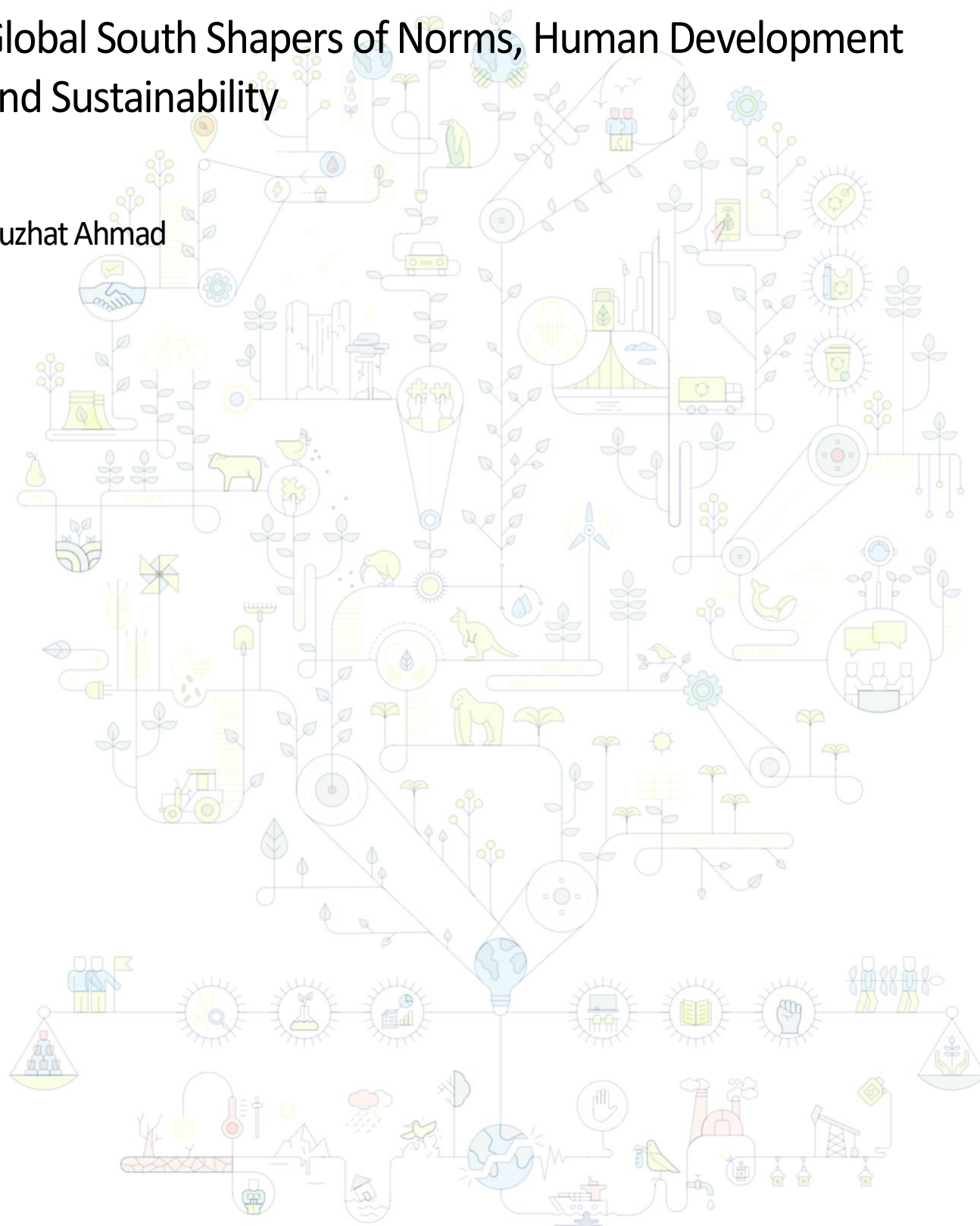# Global South Shapers of Norms, Human Development and Sustainability

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at how human development and sustainability norms are generated and which norm makers from the South have played a role in their emergence and diffusion. It identifies specific norm entrepreneurs from the South, explores their diverse backgrounds and policy experiences, and assesses their roles in shaping sustainable development priorities and bringing environmental concerns into focus. The paper chronicles major milestones in the formulation of the Sustainable Development Goals and outlines how norm makers from the South presented their perspectives and broadened the sustainable development concept through innovative negotiations. The paper also highlights the environmental challenges faced by Southern countries and the important lessons from their innovative efforts to tackle climate change. It sets out to answer the question of how human development can be rearticulated and redefined as sustainable human development, and how the Human Development Index can be modified or new tools for measurement developed. It considers the roles of UNDP and the Human Development Office in meeting these new global challenges. Research for the study was based on a documentary and archival review, including scholarly literature, reports from international organizations on relevant forums and meetings, expert assessments, opinions of experts from think tanks, and UN partners and other sources from 2011 onwards. The review is supplemented with observations from participants in various consultations and negotiations.

Introduction

The growing importance of developing countries in the global economy has changed their role in influencing development thinking and shaping international ideas and global institutions. The assumption that countries from the Global South are 'passive receivers' rather than 'creators of norms' is being increasingly challenged in the literature. Recent international research shows that countries from the Global South have made a significant contribution to developing and shaping ideas in the post-war period. They have had a significant impact on the agenda of international development and have been particularly active participants in generating global norms and shaping human development and sustainable development (Acharya 2014 and 2016, Abdenur 2014, Weiss and Abdenur 2014, Helleiner 2014). There has been less discussion in the literature, however, on the identity of these 'norm entrepreneurs' from the South, and how their backgrounds and personal experiences in their own countries have influenced their thinking and the role they have played in norm generation and diffusion (Acharya 2016, Fukuda-Parr and Muchhala 2020, Fukuda-Parr and Hulme 2009).

Norm dynamics and processes by which ideas spread have received less attention in the literature on norms. Acharya (2011) emphasizes the importance of "understanding norm creation as a bottom-up process marked by significant contestations and feedback." According to Draude (2017), top-down approaches underplay the role of actors from the South in shaping norm diffusion. Wiener (2017) discusses the issue of local stakeholders' access to negotiations about norms and shows how vital it is to identify the conditions of access to contestations. Zimmermann, Deitelhoff and Lesch (2017) analyse how types of contestatory practices affect norms.

This current research was undertaken for the Human Development Report Office at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to study norm makers from the Global South. It probes how human development and sustainability norms have been generated, identifies norm makers from the South, and traces their role in norm diffusion and in shaping and influencing international development priorities. The research highlights how norm makers' backgrounds and experiences, in their own countries, have enriched their ideas and shaped their thinking. The research increases understanding of the role of norm makers and particularly examines the agency of the South in the emergence and diffusion of human development norms and in the formulation and delivery of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

The study evaluates human development norms in light of the well-known Finnemore and Sikkink model of norm formation. According to the model, norms go through three different stages: emergence, cascading and internalization. Norm emergence occurs when an idea is generated by an individual or an institution (norm entrepreneur), which convinces States, policymakers, stakeholders and the public to adopt it. In the second stage, that of cascading, the idea gains momentum and there is broad acceptance by more individuals, institutions and States. Internalization of the norm takes place when it becomes standard, is no longer

questioned and is globally accepted. The norm is fully internalized when it is implemented and influences global public policies, bringing about a change in practice (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998).

Today, the world faces huge environmental challenges. The study also assesses the role of norm makers from the South in shaping and influencing sustainable development priorities and in bringing focus to environmental concerns. It highlights how the human development concept can be 'rearticulated' as sustainable human development, and how it can be redefined and measured to meet new challenges.

The research is based on documentary and archival reviews of scholarly literature, reports from international organizations on relevant forums and meetings, participants' published observations of consultation meetings and negotiations, and expert assessments and opinions. The review is supplemented with interviews with individuals involved in negotiations on the SDGs, as members of delegations, on UN technical support teams, in non-governmental organizations (NGOs), in think tanks and in academia.[1] The interviews, conducted through Zoom, include participants' views on various questions that the research attempts to answer.

The paper is organized in the following way. The first section provides a background on the emergence of the human development concept. It then identifies 'norm makers' from the South, traces their influence on thinking on the subject, and describes their backgrounds and experiences. The next section deals with sustainable development, explores when and how the concept originated, and chronicles some milestones in the formulation of the approach. It defines the unusual process through which the SDGs were formulated and the role norm makers from the South played in shaping the final selection of the goals. The section then describes the role of the South in meeting environmental challenges. The subsequent section is devoted to the discussion of sustainable human development, and how it can be redefined and measured to meet sustainability and other challenges. A final section presents conclusions.

The Human Development Concept

ORIGINS OF THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT

After World War II and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, economic growth was the sole objective of development. In most of this period, development strategies focused on generating economic growth through public investments and import substitution policies (Lewis 1954). Although progress was made in several countries both in terms of higher investments and per capita incomes, this growth was not widespread. Many countries suffered high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. This led to a criticism of the growth objective of development and a search for alternative development strategies. In 1970, the International

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[1] See Appendix A.

Labour Organization emphasized employment as the focus of development (ILO 1970). Streeten et al. (1981) set meeting the basic needs of citizens (food, shelter, water, health care, clothing, education) as development priorities.[2]

In the 1980s, the debt crisis in developing countries took the focus away from the human-oriented and even to some extent the economic growth objectives of development. The emphasis shifted towards macroeconomic stabilization and liberalized development policies. Well into the decade, pro-market Washington Consensus policies of less government control, privatization of industries, elimination of import quotas, reduction of tariffs, etc., reigned 'supreme' (Stewart 2019). These policies were not successful, however. Most African and Latin American countries suffered a fall in investment levels and per capita incomes with a rise in poverty and inequality. At this time, Amartya Sen's capabilities concept, shifting the focus away from economic growth, presented an alternative approach to development (McNeill 2007, Stewart 2019, Fukuda-Parr 2003 and 2011).

CORE IDEA

Sen's capabilities approach was developed in the 1980s. It provided a strong theoretical/conceptual foundation for the human development approach. It defined human development as a process of 'enlarging a person's functionings' and capabilities to function, the range of things that a person 'can do' or 'be' in her life. Development can expand capabilities and thus enlarge the freedom people have to lead valuable and flourishing lives (Sen 2003). According to Fukuda-Parr (2011), the capabilities approach is the "primacy of people; their well-being as the purpose of development and their agency as an essential element of the development process."

Based on Sen's approach, the human development concept was launched by the famous Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq (with contributions from Sen and others) in the first *Human Development Report* in 1990.[3] The human development idea was innovative;[4] it changed the concept of development from one based on economic growth to one that was 'people centred'. According to the report, "Human Development is a process of enlarging peoples' choices. The most critical ones are to lead a long and healthy life, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living. Additional choices include political freedom, guaranteed human rights, and self-respect" (UNDP 1990). The human development approach embodies a "robust paradigm contrasted with the neoliberal paradigm of the Washington Consensus" (Jolly 2002).

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[2] The basic needs approach was not explicitly adopted by any country and lost prominence as other concepts developed in the 1990s (Fukuda-Parr 2011, Stewart 2019).

[3] Although the concept was launched in 1990, it had earlier roots and evolved over several years (see Stewart 2019).

[4] The human development approach drew from earlier concepts of basic needs, the physical quality of life and disparities in living conditions.

The Human Development Index (HDI), introduced by Mahbub ul Haq in the first *Human Development Report* in 1990, proved to be a powerful complement to the human development concept and a credible alternative measure of progress to gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. The HDI was based on three dimensions: health, measured by life expectancy; access to education, measured by the expected years of schooling of children and the mean years of schooling of the adult population; and a decent standard of living, measured by gross national income per capita (adjusted for purchasing power parity).[5] Soon the HDI became the most popular measure of development in the world.[6] One important contribution was that it shifted development away from a conventional trade-off framework, bringing an integrated approach to human development.[7]

Over the years, the United Nations and its organizations have provided a platform for promoting, developing and disseminating development ideas. UNDP played a key role in advocating human development through the publication of the Human Development Reports. "Human Development may not have acquired its prominence and impact without the UN, especially the UNDP" (Acharya 2016). The publication of the first *Human Development Report* had an immense impact and shifted the "focus of development economics from national income accounting to people centered policies" (Haq 1995). The report provided a "broad purpose of setting out a comprehensive approach to development, including an agenda of policy priorities, tools of analysis and measurement, and a coherent conceptual framework" (Fukuda-Parr 2003). "The impact of HDRs on global dialogue on policies has exceeded expectations" (Haq 1995).

ADOPTION OF THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IDEA

According to McNeill (2007), an idea is a successful one if it strongly influences the development agenda and has institutional backing. This definition fits well with the concept of human development. Since its inception, the approach has had a profound impact on development thinking. Literature shows that, over the years, the concept has broadened to address new development challenges. Sen's work (1980, 1985, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1989, 1999) on the quality of life, poverty, inequality and capabilities has continued to set new development priorities and challenged conventional views about poverty and inequality (McNeill 2007). Other work on gender, sustainable livelihoods, human rights and participation promotes "human centered development strategies" (Fukuda-Parr 2011). The human development approach has also "evolved in directions that pay more attention to the agency aspects of human development — to political freedoms and institutions as well as political processes" (Fukuda-Parr 2003).

The HDI and its variants have been used by researchers and academicians and have shaped methodologies to measure well-being in empirical research all over the world. The calculation of indices in more than 100

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[5] See Technical Note 3 in the *1990 Human Development Report* for the mathematical formulation of the index.
[6] Since the HDI was introduced in 1990, variants have been developed and several indices introduced to capture new aspects of human development.
[7] Annex 1, interview 5.

countries has spurred the collection of new data for analysis in several developing countries (Prabhu and Iyer 2019). The idea of human development has been accepted as a norm.

The Human Development Reports published regularly since 1990 have changed the way governments, policymakers, academics, NGOs and other stakeholders think about development. Human development is mentioned in publications, journals, academic textbooks, material for conferences and workshops, and the media.[8] Over the years the 'human development paradigm' has remained stable and has been enriched by academic literature and updated by the Human Development Report Office (UNDP 2016). Reports have accommodated new concerns and taken up new policy challenges (Fukuda-Parr 2003). Changes in the human development approach have been reflected in topics covered by the reports: security, gender, poverty, consumption, human rights, technologies, climate change and resilience, democracy, sustainability, work and inequalities.

THE INTERNALIZATION AND POLICY IMPACTS OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

A norm is fully internalized in two steps: first, when it generates global policy suggestions, and second, when these policies are implemented and bring about changes in practice.

From the beginning, the human development approach was successful in drawing the attention of policymakers away from GDP per capita and towards "human-oriented' policy goals (McNeill 2007). Human development, the HDI and the Human Development Reports have stimulated policy discussions and public debates in international organizations, policy forums, government planning bodies, NGOs, the media and civil society (Sonderjee 2014, UNDP 2010). Disaggregation of the HDI by region, country, and ethnic and other groups within countries has been the basis for allocating resources to health and education and has focused attention on the needs of marginalized groups, such as women, the poor, minorities and persons with special needs. Global, regional and national reports have informed policy decisions and been referenced in policy documents and development plans in many countries.

The reports have helped shape poverty reduction strategy papers, diverted resources to municipal planning, influenced peace negotiations and changed prison rules. Universities have incorporated the reports in their curricula (UNDP 2004). Policy suggestions have served as guidelines for countries to improve their human development indicators. In addition, NGO advocacy networks and civil society across the world have put pressure on governments to improve their policy performances based on report findings.

The Human Development Reports are "ideally placed to make substantial impacts on policies and practices" (Ibid.) but policy processes are complex. It is not easy to influence or quantify change. Each global report

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[8] Murphy (2006) reported that in 2005, Google Search found 2 million pages that mentioned at least one *Human Development Report.*

presents topic-related policy suggestions. National and regional reports offer regional and country-specific policy suggestions. It is beyond the scope of this research to assess how far countries have implemented these policies in practice. It is also difficult to determine how the policy options compare with those of other publications. Such an analysis may be useful for future research to determine if the human development norm has been fully internalized.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND KEY NORM MAKERS FROM THE SOUTH

Haq and Sen were the two norm makers from the South who played an active role in the promotion and diffusion of the human development concept as a globally accepted norm.[9] Haq was considered the pioneer of the approach while Sen's extensive work provided acceptance and credibility. Haq and Sen were both from South-East Asia, a region that has experienced among the worst human tragedies from communal violence and civil war.

Both Haq and Sen were educated in the West. Haq was trained at Cambridge and Yale and worked at the World Bank and the United Nations. Sen was educated at Cambridge and taught as a professor of economics and philosophy in India, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (including Oxford and Harvard). Haq held the position of Chief Economist and Planning Minister in the Government of Pakistan. He was well placed in the UN system and was respected in international circles. When Haq got a go-ahead to work on the *Human Development Report* he was able to draw on the expertise of intellectuals like Amartya Sen, Gustav Ranis, Paul Streeten, Frances Stewart, Keith Griffin, Sudhir Anand, Meghnad Desai and others. The publication of subsequent global, regional and national reports saw a stream of institutionalized research and policy work in academic institutions, governments and international circles.

Haq's experience and exceptional personal qualities were instrumental in his success in generating and disseminating his ideas (Gasper 2011), making him an outstanding norm entrepreneur. His ideas included practical frameworks, methodologies and proposals, and he was a person from the South with credentials to engage the North in meaningful dialogues and discussions.

Some norm makers from the South were educated, trained and worked in the West. They were well connected in global institutions dominated by the West and their innovative ideas were disseminated through such institutions. But their background and experience in their own countries helped shape their ideas. The "main source of their ideas and innovations were their upbringing, early education and situation at home" (Acharya 2016).

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[9] There were many others who played crucial roles.

Sustainable development

ORIGINS OF THE IDEA OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

When developed countries were growing, they often ignored environmental issues. It has only been recently that many started raising concerns about the determinantal effects of growth on the environment. In the 1970s, developed countries raised fears over limited natural resources, population growth, ecological degradation and the harmful effects of economic development on the environment.[10] They asserted that if the carbon emission levels of developing countries were to reach those of developed countries, the planet's natural resources would not be able to sustain them. Developing countries should therefore accept the state of "semi-development" and aim to de-develop (Ehrlich and Ehrilch 1970). The West would lead the way in devising a global strategy for preventing a 'world wasteland' (Kennan 1970).

Developing countries responded strongly to this Northern narrative. They emphasized that since the developed countries had consumed and benefitted from most of the world's natural resources, they should be the ones to take responsibility and reduce their carbon emissions by limiting their consumption levels and use of natural resources.[11] Countries from the South also voiced concerns over the suggestion of their de-development and the possible imposition of environmental regulation by developed countries. The concept of sustainable development can be traced back to this conflict between growth and environment.

Formulation of the SDGs: Role of norm makers from the South

FOUNEX COMMISSION, THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

The Southern response to the Northern narrative led to a genuine concern in international circles that developing countries would boycott the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, known as the Stockholm Conference, on the grounds that it was primarily convened to promote the interests of the industrialized countries (Manulak 2017). Maurice Strong, the Secretary-General of the conference, was tasked with addressing the concerns of developing countries. Strong proposed forming an expert working group to consider the environment and development nexus in depth. The group met in Founex, Switzerland, in 1971.

Several of the 27 participants of the group were respected economists from the South,[12] including Nobel laureates. They comprised Sir Arthur Lewis (St. Lucia), Samir Amin (Egypt), Gamani Corea (Sri Lanka), Mahbub

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[10] *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al. 1972) and *Mankind at the Turning Point* (Mesarovic, Pestel and the Club of Rome 1974) were published.

[11] At that time, developing countries only consumed one tenth of the world's natural resources (Haq 1976).

[12] The group included the renowned William Kapp (Germany), Jan Tinbergen (Netherlands), Shigeto Tsuru (Japan) and Barbara Ward (United Kingdom).

ul Haq (Pakistan), Miguel Ozorio de Almeida (Brazil), Enrique Iglesias (Uruguay), Pitambar Pant (India) and Ignacy Sachs (France and Brazil).[13] Strong describes the discussions in the working group as being of a high intellectual level, "intense and passionate, characterized by a degree of intellectual rigor" (Strong n.d.). The Founex Seminar was one of the first discursive analyses of the environment and development nexus (Manulak 2017, Mebratu 1998, Strong n.d.).

The Founex Report presented Southern perspective on the concept of sustainable development in detail. Intellectuals from the South—Corea, Haq, Iglesias and Sachs—emphasized that environmental problems in the Global South, like polluted water, poor sanitation, inadequate housing, disease, soil erosion and vulnerability to natural disasters, were more urgent in developing countries than pollution and natural resource depletion (Iglesias 1971, Corea 1972, Sachs 1972, Haq 1976). Iglesias (1971) highlighted the socio-economic dimensions of environmental issues and emphasized that the "destruction of the environment is primarily a result of the conditions of poverty that prevail in vast regions of the world." According to Sachs (1972), human-centred development was the solution to the environmental dilemmas of the South. A large part of the redress of environmental dilemmas in the South pointed to human-centred development since improvements in human welfare would eventually yield positive effects on the environment (Haq 1976). Iglesias (1971) pointed out that equitable growth was a means to improving human lives. Amin (1976) and Iglesias (1971) showed their concerns over the export of natural resources from the South to the North, which would likely worsen environmental damage.

Another argument presented by the Southern intellectuals was that macroeconomic policies followed in Southern countries had contradicted environmental sustainability (Lele 1991, Makhijani and Browne 1987, Ramphal 1980 and 1987, Salim 1983). Reforms were therefore needed in terms of market regulations, financial flows, trade prospects, foreign direct investment and the transfer of technology to create economic opportunities in developing countries (Amin 1976, Haq 1995, Iglesias 1971).

The third argument put forward by the South was that financial and technological resources required for pursuing sustainable development in developing countries should come from the North (Najam 1994, Iqbal and Pierson 2017), as they had enjoyed disproportionate benefits and caused environmental problems.

The three ideas of people-centred development—ending poverty and inequity as objectives of a development strategy, structural transformation of national economies and reforms in global economic governance, and the role of the North in addressing its high consumption patterns and transferring financial resources and technology—that were generated mainly by the Southern intellectuals became major pillars of sustainable development as it evolved over the years (Fukuda-Parr and Muchhala 2020).

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[13] These members participated as individuals and not as representatives of their governments.

Norm makers from the South made a significant contribution to writing the Founex Report as well. Corea and Haq, who constituted the secretariat along with Barbara Ward, drafted the reports, prepared material for and chaired meetings, and commissioned background papers. Strong (n.d.) described the report as "one of the milestones in the history of the environment movement, an absolutely seminal document." Coming from a man of Strong's stature, this was commendable.

BRUNDTLAND COMMISSION

The next milestone in the conceptualization of sustainable development was the formulation of the World Commission for Environment and Development, known as the Brundtland Commission. Appointed by the United Nations Secretary-General in 1983, it published the seminal *Our Common Future* in 1987. Of the 32 members of the Commission, 13 were from developing countries. Notable voices from the South were Bernard Chidzero, the Zimbabwean economic policymaker and politician, Emil Salim, the economist from Indonesia who served in several policy capacities including as the Minister of Environment, and Shridath Ramphal, Minister of Justice and Foreign Affairs from Guyana who would become the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

The Brundtland Commission's definition of sustainable development has come to be the most widely used one: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). The report stressed the needs of the poor and imbalances between consumption patterns and volumes of developing and developed countries (ibid.). The report pointed out that sustainable development required two core components: first, the "promotion of values that encourage consumption standards that are within the bounds of the ecologically possible and to which all can reasonably aspire" and second, "a production system that respects the obligation to preserve the ecological base for development" (ibid.). The report provided broad guidance for sustainable development to both developing and developed countries.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, RIO 1992

Following the Brundtland report, the United Nations General Assembly asked the Secretary-General to organize a conference to take stock of the global environment 20 years after Stockholm. Most global environmental issues raised in Stockholm had not been resolved. The environment had continued to deteriorate despite the many conferences organized by the United Nations Environment Programme, and the many multilateral and bilateral treaties and environmental agreements signed. The conference was convened in June 1992 in Rio, with the participation of 178 countries and 108 Heads of State and Government. They shared their views and adopted three major agreements to guide future approaches to development: Agenda 21, a global plan of action to promote sustainable development and create the new Commission for Sustainable Development; the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, a series of principles defining the rights

and responsibilities of States; and the Statement of Forest Principles, a set of principles to underpin the sustainable management of forests worldwide (Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform 2020).[14] The preparatory process for the conference involved the public from the beginning, with more than 1,000 NGOs attending and many participating as formal consultants in specific sessions. Scores of journalists also attended.

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The early 2000s marked the beginning of a holistic and goal-based approach to development in the form of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs shifted focus away from economic development and provided coherence to economic and social policies. According to Fukuda-Parr (2011), the MDGs clearly communicated the purpose of international development and what was to be achieved in concrete terms. The origins of the MDGs can be traced to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development/Development Assistance Committed (OECD/DAC) process that led to the publication of *Shaping the 21st Century* in 1996. It provided a short list of international development goals adopted in UN conferences on poverty, education, health, gender, the environment and governance. The international community was ready to embrace long-term development goals, and the idea gained support from the international community and leading international organizations.

In 1999, the United Nations adopted a revised set of guidelines. Cooperation among the OECD, United Nations, World Bank and International Monetary Fund led to a report with revised goals, launched in July 2000. In March 2000, the Secretary-General's report *We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the Twenty-first Century* (United Nations 2000) provided the foundations for the Millennium Declaration adopted at the 2000 United Nations Millennium Summit by 193 Heads of State and Government. After a decade of worldwide political mobilization and intellectual debates, the MDGs became timebound targets to be achieved by 2015.

FROM THE MDGS TO THE SDGS

Although the MDGs were a framework for international development and countries from the South were not opposed to them, many had misgivings (Fukuda-Parr 2017). NGOs, academics, policy think tanks and countries from the South criticized them for being too narrow, for focusing only on reducing extreme poverty and for failing to address other development challenges of inequality, ecosystem limits and unjust institutions (Fukuda-Parr 2019). The top-down approach adopted for the formulation of the MDGs, without consultations with UN Member States and other stakeholders, led to many deficiencies in framing the MDGs as international goals. The MDGs applied only to developing countries while the SDGs, adopted subsequently in 2015, applied to all countries. The one-size-fits-all implementation strategy of the MDGs also failed to take account of diverse

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[14] In addition, two legally binding instruments were opened for signature: the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity.

conditions in different countries. The SDGs to some extent arose out of the limitations of the MDGs (United Nations 2012).

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, RIO+20

At the Rio+20 conference in 2012, the SDGs first emerged as a framework for development. Although there was opposition to the idea from the development community, Rio was a big success and created the mandate to develop the goals. The future relationship between environment and development was a core issue. The South challenged the environmental agenda of the North, arguing that environmental sustainability could not be conceptualized without integrating development concerns (Fukuda-Parr and McNeill 2019). Participants agreed that "Rio was needed to get the SDGs done and that the SDGs succeeded in reshaping the understanding of the environment dimensions" (Caballero 2016).[15]

The success of SDG formulation was mostly a result of the tireless efforts and work of norm makers from the South. Paula Caballero Gomez, a civil servant from the Colombian delegation, initiated the idea of the goals and proposed the novel suggestion of setting them in the preparatory process for Rio+20. She felt that the MDG agenda had been too narrow to address issues of sustainability and equity. The idea immediately met with scepticism (Caballero 2016) and opposition, mainly from the developed countries, on the grounds that it would undermine the unfinished MDG agenda, and that combining development and environment would weaken development. Proponents of the SDGs were persistent, however. They organized private consultations and public side events, and constantly updated and revised their proposal based on comments on it. Slowly, the idea began to gain momentum and support from delegations, the civil society and international organizations (Coballero 2016, Dodds et al. 2016).[16]

Caballero's idea became the centrepiece of negotiations at Rio+20 (Fukuda-Parr and Muchhala 2020). The mandate to establish the SDGs was included in the outcome document, which underlined that that the SDGs would include the MDG poverty agenda but would be broadened to encompass environmental sustainability, economic development and social equity. The outcome document also laid out a process for constituting a body to elaborate the SDGs. Subsequently, an Open Working Group was set up to formulate the goals, allowing the participation of stakeholders. This was a departure from the usual United Nations General Assembly process, which had previously been closed to non-State actors.

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[15] Annex 1, interviews 1, 2 and 3.
[16] Apart from Corea, other individual entrepreneurs from the South—Farrukh Khan, coordinator of the Group of 77, from Pakistan, members of the Brazilian delegation, and Alicia Bárcena, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean—were among the key players in gaining support for the idea.

The process of negotiations at Rio was also quite different. In sharp contrast to the MDGs, which results from a top-down approach, the UN strategy at Rio was a bottom-up one.[17] The process was not the usual UN one where regional blocs (the Group of 77, the European Union, non-European Union countries, etc.) developed their own positions first and then negotiated. The arrangement gave the South, small countries and other stakeholders more voice.[18] The politics was also different. Whereas the MDGs were framed in an environment of optimism, the SDGs were formulated in a pessimistic international environment of financial crisis, the war on terror, recession and the threat of climate change.[19] "The global financial crisis had sucked the trust out of the multilateral system."[20] Since the North was preoccupied with the financial crisis, Southern leadership took charge in building bridges at the SDG negotiations.[21] Norm setters from the South were able to counter the narrow 'reductionist' agenda of only tackling poverty mainly because of the efforts of some Latin American countries, which were very vocal in wanting the North to take responsibility for addressing global environmental issues.[22]

Alongside the Rio process, the United Nations Secretary-General constituted a high-level panel of Eminent Persons[23] for consultations on the successor to the MDG agenda. This process differed markedly in its agenda, thinking and politics (Fukuda-Parr and McNeill 2019). It was formed to follow up on the MDG poverty agenda (with some modifications)[24] and was donor driven to coordinate international aid efforts. It did not gain momentum and was not successful.[25] On the other hand, the Open Working Group as a follow-up to Rio+20 was more ambitious, seeking structural changes in the way economies and societies were organized and going beyond meeting basic needs (Fukuda-Parr and McNeill 2019). It departed from the conventional conceptualization of development as a North-South mindset and as a separate set of issues from environmental sustainability (Fukuda-Parr and Muchhala 2020). The Open Working Group was led by Member States working within the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development framework, and involved environmentalists, academics, think tanks and businesses.

The Open Working Group discussions were transparent and unprecedented in the history of the United Nations in several ways. First, "many of the negotiators stayed with the process after the Rio Conference to do the SDGs, and built a common narrative over four years, which enabled many of the advances to happen."[26]

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[17] Annex 1, interview 4.
[18] Annex 1, interviews 1, 3, 7, 8 and 9.
[19] Annex 1, interviews 1, 4 and 5.
[20] Annex 1, interview 4.
[21] Annex 1, interview 1.
[22] Annex 1, interview 4.
[23] The panel was co-chaired by Prime Minister Cameron of the United Kingdom, Liberian President Johnson-Sirleaf and Indonesian President Yudhoyono.
[24] It included an environment goal but was basically a poverty agenda.
[25] Annex 1, interviews 1 and 3.
[26] Annex 1, interviews 1.

Second, Brazil came up with the unique idea of seat-sharing among 70 countries, which resulted in 'bizarre' grouping where governments were forced to go and find new friends. This broke down the traditional regional groupings and allowed much more diversified and rich inputs from participants.[27] Third, civil society played a big role in pushing environment and climate change issues forward and being a watchdog.[28] Fourth, leadership from the South played a significant role in bringing the groups together. "Without the leadership of Brazil, Guatemala, Colombia and (the United Arab Emirates), we would not have had the SDGs."[29] "SDGs can be interpreted as a victory for the Southern norm setters."[30] The co-chairs, especially from Hungary and Kenya, did not represent their countries and were constantly working for the process. They played a key role in reaching out to the groups and making the negotiations a success.[31] Ambassador Macharia from Kenya was a key figure in the success of consultations that took place every morning (Chasek and Wagner 2016).[32]

Governments, think tanks and civil society organization from the South played key roles in influencing the SDG agenda. Many of the goals would not have been included without the persistent advocacy of civil society groups, academics, some UN agencies and governments from the South, especially those on inequality, consumption and production, industrialization and technology, international trade and finance (Fukuda-Parr and Muchhala 2020, Gasper, Shah and Tankha 2019, Saiz and Donald 2017).

The Open Working Group debates were long and cumbersome, and spread over 13 sessions from March 2013 to July 2014. Finally, 17 goals and 169 targets were recommended to the General Assembly and were adopted in September 2015.

Today the world faces daunting environmental challenges. Leaders and countries from the South played a major role in the formulation of the SDGs. Can they play an equally active role in delivering on the SDGs? The next section of the paper highlights the efforts made by Southern countries in dealing with environmental issues.

ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES: THE ROLES OF SOUTHERN COUNTRIES

Currently, countries in the Global South are hardest hit by climate change. Environmental degradation, deforestation, ecological hazards, eroding biodiversity, diminished land and food insecurity are some of the issues negatively impacting progress in human development. Asia and the Pacific faces three major environmental issues: water and marine pollution, air pollution and deforestation. African countries are struggling with water resources management, chemicals management, land degradation, desertification and

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[27] Annex 1, interviews 1.
[28] Annex 1, interviews 7 and 8.
[29] Annex 1, interview 1.
[30] Annex 1, interview 4.
[31] Annex 1, interviews 3, 7 and 9.
[32] Annex 1, interview 3.

energy supplies. Natural disasters, like cyclones, affected over 3 million people in Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in 2018 (Yarnell and Cone 2019). Ethiopia, like many countries in the Global South, is facing an increasing population; rising scarcity of food, natural resources and energy; dwindling access to bioenergy; and difficulty in providing sustainable livelihoods for the rural poor (Mueller 2008).

Various regional and national efforts have been made to deal these problems, which are critical to achieving the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change. China is now tipped to be the leader in providing solutions to global problems, as the Government has taken significant steps to address climate change. Several initiatives to cut coal use meant consumption was 3 percent lower in 2018 than its peak in 2013 (Sandalow 2019).

China is now considered to be a leader in deploying renewable power, having achieved significant growth in solar, wind, hydro and nuclear power at low costs.[33] In 2014, China became the largest producer of solar panels.[34] The country is also putting a price on carbon emissions, which has potential to limit emissions substantially.[35] Improving energy efficiency is a priority of the Government, which has set aggressive efficiency targets. According to the International Energy Agency, China's emissions by 2017 had fallen by nearly 1.2 gigatons of carbon equivalent (roughly equal to Japan's 2017 emissions) since 2000.[36]

Costa Rica is another country leading climate change solutions, offering many lessons on how to balance financial constraints and curb emissions.[37] In 2019, the country outlined its net-zero emissions plan, the National Decarbonization Plan 2018-2050. The plan includes strategies for all sectors of the economy, defining steps such as electrifying the public transport system and taking energy efficiency measures in industry, transport and construction. The country's climate-related policies include a carbon neutral certification scheme for businesses and municipalities, nationally appropriate mitigation actions in agriculture and the National Energy Plan. Costa Rica's electricity generation has a high share of renewable sources. In 2018, it beat its own record by generating 98 percent of electricity from renewable sources for the fourth consecutive year. It hopes to reach a 100 percent renewable generation share by 2021 (Climate Action Tracker 2020).

Morocco has built the world's largest concentrated solar facility spread over a 6,000-acre solar energy complex. It provides renewable energy to over 2 million people. The country hopes to achieve a goal of renewable energy comprising 52 percent of the energy mix by 2030 and transition away from fossil fuels (Climate Investment Funds 2019). South Africa's Carbon Tax Act 2019 aims to reduce the country's emissions by 33 percent by 2035 relative to the baseline in 2019 (Ntombela, Bohlmann and Kalaba 2019). Nigeria is striving to meet a renewable energy target of 30 percent of the total by 2030 through grid-based and decentralized investments (Corfee-

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[33] Annex 1, interviews 2 and 5.
[34] Annex 1, interview 5.
[35] Annex 1, interview 6.
[36] See Sandalow 2019 for details.
[37] Annex 1, interviews 4 and 6.

Marlot et al. 2019). Ethiopia is mainstreaming climate change considerations into its economy planning (Nakoulima 2015). Gabon's efforts, since 2014, present significant potential for mitigation as the country is determined to develop based on the climate-friendly management of its land and forests (ibid.). Major oil companies are making renewable energy deals in African countries. Shell has invested in SolarNow, which sells high-quality solar solutions in Kenya and Uganda. Since 2011, SolarNow has supplanted 210,000 tons of greenhouse gas emissions.[38]

The African Union's Agenda 2063 provides a regional context for the SDGs and sets a development agenda based on regional priorities aligned with the global framework. The purpose behind linking the Agenda to the SDGs is to promote inclusive development and the transition to green growth (UNDP 2017). Some leading initiatives include Kenya's Vision 2030, Rwanda's Vision 2050, Uganda's Vision 2040 and South Africa's National Development Plan 2030.

The Green Climate Fund (GCF) is mandated to help developing countries accelerate action against climate change and follow low-carbon, climate-resilient development.[39] In India, the GCF has provided affordable financing for a programme to put solar energy on rooftops (*Sumber Soum*). The programme is implemented by India's biggest rural development bank, NABARD. The GCF's $100 million loan is expected to leverage $150 million from Indian investors. The GCF has provided affordable financing for the construction of 250 megawatts of rooftop solar capacity, which equals the electricity consumption of almost 290,000 households. This pioneering, private-sector-driven initiative is an example of a sustainable, bankable model that can be replicated elsewhere (Waslander and Amerasinge 2019). Through the GCF, Morocco is introducing climate-resistant, profit-making crops to farming collectives.

The GCF faces issues of financing and leadership that need to be resolved urgently (ibid.). By mid-November 2019, 28 countries confirmed pledges to replenish the fund, bringing the total raised so far to $9.8 billion (Schalatek and Watson 2019). Yet developed countries need to do more to provide finance and transfer technology to developing countries to pursue sustainable development. "Developed countries just do not have the money after the financial crisis of 2008-9 and the COVID-19 pandemic to put into the fund, and official aid assistance is not likely to be enough." Either large developing countries or the private sector will have to step in and provide the finance.[40]

Several important lessons can be learned from the efforts of Southern countries to tackle climate change. Although some policies run counter to climate change,[41] China has managed development in a sustainable way.

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[38] See: https://www.solarnow.eu.
[39] The GCF was set up in 2010 under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.
[40] Annex 1, interview 3.
[41] Annex 1, interview 2.

Its model has not been understood properly and needs to be studied as it addresses sustainability through investments and not through aid or a trade-off approach.[42] Costa Rica's experience shows how to pursue aggressive, progressive environmental policies under financial constraints. Other innovative initiatives can be localized and adapted to suit conditions in different countries. Creating a platform for exchanging information on what works and what does not along the lines of 'Mobility as a Service' may be useful.[43] Sharing lessons and wide dissemination of local, regional and global best practices would go a long way in showing that positive results are possible (Nyasimi, Radeny and Kinyangi 2013). Developing research and administrative capacity to increase climate change preparedness could also have positive impacts on environmental management (Mertz et al. 2009). Most sustainability and environmental issues are not national or specific to countries; they stretch across boundaries and are global in nature. Both developed and developing countries must come together on resolving them.

Pathways to sustainable human development

Since the publication of the first *Human Development Report* 30 years ago, the world has changed in many ways. Human development faces several new global challenges. With the introduction of new technologies, for example, capabilities required to flourish have changed. A fragile ecology due to environmental degradation and the impacts of climate change threatens to slow progress on human development and poses dangers to human well-being. In addition to the exigency of climate change, the world is facing the crisis of inequality and issues of power related to it. In a world focused on the SDGs, how does the concept of human development help meet present and future environmental and other global challenges? How does it revolutionize global development once again? To meet new challenges requires rethinking human development, broadening the concept to incorporate sustainability and finding better measurement tools (Stewart 2019).

RETHINKING THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The big challenge is how to achieve development that is both human and environment centred, in other words, sustainable development, rearticulated as 'sustainable human development'.[44] What sustainable human development is today, and how it can be measured, needs to be revisited in light of current challenges. When taking the Brundtland Report definition of sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs," and rethinking human development within planetary boundaries, the following questions arise: How do we define what is to

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[42] Annex 1, interview 5.

[43] Annex 1, interview 4. 'Mobility as a Service' is the integration of various forms of transport services into a single mobility service accessible on demand.

[44] At UNDP, then Administrator Gus Speth tried to rephrase human development as sustainable human development in 1993-1994, but it "went out of focus and lost traction" quickly. Annex 1, interview 1.

be sustained today? How should we envision what our obligations to future generations should be? (Gough 2020, Ivanov and Peleah 2017).

There is no doubt that humanity is driving at great speed towards an 'ecological catastrophe'. Development needs to be pursued in a way that avoids this catastrophe. Sustainability has two dimensions: trade-offs or discontinuity. In a trade-off framework, the choice is between growth or human development and protecting the environment. In a discontinuity framework, when growth is pursued, the environment can be damaged to a point that is irreversible, resulting in enormous costs. Therefore, the best path to follow is an integrated approach. The key question that arises is how to measure how far we are from reaching catastrophe? There is only informal scientific consensus on the measurement of environmental degradation; for instance, only a rule of thumb is used to define biodiversity. This fails to highlight the severity of the problem and the urgency of taking immediate action.[45]

According to Hickel (2020), to rethink human development, we need to shift to a model of development that is consistent with planetary boundaries. The real challenge is to get richer countries to scale down their resource and energy use. This can be done with a different economic paradigm, one that requires abandoning a singular focus on GDP growth and shifting to post-growth or degrowth models. New Zealand has stepped back from GDP growth as a measure, replacing it with an emphasis on human well-being. Other countries are following suit. "The focus should be on targeting the things that we want to achieve directly and then make that the goal of government" (ibid.). For instance, we need annual targets for sustainable resource use so that rich countries can actively bring down their resource use year on year. Perhaps we should get away from development altogether and only speak about "flourishing or well-being within planetary boundaries, in a more holistic approach" (ibid.).

The notion of development itself is increasingly rejected as a highly flawed concept rooted in colonialism. Movements such as degrowth and alternatives such as the circular economy have gained momentum and are challenging prevailing economic models. The rearticulation of human development, therefore, needs a broader framework that encompasses more than social and economic issues, and includes institutional aspects, such as structural inequality, along with environmental sustainability. The reformulation of the concept needs to resonate with contemporary social concerns with human development, and the language of human development needs to reverberate with these new movements (Fukuda-Parr 2020).

Bhattacharjee and Iftikhar's concept of 'greening' human development could prove particularly insightful for rethinking human development. For Bhattacharjee and Iftikhar (2011) and Messerli et al. (2019), 'greening' human development means to simultaneously pursue human well-being and reduce inequalities while

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[45] Annex 1, interview 5.

minimizing the exposure of significant climate and environmental catastrophes to current and future generations. Thus, 'greening' human development also means using resources in a responsible and sustainable manner to prevent resource scarcities over the long run. Another recent approach by Raworth's doughnut shows 'the safe and just path for humanity', a path that respects both the human development of those living today and critical environmental limits (Raworth 2017).

REDEFINING HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

McNeill (2020) discusses how we cannot meet environmental challenges, protect future generations, or achieve human well-being without social cohesion. Therefore, human development today needs to be defined in a way that moves beyond the individual level, and links development with the social or relational aspects of well-being. Keizer (2020) agrees and adds that interaction between individual capacities and the societal context are important to rethinking the idea of human development. Lizárraga (2020) points to a need to engage the broader public to link concepts related to the human development approach to their daily lives. To understand human development, we need to collect peoples' stories about how they live their lives and make this central to our articulations of human development (Jjuuko 2020).

Fukuda-Parr (2020) believes that the core 1990 human development concept was not just about human outcomes but about agency: "development for, by and of the people." According to Crocker (2020), the most important capability is agency, and so the key to defining human development today is agency together with equality and well-being. Two other elements fundamental to the rethinking of human development are democratic governance (with broad participation) and anti-corruption. Nagler (2020) provides seven points on rethinking human development from a 'mindset' point of view.

To Fukuda-Parr (2020), human development is also about freedom and having the ability to live the life one has reason to value. The core purpose of human development as a development agenda is to craft the social structures and institutions that facilitate the expansion of people's capabilities. Human development, as articulated in 1990, had a broader framework: Transparency, security and political freedoms were essential aspects of the original core concept. Thus, we need to go back to the big and visionary ideas that created human development 30 years ago.

RETHINKING MEASUREMENT OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

When the human development approach and its measurement tool, the HDI, were being formulated, the environment was not at the forefront of discussions on development. Years later, much analysis of human development is still driven by the HDI. When we talk about rearticulating human development, we also need to talk about rethinking its measurement.

How do sustainability, climate change or the social and political determinants of health translate into the HDI framework? How can we measure the critical dynamics of the relationship between the ability to live a long and healthy life and the social institutions shaping unequal outcomes? These elements are difficult to incorporate into the HDI (Fukuda-Parr 2020).

Attempts have been made to add new dimensions to the HDI and develop new indices to measure environmental impacts. Desai (1995) developed a separate composite index of the intensity of environmental exploitation comprising greenhouse gas emissions per capita, water withdrawal as a percentage of annual internal renewable water resources, and energy consumption per unit of gross national product. Mukherji (2020) argues that human development's dependence on planetary well-being needs to be embedded formally within the HDI. José (2012) extended the HDI to account for sustainability and environmental aspects by incorporating environmental and resource consumption dimensions into a sustainability-adjusted HDI. Constantini and Monni (2005) proposed a composite sustainable human development index based on simple average education attainment, social stability, sustainable access to resources and environmental quality. Other efforts include Dewan's (2009) Sustainable Human Development, Dahme et al.'s (1998) Sustainable Human Development Index, and Ramathan's (1999) Environment Sensitive HDI, a product of the HDI and Environment Endangerment Index.[46]

One way of greening the HDI, suggested by Klasen (2018), is to isolate and gauge the impact of each of the indices comprising the HDI on environmental and ecological sustainability. In line with this notion, a new and broader approach to 'greening human development' could also be generated with two new measures: tracking sustainability and commitment to sustainable development.

One other suggestion is to take the OECD's Green Income measure and replace the monetary GDP in the HDI with Green Income. Weighting may pose a problem though, and the measure will only cover a third of the HDI, the weight of income in the index. The issue is complicated and needs more serious thought and work.[47]

One way to analyse whether human needs are being met in a sustainable way is to place the HDI for each country into a contextual analysis of resource use and sustainability. It may be useful to calculate the increase in resource use required for each incremental step in the HDI (marginal HDI). But this would only work if we can separate each country's cross-border impact on the environment.[48]

We should be careful that we do not add new dimensions to the HDI that do not have a theoretical basis and for which it is difficult to raise substantive political commitment. We need an index that is intuitively sensible,

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[46] E-discussion with the UN Office for South- South Cooperation in 2020.
[47] Annex 1, interview 2.
[48] Annex 1, interview 4.

has a strong theoretical framework and has a firm basis for measurement.[49] Perhaps it is time to think about new indices. McNeill (2020) is of the opinion that the HDI has run its course and it is time to experiment with new ideas, but "unfortunately, some of the new concepts that are emerging are very unsatisfactory, e.g., degrowth is a hopeless term – hindering rather than helping discussions on sustainable consumption."

In addition to finding the right indices and indicators, there are other fundamental challenges in measuring sustainable human development. One is the non-availability of data, and another is the complexity involved in measuring environmental impacts related to resources, such as water and air, that are shared between countries (Ivanov and Peleah 2017).

THE ROLE OF UNDP AND THE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT OFFICE

Over the years, UNDP and the Human Development Report Office have led thinking on the concept of development through publishing the Human Development Reports, and through their courage in advocating big and visionary ideas (Fukuda-Parr 2020). Human development, championed by UNDP, carries the flag of integrity and impartiality, needed so much everywhere. As such, UNDP is extremely well-positioned to promote dialogue, cooperation and a 'more vulgar' approach to policymaking, as Mahbuh ul Haq would say (Comim 2020). UNDP and the Human Development Report Office have the convening power, advisers, statisticians and quantitative experts to play a big role in shaping ideas and helping countries understand what sustainable human development means for each of them.[50]

The big challenge for UNDP is also to engage more with civil society to ensure that topics put forward under the human development banner emerge out of people's own realities. It is of utmost importance to represent people's diversity and generate strategies to help them solve problems they face. National governments may not have the same interests as people, nor the resources and means to do certain things. There is still much progress to be made in listening to and engaging with ordinary people, and in assisting them in their daily struggles. Redesigning implementation methods and communications approaches will go a long way in making human development more influential and impactful (Comim 2020).

UNDP and the Human Development Report Office can, in practice, nourish a holistic approach to human development by building on earlier work, rethinking human development analysis and human security approaches, and using local, national and regional reports and cross-report learning. "Local, national, and regional (Human Development Reports) provide vital spaces for learning about local realities, specificities, complexities, and opportunities. UNDP/(Human Development Report Office) and their partners have a major role to play in cross-learning, synthesis, and reflection within and in parallel to the SDGs cycles" (Gasper 2020).

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[49] Annex 1, interview 6.
[50] Annex 1, interview 2.

Conclusions

This paper studies how human development and sustainability norms are generated, identifies norm makers from the South and highlights the role these norm makers have played in diffusing norms and influencing international development priorities. Norm makers such as Haq and Sen made vital contributions to the generation and diffusion of the human development norm. Sen provided the theoretical framework through his capabilities approach, while Haq pioneered the idea through the first *Human Development Report* in 1990. The innovative concept of human development, the introduction of the HDI as a measurement tool and the publication of the Human Development Reports have had a profound impact on development thinking worldwide and led to a stream of research and policy-related work on a human-centred approach to development.

According to the Finnemore and Sikkink model framework, the human development concept has been globally accepted and adopted as a norm. More research is needed to see whether human development policies outlined in the reports influenced global public policies in practice, to determine if the norm is fully internalized. It may be useful to compare the policy impacts of the reports with other international publications.

Although Haq and Sen were educated and trained in the West and were well placed in international institutions like the World Bank and UNDP, their main inspiration came from their backgrounds and personal and professional experiences in their own countries. Their ideas were successful because they were based on a sound economic framework, and because both Haq and Sen were highly respected for their intellectual ability and exceptional personal qualities and credibility. Further, their ideas were supported by both international and country level research.

The concept of sustainable development was a game changer. Getting agreement on the SDGs was transformative. This paper has chronicled major milestones in the formulation of the SDGs, where the norm makers from the South presented their perspectives and played a major role in shaping the sustainable development concept. At the Founex Commission, norm makers formulated a Southern narrative on sustainable development, which led to a reconciliation of economic development and the environment. Their ideas of people-centred development strategies, reforms in global economic governance, the North's role in addressing its high consumption patterns, and the transfer of financial resources and technology from the North to the South became major pillars of sustainable development as it evolved. At the Brundtland Commission, notable voices from the South played significant roles in defining sustainable development and provided guidance to developed and developing countries.

Countries from the South voiced their dissatisfaction with the MDGs given their top-down approach, narrow focus on poverty and one-size-fits-all implementation strategy. They played a major role in broadening the

concept of development from the donor-driven perspective of meeting basic needs under the MDGs to an environmentally sustainable and equitable one.

At the Rio+20 Conference and in the Open Working Group, the formulation of the goals went through a long and tough negotiation process. It took the most inclusive negotiations in the history of the United Nations and tireless efforts by individuals, governments and civil society to reach agreement on the SDGs. The negotiations broke the mould and proved that innovative negotiations were possible at the United Nations. Leaders from the South played a major role in developing trust and a sense of partnership, creating both transparency and ownership among negotiating individuals and groups, and making negotiations a success. The accomplishments of the Open Working Group highlighted that following an open process where all interested governments could participate, avoiding bloc to bloc negotiations, could improve future negotiations. They also demonstrated that global leadership was not the purview of the North. The COVID-19 pandemic has now set back the process somewhat, however. There is less transparency with closed door meetings. Civil society and countries with bad Internet connections are shut out of the process.[51]

This paper highlights the environmental challenges faced by Southern countries and the important lessons that can be learned from their innovative efforts to tackle climate change. China's model, which addresses sustainability issues through investments and not through aid, needs to be studied and understood. Costa Rica's and other countries' innovative actions and environmental policies set good examples that could be replicated elsewhere.

The world has changed in many ways since the publication of the first *Human Development Report* 30 years ago. It faces new environmental and inequality challenges. This paper sets out to answer the question of how human development can be rearticulated and redefined as sustainable human development and how the HDI can be modified, or new tools for measurement developed, to meet new global challenges. First, it suggests that this requires rethinking models of development that are not based on GDP growth and are consistent with planetary boundaries. Second, it calls for broadening the human development framework to encompass social and relational aspects of well-being as well as institutional aspects, such as structural inequality, along with environmental sustainability. In addition to rearticulating human development, we also need to think of re-evaluating its measurement tools. When we modify the HDI or develop new indices of measurement, we must be careful that they are intuitively sensible, conceptually clear, have a strong theoretical base, can generate political commitment and have adequate data. Lastly, UNDP and the Human Development Report Office have a major role in making sustainable human development revolutionize the global development once again.

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[51] Annex 1, interview 3.

Appendix A

LIST OF EXPERTS INTERVIEWED AND INTERVIEW DATES

1. Felix Dodds, 12 June 2020

2. Frances Stewart, 8 July 2020

3. Pamela Chasek, 16 June 2020

4. Paul Ladd, 17 June 2020

5. Tariq Banuri, 23 June 2020

6. Khalid Malik, 15 June 2020

7. Jimena Lieva Roesch, 19 June 2020

8. Farrukh Khan, 4 July 2020

9. Emma Samman, 10 July 2020

10. Desmond McNeil (referred to his interview with the Science Council)

11. Des Gasper (referred to his interview with the Science Council)

12. Amitav Acharya (referred to his published work, which was reviewed)

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