Por ejemplo, yo quería tomar una foto al estadio, porque por ejemplo por esas cosas la gente sí se reúne, para el fútbol. Pero, para una cuestión como esta, la gente ya no se reúne y sabiendo que esto es beneficio para ellos.*

[What can be said? Their modus vivendi [Latin for way of life]. One doesn't have time, one doesn't give it importance. For example, I wanted to take a photo of the stadium, because for example for those things people get together, for soccer. But for the issue like this, the people no longer meet and know that this is good for them.]

Jen: *Entonces, para cosas divertidas, algo así, se reúnen. Pero, para la mano de obra, no.*

[So, for fun things, something like this, they meet. But for labor, no.]

Juanito: *Eso venía pensando ahora. Decíamos antes, la gente hacía minga, por ejemplo, para cosas importantes. Por ejemplo, traer el agua.*

[That's what I've come to think. We said before, the people used to do *mingas*, for example, for important things. For example, bringing the water.]

Mujer 2: *El agua misma, toda a base de mingas.*

[The water, all based on *mingas*.]

Juanito: *A base de mingas, por ejemplo. En cambio ahora, si les decimos, "Necesitamos cambiar los tubos". Dicen, "No, ¿por qué tengo que hacer eso, si nosotros estamos pagando a las autoridades de la junta de agua y al Estado, para que ellos laboren?" Entonces, eso. Preferimos pagar eso en vez de realizar una minga.*

[Based on *mingas*, for example. In contrast now, if we say to them, "We need to change the tubes." They say, "No, why do I have to do this if we are paying the authorities of the water board and the State for them to work?" So, that. We prefer to pay that instead of doing a *minga*.]

These concerns also arose in La Esperanza and in Tocachi. In La Esperanza, María, one of the older participants, noted that:

María: *Sí las hacemos, por ejemplo el agua de riego, hacemos las mingas y nos dan el agua, porque si no se sale protestan y cobran multas, siempre toca estar ahí, entonces sí se hacen mingas, dos o tres veces al año.*

[Yes we do them [*mingas*], for example the irrigation water, we do *mingas* and they give us the water, because if they do not go out [to participate] they protest and they charge fines, it always falls upon you to be there, so *mingas* are done, two or three times a year.]

Jen: *Son menos que antes las mingas, 20 años atrás ¿habían más mingas?*

[Are there fewer *mingas* than before, 20 years back, were there more *mingas*?]

María: *Sí, la mayoría porque más antes no digo, trabajábamos más en unión ahora ya no se puede conseguir para que trabajen, todo es pagado, antes las mingas eran gratuitas, solo se les daba el almuerzo, la bebida quien sabía hacer una chicha y sabía hacer de atenderle bien.*

[Yes, the majority, I did not say more before [earlier in the discussion], we used to work more together and now we cannot get them to work, everything is paid, before the *mingas* were free, they were only given lunch, a drink [by] those who knew how to make *chicha* and knew how to serve you well.]

And in Tocachi, participants noted that who convenes a *minga* matters, related to the ability to charge fines for non-participation as an incentive for community engagement:

Jen: *Que tal con la minga aquí, porque sí, evidentemente hubo una minga, habían algunas mingas en Tanda, pero del resto de Tocachi, cuéntame.*

[What's up with the *minga* here, because yes, evidently there was a *minga*, there were some *mingas* in Tanda, but the rest of Tocachi, tell me…]

Elena: *Sí, aquí también hay mingas, pero las que funcionan – digámoslo así – tienen el poder de convocatoria para una minga es la junta de agua. No la junta parroquial. Ya la gente no sale a las mingas que convoque…la junta parroquial, sino la junta de agua.*

[Yes, here we also have *mingas*, but those that work – let's say it that way – that have the power to call for a *minga* is the water board. Not the parish board. Now the people don't go to the *mingas* called by the parish board, but the water board.]

Lali: *La junta de agua.* [The water board.]

Elena: *Es exacto porque cobran la multa.* [That's accurate – because they charge a fine.]

Lali: *Porque es cobrada la multa.* [Because the fine is charged.]

I read an interesting tension here between what the international development community would call participation through 'civil society' and the role of local, regional, and state governments in providing services while inducing participation. Civil society is variously defined but can be considered the "arena outside of the family, the state, and the market, where people associate to advance common interests and come together to influence broader society;" it has no specific or required organizational form (Sriskandarajah, 2018, p. 2). This is part of the challenge. Does it matter whether the indigenous notion of a *minga* is considered a vital part of "civil society?" Who gets to decide this and what material effect does it have on this tradition? Is citizen participation in *mingas* considered a part of civil society when it is incentivized by governmental or quasi-governmental organizations? Perhaps these questions are less important than the idea that to have successful and sustainable grassroots participation in community development, one must consider what makes that participation successful and how those motivations are shifting against the backdrop of other sociocultural pressures. As Juanito in Malchinguí said, community members themselves are already weighing these changes:

> *Yo creo que el mismo hecho, el Estado debía impulsarlo a que poco a poco se vaya desapareciendo este tipo de cosas ¿Por qué? Porque si antes lo que les decía para traer el agua de arriba, trabajaba toda la gente comunidad, buscaba la manera de traer y se hacía. En cambio ahora le dice -- Hay algunos aspectos o qué la ley del estado le dice, "Se ve que en el GAD parroquial le va a ayudar con esta infraestructura.*
>
> [I believe the same fact, the State should encourage it [because] little by little these kinds of things are disappearing. Why? Because if before it was said to them to bring water from above, all of the community people worked, they looked for a way to bring it and it was done. Instead now he says, there are some aspects or what the state law says, "It can be seen that the parish *GAD* is going to help you with the infrastructure."]
>
> *Entonces, la gente entiende ese tema y le deja eso al GAD parroquial…porque supuestamente le están dando un presupuesto, le están dando la otra cuestión para que trabajen y ahí ya se va perdiendo el tema de este trabajo comunitario.*

> [So, the people understand that issue and leave that to the parish *GAD*, because supposedly they are giving a budget, they are giving the other question to work and [so] that is how already the theme of community work is being lost.]

Grassroots participation such as that seen in the *minga* needs to be examined closely, as participation "is necessary for the well-being of the small community, just as it is essential to the health of the human spirit" (Watkins Murphy & Cunningham, 2003, p. 121). Local community development and its sustainability rests on the meaningful involvement of its residents and the extent to which they can exert control over collective changes in their neighborhoods. Further, participation of this sort is a key tenet of *cosmovisión Andina*, as evidenced by the belief that "the human being and the human society are embedded in a network of relationships which represent the individual as well as for the communities a source of comfort and protection as well as strength" (Stadel, 2001, p. 7). In addition, this importance needs to be contextualized historically by remembering the legacy of traditional international development coopting participation in a way that re-inscribes colonial power. Individualism is a "key component of neoliberalism" that can erode the connection of the individual to the whole, crippling social action (Ledwith, 2016, p. 164). Especially in the context of embodiment discussed in Chapter Four, it is critical to pay attention to the ways in which participation happens and is threatened by changing community circumstances and norms. To do that, and to extend this conversation beyond the *minga*, I turn now to other forms of mutuality that emerged from the discussion of research question three.

Other Forms of Mutuality

Other forms of mutual assistance exist, often in terms of grassroots community associations such as, *centros de acopio de leche* (milk collection centers) and *cajas*

solidarias (solidarity funds) or *cajas de ahorro y credito* (savings and credit funds/groups). Co-researchers in more than one parish also spent a significant amount of time discussing the ways in which community members participate through local government structures.

Associations. In community health work, associations are a critical level of development of community member involvement. They represent collaborations among various people and entities to achieve community-identified goals, in which members combine their strengths in an organized way. In the four parishes of this study, I heard about *centros de acopio de leche* (milk collection centers) and *cajas solidarias* (solidarity groups) or *cajas de ahorro y credito* (savings and credit groups) as the primary forms of what I would call mutual assistance associations. Examples of each follow with photos. In addition, I had the privilege to attend meetings of various *cajas de ahorro y credito* during my time in Ecuador and took extensive notes on their operation, which can be found in Appendix K.

Illustration 77
César Castillo Catucuago – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Queso Maduro – Son productos lácteos que realizan las mismas compañeras para un buen consumo, que es el sumak kawsay
[Mature Cheese – They are dairy products made by the same associates [who participate in the milk collection center] for a good consumption, which is *sumak kawsay*]

Illustration 79
María Simbaña – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
La Casa Parroquial – Es donde realizamos las reuniones de la parroquia y también se hace celebraciones como los matrimonios y varias cosas
[The Parish House – It is where we hold parish meetings and also celebrations like marriages or other things]

Illustration 78
"Isabel" – Tupigachi– Aug 2017
Caja Solidaria – Es una caja solidaria que damos préstamos, [son] nuestros servicios [para] las comunidades como en enfermedades y otros [para mejorar] el buen vivir.
[Solidarity Fund – It is a solidarity fund group, where we give loans, they are our services for the communities like when there is illness or other [problems] to improve *buen vivir*]

Illustration 80
Lali Imelda Vilelo Mendoza – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Entrega en Buena Presentación – Demonstrar los utensilios para tener y entregar un buen servicio…de alimentos para los niños y personas en general
[Delivery in Good Presentation – Demonstrating the utensils [used by the milk cooperative] to have and deliver a good service…of food for the children and people in general]

Associations are important because they are social strength manifested, and social strength is important because it "is an indicator of a community's grit and resilience" (Watkins Murphy & Cunningham, 2003, p. 200). The vitality of these participation groups was a significant part of the well-being of the community and this was clear from the way participants talked about their associations. César, a long-time community leader in Tupigachi, explained to me that their *centro de acopio de leche* has a business relationship with a large café in Tabacundo that I frequented to purchase refreshments for our research meetings:

César: *Es la asociación de leches…. Es una asociación, cuentan con, activas con 32 participantes. Y ahí eran 54 pero han ido quedándose. Donde acopian la leche, y luego lleva un tanquero de aquí en el cantón pero nunca hay. Entonces ahí procesan…*

[It is the milk association…It is an association they count on, active with 32 participants. And there were 54 but they have been staying. Where they store the milk, and then a tanker takes it from here in the *cantón* but there's never any left. So they process it over there.

Vicky: *¿En Café Florella?* [In Café Florella?]

César: *Sí, ¿sí conocen?* [Yes, yes you all know [it]?]

Jen: *Sí.* [Yes.]

Vicky: *Es donde les trajo el yogurt Jennifer. No sé si ahí harán ese procesamiento del yogurt, pero ahí compramos el yogurt y los bizcochos que les dimos el sábado.*

[It is where Jennifer brought you all the yogurt. I didn't know that they will do the processing of the yogurt there, but there we bought the yogurt and biscuits that we gave you all on Saturday there.]

César went on to explain the importance of community associations in the possibility they bring for further training and expansion of community-based economic activities:

César: *Esos quesos son quesos maduros que están ahí. Es la compañera que capacitó, ella es la que procesa. Pero por el momento los que desean, todos estamos participando. Los quesos van a tener un costo de $6, son quesos buenos.*

[Those cheeses are mature cheeses that are there [in the photo, above]. That is the partner that trained us, she is the one who processes [the cheese]. But for the moment, those who wish, all are participating. The cheeses are going to have a cost of $6, they are good cheeses.]

Jen: *¿Y dónde van ustedes a venderlos?* [And where are you all going to sell them?]

César: *Nosotros mismos vamos a consumirlos. Es una prueba que estamos haciendo.*

[We ourselves will eat them. It is a test that we are doing.]

Jen: *Quizás en el futuro puedan venderlas.* [Maybe in the future you can sell them.]

César: *Sí, eso es.* [Yes, that's it.]

From a decolonial perspective, *mingas*, mutual assistance associations, and other forms of grassroots collective action should be valued and recognized for their unique origins, practices, and linkages to local worldviews. At the same time, there is a long history of Western literature from scholars as varied as John Stuart Mill, Alexis de Tocqueville, and John Dewey who have argued how participation in local affairs is vital to self-governance and individual and community development. Indeed, some authors argue that "the best way localities can fully capitalize on their existing economic bases is by slowing the leakage of resources out of the community and increasing the degree to which resources circulate internally" (Williamson, Imbroscio, & Alperovitz, 2002, p. 8, p. 165). So another point of friction arises: hyper-local practices of collective action should be valued, nurtured, and left to thrive undisrupted from imposed outsider intervention while

at the same time recognizing that, in the context of Western notions of community development, participation is often coopted by outside entities seeking involvement of residents or at least their assent to non-local notions of community improvement. In Chapter Two I outlined the ways in which these types of participatory development are embedded within the larger parent discourse. Co-researchers in this study were aware of this tension and showed signs of negotiating it on their own terms. For instance, Rafael from Tupigachi, talked about how these centers held the possibility of linking the local neighborhood with surrounding communities while simultaneously explaining their economic importance:

> *Bueno, aquí tenemos un tanque de leche que estamos recolectando de varias personas. No solamente de la comunidad, sino también vecinas comunidades que pueden traer… Tenemos un tanque, es para el procesamiento. Estamos netamente trabajando con Axo y esta empresa que se llama El Ordeño, allá nos dan [*I believe he means, *allá les damos] nuestra leche y a la vez también como fuente de trabajo, un ingreso adicional para la gente que vive en la casa y mejoramiento de la familia, es el del buen vivir también.*
>
> [Well, here we have the milk tank [in which] we are collecting from several people. Not only from the community, but also from neighboring communities that can bring [their milk here]… We have a tank, it is for the processing. We are precisely working with *Axo* and this company called *El Ordeño,* there we give them our milk and at the same time [it's] also a source of work, an additional income for the people who live in the house and the improvement of the family, it is also *buen vivir*.]

These same themes of possibility and importance also manifest in the *cajas solidarias*, *cajas de ahorro y crédito*, and credit cooperatives. *Cajas solidarias* are less formal groups in which community members come together to support one another in times of need with financial resources. *Cajas de ahorro y crédito* are more formalized, with elected board leadership and rules for financial transactions. One of the main reasons each of these is important is because they allow a level of banking that is hyper-

local and in the control of residents. Research has shown that "a lack of access to capital and credit has a debilitating effect" on communities, and when communities have to go outside of their neighborhoods for banking services their money is "deposited into institutions controlled by nonresidents and not reinvested into the community of origin" (Watkins Murphy & Cunningham, 2003, p. 240). By contrast, when communities have opportunities to control their own financial institutions, they are more likely to address social goals and the beneficiaries are more often people of color and women (Watkins Murphy & Cunningham, 2003). In addition, "people who feel they contribute importantly to a larger project, those that possess the agency and power to effect change, are more satisfied with their lives" (Fischer, 2014, p. 8). This satisfaction is more than financial, despite perhaps beginning in a financial institution. Research in both European and Latin American contexts has shown that the relationship between income and happiness is curvilinear: "more income produces proportionate advances in happiness up to a given point" but conditions like "instability and uncertainty significantly decrease happiness" (Fischer, 2014, p. 9). In my study, I heard several participants talk about how important the community ownership aspect of financial institutions was to them. César told us the story of how he and a friend started the credit cooperative in Tupigachi:

> *Entonces todos ya tenemos ahí de donde tener por lo menos un préstamo para cualquier cosa y entonces ahí yo veo es un cambio. Porque esta cooperativa en el año 92 empecé de mi persona, con un compañero que es don Fidel, empecé, yo trabajé en mi casa sentado en un banquito de penco, dando préstamos, escribiendo manualmente, yo trabajé ocho años sin que me dé un solo sucre.*
>
> [So everyone now has there a place where at least [we can get] a loan for anything and so there I see a change. Because this cooperative, in 1992, I started it by myself, with a friend Don Fidel, I started, I worked in my house seated on a little stool of *penco* [wood], giving loans, writing manually, I worked eight years without earning a single *sucre* [Ecuador's currency until 2000].]

En tiempo de sucres, también en tiempo de dólar, no me dieron nada, pero yo he dado un servicio, creando esta cooperativa. En el año 2000 – a ver, 98 a 99 – ya les entregué las directivas y ya fueron formando y se legalizaron y ahora es una cooperativa grande vea… Bien, dicen nadie sabe para quién trabaja, entonces ese es uno de los recuerdos.

[In the time of *sucres*, and also in the time of the dollar, they gave me nothing, but I have given a service, creating this cooperative. In 2000 – let's see, 1998 to 1999 – I gave them the directives and they were already forming and legalized [the entity] and now it is a big cooperative, see… Well they say no one knows for whom they work, so that is one of the memories.]

Indeed, this cooperative was broadly valued in the community. Both Silvia and Estefany spoke of it (respectively, below) and Silvia also photographed it.

La cooperativa yo tomé porque [es] un bienestar para las personas. Porque como dijo el compañero, antes no había, antes se iba solo a la ciudad a sacar plata…. Pasábamos a veces hasta tiempo y no podíamos retirar. Y ahora ya con la cooperativa ya se puede hacer algo más, y más que todo es bienestar para la comuna porque ya no salen ni a la ciudad. Nada más fácil llegar a la comuna y ya ir a la cooperativa y hacer todas sus transferencias, todo aquí.

[I took [a photo] of the cooperative because [it is] a well-being for people. Because like the friend said, before it wasn't there, before one went alone to the city to get money.... Sometimes we used to go [close to the closing time] and we couldn't withdraw. And now, with the cooperative, something else can be done and more than anything it is welfare for the commune [community or collective] because now they don't even go to the city anymore. Nothing is easier, get to the commune [collective] and go to the cooperative and have all of your transfers, everything here.]

Esta es vuelta la cooperativa, o sea, usted dijo algo del buen vivir, también para nosotros es importante el desarrollo de que haya una cooperativa en nuestra misma comunidad, que nosotros para seguir desarrollando, tener una casita o adquirir terreno… Nos presta la cooperativa de aquí mismo, es la cooperativa de aquí.

[This is back to the cooperative, that is, you said [take a photo of] something of *buen vivir*, also for us it is important the development of having a cooperative in our own community, that we continue to develop, have a house or acquire land… The cooperative lends to us from here, it is the cooperative of here.]

I also saw and heard about smaller informal groups for micro-credit lending and financial solidarity support. From Tupigachi, “Isabel” noted that the *caja solidaria* to which she belonged had 15 members:

> *Aquí es en donde nosotros tenemos una caja solidaria, en donde damos micro créditos. Entonces tuvimos una reunión justo para ver cómo está la caja, para ver qué se puede hacer el próximo mes. Estamos realizando una reunión.*
>
> [Here is where we have a *caja solidaria*, where we give micro-credits. So, we had a meeting just [so you could see] how the *caja* is, to see what can be done next month. We are holding a meeting.] (see photo page above, bottom right)

In Malchinguí, “Yoli” stated:

> *Bueno, referido a la pregunta, que considero el sumak kawsay: el buen vivir es algo que nosotros de pronto ya podemos emprender. Por ejemplo, esto es una caja que nosotros tenemos, una caja de ahorro. Ahí están los socios, esta es la directiva.*
>
> [Well, referring to the question, what I consider to be *sumak kawsay: buen vivir* is something that we can readily undertake. For example, this is a fund that we have, a savings fund. There are the partners, this is the directive.]

Illustration 81.
Directive

Such varied forms of mutual assistance are vital precisely because globalization and the typical neocolonial form of international development can undercut locally established social norms (Williamson, Imbroscio, & Alperovitz, 2002). Capital concentration in Western Europe and North America is part of a global system involving export-dependent lower-income countries that keeps these economies peripheral and “develops underdevelopment” in the Global South (Fischer, 2014, p. 146). Moreover, “aspirations and notions of the good life are often shaped by the very development efforts that seek to

promote such capabilities" as those which exist in traditional community development models imposed by outsiders (Fischer, 2014, p. 145). To counter this, understanding what community members value, how they spend their time in mutual support endeavors, and how those endeavors succeed (when they do) is critically important to place-based development for *SK/BV*.

Government-based participation. A final important area of mutual support and opportunities for participation is that which is organized and/or induced by the local levels of government. The co-researchers who photographed and discussed these modes of participation in response to research question three were always co-researchers who also held a role in local government: Ana and Carlos from La Esperanza, and Victoria from Tocachi. The only exception was Anita from Tupigachi, who was an informal neighborhood leader and whose photo showed her neighborhood directive, a sub-parish level of community organization:

Illustration 82
"Anita" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Directiva – Este grupo de moradores de nuestro barrio Pucalpa es la nueva directiva de este año y el próximo en donde se comprometieron a trabajar para el adelanto de nuestro barrio y de todos los moradores.
[Directive – This group of residents from our neighborhood Pucalpa is the new directive for this year and the next, which have committed to work for the advancement of our neighborhood and all residents]

Illustration 83
Ana Gabriela Clavijo – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Reunión de Funcionarios del GAD Parroquial, con Presidentes de Barrios de La Esperanza – Reunión para socializar, cómo y en que proyectos se invertiría el presupuesto del GAD Parroquial
[Meeting of the Parish GAD Officials with Presidents of the La Esperanza Neighborhoods – Meeting to socialize [and discuss] how and in what projects the budget of the Parish GAD will be invested]

Illustration 84
Carlos Rafael Marroquín – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Rendición de Cuentas – Rendición de cuentas a la comunidad Cayambe—Pedro Moncayo
[Accountability – Accountability to the Cayambe—Pedro Moncayo community]

Illustration 85
Victoria Andagoya – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Una Mancomunidad Activa y Participativa – Todos los vocales, presidentes, secretarias-tesoreras, y técnicos en planificación, participaron con los docentes de la Universidad Central para actualizar el Estatuto Orgánico Funcional de las 4 parroquias rurales, esto se lo hace debido a que se tuvo auditoria por parte de la Contraloría General del Estado.
[An Active and Participatory Association – All of the members, presidents, secretary-treasurers, and planning technicians, participated with the faculty of the Central University to update the Functional Collective Statute of the four rural parishes, [which] is done because of an audit by the Comptroller General of the State]

Malchinguí co-researchers provided a negative example: despite "Yoli" and Favían being involved in various ways with the local parish *GAD*, their photo and narrative responses to research question three did not capture instances of government-induced participation. This was a point of contention when presenting the results of the study in Malchinguí to the *GAD* president and Ceci, the *mancomunidad* president. Ceci especially was very upset that, given the governmental positions of several of the co-researchers, that the photographs did not capture the work done by the *GAD parroquial* and the *mancomunidad* to induce citizen participation in community-managed development decisions. This was just one way in which the results of the study illustrated that participation through government structures is a thorny issue in endogenous community development, not the least of which is questioning which members of community are represented (or not) through the local government structures. Individual and collective agency, on the backdrop of local government inducement and service development/provision, is complicated by that government's linkages with other levels of the nation state and the extent to which that nation state has replicated colonialism in its processes of decolonization. I will discuss these issues further in Chapter Six.

Service Provision and Service Seeking: Scale, Cooperation, and Messaging

Research question four was intended to delve even more into the concrete manifestations of community development, via existing and needed programs and services, at the local level. In part, the data generated in this section was intended to provide feedback to *Fundación Cimas* and the *mancomunidad* – both partners in this research – regarding what co-researchers believed about the effectiveness of programs and services in which these partners were involved or had influence, including the ways in which services may need improvement. Not all of the services and programs with

which co-researchers engaged were in the purview of Cimas or the *mancomunidad*, but the co-researchers' photos were still able to illustrate the ways in which the effectiveness of services and programs lied in the tense space between governmental and other organizational community development intentions and policies and practical matters of operationalization. By examining the ways in which these services are working – or need improvement – to help citizens live in alignment with *SK/BV*, we can better understand the reality of community development outcomes and their linkages to perceived well-being. What emerged was an interesting tension between scale of services (both in governmental level and within areas of parishes), citizen involvement in services and their perceptions of the utility of their involvement, and the types of messaging citizens received about services.

In this section I will present the data in three areas. First, I will focus on the data relating to priority attention groups and how the reality in Pedro Moncayo aligned with what is set forth in the Ecuadorian Constitution about these groups. This first section also includes information about other services and programs which are working well in the parishes. Second, I will review the data which coalesced around the theme of missing services and the frustrations they cause in keeping community from reaching their development aspirations. Third, I will discuss the challenges that arose from collaboration across different levels of decentralized government and the ways in which the co-researchers viewed these challenges, from a somewhat removed position.

Priority Attention Groups: *SK/BV* and the 2008 Constitution at the Local Level

To understand how services and programs at a local community level function in Ecuador, one must understand the rights and policies set forth in the 2008 Ecuadorian

Constitution. From my first January 2017 visit to Cimas and in the sampling and recruitment phase of this work, the notion of priority attention groups, rooted in the Constitution, and their importance in local development and governance was raised again and again. Likewise, Ecuador's Constitution also contains language – purposefully incorporated (and some say, appropriated) – about *buen vivir* and *sumak kawsay*. The second chapter of the Constitution is entitled *Derechos del Buen Vivir*, or Rights of *Buen Vivir*, and outlines citizens' entitlements to: water and food; a healthy environment; communication and information; culture and science; education; shelter; health; and work and social security (*Gobierno del Ecuador*, 2008). The Constitution's third chapter covers the rights of priority attention groups and people including: the elderly, youth, migrants, pregnant women, children and adolescents, persons with disabilities, persons with catastrophic illnesses, and prisoners (*Gobierno del Ecuador*, 2008). Thus, in the paramount document setting forth the relationship between the government, its entities, and the citizens of Ecuador, both well-being and special attention to groups ordinarily marginalized (or at risk of being marginalized) are centered and repeatedly emphasized.

The Constitution and local development services

How these constitutional principles appeared in the localities of Pedro Moncayo varied based on what priority group and what interpretation of *SK/BV* was being addressed. Co-researchers and others involved in this study consistently pointed out services for the elderly, for children, and for health. In fact, during my January 2017 visit to build relationships, the time I spent in Pedro Moncayo with Vicky, Rolando, and Andres was centered on visiting *Centros Infantiles del Buen Vivir* (CIBVs), *Centros de Cuidado de Adultos Mayores* (CECUIDAMs), and health centers (in addition to the *GAD*

parish offices); there was almost an unspoken assumption that these services were *the services* which constituted government focus and responsibility to residents of each parish. In responding to research question four, which asked co-researchers which programs and services helped them to reach *SK/BV*, or which needed improvement to help them reach *SK/BV*, co-researchers always included photographs and commentary about *CIBVs* and *CECUIDAMs*. Thus, an alignment emerged between government prioritization of these two groups and what services were valued by community members.

Elders. During all of my time in Ecuador, I noticed the attention and care given to older adults. In my homestay, Cecilia's mother lived in the home, having moved into the bedroom next door to Cecilia and Germán's when the attached home next door became too much for her to handle and too dangerous because of its stairs. In addition, Germán's mother, who lived nearby in Cayambe, came to visit almost every weekend; if she did not appear it was because she was visiting another of her children. In visiting co-researchers' homes, it was common for multiple generations to live under one roof. I read this as perhaps one of the reasons why the "abandonment" of elders was considered such a critical breakdown of community cohesion; it was not the sociocultural norm and yet it was increasing, from the perspectives of co-researchers who highlighted it. Therefore, services for the elderly – in which many co-researchers were engaged, either as beneficiaries of services from *CECUIDAMs*, by being the family member of a *CECUIDAM* attendee, or by working in or with *CECUIDAMs* – were considered vital. This appeared in their photos and discussions:

Illustration 86
"Mercedes" – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
El Compañerismo – Estamos reunidos en la casa comunal para recibir la alimentación que nos brindan todos los días y al mismo tiempo nos dedicamos a realizar diferentes actividades.
[Companionship – We are united in the community house [*CECUIDAM*] to receive nutrition that they provide us every day and at the same time we dedicate ourselves to work on different activities.]

Illustration 87
Luis Favián Yanchaguano – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Tengo a Donde Llegar – Nuestros adultos mayores tienen un lugar donde se reúnen a compartir un almuerzo y muchas actividades que tienen ellos.
[I Have a Place to Arrive – Our older adults have a place where they meet to share lunch and many activities that they have.]

Illustration 88
Karina Zurita – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Adulto Mayor – El programa del adulto mayor es un servicio para todas las personas de bajos recursos y a la vez abuelitos que viven solos, ya que tienen personas que les ayudan a no perder sus capacidades y depender de ellos mismos a la vez.
[Older Adult – The older adult program is a service for all of low-income people and grandparents who live alone, because they have people who help them to not lose their abilities and depend on themselves at the same time.]

Illustration 89
Carlos Vizcaino – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Centro de Rehabilitación – Es más para el adulto mayor, cuando tengan una lesión les pueden ayudar para su rehabilitación
[Rehabilitation Center – It is more for the older adult, when they have an injury they can help them with their rehabilitation.]

Co-researchers of all ages acknowledged the importance of these older adult centers in the community. As seen in the photos above, Favián (40 years old) notes that, while he does not need it now, he is glad he has a place to go when he is older. Despite their young ages, Karina from La Esperanza (22 years old) and Carlos from Tocachi (23 years old), nonetheless know that the *CECUIDAM* helps their community's elders stay healthy, independent, and access services, such as rehabilitation, when needed. Several of the older co-researchers discussed how much they value their involvement at the *CECUIDAM*. Here is María (67 years old) from La Esperanza:

María: *Entonces es también un lugar donde me siento bien, porque a veces conversamos así cualquier cosa y nos sonreímos, estamos tranquilos porque ya nos olvidamos todo lo de la casa. [risas]*

[So it's also a place where I feel well, because sometimes we talk like that about whatever, and we smile, we are calm because we forget about all the household things. [Laughs].]

Jennifer: *Sí, claro. ¿Se va usted todos los días al centro?*

[Yes, of course. Do you go every day to the center [*CECUIDAM*]?]

María: *Sí, cuando hay algo de trabajo que hacer es lo que no se sale, o sea, no se va.*

[Yes, [only] when there is work to do is when I don't go.]

Hercilia (76 years old) from Tocachi told the group a very touching story during our round two group discussion about how she began to attend the *CECUIDAM* there:

> *Yo, por ejemplo, cuando ya se murió mi marido pasaba en la casa, cocinaba, y al rato de comer se me venía tantas cosas [starts crying]…Hasta que un día que hubo una minga aquí en el parque, hicimos la minga y estuvimos ahí en la casa sentadas descansando porque trabajamos bastante, entonces el Don Bolívar viene y me preguntó qué cuántos años tengo, le dije, "Yo soy nacida el cinco de Noviembre del 40" entonces hizo cuenta, dijo, "Ya tienes 65, tienes derecho de venir a--" le dije que no, que la gente ha de hablar, que la gente del gobierno está dando. "El lunes te espero abajo" y con recelo me fui como que había estado ahí. Entonces, desde ahí estoy asistiendo…*

[I, for example, when my husband died, I stayed in the house, I used to cook, and when I ate so many things would come to me [starts crying]…Until one day there was a *minga* here in the park, we did the *minga* and we were there at home sitting resting because we worked a lot, then Don Bolívar [the GAD parish president] came and asked me how old I am and I told him "I am born on November 5, of [19]40" so then he did tell [me], he said, "You're already 65, you have the right to come to [the *CECUIDAM*]…" I told him no, that the people [would] talk, that the government was giving [me aid]. [Don Bolívar said] "On Monday I'll wait for you below [at the center]" and with suspicion I went as it had been there. Then, from there I am attending…]

Nonetheless, co-researchers noted that improvements could be made to provide better service to the elderly, most notably by expanding the capacity and reach of the *CECUIDAM* system. In the context of the older woman whom Ana from Malchinguí photographed and described as abandoned by her children, "Yoli" and others from Malchinguí discussed the challenges of serving all of the elderly in their communities:

"Yoli": *O sea… no sería solamente en el transporte, porque claro si bien es cierto con el Proyecto CECUIDAM, se abarca a una cierta cantidad nomás de adultos mayores, pero los demás están abandonados a pesar de que se pertenecen al proyecto, también algunos están abandonados. Entonces, hacer conciencia a los familiares que ellos ya dieron todo por nosotros, ahora toca nosotros dar por ellos.*

[That is…it would not only be the transportation, because of course it is true with the *CECUIDAM* project, it covers only a certain amount of older adults, but the others are abandoned even though they belong to the project, also some are abandoned. So, to make the family aware that they [the elders] have given everything for us, now it is up to us to given for them.]

…

Favián: *Entonces, ¿cómo debes mejorar eso? …los adultos mayores que dices que están abandonados, poniendo más centros del adulto mayor cerca de ellos, porque hay solo uno aquí, y por ejemplo aquí alrededor del parque tienen que caminar lejitos y algunas personas que no pueden caminar, no pueden ir.*

[So, how should you improve that? …the older adults who you say are abandoned, putting more older adult centers near them, because there is only one here [in the *comunidad* of San Juan], and for example here around the park [in the center of the parish] they have to walk far away and some people who cannot walk cannot go.]

Victoria in Tocachi, being a member of the parish *GAD*, knew a lot about what it took to raise funds to keep these services operating. She explained:

Victoria: *Ahí está, he tomado la estructura física del proyecto que el gobierno parroquial administra con fondos propios, es el proyecto del adulto mayor, en donde se brinda los servicios de alimentación, de fisioterapia, de actividades recreativas y manualidades.*

Es un proyecto que el gobierno parroquial está manejando solo. Lamentablemente no tiene el apoyo de ninguna institución pública. Se ha hecho algunas gestiones a empresas privadas personas de buen corazón que están dispuestas a ayudar al proyecto y diariamente damos la alimentación.

Adicional a eso se planifica actividades recreacionales con paseos visitas a algunos lugares. Entonces es nuestra fortaleza.

[There it is, I have taken [a photo] of the physical structure of the project that the parish government manages with its own funds, it is the older adult project, where the services of nutrition, physical therapy, recreational activities, and crafts are provided.

It is a project that the parish government is managing alone. Unfortunately, it does not have the support of any public institution. We have made some gestures to private companies, good-hearted people who are willing to help the project and provide the daily meals.

In addition to that, recreational activities are planned with visits to some places. So that is our strength [at the center].

Jen: *Es bueno porque la cuarta pregunta dice, que servicios que los ayudan, pero también que necesitan mejoramiento y [quizás] eso es un buen punto de retroalimentación.*

[It's good because the fourth question says, what services help you all, but also what needs improvement and [maybe] that's a good point of feedback.]

Victoria: *Sí. Es un proyecto que está bastante fortalecido en el tema administrativo, pero en el tema económico lamentablemente no suple todas las necesidades.*

[Yes. It is a project strengthened quite a bit in the administrative aspect, but unfortunately economically it does not meet all the needs.]

Anita, María, and Karina from La Esperanza also had a conversation involving *CECUIDAM* funding and space.

Anita: *Sería…sería bueno que haya más sucursales como los del adulto mayor, más aulas, más espacios, más beneficiarios.*

[It would be…it would be good if there were more branches of the older adult [centers], more rooms, more spaces, more beneficiaries.]

Jen: *Para los adultos mayores.*

[For the older adults.]

Anita: *A más beneficiarios.*

[To more beneficiaries. [to serve more older adults]]

María: *Como para los adultos también ya ve que como acá y estamos bien llenecitos y no hay espacio, estamos un poco incómodos…*

[As for the adults you also see that like here we are very full and there is no space, we are a little uncomfortable…]

Jen: *Sí interesante, no sabía eso.*

[Yes interesting, I didn't know that.]

Karina: *Por ejemplo aquí están así como ya contado todo y en cambio allá en Chimbacalle hay un espacio grandote y allá son…como solo 10 [adultos mayores].*

[For example, here there are as has been told [by] everyone [that is, crowded spaces] and there in Chimbacalle [a different rural neighborhood of La Esperanza] there is a huge space and there are only like 10 [seniors].]

Anita: *[Hay] 60 adultos mayores [aquí, al centro principal]. Sí, sino que eso no maneja la junta parroquial ahora es del municipio. Antes cuando uno entraba a la junta parroquial estaba ahí, ahí siempre vigilando se les iba incluso hasta ver a la casa, dejarle a alimentación ahora ni sé cómo estarán al alcance porque ya eso no era de mi visita.*

[[There are] 60 older adults [here, at the main center]. Yes, except that is not managed by the parish council, it's not the municipality. Before when you entered the parish council was there, always watching there , even going over to see the house [center], dropping off food, and now I don't even know how they will be available because now that's not part of my visits [as a parish government member].

From these excerpts we can see the reality of the tension between saying a group has priority and a right to certain services and actually translating that right into budget allocations and programming. The Ecuadorian Constitution asserts that the state will take

measures to provide to older adults (among other things): *"atención en centros especializados que garanticen su nutrición, salud, educación, y cuidado diario…"* and *"se crearan centros de acogida para albergar a quienes no puedan ser atendidos por sus familiares…"* ["attention in specialized centers that guarantee their nutrition, health, education, and daily care…" and "shelters will be created for those who cannot be cared for my their relatives"] (*Gobierno del Ecuador*, 2008, *Capítulo 3, Sección 1, Articulo 38*). However, issues of management such as those described by Victoria and Anita, especially whether parish or municipal governments were responsible for funding and operations, were prevalent with *CECUIDAMs*. This also sets up an interesting tension between the role of government and the role of family and community support, especially in the case of elders who are not receiving (for whatever reason) the services to which they are entitled.

Children. Like those for the elderly, services for children, especially the *CIBVs* were discussed in three of the four parishes. (Co-researchers in Tupigachi did not mention the *CIBV*, though one [Estefany] did mention a daycare service which enabled her to leave her child somewhere safe so she could go to work in a *florícola*.) Again, numerous co-researchers were involved directly with *CIBVs* through their work (Juanito in Malchinguí and Lali and Elena in Tocachi). Like older adults, children seemed to hold a special place in the hearts of all of the co-researchers, as deserving of freedom, play, care, and services to aid in their development. Below I have presented a selection of photos regarding *CIBVs* taken and captioned by co-researchers.

Illustration 90
Luis Favián Yanchaguano – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Entretenimiento para Nuestros Niños – La Junta Parroquial de Malchinguí y más entidades nos ayudan con muchos juegos para distracción de nuestros niños.
[Entertainment for Our Children – The Parish Council of Malchinguí and other entities help us with many play things for the recreation of our children.]

Illustration 91
Ana Gabriela Clavijo – La Esperanza – Feb 2018
Centro Infantil del Buen Vivir "Luz y Vida"– Atención de la calidad y calidez hacia los niños/as de la Parroquia La Esperanza
[Children's Good Life Center "Light and Life" – Attention to quality and warmth towards the children of La Esperanza Parish.]

Illustration 92
Hercilia Guachamin – Tocachi – Mar 2018
El CIBV – Es un servicio para todos los niños de la parroquia. Además que aquí se educan mis hijos.
[The *CIBV* – It is a service for all children of the parish. Besides, here my children are educated.]

Illustration 93
Victoria Andagoya – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Niños Activos y Preparados – El Centro Infantil es un lugar en donde se educa a los niños desde 1 a 3 años, cuenta con educadoras preparadas para compartir conocimientos, cultura, y aprendizaje.
[Active and Prepared Children – The Children's Center is a place where children aged 1 to 3 years are educated, with educators who are prepared to share knowledge, culture, and learning.]

The way that co-researchers spoke of *CIBVs* indicated the esteem in which they held children and those who provided services to protect, educate, and develop children. Below, in order of presentation, are comments from Karina of La Esperanza, Victoria of Tocachi, and Lali of Tocachi.

> *Eso es CIBV donde pasan la mayoría de los niños, eso también es un proyecto bien elaborado y estructurado por parte de las organizaciones como el MIES y las GADs municipales y parroquiales.* [Karina]
>
> [That is the *CIBV* where the majority of children go, that is also a well-prepared and structured project on the part of the organizations like *MIES* [Ministry of Economic and Social Inclusion] and the municipal and parish *GADs*.]

> *Son fotografías del Centro Infantil en que, aunque directamente no tengamos un convenio firmado con el Ministerio de Inclusión, que es el ente que rige y direcciona este proyecto, programa, brindamos apoyo, les damos donaciones, les ayudamos con copias, con gestiones que podemos hacer mediante la junta parroquial. Ahí está la señora promotora organizándoles para hacer un pequeño juego. Son niños de dos años y medio hasta tres años que reciben ese servicio.* [Victoria]
>
> [They are photographs of the Children's Center in which, although we do not have an agreement signed directly with the Ministry of Inclusion [*MIES*], which is the entity that governs and directs this project, we provide support, we give them donations, we help them with copies, with arrangements that we can do through the parish council. There is the promoter lady who is organizing them to do a small game. They are children from two and a half to three years who receive this service.]

> *Ayudándoles a formar, porque ahí aprenden a compartir. Hay niños que van que no saben compartir, son niños únicos y no saben compartir, ni los juguetitos, ni sus cositas, no. Ni la mochila muchas veces quieren. Van avanzando los días y ellos ya comparten, ya se acostumbran que si comparte este juguete y el otro niño lo quiere, ya. Se hace un poquito duro, pero a la larga sí se adaptan bastante y aprenden eso.* [Lali]
>
> [Helping them to develop, because there they learn to share. There are children who go [to the *CIBV*] and don't know how to share, they are only children, and they don't know how to share, not their toys, not their little things, no. Not even the backpack many times do they want [to share]. The days go on and they are now sharing, they are accustomed to sharing this toy and the other child wants it, already. It is a bit hard, but in the long run they adapt a lot and learn that.]

These data appear to mirror the Ecuadorian Constitution's intention closely: in it children are said to have "*el derecho a su desarrollo integral, entendido como proceso de crecimiento, maduración y despliegue de su intelecto y de sus capacidades, potencialidades y aspiraciones, en un entorno familiar, escolar, social y comunitario de afectividad y seguridad*" ["the right to their integral development, understood as a process of growth, maturation, and unfolding of intellect and of its capacities, potential, and aspirations in a family, school, social, and community atmosphere of affection and security"] (*Gobierno del Ecuador, 2008, Capitulo 3, Sección 5, Articulo 44*). This includes, for children under age six, *"atención…que garantice su nutrición, salud, educación y cuidado en un marco de protección integral de sus derechos"* ["attention that guarantees their nutrition, health, education, and care in a setting of comprehensive protection of their rights"] (*Gobierno del Ecuador, 2008, Capitulo 3, Sección 5, Articulo 46*).

Other services. Before moving on to missing services or those needing improvement, I wanted to acknowledge the other programs and services which co-researchers noted were working well. These services were important because they were viewed by co-researchers as facilitative of the ability to create and sustain SK/*BV* in a very practical sense. Among these are transportation services, the services of the police, and sports stadiums and fields.

Transport. Co-researchers often discussed the importance of transportation services to them personally and to developing the potential and efficiency of their parishes. Below, I have selected a number of photos in which one can easily see the ubiquitous white truck with a green stripe that denotes the transportation cooperatives

– the economic mode of organization of transport services across the cantón – which almost always appeared in response to research question four. Interestingly, Elena from Tocachi took a photo of what happens when transport services are not available. It is challenging to photograph the lack of a service, but here (bottom right, below) she did so by capturing the consequences of long walks when cars are not available. We can also see in these photos (both in presence and absence) how improved transportation links closely to improved roads, which I will discuss further below. In turn, improved roads enable numerous activities that are held by co-researchers as important for their and their communities' well-being.

Illustration 94
José Rafael Cuascota Sanchez – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Servicios de Transporte – Servicios de transporte sirven para todas las personas que necesitan.
[Transport Services – Transport services are for all the people that need [them].]

Illustration 95
"Yoli" – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
CIA TRAMSA – Un servicio de transporte que brindan a la comunidad.
[CIA TRAMSA – A transportation service provided to the community.]

Illustration 96
María Simbaña – La Esperanza– Mar 2018
La Movilización – Este servicio se utiliza en la calle que es adoquinado. También están las camionetas.
[Mobilization – This service is used on the paved streets. Also there are the small trucks.]

Illustration 97
María Elena de la Torre Baraja – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Servicio de Transporte – El transporte en la comunidad de Tanda no existe por tal motivo los niños y ciudadanos en general muchas veces deben caminar largos tramos para llegar a sus destinos.
[Transportation Service – Transport does not exist in the community of Tanda [and] for this reason the children and citizens in general often must walk long distances to arrive at their destinations.]

Co-researchers viewed transportation as vital for achieving valued ends: it assisted in the movement of people and goods for educational, health, and economic purposes. Regarding the link between transportation and educational goals, César from Tupigachi told us:

> *Porque más antes hablan de la educación, solamente la educación era en la ciudad y nosotros aquí en el campo, nada. Es que no había ni los medios de transporte para poder salir. Es por eso que existe el analfabetismo. En mayoría, el analfabetismo, porque no había centros educativos comunitarios. Entonces, hace unos 25 años atrás fue así. Entonces, nació esta escuela aquí…*
>
> [Because before they used to talk about education, only education was in the city and we [were] here in the country, nothing. It is that there was not even a means of transport to be able to leave. That is why illiteracy exists. Mostly, illiteracy, because there were no community educational center. Then, about 25 years ago, it was like that. Now, this school was born [in the rural neighborhood of Chaupiloma]…

Regarding health, “Yoli” from Malchinguí shared a personal story from the days before transportation improvements. We were viewing a photo she had taken of a taxi cooperative and I had just asked her why she thought they were important:

> *Porque, verá antes no había esto, y era difícil. Por ejemplo, me acuerdo cuando iba a dar a luz a mi última hija, pues – ¡qué bestia! – no había. Tocaba estar rogando a uno, a otro, que nos ayude, para que nos lleve a Cayambe o a Quito. Entonces ahora, usted llama por teléfono, van, y a donde quiera les lleva…. Claro, nosotros les pagamos, pero ellos están también para servir. Son servidores públicos.*
>
> [Because, you see, before there was not this and it was difficult. For example, I remember when I was going to give birth to my last daughter, well – how terrible! – there was not [transportation]. It used to be beginning one, another, to help us, to take us to Cayambe or Quito. So now, you call, go, and wherever you want… Of course, we pay them, but they are also there to serve. They are public servants].

Co-researchers from both Malchinguí and Tocachi discussed the importance of improved roads and transportation options in getting their agricultural products to the market. Here, in order of presentation, are Juanito and co-researchers from Malchinguí, followed by Victoria from Tocachi;

> Juanito: *Bueno, esta es la camioneta de una compañía de transportes y…el tema de la pregunta cuatro dice, "¿Qué servicios o qué programas nos ayudan al buen vivir?". Entonces yo creo que el servicio de transporte cómo ha sido antes y cómo ha sido ahora, sí ha ayudado en estos aspectos, por ejemplo antes para llevar un costal de maíz a moler con el único molino que vive por acá atrás, tocaba agarrarle al burro o al caballo o-*
>
> [Well, this is the small truck of the transport company and…the question four theme says “What services or what programs help us to live well? So I think the transport service, how it was before and how it has been now, has helped in these aspects, for example before to bring a sack of corn to be ground with the only mill that lives around here [gesturing to the back of the parish], one had to grab the donkey or the horse or –
>
> “Yoli”: *La espalda*. [The back.]
>
> Juanito: *O a la espalda y hacerse daño a uno o haciéndose daño al animalito, entonces llevando ¿me entienden? El tema del transporte, yo creo que sí es un gran servicio, obviamente nos cobran una tarifa pero nos tomamos servicio que nos está ayudando a movilizar dentro de la parroquia*

llevando, para ir a visitar un familiar o llevando carga… Creo que es un servicio que nos ayuda bastante a mejorar nuestro buen vivir…

[Or on the back and hurt yourself or hurt the animal, like that carrying, do you understand? The issue of transport, I think it is a great service, obviously they charge us a fee but we take service that is helping us to mobilize within the parish carrying [things], going to visit a family member or carrying cargo… I think it's a service that helps us a lot to improve our *buen vivir.*]

Margarita: *Sí, porque ahora ya no caminamos.* [Yes, because now we no longer walk.]

Juanito: *Antiguamente ¿cuántos kilómetros tenían que caminar nuestros abuelos para llevar cierta cosa o cierto producto a otra comunidad? Entonces, ahora esto como ha facilitado la cuestión, nos ha ahorrado bastante tiempo…*

[Formerly, how many kilometers did our grandparents have to walk to take a certain thing or a certain product to another community? So, now this has facilitated the issue, it has saved us a lot of time.]

Lo positivo, el cambio en las vías, como ya dijo la compañera, nos han ayudado a que se fortalezca un poco más el comercio y el hecho que haya transporte, porque antes no teníamos el servicio de transporte, que tenía que bajar…a la virgen, allá por…[gesturing] El hecho de que ahora ya tenemos unas vías buenas, ya nos han dado el servicio de transporte y es más fácil también para la gente poder salir a Cayambe, a Tabacundo a hacer cualquier compras también, hacer alguna gestión. [Victoria]

[The positive, the change in the roads, like the friend said, they have helped us to strengthen a little more the commerce and the fact that there is transportation, because before we did not have transportation service, we had to go down to the Virgin, down there [gesturing in the direction of a statue of the Virgin Mary at the entrance to Tocachi from the Panamerican highway]. The fact that we now have some good roads, they have already given us transport service and it is also easier for people to go out to Cayambe, Tabacundo to do any shopping, or to do any arrangement [business].

Beyond roads and taxi cooperatives, buses (intercantonal and interprovincial) were also important. One day, as Vicky and I were descending from an intercantonal bus returning from Tupigachi to Tabacundo, we were met by Yoli from Malchinguí boarding the same

bus. Unbeknownst to us, she had just taken a photo while waiting for the bus to arrive, which she showed to us later:

Illustration 98
"Yoli" – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Esperando el Bus – Hoy hay un cambio en el transporte – una persona puede esperar el bus de Cayambe a Malchinguí hasta las siete y veinte en Tabacundo. Antes no había.
[Waiting for the Bus – Today there is a change in transportation – a person can wait for the bus from Cayambe to Malchinguí until 7:20 pm in Tabacundo. Before there was not [this service].]

When we had a chance to talk, "Yoli" elaborated:

> *Eso es otro cambio que yo digo, es justo en esa noche era el primer día de cambio de turnos de caja de Cayambe—Pedro Moncayo, entonces eran las 7:15 PM y yo todavía ahí…pero yo me sentía segura porque sabía que venía el bus porque dije – ¡chuta! – yo estaba en otros tiempos ya sufriendo, llorando, buscando, tratando de buscar carro para que me traiga.*
>
> [That's another change, I say, it's just that night [she took the photo] was the first day of the change of shift for the Cayambe-Pedro Moncayo *caja* [*de ahorro y credito*], then it was 7:15 pm and I was still there…but I felt safe because I knew the bus was coming. Because [before I would have] said – shoot! – I was in other times suffering, crying, looking, trying to find a car to bring me [home].
>
> *Entonces, es un cambio para bien, que los transportistas hacen para que la gente pueda hacer sus trámites hasta altas, bueno hasta la tarde, ya más o menos 7:00 PM esa es la vía de Cayambe—Tabacundo justo es en el semáforo de Tabacundo y los buses están viniendo.*
>
> [So, it's a change for the good, that the transportation men do so that the people can do their business until all hours, until the afternoon, and at about 7:00 pm that's the Cayambe-Tabacundo road just at the traffic light in Tabacundo and the buses are coming.]

Police. The safety and security resulting from a visible and responsive police service was another area captured by co-researchers as important services in response to research question four. Most often, safety was presented as a photo of the

community police department or *UPC* as is it known by its Spanish acronym. Participants, especially those in Malchinguí and Tocachi, noted that the police were often understaffed; this was an especially sensitive topic in Malchinguí during my second long visit, as the parish had been experiencing a series of home break-ins and robberies which had not been happening during the summer before when I worked with the Malchinguí co-researchers. Tocachi is so large (area-wise) and sparsely populated that it is possible this influenced the co-researchers' opinions that only two police officers made timely responding and regular patrolling difficult. Interestingly, Lali in Tocachi was the only co-researcher from any parish to capture the security camera in the center of town, monitored by ECU911, a national government service that integrates video surveillance, emergency calls and dispatch, and a system of national information (*Servicio Integrado de Seguridad ECU911*, n.d.).

Illustration 99
Juanito Navarrete – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
"UPC" – Unidad de policía comunitaria que ayudan a resguardar nuestra integridad y seguridad.
["UPC" – Union of community police that help to safeguard our integrity and security.]

Illustration 100
Carlos Rafael Marroquín – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Seguridad – Nos ayuda a vivir con seguridad
[Security – [The police] help us with security]

Illustration 101
Nélida Puga – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
La Policía – La policía nos hace sentir respaldados por los peligros que nos acechan, los ladrones, matones y en general por todos los peligros.
[The Police – The police help us to feel supported against the dangers that threaten us, the robbers, thugs, and in general from all of the dangers.]

Illustration 102
Lali Imelda Vilelo Mendoza – Tocachi – Mar 2018
Seguridad – Un guardián en silencio y seguridad para el pueblo y en especial para la vigilancia a los jóvenes adolescentes
[Security – A guardian in silence and security for the town and especially for surveillance of the young adolescents.]

Of his photo (previous page, right), Carlos from La Esperanza noted:

Carlos: *También es un – ¿cómo le puedo decir?... Los policías que siempre vienen a respaldar, a resguardar digamos el bienestar de la comunidad y por supuesto de la niñez que salen de la escuela, están siempre los policías del estado.*

[It is also a – how can I say to you?... The police officers who always come to support, to protect, let's say, the welfare of the community and of course of the children who leave school, the state police are always [there].]

Jen: *Claro, para controlar el tráfico un poquito.*

[Of course, to control the traffic a little.]

Carlos: *Exacto, para controlar el tráfico, más que nada, por la seguridad de los niños, de las escuelitas que salen a tiempo.*

[Exactly, to control the traffic, more than anything, for the safety of the children, of the schools that [all] get out at [the same] time.]

Carlos from Tocachi also noted the difference the police had made in that parish:

Carlos: *La UPC, también para la seguridad. Últimamente ya no he escuchado, pero antes que haya el UPC creo que se escuchaba que hay bastantes*

robos de ganado y todo eso. Aunque no es tan útil que digamos, porque sí se demoran en llegar y todo eso, pero ya habiendo aquí el UPC mismo, ya creo que no han robado mucho ya.

[The UPC, also for security. Lately I have not heard, but before there was the UPC, I think it was heard that there were a lot of cattle robberies and all that. Although it is not so useful to say, because they are delayed in arriving and all that, but since the UPC itself is here, I now think they have not stolen much.]

Jen: *Por su presencia nada más.*

[Because of their presence, [and] nothing more.]

Carlos: *Sí.* [Yes]

Though co-researchers felt secure with the presence of community police in their parish, as illustrated through the photos, they still explained that there was room for improvement. Below, Karina from La Esperanza, and Lali and Elena from Tocachi talked specifically about how the police service could be better.

Karina: *Los patrullajes mediante la tarde, que sean más rutinarios, más movilizados.*

[[They could have] patrols through the afternoon, which are more routine, more mobilized.]

Jen: *Como dentro de la comunidad así como están como vistas y afuera...*

[Like within the community, so that they are like seen and out…]

Karina: *Que sea más consecutivos y no sea eso, no sea solo por horarios o solo cuando se les llame…*

[[So] that they are more consecutive and not just, not just by schedules or only when they are called…]

Jen: *¿Cuáles son los servicios o programas qué necesitan ser mejorados?*

[What are the services or programs that need to be improved?]

Elena: *La policía.* [The pólice.]

Jen: *¿La policía? Bueno, vamos a empezar con la policía, la UPC, ¿por qué? Cuéntame.*

[The police? OK, we are going to begin with the police, the UPC. Why? Tell me.]

Elena: *Porque aquí en la parroquia sí se ha dado muchos problemas de robo pero de animales y lamentablemente cuando se llama a la policía ellos no están.*

[Because here in the parish yes there have been many theft problems but of animals and unfortunately when the police are called they are not there.]

Lali: *Exacto*. [Exactly.]

Elena: *Ellos dicen que están en operativos en Tabacundo, que están en algún otro lado, no están cuando se les necesita, no sabemos cuándo hay que salir con los ojos…tendría que quedarse al menos un policía.*

[They say that they are on operations in Tabacundo, that they are in some other area, they are not [here] when they are needed, we don't know when they are going to go out with their eyes [patrolling]… there would have to be at least one policeman.]

Lali: *Un policía con carro.* [One policeman with a car.]

Elena: *Para que pueda ayudarnos [para que se despacha para los animales] por lo menos ayudar y estar presente con los afectados.*

[So that he could help us [to be dispatched for the animals] at least help and be present for those affected.]

Sports. Another valued area of services and programs among co-researchers was that relating to sports. Co-researchers in all parishes mentioned sports fields, stadiums, volleyball courts, soccer games, and other physical recreation as vital to *SK/BV*. In doing so, they acknowledged the importance to them and their communities of having places to play and do sports. Interestingly, the Ecuadorian Constitution includes the right to recreate and play: "*las personas tienen derecho a la recreación y al esparcimiento, a la práctica del deporte y al tiempo libre*" ["people have the right to recreation and leisure, to practice sports and to leisure time"] (*Gobierno del Ecuador, 2008, Capitulo 2, Sección 4, Articulo 24*).

Illustration 103
"Anita" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Deporte y Salud – Estamos participando en familia jugando voli [voleibol] por nuestra salud para que todos estemos sanos. El deporte nos mantiene con el cuerpo y la mente sana.
[Sport and Health – We are participating as a family playing volleyball for our health so that everyone is healthy. Sports [help us] maintain a healthy body and mind.]

Illustration 104
José Rafael Cuascota Sanchez – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Cancha Deportiva Estadio – Es un servicio para mucha gente que le gusta el deporte.
[Stadium Sports Field – It is a service for many people who like sports.]

Illustration 105
Luis Favián Yanchaguano – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Juegos Saludables – La Junta Parroquial de Malchinguí nos ayuda poniendo estos juegos para realizar muchas actividades del deporte que será saludable para todos nosotros.
[Healthy Games – The Parish Council of Malchinguí helped us by installing these games [toys] to do many sports activities that will be help for all of us.]

Illustration 106
Nélida Puga – La Esperanza – Feb 2018
El Estadio – El estadio es muy importante porque es el sitio donde hacen deportes los jóvenes, los adultos, y en general los que nos gustan los deportes.
[The Stadium – The stadium is very important because it is the site where youth, adults, and in general those of us who like sports play sports.]

Co-researchers liked the availability of recreation options for the reasons one might imagine: they facilitated health, participation, and time with family, all of which were identified as important components of *SK/BV*. César from Tupigachi told me:

César: *Más o menos unos cinco o seis años atrás no teníamos el estadio, solamente prestados. Los jóvenes o los niños que quieran hacer deportes, las mujeres quieran hacer deportes, iban a la parroquia… Por el momento existe el estadio comunitario, donde hacen deportes todos los jóvenes, niños, niñas…*

[About five or six years ago we did not have the stadium, only borrowed [spaces]. The youth or children who want to play sports, the women who want to do sports, would go to the parish [stadium]… At the moment, there is [here] a community stadium, where all young people, boys, girls do sports…]

Jen: *¿Está muy utilizado?* [Is it very [well] used?]

César: *Sí, se utiliza, hay estadio reglamentaria. Pero no tiene todavía el cerramiento, y el alumbrado. Creo que posiblemente el año que viene va a realizar esas obras de cerramiento y alumbrado público y todo, dejar terminado.*

[Yes, it is used, it is a regulation size stadium. But it does not have the fencing yet, or the lighting. I think that possibly next year it will be possible to carry out those works of fencing and public lighting and everything, to finish [it].]

Ana from Malchinguí expressed the importance of engaging in sports activities as a form of bonding. Elena from Tocachi echoed this (respectively, below).

El fútbol para mí es un deporte que nos ayuda a mantener la unión, la amistad y a más de eso es salud. [Anita]

[Soccer for me is a sport that helps us to maintain unity, friendship and more than this, it is health.]

Para mí el buen vivir significa también hacer deporte, porque no solo es compartir…sino compartir en familia. Entonces, esa foto era que estaban dos familias jugando fútbol, así es que mejor compartir con la familia e integrar a los niños, porque también había un niño que jugaba ahí. [Elena]

[For me *buen vivir* also means playing sports, because [that's] not only sharing…but sharing as a family. So, that photo was [when] there were two families playing

soccer, just like that it is better to share with the family and integrate the children, because there was also a child who was playing there.]

Missing Services: Frustrated Development Aspirations

The previous section illustrated the ways in which local services and programs helped facilitate the pursuit of *SK/BV* from the perspective of the co-researchers. However, what happens when services are not working well or are lacking? Using Sen's (1999) conception of agency and opportunity, one might expect community members to advocate for changes in services, to demand more community investment, or to readily register their complaints or needs with local government officials. However, that was not always the case in the data that emerged from the study about what I call frustrated development aspirations. Co-researchers had plenty to say about areas of community development that were not working as they wished. The main, related, categories in which these frustrations arose were in discussions about incomplete infrastructure and access to machinery. These issues were especially prominent in Tupigachi, the most rural of the four rural parishes in the study. Other parishes had concerns about health service or education services not living up to their expectations. Further, through participant observation, I witnessed a great of frustration at the lack of coordination between various levels of decentralized government, whose progress working together and communication to the people left much to be desired among those attending local meetings designed to inform the public about community development. I will address each of these areas in turn.

Stalled infrastructure improvements. As in many rural areas, challenges with infrastructure and access to heavy machinery needed to make infrastructure development and agriculture possible was a focus of conversation in Tupigachi. The areas for

improvement centered on roadways and regular access to machinery. This need is circular: in areas with unimproved roads and two climate seasons – one dry and one rainy – mobility for all purposes is considerably limited in the rainy season. This can be appreciated in Isabel's photo below (full photo page, top left). Another area of infrastructure in transition is that of trash collection and pick-up. In Tupigachi, Estefany photographed the relatively newly installed trash collection areas (bottom right, below) and described how the trash collector comes around approximately once per week. However, this was the only photograph of coordinated trash or recycling pick-up I saw in all the parishes. When I asked about means of trash disposal in other parishes, I learned that trash was burned or dumped in open land or ravines and that recycling was nonexistent. In fact, Ana from Malchinguí took a poignant pair of photos illustrating this problem during round two.

Illustrations 107a and 107b.
Promeso y Destrucción

Her caption for this pair read:

> ***Promeso y Destrucción – La promesa más grande que Dios nos dio el Arco Iris que El jamás destruirá al hombre ni nuestra tierra sino el hombre mismo destruirá así mismo. [Los desechos en el medio ambiente representan la] falta de conciencia en nuestro propio pueblo.***

[Promise and Destruction – The greatest promise God gave us [in] the Rainbow [is] that He will never destroy man or our land but rather man himself will destroy himself. The waste in the environment represents the lack of awareness in our own people.]

Illustration 108

"Isabel" – Tupigachi – Aug 2017

No Es el Camino Bueno – Cuando tenemos el camino en mal estado o el proyecto no termina, no podemos sacar al mercado en el carro y lo utilizamos estos tipos de coches...

[It Is Not the Good Road – When we have the road in bad condition or the project doesn't finish, we can't go to market in the car and we use these types of handcarts.]

Illustration 110

Hercilia Guachamin – Tocachi – Mar 2018

La Maquinaria – Es un servicio para el pueblo, abrir carreteras, la cosechadora nos ayuda para cosechar trigo y cebada.

[Machinery – It is a service for the town, to open highways, [and] the combine helps us to harvest wheat and barley.]

Illustration 109

José Rafael Cuascota Sanchez – Tupigachi – Aug 2017

Servicio de Maquinaria Agrícola – Es una herramienta útil para labrar la tierra para poder sembrar dentro de la comunidad y fuera, esto [ayuda] para varios cultivos.

[Agricultural Machinery Service – It is a useful tool for tilling the land to be able to plant within the community and outside, this [helps] with various crops.]

Illustration 111

Estefany Pozo – Tupigachi – Aug 2017

La Recolección Basura – Nos ayudan a no quemar la basura y no contaminar el medio ambiente. El recolector de la basura pasa por allí una vez por semana por las demás comunidades.

[Trash Collection – They help us to not burn the trash and not contaminate the environment. The trash collector comes by there once a week through the other communities.]

To provide contrast and demonstrate that these areas of infrastructure were thoughtfully chosen as needing improvement, I will present photo and data from co-researchers in which they acknowledged areas of infrastructure which are working well. Improved water and sanitation services are featured, as are pedestrian-related roadway improvements and – in the parishes which are lucky enough to have them – irrigation canal development.

Illustration 112
César Castillo Catucuago – Tupigachi – Aug 2017
Tanque de Tratamiento – El tanque de tratamiento comunal es una obra social que da el mejoramiento a la salud y también se mejora en la [vialidad]
[Treatment Tank – The community treatment tank is a public work that gives an improvement in health and also improves the roadways.]

Illustration 113
"Yoli" – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Líquido Vital – Operador del sistema de agua potable de la parroquia, quien trabaja las 24 horas al día para brindar un servicio adecuado a todos los consumidores.
[Vital Liquid – Operator of the drinking water system of the parish, who works 24 hours a day to provide an adequate service to all consumers.]

Illustration 114
María Simbaña – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
Un Puente que Tenemos en la Parroquia – Como tan bien nos sirve como para evitar los accidentes
[A [Pedestrian] Bridge that We Have in the Parish – How well it serves us to avoid accidents]

Illustration 115
Nélida Puga – La Esperanza – Mar 2018
El Canal de Riego de Mi Pueblo – Para mí es muy importante porque con el agua regamos cuando no llueve, nuestros sembrios para tener buenas cosechas…y siembro maíz, papas, frejol, arvejas, habas, y hortalizas como zanahoria, zambo, lechuga, col.
[The Irrigation Canal of My Town – For me it is very important because with the water [from the canal] we irrigate when it doesn't rain, our plantings to have good harvests…and I plant corn, potatoes, beans, peas, fava beans, and vegetables like carrot, squash, lettuce, and cabbage.]

Cross-level government linkages: Limits of individual and collective agency?

For co-researchers, dissatisfaction from community development of services and programs often arose in the area of education and health. This may not be surprising, considering these areas are *competencias* [competencies] of the national level of government and, as such, perhaps farthest from direct control of the people and local government. This raises important questions about the extent to which community members can, in reality, exercise individual and collective agency. What is within their locus of control or, more importantly, what do they perceive to be in or outside of their

locus of control? Using the lens of Sen (1999), as freedom "is quintessentially a social product," there should be a two-way relationship between "(1) social arrangements to expand individual freedoms and (2) the use of individual freedoms not only to improve the respective lives but also to make the social arrangement more appropriate and effective" (p. 31). In the study sites, I saw how the first direction of this two-way relationship was acted out through individual and collective agency manifested in community participatory processes that made lives better and accomplished concrete goals. However, I did not see data to illustrate the second direction of the two-way relationship. Even when co-researchers ostensibly had the freedom to assert their agency in order to improve the social arrangements and policies which were coming up short of their desired goals, they did not capture the ways in which they were doing this. To understand the frustrations of community members and why this agency to change services did not emerge from the data, I believe it is important to peek into the workings of parish—municipal and parish—provincial planning meetings, which illustrate the challenges of coordination in decentralized government system and the complications of citizen participation. I was lucky enough to attend two such meetings during summer 2017.

Parish planning and participatory processes. On the evening of July 25, 2017, Vicky and I attended the *Asamblea de Priorización del Gasto* (Assembly of Expenditure Prioritization) in Malchinguí. This was one of several annual participatory budgeting process required by the Ecuador at each government administrative level. We signed in on a required sign-in sheet where those in attendance noted their name, gender, national identification number, phone number, and signature. Since participation is legally

mandated by the Ecuadorian constitution, this sign-in sheet serves as a way to track who attended what meetings and, Vicky told me, can be summoned at a later date to prove that participatory processes were followed. The *GAD* parish president, Jose Luis Rodriquez, began the event with a 30-min speech about the process and what has been done up to this point in order to prepare the budget and work with various stakeholders. He used an analogy for this process – including the public's participation – explaining that it is much like a household budget: we can have preferences but not everyone can get everything they want right away. The idea, he related, is not that we undertake every single project, but that we have an efficiency and accountability of the budget and spending processes.

As this meeting focused on the alignment of the parish development work with the provincial (Pichincha) budget process, many provincial government officials were present. President Rodriquez seemed to me to be politically savvy, mentioning various agreements and opportunities for parish—province collaboration. After he finished speaking, the lead Provincial Government official spoke, beginning by acknowledging some high priority projects from last year, including the building of a stadium in Malchinguí and the completion of a public park. Of the park he said, "everything is in order and ready… We just needed to buy a small piece of [contiguous] land that was part of the planned area." The Provincial Official also took pains to outline the process of *co-gestion* (collaborative management) and reviewed the eight *competencias* (competencies) which were in the purview of the province, noting the limits of his development and governmental influence.

Next, various provincial officials stood and provided updates on projects in their respective areas. These seemed to be directors of various provincial departments of work,

including economic productivity, irrigation systems, the environment, culture, and roadway management. After these presentations, which took about another half hour so that people had been waiting and listening for an hour, the provincial official invited the community to share “questions and concerns about the projects and plans.” He also reminded people that suggestions for needed projects were welcome through a process of *pedido* (requests), but that people needed to *mandar con anticipacion* (send requests in advance) because the province was required to complete an *estudio previo* (advance study) for each project, which takes time.

I estimate about 50 to 60 community members were in attendance and they now had their turn to speak. Each speaker began with relatively extensive (by U.S. standards) formalities of greeting, which are culturally important. Almost everyone took the time to wish each person a good afternoon, to thank all of the officials in attendance, and to recognize their work, and the presence of their fellow community members. Topics raised by the community members included issues pertaining to: trash and recycling disposal, animal vaccination, rural roads and bridges, sharing of machinery to improve roadways, bus stops, the process for making a *pedido*, the need for various improvements to other parish roadways, vaccines for stray dogs, and concerns regarding information sharing and advance notification of community meetings. At one point in the community discussion process, the *GAD* parish president paused the comments from the audience to note that many of the issues being raised belonged to the competency areas of the *municipality* (the Cantón) and that this participatory budgeting meeting related to issues for the *province*. He noted, “We have to approve this budget tonight, but these issues [you are raising] are not pertinent to the scope of work and spending at the provincial level.” This was a key

tension in every parish—municipal and parish—province meeting I attended: the most pressing needs of the community members seemed to be the responsibility of the municipality and municipal officials were rarely, if ever, present at the meetings. The level of frustration in the room seemed to rise as people raised concerns and were repeatedly told that an issue belonged to the municipality.

After about two hours, the leaders closed the community participation section and the provincial official began calling out the names of leaders of the various communities and other local associations. Each leader received a piece of paper which contained information about the work projects budgeted for the coming year. The leaders were to 'vote' for which projects they wanted prioritized and return the sheet that evening to the provincial officials. Later I asked Vicky how they voted if, for instance, they were the only representative from their community or group there. She said that prior to tonight's meeting there were other processes of information and sharing, led by the parish *GAD* with their web of contacts in the community, at which additional information was provided and group representatives could understand which issues were important to their members. Once these sheets of paper were returned to the officials, the meeting broke up.

Later, I talked with Vicky and Cecilia about the tensions between the various level of government planning among the parish, municipality (Cantón), and province. According to Cecilia, the municipal leaders do not really "play nice." They have a different way of doing things. She told me that they are still stuck "doing things the old way, from earlier times, when the leaders just decided" and there was no community participation (Personal Communications, C. Mantilla, July 25, 2017). This contrast may be especially pronounced because the *mancomunidad* and the province have been

working together diligently to increase community participation in government decisions and in development. As a result, the municipality's "old ways" stand in increasingly starker contrast as community members become more accustomed to being consulted in community development planning. Of course, the Ecuadorian Constitution still requires the municipality to involve citizens in their processes, but they sometimes do not (*Gobierno del Ecuador, 2008, Titulo 4, Capitulo 1, Seccion 3*).

According to Cecilia, in other provinces it is even worse: many levels of government do not even hold community meetings, say they did, and the leaders just meet and make the decisions instead. Here in Pedro Moncayo, it appears the municipality makes some effort to hold community meetings, but as Vicky told me, "there will be about 40 officials and 5 community members" present. Cecilia later said that the municipal leaders do not always have good working relationships with the parish leaders and definitely do not have as much experience and trust in reaching out to the community, spreading information, and convening people. Cecilia told me that the municipal government has an $8 million budget to spend each year, yet people cannot really see where all that money is going. By contrast, the *mancomunidad*, has a $200,000 budget to spend each year and they plan down to the last detail where every cent is going according to community-prioritized projects (Personal Communications, C. Mantilla & V. Cachipuendo Vasquez, July 25, 2017).

Parish—Municipal—Province planning tensions. The very next evening, July 26, 2017, I went to the same participatory budgeting meeting (*Asamblea de Priorización del Gasto*), in Tupigachi. Again, the idea was to review and approve the parish and provincial budgets. The fact that Tupigachi has the highest percentage of indigenous

people of all the four rural parishes was immediately obvious. I estimate that one in every two to three people was in traditional dress. In Malchinguí almost no one was. Women especially seemed to wear traditional clothing and hats, ponytails wrapped with fabric, and necklaces. Men wore no hats or baseball caps, regardless of whether they were in traditional dress.

A projector and screen was set up and ready to go well before the start of the meeting at 5:30 pm. This was also different from Malchinguí. Rolando, the *mancomunidad* technical officer for Tupigachi, started the meeting promptly at 5:30 pm by reading the agenda aloud. Next there was a very brief welcome from the parish *GAD* President, Fernando Vinueza, followed by a brief greeting from the Provincial Official – the same one that was at Malchinguí yesterday. Rolando led the presentation of the parish budget and President Vineuza presented the key parish projects with the amount to be invested in each. Seven major projects were presented for a total of $153,000.

The language of solidarity was very strong throughout the meetings in Tupigachi. At the very start, President Vinueza acknowledged that there was not enough money to go around and asked for solidarity. He reviewed the process by which what was presented tonight had been discussed in advance with *los bases* (the bases) and with *los lideres y dirigentes* (leaders and directors of each rural community or urban neighborhood within the parish). Questions did arise about matters that pertained to municipal competencies, however, President Vinueza had figures ready and Rolando pulled up a slide showing the information from the municipality indicating their total budget for projects relating to their competencies within Tupigachi was $421,800.

The next part of the meeting concerned presentations from provincial officials in the same manner as occurred the night before in Malchinguí. The provincial official stood and made a brief introductory speech. He asked for people to *apunta sus notas* (take notes) for the end of the presentations when there would be a *foro abierto* (open forum). I noticed some people near me try to find something in their bags or pockets to write on and with. The provincial official, perhaps remembering last night's meeting, stated directly that attendees were not to ask about issues which pertained to the competencies of the municipality, because he couldn't address those. However, the standard summaries by each sub-official of the province were quickly interrupted by a Tupigachi community leader demanding to know why certain provincial officials whose work areas were especially important to the community were not present. The head official resumed control of the meeting and said, "We ask for forgiveness publicly for those who cannot be here." It seemed his tone would be conciliatory. But then he got a bit of an edge to his voice, the way I recall him doing last night in Malchinguí when I thought somehow he turned paternalistic in his way of interacting with the audience. He proceeded to say: You are expressing frustration with these processes and saying that "we cannot do much with such a small amount of money. We can just have this meeting without presenting [from the various departments] but it's our job to provide the option to discuss and to tell you about our services. That is what we are trying to do." This was met with lots of murmuring and responding in the audience; people seemed unhappy. Many of them voiced objections stating they wanted time devoted to hearing their concerns not listening to a number of speeches from officials.

After several minutes of this, President Vinueza asked the head provincial official to just have the various departments present as briefly as possible so that the community members would have time to discuss and debate their priorities. Sensing discontent, the *GAD* president reminded the audience, “I have been fighting for this [for you]. Don’t think I’ve just been sitting in a chair. We’ve been planning this in each section to arrive at these figures tonight.” Another community leader rose and talked with frustration about how long it takes to see results and how much *papeleo* (bureaucratic paperwork) was required. He talked about how the bridges in the community were too narrow so that agricultural equipment and large trucks could not pass. There are also no places for such vehicles to turn around. The provincial official reminded the audience that Pedro Moncayo is not just Tupigachi and the province of Pichincha is not just Pedro Moncayo; the money for projects must be divided across the fifty-plus parishes within the province. Seemingly irritated with the rowdy audience, he noted that he would be happy to cut the meeting short (“Perfect, that would be fine with me.”) but that the government is mandated to make these meetings and presentations. At this point, some people at the back, appearing to grow impatient with the extended discussion of process, yelled out, “Continue then!”

The now-shorter speeches from provincial officials continued. Some who had not been present last night in Malchinguí were here in Tupigachi, including the director of the technology centers and the director of economic productivity. At one point an older male community member stood up and talked for quite a while. It seemed at first that he was saying that the way things are being done now is an improvement over the way they were done in earlier years, when there was not so much coordination and so not much

was achieved. But then he asked angrily why the municipal and provincial government budgets have increased and not the parish budget. The provincial official responded rather strongly saying this was a "*Mentira!"* ("Lie!"). "*Hablaremos en realidad*" ("Let's talk in reality"), he said, and then proceeded to correct the facts. Another community leader – who came in late and sat up front near the Rolando and Milena – spoke up passionately for about five minutes. He seemed angry. He mentioned how certain officials never come to the community or to these meetings (this was also mentioned earlier, but this man was not present then). He also complained that the technical officers from the various provincial departments are not doing their job with the projects in the community. The provincial official interrupted with, "*Deme nombres*!" ("Give me names!"). Later he said, "*Si no deme nombres, no puedo hacer nada*" ("If you don't give me names, I can't do anything"). Appearing to address an accusation about waste, the provincial leader took pains to announce that those present from the province were here "in our own vehicles," not official government vehicles.

When these conversations subsided and all of the provincial sub-officials finished talking, the question and discussion period with the audience was foregone and the group launched directly into marking the project priority sheets distributed to the different community and association representatives. For what seemed to me like a rather heated meeting, the President Vinueza seemed remarkably calm and did not show any outward frustration or excitement throughout the meeting. Later, Rolando and Milena told me that people in Tupigachi are often frustrated at what seems to them to be a slow pace of community development projects. They complain that there is no follow-up to them about the status of projects. Milena told me that this budgeting meeting is followed later

in the year with *rendición de cuentas* (accountability) meeting in which the officials tell the public what is actually happening with the money so far and whether there have been any changes. She says often emergencies or other projects arise which delay the completion date of projects that the community said they wanted or would prioritize. This generates a lot of dissatisfaction. Rolando told me that in Tupigachi the frustration is with the provincial government, where in Malchinguí it seemed most of the frustration was with the municipal government. So, in both cases which I observed, the community's irritation was not with the most proximal level of government, the parish and its coordinating body, the *mancomunidad*, but rather with levels which they feel frustration to access and influence.

This frustration is important, as it points to a real and consequential limitation of agency, in the realm of public discourse and debate. If we believe Sen's (1999) assertion that "critical public discussion is an inescapably important requirement of good public policy" and programs, then the situations described above are limiting the freedom of parish residents considerably (p. 123). I can illustrate this through two sets of data that emerged from photos and discussions of research question four. This first has to do with the operation of health sub-centers in Malchinguí and Tupigachi. Sub-centers refer to smaller health centers which exist is some non-central neighborhoods of the parishes, ostensibly to extend the reach (access and availability) of the main health center located

near the parish center. In Malchinguí, “Mercedes” presented the following photo of the health sub-center that used to operate in the neighborhood of San Juan:

Illustration 116
“Mercedes” – Malchinguí – Aug 2017
Centro de Salud de San Juan – Antes funcionaba el Centro Medico atendiendo a la gente, la falta de la organización de la comunidad degenero el servicio.
[Health Center of San Juan – Previously the Medical Center functioned, serving the people, the lack of community organization degenerated the service.]

In January 2017 during my introductory visit to Tupigachi I toured and engaged in an interesting conversation about the fate of the health sub-center in the rural community of Loma Gorda (my own photo, Illustration 117). This sub-center was built with private foreign donations which seem to have been coordinated by the church with which it shares its lot. It was a small and well-built, comfortable facility. The problem was that there were no basic services connected to the building such as water, functioning bathrooms, equipment for lab exams, or internet access. (In Ecuador, the internet is used by the Ministry of Health for labs, x-rays, specialist referrals, civil registry of data, and health history documentation, among other things.) It was not entirely clear to me how the parish of Tupigachi and the community of Loma Gorda were

Illustration 117.
Sub-Centro de Salud Loma Gorda

working towards resolving this issue. Rolando and Vicky told me there had been talk about asking for money from the municipal government, in partnership with the parish *GAD* of Tupigachi, but that does not seem to have worked. Then there was discussion of whether the Ministry of Health could be asked to provide these infrastructure services, so the center could operate. However, since the Ministry of Health does not own the building – the community owns the building – they were not inclined to enter into that arrangement. Thus, the center sits, built but unused (or underused – the day I was there a dentist assigned on her community rotation to rural Pedro Moncayo was seeing a client, though I did not ask about how she managed without running water or electricity). These two stories of the health sub-centers in Malchinguí and Tupigachi demonstrate the challenges of cross-level government collaboration. "Mercedes" in Malchinguí – just like Rolando and Vicky and the dentist in Tupigachi – offered no ideas about possible solutions to solve the devolution of service at the sub-centers. The situations seemed, to them, intractable. That is to say, the situations were judged to be outside of their sphere of influence. This is an interesting contrast, especially in the case of Tupigachi where a considerable amount of agency must have produced the private funding secured by the small parish neighborhood church in order to build the sub-center structure, after which efforts to take it to completion for service to the community seem to have stalled entirely. Or this could be another example of what I have often witnessed in global health and development, where an outside entity donated money for an infrastructure or capital improvement without advance consideration of the ongoing operational costs or without engagement of the community or government commitment to manage the resulting building and its services.

A similar phenomenon arose in discussion of education in Tocachi. Towards the end of the round two group discussion, the co-researchers got into a lengthy and somewhat passionate discussion about recent challenges at the parish's only primary school (which had been photographed by two of the co-researchers in response to research question four). I have excerpted parts of that conversation here, for brevity, to convey the essence of their concerns and reactions:

Jen: *Bueno, ¿hay otros servicios o programas que necesitan mejoramiento?*

[Good. Are there other services or programs that need improvement?]

Victoria: *La escuela.* [The school.]

Jen: *¿La escuela? Bueno, cuéntame.* [The school. OK, tell me.]

Victoria: *La educación. Existe la problemática en Tocachi que hay el desertamiento de estudiantes, viajan mucho a escuelas aledañas que son Cayambe y Tabacundo. Lamentablemente la educación tuvo – ¿Qué diga? – malos profesionales quizá en algún momento que provocó la salida de los estudiantes, actualmente cerró la escuelita de una comunidad qué es de Chimburlo.*

[The education. There is the problem in Tocachi that there is the desertion of students, they travel a lot to nearby schools that are [of] Cayambe and Tabacundo. Unfortunately the education [in Tocachi] had – What do you say? – bad professionals maybe, at some point that caused the departure of students. As of late, it closed the school of a community which is Chimburlo.]

El primer año todos esos estudiantes llegaron a Tocachi y dada algunas problemáticas que se conoce en el tema de aportes económicos de mingas de parte de los padres de familia de Tocachi, los padres de familia de la comunidad aledaña que es Chimburlo prefirió llevarles a La Esperanza. Entonces esos estudiantes ya no están y nuestra escuelita, que debería fortalecerse, porque es la única central. Es lamentable porque se van los estudiantes, de alguna manera el distrito de educación ha tratado de sanear estos problemas cambiando de profesores, dándoles talleres…

[The first year all those students arrived in Tocachi and given some problems that are known in the topic of financial contributions of *mingas* on behalf of the parents of Tocachi, the parents of the surrounding

community that is Chimburlo preferred to take them [their children] to La Esperanza. Then those students are no longer there [to have their families contribute] and our little school, that should be strengthened, because it is the only central one. It's unfortunate because the students are leaving, in some way the education district has tried to clean up these problems by changing teachers, giving them workshops…]

Pero ya perdió esa credibilidad que antiguamente tenía en la Escuela…. Era conocida a nivel cantonal…era conocida como una de las mejores escuelitas. Pero la educación fue decayendo, no se ha podido sobresalir de esa problemática….

[But the…School has already lost that credibility that it used to have. It was known at the cantonal level…was known as one of the best schools. But education was declining, it has not been able to overcome from this problem…]

Se ha buscado de parte de cada gobierno parroquial una cierta ayuda, con algunos trabajos que se hizo [sic] dentro de la escuela con el grupo de pasantes de trabajo social que se tiene, con el convenio con la Universidad Central, pero lamentablemente es muy poco lo que se puede hacer. No se han logrado muchas cosas.

[A certain amount of help has been sought from each parish government, with some work that was done [sic] within the school with the group of social work interns that it had, with the agreement with the Central University, but unfortunately it is very little that can be done. Not many things have been achieved.]

Lali went on to explain that she believes in the local parish school and readily gives money for the associated school fees but that many in the community balk at doing this and take their children elsewhere where they believe the fees to be marginally cheaper (and perhaps to avoid the challenges with teachers facing the local school). Later, Carlos problematizes this “resistance” by noting that the education is supposed to be the same everywhere, due to the national curriculum:

…porque yo siempre he dicho, "Bueno porque es algo de la escuela", pero hay padrecitos que dicen,” ¿Para qué tanto?" Bueno y se hace duro porque tenemos cuatro hijos, que sea $30 por niño, pongamos un ejemplo. No, no quiere la gente no…ya le digo. Entonces viene se van a Tabacundo o se van al Cayambe.

[…because I've always said, "Well, it's something from the school," but there are little parents who say, "Why so much?" it's hard because we have four children, which is $30 per child, for example. No, the people do not want [to do that]…I'll tell you. So, it comes that they go to Tabacundo or go to Cayambe.]

Dicen que al sacarle de aquí, la educación es mejor. Yo, es mi forma de pensar, yo creo que no porque creo que les dan los mismo módulos y todo, en todas las escuela. Así que no creo que sacándoles [logre nada]…

[They say that by getting [the student] out of here, education is better. It is my way of thinking, [that] I don't think so because I think they give them the same modules and everything, in all the schools. So I don't think that taking them out [achieves anything].]

The fact that, as national competencies, the health professionals and teachers involved with service delivery at the health centers and schools in rural areas such as Pedro Moncayo are outsiders to those communities may also be a contributing factor to the ways in which these services are viewed. This calls to mind the insider-outsider phenomenon about which much written in the context of research reflexivity, but that also applies to community development itself. Some research suggests that "outsiders by definition will not be community role models" especially in communities organized by turf (geographic area or identification) (Staples, 2001, p. 24). In these cases, community organization efforts for development are spurred more successfully by insiders who work alongside outsiders in order to affect change. This implies that insiders must recognize their agency to collaborate and make said change. I will return to this theme and analyze it in the context of hyper-local and place-based development in the final chapter.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have explored the production of development and the changes and tensions it has created in the rural parishes of the study, including the ways in which

co-researchers cope with these tensions. Cooperation and participation, including the indigenous mutual assistance practice of *mingas* and associations were chosen by co-researchers as sites in which the friction of expanding choices has exerted pressure on traditional forms of mutual assistance. In addition, I explored the notion of scale in the way that national notions of *SK/BV* intersect with services and programs provided at hyper-local levels and yet incompletely address the ability of community members to fully realize their development aspirations. In the final chapter of the dissertation, I turn to an analysis of the study's findings in the context of its theoretical and conceptual frameworks, as well as explore the implications of the findings for our work in international health, development, and education.

Chapter Six – Sowing New Conceptions of International Development: Implications for Practice, Teachings, and Research

"Somos como la paja de páramo que se arranca y vuelve a crecer... y de paja de páramo sembraremos el mundo." —Dolores Cacuango, Ecuadorian Indigenous Activist

["We are like the *páramo*[24] straw that is plucked and grows again…and from *páramo* straw we will sow the world."]

Introduction

In this final chapter of the dissertation I will further relate the study's findings to the scholarship that informed it, noting the contributions of the study to our understanding of "development" in the context of *cosmovisión Andina* and the rural parishes of Cantón Pedro Moncayo. In addition, I will posit various implications for both community development and teaching practices, as well as for future research using visual methods. Finally, I will review the study limitations and how they were addressed or could be addressed with further research. I begin by summarizing the similarities and differences among the rural parishes that emerged from the data.

Similarities and Differences in Manifestations of *Cosmovisión Andina* in Parish Development

Similarities

Here I want to call attention to some broad patterns within the ways in which *cosmovisión Andina* manifests in hyper-local development across the rural parishes, as this helps set the stage for the linkages of data back to theoretical and conceptual frameworks before moving on to discuss data divergences, which are instructive. The clearest and strongest similarities were produced in co-researcher responses to the meaning of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* (*SK/BV*) in their lives and communities. All the co-

[24] Páramo is the high treeless plateau area of Andean South America

researchers, regardless of their age, sex, self-identified ethnicity, parish, or rural/urban neighborhood (within a parish) mentioned the same components of *SK/BV*: home and family; past, honor, and culture; the (natural) environment, and; principles and activities of cooperation. These findings, in turn, map well onto the assertions within the literature about the key tenets of *cosmovisión Andina*. Further, co-researchers summarized the ways in which *SK/BV* has changed in the last two decades. Again, there was a good deal of similarity in the responses. Co-researchers talked about how they struggled to reflect on and incorporate into daily life the pressures that accompanied the proliferation of multinational entities (*florícolas*) and the tensions exerted on community life from changing economic opportunities, including losses and gains which they saw as complementary consequences. In keeping with *cosmovisión Andina*, complementarity is a grounding way of viewing seemingly opposing concepts (Balarezo, 2015): neither concept can exist without the other and together these concepts, alone or combined with others, create a whole. These beliefs emerged from the data. Co-researchers, in photographing and discussing what programs and services helped facilitate hyper-local development aligned with characteristics of *SK/BV,* also produced similar responses which centered on services for priority attention groups, health, education, and infrastructure.

I used the concepts of embodiment and enaction to frame the notion of the daily manifestations of the ontology and epistemology embedded in *SK/BV*. This framing helps us to understand the similarities that appeared in this data: embodiment presupposes shared experiences, grounded in cultural normativity and a lifetime of being immersed in particular ways of doing and being. Indeed, I doubt embodiment would work as a

unifying concept for these data if there were not consistent patterns of living and expressing *SK/BV*, supposing we believe, as Brinck and colleagues (2017) argue, that "plural self-awareness and group membership precede and ground singular self-awareness" (p. 133). That this sense emerged through individual photographic choices, debated later in small groups, does not detract from the fact that the similarities are grounded in a shared embodied reality. Again, Brinck and colleagues (2017) explain:

> A subject can experience herself as a member of the same community, and can have group experiences even if she is alone and temporally and spatially removed from the others. Far from being merely dyadic, the *we* can also occur as something more akin to an enduring culture…where *we* do things in a certain way (p. 140, emphasis in original).

Differences

As different co-researchers in the four parishes experienced the changes of the last two decades, the ways these changes affected their embodiment of *SK/BV* also were different. In Tupigachi, these changes were heavily influenced by the proliferation of *florícolas* and the influences of these on community life economically, socially, and environmentally. On the far other end of the cantón, in Malchinguí, a sense of loss and gain colored changes from the last two decades of development. These complementary feelings were represented in photos and discussions demonstrating worry, especially about environmental changes, as well as the benefits development had brought, such as better housing, electric light, and running water in households. Again, complementary consequences were understood in relation to each other and reflected in a holistic way of coping. In La Esperanza, environmental and infrastructure changes were named as the primary influencers of *SK/BV*. Again, co-researchers expressed concerns about *florícolas*, though their scope was very different, being that they were predominantly small, family-

owned enterprises. Infrastructure or physical development changes noted in the past two decades included access to water for irrigation and through the community reservoir and the evolution of housing. Finally, in Tocachi, changes to *SK/BV* were represented with paired photos illustrating change from four different co-researchers: Carlos showed the changes to housing, as did Lali and Hugo; Hugo also captured the changes to roadways and the ways in which youth communication had gone electronic. *Florícolas* were also a subject of discussion about change in Tocachi. Again, these are smaller *florícolas* than in Tupigachi and the chief concern in Tocachi seemed to be the environmental consequences of flower fumigation and the proliferation of greenhouses near to sites of cultural patrimony.

Study findings also diverged in the area of how co-researchers explained the processes of community participation in their parish or neighborhoods.[25] In Tupigachi, the majority of the discussion about community participation centered on *mingas* and on spaces in which community processes could flourish, such as *casas comunales* and mutual assistance associations. In Tupigachi, co-researchers were positive and proud of their community participation processes, seemed to believe they were working well, and overwhelmingly captured positive outcomes of such processes. In contrast, in Malchinguí, co-researchers' responses centered on the ways in which community participation was changing as a result of community and family economic development and shifting attitudes about what constitutes participation. Most photos represented positive aspects of participation, but there were also numerous photos which pointed out

[25] This may be because research question three was situated in the data collection after research question two, which focused on recent changes, many *changes* in participation processes emerged in responses to question three though change was not expressly asked about.

the ways in which lack of participation – or worry about declining solidarity – had or could have negative community consequences. La Esperanza co-researchers returned to capturing positive aspects of participation. Interestingly the photos in La Esperanza also seemed to capture possibility: co-researchers presented photos almost as if providing a menu of the possible ways in which community members could participate in the parish and illustrating the means by which participation was being encouraged. For example, Anita captured photos about youth participation opportunities, including the formation of a parish youth band and the outcome of a youth art contest. Carlos captured various government participation opportunities, while María and Nélida centered on community spaces in which participation was encouraged, such as the *casa communal*, the *agroecológico* fair space, and the sports stadium. Finally, in Tocachi, the co-researchers overwhelmingly centered on parish government-related participation opportunities, however Elena and Lali also captured participation through *mingas* and mutual assistance associations, respectively. These different representations of community participation mapped somewhat onto the varied characteristics of each parish and its residents. In Tupigachi, where rurality predominates and the majority of the population identifies as indigenous, it is sensible that *mingas*, a traditional indigenous notion of mutual support, would be the focus of community participation. In Malchinguí, closest to Quito and the most affected by out-migration, concerns about shifting trends in participation appeared. In La Esperanza, the smallest parish by area and the one in which residents are most focused on incorporating agroecology back into the livelihoods of its residents – despite the addition of small, family-owned *florícolas* – the co-researchers captured participation as spurred by parish government initiatives and positively-oriented towards a pride in

maintaining one's traditional practices while extending them into new opportunities. And in Tocachi, a mix of low population density, a majority elderly population, and a strong parish government presence combined to influence co-researchers' decisions to frame participation as parish government-centered while still relying on some more traditional forms of mutual support.

Further differences in findings emerged in response to research question four, in which we saw a clear distinction between programs and services that were working well and those which were not and therefore frustrated the aspirations of co-researchers. In Tupigachi, question three about participatory processes bled over into question four responses, as several co-researchers documented people working together and called these activities "programs or services." The co-researchers in Tupigachi also expressed frustrated aspirations when services needed to pursue community-driven development were not available or when community development projects remained incomplete. Malchinguí co-researchers focused predominantly on official services offered by various levels of government in their responses to research question four. They captured views of *CIBVs*, *CECUIDAMs*, exercise equipment installed by the provincial government, and transportation and water services. The same was true in Tocachi, with the addition of photos showing the perceived value of the police and *InfoCentro*. Tocachi's co-researchers seemed to respond to question four with a mix of Tupigachi's and Malchinguí's approach. I could understand this, as Tocachi was adjacent to Malchinguí (and connected more efficiently due to the completion of the Tocachi—Malchinguí road in late 2017) and yet is the most sparsely populated and largest area parish, which brings with it various challenges to service delivery. In terms of co-researchers' perceived

abilities to engage with those providing programs and services, in order to make improvements or provide feedback, those from La Esperanza demonstrated the highest level of hope and willingness to do so. This may be a result of La Esperanza being the smallest parish in both area and population, thus facilitating a more intimate connection between and among government officials and community members.

Regrounding in Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

This study was grounded in two theoretical frameworks which intersected with two conceptual frameworks. The theoretical frameworks were Escobar's (1995) alternatives *to* development and Mignolo and Walsh's (2018) decoloniality. These intersected with the aspects of agency and opportunity from Sen's (1999) capability approach and the South American epistemology of *cosmovisión Andina*. Below I will return to each of these to suggest ways in which the study findings contribute to and complicate these orientations.

***Cosmovisión Andina*, Local Health and Development in Andean Ecuador**

A unique aspect of this study's location in Ecuador (and one of the rationales for setting it there) is the Ecuadorian Constitution's centering of *buen vivir* and *sumak kawsay*. Yet there is a question of whether the relationships between *SK/BV* and community development represents an appropriation of the indigenous epistemology. The authors of the 2008 Constitution frame it with *buen vivir* as the organizing principle for citizen rights, inclusion, equity, prioritization of certain typically-marginalized groups, and protection of the environment (*Gobierno del Ecuador*, 2008). *Buen vivir* is also used to center the type of national development that will be pursued and with what ends in mind:

> *El régimen de desarrollo es el conjunto organizado, sostenible y dinámico de los sistemas económicos, políticos, socio-culturales y ambientales, que garantizan la realización del buen vivir, del sumak kawsay…. El buen vivir requerirá que las personas, comunidades, pueblos y nacionalidades gocen efectivamente de sus derechos, y ejerzan responsabilidades en el marco de la interculturalidad, del respeto a sus diversidades, y de la convivencia armónica con la naturaleza. (Gobierno del Ecuador, 2008, Titulo 6, Capitulo 1, Articulo 275).*
>
> [The development regime is the organized, sustainable and dynamic set of economic, political, sociocultural and environmental systems that guarantee the realization of *buen vivir*, of *sumak kawsay*…. *Buen vivir* will require that people, communities, pueblos, and nationalities effectively enjoy their rights, and exercise responsibilities in the framework of interculturality, respect for their diversity, and harmonious coexistence with nature.]

This sounds great, but whether it translates into influence in actual development decisions at the national, provincial, cantonal, and parish levels is another question. The 2008 Constitution was written and ratified during the administration of Rafael Correa, a left-wing politician who had come to power through an alliance of academics, the middle-class, and indigenous activists. Correa held the Ecuadorian presidency between 2007 and 2017. Under his administration, the country founded a *Ministerio del Buen Vivir* (Ministry of *Buen Vivir*), ostensibly to center the good living principles in the work of development. When I visited Ecuador in winter 2018, I returned to this Ministry's website only to find it dismantled. When I inquired about this to Vicky and Germán, they explained to me that the present administration of Lenín Moreno had subsumed the Ministry of *Buen Vivir* back into the National Secretariat of Planning and Development. The old website redirects now to the site which outlines Ecuador's *Plan Nacional del Buen Vivir* (National Plan of *Buen Vivir*), which is the development document created in 2013 to operationalize the 2008 Constitution's ideals. Moreno, who was Correa's vice president, ascended to the presidency in 2017 but quickly broke with many of the

populist legislative gains made under the Correa presidency[26]. People I spoke with in Pedro Moncayo seemed to believe that the disappearance of the Ministry of *Buen Vivir* was yet another sign of a distancing from the discourse and centering of *buen vivir*, thus leading them to believe that perhaps its original incorporation in the Constitution was indeed more an appropriation than a genuine effort to change the status quo.

In fact, the inclusion of *buen vivir* and *sumak kawsay* in the national Constitution has been critiqued by many from the start as an appropriation of this indigenous ideal, rather than a genuine attempt to fundamentally change the means and ends of development within Ecuador. Authors of a recent article claim that "the main policies and actions of Ecuador's government in recent years on the basic elements of *buen vivir* seem to spring from a rather more pragmatic (and far less revolutionary) political orientation" (Caria & Domínguez, 2016, p. 23). A state development apparatus oriented towards *buen vivir* would – ostensibly – not have presided over an increase in environmental extractivism, a systematic disregard for significant indigenous demands, and a series of personal enrichment-related banking scandals among the country's top leadership in the years since the Constitution was adopted. However, all of those events have happened (Caria & Domínguez, 2016). These continuing marginalizations of indigenous peoples and their issues support the assertion of several authors that the Ecuadorian government "is using *buen vivir* to legitimize measures that are in clear contradiction to its principles" thus making it a contradictory ideology (Caria & Domínguez, 2016, p. 27; Vanhulst &

[26] Throughout the study, only the co-researchers from Tupigachi ever mentioned Correa by name. They did so during their round one group discussion when at least two co-researchers mentioned him favorably with regard to their perceptions that his policies relating to social security benefits (national health care and education were mentioned) and holding private companies accountable to fair and safe labor practices were beneficial to them.

Beling, 2014). The once radical notion, some argue, has been assimilated into the development apparatus, as evidenced by the Constitution's "reductive and ambiguous equalization between the concepts of '*buen vivir'* and 'development' in the building of political and legal institutional foundations" (Vanhulst & Beling, 2014, p. 57). Indeed, these analyses bear out Escobar's (1995) argument of a need for alternatives *to* development to not be subsumed within the parent discourse of development. *Buen vivir*, in an indigenous conception, is supposed to offer "*una orientación para construir colectivamente estilos distintos y alternos al progreso material…[en cual] es clave la ruptura con la ideología del desarrollo como progreso*" – "an orientation to collectively construct different and alternative styles to material progress…[in which] the break with the ideology of development is key" (Gudynas & Acosta, 2011, p. 81). This does not appear to be what is happening. From the study findings one tension that appears to be present is an issue of scale: can a national level Constitution ever genuinely integrate or direct the application of an indigenous epistemology in the local contexts from which that epistemology originated? The differentiation by Mignolo and Walsh (2018) between decolonization and decoloniality comes to mind. Decolonization may have produced national sovereignty and the policies that accompany it, but those imbued with power from the still-present colonial matrix of power do not necessarily succeed in being decolonial. The tension thus produced from this power and scale disconnect can thus result in appropriation of indigenous notions of well-being. Long-term processes like locally-contextualized community development cannot be subsumed into systems of short-term gain, like politics and return on investment calculations of philanthrocapitalist development organizations. In a conversation I had one night with Germán, he critiqued

the inclusion of *buen vivir* in the Constitution and national development documents as "*pura publicidad*" [pure publicity]. In his view, this designation does not rise to the level of appropriation, but is instead totally empty, designed simply for political gain or positioning. His view, from the local level, was that concrete development actions (he cited those taking place in La Esperanza and centered on agroecology and self-sufficiency) produced evidence of *sumak kawsay* in-action and could never be reconciled with national-level aspirations, which infused an alien level of grandiosity into the indigenous belief structure. Again, Tsing's (2005) notions of scale and friction come to mind.

Among co-researchers, the idea of *SK/BV* is still linked to its roots in *cosmovisión Andina*. I cannot recall any explicit references to the Ecuadorian Constitution's conception or centering of *buen vivir*. Rather, co-researchers occasionally discussed references to rights, mostly in the context of the kind of life that priority attention groups should be able to live. This points to a disconnect between the sense of *SK/BV* as an embodied sociocultural norm and that of it as a motivating driver for constitutional change and national development. To be sure, these issues would be perceived very differently in other indigenous or mixed indigenous—non-indigenous communities in the country, especially those in the Amazon where extraction for development predominates and is the focus of continual indigenous organizing and resistance. However, in the part of the Andes that formed the site of this study, co-researchers seemed more focused on how *buen vivir* shaped the basis of their everyday values, choices, and community interactions than in how it influenced national politics. There were tensions at rural parish meetings in which government entities regulated forms of community participation, but I

did not hear these tensions framed explicitly in terms of *buen vivir*. Indeed, those involved directly with local government, including Vicky, Cecilia, and other members of the *mancomunidad*, were well-versed in the Constitutional discourse of *buen vivir*, but I judged this to be a 'different *buen vivir'* than that which conditioned daily choices and activities.

Returning to the overarching principles of *cosmovisión Andina*, I began to put together another pattern of worldview relating to the ways in which *buen vivir* could be conceptualized as an alternative *to* development more fully. This pattern has to do with the temporal orientation of *sumak kawsay* and its contrast to the typical orientation of the international (or national) development apparatus. Within Andean worldview, there is the conception of three worlds. These three natural divisions are:

> *Hanan pacha, o mundo superior, [que] representa los saberes relacionados con el universo, las fuerza creadoras del cosmos;*
>
> *Kai pacha, o mundo externo y tangible, [que] representa el conocimiento de las leyes de la naturaleza; [y]*
>
> *Uku pacha o mundo inferior o interno, [que] es el nivel de las creencias de la gente, heredadas de la tradición* (Balarezo, Rosero, Rojas, Contento, & Drexler, 2016, p. 98).
>
> [*Hanan pacha*, or the upper world, [which] represents the knowledge related to the universe, the creative force of the cosmos;
>
> *Kai pacha*, or the external and tangible world, [which] represents the knowledge of the laws of nature; [and]
>
> *Uku pacha* or the under or internal world, [which] is the level of the beliefs of the people, inherited from tradition.]

The more I worked in Pedro Moncayo, the more I began to see that the meanings emerging from the data that co-researchers and I were generating mapped well onto this conception of the worlds. *Hanan pacha* is the world of grand significance and was represented through photos and discussions of the environment and its importance in

everyday life. *Kai pacha* is the world of the day-to-day which was represented in the centering of family and home, cooperation and community, and in the acknowledgement of services and programs which helped parish residents to live a life in alignment with the principles of *SK/BV*. *Uku pacha* is the world of the past and of ancestors and emerged as the co-researchers' centering of culture, tradition, and honor.

I argue that thinking of the daily life of co-researchers in this model leads us to a tweak in the concept of *cosmovisión* that may contrast more clearly to the typical means and ends of development. This is a necessary distinction because ontological or epistemological beliefs lie first in the intellectual or cognitive sphere, but what they impel is a kind of engagement which is all-encompassing, holistic, and cannot be reduced to an intellectual exercise and treated as such by those directing development. That is, it is not something to 'accommodate' with words – which perhaps is the disconnect in the Constitution and at supranational levels where *SK/BV* is now being referenced – but rather a way of living manifests in actions and decisions. Put another way, *cosmovisión* represents a worldview, whereas the concepts that underpin it, in the context of community development, rise to a level of *cosmovivencia*, or world living or even cosmic survival. Guzñay's (2014) conception of *cosmovivencia* describes it as going "beyond the sphere of seeing, observing, interpreting the world. It is a matter of living together in a respectful and harmonious relationship, not only with nature but with oneself and with others" ("*que va más allá de la esfera de ver, observar, interpretar el mundo. Es una cuestión de convivir en relación respetuosa y armónica, no solo con la naturaleza sino consigo mismo y con los demás*…") (p. 21). I believe this aligns nicely with Sen's (1999) ideas of valued beings *and doings*, as well as with the decolonial and transformational

community development notions centered on the importance of *praxis*. Having a good life is not only about being true to one's own and one's cultural beliefs, but also lies in having the opportunity to act accordingly. However, "the harmonious coexistence between nature and the indigene clashes resoundingly with the thinking of the economist and dominant Western culture" ("*la convivencia armónica entre la naturaleza y el indígena choca rotundamente con el pensamiento de la cultura occidental economicista y dominante*") (Guzñay, 2014, p. 25). So what can be done? Countries like Ecuador (and Bolivia) have attempted to reconcile these incongruent worldviews through political codification (in their Constitutions). However, an analysis that relies on Escobar (1995) and Mignolo and Walsh (2018), as outlined above, would note how this approach begins from an untenable premise.

Alternatives *to* Development and Problematizing the International Development Paradigm

As I outlined in Chapter One, it was vitally important to me in this study that I not only expose and contest development as domination, which is reproduced by the colonial matrix of power through its discourse and practices, but also consider and understand alternatives *to* development in order to counter this epistemic violence. The co-researchers in this study did not frame their daily conceptions of *SK/BV* and the ways in which these manifested in community participation and development as subversive to any national or international norm. However, they did convey a sense of struggle, of acknowledgement of and resistance to the ways in which they perceived the forces of globalization to be pressing upon the individual and collective ideals inscribed within *cosmovisión Andina*. As such, it is of limited use – and not in keeping with a decolonial

framework – to attempt to reconcile these notions of how and why development happens. Instead, the findings disrupt the theorizing and educating that takes place within and in service of the apparatuses of international development and higher education by unseating its epistemological premises and therefore rendering its cascade of resulting rationales moot.

I began by wishing to explore the rich textures of one possible set of beliefs and activities that could be termed an alternative *to* development – those situated within the context of *SK/BV* and its birthplace of *cosmovisión Andina*. In returning to this section of the theoretical and conceptual framing of the study, I find it useful to bring in ideas from Dei and Lordan (2016) that help me to conceptualize decolonial concepts and praxis. These authors write:

> Conventional "development" is defined in terms of what people lack or what we are expected to become – a "catching up" to Western measures of development and economic sustainability. We need to reframe measures of development to include indices that are locally defined and determined by Indigenous peoples' aspirations, needs, and concerns, all within an ecologically sustainable manner and within the prism of respect for social justice, equity, and fundamental rights and freedoms (Dei & Lordan, 2016, p. xii).

Indeed, my suggestions for simultaneously shrinking the scope of development ambitions to the hyper-local while expanding notions of well-being, explained below, are intended to achieve these aims. Moreover, while Sen's capability approach sits within human development and is not an alternative *to* development, I committed to bringing his ideas into conversation with decolonial theory, and Dei and Lordan's suggestions help me to do so. Their reference to fundamental rights and freedoms echoes Sen's (1999) goal of advancing individuals' opportunities through enhancement of freedoms via the development of agency and capabilities. In addition, decolonial scholars, Sen, and critical

education scholars, such as Freire (2000), insist on the inseparability of theory or concepts and praxis. That is, it is not enough to theorize or create abstract conceptual models of what anti-colonial development could be; one must also commit to a decolonial praxis which actively undoes the harms of all forms of colonial domination as they exist and persist. In turn, these linkages of theory and praxis also align with tenets of *cosmovisión Andina*, which holds that practices which stem from that indigenous worldview also simultaneously translate beliefs into reality through community engagement and are based in reciprocity, interrelationships between everything, and complementarity.

Usefully, decolonial praxis functions just as effectively in the realm of education as it does in the realm of development; indeed, the two disciplines and practice areas are inextricably linked. Dei and Lordan (2016) note that

> The coloniality of education in the context of a global capitalist modernity raises critical concerns about the survival of Indigeneity…. With class and gender-based privileges being intertwined with the market economy, we see their impact in the academy, especially in terms of how higher education rewards the proximity to the West and its influence. The characterization of alternatives to neo-liberalism and its educational agenda is often presented as anti-intellectual or economically irresponsible (pp. xi-xii).

Because of these circumstances, the authors argue that "not much work has gone into the counter-visioning of education" (Dei & Lordan, 2016, p. xii). Yet this is precisely the intersection that I was hoping to address with this dissertation. Research about the nature of operation of alternatives *to* development must include a deep understanding of the ontological and epistemological bases of such alternatives and, in so doing, must return to the academy in order to argue that anti-colonial theory and decolonial praxis necessitates a decentering of Western epistemology so that 'alternatives' need no longer remain

alternatives, and so marginalized. At the same time, we can acknowledge the usefulness of what Sandy Grande calls "the politics of refusal" – that indigenous peoples exist to be, not to produce; and so a positive solidarity in the academy would assert indigenous ways of being and doing, rather than simply forward the false premise of inclusion (Grande, 2018, November). This is a lofty goal. As Paradies (2016) asks, "Can either decolonization or 'deep colonization'[27] preserve cultural distinctiveness beyond health and social disadvantage, leaving a 'virtuous circle' of indigeneity that intersects with, but isn't ruptured by, the colonial arrow of settlerhood progress?" (p. 93). Perhaps we can approach this, if we consider the implications from studies such as this one in three fundamental areas: community development work, conceptions of well-being, and teaching and research of development and health disciplines in U.S. higher education institutions.

Study Implications

The implications of this study are numerous, intertwined and, at times, seemingly contradictory, perhaps because the process and interpretation of decolonial research is simultaneously about resistance of dominant discourses and centering of marginalized discourses. First, I believe the study reinforces the need for a discourse and practice of development which centers the hyper-local, sometimes known as place-based development. I will show how hyper-local or place-based development is aligned with the epistemologies and praxis of indigenous knowledges and, further, that it represents a refusal of being coopted into discourses of sustainable or participatory development. Second, those working in health and development nonetheless need to expand their

[27] A term denoting colonialism hidden within purportedly progressive post-colonial discourse (Paradies, 2016).

notions of what constitutes well-being. This may seem a contradiction to the previous point: we must shrink the scale of the way in which we frame development and, at the same time, enlarge our ideas of what that development is meant to achieve. However, I do not believe these are opposing ideas; in fact, an enlargement of notions of well-being which is more aligned with notions of *sumak kawsay* counters the narrowmindedness of traditional economically-based notions of development. Third, and based on the previous two points, I argue that we must actively resist the single narrative of development and the single narrative of well-being in U.S. higher education institutions, which purport to teach (and research) holistic views of the disciplines in which these concepts are centered (e.g. global and public health, global education, and international development). Finally, I will outline the ways in which visual research methods hold unique possibilities for advancing active participation and additional understanding of indigenous knowledges of well-being and practices of hyper-local development. What all these implications share is a decidedly decolonial focus on the absolute necessity of coupling concepts *and* praxis in resistance to the status quo, whether that be in development practice, health practice, teaching practice, or research.

Hyper-Local, Place-Based Development

One definition of place-based development contends that it "is a holistic and targeted intervention that seeks to reveal, utilize, and enhance the unique natural, physical, and/or human capacity endowments present within a particular location for the development" of the local community and its environment (Markey, 2010, p. 2). Place-based development is nonetheless problematic as it often still centers development's ends economically, albeit while attempting to focus more on the unique local capacities, self-

governance goals, and culture of a specific locale (Markey, 2010). Moreover, this definition centers on intervention and implies a social capital orientation. Another, perhaps better, way of thinking of place-based development is that it centers on the "location of culture and the space of the people" (Huggins & Thompson, 2015, p. 135). The idea is that "place matters" in material ways to communities and their residents, including in "recognizing local assets, providing services in place, [accepting] governance of place, [and acknowledging that] identities [are] formed in place" (Reimer & Markey, 2008, p. 3). Regardless of the definition employed, place-based development is decidedly hyper-local. From this emerges its utility for an analysis of the important ways in which indigenous knowledges and practices can remain self-determined and self-managed in the context of community development.

Indigenous knowledges, including those produced by the co-researchers of this study in the context of *cosmovisión Andina*, are vitally grounded in a place and its history, "invariably locally and geographically specific" (Briggs, 2013, p. 232). As such, they are necessarily juxtaposed by development practitioners as impractical for their primary purpose: seeking "effective, and preferably immediate, interventions and solutions for poverty reduction" which can be scaled up from the local and replicated regionally or nationally (Briggs, 2013, p. 233). According to development practitioners, this hyper-local approach is not convenient, so they often turn to "participation" as a way of including indigenous peoples in the creation of broader development plans. However, this too has failed, as Enns and colleagues (2014) show in their paper describing the futile participatory consultation of indigenous peoples in the development of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. In fact, their analysis concludes that the United

Nations only made use of “consultation findings that lend credibility to mainstream discourses on development, as advocated by itself and other international organizations” while “tuning out alternative visions for development” (Enns, Bersaglio, & Kepe, 2014, p. 371). In fact these authors echo Briggs (2013) when they argue that the “problem with large-scale participatory methods is that they inevitably overlook micro-level conditions in order to generate globally comparable findings” (Enns, Bersaglio, & Kepe, 2014, p. 370). Given these challenges, the findings and analysis of this study would argue for continuing with, and expanding, the focus on hyper-local development. This implies a refusal to tacitly or explicitly align with the practice of what both Escobar (1995) and Mignolo and Walsh (2018) refer to as development’s “totalizing” discourses and claims. Insofar as *buen vivir* becomes a dominant ideology, it does not tolerate the dissent required in hyper-locality (Caria & Dominguez, 2016). The “innovative power of *buen vivir* and its difference from traditional development appear to lose much of their strength” when extrapolated from the local to the national level and beyond (Caria & Dominguez, 2016, p. 29). The “scaling up” of the notion, a desire so typical of the international development apparatus, renders the notion feeble and strips it of the history and particularity from which its power stems. Therefore focusing on development studies – including the ways in which they intersect with health and education – at the local level is likely to be the most effective way to understand, honor, and advance indigenous conceptions of the means and ends of development.

Expanding Notions of Well-Being

In all of the global and public health courses with which I have ever been involved, somewhere near the opening is a presentation and discussion of the definition

of health. Invariably, the World Health Organization's (WHO) 1946 definition is presented and debated: in it they claimed that health is "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (World Health Organization, 1946). Here we have the word *well-being*, modified by the adjectives physical, mental, and social. Critiques of the WHO's 73 year-old definition include (but are not limited to): the impossibility of achieving health using this definition (Huber, Knottnerus, Green, van der Horst, Jadad, et al, 2011); its "dichotomous reductionist worldview" (Sturmberg, 2013, p. 1); and its biomedically-centered conflation of disease with well-being (Evans, 2003; Huber, et al, 2011). These critiques leave out an important additional challenge with the WHO's definition (which still remains a part of many medical, nursing, and public health curricula today): it keeps health within the confines of the individual, ignoring the positive and negative influences of community. Indigenous worldviews, such as *cosmovisión Andina*, center not on the individual, but on the individual-in-community, with the needs of community, including the environment and non-human beings, positioned as paramount. As such, the WHO definition of health completely excludes the epistemological grounding of community as the center of well-being held in many indigenous traditions. Moreover, this and similar definitions of health ignore the interrelationships between humans and the environment and between humans and their culture.

The results of this study compel me to continue to argue that we need a much broader conception of well-being in the health and development disciplines. I purposefully say conception here and not definition. 'Conceptions' of well-being allow for fluidity and adjustment to hyper-local contexts. 'Conceptions' also acknowledge that

dominant biomedical definitions of health and well-being are centered in a Western epistemology which does not account for aspects of well-being which cannot be readily quantified, spied (even under a microscope), or measured. Very recently in the U.S. public health community, scholars have registered their concern that even population health – which is typically focused on collaborative health promotion and disease prevention with groups or communities – is being appropriated by private and biomedical interests chiefly concerned about "managing the health care use, costs, and outcomes of the populations for which they are financially responsible" (Lantz, 2018, para. 4). Doing so leads to medicalization and an emphasis on "programs and services…aimed at the individual [and]…responding to rather than preventing health risks and problems" (Lantz, 2018, para. 9 and 10). Thus U.S. population health (including through its educational programs) continues to be coopted by powerful medical and insurance interests and appropriated to fit their neoliberal goals, while abandoning the messy work of collaborating, contextualizing, and examining multiple systems which contribute to health, all of which a more complex conception of well-being would require.

It would be relatively easy to argue that all cultures contain an aspect of embodiment; it is key to the way that culture works (Di Paolo & De Jaegher, 2017; Fuchs, 2017). The ideal of well-being which emerged as embodied in this study may be juxtaposed to ideas of well-being in many Western cultures in which well-being is understood primarily intellectually. For instance, in the United States I often observe that we believe we can understand well-being by breaking it down into its component parts and working to achieve goals on each of those, so that we are constantly striving for an accomplishment-based wellness. The same rationale underpins various health and

development indices, such as the Human Development Index, in which development practitioners attempt to combine distinct measures of poverty and its outcomes into one all-explaining number, by which nations and communities can then be ranked and compared. This is very different than the holistic embodied understanding of how to have well-being that emerged from the co-researchers' photographs and discussions. Such indices perpetuate an ahistorical, acontextual vision at a scale that perpetuates action at a distance so removed as to render the embodied realities of community members an abstract imaginary.

Expanding our conceptions of well-being would more readily enable the ability to respond to unique challenges to well-being which stem from community changes. This points back to an important limitation of Sen's (1999) capability approach, as noted by DeJaeghere (2018) in her study of girls' agency in Tanzania: "how agency is embodied and enacted from a capability perspective is quite limited because it focuses on the ability to access information and act on one's resources…[whereas] the analysis uncovers a generative habitus occurring through everyday practices – dispositions and reflections that both incorporate and respond to historically situated and socially embedded structures" (pp. 250-251). This seems to support my assertions that hyper-local community development, with its attention to context and history, coupled with an expanded view of well-being large enough to encompass notions such as human-community and human-environment *embodied intersubjectivity* as centered in *cosmovisión Andina*, are both critical findings of this study. As discussed in Chapter Five, one of the deeply-felt concerns of several co-researchers centered on what would happen to their community as a result of changes to community participation processes. These

changes encompassed changing youth participation as well as out-migration and issues (or fears) of delinquency and mental health concerns. A broader conception of well-being would allow us to see these as very real threats to well-being grounded in an epistemological orientation which centers community. Recognizing this, as well as the ways in which this worldview is embodied, extends the realm of possibility of both health and development practice so that it intersects with global community psychology.

Global community psychology was first posited in the late 1990s by Anthony Marsella (1998). It refers to "a superordinate or meta-psychology concerned with understanding, assessing, and addressing the individual and collective psychological consequences of global events and forces by encouraging and using multicultural, multidisciplinary, multisectoral, and multinational knowledge, methods, and interventions" (Marsella, 1998, p. 1284). Based on this definition, the concept aligns nicely with other key groundings of this study, including the ideas of globalization and postmodernism and the neoliberal, neocolonial development changes they have introduced; the importance of community relations in both *cosmovisión Andina* and hyper-local or place-based development; and the argument I make (below) about the need for breaking down disciplinary silos in U.S. higher education. Furthermore, Marsella (1998) notes that his conception of global community psychology also draws upon and "encourages the development of non-Western psychologies" while acknowledging that "the political, economic, and military power of Western nations disguises much of Western psychology under a coat of universal applicability when it is, in fact, largely culturally specific" (p. 1286). At the same time, it would not be necessary to adopt a Western theory of community wellness such as Marsella's global community psychology

if we were willing to expand our ideas of well-being beyond the individual and into the spaces of social interaction centered in community and valued according to other ontologies and epistemologies. This outlook towards the interaction of individual and collective processes involving social-emotional stressors – no matter how we shift to it – is important is because characteristics and consequences of globalization exert changes that are increasingly unpredictable and happening with considerable speed (Marsella, 1998).

More recently, similar ideas have been used by scholars to explain community mental health changes as a result of climate change (Fritze, Blashki, Burke, & Wiseman, 2008). The effects of climate change in this area described by Fritze and colleagues (2008) are similar to those I heard co-researchers express in their struggle to make sense of changes to community norms and participation as a result of development: social exclusion, the effects of displacement, and changes to economic livelihoods, increasing violence, and distress over environmental threats. Solutions proposed for mental health concerns stemming from global climate change also seem relevant to those stemming from community effects of globalization which threatens worldview and well-being: incorporating environmental concerns into individual mental health and wellness programs and the use of group therapies and community resilience building (Fritze, Blashki, Burke, & Wiseman, 2008). Elsewhere, Ellison (1997) has argued that changes from globalization have also affected the ways in which we talk about citizenship and belonging. He writes that "citizenship needs to be understood as an integral component of a reflexive process in which social agents are confronted by a rapidly changing economic, social and political environment in a manner which prompts a constant questioning and

renegotiation of forms of solidarity and identity" (Ellison, 1997, p. 698). Similarly, DeJaeghere (2014) has researcherd how these notions of changing citizenship apply to youth, whose participation has been noted by this study's co-researchers as critical and yet waning in community life. In the context of her Tanzanian study she notes, "the inclusion of…young people in new social networks and community life is not only for their own purposes of getting ahead through a job; these relationships also reconfigure civil society… Civic life has not commonly included these youth who are portrayed as 'at risk…'" (DeJaeghere, 2014, p. 236). This brings to mind the worries of co-researchers about youth taking a "wrong path" juxtraposed with the latent possibilities that lie in engaging youth with various forms of incentivized participation. Again, these orientations echo the importance of praxis. What these various frames for collective identity and solidarity have in common is that they all ask us to be aware of the community effects of well-being that result from changes in macro-level phenomena such as globalization, (neoliberal-influenced) community development, intergenerational dynamics, and international relations.

In this study, the ways in which these feelings of community unease manifested were very subtle. Co-researchers often described change within their communities as simply a sense of something being not quite right that was hard to articulate or make seen. Then there are larger, more obvious changes that are "wrong" that people can easily point to (e.g. too much pollution in the capital; the close proximity of new *florícolas* to an archeological heritage site). They can explain "this is not correct" but sometimes struggle to articulate what precisely is incorrect about it. Occasionally a co-researcher summoned a metaphor to explain this ephemeral feeling, such as in the case of Ana from

Malchinguí's allegory of "promise and destruction" (see Chapter Five) or Juanito of Malchinguí's poetic captioning of a photo of tree stumps as "*Sombras que van dejando el ser humano en busca del progreso*" ("Shadows that are stopping human beings in search of progress") (see Chapter Four). It seemed to me that co-researchers struggled to explain these embodied feelings of force disturbance. They might have said "it's just not right" as in the case of "Yoli" and the conflict between the bus drivers and the trees. Or they might have looked at what appears to be an open field and say "this land is abandoned" because they could see on it what it used to be or what it could be and were combining that vision with the loss felt by its present non-state (as in the case of "Josecito" in Tupigachi).

Using a lens of global community psychology or a lens of changing notions of citizenship in postmodernity might help those in health and community development fields to better acknowledge the ways in which community-grounded socioemotional changes manifest in a community where *SK/BV* provides a set of organizing beliefs about well-being. Some community members may respond to the changes they are seeing by re-grounding themselves in their rituals, their worldview, and their feelings of what is right, calling upon the axis of the past (*uku pacha*) within *cosmovisión Andina*. Others may feel an odd sense of foreboding or uncertainty or not know what steps to take next; in this case, this is a very real threat to community-conditioned well-being. From my time in Ecuador, I would characterize the feeling expressed by some co-researchers as a special kind of sociocultural and physical disconnection which positions the community member as floating in a space between the usual embodied "I know what to do" and the unconscious assessment that "what I used to know to do might not work anymore" or "my responses are becoming increasingly irrelevant and so I don't know what else to do."

I do not believe that there is currently a way of explaining such a concept in typical Western biomedical teachings about health and well-being. Therefore, additional models such as those of global community psychology, new reflexive citizenship and participation, and acknowledgement of the collective community consequences of global phenomena such as climate change are increasingly relevant and needed.

Resisting the Single Epistemology of U.S. Higher Education

As I introduced in Chapter One, it was my hope that the findings (and processes) of this study would serve to influence the scope of our teaching about international development in U.S. higher education and the ways in which we currently socialize young adults within our higher education systems to reproduce neocolonial North-South relationships. Included in these challenges are the notions – difficult to notice and harder to grasp onto in order to change, as they are often part of the "hidden curriculum" – that we are preparing "experts" in health, education, and development. The implication of this belief is that the knowledge produced and conveyed at U.S. universities is the correct knowledge and that the ways of reasoning about problems – even the power to decide what counts as a problem – is implicitly secured in the "correct" epistemological foundation. I have come to think of this as a version of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's (2009) admonition about the danger of a single story. What is carefully hidden in U.S. higher education, and yet clearly apparent from a critical theory perspective, is the danger of a single epistemology.

I will not review the challenges of epistemic violence that stem from the danger of the single epistemology, as I discussed these in Chapter One and grounded my study, in

part, in a South American epistemology in order to counter what Santos (2014) describes below:

> The relation between knowing and acting has lost its general character and been reduced to the relation between knowledge validated by modern science and rational social engineering. As a result, all that was arbitrarily conceived of as being outside this highly intellectualized and rationalized field was ignored or stigmatized (p. 5).

With this as a basis, here I would like to comment briefly on the implications of my study in terms of how U.S. higher education could change as a result of it. I came to this PhD program with nearly a decade of teaching experience in higher education. Yet I am a reluctant academic, for a number of reasons. My first degree is in nursing and I teach within a College of Nursing at a mid-size, private comprehensive institution in the Pacific Northwest. When I finish this PhD, I will have earned three degrees in three different disciplines; this makes me a bit of an outsider. As a practical matter, it is nearly impossible to operate in an interdisciplinary way within U.S. higher education due to its pervasive siloing of disciplines and their hiring, evaluation, assignment, and tenure and promotion systems. Even the idea of disciplines is a classical development grounded in the Enlightenment and "cultural world views which are either antagonistic to other belief systems or have no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems" (Smith, 2012, p. 68). In addition, and perhaps more damaging, it is difficult for students in many disciplines to be exposed to others. In the health professions in particular, the curriculum is often inflexible, highly sequenced, and high stakes; it rarely leaves room for students to develop other areas of their intellect. The result of this is that students become more and more entrenched in believing that the way in which they are socialized to solve problems is the only and correct way. (See my discussion of this within nursing education in

Chapter Three.) As Chambers (2017) puts it, “disciplinary training and university and other education, however beneficial they are, can be seen as a form of indoctrination which moulds mindsets and embeds words, concepts, and ways of constructing the world” (Chapter 3, Section 2). Some of this may be argued (by some of my colleagues, for instance) to be necessary in order to prepare safe and quality healthcare professionals, especially in disciplines which culminate with standardized exams that guard entry into the profession. Nevertheless, I have argued and continue to argue that we do a great disservice to the complexity of reality when we ignore or pay lip service to other ways of thinking and doing, and also when we divorce thinking and doing as if they are unrelated.

Of course, none of this accounting of reality helps us to solve the danger of the single epistemology. If we assume that most disciplines taught in U.S. higher education are based on Enlightenment era principles of “rational” thought then those who argue for the insertion of other epistemologies can be deemed to be “irrational.” One encouraging development has appeared recently. Since I began this PhD program, student-led movements within U.S. college and university campuses to decolonize the curriculum have grown tremendously. The decolonize (or, decolonise) curriculum movement came into global awareness beginning in 2015 in South Africa (Council on Higher Education, 2017). From there it has spread to much of the globe, certainly to locations which were colonized and to the colonial powers for self-examination. In the United States, the #BlackLivesMatter movement beginning in 2013 and the Standing Rock protests between April 2016 and February 2017 helped to galvanize latent momentum among university students already discontent with the single narrative they were receiving. Movements to decolonize curriculum “can be broadly understood as an umbrella term for diverse efforts

to resist the distinct but intertwined processes of colonization and racialization, to enact transformation and redress in reference to the historical and ongoing effects of these processes, and to create and keep alive modes of knowing, being, and relating that these processes seek to eradicate" (Stein & De Oliveira Andreotti, 2016, p. 1). Decolonize curriculum movements vary in their assessments of and approaches to the issues they seek to ameliorate; on a continuum from least to most radical, their demands include: proportional representation of indigenous and racialized students and faculty within institutions; supplementation or substitution of existing curricula with non-Western perspectives; acknowledgment and remediation of the harms of systematized racialization and colonization within the institution; and refusal of and appropriation of resources from the university in order to create alternatives and imagine new decolonial futures (Stein & De Oliveira Andreotti, 2016). More simply put, the movements are about demands to change content, change how the content is taught, and change understandings of whose knowledge it is and whose counts (Council on Higher Education, 2017).

This work within (and beyond) U.S. higher education is, in my view, critical to the premise of this study and to the data implications pointing to refusal. The single epistemological narrative of higher education continues to do damage to colonized and racialized bodies – its students, its faculty, and its extended communities – and continues to recreate the matrix of colonial power upon which it rests. Thus we must, as Dei (2000) writes, constantly "challenge imperial ideologies and colonial relations of production, which continually characterize and shape academic practices" (p. 113). In addition, the work of decolonizing the curriculum must itself integrate our ways of being and doing in a more holistic way than may typically be the case in higher education. Decolonization of

education must "address in particular the colonization of the mind, of knowledge, language, and culture, and the impacts of colonization at personal and collective levels of physical, emotional, spiritual, psychological, and intellectual experience" (Pratt, Louie, Hanson, & Ottmann, 2018, p. 1).

In Ecuador, a partner in several local development projects in Pedro Moncayo was the *Pluriversidad Amawtay Wasi*. Through attending meetings with their representatives and inquiring about their origins, I was introduced to the concept of a pluriversity. *Amawtay Wasi* was founded in 2013 by the Higher Intercultural and Community Higher Education group of the Indigenous Movement of Ecuador, based on indigenous epistemology (*Pluriversidad Amawtay Wasi*, 2019). The *pluriversidad* recognizes, in its mission that, "traditionally, higher education in the country has been based on reasoning from a Western Eurocentric way of thinking, by the work of and thanks to the colonization of knowledge" (*Pluriversidad Amawtay Wasi*, 2019). The possibility of and need for a pluriversity can be explained by the argument that

> "there is a significant tension around the purportedly universal nature of institutions like colleges and universities and the demand for inclusion within them by those that are consistently deemed categorically particular, such that their inclusion remains conditional and premised on degrees of difference in reference to a university standard. In response, some have advocated for the need to reimagine the *uni*-versity as a *pluri*-versity" (Stein & De Oliveira Andreotti, 2016, p. 4, emphasis in original)

Here I read the intersection of the refusal inherent in decolonial praxis and the possibility opened by widening the scope of our epistemological gaze.

Possibilities in Visual Research Methods

One of the great opportunities I had during this study was to explore, apply, and analyze the possibilities of visual research methods. I first became aware of photovoice as

a research method during studies for my Master of Public Health degree. When it became clear that my research questions and study site for this dissertation would lend themselves to investigation by photovoice, I was beyond excited. I have been privileged to have parents who have introduced my sister and me to art and other creative and physical manifestations of culture in our numerous moves. I have always had a love for the possibility of expression through the visual arts; the use of participatory photography by the co-researchers in this study at once delved me deeper into the complexity of visual research and demonstrated to me its many promises and challenges.

My focus here is, of course, on photography; a full review of the ways in which photography, photographers, and their social locations intersect is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of what I can cover here. However, I will argue that photography is uniquely suited to investigating questions related to sociocultural meaning and I will discuss the ways in which the implications of this statement emerged in my study and have relevance for future work. Bourdieu (1990) argues that "photography should be the object of a reading that may be called sociological" and thus claims that the "photograph is a real sociogram" (p. 22, p. 23). Numerous authors (Berger, 1977; Bourdieu, 1990; Rose, 2016) point to the fact that the photograph is always a representation of the decisions and sociocultural position of the photographer, whether or not it is read in that same way by any of myriad audiences who may later view it. The fact that the photograph is, as Berger (1977) would put it, a reflection of the "ways of seeing" of its maker, is part of its utility for visual research. Returning to Bourdieu (1990): "what is photographed and what is perceived by the reader of the photograph is not, properly speaking, individuals in their capacity of individuals, but social roles, the husband…the soldier, or social

relationships…" (p. 24). Therefore, photographs as visual research data can be read and interpreted as slices of social life, social interrelationships, and the importance of these, therefore giving insight into their meanings.

In addition, there is an ability afforded by the camera to capture the timeliness of a particular phenomenon. Berger (1977) writes "the camera showed the notion of time passing was inseparable from the experience of the visual…what you saw depended upon where you were when. What you saw was relative to your position in time and space" (p. 18). This was evidenced in my study through the ability of co-researchers to demonstrate changes in *SK/BV* over time and through the lens of their own experiences, individual and shared. They were able to leverage their position in time and space, both now and as it had been, to lend insight into changes in an embodied phenomena. The ability of photography as a medium to convey this richness is somewhat unique. Further, photography manifests the agency of the photographer, an important point in a study focused, in part, on capabilities and their workings within community engagement. In his essay *Understanding a Photograph*, Berger (1968) states the importance of this clearly:

> Photographs bear witness to a human choice being exercised in a given situation. A photograph is the result of the photographer's decision that it is worth recording that this particular event or this particular object has been seen….A photograph celebrates neither the event itself nor the faculty of sight in itself. A photograph is already a message about the event it records. The urgency of this message is not entirely dependent on the urgency of the event, but neither can it be entirely independent from it. At its simplest, the message, decoded, means: *I have decided that seeing this is worth recording* (p. 25, emphasis in the original).

In addition, photography is accessible. Bourdieu (1990), in a rather classist set of arguments, nonetheless notes that "unlike fully consecrated artistic activities, such as painting or music, photographic practice is considered accessible to everyone, from both

the technical and the economic viewpoints, and those involved in it do not feel they are being measured against an explicit and codified system defining legitimate practice…" (p. 7). Indeed, from its first conception, photovoice has been referred to as a "practice based on the production of knowledge" by those closest to the issues under investigation (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 369). Numerous authors (Delgado, 2015; PhotoVoice, 2016; Wang & Burris, 1994; Wang & Burris, 1997; Wang, Burris, & Ping, 1996, among others) have lauded these aspects of photovoice: that it is accessible, enables traditionally marginalized individuals to amplify their voices, and provides multiple perspectives. As such, participatory photography as a research method may also be considered to achieve decolonial aims, turning research subjects into co-researchers, in charge of what becomes data, why, and how the data are presented and discussed. That is, photographs can contest the dominant (postmodern) discourse when it enables us to acknowledge that "there are different ways of seeing the world, and the critical task is to differentiate between the social effects of those different visions" (Rose, 2016, pp. 14-15).

Images can also capture social power relations, which was another important aspect of this study and is certainly relevant in other studies of global health and development at a community level. Rose (2016) cites the work of Fyfe and Law in this regard:

> To understand a visualization is thus to enquire into its provenance and into the social work that it does. It is to note its principles of inclusion and exclusion, to detect the roles that it makes available, to understand the way in which they are distributed, and to decode the hierarchies and differences that it naturalizes (Fyfe and Law, 1998, p. 1, as cited in Rose, 2016, p. 17).

These differentiations emerged in my study through discussions of the ways in which community participation manifested at – and was incentivized by – community members,

groups, and levels of government. The ability of photographs to reveal roles, positions, and contestations reveals another important characteristic of photography for research: it provides an opportunity to explicitly note the different points of view that come from the photographer and the photograph's audience(s). As Rose (2016) notes, "the seeing of an image…always takes place in a particular social context which mediates its impact" (p. 20). Likewise, Bourdieu (1990) writes, "the group places [photographic] practice under its collective rule, so that the most trivial photograph expresses, apart from the explicit intentions of the photographer, the system of schemes of perception, thought and appreciation common to a whole group" (p. 6). Or not. For even the exposure to incongruities within this utopian conception of group-think is instructive. I claim this is a particular strength of participatory photography, in contrast to more typical uses of photography in ethnographic research, in which the researcher herself decides what is important to photograph. In participatory photography, misunderstandings or misconceptions – even unexamined biases and stereotypes – are laid bare in the revelation of different photographic choices and interpretations of the visual images presented by co-researchers. Through this form of investigation, researchers can uncover meanings. Berger (1968) writes that "a photograph is effective when the chosen moment which it records contains a quantum of truth which is generally applicable, which is as revealing about what is absent from the photograph as about what is present in it" (p. 26).

Of course, a good part of these truth revelations stems from the selection and discussion of the photographic images produced. "Photographs in themselves do not narrate," as Berger notes (1978, p. 48). Rose (2016), in her review of the key themes of visual culture, notes that "visual images very often work in conjunction with other kinds

of representations" specifying that "it is very unusual…to encounter a visual image unaccompanied by any text at all, whether spoken or written" (p. 21). Photovoice itself insists on this, noting the best practice of never separating the images produced by co-researchers from their titles and descriptions of those images (PhotoVoice, 2016). In this study, co-researchers' individual and group commentary often uncovered various layers of meaning which contextualized the photographer's intentions and helped the viewer interpret the similarities and differences between and among photos, in the case of the group presentations. These group conversations were especially straightforward, I believe because of the concrete prompt of the images to serve as a jumping off point for deeper discussions about abstract concepts, such as *SK/BV,* participation, and loss. According to Bourdieu (1990),

> Discourse in the privileged site for the affirmation of differences, because the desire for self-distinction is more easily accomplished by affirmations of principle than by real practice, because…the external forms and the superficial appearance of behavior are easier to communication than its deeper underlying attitudes (p. 63).

Because of this, photographs can serve as a gateway into beliefs (individually) and belief systems (collectively) in that they capture a moment in time – a behavior, a scene, a service – and through the presentation of the image, open a pathway for discussion about those deeper underlying attitudes. As a form of participatory – and sometimes, action – research, photovoice also has the potential to align with Sen's (1999) notions of enhancing capabilities and advancing freedoms insofar as the method facilitates individuals to "come into being in a common project" (Walker, 2018, p. 66). In addition, blurring the lines of authority between co-researchers and those from academia can

facilitate the creation of “spaces of solidarity” (Ruiz Sánchez, Pardo Gaviria, De Ferrari, Savage, & Documet, 2018, p. 69).

Through the individual and group interviews I conducted in this study, the photographs captured by the co-researchers help to both *reveal and create* meaning. This, I believe, links closely to embodiment. Photography is an embodied process in that one learns how to manipulate the camera and to use it as a tool in one’s daily life, as a form of simultaneous reflection and story-telling. Collective memory, part of embodiment and enaction discussed in Chapter Four, also intersects with photography. Rose (2016) goes so far as to claim that the literature on visual culture would characterize the photograph itself as having an ability to speak and an agency. Interestingly, from my decolonial perspective and in the context of the discussion in the previous section above, she writes that in this way “an image is at least potentially a site of resistance and recalcitrance” (Rose, 2016, p. 21). Even if we do not go so far as personifying the image, we can see how this potential within the framework of visual culture could be usefully leveraged by co-researchers inhabiting a decolonial perspective that involves resisting their subjugation to researchers and Western research practices. Moreover, the decision-making power about which images to select and discuss lies with co-researchers which, for indigenous groups, is significant. As the organizers of an indigenous film festival noted, “to be curators allows us to rearrange. To contribute allows us to re-think, to dismantle, to decolonize…[to produce] a constant translation of methodologies, logics, values, for diverse audiences, often in emerging and intercultural contexts” (Cordova, 2018, para. 14).

Limitations

In this section I will review the methodological limitations of my study, as well as the limitations of the study's findings. I will discuss how we might interpret these limitations and what I did to confront them. In addition, I will suggest how these limitations might be addressed with future research.

Methodological Limitations

Ethnography

Some limitations or research evaluation considerations are specific to the methodology of ethnography. Ethnography involves cycles of observations, interaction, and interpretation. Researcher participation and observation is affected by insider-outsider dynamics or, less dichotomously, the "space between" insider and outsider, as discussed by Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009). These same authors note that qualitative researchers position themselves "from the standpoint of being 'with' our participants. The 'with' is in 'relation to' our participants and can suggest a tensioned space" (Corbin Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 60). Based on my assessments of my three visits to Ecuador (totaling four and a half months), and feedback from both community partners and co-researchers, my efforts at building trust and rapport with various persons at Cimas, within the *mancomunidad*, and within the rural communities were overwhelmingly positive. Having a trusting and continually reflective working relationship with community members was vital to managing the ethnographic limitation which stemmed from the challenges of insider-outsider dynamics. My own researcher reflexivity (as evidenced by 81 pages of typed research reflections over the various visits) and the effort I put into thinking through the various implications of my social location was also helpful. With regard to visual ethnography specifically, it is important to acknowledge that the use of

photographs within research publications can be considered “part of a strategy to convince the reader and to position the ethnographer as an authoritative voice within the text” (Pink, 2013, p. 169). Thus, I have centered Chapters Four and Five in the co-researchers’ own photographs and words, allowing them to speak. This was a benefit of photovoice in countering this limitation: it shifts power and representation to co-researchers by making them the authors of their own work, including the titles and caption of each photograph, thus insulating the data somewhat from possible researcher misinterpretation.

Photovoice

Additional limitations arise from the use of photovoice. Photovoice has the potential to generate a large volume of data, with photographic images, photographers’ titles and captions of these images, large group discussions of photographic themes, and individual interviews for clarification; this was clearly the case in my study, as can be seen in Appendix I. In order to address this volume of data and assure that data were not lost or overlooked in the analysis, I developed an a priori processes to organize and manage data electronically; later use of Atlas.ti also assisted with this (Delgado, 2015; PhotoVoice, 2016).

Hergenrather, et al (2009), write that “photovoice methodology minimizes the potential for the researcher’s preconceived [notions] to override those of the community” but that this needs to be accounted for in a clear outlining of the “researcher in a process-facilitating role” which “creates a shared commitment by the researcher and community members, accessing the wealth of assets community members bring to…create knowledge” (p. 695). Hence, the extensive discussion in Chapter Three about research positionality, ethics, and data collection and analysis processes. Similarly, Catalini and

Minkler (2010) note that a weakness of published photovoice studies is that the researchers rarely include "essential information about how [they] went from photographs to findings" (p. 447). Of note, Powers and Freedman (2012) indicate that the "data analysis phase…was identified as an area with greater potential risks for the researchers' voices to overshadow participants' voices" and recommend caution in this phase to assure that "participants' voices are truly heard" (p. 96). Steps I have taken to address these potential limitations include (1) the non-negotiable pairing of co-researcher photographs with their own titles and captions for the photographs, (2) the steps taken around co-researcher choice of the use of a pseudonym or their real name, and (3) detailed review of the image use consent and its implications with co-researchers. Still, in writing the physical dissertation, I was the one who selected the photos to include, based on the results produced by the analysis. However, I focused exclusively on the photos which the co-researchers had already selected from their entire body of work to discussion further, title, and caption. Of these, I ended up using the 105 of 295 (35%) to narrate the findings in the dissertation. I expect that additional research, publications, and community application of the study data not included in this dissertation will be forthcoming. Finally, the detailed documentation of the design of this study and the embedding of photovoice within the larger context of ethnography (see Chapter Three), which contains elements of participant observation and field notes, was an attempt to address potential gaps and risks resulting from the limitations of photovoice by providing pathways for objectivity/confirmability and internal validity (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014).

This study was influenced by community-based participatory research (CBPR) and photovoice is a participatory method. However, this study was not considered 'action research' in the way in which photovoice is often characterized (Catalini & Minkler, 2010; Hergenrather, et al, 2009; PhotoVoice, 2016; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). While photovoice may (and did) result in the individual and collective empowerment of participants, in the course of the participatory data collection and analysis, this does not always nor easily translate into social change (Powers & Freedman, 2012) and was not a goal of this research. However, in keeping with the participatory ideals of this research, the photographs and other data produced in this study were jointly managed by and remain available to me, the co-researchers, and the organizational study partners (Cimas and the *mancomunidad*). As such, the participants and partners are free to use the data at any time in the future to influence community change outside of the scope of the research study itself. Since the conclusion of the study, I have been contacted by one co-researcher in Tupigachi who asked for me to send her a particular photo she had taken of the road in poor condition after rains ("*No Es El Camino Bueno*"); I did so and asked what she planned to use it for, but I did not receive a reply. In presenting preliminary data analysis to my partners at Cimas in Mar 2018, Drs. Suárez-Torres and López Paredes were eager to explore the findings more and even suggested the potential for longitudinal follow-up with the co-researchers in order to contextualize the findings in a longer timeframe.

Another CBPR-related limitation lies in the fact that my research timeline did not permit me to return to have the data analysis reviewed, validated, or edited by the co-researchers. In the case of Malchinguí, where I collected data in summer 2017, I was able to present preliminary analysis of findings to the co-researchers and the parish *GAD* and

mancomunidad presidents in winter 2018; though that data presentation was not without controversy, the co-researchers themselves shared that they felt their ideas and discussions were accurately represented in the presentation. In winter 2018, I also attempted to present the preliminary data analysis to the co-researchers and community leaders from Tupigachi, but no one showed up to the meeting which Vicky and I had arranged with the help of the *GAD* parish secretary. Once my defense is complete, my plan is to summarize the study findings, by parish, and send brief, parish-specific reports to each of the *GAD* parish presidents and an all-parish summary to the members of the *mancomunidad* and *Fundación Cimas*.

Cross-language research

Additional methodological limitations are inherent in cross-language research. Conducting research in a country different from one's own entailed challenges of insider-outsider dynamics, as well as both cultural and linguistic ambiguity and interpretation. After the January 2017 pre-fieldwork visit, I maintained my intention to conduct the research described in this study using my own Spanish language skills.[28] However, knowing a language does not completely address issues of interpretation of meaning between Kichwa and Spanish, and between Spanish and English, as discussed in Chapter Two with the example of translations of *sumak kawsay* and *buen vivir*. LeCompte and Preissle (1993) note that "in-depth understanding of culture requires near-native fluency in the language as well as extensive and intensive participant observation" (pp. 94-95).

[28] In all of Ecuador, it is estimated that approximately half a million people speak Kichwa; however, a growing number are Kichwa-Spanish bilingual regardless of rural-urban location and class (Howard, 2011). According to Cimas, nearly all potential participants in the study site are Spanish-Kichwa bilingual. I found this to be the case: all of the recruited co-researchers spoke fluent Spanish, whether or not they also spoke some Kichwa.

I wrote a bit about my Spanish language experience in childhood in Chapter Three when discussing my social location, but for the purposes of this section, I think it is important to provide more context. I grew up hearing Spanish in my household, though informally, as a sort of "novelty." My mother does not speak Spanish and therefore I do not believe there was ever any serious consideration of raising my sister and me as bilingual English-Spanish speakers despite the opportunity to do so stemming from my father's bilingualism. Nevertheless, Spanish idioms, songs, and words peppered my weekly existence and I believe that contributed to my "ear" for Spanish. I studied Spanish for four years in high school and another two in college, and then went on to real-life study through my daily work with Spanish speakers and Spanish interpreters as a public health nurse early in my career. A fully English-Spanish bilingual friend who studies linguistic self-esteem suggested to me that I float in an odd zone between first (L1) and second (L2) language acquisition, fitting neatly into neither, and I would tend to agree. There are parts of Spanish that I have acquired (as an L1 speaker would) and many parts which I have consciously learned (as an L2 learner would) (Hulya, 2009). It would be interesting to study the issue of research by individuals who occupy this linguistic in-between space in the future.

Throughout my data collection time in Ecuador, I made every effort to consult with local native speakers and to check interpretations/translations with co-researchers in order to assure fidelity to their intended meanings. Still, there were several times in which translation of co-researcher photo titles, captions, and interview transcripts were challenging. This is because "translation is not a case of choosing words from dictionaries but is about making decisions on equivalence" (Temple, Edwards, &

Alexander, 2006, p. 14). Decisions about equivalence, in turn, are steeped in the researcher's understanding of "the way language is tied to social realities, to literary forms and to changing identities" (Simon, 1996, p. 137, as quoted in Temple, Edwards, & Alexander, 2006, p. 14). Words often have multiple meanings and understandings in many languages (like Spanish, and unlike English) are highly context-dependent. Further, "one of the difficulties of translating from a source language to a target language is encountered when an equivalent for the source language [word(s)] is not found in the target language" (Lopez, Figueroa, Connor, & Maliski, 2008, p. 1735). In these cases, I consulted multiple texts and personal resources, applied my own recollection of the context, and made my best educated translation, often noting the possible ambiguity in the writing itself. This latter practice is referred to by Lopez and colleagues (2008) as "contextual translation" (p. 1734).

There was also the thorny issue of crossing back and forth between Spanish and English during the writing phase of the dissertation. As the aforementioned authors note, researchers are "expected to produce easy-to-read English texts in which the process of production is not apparent" (Temple, Edwards, & Alexander, 2006, p. 16). In order to avoid challenges of "translatese" (Spivak, 1993, p. 399) and "domestication" of co-researcher words and intentions (Ventuti, 1998), whenever possible I tried to block multiple consecutive days to work on translation and writing, which minimized the start-up time of changing back and forth between Spanish and English which I hope would help increase fidelity and decrease errors. I also made a conscious decision, described in Chapter Three, to maintain the data in Spanish throughout the analysis and writing phases, only creating translations at the time of writing the manuscript. In addition, I used

a variety of Spanish-English translation resources and had a natively bilingual English-Spanish speaker check my translations of co-researcher data presented in Chapters Four and Five. Despite all of these actions, there are still often disagreements among fluent Spanish speakers about meanings associated with words and translation involves decisions and interpretations that are always at least partly individualized. However, I take full and sole responsibility for any errors in translation.

Finding Limitations

Data quality

Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) write that qualitative data and the quality of conclusions based on that data are grounded in (1) objectivity/confirmability, (2) reliability/dependability, (3) internal validity/authenticity, (4) external validity/transferability, and (5) utilization/application. I will briefly discuss my possible data limitations and steps taken to address them in each of these areas; a separate section on external validity and transferability follows. With regard to objectivity/confirmability (1), a key starting point is to acknowledge that researcher biases exist and to be as explicit as possible about the study design, data collection and analysis procedures, and links between conclusions and displayed data. I have minimized limitations from this source through my detailed Chapter Three and the data presentations in Chapters Four and Five, as well as my discussion of positionality and this discussion of limitations.

Reliability and dependability (2) refers to the consistency of the study over time and across methods, especially in the processes for investigating the research questions across different parishes and rounds. I documented the procedures developed for the summer 2017 data collection period with Tupigachi and Malchinguí meticulously to

facilitate their replication with La Esperanza and Tocachi in winter 2018; in addition, the same key partners in Ecuador were involved. Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) also note that reliability requires that “basic paradigms and analytic constructs are clearly specified,” that is, that theory is linked back to data, as done in my analysis of data in the context of each of my theoretical and conceptual frameworks, above (p. 312).

Internal validity/authenticity (3) is what Miles and colleagues (2014) call “the truth value” or “a persuasively written account” of the study findings (pp. 312-313). Whether my account of the research rings true is to be decided by each reader and, more importantly, by the co-researchers and research partners themselves. I did my best to write ethnographically and include “thick descriptions,” including adequate context and co-researcher meaning. With all ethnographies, I believe it is important to remember that such “writings are themselves interpretations” and that “cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete” (Geertz, 1973, p. 15; p. 29). However, I triangulated data from multiple sources and attempted to unify data that was systematically related. A limitation was the consideration of rival explanations, though the differences among parishes and among co-researchers in a parish often spurred this (internal or explicit) debate for considerations of alternative understandings.

Finally, utilization and application (5) was an area of limitation in this study. As I explained above, this study was specifically not framed as action research. However, I included aspects of action potential in the introductory photovoice workshop and in the closing ceremony where participants were asked to generate ideas about potential future uses of their photographs and new skills in their communities going forward. Between the first and second data collection periods it became clear that it would be useful to include

a one-page written summary of specific action-oriented steps, post-research, to share with co-researchers. So for La Esperanza and Tocachi in winter 2018, the co-researchers received in their recognition folders a one-page sheet which outlined the steps for a photovoice exhibition (in Spanish) and was used as the basis for a discussion about this possible use of the photographs in their communities (see Appendix L).

External validity/transferability

External validity and transferability (4) is limited in qualitative research and in ethnography. In fact, external generalizability is not a starting premise or goal of such research. Despite this, as Yin (2013) notes, such studies may result in valuable analytical generalizability. Analytical generalizability may be based "on either (a) corroborating, modifying, rejecting, or otherwise advancing theoretical concepts that you reference in designing [the] study, or (b) new concepts that arose upon the completion of [the] study" (Yin, 2013). A critical intersection of this issue can be seen in Wang and Burris' (1997) initial discussion of the idea of validation in photovoice. They describe two kinds of replication which can be used in the data collection and analysis phases to help clarify issues of representation and prioritization of emerging themes. Internal replication "means that the findings may be validated by other remarks from a single source" while external replication "means that the findings may be validated by other sources (e.g., told by other individuals' photographs and stories)" or from other sources of data altogether (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 382). Both of these types of replication emerged in my study, as outlined in Chapters Four and Five and summarized in the Similarities and Differences section, above. The use of multiple types of data – photos, individual interviews, group interviews, participant observations, attendance at meetings, field notes, and review of

documents – was a purposeful design intended to counter any limitation stemming from qualitative data validation through the ability to provide data triangulation. Relatedly, the participation in the study of community members from four parishes, all within the same cantón, provided an opportunity to compare and contrast the conditions of grassroots health and development in and between parishes which, presented in the context of their demographic, socioeconomic, or participatory involvement characteristics, also enabled triangulations of findings. Nevertheless, it is not possible to draw conclusions about areas outside of the research site based on the data produced in this study.

Indigenous views of rigor and validity may be very different from Western notions of those concepts, because Western notions tend to center research as objective and lying outside of – or able to adequately wall off influences from – structures of power. In research with indigenous people and about indigenous issues, the ways in which the knowledge produced is interpreted and used is quite another matter. Smith (2012) comments on this, noting that

> Research exists within a system of power. What this means for indigenous researchers as well as indigenous activists and their communities is that indigenous work has to 'talk back to' or 'talk up to' power. There are no neutral spaces for the kind of work required to ensure that traditional indigenous knowledge flourishes; that it remains connected intimately to indigenous people as a way of thinking, knowing, and being; that it is sustained and actually grows over future generations" (p. 226).

It is my great hope that this study acknowledges and works to interrogate the systems of power which underlie research, and produces a useful kind of resistance in which the reader questions his or her own social location its bearing, in the context of the study findings, on the ways in which the research is interpreted and applied.

Conclusion

The findings of this study have served to produce a series of interrogations, exposing the fraught intersections of well-being, community development, and the epistemology of the south, *cosmovisión Andina*. I have interrogated the international development apparatus as focused on the state (a site of decolonization, but not necessarily of decoloniality) or supranational level and too exclusively on economic growth. In the evolution of international development, these objections were purportedly addressed through an alternative development called human development. Human development, and specifically Sen's capability approach, shifted the focus of development from the state to the individual and expanded the aims of development from predominantly economic to those focused on enhancing capabilities, freedoms, and agency. But this shift persisted in neglecting aspects of community development central to *cosmovisión Andina*: the intersubjectivity of individuals and the individual-community relationship, the environment, and the rejection of a superiority/inferiority duality that underpins notions of international development grounded in modernity and center-periphery models. *Sumak kawsay/buen vivir*, as an alternative *to* development, upsets the human development paradigm and, to an extent, validates Escobar's argument about the need to de-situate development from within the hegemonic parent discourse. But *SK/BV* goes beyond that: the study findings demand that we shrink the scale of international development praxis and discourse, while simultaneously expanding Western notions of well-being. These two revelations assist us in resisting the danger of a single epistemology embedded within U.S. higher education, both in teaching and research, within the fields of international development and global health. Understanding and honoring indigenous worldviews is not anti-intellectual; it is a form of refusing

complicity with a persisting, if increasingly less visible, colonial matrix of power. In U.S. higher education, our systems of classifying and representation serve to methodically reinscribe ways of knowing and doing "which are coded in such ways as to 'recognize' each other and either mesh together, or create a cultural 'force field' that can screen out competing and oppositional discourses" (Smith, 2012, p. 49). The aim, then, is to step outside of what we have been told we may say and the praxis which we have been told is acceptable, and begin anew, open to epistemological conceptions that counter and resist our own and, in so doing, teach us how to truly be decolonial despite structures which persist in demanding individualistic and capitalistic measurements of success. *SK/BV*, as an epistemology of the south pertaining to ideas and process of community development, does not begin at those points and does not strive for the same ends, as evidenced by a commentary from Lali from Tocachi:

> *Este pueblo de Tocachi es pobre, somos pobres valga las circunstancias de cada persona, pero en sí es millonario en riqueza, en lo que es por ejemplo agricultura, en lo que es la sociabilidad con las personas…El hecho mismo de que yo mando a mis hijos como dijo aquí uno de los jóvenes, yo envió a mis hijos aquí al InfoCentro o a la junta parroquial a lo que sea o a la plaza, yo estoy con esa seguridad que está en buenas manos….Eso me gusta porque todos nos cuidamos… eso me gusta de Tocachi que puedo vivir en paz, tranquila, pobre pero tranquila.*
>
> [This community of Tocachi is poor, we are poor judged by the circumstances of each person, but in itself [the community] is a millionaire in wealth, in that which is, for example, agriculture, in that which is the sociability with people… The very fact that I send my children, one of the youngest ones here, to the InfoCentro or to the parish council or to whatever on the plaza [alone], I [do so] with the security that he is in good hands….I like that because we all take care of each other… I like that of Tocachi, that I can live in peace, quiet, poor but even-minded.]

It is our responsibility as scholars to decolonize the spaces we inhabit, by dwelling within the hyper-local context, opening ourselves to broader conceptions of well-being, thereby resisting "simplistic and stereotypical understandings of indigeneity…that are not based

on long-term interaction, deep reflection, or a serious investigation of indigenous languages and cultures" (Novo, 2018, pp. 408-409). Co-researchers like Lali help us to do this, to refocus on what Santos (2014) called the epistemology of absent knowledges. These knowledges are not absent from the world, it turns out, they are merely absent from our own ethnocentric considerations of international health and development, as well as its teachings and research, and for this we must be accountable.

Bibliography

Acosta, A. (2013). Extractivism and neo-extractivism: Two sides of the same curse. In Lang, M. & Mokrani, D. (Eds.). Beyond development: Alternative visions from Latin America (pp. 61-86). Quito, Ecuador: Fundación Rosa Luxemburg.

Adichie, C.N. (2009). The danger of a single story (TED Talk). Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story/transcript?language=en.

Aizenberg, L. (2014). Facilitating Indigenous women's community participation in healthcare: A critical review from the social capital theory. *Health Sociology Review*, 23(2): 91-101.

Alkire, S. & Deneulin, S. (2009). The human development and capability approach. In S. Deneulin & L. Shahani (Eds.). An introduction to the human development and capability approach: Freedom and agency (pp. 22-48). London: Earthscan.

Álvarez-González, F.J. (n.d.). *El buen vivir: Un paradigma anticapitalista.* Retrieved from http://www.rebelion.org/docs/163836.pdf.

Andolina, R. (2012). The values of water: Development cultures and indigenous cultures in Highland Ecuador. Latin American Research Review, 47(2): 3-26.

Andolina, R., Laurie, N., & Radcliffe, S. (2009). Indigenous development in the Andes: Culture, power, and transnationalism. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ariana, P. & Naveed, A. (2009). Health. In S. Deneulin & L. Shahani (Eds.). An introduction to the human development and capability approach: Freedom and agency (pp. 228-245). London: Earthscan.

Armijos, M.T. (2013). "They cannot come and impose on us:" Indigenous autonomy and resource control through collective water management in Highland Ecuador. *Radical History Review*, 116(Spring 2013): 86-103.

Arur, A. (2014). Producing "science/fictions" about the rural and urban poor: Community-based learning at a medical college in South India. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

Asia Indigenous Peoples' Pact Foundation (AIPP). (2010). Indigenous development of development with culture and identity: Submission by the Asia Indigenous Peoples' Pact (AIPP) Foundation and the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) to the 9th Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Retrieved from https://aippnet.org/submission-to-unpfii/.

Balarezo, D.A. (2015). *Interculturalidad y cosmovisión Andina*. *Revista Médica*, 7(1): 88-92.

Balarezo, D.A., Angulo Rosero, N.A., Rojas Reyes, R.I., Contento Minga, L.E., and Drexler, J. (2016). *La lógica de los mundos y la cosmovisión Andina*. *Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Médicas, Universidad de Cuenca*, 34(2): 91-98.

Bebbington, A. (1993). Modernization from below: An alternative indigenous development? *Economic Geography*, 69(3): 274-292.

Bebbington, A., & Perreault, T. (1999). Social capital, development, and access to resources in Highland Ecuador. *Economic Geography*, 75(4): 395-418.

Beck, S. H., & Mijeski, K. J. (2000). *Indígena* self-identity in Ecuador and the rejection of *Mestizaje*. *Latin American Research Review*, 35(1): 119-137.

Becker, M. (2012). The Limits of *indigenismo* in Ecuador. *Latin American Perspectives*, 39(5): 45-62.
Bentz, V. and Shapiro, J. (1998). Mindful Inquiry in Social Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Berdegué, J. A., Bebbington, A., & Escobal, J. (2015). Conceptualizing spatial diversity in Latin American rural development: Structures, institutions, and coalitions. *World Development*, 73(Sept 2015): 1-10.
Berger, J. (1968). Understanding a photograph. In Dyer, G. (Ed.), *Understanding a photograph* (24-27). New York, NY: Aperture.
Berger, J. (1977). Ways of seeing. London: Penguin Books.
Berger, J. (1978). Uses of photography: For Susan Sontag. In Dyer, G. (Ed.), *Understanding a photograph* (46-54). New York, NY: Aperture.
Beyers, B., Divine, J., Weatherford, S., and Hagopian, A. (2007). Economic impact assessment of global health on Washington State's economy. Retrieved from http://www.seattlebusinessmag.com/sites/seattlebusinessmag.com/files/wastateglobal_economicimpact.pdf.
Bolen, G. (2018). Generational "we-sense", "they-sense" and narrative: An epistemological approach to media and social change. *Revista de Metodología de Ciencias Sociales*, 42(enero-abril): 21-36.
Bourdieu, P. (1990). Photography: A middle-brow art. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.
Briggs, J. (2013). Indigenous knowledge: A false dawn for development theory and practice? *Progress in Development Studies*, 13(3): 231-243.
Brinck, I., Reddy, V. & Zahavi, D. (2017). The primacy of the "we"? In Durt, C., Fuchs, T. & Tewes, C. (Eds.), Embodiment, enaction, and culture (pp. 131-148). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
Bryce, H. (2012). Navigating multiple roles as a researcher in a photovoice project. *Groupwork*, 22(3): 33-48.
Carballo, A.E. (2015). Re-reading Amartya Sen from the Andes: Exploring the ethical contributions of indigenous philosophies. Retrieved from https://www.uni-kassel.de/fb05/fileadmin/datas/fb05/FG_Politikwissenschaften/Entwicklungspolitik/DPS_Working_Papers_No3_2015.pdf.
Cárdenas Oleas, S.E. (2015). Case study: A sustainable livelihoods analysis of a non-governmental organization working with quinoa producers in the province of Chimborazo, Ecuador. (Unpublished master's thesis). Iowa State University, Ames, IA
Cardoso, F.H. & Faletto, E. (1979). Dependency and development in Latin America. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Caria, S. & Domínguez, R. (2016). Ecuador's Buen Vivir: A new ideology for development. *Latin American Perspectives,* 43(1): 18-33.
Cartwright, J. (2014). Toward a communicable cartography of health decision-making in the Amazon Basin of Ecuador. (Unpublished master's thesis). Lawrence University, Appleton, WI.
Castelden, H., Garvin, T., and the Huu-ay-aht First Nation. (2008). Modifying photovoice for community-based participatory Indigenous research. *Social Science & Medicine*, 66(6): 1393-1405.

Catalini, C. & Minkler, M. (2010). Photovoice: A review of the literature in health and public health. *Health Education & Behavior*, 37(3): 424-451.

Chambers, R. (1994). The origins and practice of participatory rural appraisal. *World Development*, 22(7): 953-969.

Chambers, R. (2017). Can we know better? Reflections for development. (Kindle edition). Warwickshire: UK: Practical Action Publishing Ltd.

Chino, M. & DeBruyn, L. (2006). Building true capacity: Indigenous models for indigenous communities. *American Journal of Public Health*, 96(4): 596-599.

Choo, H.Y. and Ferree, M.M. (2010). Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities. *Sociological Theory*, 28(2): 129-149.

Coleman, J.S. (1988). Social capital and the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(Supplement): S95-S120.

Comisión Especializada de Gobiernos Autónomos, Descentralización, Competencias y Organización del Territorio. (n.d.). *Código Orgánico de Organización Territorial, Autonomía y Descentralización*. Retrieved from http://virgiliohernandez.ec/cootad-final/EXPOSICION_COOTAD%202011.pdf.

Cooper, N., & Burnett, S. (2006). Using discursive reflexivity to enhance the qualitative research process: An example from accounts of teenage conception. *Qualitative Social Work*, 5(1): 111-129.

Corbin Dwyer, S. and Buckle, J.L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1): 54-63.

Córdova, A., Hernández Palmar, D., Huichaqueo, F., & Rivera, M. (2018). Healing through curation: A conversation between three indigenous image curators in the *Abya Yala* movement. Senses of Cinema, Issue 89. Retrieved from http://sensesofcinema.com/2018/latin-american-cinema-today/healing-through-curation-a-conversation-between-three-indigenous-image-curators-in-the-abya-yala-movement/.

Council on Higher Education. (2017). Briefly Speaking: Number 3. Retrieved from https://www.che.ac.za/sites/default/files/publications/BrieflySpeaking%20(3)%20Curriculum%20decolonisation.pdf.

Dandy, E. (2013). Motherhood, autonomy, and anti-mining activism in Íntag, Ecuador. (Unpublished senior honors thesis). Colby College, Waterville, ME.

de la Torre, C. & Striffler, S. (Eds). (2009). The Ecuador reader: History, culture, politics. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Dean, H. (2009). Critiquing capabilities: The distractions of a beguiling concept. *Critical Social Policy*, 29(2): 261-278.

Dei, G.J.S. (2000). Rethinking the role of indigenous knowledges in the academy. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 4(2): 111-132.

Dei, G.J.S. & Lordan, M. (2016). Anti-colonial theory and decolonial praxis. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

DeJaeghere, J. (2014). Encountering friction between liberal and neoliberal discourses of citizenship: A non-governmental organization's entrepreneurship education in Tanzania. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 9(3): 226-238.

DeJaghere, J. (2018). Girls' educational aspirations and agency: Imagining alternative futures through schooling in a low-resourced Tanzanian community. *Critical Studies in Education*, 59(2): 237-255.
DeJaeghere, J., Pellowski Wiger, N., & Wangsness Willemsen, L. (2016). Broadening educational outcomes: Social relations, skills development, and employability for youth. *Comparative Education Review*, 60(3): 457-479.
Delgado, M. (2015). Urban youth and photovoice: Visual ethnography in action. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Deneulin, S. (2014). Wellbeing, justice and development ethics. London: Routledge.
Di Paolo, E. & De Jaegher, H. (2017). Neither individualistic nor interactionist. In Durt, C., Fuchs, T. & Tewes, C. (Eds.), Embodiment, enaction, and culture (pp. 87-106). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
Dover, H.S. (2013). Tulalip from my heart: An autobiographical account of a reservation community. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
Ellison, N. (1997). Towards a new social politics: citizenship and reflexivity in late modernity. *Sociology*, 31(4): 697-717.
Enns, C., Bersaglio, B., & Kepe, T. (2014). Indigenous voices and the making of the post-2015 development agenda: The recurring tyranny of participation. *Third World Quarterly*, 35(3): 358-375
Escobar, A. (1995). Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Evans, D. (2003). Hierarchy of evidence: A framework for ranking evidence evaluating healthcare interventions. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 12(1): 77-84.
Ferragina, E. & Arrigoni, A. (2017). The rise and fall of social capital: Requiem for a theory? *Political Studies Review*, 15(3): 355-367.
Fischer, E.F. (2014). The good life: Aspiration, dignity, and the anthropology of well-being. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Fraser, N. (1995). From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a 'post-socialist' age. *New Left Review*, 212: 261-278.
Fraser, N. (1999). Social justice in the age of identity politics: Redistribution, recognition, and participation. In L. Ray & A. Sayer (Eds.), *Culture and economy after the cultural turn* (pp. 25-52). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Freire, P. (2000). Pedagogy of the oppressed (Thirtieth Anniversary Edition). New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
Friedemann-Sanchez, G. (2006). Assembling flowers and cultivating homes: Labor and gender in Colombia. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
Fritze, J.G., Blashki, G.A., Burke, S., & Wiseman, J. (2008). Hope, despair and transformation: Climate change and the promotion of mental health and wellbeing. *International Journal of Mental Health Systems*, 2(1): 13-23.
Fuchs, T. (2017). Collective body memories. In Durt, C., Fuchs, T. & Tewes, C. (Eds.), Embodiment, enaction, and culture (pp. 333-352). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
Fundación Cimas del Ecuador. (2013). Who We Are. Retrieved from http://www.cimas.edu.ec/whoweare.html.
Fundación Cimas del Ecuador. (2013a). Projects. Retrieved from http://www.cimas.edu.ec/projects.html.

Fundación Cimas del Ecuador. (2013b). Community. Retrieved from http://www.cimas.edu.ec/community.html.

Fundación Cimas del Ecuador. (2015a). *Actualización plan de desarrollo y ordenamiento territorial (PDyOT) de La parroquia rural de La Esperanza del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Provincia de Pichincha: FASE I: DIAGNÓSTICO.* Retrieved from http://181.112.151.230:8081/attachments/download/630/PDOT%20LA%20ESPERANZA%202015.pdf.

Fundación Cimas del Ecuador. (2015b). *Actualización plan de desarrollo y ordenamiento territorial (PDyOT) de la parroquia rural de Malchinguí del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Provincia de Pichincha*. Retrieved from http://181.112.151.230:8081/attachments/download/632/PDOT%20MALCHINGUÍ%202015.pdf.

Fundación Cimas del Ecuador. (2015c). *Actualización plan de desarrollo y ordenamiento territorial (PDyOT) de La parroquia rural de Tocachi del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Provincia de Pichincha: FASE I: DIAGNÓSTICO.* Retrieved from http://app.sni.gob.ec/sni-link/sni/PORTAL_SNI/data_sigad_plus/sigadplusdiagnostico/1768107770001_FASE%20I%20DIAGNOSTICO-TOCACHI-FINAL_30-10-2015_18-02-43.pdf.

Fundación Cimas del Ecuador. (2015d). *Actualización plan de desarrollo y ordenamiento territorial (PDyOT) de la parroquia rural de Tupigachi del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Provincia de Pichincha: FASE I DIAGNOSTICO*. Retrieved from http://app.sni.gob.ec/sni-link/sni/PORTAL_SNI/data_sigad_plus/sigadplusdiagnostico/1768104400001_DIAGNOSTICO%20-%20PDyOT-TUPIGACHI_30-10-2015_11-51-18.pdf.

Gasparini, L. & Lustig, N. (2011). The rise and fall of income inequality in Latin America. Retrieved from http://sedici.unlp.edu.ar/bitstream/handle/10915/3691/Documento_completo__.pdf?sequence=1.

Gaudet, J.C. (2014). Rethinking participatory research with indigenous peoples. *NAIS*, 1(2): 69-88.

Geertz, C. (1973). The interpretation of cultures. New York: Basic Books.

Giroux, H. (1983). Critical perspectives in social theory. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Giovannini, M. (2015). Indigenous community enterprises in Chiapas: A vehicle for *buen vivir*? *Community Development Journal*, 50(1): 71-87.

Gobierno del Ecuador. (2008). Constitución 2008. Retrieved from http://www.produccion.gob.ec/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/07/Normas_Constitucionales.pdf.

Gobierno del Ecuador. (2010). Codigo Organico Organización Territorial Autonomía Descentralización. Retrieved from http://www.oas.org/juridico/pdfs/mesicic4_ecu_org.pdf.

Gobierno de Pichincha. (2013). Funciones y Competencias. Retrieved from http://www.pichincha.gob.ec/gobierno/competencias/item/116-funciones-y-competencias.html.

Grande, S. (2018, November). Refusing the university. Keynote presentation at the Decolonizing Conference, Center for Integrative Anti-Racist Studies, Toronto, Canada.

Grodin, M., Tarantola, D., Annas, G., & Gruskin, S. (Eds.) (2013). Health and human rights in a changing world, 3rd Ed. London: Routledge.

Gubrium, A.C., Hill, A.L., & Flicker, S. (2014). A situated practice of ethics for participatory visual and digital methods in public health research and practice: A focus on digital storytelling. *American Journal of Public Health*, 104(9): 1606-1614.

Gudemos, M. (2012). *Tu piel, mi piel, nuestra piel. Salud, música y naturaleza en Los Andes*. *Diálogo Andino*, 39: 9-22

Gudynas, E. & Acosta, A. (2011). El buen vivir más allá del desarrollo. *Que Hacer*, 181: 70-81.

Guzñay, J.I. (2014). *Desarrollo, educación y cosmovisión: Una mirada desde la cosmovisión Andina*. *Universitas: Revista de Cicencias Sociales y Humanas*, 21: 17-32.

Hammar, M. (2014). Hybrid healthscapes: Mothers' health care and food practices in the Ecuadorian Andes. (Unpublished master's thesis). Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR.

Hergenrather, K.C., Rhodes, S.D., Cowan, C.A., & Bardhoshi, G. (2009). Photovoice as community-based participatory research: A qualitative review. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 33(6): 686-698.

Highleyman, L. (2013). *Las multiplicidades de salud integral: Medicina plural, medicina holística*. Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection. Paper 1605. Retrieved from http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2628&context=isp_collection.

Horton, R. (2014). Offline: The case against global health. *The Lancet*, 383(9930): 1705.

Howard, R. (2011). The Kichwa language in the Andes today: Between statistics, the state, and daily life. In P. Heggarty & A. Pearce (Eds.), *History and Language in the Andes* (pp. 189-213). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan US.

Hsiung, P. (2010). Lives and legacies: A guide to qualitative interviewing. Retrieved from https://www.utsc.utoronto.ca/~pchsiung/LAL/interviewing/complexity/negative.

Huber, M., Knottnerus, J.A., Green, L., van der Horst, H., Jadad, A.R., Kromhout, D., Leonard, B., Lorig, K., Loureiro, M.I., van der Meer, J.W.M., Schnabel, P., Smith, R., van Weel, C., & Snid, H. (2011). "How should we define health?" Retrieved online at https://www.bmj.com/content/343/bmj.d4163

Huggins, R. & Thompson, P. (2015). Culture and place-based development: A socio-economic analysis. *Regional Studies*, 49(1): 130-159.

Hulya, I. (2009). Comparing and contrasting first and second language acquisition: Implications for language teachers. *English Language Teaching*, 2(2): 155-163.

Illich, I. (2001). Tools for conviviality. London: Marion Boyars Publishing.

International Monetary Fund (IMF). (n.d.). Cooperation and reconstruction (1944 – 71). Retrieved from https://www.imf.org/external/about/histcoop.htm.

Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME). (2013). Ecuador. Retrieved from http://www.healthdata.org/ecuador.

Israel, B.A., Parker, E.A., Rowe, Z., Salvatore, A., Minkler, M., López, J., Butz, A., Mosley, A., Coates, L., Lambert, G., Potito, P.A., Brenner, B., Rivera, M., Romero, H., Thompson, B., Coronado, G., & Halstead, S. (2005). Community-based participatory research: Lessons learned from the Centers for Children's Environmental Health and Disease Prevention Research. *Environmental Health Perspectives*, 113(10): 1463-1471.

Iturralde, D. & Krotz, E. (1996). Indigenous development: Poverty, democracy, and sustainability. Retrieved from http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=1441374.

Izurieta-Varea, J. (2017). Harnessing indigenous Andean placemaking – the "*minga*" – for the new urban agenda. Retrieved from https://www.pps.org/article/indigenous-placemaking-minga.

Jarrett, C. (2014). Indigenous politics, *sumak kawsay*, and community tourism: A case study from Amazonian Ecuador. *Southern Anthropologist*, 36(2): 41-69.

Jijón, V.H. (2011). Andean political philosophy challenges the coloniality of power. Paper presented at the First South-South Forum on Sustainability (SSFS1). China.

Kay, C. (2006). Survey article: Rural poverty and development strategies in Latin America. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 6(4): 455-508.

Kelly, K., Khoja-Moolji, S., Manion, C. and Sperandio, J. (2017). Researching intersectionality in global contexts [Presentation]. Comparative and International Education Society Conference, Atlanta, GA, Mar 2017.

Kenny, S., Fanany, I., & Rahayu, S. (2013). Community development in Indonesia: Westernization or doing it their way? *Community Development Journal*, 48(2): 280-297.

Keogh, P. (2017). Embodied, clinical and pharmaceutical uncertainty: People with HIV anticipate the feasibility of HIV treatment as prevention (TasP). *Critical Public Health*, *27*(1): 63-74.

Koplan, J.P., Bond, T.C., Merson, M.H., Reddy, K.S., Rodriguez, M.H., Sewankambo, N.K., & Wasserheit, J.N. (2009). Towards a common definition of global health. *The Lancet*, 373(9679): 1993-1995.

Kretzmann, J. & McKnight, J. P. (1996). Assets-based community development. *National Civic Review*, 85(4): 23-29.

Lahman, M. K., Rodriguez, K. L., Moses, L., Griffin, K. M., Mendoza, B. M., & Yacoub, W. (2015). A rose by any other name is still a rose? Problematizing pseudonyms in research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(5): 445-453.

Langdon, J. (Ed.). (2009). Indigenous knowledges, development and education. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Lantz, P.M. (2018). The medicalization of population health: Who will stay upstream? Retrieved from https://www.milbank.org/quarterly/articles/the-medicalization-of-population-health-who-will-stay-upstream/

LeCompte, M.D. & Preissle, J. (1993). Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research, 2nd ed. San Diego, CA : Academic Press.

Ledwith, M. (2016). Community development in action: Putting Freire into practice. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.

Liamputtong, P. (2010). Performing qualitative cross-cultural research. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lopez, G.I., Figueroa, M., Connor, S.E., & Maliski, S.L. (2008). Translation barriers in conducting qualitative research with Spanish speakers. *Qualitative Health Research*, 18(12): 1729-1737.

Mansuri, G. & Rao, V. (2004). Community-based and -driven development: A critical review. *The World Bank Research Observer,* 19(1): 1-39.

Mansuri, G. & Rao, V. (2012). Chapter Two: A conceptual framework for participatory development. In Mansuri & Rao, *Localizing development: does participation work?* (pp. 49-85). Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

Markey, S. (2010). Primer on place-based development. Retrieved from http://cdnregdev.ruralresilience.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/primerplacebaseddevelopment-markey.pdf.

Marsella, A. J. (1998). Toward a" global-community psychology:" Meeting the needs of a changing world. *American Psychologist*, 53(12): 1282-1291.

Maxwell, J. (2013). Qualitative research design: An interaction approach. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mendoza, M. B. (2013). *El desarrollo local complementario*. Retrieved from http://www.eumed.net/libros-gratis/2013/1252/caracteristicas-cosmovision-andina.html.

Merson, M.H., Black, R.E., & Mills, A. (2006). International public health: Diseases, programs, systems and policies. Burlington, MA: Jones and Bartlett.

Mignolo, W.D. & Walsh, C.E. (2018). On decoloniality: Concepts, analytics, praxis. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mikesell, L., Bromley, E., & Khodyakov, D. (2013). Ethical community-engaged research: A literature review. *American Journal of Public Health*, 103(12): e7-e14.

Miles, M.B., Huberman, A.M. & Saldaña, J. (2014). Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook, 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Minkler, M. and Wallerstein, N., Eds. (2008). Community-based participatory research for health: From process to outcomes, 2nd ed. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Moran, D. (2017). Intercorporeality and intersubjectivity: A phenomenological exploration of embodiment. In Durt, C., Fuchs, T. & Tewes, C. (Eds.), Embodiment, enaction, and culture (pp. 25-46). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Muhammad, M., Wallerstein, N., Sussman, A., Avila, M., Belone, L., & Duran, B. (2014). Reflections on Researcher identity and power: The impact of positionality on community based participatory research (CBPR) processes and outcomes. *Critical Sociology,* 41(7-8): 1045-1063.

Nasmith, G. (2015). The ‘new’ development regime in Ecuador: Implications for the Highland indigenous movement. (Unpublished master’s thesis). Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Nederveen Pieterse, J. (2010). After post-development. *Third World Quarterly,* 21(2): 175-191.

Nespor, J. (2000). Anonymity and place in qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 6(4): 546-569.

Nieves Tapia, M., Bridi, C.G., Maidana, M.P., & Rial, S. (2015). *El compromiso social como pedagogía: Aprendizaje y solidaridad en la escuela*. Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Celam.

Novo, C.M. (2018). Ventriloquism, racism and the politics of decoloniality in Ecuador. *Cultural Studies*, 32(3): 389-413.
Oxford Dictionary. (2016). Nation. Retrieved from http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/nation.
Paradies, Y. (2016). Colonisation, racism and indigenous health. *Journal of Population Research*, 33(1): 83-96.
Partridge, T. (2016). Rural intersections: Resource marginalization and the “non-Indian problem” in Highland Ecuador. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 47(2016): 337-349.
Patton, M. (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
PhotoVoice. (2016). Participant training handbook. London: PhotoVoice.
PhotoVoice. (n.d.). PhotoVoice Vision and Mission. Retrieved from https://photovoice.org/vision-and-mission/.
PhotoVoice. (n.d.[a]). Photovoice Training. Retrieved from https://photovoice.org/training/.
PhotoVoice. (n.d.[b]). PhotoVoice Manual. Retrieved from https://photovoice.org/photovoice-manual/.
Pink, S. (2013). Doing visual ethnography, 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Pina, M.B. (Ed.) (2002). *Identidad y ciudadanía: Un reto a la educación intercultural*. Madrid: NARCEA.
Pluriversidad Amawtay Wasi. (2019). Quiénes somos. Retrieved from https://amawtaywasi.org/quienes-somos/.
Popay, J., Rogers, A., & Williams, G. (1998). Rationale and standards for the systematic review of qualitative literature in health services research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 8(3): 341-351.
Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1): 1-24.
Powers, M.C.F. & Freedman, D.A. (2012). Applying a social justice framework to photovoice research on environmental issues: A comprehensive literature review. *Critical Social Work*, 13(2): 81-100.
Pratt, Y.P., Louie, D.W., Hanson, A.J., & Ottmann, J. (2018). Indigenous education and decolonization. In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education. Retrieved from http://oxfordre.com/education/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264093-e-240.
Protevi, J. (ed). (2006). A Dictionary of Continental Philosophy. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Puzan, E. (2003). The unbearable whiteness of being (in nursing). *Nursing Inquiry*, 10(3): 193-200.
Radcliffe, S.A., & Pequeño, A. (2010). Ethnicity, development and gender: *Tsáchila* indigenous women in Ecuador. *Development and Change*, 41(6): 983-1016.
Ramdas, K.N. (2011). Point-Counterpoint: Philanthrocapitalism. Retrieved online from https://ssir.org/point_counterpoint/philanthrocapitalism.
Rasch, D. & Bywater, K. (2014). Health promotion in Ecuador: A solution for a failing system. *Health,* 6(10): 916-925.
Reimer, B. & Markey, S. (2008). Place-based policy: A rural perspective. Retrieved from https://www.crcresearch.org/files-

crcresearch_v2/ReimerMarkeyRuralPlaceBasedPolicySummaryPaper20081107.pdf.
Roberts, K. & Lacey, J. (2008). What is the relationship between human and social capital: What transfer to whom? *Rural Society*, 18(2): 103-116.
Romero, A. (2015). Mobilizing assets for community development: The case of *Comite ProMejoras* in Ayampe, Ecuador. (Unpublished master's thesis). Copenhagen Business School, Frederiksberg, Denmark.
Rose, G. (2016). Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials (4th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
Ruiz Sánchez, H.C., Gaviria, P.P., De Ferrari, R., Savage, K., & Documet, P. (2018). OjO Latino: A Photovoice Project in Recognition of the Latino Presence in Pittsburgh, PA. *Contemporaneity: Historical Presence in Visual Culture*, 7(1): 53-71.
Santos, B.D.S. (2014). Epistemologies of the south: Justice against epistemicide. London: Routledge.
Schnettler, B. (2013). Notes on the history and development of visual research methods. *InterDisciplines: Journal of History and Sociology*, 4(1): 41 – 75.
Sen, A. (1997). *Resources, values, and development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Sen, A. (1999). Development as freedom. New York, NY: Knopf, Anchor Books.
Servicio Integrado de Seguridad ECU 911. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.ecu911.gob.ec/.
Smith, L.T. (2012). Decolonizing methodologies, 2nd ed. London: Zed Books Ltd.
Solnit, R. (2016). Hope in the dark: Untold histories, wild possibilities, 3rd ed. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.
Soru, M.F., Boris, L.D., Carreras, X., & Duero, D.G. (2012). *Creencias populares sobre la salud, la enfermedad y su tratamiento*. *Anuario de Investigaciones de la Facultad de Psicología*, 1(0): 94-115.
Spivak, G.C. (1993). Outside in the teaching machine. London: Routledge.
Spivak, G.C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In Nelson, C. (Ed.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (pp. 271-313). Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Sriskandarajah, D. (2018). Toward an accountability revolution? Citizen participation and the SDGs. In Desai, R., Kato, H., Kharas, H. & McArthur J., eds. From summits to solutions: Innovations in implementing the Sustainable Development Goals. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
Stadel, C. (2001). '*Lo Andino*': Andean environment, philosophy and wisdom. Paper presented at the IV Simposio Internacional de Desarrollo Sustentable. Mérida, Venezuela.
Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (2012). Colonialism. Retrieved from http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/.
Staples, L.H. (2001). Insider/outsider upsides and downsides. *Social Work with Groups*, 23(2): 19-35.
Stein, S. & De Oliveira Andreotti, V. (2016). Decolonization and higher education. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309419202_Decolonization_and_Highe

r_Education?enrichId=rgreq-8ed293d13205589c1da0025a7a4a420e-XXX&enrichSource=Y292ZXJQYWdlOzMwOTQxOTIwMjtBUzo2NTMwMDU5Mzg0OTk1ODRAMTUzMjcwMDE1NjE4Nw%3D%3D&el=1_x_2&_esc=publicationCoverPdf.
Stiglitz, J.E. (2002). Globalization and its discontents. New York, NY: W.W. Norton and Company.
Sturmberg, J. (2013). "Think health—Speak health—Achieve health." OA Family Medicine, 1(1): 1–8.
Takayama, K. (2018). Beyond comforting histories: The colonial/imperial entanglements of the International Institute, Paul Monroe, and Isaac L. Kandel at Teachers College, Columbia University. *Comparative Education Review*, 62(4): 459-481.
Temple, B., Edwards, R., & Alexander, C. (2006). Grasping at context: Cross language qualitative research as secondary qualitative data analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 7(4): Article 10.
Tewes, C., Durt, C. & Fuchs, T. (2017). Introduction: The interplay of embodiment, enaction, and culture. In Durt, C., Fuchs, T. & Tewes, C. (Eds.), Embodiment, enaction, and culture (pp. 1-22). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
Tilley, L., & Woodthorpe, K. (2011). Is it the end for anonymity as we know it? A critical examination of the ethical principle of anonymity in the context of 21st century demands on the qualitative researcher. *Qualitative Research*, 11(2): 197-212.
Tsing, A.L. (2005). Friction: An ethnography of global connection. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
United Nations (UN). (1978). Declaration of Alma-Ata. Retrieved from http://www.who.int/publications/almaata_declaration_en.pdf.
UN. (1987). Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our common future. Retrieved from http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf.
UN. (2009). State of the world's Indigenous peoples. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP/en/SOWIP_web.pdf
UN. (2013). Community Development. Retrieved from http://unterm.un.org/UNTERM/display/Record/UNHQ/NA/c293118.
United Nations Development Program (UNDP). (1990). Human Development Report 1990. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/219/hdr_1990_en_complete_nostats.pdf.
UNDP. (2015). Sustainable development goals (SDGs). Retrieved from http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgoverview/post-2015-development-agenda.html#.
United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. (n.d.). Who are Indigenous peoples? Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf.
United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2008). Resource kit on Indigenous people's issues. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/resource_kit_indigenous_2008.pdf.

Van Cott, D.L. (2010). Indigenous peoples' politics in Latin America. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13(June 2010): 385-405.
Vanhulst, J. & Beling, A.E. (2014). *Buen vivir*: Emergent discourse within or beyond sustainable development? *Ecological Economics*, 101(May 2014): 54-63.
Venuti, L. (1998). The scandals of translation: Towards an ethics of difference. London: Routledge.
Villalba, U. (2013). *Buen vivir* vs. development: A paradigm shift in the Andes? *Third World Quarterly*, 34(8): 1427-1442.
Walker, M. (2018). Political agency and capabilities formation through participatory action research. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 19(1): 53-69.
Walsh, C. (2010). Development as *buen vivir*: Institutional arrangements and (de)colonial entanglements. *Development*, 53(1): 15-21.
Wanamey. (2016). *La cosmovisión Andina*. Retrieved from http://www.wanamey.org/cultura/la-cosmovision-andina.htm.
Wang, C. & Burris, MA. (1994). Empowerment through Photo Novella: Portraits of Participation. *Health Education Quarterly,* 21(2): 171 – 186.
Wang, C. & Burris, MA. (1997). Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health Education and Behavior,* 24(3): 369 – 387.
Wang, C., Burris, M.A., & Ping, X.Y. (1996). Chinese village women as visual anthropologists: A participatory approach to reaching policymakers. *Social Science Medicine*, 42(10): 1391-1400.
Wang, C. & Redwood-Jones, Y.A. (2001). Photovoice ethics: Perspectives from Flint photovoice. *Health Education & Behavior*, 28(5): 560-572.
Watkins Murphy, P. & Cunningham, J.V. (2003). Organizing for community controlled development: Renewing civil society. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Williamson, T., Imbroscio, D. & Alperovitz, G. (2002). Making a place for community: Local democracy in a global era. London: Routledge.
World Bank. (2015). Mortality rate, infant (per 1,000 live births) – Ecuador. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN?locations=EC.
World Bank. (2015a). Mortality rate, infant (per 1,000 live births) – Latin America and Caribbean. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN?locations=ZJ.
World Bank. (2015b). Maternal mortality ratio (modeled estimate, per 100,000 live births) – Latin America and Caribbean. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.STA.MMRT?locations=ZJ.
World Bank. (2016). History. Retrieved from http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/archives/history.
World Bank. (2016a). Gini index Ecuador. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?locations=EC.
World Bank. (2016b). Poverty headcount ratio at $1.90 a day, Ecuador. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.DDAY?locations=EC.
World Bank. (2016c). Poverty headcount ratio at $3.10 a day, Ecuador. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.2DAY?locations=EC.
World Bank. (2016d). New country classifications by income level. Retrieved from http://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/category/tags/news.

World Health Organization (WHO). (1946). Constitution of the World Health Organization. Retrieved from http://apps.who.int/gb/bd/PDF/bd47/EN/constitution-en.pdf.
WHO. (2013). Country cooperation strategy at a glance: Ecuador. Retrieved from http://www.who.int/countryfocus/cooperation_strategy/ccsbrief_ecu_en.pdf.
WHO. (2015). Ecuador: WHO statistical profile. Retrieved from http://www.who.int/gho/countries/ecu.pdf?ua=1.
WHO/UNICEF. (n.d.). Definitions and Methods: Water and Sanitation. Retrieved from https://www.wssinfo.org/definitions-methods/.
WHO/UNICEF. (2015). WHO/UNICEF water supply statistics, 2015. Retrieved from https://knoema.com/WHOWSS2014/who-unicef-water-supply-statistics-2015?location=1000910-ecuador.
Yin, R. (2013). Case study research: Design and methods, 5th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Young, R.J.C. (2001). Postcolonialism: An historical introduction. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
Young, R.J.C. (2003). Postcolonialism: A very short introduction. London: Oxford.

APPENDIX A – Research questions with alternate and detailed wordings

Research Question 1

How is *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* integral to development in the rural parishes of Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Ecuador?

- How is *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* defined in this parish?
- That is, How would you explain the idea of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* to an outsider?

Research Question 2

How has *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* changed over the past two decades (in each rural parish) and how does it look today?

- That is, Has it gotten worse? How? Or has it gotten better? How?
- What local, national, international influences are perceived to have influenced the ways in which of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* is lived locally?

Research Question 3

How do community development processes embody the ideals of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* in this rural parish?

- That is, What community development actions from this parish do community members think of when I ask about the goals of *sumak kawsay/buen vivir*?
- That is, What ways of working together lead to *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* and which do not?

Research Question 4

Which services and programs allow communities to reach *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* and which do not?

- That is, When you think of development projects in this parish, which ones have helped improve health – and *sumak kawsay/buen vivir* – the most? [e.g., development programs from various sources, family relations, government at various levels, etc.]
- Why did you choose these [specific services or programs]?

APPENDIX B – Participant Observation Notes: *El CINCA*

July 28, 2017

This morning we all went to the La Esperanza *GAD* offices for a meeting of the *mancomunidad* and Cimas about the *finca/CINCA*. Various representatives from La Esperanza, Tupigachi, Malchinguí, and Tocachi were there. At the height of the meeting, about 21 to 23 people were there.

Around 9:45 am, Ceci began with a review of the purpose and history of the *finca*. The property that the *finca* site is on is jointly owned by the *junta parroquial* of La Esperanza and the *Pluriversidad Amawtay Wasi* (more on this later). It has done its "demonstration work" and now it appears the challenge is transitioning it to the next steps of more community involvement and more leadership from La Esperanza. Ceci also reminded those present that the purpose of the *finca* is not just to demonstrate agroecology and to grow things, but also it has an origin in and an important, ongoing link to the issue of malnutrition in the cantón. She also explained the links with "CINCA" – which is the *Centro Intercultural para Capacitación y Agroecología* – the learning part of the *finca* now being developed.

Next, Jose attempted a presentation about the status of malnutrition in the cantón. The projector would not work (multiple projector and power strip changes later) so he tried his best to go through it holding up his laptop. Though he said his presentation would take about five minutes, he spent more like 30 to 40 minutes reviewing the information. He presented data which it seems Cimas have been collecting and collating from various sources, such as databases within the MOH. He said they are trying to integrate the systems of information about malnutrition in order to better identify how many and which children are malnourished in the cantón.

He went through various information and charts for the four rural parishes and Tabacundo. Here is some of the data I was able to note:

- In La Esperanza 17% (or was it 27%) of children are malnourished
- In Malchinguí, 26% of children are malnourished
- In Tocachi, 19% of children are malnourished
- In Tupigachi, 27% of children are malnourished
- He also went through further details about the level of malnutrition in some of the smaller communities within each of rural parishes
- In Tabacundo, 23% of children are malnourished
- He also presented "the flip side" – that despite all this malnutrition, 4-5% of children in the cantón are experiencing obesity
- He showed colored maps of each of the parishes to indicate the distribution of the level of malnutrition. Here he reiterated that the problem was the greatest in Tupigachi and Malchinguí.

- He also presented a little bit of information about the health care received in the *centros de salud* – the differences between attention for men and women, for instance. He mentioned that 10% of the *centro de salud* visits resulted in hospitalizations, though the majority of these were for childbirth
- He discussed how many causes of mortality in the cantón are rising, while these same causes are decreasing in the rest of the country

He returned to the take home message: that nutrition for children from birth to 3 years of age is the most important and the focus. Early investment is key to preventing lifelong challenges (and stunting, though he did not talk about this) for the children. He made the link back to the *finca*: that nutritional supplementation (for instance – *PLAN Huevo*) for children that comes from the farm could be helpful; that improvement agricultural production, without chemicals, could help increase the capacity of families by learning from the *finca*. "The goal is not the Finca, it is to improve the problem of malnutrition. To improve health through agriculture," he concluded.

Loli spoke next for about 15-20 mins. She said, "Here is the political will to work on this problem." She reiterated the description of effects of malnutrition on children and its effects in the long run. She said the *finca* is a mechanism. She also said that the project has caught the attention of people outside of the territory as well. She said that if the "pilot" goes well here, the project may be repeated in other areas. This is a three-partner project, between the community, the politicians, and academics. The original money (not sure of exact amount) invested by one of the Rotary clubs in Quito (with which Jose is affiliated) is almost done. The next step is to open the *finca* (*CINCA*) to training courses (*capacitación*) for interested families that sign up. They will receive a diploma and then they will be eligible for micro-credit to invest in their own *finca* at home, replicating what they learned through the *CINCA*. This microcredit link also seems to be through Rotary ($55k?).

Another aspect being built is the commercialization of produce from the *finca*, through collaborations with producers' associations, in order to form a "network of consumers." Also, the *finca* will work on producer a weekly "basket" (*canasta*) of goods to sell which will cover the debt of the farm land. But the land is secure, she assured everyone. (Here there was an aside about the process by which the money to purchase the land came to be. I don't think I understood all of it, but it seems that it was complicated and involved Jose and Loli having a bank account in the US through which the donations could be deposited and then reinvested here…) Loli also introduced a new project on the *finca*, to build the auditorium part of the learning/community center. In Aug construction will begin with help (donations and volunteer labor) through a Rotary Club group from Canada. The various *juntas parroquiales* were asked to contribute resources (concrete, tools, etc.) for this purpose. Specifically, there was talk of the need for additional supplies for the *baños secos, dos duchas, dos lavabos, uno inodoro, y paneles para energía solar*.

Loli also talked a bit about how communication to the community about the *finca* needed to improve and be extended. She said that some community members refer to the *finca* as

"*para los gringos*" [for the gringos] because so many foreigners have come to volunteer/work there. She said yes, this is the case, but they are working under the direction of Ecuadorians, to help form our vision, with our investment. But perhaps if there was more local labor involved – "this is our *minga*" – then the optics of this would change a bit.

Here Ceci took over and asked those present, "How do we begin to resolve these issues with plans, timelines, so that the training can begin?" She said that the initiative/leadership for the next steps with the *finca* needed to come from the *GAD* Presidents. She made things very specific by starting with the Canadian volunteers. They are coming during the second week of Aug. They are young people aged 14 to 20. Can we commit to find young people from our *parroquias* who will work alongside them? Even our own children, she said – I commit Maqui. She went around and directly asked each parish president or other parish representative present. Through some discussion, the result was that 3 young people were promised from La Esperanza, 3-4 from Tocachi, 3-4 from Tupigachi, and 4 from Malchinguí. Malchinguí brought up the issue of transportation to and from the CINCA site each day (the working hours are approx. 8 am to 4:30 pm, with a lunch). Ceci offered to have the youth stay in her home during the volunteer time if that would help. They discussed how this would be a good *intercambio* [exchange] experience for all the youth involved.

Next, there was a presentation by Luis Molina, a Venezuelan volunteer with the *CINCA*. He had met Remy (the *CINCA* "permanent volunteer" and a sort of manager) via Facebook and became very interested in the work. Luis was diagnosed with hypertension at age 19 and began looking for different options for a healthy life. (See photos from his presentation.) He talked about how the exchange of volunteers from various countries is very useful, that it is a project of learning and about changing our forms of learning by doing.

Next there was a presentation by Senor Hilario, the *vocale* from La Esperanza who is the most involved with the *finca*. (See photos from his presentation.) He talked much more from a global and philosophical perspective about the danger of chemicals, and the way "we have lost the old ways of doing things." He said, "More, this is about how to construct an alternative or different agricultural system, which is more just, and uses the knowledge of our ancestors." It was clear that he felt agroecology was a philosophy, a way of life. He ended his presentation with a slide that read "*Alli Kawsay*." I was intrigued and have been investigating what this means, especially in relationship to *sumak kawsay*.

After him, a volunteer from Colombia spoke briefly about his experiences volunteering at the farm. He talked a lot about chemicals and I think he shared some sort of story (Senor Hilario called it a testimony) about the effects chemicals had on his own health and the health of some woman he knows from home.

After that (actually before the presentation by Luis, even) Ceci was trying to hurry people along. Overall, the presentations by Cimas took over an hour and then there were at least another hour's worth of presentations. By the time Senor Hilario began to talk it was about 11:20 and you could tell in the room that people were getting tired of sitting and listening. Ceci reiterated that one of the goals of today was to have the leaders present see the farm and see its progress and potential. So after the Colombian volunteer spoke, she quickly wrapped things up, giving instructions about how to travel in caravan and to where, so we could begin the tour. (See photos to remember highlights of the tour.)

Aug 22, 2017

Today I went with Ceci and Vicky to a meeting with Cimas, *Club Rotario, Pluriversidad Amawtay Wasi*, and the *GADs* regarding the *CINCA*. This time it seemed to be about a laboratory that was going to be built as part of the *CINCA* grounds/services. During introductions, all attention seemed to be on a woman named Angela Cruz, who was visiting (from Canada, I believe) as a representative of the Rotary International Foundation. She was here because the *CINCA* had been selected as one of 40 projects worldwide to receive funding for support and replication in other areas.

There were approximately 22 people in attendance and we were all crammed into the meeting room at the La Esperanza *GAD* office. The President of *the Junta de Agua de La Esperanza*, an older man named Don Enrique, was also present. The Vice President of the *GAD parroquial* for La Esperanza was there. (Not the president; I believe I heard Ceci talking with Vicky about how this seemed to show a lack of appropriate prioritization on his part.) There was a representative from the *Pluriversidad* (love that!) *Amawtay Wasi* as well. This woman told me they were working to collaborate with volunteer leaders in order to create trainings at the *CINCA*. There was an announcement that Remy would be back next week. And of course, Senor Hilario was there to represent the *CINCA* leadership.

Loli reminded those present – which included a majority of Club Rotario members – that the *finca* was a public-private partnership with three owners the *Junta Parroquial*, the *Junta de Agua de La Esperanza*, and the *Pluriversidad Amawtay Wasi*. The Rotarians were from two clubs, the Quito and Equinoccio clubs.

Senor Hilario made his usual presentation about the *finca*, with a few modifications which seemed to be tailored towards the guest of honor, whom everyone was clearly trying to impress, Angela. He indicated that the *finca* was originally started with the aim of demonstrating that it was possible to grow agricultural products from the region without chemicals. He indicated that currently there are 1.5 million farmers in the country and that this represents a large decrease, as the others have moved to cities and changed their work. He noted that the *finca* had helped to demonstrated that "a local government can be important and successful in community development." He also indicated that one

of the aims of the *finca* was to "*aprovechar de los conocimientos de los adultos mayores*" [benefit from the knowledge of the older people].

The goal of the *finca* now has grown. It will convert into a center of support and training for the community, so that local community members can be trained to replicate the practices being done there. There was some discussion of the importance of strengthening the capacity of people to grow for themselves and how this was linked to the more appropriate use of credit. Senor Hilario said something like, right now 90% of credit is used by people of the cantón for consumption/purchases. The hope is that different workshops at the *finca* would be tailored to different groups, such as older adults, young people, etc. There was a discussion about the possibility of linking with the area's two high schools by offering grants for training in agroecology to high school students. There was also discussion about a way to offer college credit to them for taking these courses. This seemed as if it would be through articulation with *Amawtay Wasi*, which, it was noted, is the only indigenous university in the Sierra.

Senor Hilario noted that it has only been in the last 80 to 100 years – and more so after WWII – that chemicals have been used extensively in agriculture. One issue he said they are facing is to show that "organic is not just for the elite" but good for everyone. He reiterated that the eventual goal related to production at the *finca* would be to produce 50 baskets of produce (with 25 different consumes [consumable items]) which would be sold to the enrolled families on a weekly basis.

Senor Hilario also talked about the building demonstration projects going on at the *finca*. (Specifically, this referred to building modest and environmentally friendly homes with the use of old vehicle tires and an adobe-like substance. I have several photos of these homes from previous tours of the *finca*.) He mentioned that the people of the community "can't believe that houses can be built so cheaply." He hopes to be able to replicate the sustainable housing techniques through a "*minga para la viviencia*" [experience *minga*]. He mentioned that when building the large work area where the natural pesticides, seed bank, and tools are stored at the *finca,* the cane/bamboo construction they used cost $3,000 whereas the same size building made with cement would have cost $30,000.

Senor Hilario mentioned that the equator line crosses the site, which was something I had not heard before. This is important from a spiritual and indigenous knowledges perspectives.

The training courses that will be offered at the future *CINCA* will be in two categories: *agroecologia* [agroecology] and *construcciones naturales* [natural construction]. There was some discussion of courses being offered in Kichwa as well. A further update included a linkage in progress with the Supermaxi grocery chain in order to have a *feria de comercializacion* [commercialization fair] in which the middleman could be eliminated and organic products from the rural areas/producers could be linked directly with consumers.

When we finally arrived at the part about the laboratory, it seemed to be a project of the Quito Rotary Club. In the past, they apparently helped with solar panels to create access to hot water at the *finca*. They have also been engaging with projects to determine how to use microorganisms to help with the growth of products from that same zone (from which the microorganisms were taken). The man presenting noted the "*riqueza ecuatoriana*" [Ecuadorian richness] and that these microorganisms could be used for biopesticides and to help with recovery of land/soils. Apparently there are two members of the Quito Rotary Club who have experience in pharmaceutical labs and are collaborating with the architect of the *finca* lab to design and construct it.

Next, Loli indicated that this work of their Rotary Clubs was part of Rotary's "adopt a community" vision. To not just do small projects, popping in and out of communities, but to make a long-term investment in one community, which includes monitoring, evaluation, and follow-up. She transitioned into an 'ask' in which she asked the owners of the *finca* to make a commitment within the next two months to invest money and other resources which would be needed to construct the lab. She obtained promises to this effect from the representatives of *Amawtay Wasi*, the *GAD parroquial de La Esperanza*, and the *Junta de Agua*, in turn.

Soon after that, the meeting adjourned to go on a tour of the *finca*. This was around 12:30 pm. The meeting had begun a little after 10 am. I spoke briefly with the *Amawtay Wasi* representative, Cecilia Moreta, about a possible future collaboration.

APPENDIX C – Short Research Proposal to Ecuadorian Partners (English and Spanish versions)

Proposal to the Communities of Pedro Moncayo County and to Fundación CIMAS del Ecuador for Collaborative Research on Community Development in Health & Education

September 2015 – Jennifer Fricas, MPH, RN, PhD Student

Introduction to Who I Am and My Interest in Ecuador

Who I am:

My name is Jennifer Fricas. I am a PhD student at the University of Minnesota in the United States, studying in the College of Education and Human Development. My interest is to learn more about how communities work together to improve health and education opportunities for their residents.

I am also a nurse and a teacher. I have been a public health nurse for over 15 years. For the past 8 years, I have taught nursing to students at Seattle University in Washington State in the United States. As part of my work as a public health nurse and a teacher, I have collaborated with various communities both within the United States and in Central and South America to create partnerships between students, community members, and the university so that we can study and work towards greater community development.

How I know about the work of the communities in Pedro Moncayo County:

In 2011 I met Dr. **Suárez-**Torres and Dr. **López** Paredes at Fundación Cimas del Ecuador while visiting as part of a delegation from Washington State universities. During that trip, along with Fundación Cimas, I was fortunate to visit Pedro Moncayo County and observe the work of the communities there. The community organization and development outcomes were impressive. For instance, I remember touring the then new organic rose farm. The community leaders there had secured an agricultural grant from the government to purchase the previously unused farm property and convert it to organic production. The enterprise was flourishing and I was impressed with what the community cooperative had taken on.

During my travels and in my studies about community development, I have realized that this type of successful community cooperation can be rare. Often it is very difficult for local communities to work with each other to accomplish their goals; sometimes outside organizations or international development agencies may come in and displace this important work. **I would like to learn how communities that work together effectively are accomplishing their goals. I am especially curious about how community members work together across areas of difference, such as when different indigenous groups or groups from different ethnic backgrounds work together**

alongside others from inside and outside of the community. I believe Pedro Moncayo County is a good place to understand how communities succeed at these activities.

In addition to my visit in 2011, I was in Ecuador in 2006 when I worked with an Ecuadorian organization called Jatun Sacha Foundation in their Congal Biomarine Station in Muisne, Esmeraldas Province. I was there for one month and partnered with Jatun Sacha and the local primary school in Bunche to create a series of primary school lessons on the linkages between the health of people and the health of the environment.

Introduction to the Proposed Research Activities

What I am interested in learning:

I would like to explore the processes and factors influencing effective participatory development within communities in northern Andean Ecuador.

Ideally, this exploration would take place in the context of an **education project, ideally, a health-related education project**, alongside community members who are working on developing it. It is important to learn more about the experiences of community members in their own voices.

By participatory development, I mean the ways in which community members participate in projects relating to their own community advancement or improvement, whether these projects are completely self-determined or whether they are done in collaboration with other communities or outside organizations. More specifically, I am curious about:

- *What types of community engagement (or community development) are community members involved with?*
- *How does the community organize themselves around development projects which require community engagement?*
- *What factors do community members believe to be important to successful community development, and why? (For instance, are personal or family factors the most important? Social or cultural factors? Project-specific factors? Something else?)*

It is also important to me to incorporate questions from the community, related to this topic, within the project. My hope is that this research would benefit the community by identifying the specific ways in which they are working together successfully. Such successes may be expanded upon for other projects and, potentially, by other communities who want to work on their own development projects in education and health. In addition, exploration of community-generated questions could have other benefits for this project and the community.

How I would like to partner with the community:

It is important to me to work in collaboration with the community. I understand that I am an outsider to the community and will always be a student of what the community has to teach me. In keeping with this understanding, I hope to partner with the community in the following ways by:

- Learning about the community in advance so that I can follow the community's processes for gaining trust and permission for working together on this project;
- Building on strengths and resources within the community;
- Making sure my research questions are relevant to the community and incorporating questions that the community has, related to the research, into the plan;
- Being open to investigating multiple perspectives of community collaboration from the viewpoints of various people who are involved;
- Making a plan for sharing the research results with the community members and other interested persons in ways that would be most helpful to them.

The methods used in this research would be largely ethnographic; I would like to observe community development activities, interview community members, and perhaps conduct short surveys. I would also like to incorporate opportunities for community members to use photography (basic equipment would be provided) to document stages of the community engagement process and/or key people and places that they think are important to the community's development. We would then discuss these photographs to understand what they chose to photograph and why, to help enhance first-person understanding about community collaboration.

Next steps and timeline:
If this initial proposal is accepted, my first plan would be to come to Ecuador and meet with community members and Fundación Cimas sometime in 2016. During that time I plan to learn more about the communities in Pedro Moncayo County, their work, and their ideas. The next step would be to conduct the official research visit(s) in 2017, after obtaining all necessary permissions. Please let me know if there are other next steps that you would suggest.

Very sincerely,

Jennifer

Jennifer Fricas, MPH, RN
PhD Student, Comparative and International Development Education, University of Minnesota
Senior Instructor, College of Nursing, Seattle University

Jennifer, at Tikal in Guatemala, summer 2015 (left) and in the Sacred Valley of Peru working in a mobile primary care clinic, summer 2008 (right)

Propuesto a las Comunidades de Cantón Pedro Moncayo y a la Fundación CIMAS del Ecuador para Investigaciones Colaborativas sobre el Desarrollo Comunitario en Salud y/o Educación

Septiembre 2015 – Jennifer Fricas, MPH, RN, Estudiante de Doctorado

<u>Introducción a Quien Soy y Mi Interés en Ecuador</u>

Quién Soy:
Mi nombre es Jennifer Fricas. Soy estudiante de doctorado a la Universidad de Minnesota en los EEUU, estudiando en el Colegio de Educación y Desarrollo Humano. Estoy interesada en aprender más sobre cómo funciona juntas las comunidades a mejorar las oportunidades en salud y educación para sus residentes.

También soy enfermera y profesora. Hace 15 años que he sido una enfermera de salud pública. Hace 8 años que he ensenado enfermería a los estudiantes a Universidad de Seattle, en el estado de Washington, en los EEUU. Como parte de mi trabajo como enfermera de salud pública y profesora, he colaborado con varias comunidades dentro y fuero de los EEUU y en America Central y Sudamérica, a crear alianzas entre los estudiantes, miembros de la comunidad, y la universidad, así que podamos estudiar y mejorar el desarrollo de comunidad.

Lo Que Sé Sobre El Trabajo de las Comunidades del Cantón Pedro Moncayo:
En 2011, me encontré con el Dr. **Suárez-**Torres and la Dra. **López** Paredes a Fundación Cimas del Ecuador durante una visita de una delegación de universidades del estado de Washington. Durante esa visita, junto con Fundación Cimas, estaba afortunada a visitar el Cantón Pedro Moncayo y observar el trabajo de las comunidades allá. La organización de la comunidad y los resultados de desarrollo me impresionaron mucho. Por ejemplo, me acuerdo recorrer una finca de rosas orgánicas. Los líderes de la comunidad habían asegurado una subvención agrícola a comprar la propiedad no utilizada previamente, y convertirla a producción orgánica. La empresa estaba floreciendo y yo estaba impresionada en lo que hizo el cooperativo de la comunidad.

Durante mis viajes y en mis estudios de desarrollo comunitario, he realizado que este tipo de cooperación comunitario exitoso pueda ser raro. Muchas veces es muy difícil para las comunidades locales a trabajar juntos a lograr sus metas. A veces organizaciones de afuera o agencias de desarrollo internacionales entrar y desplazar a este trabajo importante. **Yo querría aprender: cómo lograr sus metas las comunidades quienes funcionar juntos y eficazmente. Estoy interesada especialmente en cómo trabajar juntos los miembros de la comunidad través de las diferencias, tal como grupos indígenas con grupos de diferentes orígenes étnicos, o grupos de dentro y fuero la comunidad trabajan juntos.** Creo que el Cantón de Pedro Moncayo es un lugar muy bueno para aprender como tener éxito las comunidades con actividades así.

Además de mi visita en 2011, yo visité a Ecuador en 2006 cuando trabajé con una organización Ecuatoriana se llama Fundación Jatun Sacha, en su Estación Biomarine Congal, en Muisne, Provincia Esmeraldas. Estaba en Muisne por un mes y me asocié con Jatun Sacha y la escuela primaría local a crear unas lecciones de escuela primaría sobre los enlaces entre la salud de la población y la salud del ambiente.

Introducción a las Actividades de Investigación Propuestas

Lo Que Estoy Interesada Aprender:
Me gustaría explorar el significado de desarrollo entre la comunidad y entender cómo se organizan las comunidades para alcanzar sus objetivos de desarrollo deseados.

Idealmente, esta investigación estaría situada en el contexto de un proyecto de salud y/o educación, junto con miembros de la comunidad quien están trabajando desarrollarlo. A mí es importante aprender de las experiencias de los miembros de la comunidad en sus voces propios.

Más específicamente, estoy interesada en aprender:

- ¿Cómo definir los miembros de la comunidad, la palabra "comunidad"? ¿Qué significa el concepto de "comunidad" a ellos?
- ¿Qué significa "ser desarrollado"?
- ¿Con cuales tipos de colaboraciones (proyectos de desarrollo) están involucrados los miembros de la comunidad?
- ¿Por qué están involucrados? ¿Qué tipos de ser, crear, hacer, tienen valor a los miembros de la comunidad?
- ¿Cómo están arreglados las relaciones entre miembros y grupos en la comunidad a facilitar el trabajo desarrollo de los individuos?
- ¿Cómo funciona discusión y debate sobre los proyectos de desarrollo entre la comunidad?

También es importante para mí incluir las preguntas de la comunidad, relacionado de esta sujeto, en la investigación. Deseo que esta investigación sería beneficioso a la comunidad así que pueda identificar las maneras en que la colaboración comunitaria están

funcionando bien a producir los resultados deseados y exitosos. Tales éxitos pueden ser el fundamento de otros proyectos de desarrollo y, posiblemente, para las actividades de otras comunidades quienes quieren trabajar juntos más efectivamente en las áreas de salud y/o educación.

Como Me Gustaría Colaborar Con La Comunidad:
A mí, es muy importante colaborar con la comunidad. Entiendo que yo soy extraño a su comunidad y siempre sería una estudiante de lo que puede aprender de la comunidad. En consecuencia, espero colaborar con la comunidad a través de:

- Aprender sobre la comunidad antes de empezar la investigación así que puedo respetar los procesos de la comunidad de ganarse la confianza y el permiso a trabajar juntos en esta proyecto;
- Empezar desde un reconocimiento de las fortalezas y recursos dentro de la comunidad;
- Asegurarse que mis preguntas de investigación son relevantes a la comunidad e incorporar preguntas de la comunidad, relacionado a la sujeto, en la plan de investigación;
- Estar abierto a investigar varias perspectivas de colaboración comunitario desde los puntos de vista de los involucrados;
- Hacer un plan a compartir los resultados de la investigación con los miembros de la comunidad y otras personas interesadas en la manera más útil a ellos.

Los métodos utilizados de la investigación serian en gran parte etnográfica. Me gustaría observar las actividades de desarrollo comunitario, entrevistar a los miembros de la comunidad, y quizás hacer una breve encuesta. También me gustaría incorporar oportunidades para los miembros de la comunidad sacar fotos (yo estaría proporcionar equipo básico) para documentar las etapas del proceso de desarrollo comunitario y/o las personas y lugares importantes al proceso de desarrollo. Tendríamos entonces discutir estas fotos así que podemos entender las cosas escogidos para las fotos y por qué estaban escogidos.

Próximos Pasos y El Calendario:
Me gustaría viajar a Ecuador y conocer a los miembros de la comunidad del Cantón Pedro Moncayo y Fundación Cimas durante este año (2016), para aprender más de las comunidades, su trabajo en desarrollo comunitario, y sus ideas. Entonces el periodo de la investigación oficial estaría en 2017, después de obtener todas de las permisiones necesarias. Por favor, me avise si hay otros pasos que me sugiera.

Muy sinceramente,

Jennifer

Jennifer Fricas, MPH, RN
Estudiante de Doctorado, Programa de Educación para Desarrollo Comparativo E Internacional, Universidad de Minnesota (EEUU)
Profesora, Colegio de Enfermería, Universidad de Seattle (EEUU)

Jennifer, a Tikal en Guatemala, verano de 2015 (izquierda) y en el Valle Sagrado de Peru trabajando en una clínica de salud primaría, verano de 2008 (derecha)

APPENDIX D – University of Minnesota IRB Exempt Letter

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Twin Cities Campus

Human Research Protection Program
Office of the Vice President for Research

D528 Mayo Memorial Building
420 Delaware Street S.E.
MMC 820
Minneapolis, MN 55455

Phone: 612-626-5654
Fax: 612-626-6061
Email: irb@umn.edu
http://www.research.umn.edu/subjects/

EXEMPTION DETERMINATION

June 30, 2017

Joan Dejaeghere

612-770-9099
deja0003@umn.edu

Dear Joan Dejaeghere:

On 6/30/2017, the IRB reviewed the following submission:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title of Study:	Well-Being, Community Development, and Andean Worldview: A Participatory Photography Analysis of Development Meaning and Outcomes in Pedro Moncayo, Ecuador
Investigator:	Joan Dejaeghere
IRB ID:	STUDY00000745
Sponsored Funding:	None
Grant ID/Con Number:	None
Internal UMN Funding:	None
Fund Management Outside University:	None
IND, IDE, or HDE:	None
Documents Reviewed with this Submission:	• FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Photovoice Interview Guides for Groups and Individuals.docx, Category: Other; • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Informal (Ethnographic) Interview Guide for Individuals.docx, Category: Other; • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Social-Behavioral-Consent-Form_6.17.docx, Category: Consent Form; • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Comm1_Initial Proposal to CIMAS Eng&Span_Sept 2015.pdf, Category: Letters of Support / Approvals (Location);

Driven to Discover℠

	• FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Photovoice-Specific Consent Forms.docx, Category: Consent Form; • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_SOCIAL TEMPLATE PROTOCOL_6.17.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Comm4_Summary of Proposed Research_May 2017_SPAN.pdf, Category: Letters of Support / Approvals (Location); • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Comm2_Cimas Letter of Affiliation_Jan2017.pdf, Category: Letters of Support / Approvals (Location); • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Literature Review.docx, Category: Other; • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Comm3_Mancomunidad President Communication_Feb2017.pdf, Category: Letters of Support / Approvals (Location); • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Comm6_Cimas Communication re Research Executive Summary_June2017.pdf, Category: Letters of Support / Approvals (Location); • FRICAS(DEJAEGHERE)_Comm5_Additional Information on Research Benefits_June2017_SPAN.pdf, Category: Letters of Support / Approvals (Location);

The IRB determined that this study meets the criteria for exemption from IRB review. To arrive at this determination, the IRB used "WORKSHEET: Exemption (HRP-312)." If you have any questions about this determination, please review that Worksheet in the HRPP Toolkit Library and contact the IRB office if needed.

This study met the following category for exemption:

• (2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that Human Subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the Human Subjects responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects financial standing, employability, or reputation.

Ongoing IRB review and approval for this study is not required; however, this determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these activities impact the exempt determination, please submit a Modification to the IRB for a determination.

In conducting this study, you are required to follow the requirements listed in the Investigator Manual (HRP-103), which can be found by navigating to the HRPP Toolkit Library on the IRB website.

For grant certification purposes, you will need these dates and the Assurance of Compliance number which is FWA00000312 (Fairview Health Systems Research FWA00000325, Gillette Children's Specialty Healthcare FWA00004003).

Sincerely,

Jeffery P Perkey, CIP, MLS
IRB Analyst

We value feedback from the research community and would like to hear about your experience. The link below will take you to a brief survey that will take a minute or two to complete. The questions are basic, but your responses will help us better understand what we are doing well and areas that may require improvement. Thank you in advance for completing the survey.

Even if you have provided feedback in the past, we want and welcome your evaluation.

https://umn.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_5BiYrqPNMJRQSBn

APPENDIX E – Study affiliation and approval letters from *Fundación Cimas* and the *mancomunidad*

January 4th, 2017
CIMAS-OF-646-2017

To: Inter-American Foundation Grassroots Development Fellowship Academic Review Committee

Regarding: FRICAS, Jennifer – Letter of Affiliation

Dear IAF Grassroots Development Fellowship Academic Review Committee,

My name is Dr. José Suárez-Torres and I am the Executive Director of Fundación Cimas del Ecuador (Cimas) and the organization's Coordinator of Research Projects. I am a physician who also holds a Master's Degree in Public Health and a PhD in Epidemiology. I am writing this Letter of Affiliation for Jennifer Fricas, an applicant for this year's Inter-American Foundation Grassroots Development Fellowship. I first met Ms. Fricas in 2011 when she was part of a visiting delegation from a consortium of Washington State universities to Cimas. When she became a doctoral student at the University of Minnesota, she reached out again regarding her proposed research.

First, here is some background about our organization. Cimas was founded in 1997 through a cooperative agreement with the Ecuadorian Ministry of Environment to work on community development in the northern Andean Region. Our mission is "to facilitate a comprehensive human development and the construction of collectives of local and alternative development designed to promote social equity, combining the world views, knowledge and wisdom of various peoples and cultures with the ultimate goal of building a united world" (Cimas Website, 2013). Cimas operates as a research-based academic organization with a focus on development issues. We work in a participatory manner with communities in order to create dialogue "for the construction of local development alternatives" (Cimas Website, 2013).

More specifically, Cimas has worked with *Canton Pedro Moncayo* – the site of Ms. Fricas' proposed research – since 2000. We collaborate with their Council of Health on local development projects. We have a staff member, Natalia Cespedes, whose role is to coordinate and facilitate the organization's health research activity. We have connected Ms. Fricas to Ms. Cespedes to help facilitate planning.

Cimas is happy to outline the ways in which we have collaborated with Ms. Fricas so far, how we plan to support her going forward, and what benefits to us and the community we expect from her research.

How we have collaborated thus far:

- We have been in communication since the Fall of 2014, about Ms. Fricas' proposed research and I have found her ideas to fit very much with what the local parish governments are interested in expanding;
- I have submitted Ms. Fricas' introductory research proposal to the Association of Rural Parishes of Pedro Moncayo County (February 2016). They considered her proposal to be aligned with their interests. They mentioned that there is an organization helping them to systematize the participatory processes that are taking place in the area and have recommended that Ms. Fricas establish a relationship with that process;
- We are planning with Ms. Fricas her pre-fieldwork visit, to take place from January 21 to February 4, 2017. Ms. Fricas intends to meet with community leaders and organizations during this visit to revise research questions and plan participatory processes for her Summer 2017 research period. We are in support of this plan and will facilitate the needed introductions.

Calle Los Olivos E14-226 y Las Minas (San Isidro del Inca) - Teléf.: (593-2) 2414153 - 2412496 - 2810507 - Celular 0990447962
Pag. Web: www.cimas.edu.ec / e-mail: fcimas@cimas.edu.ec / P.O. Box 17-21-942 - Quito, Ecuador

How we plan to support Ms. Fricas in her research going forward:

- Support during pre-fieldwork visit to Ecuador;
- Continued communication (emails, phone calls) between now and the fieldwork period in order to facilitate ongoing planning with our organization and the community;
- Facilitation of introduction to both our Cimas faculty, other area faculty, and community leaders and members, who will act as resources to Ms. Fricas on local research context, history, and process;
- Provision of a small space within our Cimas offices during the fieldwork period in which Ms. Fricas can work as needed (includes internet access);
- Facilitation of a home stay, as desired, during Ms. Fricas' fieldwork period;
- Other basic supports as needed and agreed upon.

Benefits to us and the community we expect from Ms. Fricas' research:

- Community use of research data to inform future grassroots health development efforts;
- Collaborative local, national, or international presentations of research, as appropriate;
- Acknowledgment of research partnership on our Cimas website and/or to others;
- Co-publication or acknowledgment in publications (to be determined) resulting from research;
- Other benefits we or the community believe to be valuable, as discussed and agreed upon.

We are in support of Ms. Fricas' proposed research and look forward to working with her. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

José Suárez-Torres, MD, PhD, MPH
Executive Director and Coordinator of Research Projects
Los Olivos E15-18 y las Minas
P.O. Box 17-21-942
Quito, Ecuador
Phones: (593-2) 2414153 — 2412496
Email: jsuarez@cimas.edu.ec
Website: http://www.cimas.edu.ec/

GOBIERNOS AUTÓNOMOS DESCENTRALIZADOS PARROQUIALES RURALES

Tocachi, 4 julio 2017

Jennifer Fricas
Estudiante-Investigadora
UNIVERSIDAD MINNESOTA
Frica003@umm .edu

De Nuestras consideraciones:

Reciba un cordial y atento saludo de la Mancomunidad de GADs Parroquiales del Norte, conformada por las Parroquias de: Malchingui, Tocachi, La Esperanza y Tupigachi, a la vez para exponer lo siguiente:

PRIMERO.- Como es de su pleno conocimiento, en el año 2014, la Fundación Cimas y Usted en calidad de estudiante-investigadora, de la Facultad de Educación y Desarrollo Humano, Universidad de Minnesota, EEUU, inicia el proceso para la investigación doctoral en *Bienestar, Desarrollo Comunitario, y La Cosmovisión Andina.*

SEGUNDO.- En la visita realizada en enero 2017 por Usted al cantón Pedro Moncayo presentó la propuesta de investigación ***BIENESTAR, DESARROLLO COMUNITARIO, Y LA COSMOVISIÓN ANDINA: UN ANÁLISIS PARTICIPATIVO DEL SIGNIFICADO Y LOS RESULTADOS DE DESARROLLO EN EL CANTÓN PEDRO MONCAYO*"**, a la Mancomunidad de Gobiernos Parroquiales Rurales expresando los directivos la predisposición de la participación de cuatro parroquias rurales: Malchingui, Tocachi, La Esperanza y Tupigachi

Con estos antecedentes notificamos a usted que en sesión ordinaria del consejo directivo de la mancomunidad de fecha 4 de julio del presente año, una vez presentado el proyecto por sus representantes, avala la realización de la investigación doctoral en "***BIENESTAR, DESARROLLO COMUNITARIO, Y LA COSMOVISIÓN ANDINA: UN ANÁLISIS PARTICIPATIVO DEL SIGNIFICADO Y LOS RESULTADOS DE DESARROLLO EN EL CANTÓN PEDRO MONCAYO*"**, siempre y cuando se cumpla con el marco regulatorio de nuestro país.

Sin otro particular, saludamos a usted atentamente,

Abg. Cecilia Mantilla V.
PRESIDENTA DE LA MANCOMUNIDAD DE GOBIERNOS PARROQUIALES RURALES DEL NORTE

GOBIERNOS AUTÓNOMOS DESCENTRALIZADOS PARROQUIALES RURALES

Lcdo. José Luis Rodríguez
Miembro del Consejo Directivo
De la Mancomunidad
PRESIDENTE DEL GADPR Malchingui

Sr. Bolívar Boada
Miembro del Consejo Directivo
De la Mancomunidad
PRESIDENTE DEL GADPR Tocachi

Sr. Iban Toapanda
Miembro del Consejo Directivo
De la Mancomunidad
PRESIDENTE DEL GADPR La Esperanza

Sr. Fernando Vinueza
Miembro del Consejo Directivo
De la Mancomunidad
PRESIDENTE DEL GADPR Tupigachi

APPENDIX F – List of official documents reviewed from *Fundación Cimas*

National Level

Title: Plan Nacional de Buen Vivir
Date: 2013
Author(s): Secretaria Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo
Pages: 602

Title: Manual del Modelo de Atención Integral de Salud - MAIS
Date: 2012
Author(s): Ministerio de Salud Pública
Pages: 210

Title: Manual del Modelo de Atención Integral de Salud MAIS: Lineamientos Operativos para la Implementación del MAIS y RPIS
Date: 2014
Author(s): Ministerio de Salud Pública
Pages: 245

Provincial Level

Title: Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial de la Provincia de Pichincha 2025
Date: unclear, possibly 2012
Author(s): GAD Pichincha
Pages: 142

Title: Memoria Técnica: Cantón Pedro Moncayo: Socioeconómico y Cultural
Date: unclear, possibly 2014
Author(s): Ministerio de Defensa Nacional; Instituto Espacial Ecuatoriano, Secretaria Nacional de Planificación y Desarrollo; Gobierno de Pichincha
Pages: 58

Cantonal or Parroquial Level

Title: Plan de Ordenamiento y Desarrollo Cantonal: Actualización 2015 – 2025
Date: 2015
Author(s): GAD Municipal de Pedro Moncayo
Pages: 138

Title: Actualización Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial (PDyOT) de La parroquia rural de La Esperanza, del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Provincia de Pichincha: Fase I: Diagnostico.
Date: 2015
Author(s): Fundación Cimas del Ecuador
Pages: 211

Title: Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial de la Parroquia La Esperanza: 2025
Date: 2012
Author(s): GAD Parroquial de La Esperanza
Pages: 98

Title: Actualización Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial (PDyOT) de La parroquia rural de Malchinguí, del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Provincia de Pichincha
Date: 2015
Author(s): Fundación Cimas del Ecuador
Pages: 319

Title: Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial de la Parroquia Malchinguí: 2025
Date: 2012
Author(s): GAD Parroquial de Malchinguí
Pages: 100

Title: Actualización Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial (PDyOT) de La parroquia rural de Tocachi, del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Provincia de Pichincha: Fase I: Diagnostico
Date: 2015
Author(s): Fundación Cimas del Ecuador
Pages: 213

Title: Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial de la Parroquia Tocachi: 2025
Date: 2012
Author(s): GAD Parroquial de Tocachi
Pages: 103

Title: Actualización Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial (PDyOT) de La parroquia rural de Tupigachi, del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, Provincia de Pichincha: Fase I: Diagnostico
Date: 2015
Author(s): Fundación Cimas del Ecuador
Pages: 195

Title: Plan de Desarrollo y Ordenamiento Territorial de la Parroquia Tupigachi: 2025
Date: 2016
Author(s): GAD Parroquial de Tupigachi
Pages: 111

Title: Regalamiento del Sistema de Participación Ciudadana del Gobierno Autónomo Descentralizado de la Parroquia Rural de Tupigachi
Date: 2012
Author(s): GAD Parroquial de Tupigachi
Pages: 17

APPENDIX G – Co-researcher autobiographies

Presented in chronological order of engagement with each parish: Tupigachi, Malchinguí, La Esperanza, Tocachi

Mi nombre es "Anita." Mi edad es 45 años. Mi etnia es Mestiza. Mi barrio es Pucalpa. Mi lugar de trabajo es el más importante porque me dedico al cuidado de mi hogar y de mis hijos. Mi rol en mi barrio es participar y colaborar con todo la gente que más necesita en especial con los adultos mayores. Soy de la provincia de Imababura. Vivo en Pucalpa hace 24 anos. Soy casada y tengo dos hijos que son la razón de mi vida. Quiero en este taller aprender muchas cosos que tal vez yo no sé y que me sirva para el resto de mi vida diaria. Gracias por haber venido a nuestra parroquia y hacernos partícipes.

Yo César Castillo Catucuago. Edad de 63 años. Me identifico indígena. Mi comunidad se llama Chaupiloma. Mi trabajo es agricultura y ganadería. Mi rol del trabajo [en la comunidad] es, ser participe en las actividades comunitarias y asociación. Me gusta colaborar y participar en este grupo.

Mi nombre es Estefany Pozo. Tengo 31 años. Mi comunidad es Chaupiloma. Mi etnia es Mestiza, pero me gusta lo aprender las costumbres y tradiciones especialmente Indígena por el motivo que me case con una persona Indígena y tengo 2 hijos varones que tienen 12 años y otro 6 años. Vivo 13 años en las comunidad [de Chaupiloma] y soy participe en mi comunidad ya que me gusta colaborar tanto como en mingas y como personas como exdirigente de otros años y obtener más valores que ha servido como crecimiento de mi persona y así mi familia y sociedad y compañerismo. Y crecimiento es mi sueño así a mi comunidad Chaupiloma. Yo trabajo en las florícolas pero ahorita estoy de vacaciones con mis hijos. Dar gracias a todos por apoyarme especialmente a mi esposo y a mi comunidad.

Mi nombre es “Isabel.” Mi edad es 44 años. Mi etnia es Indígena. Mi comunidad es San Pablito [de Agualongo]. Soy ama de casa. Me gusta trabajar para la sociedad y para la comunidad para el buen vivir. También trabajar con la comunidad y con los grupos que existen en nuestra comunidad y otros. Participar en la comunidad como parte de la directiva para poder realizar actividades para mi comunidad.

Me llamo “Josecito Túqueres.” Mis padres fueron indígenas por lo tanto heredo y también soy indígena. Tengo 47 años. Soy pastelero profesional. Participo como miembro comunitario en las mingas y sesiones. Adora a mis dos hijos. Soy feliz porque les gusta la música a igual que a mis hijos. Vivo en San Pablito [de Agualongo], porque de esta comunidad es mi adorada esposa con la cual comparto mi hogar. Me gusta mucha tocar y cantar con mi guitarra la música tradicional Tabacundeña.

Yo soy Pastora Cachipuendo, tengo 85 años de edad, soy indígena, mi comunidad es Pucalpa. No trabajo, soy ama de casa. Vivo con mi marido Gonzalo Quilumbaquin. Nací en Pucalpa. Cocino la comida en la tulpa [una manera tradicional de cocinar sobre un fuego con tres piedras]. Tengo ocho hijos, [7] viven en la comunidad, y uno vive en Quito.

Soy José Rafael Cuascota Sanchez. Tengo 5 hijos: 4 hombres y una mujer. Soy casado, mi esposa se llama Sofia Castillo de 57 años. Vivo en San Pablito [de Agualongo] desde nacimiento, hasta que Dios me lleve. Trabajo y pienso en mi comunidad. Me llevo con todos y cada uno [de la comunidad], dirigente por dos periodos. En mi comunidad, hay emprendedora, técnicos, profesionales en todo ámbito. Somos productores de leche y trabajamos con diferentes empresas de lácteos del país.

Yo Silvia Cabascango, tengo 20 años, soy indígena. Vengo de la comunidad de Chaupiloma. Trabajo en la floricultura por Tupigachi. Por el momento vivo en la comunidad hace 2 años pero a uno me adapto pero con el tiempo pienso incorporarme para apoyar en lo que necesite la comuna en las mingas y en todo lo demás. Yo tengo un buen esposo, vivimos bien y estoy haciendo una linda casa para con el tiempo tener hijos en nuestro hogar.

Mi nombre es Ana Cahueñas. Tengo 48 años. Soy mestiza. Vivo en esta linda parroquia Malchinguí. Mi barrio es Pichincha. Actualmente, me dedico a la agricultura y crianza de animales junto a mi familia. Tengo una linda familia conformada de mi esposo y mi hijo. Mi “hobby:” me ha gustado siempre la música desde que tengo uso de razón y agradezco a Dios cada día que amanece por vivir cada momento de esta vida.

Mi nombre es Luis Favián Yanchaguano. Tengo 40 años. Mi etnia es mestizo. El nombre de mi barrio es Santa Maríanita. El lugar de mi trabajo es en el GAD parroquial. Soy chofer de una volqueta, también me dedico un poco a la agricultura en mis propiedades. También tengo un pequeño local [tiendita] en mi barrio.

Soy Juan Navarette, me conocen como Juanito. Tengo 27 años de edad. Soy de la parroquia de Malchinguí, del barrio La Concepción. Me identifico de la etnia mestizo. Soy parte del equipo técnico del GAD Parroquial de Malchinguí. También formo parte de una asociación de pequeños comerciantes ambulantes de la parroquia. Me gusta participar en eventos, sociales y religiosos de la parroquia. Actualmente, soy estudiante de la Universidad Técnica Particular de Loja (UTPL) siguiendo la carrera de Psicología en la modalidad a distancia. Dentro de mí vida social vivo con mi madre quien está a mi cuidado.

Soy “Mercedes.” Tengo 66 años. Vivo en la comunidad de San Juan de Malchinguí. Soy mestiza. Soy casada, mi esposo es Segundo Manuel. El pasa en la casa ayudándome. Tengo 11 hijos. Algunos viven en Malchinguí y otros viven en Quito y el último vive en Lago Agrio (en El Oriente). Tengo 17 nietos y 3 bisnietos, en lo cual viva feliz con toda mi familia.

Mi nombre es “Yoli.” Tengo 42 años. Mi barrio es La Buena Esperanza. Soy mestiza. Soy madre de la familia de tres hijos. Actualmente, desempeño el cargo de Vicepresidenta del GAD Parroquial Malchinguí, trabajando en diferentes sectores, en la comisión de vialidad, vigilancia, y control social.

Mi nombre es Anita Clavijo. Tengo 27 años. Soy mestiza. Vivo en el Barrio 6 de Enero. Trabajo en el Infocentro del GAD Parroquial Rural La Esperanza. Mi rol en la comunidad es participación en reuniones de la parroquia. También, como parte de la atención en el Infocentro se ayuda a jóvenes y la comunidad mediante la atención al usuario. Soy estudiante y a la vez madre soltera. Estudio en la Universidad Técnica del Norte la carrera de Licenciatura en Secretariado Ejecutivo. Tengo una hija de 6 años de edad.

Mi nombre es Carlitos Marroquín. Tengo 60 años. Soy mestizo. Vivo en el barrio El Rosario. Trabajo con la junta parroquial. Mi rol en mi comunidad es trabajo social. Tengo mi esposa, se llama Alicia Rodrigues. Tengo cuatro hijos y seis nietos.

Mi nombre es Karina Zurita. Tengo 22 años. Soy mestiza. Vivo en el Barrio “Chimbacalle.” Soy estudiante. Soy participante en las asambleas de mi barrio. También asisto a participar en eventos deportivos de mi parroquia. Soy la primera hija de mis padres. Vivo con mi madre y mis abuelitos. Tengo un hermano de 5 añitos. Soy soltera. Soy estudiante del cuarto año de optometría en el Instituto Cordillera en Quito.

Me llamo María Sinbaña. Tengo 67 años. Soy mestiza. Soy de la parroquia La Esperanza, en el Barrio Mojanda. Trabajo en el campo y huerto [de su casa]. Soy madre de familia de 7 hijos. Soy separada de mi esposa.

Me llamo Nélida Puga. Tengo 78 años. Soy mestiza. Mi comunidad es el Barrio 6 en Enero. En mi comunidad asisto a las mingas del barrio. Mi lugar de distracción es la escuelita de los adultos mayores [el centro de adultos mayores]. Soy madre, y tengo 5 hijos y 11 nietos.

Mi nombre es Carlos Vizcaino. Tengo 23 años. Soy mestizo. Vivo en Barrio La Loma. Mi trabajo es agricultura. Mi rol en la comunidad es presidente de La Juventud.

Mi nombre es María “Elena” de la Torre Baraja. Tengo 34 años. Soy mestiza. Vivo en Barrio El Centro. Trabajo en el CIBV Santa Isabel. Trabajo como educadora en el CIBV de Tocachi. Me gusta trabajar con y por el bienestar de los niños. Tengo una niña de 10 años y estoy esperando mi segundo bebe. Soy casada. Trabajo con 9 niños y son como mis hijos, ellos también me llaman mamá.

Mi nombre es Hercilia Guachamin. Tengo 76 años de edad. Vivo en la parroquia de Tocachi, en El Centro. Soy mestiza. Yo asisto al CECUIDA y comparto con mis compañeros adultos mayores. Asisto a las asambleas parroquiales de la Junta de Agua y soy muy participativa en mi comunidad. Mi esposo se llamaba Emilio Mantilla, falleció hace 21 anos. Tengo 5 hijos, 4 hijos vivos y 1 fallecido. Tengo 11 nietos y 13 bisnietos.

Mi nombre es Hugo Fernando Maila Mantilla. Tengo 19 años. Soy mestizo. Vivo en Tocachi en el Barrio La Loma. Soy estudiante. Mi rol en la comunidad: soy parte del grupo de jóvenes que realizar talleres.

Mi nombre es Lali Imeldo Vilelo Mendoza. Tengo 45 años. Soy mestiza. Vivo en Tocachi, en el Barrio La Loma. Trabajo en el centro infantil. En la comunidad doy mi servicio de alimentación en el centro infantil también colaboro con el centro de salud porque también tengo 2 años de auxiliar enfermería. Soy muy colaboradora en la comunidad.

Mi nombre es Victoria Andagoya. Tengo 29 años. Soy mestiza. Vivo en Tocachi en Rumitola. Mi rol en la comunidad es Secretaria-Tesorera del GAD Tocachi y vicepresidenta del Centro lnfantil. Tengo un hijo quien diariamente lo llevo al Centro Infantil en donde recibe sus primeros aprendizajes para su futuro. Además brindo atención a personas que diariamente visitar al Gobierno Parroquial.

APPENDIX H – Consent forms

HOJA DE INFORMACIÓN PARA LA INVESTIGACIÓN

Bienestar, Desarrollo Comunitario y Cosmovisión Andina: Un Análisis de Fotografía Participativa Sobre el Significado de Desarrollo y Sus Resultados en Pedro Moncayo, Ecuador

Le(s) invitamos a participar en un estudio de investigación de este tema de modo que la investigadora y sus asociados (La Mancomunidad de los Gobiernos de las Parroquias Rurales de Pedro Moncayo y la Fundación Cimas) puedan entender más acerca de las relaciones entre bienestar (o "buen vivir" o "sumak kawsay"), participación en el desarrollo de la comunidad y las creencias de los miembros de la comunidad local. Usted(es) fue(ron) seleccionado(s) como un posible participante porque vive(n) en el Cantón Pedro Moncayo, dentro de la parroquia rural de [ELIJA UNA] La Esperanza / Malchinguí / Tocachi / Tupigachi y usted(es) ha(n) tenido experiencia con actividades de salud y/o desarrollo comunitario dentro de los últimos cinco años. Le pedimos que lea este formulario y formule cualquier pregunta que tenga antes de aceptar participar en este estudio.

Este estudio está siendo liderado por: Jennifer Fricas de la Universidad de Minnesota, Minnesota, Estados Unidos, quien se encuentra estudiando para obtener su doctorado en la Facultad de Educación y Desarrollo Humano.

Procedimientos:

Si usted acepta participar en este estudio, le solicitamos realizar las siguientes tareas:

Al inicio del estudio, se le pedirá asistir a un taller de capacitación para aprender sobre el método de fotovoz (photovoice), el cual se llevará a cabo en un lugar central dentro del Cantón Pedro Moncayo. La formación tendrá una duración de entre 6 y 8 horas y se dividirá en dos medias jornadas.

Se le pedirá llevar una cámara digital para usarla entre tres y siete días a fin de tomar fotos dentro de su comunidad como parte de su vida diaria, las que le podrían parecer a usted que representan el tema relacionado con la primera pregunta de la investigación. Este tema se discutirá al final del taller de fotovoz.

A la conclusión de este primer período fotográfico, se requerirá que usted se reúna brevemente (aproximadamente de 30 a 60 minutos) con la investigadora para que las fotografías que usted tomó pueden ser descargadas desde su cámara. Esta reunión se llevará a cabo en un lugar acordado por usted y la investigadora dentro del Cantón Pedro Moncayo. Durante esta reunión, se le pedirá que usted seleccione aproximadamente cinco de las fotografías que usted tomó durante la semana para presentarlas durante la reunión del grupo, en la que se discutirán las fotografías tomadas de su parroquia rural.

A la conclusión de este primer período fotográfico, se le pedirá asistir a una reunión de grupo de todos los participantes del estudio de su parroquia rural en particular. Esta reunión se llevará a cabo en un lugar central dentro de su parroquia, siempre que sea posible. En esta reunión, a usted se le dará tiempo para escribir títulos y subtítulos para cada una de sus fotos seleccionadas, lo que contará con la orientación de la investigadora y de otros participantes del estudio como fuese necesario y deseado. Durante esta reunión, se le pedirá que presente sus fotos seleccionadas junto con una breve descripción del porqué tomó dicha foto y cómo ésta representa el tema de la investigación. Otros participantes podrán comentar sobre su foto. La charla del grupo será facilitada por la investigadora. Durante esta reunión, se le pedirá que comente sobre las fotos de otros dentro de su grupo de investigación de su parroquia rural para que las similitudes y diferencias entre todas las fotografías tomadas y presentadas puedan ser discutidas y debatidas. A la conclusión de esta reunión, el grupo decidirá sobre nuestro enfoque al fotografiar temas relativos a la segunda pregunta de la investigación.

El proceso anterior se repetirá para la segunda pregunta/tema de la investigación. Es decir, el período para la toma de fotografías, la breve reunión individual con la investigadora y el/la participante, y la reunión del grupo para discutir la próxima ronda de fotos, se repetirán con temas relacionados a la segunda pregunta de la investigación. El periodo de investigación concluirá una vez finalizados los debates sobre las fotos de cada participante para cada tema/pregunta de la investigación.

Información adicional acerca de su participación: (1) Se le prestará una cámara digital simple para que la utilice durante el estudio. Durante el taller de capacitación de fotovoz, usted recibirá información acerca del cuidado y uso básico de la cámara, técnicas básicas de fotografía y de la ética de tomar fotos. (2) Todas las reuniones o debates grupales y entrevistas individuales serán grabados en audio para posterior análisis por parte de la investigadora. Estas grabaciones de audio se mantendrán confidenciales y servirán solamente para fines de la investigación. Grabación de audio será requerida para las reuniones de grupo. La grabación de audio será opcional para las reuniones individuales entre un(a) participante y la investigadora. (3) Usted se comprometerá a no compartir información sobre la investigación con personas de otras parroquias rurales del Cantón Pedro Moncayo que también puedan ser participantes en la investigación. (4) Algunos análisis adicionales de las fotografías y de las grabaciones de audio podrán ser realizadas por la investigadora mientras ella se encuentre en Ecuador. De ser así, se le podría solicitar proporcionar una retroalimentación acerca del análisis de la investigadora para ayudar a comprobar que la representación de los temas de investigación sea tan cercana como sea posible a lo que usted y el resto de participantes hayan pretendido. (5) Usted conservará los derechos de todas las imágenes, aparte de su uso como datos en la tesis doctoral de la investigadora. A la conclusión del estudio, usted se reunirá con la investigadora para discutir qué imágenes acepta que se incluyan en la investigación así como otros usos de las fotografías para la comunidad. Una copia de este formulario de consentimiento, llamado consentimiento de imágenes, está disponible ya para su revisión. (6) Usted podrá elegir participar en exposiciones dentro de la comunidad o en otras actividades resultantes de los datos de este estudio en las cuales sus fotografías (con sus títulos/subtítulos) puedan ser utilizadas con su permiso. Exposiciones en la comunidad y/u otras actividades podrán tener

lugar luego de la conclusión del período oficial del estudio y con o sin la participación de la investigadora.

Confidencialidad:

Los registros de este estudio se mantendrán en privado. En cualquier tipo de informe que podamos publicar, no incluiremos ninguna información que haría posible identificar a una persona en particular. Los registros de la investigación serán almacenados de manera segura y solamente los investigadores tendrán acceso a dichos registros. Solamente la investigadora, el/la transcriptor(a) (en Estados Unidos) y el traductor (en Estados Unidos) tendrán acceso a las grabaciones de audio realizadas durante este estudio. Las grabaciones de audio se mantendrán hasta un año después de la conclusión del estudio de la investigadora para luego ser borradas.

Carácter Voluntario del Estudio:

La participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Su decisión de participar o no, no afectará sus relaciones actuales o futuras con la Universidad de Minnesota o con La Mancomunidad de Gobiernos de Parroquias Rurales de Pedro Moncayo o la Fundación Cimas. Si usted decide participar, tendrá la libertad de no responder a cualquier pregunta o de retirarse en cualquier momento sin afectar dichas relaciones.

Contactos y Preguntas:

La investigadora que realiza este estudio es: Jennifer Fricas. Usted puede hacernos cualquier pregunta que usted tenga ahora. Si tuviese preguntas, **le animamos** a que contacte a Jennifer al 099-801-6702 o al correo electrónico frica003@umn.edu. La asesora académica de Jennifer es la Dra. Joan DeJaeghere y usted podrá comunicarse con ella por correo electrónico a deja0003@umn.edu.

Si usted tuviese preguntas o comentarios con respecto a este estudio y quisiera hablar con alguien que no sea la investigadora, **se le alienta a** ponerse en contacto con la Línea de Defensa de Sujetos de Investigación de la Universidad de Minnesota, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; 001-612-625-1650.

Se le dará una copia de esta información para que la mantenga en sus registros.

Nombre del/la Participante: ________________________________

Parroquia del/la Participante: __________________________

Iniciales del/la Participante: _________________________________

Fecha de las Iniciales: ______________________________________

Formulario de Consentimiento para 'Modelo'

Información General

Este formulario de consentimiento forma parte de un proceso desarrollado por Jennifer Fricas de la Universidad de Minnesota (EE.UU.) y los asociados locales: Fundación Cimas del Ecuador y la Mancomunidad de las Parroquias Rurales del Cantón Pedro Moncayo. Varios participantes de su comunidad se encuentran tomando fotografías a fin de ayudar a comprender la conexión existente entre el bienestar, el desarrollo local y las creencias comunitarias en esta región. Como parte de este proceso, el/la fotógrafo debe solicitarle su consentimiento si usted(es) aparece(n) de manera reconocible en cualquier fotografía que él/ella haya tomado.

Consentimiento

Yo doy mi permiso para que ________________________________(el/la "fotógrafo") utilice fotos de mí (el/la "modelo") __________________________ (<INSERTAR EL NOMBRE DEL/LA MODELO>) tomadas el ____________________________________ (fecha) en ____________________________________ (lugar) para cualquier propósito y cualquier medio, en todo el mundo y sin límite de tiempo. Entiendo que el/la fotógrafo podrá utilizar las imágenes para cualquier fin que elija y que esto podrá incluir:

- En páginas web, disponible para cualquier persona con acceso a internet en todo el mundo.
- En materiales impresos, incluyendo artículos académicos, informes, libros, folletos y carteles.
- En exposiciones públicas, como se acordó con los asociados de la investigación: el/la participante-fotógrafos, Fundación Cimas del Ecuador y la Mancomunidad de las Parroquias Rurales del Cantón Pedro Moncayo.

Entiendo que no seré remunerado(a) por ninguno de dichos usos. Estoy de acuerdo que no tengo derecho a las imágenes, incluyendo la inspección o aprobación del uso de las Imágenes por parte del/la Participante o Investigadora, y que los derechos de las Imágenes pertenecen al/la Fotógrafo. Estoy de acuerdo que las imágenes puedan ser combinadas con otras imágenes, texto y gráficos y que éstas podrán ser recortadas o modificadas. Estoy de acuerdo que el/la fotógrafo podrá asignar este permiso a otra persona tal como la investigadora.

Información de Contacto y Firmas:

Nombre Completo del/la Modelo: ____

Teléfono del/la Modelo: ____

Dirección de Correo Electrónico del/la Modelo: _____________________________

Firmado (Modelo): ____

Fecha: ____

Firma del/la Testigo (puede
ser el/la Participante/Fotógrafo): ____

Nombre del/la Testigo (puede ser el/la
Participante/Fotógrafo) (Letra de Imprenta): __________________________

Acuerdo de Uso de Imágenes

Yo, ____, creador(a) y propietario(a) de los derechos de autoría de las imágenes detalladas en la hoja adjunta, por la presente doy mi permiso a la investigadora, Jennifer Fricas, para que utilice estas imágenes en formato de impresión o digital de acuerdo con los términos detallados a continuación.

Términos y Condiciones

El uso principal de las imágenes será para la investigación original de la tesis doctoral de la investigadora. Esto podrá incluir la publicación de artículos científicos, libros o material en línea relacionado con la investigación. Usted ya ha acordado el uso de sus fotos como parte del trabajo de la investigadora cuando aceptó ser parte del estudio.

Las imágenes podrán también ser utilizadas por los asociados locales de investigación: la Fundación Cimas del Ecuador y la Mancomunidad de las Parroquias Rurales del Cantón Pedro Moncayo, a fin de aumentar la conciencia de, y el apoyo a, proyectos de desarrollo local.

Las imágenes podrán ser utilizadas de las siguientes maneras: en exposición pública, electrónicamente a través de sitios web, en la prensa local, nacional o internacional que acompañe a noticias o reportajes especiales, en publicaciones o materiales de promoción producidos por la investigadora o por sus asociados.

Entiendo que al firmar este acuerdo, yo renuncio al derecho de retirar cualquier imagen al que se refiera este formulario de su uso público. Siempre que sea posible, la investigadora retirará imágenes del acceso público a petición del/la fotógrafo. Sin embargo, donde las imágenes ya hayan sido difundidas, tal como en un sitio web, estas podrían ya haber sido copiadas o guardadas y utilizadas hacia el futuro con fines que podrían o no alinearse con el objetivo original del proyecto.

Cuando se utilice una imagen, esta será acompañada de los siguientes créditos:
<NOMBRE DEL/LA PARTICIPANTE o SEUDÓNIMO> │ <FECHA> │ J. FRICAS Y <NOMBRE DEL ASOCIADO> │ <NOMBRE DEL PROYECTO> │ ECUADOR │ TÍTULO Y LEYENDA CORTA PARA LA FOTO ESCRITA POR EL/LA PARTICIPANTE.

Firma del Fotógrafo (Participante en la Investigación) y Datos de Contacto:

Nombre: (Letra de imprenta): ______________________________

Dirección: ____

Teléfono: ____

Correo Electrónico: ________________________________

Firma: ____

Fecha: ____

Firma de la Investigadora y Datos de Contacto:

Nombre (Letra de imprenta): Jennifer Fricas

Teléfono: Local: 098-121-7753; Internacional: 001-571-220-3199

Correo Electrónico: frica003@umn.edu

Firma: ____

Fecha: ____

Listado o Miniaturas de las Imágenes a las que se Refieren Este Acuerdo:

< Insertar aquí >

APPENDIX I – Volume of data produced

Co-researchers took a total of 1,435 photos over the course of the study. Of these, 296 were selected to be presented in group discussions and received titles and brief descriptions. Data on the breakdown of photos by parish, by round, and by research question are presented in the tables below.

Total Photos, By Round (All and Selected for Further Discussion) and Parish

	Tupigachi	Malchinguí	La Esperanza	Tocachi	Total, By Round
Round One All Photos	279	199	306	144	**928**
Round One Selected Photos	47	32	34	37	150
Round Two All Photos	150	87	112	158	**507**
Round Two Selected Photos	42	29	38	37	146
TOTALS (All/Selected)	**429** / 89	**286** / 61	**418** / 72	**302** / 74	**1,435**

Total Selected Photos, By Round, Research Question, and Parish

Round	Research Question	Tupigachi	Malchinguí	La Esperanza	Tocachi	Total, By Research Question
One	**Q1:** BV/SK	23	17	17	18	**75**
	Q2: Changes	24	15	17	19	**75**
Two	**Q3:** Participation	22	11	19	12	**64**
	Q4: Services	20	18	19	25	**82**
	Total, By Parish	**89**	**61**	**72**	**74**	**296**

Some interesting trends emerged through the data collection process with regard to the number of photos taken; patterns were consistent across all parishes. Many more photos were taken during round one, as co-researchers became accustomed to the cameras, experimented with various photo compositions, and were eager to produce a wide range of options for our review and selection. By round two, many co-researchers reported feeling more comfortable with the camera and photovoice process. Many shared they had an idea of what they wanted to take in response to the third and fourth research questions and took those photos more directly, with less experimentation and "free-shooting" of a volume of photographs. The photos selected from the total show relatively consistent numbers in large part because the participants were asked to "select about three each" to respond to each of the research questions in each round. Having said this, each co-researcher had latitude. For instance, in round two in Tocachi, one co-researcher only wanted to select one photo in respond to question three about participatory processes, but

selected seven with regard to programs and services (question four). I tried to provide guidelines and reflect back what I heard each person talking through during their photo selection process, but very rarely did I harshly limit the total number of photos selected to share or the breakdown of total photos across each of the two questions per round.

As outlined in Chapter Three, all individual interviews with and group discussions among co-researchers were audio recorded and professionally transcribed. The volume of data resulting from all of these interview types is summarized in the table below. There was a total of 759 minutes (12.65 hours) of individual interview data (355 transcribed pages) and 424 minutes (7.1 hours) of group discussion audio (143 transcribed pages). In Chapter Three, I discussed the ways in which this data was cleaned, coded, organized, and queried within Atlas.ti.

Total Interview Data, By Parish and Round

Round	Type of Interview Data	Tupigachi	Malchinguí	La Esperanza	Tocachi	Total, By Data Type
One	Individual, Audio Minutes	143	89	143	69	444 minutes
	Individual, Transcribed Pages	62	50	65	34	211 pages
	Group, Audio Minutes	66	31	64	40	201 minutes
	Group, Transcribed Pages	19	11	18	14	62 pages
	ROUND ONE TOTALS (Audio/Pages)	209 / 81	120 / 42	207 / 83	109 / 48	
Two	Individual, Audio Minutes	104	58	84	69	315 minutes
	Individual, Transcribed Pages	50	25	35	34	144 Pages
	Group, Audio Minutes	62	63	36	62	223 minutes
	Group, Transcribed Pages	17	26	11	27	81 pages
	ROUND TWO TOTALS (Audio/Pages)	166 / 67	121 / 51	120 / 46	131 / 61	
	GRAND TOTALS, By Parish (Audio/Pages)	375 / 148	241 / 112	327 / 129	240 / 109	

APPENDIX J – Group Interview Guide

The goal of parish-by-parish group meetings around each theme round is to have a collaborative discussion in which, after each participant has presented her selected photos from the outshoot, all participants' dialogue about the similarities and differences between their photos in order to identify any key elements emerging from what was collectively produced in the outshoot for that round's theme. Like in the individual interviews, the researcher is a facilitator of the group's discussion and will use the following semi-structured prompts or photovoice group analysis methods to encourage and support the discussion. I typically followed this process for a group discussion:

- Welcome and introductions to the group meeting structure
- Explanation of the importance of titles and brief descriptions in photovoice
- Time for each participant to write titles and brief descriptions of each photo. Co-researchers were given individual sheets of paper with the specific research question and the participant's chosen photo on top, and a space for them to write a title and description of the photo below. Co-researchers worked independently with assistance from me and Vicky. If a participant could not write, he or she verbally explained the title and description they wanted and Vicky or I wrote it on the sheet for them.
- Presentation of the photos for Research Question 1 (round one) or Research Question 3 (round two). The chosen photos pertaining to that question were projected on a screen and each participant, in turn, read their corresponding title and description to the group.
- Group analysis and discussion of Research Question 1 (round one) or Research Question 3 (round two). The following questions were used as prompts to get discussion started:
    - For Research Question 1:
        - What themes appear to us when we look at and think about the similarities in the photos?
        - How do these issues affect groups or the community as a whole? How do they affect individual members of the community?
        - What explanations can we given to explain the themes that appear in these photos?
    - For Research Question 3:
        - What themes appear to us when we look at and think about the similarities in the photos?
        - What are the good things about participation processes in our parish (that we have documented through our photos)?
        - What are the bad things (or the things that need improvement) about participation processes in our parish?
- Presentation of the photos for Research Question 2 (round one) or Research Question 4 (round two). The chosen photos pertaining to that question were projected on a screen and each participant, in turn, read their corresponding title and description to the group.

- Group analysis and discussion of Research Question 2 (round one) or Research Question 4 (round two). The following questions were used as prompts to get discussion started:
    - The prompts for Research Question 2 are the same as those listed above for Research Question 1.
    - For Research Question 4 were:
        - What themes appear to us when we look at and think about the similarities in the photos?
        - Which are the most important services or programs for us in reaching buen vivir? Why do these services or programs help us to reach buen vivir?
        - Which are the services or programs that need to be improved so that they can better help us reach buen vivir? How should these services or programs be improved?
- Logistics for either Round 2 (after Round 1) or for the end of the study (after Round 2)
- Refreshments and adjournment

Group discussion prompts from the research

Prompts using the SHOWeD method (Catalini & Minkler, 2010, p. 438):

1. What do you **See** here?
2. What's really **Happening** here?
3. How does this relate to **Our** lives?
4. Why does this problem, concern, or strength **Exist**?
5. What can we **Do** about it?"

Prompts using the VOICE method (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 381):

Voicing Our Individual and Collective Experience

- What issues do you see emerging from these photographs?
- How do these issues affect individuals? How do these issues affect groups of people or communities?
- What themes appear to us as we look and think about patterns in these photographs?
- What theories can we develop to explain the themes we see in these photographs?

APPENDIX K – Participant observation notes: *cajas de ahorro y crédito*

July 27, 2017

Around 5 pm we called Marcelino, the driver, again and he arrived to take us to the *junta parroquial* offices in Tocachi. Apparently, Cecilia and Vicky belong to a small *caja de ahorro y crédito* there. They were having their monthly meeting and I was invited along. When we arrived we were greeted by the *GAD parroquial* president of Tocachi and the secretary. Very few people were going to attend, as it turns out. Many of them had already made their monthly contribution to the secretary. So everyone laughed about how we were rushing over and it turns out only about one person from outside our group was there.

It was hard to understand what was happening at the meeting and even though there were pauses in the action I didn't want to interrupt to ask questions as I thought it might not be the best time. So I just observed. At length, Cecilia shared with me some of the basics of their group.

Apparently they are about 15 members. They each contribute $10 per month. This month's meeting was their 27th, so each person has $270 in capital invested. They received 2% interest on their capital each month. People could request loans/credit and the group debates and decides whether to grant it. Also, members decide each year whether to reinvest their capital or not. In addition, debt can be renegotiated. Those were about all of the points I could grasp. Each person had a yellow thick paper pamphlet which served as their register for their account in the *caja*.

The secretary had her laptop and was marking documentation/calculations, I assume on a spreadsheet, I could not see, for each person, and then she marked their yellow register as well and returned it to them. People owed various amounts and I couldn't really tell why they did (in addition to their monthly contribution). I would like to learn more. I would also be eager to see another *caja de ahorro y crédito* to see how they compare, as Ceci told me that this one is quite small.

Aug, 14, 2017

This Monday evening was the meeting of the *caja de ahorro y crédito* that seems to be managed by the *mancomunidad*. Vicky, upon inviting me, referred to it as "*nuestra caja*" [our caja] but I didn't catch exactly what she meant by that. We arrived to Malchinguí around 5 pm after a ride from Marcelino and a stop in the *panadería*. The meeting was held in the small room in the church side-building, the same place where the Malchinguí competencies matrix was discussed.

The name of the *caja* is "*Apostándole a la Vida*" ["Betting on Life"] and the group has their own receipt books printed with their name, a checkbook, and a binder which the older man in the suit brought and guarded and made notes in at the end of the night (I learned this as the meeting went on).

When we arrived there were already two women waiting outside but the door was locked. We waited for a few minutes and then *Compañera* Margarita arrived and sent someone to get the key from some boy who was supposed to be watching over the building while the Padre [priest] was out of town.

We were let in. The room had a small desk at the far end which was set up to accommodate the treasurer and other leaders of the *caja*. The walls were lined with chairs and other seating. At about 5:15 pm there were 12 people present. The treasurer arrived promptly and began setting up her laptop. Apparently the secretary was absent so Vicky was acting secretary for the night. Andres is the president of the *caja*. An older, distinguished looking gentleman wearing a full suit and brightly polished black dress shoes asked where Ceci was and when Vicky said she needed to be absent again because of caring for her mother he replied, "*Otra vez*?" [Again?]

The treasurer called the meeting to order (at this point Andres was not yet present) and people came up one by one to turn in what seemed like their monthly dues. People began pulling out money from various hiding places and pockets and change purses and counting it out to be ready to go. The amount initially seemed to be $20.50 but later, with other people paying different amounts, I lost track. Perhaps since this *caja* is larger and has been operating for longer, each person actually paid an amount specific to them… The treasurer did seem to be looking up amounts on a spreadsheet. Vicky wrote receipts out for each person. People chatted or waited quietly while the accounting was happening. Some people continued to arrive and greet everyone as they entered. Some young women brought children.

By 5:30 pm there was about 13-15 people present. The breakdown was about 11 women and 4 men. The treasurer and Vicky continued to collect money, with the treasurer keeping notes in a notebook on her lap while consulting the computer spreadsheet. Some people's tab seemed to take a lot longer to figure than others. One person seemed to owe over $200 and there was a discrepancy figuring the numbers, so that took a while.

Andres arrived at about 5:40 pm and sat up front with the treasurer and Vicky. At 5:45 Vicky made an announcement that pertained to some people in the group who had worked in the past with the Canadian volunteers and were invited to a lunch on Aug 26th in their honor. She needed the count of how many people in the family would be attending so the lunch could be planned. No one explained my presence and no one really seemed to mind my being there.

There seemed to be a short (5-10 min) discussion going on among the leadership. Then at 5:50 pm, Andres called the meeting to order and read an agenda (like in other formal meetings, *Punto Uno, Punto Dos*, [Point One, Point Two] etc.). There was a motion by Vicky to adopt the agenda after Andres asked if the members had any additions or corrections. Next came a roll-call by Vicky. People answered with "*presente*" [present] or "*ya está en camino*" [s/he is on the way] if they knew the person whose name was called

was on their way. At this point, I counted 19 people present. Vicky noted there were "*muy pocos ausentes*" [very few absences].

The next item on the agenda was entertaining a request in writing which Andres read. The treasurer read the state of the financials, ostensibly so that the membership could decide on whether to grant the request. At the moment, each person seemed to have $400 in capital in the *caja*. Andres seemed to ask whether anyone had any input on the written request but no one said anything. He asked whether the group could proceed with the request (which I didn't totally understand) and seemed to receive yeses but it was not clear. Then they moved on to the next agenda item.

The next agenda item was to set the date of the next meeting, which was fixed for September 11. Next Andres asked the person responsible for bringing the snack for today's meeting to bring it in. There was a reminder to the person whose responsibility it is to bring the snack next month.

More money was collected at this point and I was not sure of the difference between this and the collections from earlier in the evening. As the money was collected, it was counted by Vicky and the treasurer and then handed to Andres, who seemed to organize and count it once again. One woman had her money in a plastic bag like that from the grocery store for produce.

"Snacks" was rice with vegetables and salami or bologna-like pieces in a half-Styrofoam to-go container and "*agua de remedio*" which was warm tea served from a large Tesalia water bottle, reused.

Two women and a baby arrived at 6:15 pm. Another woman arrived at 6:20 pm and seemed winded. I assume that people were coming from work. This woman had her money in a small blue plastic bag that looked worn. I noticed that when people had questions about the building or general affairs, they seemed to ask *Compañera* Margarita.

Twice the treasurer or Vicky put in money to make what the person owed balance – once it was just 2 cents and another time it was $2. Some people received multiple receipts but I was not sure why.

It seems there are pros and cons of having a large *caja*. Probably it enables more to be done, because there is more money, of course. But it takes a very long time to do accounting each month. Maybe the members don't mind, enjoy the conviviality, visiting…

People who were owed change seemed to be called up at the end after all the collecting was done. This seemed to be what the treasurer was noting as she collecting money: whether the person was even or owed some change. When smaller change was needed, the group was asked: 2 x 50 cents for $1? 4 x 25 cents for $1? *Algo de chiquititos? Alguien con diez centavos*? [Anyone with small [change]? Anyone with 10 cents?]

The accounting part of the meeting seemed to end at 6:45 pm. At the end of the evening, Andres asked for the members' attention so that the total collected tonight could be announced by the treasurer. It was $2,096.48.

It didn't seem that there was any other business left after this point and people began to leave shortly after the amount collected was announced. At the end, after the majority of people had left, money was paid out to a member – perhaps the one who made the request? – and a receipt from a different receipt book was issued by Vicky. In fact, those people who remained seemed to be receiving money and/or attesting/signing to the final count of the money collected.

APPENDIX L – Handout on photovoice exhibition action steps

El Foco o Los Temas de la Exposición

1. ¿En cuál(es) tema(s) querrían enfocar los participantes para la exposición? O, ¿desean incluir los participantes una variedad de sus fotos, sin el foco de un tema particular?
2. ¿Cómo se llamara la exposición? ¿Cómo será decidido el nombre de la exposición?

Ubicación y Presupuesto para la Exposición

3. ¿Cuál es el presupuesto disponible para la exposición? Esto va a afectar decisiones adicionales (vea abajo).
4. ¿Dónde tendrá lugar la exposición?
    a. ¿Cuál es el tamaño y disponibilidad de este espacio?
    b. ¿Tendrá este espacio una "audiencia que pasa" con regularidad? O, ¿Lo necesitara ser abierto para visiones periódicas? (Vea abajo)
    c. ¿Cómo pueden ser colgadas las fotos en el espacio? O, ¿Hay otra manera para exhibir las fotos en el espacio?

La Selección e Impresión de las Fotos

5. ¿Cuáles fotos escogerán los participantes para demonstrar su(s) respuesta(s) al tema de la exposición? (Vea paso 1, arriba) (La cantidad de fotos escogidas puede depender en el presupuesto y el tamaño del espacio de la exposición; vea arriba.)
    a. ¿Serán imprimidas las fotos o serán presentadas en una presentación digital? Si están imprimidas, ¿de qué tamaño deben ser las fotos?
    b. ¿Es necesario presentar la exposición en más de un idioma?
    c. ¿Serán parte de la exposición las biografías y los retratos de los participantes?
6. Las fotos escogidas necesitaran ser imprimidas en un tamaño suficiente grande para su presentación pública. También necesitaran ser montadas en algún fondo. Los títulos y las descripciones breves que acompañan cada foto también deberán ser imprimidos y montados para acompañar cada foto en la exposición.
7. Crean una manera para los visitantes a la exposición a proveer retroalimentación en la presentación y los temas representados (por ejemplo, una cajita de comentarios, un formulario de retroalimentación, un foro para discusión abierto, etcétera.)

Fechas y Duración de la Exposición

8. Deciden si habrá un "evento de apertura" para la exposición a cual los lideres, la familia y los amigos de los participantes, y/o la comunidad en general serán invitados.
    a. Si la respuesta es "si" :
        i. Arreglen para una lista de invitaciones y envíen/comuniquen las invitaciones.

ii. Decidan si los participantes—fotógrafos asistirán el evento de apertura para acompañar sus fotos para hablar con los visitantes, o si las fotos con sus títulos y descripciones serán mostradas sin más explicación.
iii. Decidan en el programa para el evento de apertura.
b. Si la respuesta es “no” :
i. Determinen como publicitar/comunicar las horas de abierto de la exposición.
ii. Decidan cual(es) participantes—fotógrafo(s) serán disponibles para responder a preguntas o proveer al personal para la exposición durante las horas abiertas.

9. Deciden si las fotos quedarán en la exposición una vez que está concluido el evento de apertura. Si la respuesta es “si,”
   a. Hagan los arreglamientos para las fotos a ser quedadas en el lugar de la exposición para un periodo de tiempo acordado
   b. Decidan si el lugar de la exposición necesitaran será abierto durante horas ciertas o si permanece abierto todo el tiempo. Si hay horas ciertas de apertura para el público, deciden como publicitar estas horas a los miembros de las comunidades.
   c. Identifiquen un participante—fotógrafo para ser el contacto primario para preguntas o inquietudes sobre la exposición
   d. Decidan cuales de los participantes—fotógrafos estarán disponibles para responder a preguntas o proveer al personal a la exposición durante sus horas abiertas (si alguien)

El Seguimiento de la Exposición y Acciones Futuras

10. Al concluso de la exposición:
    a. Tengan una reunión de los participantes—fotógrafos (y los líderes de la comunidad, si esta apropiado) para discutir sus experiencias y las lecciones aprendidas de la exposición
    b. Remuevan fotos y sus títulos/descripciones y decidan como guardarlas para uso en el futuro, o distribuirlas entre los participantes—fotógrafos
    c. Revisen los comentarios, la retroalimentación, y las sugerencias de los visitantes de la exposición y deciden en próximos pasos para acción, basada en estos comentarios y/o las experiencias de los participantes—fotógrafos
    d. Colaboren con líderes formales y no formales para tomar acción en las decisiones de paso 10c, arriba

Referencias

Palibroda, B., Krieg, B., Murdock, L. & Havelock, J. (2009). A Practical Guide to Photovoice: Sharing Pictures, Telling Stories and Changing Communities. Retrieved from http://www.pwhce.ca/photovoice/pdf/Photovoice_Manual.pdf

PhotoVoice. (n.d.[b]). PhotoVoice Manual. Retrieved from https://photovoice.org/photovoice-manual/.

EPÍLOGO

Querría reconocer mi abuelita y mi bisabuelita por el lado de mi padre, cuyas nombres de nacimiento eran Kaliopi Karabias y Guadalupe León Mendoza, respectivamente. Nadie de veras puede entender los sacrificios de las generaciones anteriores, especialmente cuando han sido ocultados por el paso del tiempo y por las revisiones de la memoria, tanto exactas como desafiantes. Para sanar lo que venimos conocer, necesitamos descubrir, aprender, reconocer…retirar los secretos de las sombras en las que han vividos y llevarlos a la luz. Hay que vivir las vidas que no pudieron ser vividas por las mujeres que nos precedieron.

Yo les veo, Nana y Guadalupe, y les agradezco.