

Human capacity and development strategy

SDPCW-12, Class notes by Dr. Tim Anderson

Overview

1. Human Capacity
2. Neoliberal promises
3. Development strategy

Q: In development terms, why has human capacity proven itself more important than natural resources?



Set readings:

Anderson, Tim (2012) 'Development Strategy' [Timor Leste], chapter in M. Leach and D. Kingsbury (Eds.), *The Politics of Timor Leste: Democratic Consolidation after Intervention*, (pp. 215-238). Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program (SEAP)

Freire, Paulo (1984) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Continuum, New York [original edition 1968] , Ch2

Sen, Amartya (2003) 'Amartya Sen: the importance of basic education', *The Guardian*, October 28, online: <http://people.cis.ksu.edu/~ab/Miscellany/basiced.html>

UN (2015) *The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2020*, Chart, online: <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2020/>

1. Human Capacity

Revision from Session 2:

- UNDP: 'Human capabilities' are at the root of development (Sen) - as a whole they can expand the overall human capacity of a society;
- Human development = 'enlarging choices', human outcomes cf. financial means, HDI, HDR indicators (UNDP, ul Haq);
- Expanded human capabilities, "beings and doings" (Sen);
- Note the difference between human capital and human capability (see below);
- Other approaches to the 'capabilities' idea:
defined capabilities, including justice (Nussbaum); 'basic needs' (Streeten); 'collective capabilities' (Evans); going beyond Sen's 'methodological individualism' (Deneulin and Stewart); 'critical role of social institutions' (Stewart); 'human development enabling state' (Anderson);
- HD measures are incorporated into the UN's MDGs (2000) and SDGs (2015).

Human capital - 'the agency of human beings in augmenting production possibilities'

Human capability - 'the ability of human beings to lead lives they have reason to value and to enhance [their] substantive choices' (Sen 1997)

Amartya Sen (1997) Human Capital and Human Capability, World Development, 25/12, online:
<https://www.staff.ncl.ac.uk/david.harvey/AEF806/Sen1997.pdf>

Development as Independence

Actual human development is often said to represent independence - and so also the self-determination of a people - in that it breaks from colonial under-development;

Best human development achievements in recent decades are seen in China and Iran - the top two in HDI progress between 1990 -2017 (UNDP 2018);

Some resource poor countries have made remarkable advances, by heavily investing in their people and developing unique skills and industries;

UNDP data (1) recasts economic development as human development and (2) often provides a useful means of arbitrating international controversies;

However human development ideas have not resolved the **means** of advancing human capabilities. so let's look at some particular experiences.



UNDP (2018) Statistical Update, online:
<http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-indices-indicators-2018-statistical-update>

Distinct achievements by resource poor former colonies and war-damaged nations:

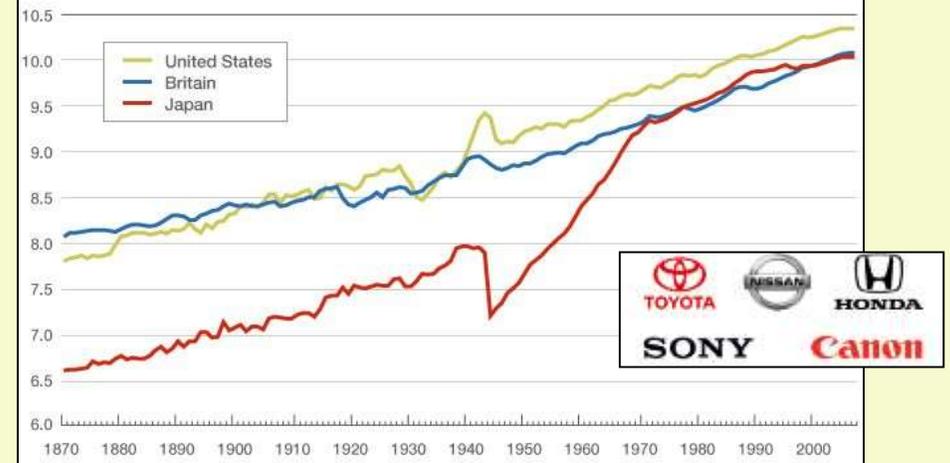
Japan – from wartime ruins and with few natural resources, becomes a leading industrial power after WW2 - how?

Singapore – former colony with next to no natural resources, even imports water, now has OECD living standards – how?

Cuba – former colony and neo-colony, under economic blockade from the USA for 60 years – now world's largest doctor trainer – how?

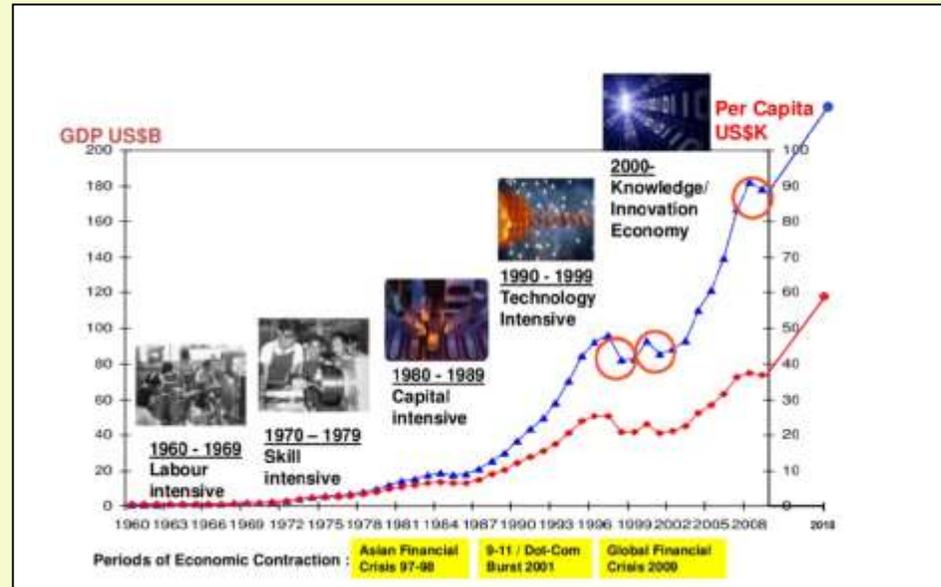
Q: What are the common strategic elements seen in these otherwise politically diverse countries?

Growth in Real Per Capita GDP in Japan, Britain, and the US, 1870–2008
(Natural log of per capita GDP in 1990 international Geary-Khamis dollars)



Source: The Maddison-Project
(<http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/maddison-project/home.htm>, 2013 version).

nippon.com



By contrast, countries which have relied heavily on **natural resource extraction** and have not invested heavily in their people, are often stuck in resource dependency and restricted human development.

In week 6 on independent small nations we saw (Table 1) that none of the 'best performers' in HDI-to-income efficiency (GNI minus HDI rank) had large oil resources; almost all of the 'worst performers' did.

That is of little concern to foreign investors; but it matters to people within those countries.

This may not be an inevitable 'oil curse', but it shows some common dangers of extractivism.

Table 1: GNI minus HDI rank (2012)			
<i>Best and worst use of national income for human development</i>			
Best performing countries		Worst performing countries	
Cuba (oil importer)	44	Equatorial Guinea	-97
Georgia (oil importer)	37	Botswana	-55
Samoa, Cameroon, Madagascar	28	Kuwait, Oman	-51
New Zealand, Tonga	26	Gabon, South Africa	-40 to -42
Montenegro, Fiji, Kyrgyzstan	24	Qatar, Angola	-35
Palestine, Grenada, Albania, Ukraine	20 to 22	UAE, Bhutan, Swaziland, Turkey	-30 to -32
<i>Source: UNDP 2013 Human Development Report, Table 1</i>		Timor Leste, Trinidad & Tobago	-28 to -29

The dilemmas of resource based strategies in small island nations:

- Nauru's phosphate industry – destroys the ecology of small island nation;
- Failures in sovereign fund: Nauru House (1972-2004) eventually sold to others;
- Later Nauru is driven to host a detention centre for Australia's unwanted asylum seekers.



L: Nauru House, 52 storey building in Melbourne
R: Nauru, its centre destroyed by mining



Other 'sovereign wealth funds' have variable records.

Small island states: investing in human capacity

Table 2: Key educational indices				
	Primary enrolment	Secondary enrolment	Tertiary enrolment	Adult literacy
World average	107.9	71.2	28.7	81.3
Small island SIDC average	97	77	45.2	Na
High human development	110.5	91	48.7	92.7
Very high human development	104.2	100.4	75.8	na
Cuba	103	89	95.2	99.8

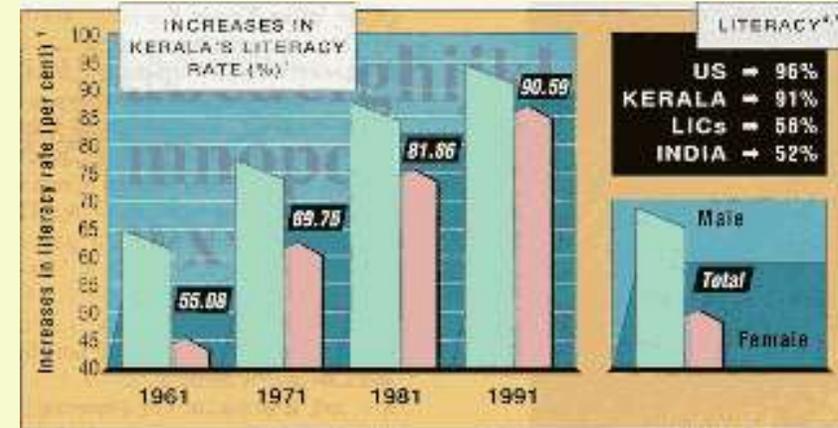
Source: UNDP 2013: Table 8

More broadly, small island states have made relatively heavy investments in higher education. Small Island Developing States have special needs and have created a special group at the UN to discuss these needs.



The Indian state of Kerala: literacy in colonial India was very poor; but there were also some big regional differences

Indian literacy	
	% total
1881	3.2
1931	7.2
1947*	12.2
1961	28.3
1981	43.6
2001	64.8
source: Government of India (2005) <i>India 2005</i> , Ministry of Information and Broadcasting	



Kerala: literacy rates, 1951-01		
	total %	women %
1951	47.18	36.43
1961	55.08	45.56
1971	69.75	62.53
1981	78.85	73.36
1991	89.81	86.17
2001	90.92	87.86
source: Government of Kerala (2006) 'Education: status of women', http://www.kerala.gov.in/		

Kerala: human development indicators		
	Kerala	India
Income per capita (Rs, 98-99)	9,542	9,647
Life expectancy at birth (92-96)	73	61
Infant mortality rate (2000)	14	68
Male/Female literacy % (2001)	94 / 88	76 / 54
Children underweight % (98-99)	27	47
Houses with toilet facilities % (97)	73	49
Houses with safe water % (91)	19	62
Gender Disparity Index (91)	0.825	0.676
source: Kerala Government (2003) 'Human Development and Socio-economic Well-being in Kerala', www.kerala.gov.in/dept-planning/en/chapter20.pdf		

NB. The links between education, health and gender equity

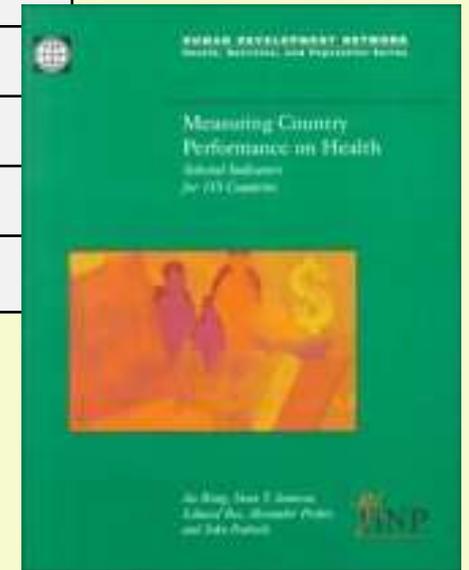
Education of women and girls: why is it so important?

Sources of mortality reduction, 1960-1990

	Percentage contribution of gains in		
	Income	Education of adult females	Utilisation of new knowledge
Under 5 mortality rate	17	38	45
Female adult mortality rate	20	41	39
Male adult mortality rate	25	27	49
Female life expectancy /birth	19	32	49
Male life expectancy /birth	20	30	50
Total fertility rate	12	58	29

Wang Jia et al (1999) *Measuring Country Performance on Health* [study of 115 countries for the World Bank]

Q: how relatively important are education and money for critical health improvements?



When speaking of building human capacity, it is important to observe the **difference** between **training and education**.

- Training: learning a particular skill or set of skills
- Education: systematic learning that develops a sense of judgment and reasoning

<i>Training</i>	<i>Education</i>
Pursuit of ability	Pursuit of knowledge
Improves performance and productivity	Develops a sense of reasoning and judgement
Method of skill development	Method of gaining knowledge
Teaches certain tasks	Teaches general concepts
Practical application	Theoretical orientation
Short-term process	Long-term process
Narrow scope	Wide scope
Related to employment	General learning
Prepares for present job	Prepares for a future job

Training may be simple or complex, but its aim is more practical and not as creative, reflective or critical as education.

Education must be more than simple rote learning (or memorisation), though it may include some of that.

This difference matters most when there is social or workplace change.

Workplaces often employ training but rarely broader education - for that they rely on education systems.

<https://thepeakperformancecenter.com/business/learning/business-training/difference-between-training-and-education/>

Vocational training or higher level literacy?

OECD Skills Outlook 2013: 34% of workers reported 'structural changes' in their workplace; 42% of workers reported 'new ways of working' in their workplace

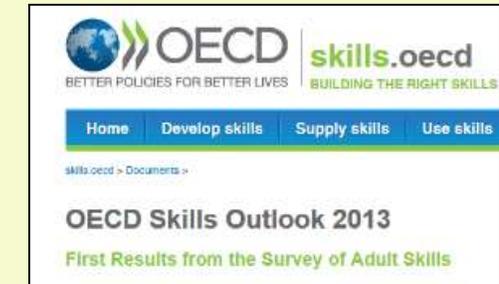
Table 3: Adult literacy, % adults by level, in several OECD countries

	Below level 1	Level 1	Levels 2+3	Level 4	Level 5
Australia	3.1	9.4	68.6	15.7	1.3
Finland	2.7	8.0	67.2	20	2.2
Italy	5.5	22.2	68.4	3.3	0.1
Japan	0.6	4.3	71.4	21.4	1.2
Spain	7.2	20.3	66.9	4.6	0.1
USA	3.9	13.6	66.8	10.9	0.6
England (UK)	3.3	13.1	69.1	12.4	0.8

Source: OECD 2013 'OECD Skills Outlook 2013', Tables A1.7a, A1.7b, A2.1

Higher level literacy is important for individual and social adaptation.

Countries with limited mass education will face greater difficulties.

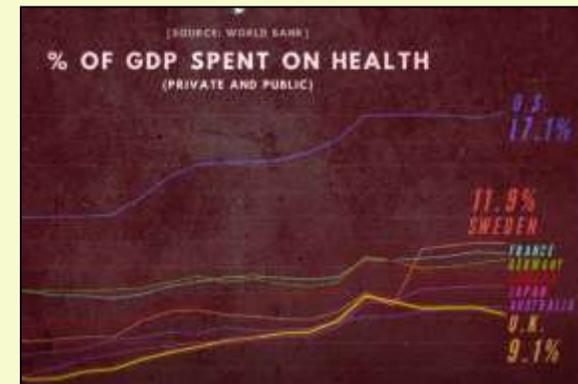


Level 1 literacy: 'read relatively short texts to locate a single piece of information that is identical to the information given ... understand basic vocabulary, determine the meaning of sentences and read continuous texts with some degree of fluency'. **Level 4/5 literacy:** 'perform multi-step operations to integrate, interpret or synthesise information from complex texts that involve conditional and/or competing information ... make complex inferences and appropriately apply background knowledge as well as interpret or evaluate subtle truth claims' (OECD 2013: 8)

2. Neoliberal promises

- Hegemonic neoliberal promises - based on generalised growth (or 'broad based growth') which benefits huge western companies;
- There have been neoliberal adaptations to the human development agenda, in the UN's MDGs and SDGs;
- The failures of corporate AID ('development cooperation');
- The MDGs (2000-2015) and the SDGs (2015-2030);
- Failures of neoliberalism in the USA (e.g. in public health).

VIDEO (1'45"): Healthcare in the USA, Newsweek 2018. Privatised neoliberalism in practice. The USA spends far more on health than any other country but has poor health outcomes. This system 'works' for the corporate health industry, but not for public health outcomes. Online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m4yFSSNsacI>



Conceptual revision: hegemonic neoliberalism

- ❑ **Neoliberalism**: not a philosophy but a political project and process, with defined aims (implicitly, corporate privilege) and flexible methods;
- ❑ **Globalist intervention (hegemonic)** vs. 'inclusive globalisation' (UNDP)
- ❑ **Economic power** (strong state + MNCs) combines with military to advance the interests of their investors, using 'aid', 'sanctions' and various interventions;
- ❑ **Countervailing factors**: independent states and regional blocs (BRICS, ALBA, CELAC), trade unions, social movements, general resistance;
- ❑ **Human development** is systematically undermined by neoliberalism, so significant **political will** is required to create independent counter-currents;
- ❑ **Neoliberal AID** uses rewards and discipline, 'corporate welfare', diplomacy and leverage, and is much less concerned with 'peripheral' development;
- ❑ New **rights-linked norms may** reinforce or weaken the neoliberal project, e.g. hegemonic 'humanitarian intervention' vs. an autonomous 'right to development'

Outcomes of the neoliberal era

- Impact of neoliberal corporate privilege on socio-economic rights:
 - Expropriation, rationalisation of available lands, food insecurity, super-expensive new medicines, vulnerability to 'shocks',
 - Privatisation and contamination of accessible clean water,
 - Commercialisation (and change in the nature) of health and education,
 - Disempowerment and marginalisation of labour rights,
- Normalisation of intervention and war –
 - A series of interventions, destabilisations and proxy wars, aimed at regional and resource control but often using human rights themes,
- Countervailing themes
 - 'Developmental state', from the East Asian experience'
 - 'Right to development' which stresses independent states, social democratic values and distinct paths (education? health?)'
 - 'Multipolarity' (counter-hegemonic) v 'Unipolarity' (aka hegemonic stability), new spaces for human development?



The weak, neoliberal commitment to free education undermines the right to education

- ❑ "the fact that primary education is free in the OECD while charges are levied in the poor countries contradicts the ideals which inspired making education a universal human right."
- ❑ "Free and compulsory education for all the world's children forms the backbone of international human rights law but does *not* shape global educational strategies."

Katarina Tomasevski (2006) The State of the Right to Education Worldwide: Free or Fee



Katarina Tomasevski (1953-2006) Special Rapporteur on the right to education of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights



The 'brain drain': how important?



US academic Dr Melissa Siegel argues that migration of skilled workers can help the transfer of technology, values and remittances. Nothing wrong with skilled migration, she says. Online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xo0hSol98Nc>

US academic Dr Amelie Constant admits there is a real loss in developing countries from the 'brain drain', but that remittances compensate, to some extent, for this 'bleeding'. This is also the World Bank view, as suits a foreign investment club. Online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sE_F0N8Ln0k



The Cubans call it 'brain theft' ('el robo de cerebros'), as wealthy countries have many active programs to 'poach' well trained people, especially doctors, from developing countries. Online: <http://www.cubadebate.cu/etiqueta/robo-de-cerebros/>

Dr Cecil Alependava of the **Solomon Islands** Health Department puts the 'brain drain' in a more 'concrete' way:

- The Solomon Islands used to graduate 5 to 10 doctors per year (often trained through scholarships from Australia and New Zealand), but lost them at about the same rate by emigration to wealthy countries;
- Only with the large Cuban training program, from 2006 onwards, with 90+ scholarships, has the country been able to increase its overall doctor population.

VIDEO (1'19"), from 'Not really Europeans', full video here:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rVYWV7Ss780>



To what extent is AID (development cooperation) a solution?

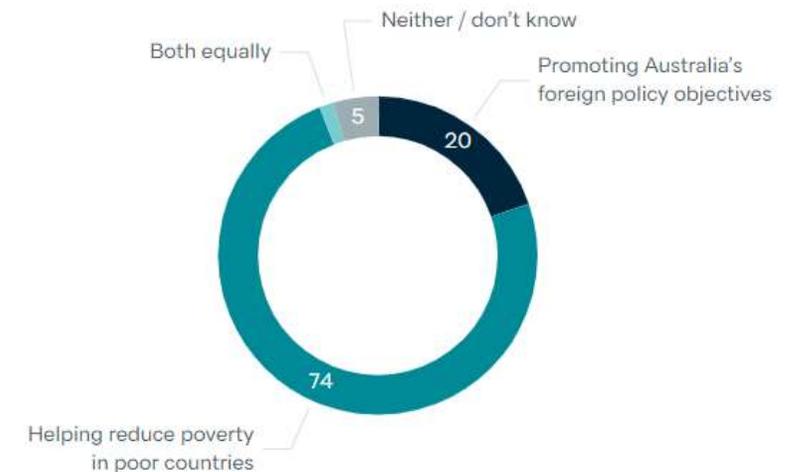
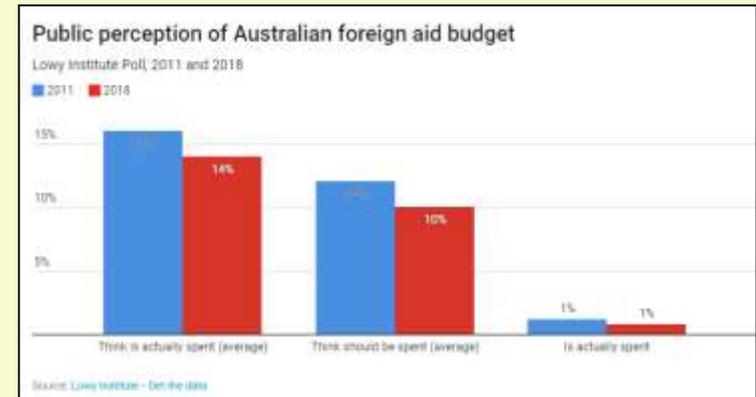
The **global aid industry** is now over US\$160 billion per year, and the Australian contribution of \$2.6bn is about 1.6% of this (ONE 2020).

Most of the Australian program has traditionally gone to Australian companies to provide services in developing countries, i.e. '**boomerang aid**' (AusAID 2012), even though this is unpopular (Lowy 2014)

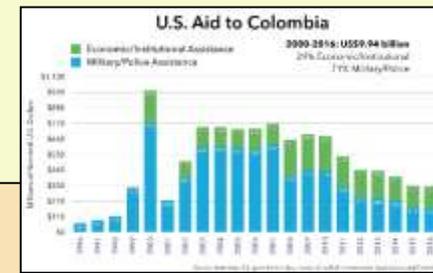
Australians think the AID budget is about 15 times as much as it is (0.8%), and should be about 10 times (Lowy: 2011, 2018)

Which ONE of the following do you yourself think is the most important objective of Australia's overseas aid program? - 74% chose "help reduce poverty in poor countries" (Lowy: 2014)

<https://www.one.org/international/blog/global-aid-spending-2020/>
<https://acfid.asn.au/media-releases/australians-rule-out-boomerang-aid>
<https://aidwatch.org.au/in-the-news/australia-invented-pacific-boomerang-aid/>
<https://theconversation.com/new-research-shows-australians-have-wrong-idea-on-foreign-aid-spending-98772>
<https://poll.lowyinstitute.org/themes/foreign-aid/>



Aid is also militarised, e.g. US AID to Columbia. Here blue=military aid.



The Failures of Aid

Aid and democracy: “The primary problem with aid is that it undermines processes of self-determination and democratic development Whatever might be said about the practical benefits ... there will be no democratic accountability” (Anderson 2012).

Self-governance – “a long term project which gradually undoes the damage of colonialism: which crippled the growth of human personality, blocked the development of indigenous public institutions, created dependent social structures and aggravated poverty and inequality ... political independence, and resistance to intervention, remains the central means of defending that healing process” (Anderson 2008)

The human development impact of aid: Masud and Yontcheva (2005) found bilateral aid did not reduce infant mortality at all. A later study found that ‘doubling health aid’ could reduce infant mortality by 2% (Mishra and Newhouse 2007).

‘Aid trauma’ – “an inflationary ‘enclave bubble economy’, failures in human and institutional capacity building and relative deprivation” (Anderson 2008).

Masud, Nadia and Boriana Yontcheva (2005) ‘Does Foreign Aid Reduce Poverty? Empirical Evidence from Nongovernmental and Bilateral Aid’, IMF Working Paper 05/100, Washington, online: <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2005/wp05100.pdf>;

Mishra and Newhouse (2007) ‘Health Aid and Infant Mortality’, IMF Working Paper 07/100, Washington, online at: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2007/wp07100.pdf>

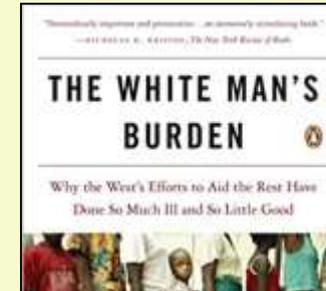
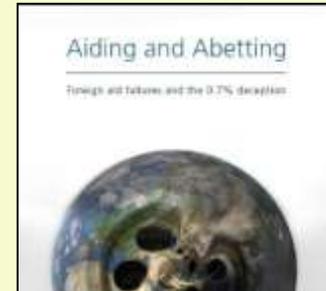
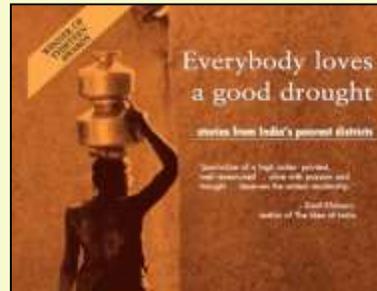
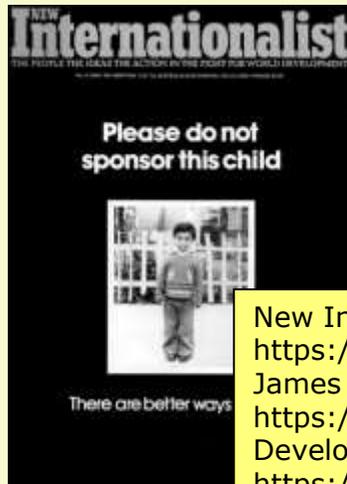
Anderson, Tim (2012) ‘Aid: is it worth it’, in Michael Leach et al (2012) (Eds) *New Research on Timor-Leste*, Swinburne Press, Hawthorn, pp.136-142;

The **foreign aid industry** remains popular, largely because it suits **western self-image**, but the independent analysis suggests chronic failure.

E.g. child sponsorship has been criticised for decades, but remains very popular.

The root problem of near permanent aid is its utter failure in democracy.

The most likely benefit from 'aid' comes from mass training, but this is rarely the priority of 'corporate welfare' aid programs, which prefer large infrastructure projects and ongoing service provision.



New Internationalist (1982) 'Please do not sponsor this child', online:

<https://newint.org/features/1982/05/01/keynote>

James Bovard (1986) 'The Continuing Failure of Foreign Aid', Cato Institute Policy Analysis No. 65, online:

<https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/pa065.pdf>

Development Aid (2020) 'Why do international development projects fail?', online:

<https://www.developmentaid.org/#!/news-stream/post/79729/why-do-international-development-projects-fail>

UN projects of the 21st C incorporate HD measures - the MDGs and SDGs

Human development meets corporate agendas

MDGs 2000-2015

8 goals with 18 targets for 2015, baseline 1990.

SDGs 2015-2030

17 goals, 154 targets for 2030, baseline 2010.

e.g. 5:5a - *'Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio'*

Samir Amin 2006 - "Each of these [MDG] goals is certainly commendable ... [but it is] assumed without question that liberalism is perfectly compatible with the achievement of the goals ... [yet the] open and multilateral commercial and financial system ... [is] part of a series of discourses ... intended to legitimize the policies and practices implemented by dominant capital and those who support it"



MDG8: revised neoliberal themes: 'global partnerships for development' - *valuable aims steered into neoliberal means*

1. Address the special needs of least developed countries, landlocked countries and small island developing states
2. Develop further **an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system** (c.f. WTO)
3. **Deal comprehensively** with developing countries' **debt** (c.f. HIPC)
4. **In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies**, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries (c.f. TRIPS+)
5. **In cooperation with the private sector**, make available benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications"



The SDGs, an extended corporate development agenda

- 17 goals, 154 targets, mixture of HD measures and corporate means, more systematic than with the MDGs - *more diffuse and with less impact*

The Corporate agenda

Corporate sector 'satisfied' over SDGs, consistent with major infrastructure projects and current 'trade agenda' (Quintos 2015)

- 'regulatory harmonisation' – as in FTA proposals (e.g. TPP)
- TRIPs plus – stronger (US style) IPRs (medicines, software, etc)
- DPs/PPPs – systematic drive for DPs/PPPs (esp. infrastructure)
- Agricultural PPPs (agribusiness)

Paul L. Quintos (2015) 'The Post-2015 Corporate Development Agenda', IBON International and Campaign for Peoples Goals, online: <http://peoplesgoals.org/the-post-2015-corporate-development-agenda-expanding-corporate-power-in-the-name-of-sustainable-development/>

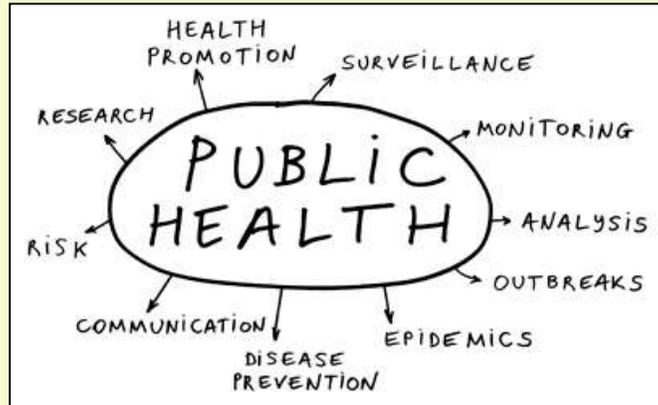
Intellectual Property Watch (2015) 'Inside Views: UN SDGs need U-turn on Governance for Health', 24 September, online: <http://www.ip-watch.org/2015/09/24/un-sdgs-need-u-turn-on-governance-for-health/>

SDGs



Alternatives in Health to the SDG corporate agenda:

- Open knowledge systems (c.f. patents in TRIPS+)
- Generic medicines (but NB. 'corporate generics')
- Revise World Bank determinations on 'capacity to pay'
- Public health must include preventive and promotional programs
- Address 'brain drain' / 'brain grab' / 'brain robbery'



3. Development strategies

Approaches to development and the consequences

'Passive engagement' with neoliberal globalism

self-sufficient agriculture attacked, public institutions targeted for privatisation, user pays policies promoted, state economic capacity eroded.

Extractivism v. human development

resource dependent strategies almost all fail

'Political will' required for sustained HD investment

Proven strategies, e.g. in Japan, Singapore, Cuba.

Independent states and 'multipolarity'

'post-globalist' opportunities, with BRICS, ALBA, CELAC, etc

Defending independent strategies

Resistance requires support at home and strong alliances.

UN Project 1986: the 'Right to Development'

The UNGA 'Right to Development' Declaration 1986, key elements:

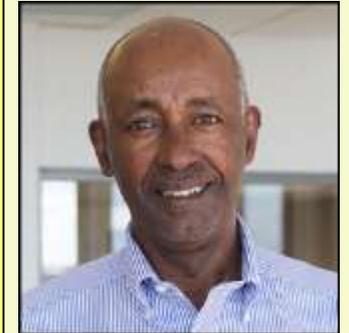
NB. mixed perspectives, a combination of individual rights, participatory rights, social rights and a central role for the state. *In many respects distinct to the neoliberal agenda.*

- ❑ individuals '**participate**' in process of development (Art. 1,2 8)
- ❑ individuals have '**equal opportunity** of access' to resources (8)
- ❑ entitled to a '**fair distribution**' of the benefits of development (2, 8)
- ❑ **states have primary responsibility** for 'the creation of conditions favourable to the realization of the Right to Development' (3)
- ❑ **Sengupta** (2002: 846): '**rights based**' development is 'a **participatory, non-discriminatory, accountable and transparent** process with equity in decision making and **sharing the fruits** of progress'; 'primary responsibility for this ... belongs to **states**'.
- ❑ states have the duty to '**cooperate** with each other in ensuring development' (3, 4) while 'maintaining full respect for civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural rights' (6, 9)

Online: <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm>

The Right to Development and the Postcolonial State

- ❑ Great ideological differences over the role of the state
 - Liberal ideology views the state as an obstacle to individual and market freedoms – backed by IMF/World Bank doctrine;
 - Western neo-Marxist views see the state as largely captured by dominant sections of capital (Poulantzas, Miliband, Offe);
 - Many ideas on 'human development' do not assist - 'capability' choices (Sen) individualised and undefined (Stewart and Deneulin); even when 'capabilities' are defined (Nussbaum) agency is absent;
- ❑ UN expert on rights and SAPs, Prof. Fantu Cheru (1999) key problem of structural adjustment programs: weakening the protective role of the state
 - Neoliberal globalism and interventionism constrain the possibilities of strong independent political will and are hostile towards independent alliances;
 - Liberal polemic: state v rights? OR a state promoting HD and participation?



Fantu Cheru 1999: 'the debt crisis was used as a convenient excuse to open third world markets and curtail the role of the State in national development ... The most crucial impact of globalization and liberalization (i.e. structural adjustment) has been on the role of the State in national development.' - Cheru, Fantu (1999) *Effects of structural adjustment policies on the full enjoyment of human rights*, UN OHCHR, New York

North-South differences over nation and state

- The state in post-colonial/developing countries is often seen as potentially representing broad social aspirations
 - From the 'European' (US, Australian) experience the state is less volatile – a more constant corporate agenda
- Far more experiments in popular or social democracy have come from postcolonial states (e.g. Guatemala, Iran, Chile, Nicaragua, Venezuela)
- Big powers prefer weak and divided states, yet postcolonial states need substantial strength (and allies) if they are to:
 - assert democratic independence and form defensive alliances,
 - build human capacity (e.g. in mass education and health), and
 - defend independent social support systems and initiatives.

The 'developmental state'

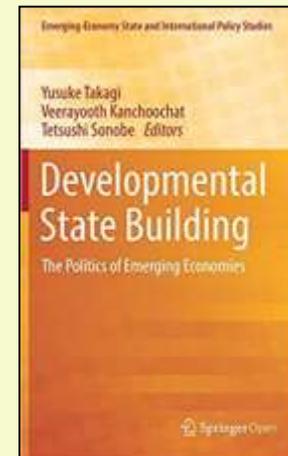
The 'developmental state' idea was used to describe successful capitalist development in East Asia (Japan, south Korea, Singapore) in a way which departed from the western neoliberal prescription, in particular by use of strong state planning.

We can extend the term to apply to socialist or mixed economy systems, such as China, Vietnam and Venezuela.



Video (57"): What is Developmental State?'

Online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QZVEUzb6lzo>



This 1993 World Bank report was watered down and only published because Japan funded it (Stiglitz 2002)

A human development enabling state?

- **key idea:** strong human development enabling state (c.f. the 'developmental state') necessary to create counter-force to neoliberalism
 - this idea runs against the neoliberal plan for divided networks of weak states, open to MNCs – **also** against western anarcho-syndicalist ideas of the state as the enemy
- **key features:** the use of political will to contain corporate demands and invest heavily in human development
- **example:** Venezuela 1999-2015:
 - reclaimed oil resources and an independent, socially-oriented political project, overtly anti-imperial
 - facing repeated coup attempts and destabilisations

Frances Stewart (2013) 'Capabilities and human development: beyond the individual, the critical role of social institutions and social competencies', UNDP Occasional Paper 2013/03

Tim Anderson (2014) 'Human development, the state and participation', *Development Studies Research*, Volume 1, Issue 1, pp. 64-74

Summary:

- ❑ Human capacity building is at the root of most successful development strategies, while resource extraction has proven a poor substitute;
- ❑ Neoliberal globalism – has placed serious constraints on public education, public health, food security, equal access to water, labour rights;
- ❑ MDGs and SDGs – combined human development aims with increasingly neoliberal or corporate methods (from privatisations to 'partnerships');
- ❑ New opportunities for independent strategy in 'a multi-polar world';
- ❑ Role of the state – neoliberal view of a 'minimal state' v. stronger role of a 'developmental state', very necessary in the post-colonial world;
- ❑ Development Strategy in small nations: best practice involves: conserving physical resources, building political will & alliances and investing in people.

