

Renewing Social Development in the 21st Century

A Concept for Discussion*

Executive Summary

Social development has been a concern of the United Nations since its inception and has always been seen as both an end and a means. It is a critical issue in the post-2015 discussions, primarily as a key element of other issues. It is therefore appropriate to re-think what social development means in the present context. Over the almost 70 years since the United Nations first addressed social development through the Commission for Social Development, the approaches have varied over three periods. While the definition of social development as an end has changed little, priorities within it have varied. Initially the primary focus was on means, but over time, it increasingly focused on some elements rather than others, narrowed its focus, and may have reduced its influence. New mandates being developed for the post 2015 goals have increased a focus on means, but how best to use these means is still a question that the Commission can address. Key means include social-specific policies like social protection, improving institutions at all levels, but emphasizing the local, increasing the use of social research in planning and programme development and increasing popular participation in decision-making and programme implementation. These can be applied to three issues that have increasing relevance in the post-2015 world: growing inequality, increased conflict based on identity politics and climate change. Examining social development means in this context can create a dynamic and effective Commission and for this ten questions to address in the next phase of discussion are suggested.

* Prepared by Dr. John Mathiason, Visiting Lecturer, Cornell Institute for Public Affairs, Cornell University

Contents

Executive Summary	1
Introduction	3
The evolution of social development	4
First period (1945-1969).....	4
Second Period (1970-1995)	5
Third Period (1996-2014).....	7
The evolution: a summary.....	9
Elements in re-thinking social development	10
New approaches to studying and measuring social progress	11
Inequality and the challenge of current models.....	13
Climate Change	16
Participation as the key social development variable	17
Conflict and social development.....	22
Renewing Social Development: Next Steps	23

Introduction

The decision of the Commission for Social Development to select rethinking and strengthening social development in the contemporary world as the priority theme for 2015-2016 provides an unusual opportunity for an intergovernmental body to improve its performance and at the same time influence the way in which the international system addresses the emerging problems of the 21st Century.

There is recognition of the importance of social development in the next global strategy. The term is mentioned nine times in *The Future We Want*¹, the outcome document of the Rio+20 Summit. Five of these were in connection with economic development and were not defined, but the other four mentions were included social development along with economic growth and the environment as key end-states. In its fourth paragraph, the Summit stated:

We also reaffirm the need to achieve sustainable development by promoting sustained, inclusive and equitable economic growth, creating greater opportunities for all, reducing inequalities, raising basic standards of living, fostering equitable social development and inclusion, and promoting integrated and sustainable management of natural resources and ecosystems that supports, inter alia, economic, social and human development while facilitating ecosystem conservation, regeneration and restoration and resilience in the face of new and emerging challenges.

The General Assembly is working toward defining the Post-2015 goals that should implement the Sustainable Development Summit's agreements. Its Open-ended Working Group, by June 2014 had defined seventeen goals, in which social development related priorities could be observed in fifteen.

The challenge to the Commission will be to make policy and program proposals on how social development, rethought and adapted, can help achieve these emerging goals and address the problems for the 21st Century. For this to happen, the Commission should be aware of the sources of its mandates, with a view to determining which continue to provide priorities and which need to be revisited. The process can engage all stakeholders by being open, as is being done with the definition of the post-2015 sustainable development goals, but with a specific focus on how social development is essential for achieving those goals.

For the discussion to be productive, a useful rule is that to know where you are going, it is a good idea to know where you have been and why. This is critical since social development has been part of the United Nations work since its inception, sometime unchangeable and sometimes revised in the light of global changes. This means looking at what problems were being addressed by the United Nations over time and how this leads to finding solutions in the 21st Century in terms of the key issues to which the Commission can contribute. With that in mind, this analysis is part of the first phase of the preparation for the 2015-2016 sessions of the Commission.

The evolution of social development

Social development was reflected in the Preamble of the United Nations Charter, which set out the goals of the organization, when it stated that “We the Peoples of the United Nations determined ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends ... to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples...”

Based on significant final documents that reflect international agreements, it can safely be said that there have been three periods in the evolution of social development, each characterized by its larger political context. The first is from the founding of the United Nations to the adoption of the Declaration on Social Progress and Development in 1969. The second is from then to the World Summit on Social Development in 1995. The third is from the Summit to now. Each of these periods the Commission addressed the problems of the world at the time, and set precedents that can put the future into an agreed policy context.

In all three periods, social development has been seen as both an end and a means. Seen as an end, it describes a state that should be reached as a goal or as an end-state within a strategic period. As a means, it describes socially-based actions that affect the achievement of other objectives. In all periods, social development has been seen as both end and means, but the emphasis has varied, as have the priorities for specific social development ends and social means.

First period (1945-1969)

In the first period, from 1945-1969, the United Nations went from a focus on recovering from World War II to the emerging of new countries from colonialism. This culminated in 1969, when the Commission drafted a Declaration on Social Progress and Development that was adopted by the [General Assembly at its 24th session](#). The Declaration still stands as a comprehensive expression of the role of social development in achieving broader objectives, although one that has to an extent been forgotten. For example, it was not cited at all in the final document of the World Summit on Social Development.

The Declaration was adopted with three parts: (1) principles, (2) objectives and (3) means and methods. These reflect clearly how social progress and development were seen after the first twenty years of the United Nations. The first part established the context for social progress and development. Its first article stated

All peoples and all human beings, without distinction as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, nationality, ethnic origin, family or social status, or political or other conviction, shall have the right to live in dignity and freedom and to enjoy the fruits of social progress and should, on their part, contribute to it.

It then elaborates on the political context necessary for achieving this, including especially development. This suggests that social development was about to replace social progress as the driving end-state descriptor.

Part Two defines what is meant by the broad goal: “Social progress and development shall aim at the continuous raising of the material and spiritual standards of living of all members of society.” It does not give a precise definition, but rather sets out eighteen goals of different degrees of specificity. They include broad goals like health, education and employment, that are dealt with by Specialized Agencies; cross-cutting goals like eliminating poverty, hunger and malnutrition; recognition of human rights for all and for specific categories of people like mothers and children; international political goals like eliminating “all forms of foreign economic exploitation, particularly that practised by international monopolies, in order to enable the people of every country to enjoy in full the benefits of their national resources.” There were goals that were specific to the work of the Commission, including provision of social welfare and social defense services. The development orientation had clearly overtaken the social progress goal.

The largest part of the Declaration is Part III on means and methods, which sets out a broad agenda of actions that should be taken. The first two, sound planning, that takes social issues into account, (Article 14) and ensuring effective participation of all elements of society in the preparation and execution of national plans and programmes, (Article 15) are particularly relevant to the debates on the post-2015 objectives.² Others include a broad list of measures that relate to development more broadly, including funding, legislation to ensure enjoyment of rights, international technical and financial assistance.

Second Period (1970-1995)

The second period runs from 1969 to the adoption of the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development and Programme of Action by the World Summit on Social Development in 1995 and endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 50/161. The Copenhagen Declaration covers most of the same issues as the 1969 Declaration, although it has a greater emphasis on international action. Over the intervening twenty-five years, the global political context changed as a result of development itself, where developing countries needs determined international priorities, there was a clear focus on human rights and public policies to implement the priorities and an increase in conflict in many countries. It was also the period of United Nations Development Decades that were increasingly economic in orientation.

In social development, there were shifts in focus during the period. At the beginning of the period, one area of emphasis was on community development and popular participation. This declined dramatically in emphasis, partly because community development went out of favor and popular participation became more problematic in many countries. At the same time, some issues that had been less important parts

of social development work, like the family and cooperatives, received increasing attention (including, by 1994, the declaration of International Year of the Family). Social development was also increasingly expected to be seen in the context of the strategies of the United Nations Development Decades, each of which had a social dimension although their main foci were on economic development.³

One indicator of problems was the approach taken in the Report on the World Social Situation, a Secretariat study first issued in 1951 with the intention of providing a social, as contrasted with economic, analysis of issues. It had been influential to an extent, dealing with subjects like Practical methods of promoting social change at the local level (1965).⁴ In 1970, it provided a broad analysis of issues, particularly taking into account the political developments in Western Europe and the United States in the late 1960's. While the document was reviewed many times, when it reached the Third Committee of the General Assembly in 1971, it was attacked by the United States representative for equating social development with the absence of dissent.⁵ While the resolution on the Survey (2771(XXVI)) essentially endorsed the recommendations, it did say that the next Survey should bear in mind "the deliberations on this item at the current session of the General Assembly." Over the next 20 years, the Survey, produced once every four years, was much more conservative and careful.⁶

The year 1995 had a particular significance. There had been a sequence of United Nations conferences (environment in 1992, human rights in 1993, population in 1994 and women in 1995). There was clearly a move for reflection in different fields as the United Nations reached 40 years of age and supporters of social development argued successfully to have a Summit on the theme. The Copenhagen Declaration of the World Summit included ten commitments from States, including improving the environment for social development, eradicating poverty, achieving full employment, promoting social integration, achieving equality between women and men, improving access to education, increasing development in Africa and the LDCs, including social goals in structural adjustment programmes, increasing resources for social development and improving cooperation for social development especially through the UN system. Some of these, like the emphasis on Africa and the LDCs, and structural adjustment were new, but most were similar to the earlier Declaration.

The Copenhagen Declaration defined social development very broadly in its principles. It stated

25. We heads of State and Government are committed to a political, economic, ethical and spiritual vision for social development that is based on human dignity, human rights, equality, respect, peace, democracy, mutual responsibility and cooperation, and full respect for the various religious and ethical values and cultural backgrounds of people. Accordingly, we will give the highest priority in national, regional and international policies and actions to the promotion of social progress, justice and the betterment of the human condition, based on full participation by all.

The goals (or end-states) were built around ten commitments. Of these, only three were really focused on social development: eradication of poverty, decent employment and social integration. The Programme of Action adopted by the Summit focused on these three areas, in addition to general contextual agreements on the international economic system and development cooperation. It included some 307 different specific actions in sixteen categories.

Most of the means included in the Programme of Action were government policies and programmes, reflecting the long-held view that the responsibility for achieving social progress and development rests with States. Like the 1969 Declaration, it did emphasize participation as a major means and 28 of the 307 actions involved increasing participation of individuals and groups. The Programme of Action states that (para. 2)

All the recommended actions are linked, either in the requirements for their design, including the participation of all concerned, or in their consequences for the various facets of the human condition. Policies to eradicate poverty, reduce disparities and combat social exclusion require the creation of employment opportunities, and would be incomplete and ineffective without measures to eliminate discrimination and promote participation and harmonious social relationships among groups and nations.

It further states that (para 7)

The ultimate goal of social development is to improve and enhance the quality of life of all people. It requires democratic institutions, respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms, increased and equal economic opportunities, the rule of law, the promotion of respect for cultural diversity and the rights of persons belonging to minorities, and an active involvement of civil society. Empowerment and participation are essential for democracy, harmony and social development. All members of society should have the opportunity and be able to exercise the right and responsibility to take an active part in the affairs of the community in which they live.

The Programme of Action, however, did not specify how to obtain empowerment and participation.

Third Period (1996-2014)

The third period has focused on the implementation of the agreements reached at Copenhagen in 1995, but has also included some major changes in international issues being dealt with.

The Commission was given the mandate, in General Assembly resolution 50/161, to “follow-up to and review of the implementation of the Summit.” It has done so by establishing a biennial system of priority themes, which will focus on key elements of the Programme of Action. These are shown in Table 1.

Year	Session	Priority theme
2014	52	Empowerment
2013	51	Empowerment
2012	50	Eradication of Poverty
2011	49	Eradication of Poverty
2010	48	Social integration
2009	47	Social integration
2008	46	Promoting full employment and decent work for all
2007	45	Promoting full employment and decent work for all
2006	44	Review of the first United Nations Decade on the Eradication of Poverty (1997-2006)
2005	43	Review of further implementation of the World Summit for Social Development and the outcome of the twenty-fourth special session of the General Assembly
2004	42	Improving Public Sector Effectiveness
2003	41	National and International Cooperation for Social Development
2002	40	Integration of social and economic policy
2001	39	Enhancing social protection and reducing vulnerability in a globalizing world, including The role of volunteerism in the promotion of social development
2000	38	Contribution of the Commission to the overall review of the implementation of the outcome of the Summit
1999	37	Social services for all and Initiation of the overall review of the implementation of the outcome of the World Summit for Social Development
1998	36	Promoting social integration and participation of all people, including disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons
1997	35	Productive employment and sustainable livelihoods
1996	34	Strategies and actions for the eradication of poverty

As can be seen, with the exception of 2002-2004 and 2013-2014, the focus has been on sections of the Programme of Action or on the review of the full Summit outcome. The agreed conclusions of the 2000, 2005 and 2010 sessions have contributed to the formal reviews and appraisal undertaken at the General Assembly's 24th session in 2000 and in its resolutions in 2005 and 2010. In the case of the General Assembly's 24th Special Session, the Assembly noted that progress had been uneven, but that there had been some improvements. While maintaining most of the policy recommendations, it added a number of new recommendations based on changes in the international environment. One of these was the emergence of new Internet-based communications (paras. 57, 58 and 72 of General Assembly resolution S-24/2), something that had not been included in the Commission's agreed conclusions.

The fifteen-year review in 2010 (General Assembly resolution 65/185) concluded that the problems being addressed had not changed and, if anything, were more complicated. The Commission provided only a partial review through focusing on social integration, although most of its conclusions on that aspect were incorporated into the resolution.. The Assembly review reiterated most of the policies incorporated in the Programme of Action, but included a larger focus on partnerships between governments, civil society and the private sector.

Over the period, the seven reports on the World Social Situation have included reviews of the three elements in the Programme of Action, with reports focused on all three (1997), Employment (2007) and Rethinking Poverty (2010), as well as a background on all of the issues (2001). In 2005, the Survey addressed what was termed the inequality predicament, foreshadowing an issue that had not been dealt with, except very generally, in the 1969 Declaration, and mostly in the context of poverty in the World Summit. It was dealt with only sparingly in the 2010 review. The issue has been further analyzed in the 2013 Report on the World Social Situation as is noted below.

Some issues related to sustainable development, including especially climate change, were not formally dealt with in the social development context in the three periods leading up to the present, although this has begun to change in the 2010 review where the importance of the problem was noted.

The evolution: a summary

Looking at the forty-four years since the Declaration was adopted, and the almost twenty since the World Summit, the international system has evolved into a multi-polar, highly diverse, and heavily interdependent system for sustainable development. The definition of social development in its broadest sense of improving the living conditions of all people has remained constant. However, international action for social development is likely to be more necessary than in the past. Second, the social development means such as tools for improving participation, especially in terms of information availability, are much better, although this has not been well-recognized in intergovernmental documents. Third, many of the issues relating to equality, especially in terms of gender and disability have been addressed in international policies. Fourth, the new problems to be dealt with, like climate change and increasing domestic conflict, are also much more critical to human survival than in the past and need concerted global action to solve.

Over the long period, the emphasis has shifted from a notion of social progress to one of social development. This reflects a global emphasis on developing countries, the majority of UN Member States, and on ends rather than means. The predominant means are now government policies, and a focus on groups (the poor, youth, aging, disabled and indigenous populations) in specific policies, rather than society as a whole, although many policies would apply to all members of society.

The original focus of social development was on broad policy, with a focus on means of action. In the second period, there was an increased focus on social groups as a subject for dealing with social aspects of development. In the third period, the normative aspects of the groups were mostly addressed, and the focus has been on the broader issues of poverty reduction and employment.

However, this view must be balanced with a sense of what has not changed or has gotten worse. First, as will be seen, economic inequality is, if anything, worse than before. Second, although information availability is improved, participation has not improved as much as would be expected. Third, social factors are still not incorporated effectively in national planning to address key issues, as the most recent review of the World Summit outcomes has stated. Fourth, social research is not being applied as effectively to defining strategies, policies and programmes. Each of these is elaborated below.

To contribute to achieving the post-2015 objectives (and to contribute to defining them), the Commission needs to reflect again on what social progress and development signify. In so doing, it can make a particular contribution by looking at the social development means that can influence the achievement of other international objectives. This would include increasing social research to determine the likely social development contributions as well as dealing with the effects of other policies. It would include examining how increased participation by people would lead to more effective policies as well as to the changes in their own behavior that would be required to solve global problems. For this, an examination of the importance of ensuring the information and communication technology are available and used, as well as the role of local organizations to achieve this⁷.

Many of these issues were raised in discussions of empowerment, the priority theme for the 2014 Commission session, but the conclusions and recommendations can go beyond this to focus on the role of social development in ensuring that sustainable development is achieved and global problems reduced.

Elements in re-thinking social development

This historical review has shown that key elements of what is now termed social development have remained constant over time. This includes the ultimate goal of better standards of living for all people in larger freedom. All of the successive intergovernmental documents have agreed on this goal. There is also a general agreement that social development includes a wide variety of areas that are dealt with by different international organizations, from education, health, employment, crime, migration and human development generally. There has also been a consistent recognition of the role of the Commission for Social Development in providing input into larger discussions, although the types of issues on which the Commission is expected to pronounce have varied over time and clearly need to be defined for the post-2015 period.

The process of defining the post-2015 goals, building on the agreements in *The Future We Want* is on-going and will only be completed at the next General Assembly. The most current draft proposes seventeen goals, many which fall within the widest definition of social development. These include ending poverty (goal 1), ending hunger (goal 2), healthy life for all (goal 3), equitable and inclusive quality education (goal 4), gender equality (goal 5) and achieve peaceful and inclusive societies (goal 16). In these and most of the other goals, there are priorities that are social in nature. For example, one priority under goal 13, promote actions to address climate change, is “improve education and training, awareness raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation and impact reduction, and early warning” which clearly falls under what is usually considered social development.

While poverty continues to be an issue and will remain one, it is being overtaken by inequality in the distribution of income and wealth which is now seen as a cause rather than a consequence of poverty, and by climate change and other threats to the human condition including conflict at the national level. Dealing with all three of these, through what is now termed sustainable development, requires humans to adapt their behavior to the new situations, which in itself requires social development. It also means using planning that takes into account social research to craft effective policies and programmes. These four themes are key elements in re-thinking social development.

New approaches to studying and measuring social progress

The United Nations has recognized the importance of research in achieving social progress and development. One institution, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) was created in 1963 to provide this. Twelve of the actions set out in 1995 in the Programme of Action for the WSSD involve specific research and data collection. There is a consensus that progress must be measured if social development is to be assessed properly. There are two elements to this: agreement on best outcome measures and use of research to determine why results have happened or not. This will have even greater importance in the post-2015 goals, since a high proportion of the proposed priorities are being defined with quantitative targets.

There has been improvement in the measurement of social progress, but more can be expected. For decades, economic measures were the main indicators used (including, for example, economic measures of poverty). In 1990 UNDP developed the Human Development Index that was based on a combination of health, education and income indicators. This has been used since then to rank countries in terms of the extent that they have achieved a satisfactory level of development. The HDI has evolved over time⁸ and, as the UNDP site notes, it now deals with issues of inequality.⁹

In 2010, the Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI) was introduced. The IHDI is the HDI adjusted for inequalities in the distribution of achievements in each of

the three dimensions of the HDI (health, education and income). The IHDI will be equal to the HDI value when there is no inequality, but falls below the HDI value as inequality rises. The difference between the HDI and the IHDI represents the 'loss' in potential human development due to inequality and can be expressed as a percentage. In 2012 the IHDI was calculated for 132 countries and the results are telling. For example, United States suffers a loss of more than 12% when its HDI value is adjusted for inequalities and moves 13 places down in rank.

Still, the HDI is still largely built on economic, rather than social, statistics. New alternatives are being defined including what is termed the Social Progress Index, created by a consortium of academic, non-governmental and private sector specialists.¹⁰ They have argued that:

Over the last half century, economic growth has lifted hundreds of millions out of poverty and improved the lives of many more. Yet it is increasingly evident that a model of development based on economic development alone is incomplete. A society which fails to address basic human needs, equip citizens to improve their quality of life, erodes the environment, and limits opportunity for its citizens is not succeeding. Economic growth without social progress results in lack of inclusion, discontent, and social unrest.

A broader and more inclusive model of development requires new metrics with which policymakers and citizens can evaluate national performance. We must move beyond simply measuring Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, and make social and environmental measurement integral to national performance measurement. Tracking social and environmental performance rigorously will inform and drive improvement in policy choices and investments by all stakeholders. Measuring social progress will also help to better translate economic gains into better social and environmental performance, which will unleash even greater economic success.

We define social progress as:

the capacity of a society to meet the basic human needs of its citizens, establish the building blocks that allow citizens and communities to enhance and sustain the quality of their lives, and create the conditions for all individuals to reach their full potential.

From this definition we derive the three dimensions of the Social Progress Index Framework: Basic Human Needs, Foundations of Wellbeing, and Opportunity. Each of these dimensions is disaggregated into its components (there are four components for each dimension). Each component is based on between three and six indicators.¹¹

Many of the indicators proposed are traditional and do not include variables concerned with participation or governance, again providing an index based on end-

states rather than process. This has implications for measuring the extent to which social development, as a means, functions properly.

The lack of research on what works to achieve social development objectives, or more precisely, the failure to use available research in setting international standards or to identify areas where more research is needed constitutes a major challenge to be addressed. It should be noted that evaluation of development programmes and projects is now becoming standard, at least for donor-funded activities, and this constitutes a base of research that can be tapped. Clearly there is a need for the Commission, through the Secretariat and its own deliberations, to draw on the most recent research as it makes its conclusions and recommendations. This can be seen in looking at current issues below.

Inequality and the challenge of current models

Economists will assert, without contradiction, that economic inequality has always existed and has been measured. Poverty, which can be seen as either an absolute (with an agreed numerical limit) or relative phenomenon, has always been present in societies and is reflected in inequality. What has changed in the 21st Century is the degree of measured inequality that is present and its implications for poverty, as well as political decision-making. The extent of the increase was documented by the United Nations in the 2013 *Report on the World Social Situation* (RWSS) entitled *Inequality Matters*.¹² Using data from 1980 to the present, the analysis shows that inequality has been increasing in half of the world's countries for which data exist. A longer historical series from the late 1700's to the present analyzed by Thomas Piketty in *Capital in the 21st Century* that shows that inequality characterized societies throughout the period, but that there was a reduction in the period from 1918 to 1980 due to a combination of events (wars) and policies. Since then, however, inequality has returned to levels not seen since the late 1800's.¹³

There are many consequences to inequality in income and the ownership of capital. There are inequalities in health and education. A major consequence is that it affects economic growth. As the RWSS, drawing on academic research noted in the text, points out¹⁴:

High levels of inequality can be a serious impediment to future economic growth and a potential cause of underdevelopment (Berg, Ostry, and Zettelmeyer, 2012; Easterly 2002; Bruno, Ravallion and Squire, 1996; Alesina and Rodrik, 1994). Berg and Ostry (2011) examined the relationship between income inequality and economic growth across 174 countries, to reveal that income inequality was a strong determinant of the quality of growth, even when market structure and other institutional factors were taken into account. Countries with low levels of inequality tend to sustain high rates of growth for longer durations, while growth spurts tend to fade more quickly in more unequal countries. Similarly, growth in more unequal countries can be much slower than that in countries with low initial levels of inequality (Bénabou, 1996).

Inequality reduces social mobility, since increasingly capital and income are passed through inheritance rather than individual improvement. In addition, increased inequality leads to increased social tension and conflict. As the RWSS points out, citing increasing research-based evidence:¹⁵

The relationship between income inequality and conflict is complex. Poorer countries tend to have more conflict than wealthier countries (Collier, 2007), and in highly unequal societies, both rich and poor groups are in conflict more often than groups whose wealth lies closer to the country average. Furthermore, horizontal inequalities between ethnic groups and States can promote conflict (Cederman, Weidmann and Gleditsch, 2011). Local economic characteristics also matter for conflict: civil conflicts are more likely to erupt in areas with low absolute income, even if a country's gross domestic product per capita is not necessarily low, and in areas with large deviations from national averages (Buhaug and others, 2011).

Historical studies such as Crane Brinton's *Anatomy of Revolution* suggest that revolutions begin when an emerging middle class is affected by economic problems provoked by an elite that reflects inequality, usually through the use of government power.¹⁶

The RWSS focuses on the effect of inequality on different groups. These include youth, older persons, persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and migrants. However, if women and children, as well as persons in rural areas and urban poor, are added, the people specifically affected by inequality constitute almost all human beings, except the very wealthy.

Piketty's analysis suggests that the problem applies to most of the population. He notes the effect of redistribution on how the general public viewed economic growth in social terms during the period of the Twentieth Century from 1914 to 1980 when inequality, both in terms of income and wealth, declined. He notes that in that period

... nearly half the population were able to acquire some measure of wealth and for the first time to own a significant share of national capital. This is part of the explanation for the great wave of enthusiasm that swept over Europe in the period 1945–1975. People felt that capitalism had been overcome and that inequality and class society had been relegated to the past. It also explains why Europeans had a hard time accepting that this seemingly ineluctable social progress ground to a halt after 1980, and why they are still wondering when the evil genie of capitalism will be put back in its bottle.¹⁷

He points out that this phenomenon stoked the belief that social progress was possible and that the goals set by the United Nations could be achieved.¹⁸

The fact that this was not the case for the cohorts born in the first half of the twentieth century was therefore a major event, which fostered

unprecedented faith in the irreversibility of social progress and the end of the old social order.

In short, inequality will undercut all other efforts to address international goals. As the RWSS notes:¹⁹

The many adverse consequences of inequality affect not only those at the lower end of the distribution, but also those who would seem to be benefiting from it. The onset—and continued impact—of the recent financial and economic crisis highlights the damage that inequalities can do to social and economic development. Inequality leads to less stable, inefficient economic systems that restrain economic growth and pose a serious barrier to the eradication of poverty. This, in turn, reduces the contribution of economic growth to social development and reduces social mobility.

The question, however, is what to do to address the problem. The RWSS suggests a series of actions to be taken by governments. These include universal provision of social services, taking services to vulnerable groups, providing a social protection floor, investing in education so that jobs can be more easily obtained, implementing fiscal and monetary policies that can reduce inequality, creating more and better paying jobs and reducing asset inequalities. All of these, as defined, are top-down policies that make an assumption about the extent that government programmes can actually reduce inequality by themselves. They are essentially the same as those included in the Declaration on Social Progress and Development and the World Summit on Social Development. The fact that inequality has been increasing suggests that top-down policies by themselves are not necessarily effective. Some analyses, like Piketty's, suggest that the influence of those at the top of the distribution system (who are frequently called the "one-percent") have excessive influence on those policies, which is one reason that the policies do not work as expected.

An alternative way of examining the issue is to look at bottom-up institutions and programmes that directly engage people and provide a channel for them to express their views, as well as provide them with locally-based services that can improve their economic and social prospects. In democratic states, this can counteract the influence of the very wealthy.

Recent analysis now suggests that this, in turn, requires an increase in popular participation, through these institutions. This is reflected in the analysis done by Acemoglu and Robinson in *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. They state:²⁰

What can be done to kick-start or perhaps just facilitate the process of empowerment and thus the development of inclusive political institutions? The honest answer of course is that there is no recipe for building such institutions. Naturally there are some obvious factors that would make the process of empowerment more likely to get off the ground. These would

include the presence of some degree of centralized order so that social movements challenging existing regimes do not immediately descend into lawlessness; some preexisting political institutions that introduce a modicum of pluralism, such as the traditional political institutions in Botswana, so that broad coalitions can form and endure; and the presence of civil society institutions that can coordinate the demands of the population so that opposition movements can neither be easily crushed by the current elites nor inevitably turn into a vehicle for another group to take control of existing extractive institutions. But many of these factors are historically predetermined and change only slowly.

While this has always been the case, it has been somewhat forgotten in recent years as the focus has been on national government decision-making. One factor that has historically reduced the influence of participation and local governance has been the difficulty of providing information either to or from local institutions. This is clearly changing and can be applied to dealing with inequality. As Piketty has noted:²¹

The essential point is that these various forms of democratic control of capital depend in large part on the availability of economic information to each of the involved parties. Economic and financial transparency are important for tax purposes, to be sure, but also for much more general reasons. They are essential for democratic governance and participation.

Climate Change

Climate change will clearly be the dominant focus for the next decades, since a failure to deal with it will cause unbelievable misery and vitiate any progress towards achieving other goals. The causes of climate change are clear and have been expressed most recently in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's current fifth assessment. The primary driver is greenhouse gas emissions, largely from energy generation from fossil fuels. The solutions to the problem are less clear. They are broadly grouped as measures for adaptation (the subject of the IPCC Working Group 2) and mitigation (Working Group 3). The two working group reports on solutions have already produced considerable controversy by showing the difficulties in either adaptation or mitigation of climate change.

While both assessments recognize that successful adaptation or increasing mitigation of greenhouse gas requires a significant change in human behavior, they do not specify how this is to happen. This uncertainty is clearly expressed in the Summary Report of Working Group 2:²²

Uncertainties about future vulnerability, exposure, and responses of interlinked human and natural systems are large (high confidence). This motivates exploration of a wide range of socioeconomic futures in assessments of risks. Understanding future vulnerability, exposure, and response capacity of interlinked human and natural systems is challenging due to the number of interacting social, economic, and cultural factors, which have been incompletely considered to date. These factors include wealth and

its distribution across society, demographics, migration, access to technology and information, employment patterns, the quality of adaptive responses, societal values, governance structures, and institutions to resolve conflicts. International dimensions such as trade and relations among states are also important for understanding the risks of climate change at regional scales.

As can be noted, the factors that have not been considered adequately include many of the key social development issues, including inequality, societal values, governance structures and institutions. Without addressing these, adaptation policies are unlikely to be successful

In terms of mitigation the IPCC notes that this will require policies to address energy supply, energy end-use, agriculture, forestry and other land use, and human settlements, infrastructure and spacial planning. All of these require changes of behavior on a large scale, including using non-carbon based energy production (which, in addition to coal and petroleum-fired power plants, includes cooking with wood and charcoal). It also includes changing transportation patterns away from automobiles that are fueled by petroleum. It means changes in how farmers raise crops, and it has to do with how people live in urban areas. Most of these are not dealt with in detail, but a statement on human settlements suggests the nature of the issue:²³

The largest mitigation opportunities with respect to human settlements are in rapidly urbanizing areas where urban form and infrastructure are not locked in, but where there are often limited governance, technical, financial, and institutional capacities (robust evidence, high agreement). The bulk of urban growth is expected in small- to medium-size cities in developing countries. The feasibility of spatial planning instruments for climate change mitigation is highly dependent on a city's financial and governance capability. [12.6, 12.7]

For adaptation and mitigation to succeed, people must be involved in decision-making about dealing with climate change, both as individuals and households and as citizens who must agree with public policies. Again, the key is organizing and mobilizing the public, providing them with information and opportunities to express their preferences.

Participation as the key social development variable

The Post-2015 Sustainable Development goals are being defined through a complex process. At the level of the General Assembly the [Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals](#) that has been meeting since March 2013. It has held 11 sessions and one consequence has been to determine 17 thematic areas, covering a wide variety of issues. As noted previously, almost all of the areas have a social development dimension, with some covering key issues like poverty eradication, employment and decent work for all and promoting equality. The include climate change and many related issues of environment and sustainability.

While most of these are still expressed as goals and objectives, or end-states, there is an indication that there is also a need to address process factors. For example, the summary document of the March 2014 session states: ²⁴

25. There are several enablers and drivers, strategies and approaches for sustainable development which may be difficult to enumerate as goals, among others human rights, rights based approaches, governance, rule of law, and wider participation in decision making.

There is a clear recognition that issues of governance, institutional development and participation in decision-making will need to be taken into account in development effective means to implement the goals and objectives, once they are agreed.

The outcome document of the 2012 Rio Summit, in its section on major groups, states:

17. We underscore that a fundamental prerequisite for the achievement of sustainable development is broad public participation in decision-making. Sustainable development requires major groups – women, children and youth, indigenous peoples, non-governmental organisations, local authorities, workers and trade unions, business and industry, the scientific and technological community, and farmers – to play a meaningful role at all levels. It is important to enable all members of civil society to be actively engaged in sustainable development by incorporating their specific knowledge and practical know-how into national and local policy making. In this regard, we also acknowledge the role of national parliaments in furthering sustainable development.

18. We recognize that improved participation of civil society depends upon strengthening the right to access information and building civil society capacity to exercise this right. Technology is making it easier for Governments to share information with the public and for the public to hold decision makers accountable. In this regard, it is essential to work towards universal access to information and communications technologies.

...

61. We underline the need for more coherent and integrated planning and decisionmaking at the national level. We therefore call on countries to establish and strengthen, as appropriate, national sustainable development councils to enable them to coordinate, consolidate and ensure the mainstreaming of cross-cutting issues in the highest decisionmaking bodies, with the integration and full participation of all stakeholders.

How to do this, however, is an unresolved issue. Some of the issues, having to do with human rights, are dealt with in human rights bodies, supported by human rights secretariats. However, while human rights as rights are agreed, how best to enjoy them is not necessarily agreed and reflected in laws, policies and programmes.

Similarly, work on governmental institutions in the context of public administration is also dealt with by intergovernmental expert bodies like The United Nations Committee of Experts on Public Administration (CEPA). However, there is no body that deals with the broader issue of popular participation and the institutions that favor it, other than the Commission for Social Development. The Commission, and its Secretariat, did not focus on this for some years, but it has now been included in the issue of social integration and was part of the priority theme on empowerment in 2013-2014.

There is, however, some history to the Commission's work on participation. Some forty years ago, in 1975, the then Division for Social Development produced a study entitled *Popular Participation in Decision-Making for Development*²⁵ that summarized knowledge up to that point. There had been a renaissance in thinking about popular participation, fueled by developments in countries like Brazil, Chile and in Europe that had major mobilizations with efforts to engage citizens in political activity. The focus of the study was on how best to mobilize people effectively.²⁶

One of the most influential scholars writing on the phenomenon was Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator. Freire had worked with teaching literacy to adults in the Northeast of his country. He discovered that to be successful, education had to deal with both the content of information and the cognitive categories through which it should be processed. Achieving this involved what he called dialogue between and with the learners, which he called *conscientização* or consciousness raising. His main work on the subject, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, was widely read throughout the world.²⁷

The basic idea was that people can be motivated to act in their own and society's interest by educational and mobilizational techniques that emphasize critical thinking, but that institutions to take advantage of that and provide support were needed. The approach, as presented by Freire, had an ideological dimension that produced resistance on the part of many governments, especially those that were authoritarian in character.

Thus, although the concept was well-reflected in the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, it gradually lost popularity in the development of international policies that emphasized the top-down approach to dealing with peoples' needs, although, as noted, participation was included in nine percent of the 307 actions specified in the Programme of Action to implement the outcome of the WSSD. The Commission began to return to the issue when it selected empowerment as its priority theme for 2013-2014.

What has changed since 1975 that would suggest a new successful emphasis on popular participation is the increasing availability of information and communication technologies and their use to improve participation. These were considered by the Division for Social Policy and Development at an expert group

meeting at the headquarters of the International Telecommunications Union in July 2013. Its [report](#) documents the increasing potential of these new media.²⁸

In the concept paper for that expert group meeting,²⁹ reference was made to the 1975 report that summarized favorable conditions for effective participation thusly:³⁰

Essential to such a strategy [for increasing popular participation] is a sincere commitment by national political leaders to promote popular participation. This means not merely a verbal commitment but rather a willingness to create the necessary institutional structure and other political conditions that make popular participation possible.

Chief among the institutional requirements for successful popular participation is decentralization of governmental institutions so as to bring public decision-making processes as close as possible to the people. To ensure that the public is informed about major issues and that the government is responsive to their preferences, it is necessary to create an effective communications system between the government and the people. There is also a need to establish representative institutions at the village and intermediate levels around which citizen participation can be organized. Whatever form this institutional structure may take, its effectiveness will ultimately depend on the public's perception of how efficiently and effectively it can resolve their problems.

A strategy of popular participation should pay careful attention to the way people are initially motivated for active participation in development. Not uncommonly, governments attempt to mobilize people through promises of immediate benefits. When these are slow in forthcoming, there is danger of a psychological let-down which could give way to public apathy or violence. There is a need, therefore, to offer the people realistic incentives for participation; emphasis should be placed on the benefits to be derived from the realization of medium- and long-term goals rather than on immediate gains that are unobtainable. To encourage the population at large to accept deferment of present benefits for even greater future gains, governments should reveal their goals and the methods they expect to use in achieving them and also indicate the burdens that the various groups in society can be expected to shoulder.

The background paper noted that when that study was completed, communication institutions referred to such things as writing letters, newspapers, radios and physical participation in meetings. The communication revolution that characterizes the 21st Century was in the future. The 1975 study stated:³¹

In sum, given their present limitations, individualized forms of transmitting public opinion play an auxiliary role in the achievement of popular participation. In the future, applications of new communication technology

may permit, in the most developed countries, individualized interaction between citizens and decision makers at all levels. For example, studies are under way on the utilization of such communication media as conference telephone calls, cable television with feedback, and normal television with telephone interaction, which would permit remote interaction among people at various levels. However, present costs are too high to make application of these media feasible and the earliest predicted date for even experimental implementation is 1985.

The background paper noted that in the almost 40 years since that study was published, communication has changed with a speed that could not have been anticipated. Wireless telephony has removed many of the barriers to the use of the telephone. Television transmitted over cables and satellites has increased the amount and coverage of that medium. But most importantly, the Internet has been created.

There is increasing anecdotal and scientific evidence that the new communications methods are increasing the ability of groups of people to organize and influence government decision-making, including through major changes. This has been said to influence what has been termed the “Arab Awakening” or “Arab Spring” as well as many other mass movements over the past decade. What is clear is that access to the ability to communicate across groups has influenced mobilization. Systematic research on this, however, has only begun.

At another, quite different level, there is evidence that telecommunications have, in a number of cases, enabled small farmers to market their crops more effectively and therefore break the domination of middle-men who had maintained their incomes lower than they should have been. There are also indications that the Internet has been able to assist in the transfer of new agricultural technologies, that respond to issues of climate change, across national borders. At study presented to the 2012 expert group meeting on empowerment demonstrated how ICT could improve the livelihoods of farmers through the transfer of technology.³²

Because of the evident role of new ICTs in social progress and development, there is an increasing number of studies showing how this can be improved. However, there is no single place in the United Nations system where the broadest implications are examined. Nor is the issue of popular participation as a means to achieving objectives examined as a phenomenon rather than as a side issue in other development analyses.

The Commission’s analysis of empowerment approaches the issue from a rights and policy perspective, but does not look at how to achieve this. In its draft resolution to be considered by the Economic and Social Council in 2014, it

4. Stresses that Member States should prioritize the creation of a “society for all” with respect for the human rights of all individuals and based on equality, mutual responsibility and cooperation, access to essential services, including

health care and social care services, and the promotion of the active participation of every member of society, without discrimination, in civic, social, economic, cultural and political activities, as well as participation in decision-making processes;

6. Stresses that special efforts should be made to foster the participation of all people, including women, people living in poverty and those belonging to disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, including children, youth, older persons, persons with disabilities and indigenous peoples, in all aspects of political, economic, social, civic and cultural life, in particular the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, as appropriate, of policies that affect them;

19. Invites Governments to enhance the capacity of the public administration to be transparent, accountable and responsive to the needs and aspirations of all people, without discrimination of any kind, and to foster broad-based participation in governance and development processes;

The remaining operative paragraphs focus on the social development policies and programs, such as poverty eradication, employment and decent work, and integration of vulnerable groups that would make participation happen, as though participation is an end rather than a means. Clearly, this would need to be supplemented, or even replaced, by an examination of how participation can make the traditional objectives as well as new or revived issues such as inequality and climate change be achieved.

One problem with dealing with popular participation is that it is essentially political and is, moreover, local. How to address it in international discussions requires careful consideration. One means for this is to look at it analytically, using comparisons across countries with different traditions and political systems, to determine common factors leading to successful engagement of people to solve critical problems. This implies a focus on social research that can illuminate the processes. It also implies a form of social planning that factors participation into the design of policies and programs as an inherent factor.

Conflict and social development

One consequence of the previous factors has been increasing conflict within countries. As noted, inequality frequently leads to conflict. There is evidence that climate change has, and will increase, conflict. This was not a major concern in 1969, but was clearly an issue reflected in the Copenhagen Programme of Action, where twelve actions address it directly. Inter-group conflict is inevitably social in origin, although it can be stimulated by economic and environmental factors. In some research, this has been called identity politics. A study by the World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University demonstrated the connection between religion, identity politics and advancement of women, for example.³³

One consequence that has been recently documented is that due to these conflicts, the number of refugees in the world is greater than it has ever been.³⁴ There has been some research on how to address issues of identity and local politics, but this is clearly an area where more attention needs to be given, particularly on the use of social methods, including participation, for conflict resolution.

Conflict prevention and resolution is a key social development issue, and is one in which the Commission, drawing on and encouraging research, including that undertaken by United Nations programmes in conflict zones, can make a valuable contribution by determining programmes and policies that demonstrably work.

Renewing Social Development: Next Steps

After reaffirming the accepted definition of social development as an end, the next stage will be to examine how social research, social and economic planning and popular participation can be used practically to address key issues of inequality, climate change and conflict. This means studying the interface between the affected populations and decision-makers, as well as with each other to make the changes necessary to solve the problems.

Here, results-based management can guide the task. In the United Nations, a concern is seeing whether what is produced (in the form of output by the Secretariat and agreed conclusions and recommendations by functional commissions and the Economic and Social Council) are translated into results: changes in the way that people address and solve key global problems using social development methods. One issue to discuss is how to formulate these so that they can be measured over time and connected with the larger objectives that should be achieved.

The Commission, since the beginning of the United Nations, has been designated the place where social development issues are discussed. Implicitly, this means that the Commission should undertake analysis and make recommendations that can be used by superior bodies. It also implies that the Commission should provide input to parallel bodies that could benefit from a social development perspective their deliberations. To be credible, the Commission needs to undertake detailed technical reviews of the issues that it selects. The selection should be in terms of those issues which are clearly on, or should be on, the global agenda.

The Commission, and its Secretariat, has a number of tools that can enable it to work successfully. This includes studies, such as the Report on the World Social Situation, expert group meetings that bring together both academics and practitioners with government officials, and the work of institutions like UNRISD that have a mandate to support the Commission. For these tools to be effective, they will need a clear indication of the priorities that the Commission sets for its deliberations and the specific subjects that it expects to examine.

Doing this will place the Commission in the role of specialized technical body that can examine the processes that affect other bodies, especially the Economic and

Social Council, in order to enrich discussion of the various issues that will be part of the Post-2015 agenda by showing how ends can be achieved by using social means.

Taking into consideration the points made in this note, questions to ask at the outset of the Commission's deliberations can include, but are not limited to the following ten questions:

1. To what extent is the end-state of social development that has been incorporated into intergovernmental decisions since 1945 still relevant?
2. To what extent have the objectives set at the World Summit for Social Development been met and what are unanswered questions from this review?
3. What are the main issues arising from the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals that can be addressed by social development means? What are, therefore, the main priority themes to be covered in the next planning period (to 2020)?
4. How can social research and its incorporation into planning and popular participation best be incorporated into the Commission's discussions including how to engage other United Nations institutions like UNRISD and the United Nations University?
5. How can social research, social elements in planning and popular participation be applied to key problems identified in the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals?
6. How can popular participation be examined in a non-ideological way?
7. How can improving access to and use of information and communication technologies by the general population improve participation, social development and responses to economic and environmental problems?
8. To what extent does a focus on vulnerable groups differ from a focus on people generally and what general lessons can be gained from the Commission's review of groups?
9. How best can the Commission for Social Development formulate recommendations on social development processes in such a way as to influence discussions at the Economic and Social Council?
10. How can results of the Commission's recommendations be appropriately measured?

Notes

¹ *The Future We Want*, General Assembly resolution 66/288

² Article 16 is particularly instructive:

a) The adoption of measures to ensure the effective participation, as appropriate, of all the elements of society in the preparation and execution of national plans and programmes of economic and social development;

(b) The adoption of measures for an increasing rate of popular participation in the economic, social, cultural and political life of countries through national governmental bodies, non-governmental organizations, co-operatives, rural associations, workers' and employers' organizations and women's and youth organizations, by such methods as national and regional plans for social and economic progress and community development, with a view to achieving a fully integrated national society, accelerating the process of social mobility and consolidating the democratic system;

(c) Mobilization of public opinion, at both national and international levels, in support of the principles and objectives of social progress and development;

(d) The dissemination of social information, at the national and the international level, to make people aware of changing circumstances in society as a whole, and to educate the consumer.

³ These are described in [The UN and Development Policies](#), UN Intellectual History Project Briefing Note Number 7, May 2010. The 1970's themes were Basic Needs and Redistribution with Growth, the 1980's were characterized by Reversals and Structural Adjustment, and the 1990's by The Human Development Paradigm.

⁴ The first Reports on the World Social Situation had the following lead subjects: Standards of living (1951), Social problems of urbanization in under-developed regions (1957), The interrelationship of social and economic development and the problem of "balance" (1961), and Practical methods of promoting social change at the local level (1965).

⁵ The situation is described in John Mathiason, *Invisible Governance: International Secretariats in Global Politics*, Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2007, pp. 124-127.

⁶ Internationalization (1974), Patterns of government expenditure on social services (1978), Removing obstacles to social progress (1982), Forces of social change (1985), Critical social situation in Africa (1989) and Major Issues and dilemmas (1993).

⁷ This was suggested by the [expert group meeting on ICT and empowerment](#) held in July 2013.

⁸ For example, the initial HDI had female literacy rates as one indicator until it was shown by staff of the Division for the Advancement of Women that the indicator was lagged in that illiteracy was a function of now having primary education, but most adult women were suffering the consequences of discrimination that went back for decades and that it was unfair to hold countries accountable for the past. This was replaced by a present-time indicator, proportion of children enrolled in school.

⁹ UNDP, [Human Development Index, 2014](#)

¹⁰ Porter, Michael E. and Scott Stern with Michael Green, [Social Progress Index 2014](#), Executive Summary, Social Progress Imperative, 2014, p. 23.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 13.

¹² *Inequality Matters: Report on the World Social Situation 2013*, United Nations publication Sales No. 13.IV.2

¹³ Piketty, Thomas, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.

¹⁴ *Inequality Matters*, p. 64

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 71.

¹⁶ Brinton, Crane, *The Anatomy of Revolution*, New York: Vintage Books, 1965.

¹⁷ Piketty, p. 350.

¹⁸ Piketty, p. 409.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 73

²⁰ . Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*, Random House, Inc. Kindle Edition, 2012, p. 454.

²¹ Piketty, p. 569.

²² Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Working Group 2, [Summary for Policy-Makers](#), 2014.

²³ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Working Group 3, [Summary for Policy-makers](#), 2014, p. 27.

²⁴ [Progress report of the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development Goals](#), 5 March 2014.

²⁵ *Popular Participation in Decision-making for Development* (United Nations publication. Sales no. E.75.IV.10)

²⁶ The Commission considered a Secretary-General's report based on the publication and agreed on a resolutions that was adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its 58th session (resolution 1929) which proposed government policies, structural changes, among others. The resolution also asked the Secretariat for an increase in "research and study that will lead to the development of a viable concept of and policy measures for popular participation that will enhance its effectiveness in the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade and future global development strategies," to improve technical support for projects on this issue and promote "the exchange of knowledge and experience among countries in regard to innovative programmes and practices in furthering popular participation in development."

²⁷ Freire, Paulo, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Thirtieth Anniversary Edition, New York: Bloomsbury, 2000. Freire's first publication, *Educação como Prática da Libertade*, was the first presentation of his findings.

²⁸ [Report of the Expert Group Meeting on "E-Participation: Empowering People through Information Communication Technologies \(ICTs\)"](#), 24-25 July 2013, ITU Headquarters, Geneva

²⁹ Mathiason, John, "[Information and Communication Technologies and e-Participation for the Empowerment of People and e-Governance](#)," Background paper for the expert group meeting on Information and Communication Technologies and e-Participation for the Empowerment of People and e-Governance, Geneva,

³⁰ *Popular Participation in Decision-making for Development*, p. 62.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 50.

³² Uphoff, Norman, "[Empowerment of Farmers through ICT](#)," paper for the Expert Group Meeting on Promoting Empowerment of People in Advancing Poverty Eradication, Social Integration, and Decent Work for All, UN HQ, NYC, September 10-12, 2012

³³ Moghadem, Valentine (ed), *Identity Politics and Women: Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspective*, Westview Press, 1995.

³⁴ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *War's Human Cost*, Global Trends 2013, Geneva, UNHCR, 2014.