

The political dimension of local human development: key points for the construction of alternatives and cohesive societies

Jokin Alberdi Bidaguren

March 2016



Universidad del País Vasco Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea



INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS SOBRE DESARROLLO Y COOPERACION INTERNACIONAL NAZIOARTEKO LANDEZTA ETA GARAPENARI BURUZKO IKASKETA INSTITUTUA

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I. Introducción



This study aims to look in depth at the political dimension of the theoretical and analytical framework of Local Human Development (LHD) that Hegoa has been working on in recent years. It examines new analytical ideas, categories and tools that might be useful in order to understand the workings of societies that act as political units, and which can be employed when facing the challenges of the current context of profound change. The aim, then, is to emphasise the group's capability for decision-making with regard to the future.

In this series of publications about LHD, a starting point has been the premise that human development and the capability approach offer an evaluative framework for social actions and the collective view of wellbeing. Therefore, one of the central debates consists of determining what the priority group spaces are in order to assess results. Going beyond the processes of change and empowerment that, in and of themselves may be either positive or negative for human development, there are other collective political dimensions that are crucial and are this paper's object of study.

Defining the fundamental project upon which are built formal and informal institutions, as well as that project's priorities and goals, and the capacity to decide on and design the future are without any doubt central to a society's wellbeing. The legitimacy of political operations depends on how its concept of justice is determined. Fundamental, in order to determine this concept, are the democracy and the quality of public reasoning processes; the specification of matters to be included, or not, in deliberative processes; and the participation of subjects who are normally excluded from decision-making processes (Alberdi and Dubois, 2015).

This study analyses democratic participation, the new institutionality, and the cohesion of local societies based on the capability approach. Consequently, central to the debates in order to understand the complexities of systems and political changes will be the appropriation of development processes and the development of collective capabilities. Specifically, two political dimensions of LHD will be tackled:

- The integrated nature and cohesion of societies, which involves a reconsideration of efforts to strengthen institutions and the forms of interaction among community actors, the market and the State of a certain social system. That is to say, consideration of a new way of understanding governance for LHD analysis, which takes into consideration the formal and informal spaces of power as

well as the complexity of societies, and which is useful in order to alter power relations and advance towards a symmetry of power among the set of different actors.

- The democratic participation dimension, in that people's wellbeing and the development of individual, collective and system capabilities require active participation in decision-making and planning the future.

Tackling these dimensions is inevitably accompanied by other matters related to:

-the different ideological and cultural conceptions of political power and their relationship to political, ethnic, class and gender inequalities;

-democracy and political systems, and their influence on a society's development and capacity for change, and the capacity of its institutions to make progress in human development;

-the presence of civil society and of citizens against the hegemony of the market and of some sectors of the State, as necessary change in the interrelations among the different agents and institutions in order to advance towards other, more relational and symmetrical, forms of governance that are oriented to individual and collective wellbeing goals;

-the challenge of establishing a decision-making system that includes deliberation and representation appropriate to the interests of the set of actors in each society, and which has the capacity to create transformational coalitions and articulate a territorialisation of public policies, where governments and other actors creatively design and implement measures that take into account their priorities, efforts and resources;

-the empowerment and analysis of power relations in order to determine the development of capabilities and the importance of understanding complexity, by means of new categories that are useful in the transformation of unjust power structures, and of identifying new forms of participation that favour appropriation processes;

-the study of different wellbeing regimes and the diversity of formal and informal institutions of a local society and the access of its individuals to the resources and services (ownerships) offered by market, State, community and household;

-the connection of democracy, participation and local governance with the social or group dimension of wellbeing (particularly as regards human security, public goods, social capital and, above all, capability development);

In short, the aim of this study is to examine the conditioning factors or socio-political framework of LHD, and to offer areas of study, guidelines and analytical tools that facilitate the understanding of socio-political structures and their dynamics in the

taking of decisions that affect a certain group and are important when it comes to determining that group's future (Dubois, 2013: 95). The goal is not to define how objectives and change processes should be, but rather to catch a glimpse of the way in which transformational processes must be considered in the different territorial/local contexts. The goal is to offer possibilities so that a territory's actors can have the political capabilities for transformation.

With this intention, the study has been divided into two major blocks. In the first, past and present forms of dealing with the matters of power, democracy, participation and governance in international cooperation and development studies will be looked at, selecting some of the most interesting contributions of the human capability approach and others from political and sociological theory that can contribute to this task of scrutinizing territories' transformation strategies.

The current approaches of the prevailing theories of justice, human rights and democracy are insufficient, given that they are dominated by a narrow vision of things, making current concepts of democracy, participation and governance very limited. In order to better understand development processes, it is necessary to reinterpret these categories based on critical thinking and the capability approach. For this, in the current context of globalization, which accentuates inequalities and political exclusions, it is necessary to analyse domination systems and their forms of political oppression and the bases of socio-cultural discriminations (of ethnic, racial, sexual, gender, generational and territorial kinds).

The second and final block will be dedicated to putting forward central categories that can be used to evaluate democratic participation and the public-private interactions of Local Human Development's processes and results. The importance of developing capabilities (systemic, collective and individual), democratic operations and identifying useful tools for tackling appropriation and complexity in LHD processes from a socio-political perspective will constitute the contents of this second part. Institutional innovation, quality democratic deliberation and its public spaces, collective capabilities to share values and take decisions together, the degree of appropriation of local development strategies, the territorialisation of public policies, the capabilities to articulate creative processes between governments and different actors, and systems' capabilities to deal with changes and their resilience are some of the areas for assessing this political dimension of LHD processes. The aim is to offer possibilities to help societies advance participatively and democratically in their communal projects, and to identify the steps so they can autonomously determine their desirable and possible future.

II. Democracy, participation and governance in relation to development



in order to understand decision-making processes within a specific human group, and for these processes to be more democratic and transformational in terms of social justice, it is essential to analyse conceptions and practices of political power. Based on this revision of the concepts of political power, democracy, participation and governance, the aim is to contribute to the discussion of a normative human development discourse with realistic goals, that is to say, that can be used to implement and accompany social transformation processes. In one of his latest works, Sen (2010) insists on going beyond the current dominant understanding of a social justice that is out of our reach in order to create a conception that exists as a real possibility.

However, within the economic, legal and social sciences, very different theories and approaches are being developed with respect to development, human rights, democracy and governance. These are being handled ambiguously and the result is they are more useful to the particular interests of political leaders and major capitalists than they are to human development and collective wellbeing. Fortunately, new concerns are now being dealt with after these debates and traditions of thought. Theories of justice are being reconsidered and the liberal theories of human rights, along with their basic premise that political equality will favour social and economic equality, are being questioned. Little by little, a development model inspired by alternative views of wellbeing is being constructed, built based on a concern for sustainability, feminism, cultural plurality, theories regarding conflicts and social movements... and of course also based on the capability approach and LHD.

There is a growing concern because of an inability to influence the action of governments and the need to examine the quality of democracy, particularly through inclusion of the most excluded sectors, to advance in its more deliberative dimension and to reconsider the formulas of political representation. The complexity of power relations in an ever more globalised world sets the task of articulating, effectively and democratically, relationships among States, societies/communities and markets that are able to resolve problems in terms of social justice. Economic powers and globalised markets, and the processes of the fragmentation of power, are provoking a delegitimisation of the formal institutions that continue to be linked to their national territories, causing new inequalities and political exclusions (Subirats, 2007: 27-28).

1. Hegemonic and alternative views of development's political dimension

Faced with the hegemonic views of neoliberal economic development, of constitutional liberal democracy and of good governance, alternative approaches are being constructed using the building blocks of sustainable human development, more substantial democratic concepts, democratic governance, and new generation rights. The new threats that globalization brings with it (global risks) are contributing to the articulation of a new, more cosmopolitan awareness (reflexive modernization) which, based on transformational actions situated outside the official institutions (subpolitics), demand the imposition of new, transnational regulations (Beck, 2002). The new, interlinked local, national and global realities are questioning the old democratic and governmental logics, and require new projects and value systems.

According to Jauregui (2013: 45-48), a new social contract is needed to adapt and update the contents of liberty, equality and fraternity to contemporary circumstances and, in this way, rebalance the authority and responsibility of making this set of values effective. Traditional ways of understanding individual political liberties and equality as collective wellbeing must be supplemented with a new way of understanding fraternity/solidarity that needs to be based on the voluntary public activity of citizens and on a new politics of diversity.

This alternative thought has to be based on the conviction that solidarity, like liberty and equality, is fundamental to human rights, democracy and participation. It is becoming clearer that what is needed is a profound axiological revision of the State and society, without underestimating the importance of adapting power relations and the legal framework to more just and democratic values. Those sectors that are critical of the current model incorporate into their reflections and proposals the demands involved in collective goods (satisfaction of basic human needs, ecological balance, absence of violence...) and the injustices that certain groups (women, children, indigenous groups) suffer. Although some governments are incorporating some of these elements onto their agendas, it is the case that when these reflections and proposals question the bases of the market economy or the constitutional liberal democratic system, the strong reinterpretation of these values means they are left without any capacity for influence.

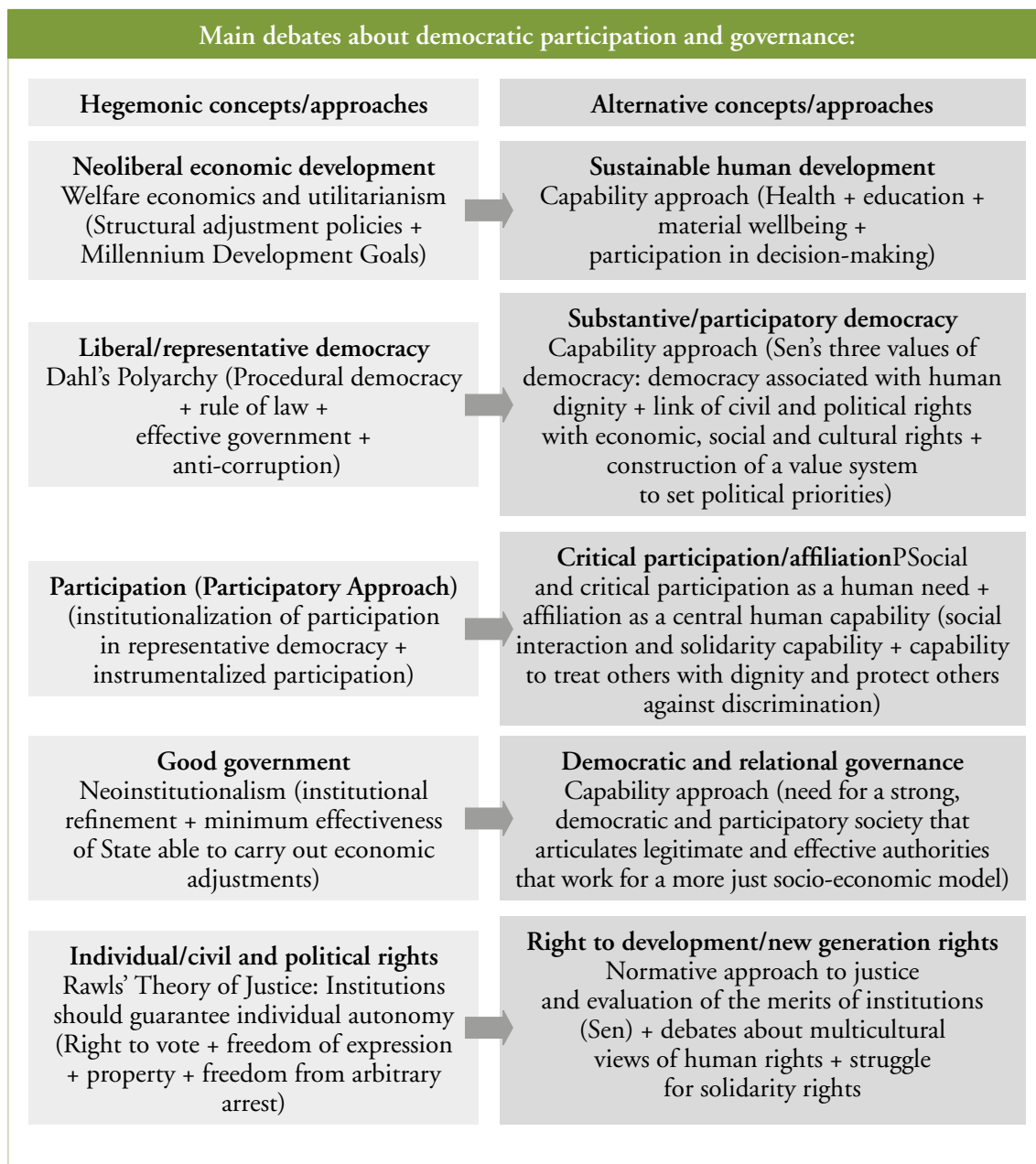
Some hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideas related to different aspects of democratic participation and governance are given here, in summarized and artificially dichotomised form.

Based on welfare economics and utilitarian theories, the need for economic growth has been proposed in order to ensure countries' development, for which their governments have implemented a series of macro-policies of structural adjustment which obtained poor results in the 1980s and 1990s. With the Millennium Declaration, these adjustment

policies were combined with meso-policies favourable to the most vulnerable groups which reduced poverty, although the worldwide crisis of 2008 brought a halt to this development strategy, and more aggressive adjustment formulas were reverted to. The axiological approach of the free market and rational choice theories are not capable of resolving conflicts of interest, in that they do not consider general interest. Faced with this development proposal defended by the hegemonic sectors, other alternative approaches, particularly the capability approach, are promoting a debate about the multidimensional and normative meaning of development, in which people are not just a means for the workings of markets, but become the ultimate aim of human development. Development is just or it is not development. Furthermore, human development must be sustainable, that is to say, the current development paradigm must be replaced with another one, at the service of sustainability.

Faced with the poor results of uniform development strategies and economic growth proposals based on presuppositions of the linear behaviour of certain economic variables, in the 1990s neoinstitutional thought promoted the extension of constitutional liberal democratic systems around the world with the aim of perfecting governmental institutions so they could guarantee the smooth running of market economies. The political dimension and the connection of development and democracy returned to the international development agenda, but without questioning the hegemonic concept of development linked to economic growth.

As against an understanding that prioritises procedural democracy, the rule of law, governmental effectiveness and the fight against corruption, which is summarised in Dahl's concept of polyarchy, a more participatory conception of democracy is being forged, in which democracy is a value linked with human dignity which makes it desirable in itself and which respects procedures in order to satisfy the participatory capabilities that people who live in different contexts and cultural traditions may have. This new democratic conception also has an instrumental dimension that places an emphasis on the inclusion of groups that are marginalised from power and political decisions, and which is based on the premise that it is impossible to separate political equality from economic and social rights. Furthermore, this democracy of human development has a constructive dimension, in which democracy is a system of values that acts as a basis for each society or human group to set up political priorities (Deneulin, 2009: 191-196).



Own elaboration

As against neoinstitutionalist ideas of good governance that associate it with institutional refinement and the minimum effectiveness of the State for the smooth running of the markets, radical institutionalism is a source for other ideas linked to relational democratic governance that insist on the need for strong, democratic and participatory societies that articulate legitimate and effective authorities which are able to reorientate the socioeconomic model in a more just way.

With the new millennium, the State is recovering a central role in development studies and in economics and a certain consensus is being achieved, formally at least, regarding the need for government, civil society and other agents to come together in order to obtain positive wellbeing and development results. After the revision process involved

in the World Bank's Comprehensive Development Framework, and the agenda of the Millennium Development Goals and United Nations aid effectiveness, a limit has been set to the uniformity of economic policies, although the development concept, in and of itself, is not questioned. It is accepted that economic growth measures and the fight against poverty must be adapted to the context of each country and a greater role is granted to local societies in designing development strategies, although these strategies are very much conditioned to follow the rules of the global game that impel a focussing of efforts on competitiveness for the integration of global markets, instead of doing so according to the development of individual and collective capabilities. Only within some alternative sectors is it considered that each territory can activate capabilities for a different globalization and a model of governance other than the one that is defended by neoinstitutionalism.

As against the Rawlsian postulates that uphold the institutions' duty to guarantee individual autonomy by means of the right to vote, freedom of expression, the right to property and liberty with regard to arbitrary arrest, other approaches are opening up a new path. These include the following: a more normative approach to justice that evaluates the merits of the different institutions (Sen, 2010); new understandings regarding the relationships of power and political autonomy (Held, 1997); the need for a return to politics via new deliberative spaces (Ibarra, 2011); new approaches to human rights and their permeability given a situation of cultural plurality (Santos, 1997) and the need to extend solidarity rights (Rodriguez-Palop, 2002).

The quality of democracy, democratic legitimacy, the validity of the representative mandate and the adaptation of popular sovereignty to the new context of multilevel governance have been at the heart of debates on democracy in recent years. Over and above the classical academic positions of liberal democracy, there is a broad consensus around the idea that the political class no longer represents the will of the people, and instead serves the interests of political parties with undemocratic structures (Castoriadis, 2005). To this must be added other processes, such as the complexity of decision-making systems in a globalised world, where the spaces of power other than the nation-state have multiplied, as well as a general lack of interest and disaffection with politics among the population. As a result, in order to examine democracy in the light of human development, what is necessary is the re-legitimation of the authorities and public powers by means of a more democratic, less hierarchical mandate that does not automatically transfer the capacity for making decisions to representatives who really do not represent, and new spaces and institutions for citizens to engage in democratic deliberation are required.

2. Thought about democracy and participation in development studies

The different forms of understanding power and theories of democracy, participation and governance have focussed on the State and its workings, and on the discrepancies between those people who have defended conflictivist approaches and those who have

emphasised the cooperative and consensual aspects of politics. It is a mistake to try to reduce the diversity of theoretical resources about power. However, this LHD framework needs to identify which elements of political and sociological theory should be developed. In this regard, it is essential to start from the premise of the coexistence of three meta-theoretical approaches (normativist positions; critical-dialectical approach; and the main, positivist current) and two forces that have propelled the evolution of political macro-theory, which are the internal dynamics of established science and rebellious innovation, and of the setting of goals external to science, which include advice on public policies and the opposition of political movements to the system (Von Beyme: 1994, 320-3).

The LHD analytical framework that is being constructed by HEGOA requires new ideas and categories, given that it is not a macro-theory about the State, but about local development. As can be appreciated after reading the other texts by the LHD research team, this theoretical and methodological framework departs is based on a normativist position with support from the critical-dialectical approaches that question the main positivist and functionalist currents; it aims to uncover ways so that the different actors in a territory interact cooperatively in seeking a greater wellbeing and social justice for their society. Cooperation between those who have power and those who do not is, by definition, improbable, but is carried out in terms of subordination, and therefore is not voluntary cooperation. The crux of the matter resides in implementing processes that are capable of altering these relationships between the powerful and subordinates, and in creating the conditions in each territorial context and in each moment so that, collectively, processes can be created by which the set of actors can share values and visions of where their wellbeing lies, and balance the differences in terms of power sharing. The aim of this subsection is to retrieve some ideas from the development of thought on power, democracy and participation in the context of the State that might provide greater depth to this LHD framework and in order to make progress in territories' transformation strategies.

The dominant theoretical debates about democracy (Del Águila, 1997: 142-151) have focussed on its workings (empirical democracy). Political science and constitutional law have dedicated their efforts to understanding the constitutional liberal democratic model based on the separation between State and society, which understands democracy in terms of its contribution to the liberty, development and wellbeing of each citizen-individual, by which people obtain sufficient institutional guarantees to achieve their private interests. According to this view of State democracy, in order for it to work, it requires the guarantee of civil rights, the division of powers, the control of legality, the consent of the governed, control of representatives by means of regular elections, and the political representation of citizen interests.

In order to better understand this kind of democratic operation, pluralist-competitive theories have supplemented this way of understanding constitutional liberal democracy, saying that it is not necessary for citizens to participate directly in governments, and

it is sufficient for their aspirations and interests to be taken into consideration by means of the election of plural elites who would compete for State power. According to Dahl, to describe these state-focused political systems, the term democracy would not be necessary, and it would be enough to use the word “polyarchy” and set up a mechanism of election through which qualified elites present attractive and functional alternatives to the electorate, and resolve political problems by balancing contrasting and plural interests. These statements are not intended to discredit constitutional-liberal and pluralist-competitive understandings of democracy, but rather to indicate that their values and conceptions of legitimacy, representation and deliberation are insufficient for the development of individuals’ and groups’ political capabilities.

These theoretical models are very limited and avoid a normative concept of democracy that is useful when it comes to analysing transformation processes from the point of view of infra-state territorial spaces. On the other hand, the democratic-participative model that attempts to combine the protection of individual interests with citizens’ political participation are providing ideas that can act as a starting point. High-quality, joint deliberation in the public sphere, individual self-development through participation, the promotion of and participation in mediating spaces and institutions, and the extension of participation into different areas of life are some of the elements that can work to increase the quality of democracy (Del Águila, 1997: 147) and go deeper into the political dimension of LHD. The pluralist-competitive vision of democracy which defends the notion that “*democracy is too important to leave it in the hands of citizens*” must be replaced with the idea that “*democracy is too important to leave it –just– to the political elites*” (Jauregui, 2013: 57-59).

This growing gap between governors and the governed does not respond to certain social sectors’ demands for participation, and brings to light the need for new decision-making formulas. In this way, debates about governance, which were initially oriented at responding to the functional needs of the political system, are also an opportunity for the social movements and critical sectors both to affect the system and strengthen local communities and networks of collective identity (Telleria and Ahedo, 2015: 156-160).

Unfortunately, the debates regarding the articulations between democracy and development have been limited to tackling a few matters related to the evolution of the meanings of democratic participation and the empowerment of community projects, and to the discussions about the demand for certain economic conditions in order to implement democracy in the different countries. Only in the last decade has the failure of interventions to achieve development results meant that the main donor agencies and international organizations are turning to look at political will and the attitudes of the receiving societies. The OECD and the World Bank, although they have in practice limited themselves to good governance, have begun to include the political dimension in their analyses. Other donor agencies such as the British DfID and the Swedish SIDA have incorporated new views of governance and political

economy analysis that go deeper into the matter of understanding how politics forms a part of and frames development processes. As will be seen, these political economy analyses have some elements of interest for the LHD framework, although they are limited revisions in that they place more emphasis on the technical aspects of the workings of institutions than on system analysis, power relations and change processes (Alberdi and Dubois, 2015: 70-76).

3. Democratic participation and empowerment in community projects

It is crucial to point out that democratic participation and empowerment are two of these categories that must be revised, given that they have been much used in development studies in very different ways. In the 1970s and 1980s, based on the postulates of radical democratic theories, some emancipatory proposals arose within the field of education, in feminism and within social action. Freire's popular education, the DAWN network of women and researchers from the South and the North, and participatory action research (PAR) are a clear example of early proposals that have questioned current power structures and decision-making. This more normative view of democratic participation has radically questioned the political institutions and has been committed to a new model of relationships between state authorities and society.

These proposals, with their prominently axiological undertone, have been followed by many other participatory methodologies, such as Rapid Rural Appraisal and Participatory Rural Appraisal, applied to community development projects and programmes promoted mainly by international cooperation. These methodologies, with a more instrumental aim, have not taken the inequalities and complexities of power sufficiently into consideration (Cooke and Kothari, 2001: 1-7) and they have been insensitive to the differences among the different political and administrative levels and their mechanisms of representation (Hickey and Mohan, 2004: 20-21). It is possible to appreciate a certain rectification in these approaches in recent years, when some local governments, in their efforts to provide services in a more effective way, have begun to be more responsible with regard to citizen aspirations and have made possible new methods of participation such as participatory budgeting (Jubeto, 2008: 5-9). However, this has not been the general trend.

The extension of neoliberal thought during the post-Cold War era and the rise of certain theories regarding community development have facilitated the appearance of new categories such as social capital, good governance, democratic government and others which have acted to intensify the instrumentalisation of the participatory dimension in development processes. Participation, instead of being seen as an end in itself, inherent to the kind of development sought, has begun to be seen as simply a medium oriented at achieving better results and greater efficiency for projects. The exaltation of the individual dimension of empowerment, which seeks the recovery of self-esteem and the belief in the legitimacy of acting in the decisions that affect each person have gradually diluted the group dimension of empowerment. Departing from

the premise that both individual and collective empowerment are fundamental to the development of capabilities, it is clear that hegemonic proposals involve all kinds of barriers to group participatory initiatives that defend rights and which unite people faced with common goals.

Participation has gradually been domesticated and institutionalised in formal terms, in that participatory theory has become a useful means of mobilizing recipient communities in order to monitor donor programmes and the provision of services. Empowerment, in its neoliberal version, proposes self-sufficiency and less dependence on the state provision of services. The conflict involved in participation and the political dimension of empowerment are diluted in technical discourses on effectiveness. Socio-cultural contexts are not considered, and participation and empowerment change from being threats to being allies, in that they transfer many of the costs of initiatives to poor groups in a context of adjustment policies whereby the State cuts its economic and social provisions for intervention (Mohan and Stokke, 2000: 247). Unfortunately, the most radical notions about participation and empowerment which are committed to social mobilization as a challenge to hegemonic interests within the State and market do not seem to have sufficient drive (Villalba, 2008: 303). Nonetheless, these new proposals which bring participation to the fore as a central component of human development and wellbeing require a new conceptual framework and a praxis of participation conceived as human capability. This matter will be dealt with later on.

Such is the recent evolution of participation and empowerment in development studies. From a more analytical perspective, theory distinguishes between a nominal participation, when it is only formal; instrumental, when it is a means for achieving a result at a low cost; representative, when it is an effective means for the population to express its interests; and transformational, when the participation is a means of emancipation and an end in itself (White, 2001: 161-163). Citizen participation can be limited to a mere exchange of information or a simple citizen consultation, although on occasions it can achieve coordination among authorities and leaders, or even consider the co-management and/or co-production of services (Colino and Del Pino, 2008: 264-273). Other writers (Alguacil, 2005: 8-9) distinguish between citizen-client methods of participation, direct democracy based on new methods of consultation; deliberative methods based on individual or collective dialogue; and direct citizen participation in management and decision-making. A similar classification distinguishes among bureaucratic, management and relational models of participation.

It is certain that the large majority of models and methods of participation in existence are based on the premise of political exclusion, and so participation will only become transformational when all people and groups can participate in the debate and have the sufficient political know-how and the skills needed to claim their rights (Bohman, 1997: 33 cited by Deneulin, 2009: 202).

4. Democracy as a condition for development and the new debates

After the Second World War, and during a stage of economic growth, ideas spread that postulated the notion that the richer a country was, the greater the possibilities it had of setting up a democratic regime. However, in the 1970s and 1980s, with the oil crisis and external debt, conservative academic sectors maintained that authoritarianism was not incompatible with economic growth. However, the poor results of adjustment policies in terms of economic growth during the 1980s, the almost universal extension of liberal democracies after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the explosion of political transitions in Latin America and later in Africa, meant a reconsideration of the convenience of perfecting the State's institutions in order to guarantee economic growth and development. Concepts such as good governance and democratic governance, which insist that democracy is a condition for development, were introduced.

Consequently, in these last two decades, the development-oriented State has recovered its position in detriment to community participatory approaches, which, as has been stated, have been relegated to a lower rung. The dominant neoinstitutionalist thought linked the idea of good governance to institutional refinement and, specifically, to the minimum effectiveness of the State to cohere a society capable of carrying out the relevant economic adjustments.

The UNDP attempted to build a more alternative vision of governance, conceiving it as a development objective related to the need for a strong, democratic and participatory society that can articulate effective and legitimate political authorities. However, this alternative proposal turned out to be less so in practice, since it considered governability initiatives and reforms that were very biased towards the postulates of constitutional liberal democracy and Dahl's polyarchy concept, which were difficult to take to other places and cultures around the world.

A democracy that gives power to the people must be built from within: it cannot be imported

In many countries, one of the essential challenges to consolidating democracy is to build the key institutions for a democratic governability:

- A representative system, with political parties that work correctly and associations based on common interests.
- An electoral system that guarantees free and just elections, as well as universal suffrage.
- A system of checks and balances based on the separation of powers, in which the judicial power and the legislative power are independent.
- A dynamic civil society, able to supervise the government and private transactions and offer alternatives in terms of political participation.
- Free and independent media.
- An effective control of the army and other security forces.

(PNUD, 2002: 4)

The paradoxical thing is that many studies dedicated to analysing the correlation between economic development and democracy have not been able to demonstrate a causal link, in that countries with high economic growth or which have improved their human development levels have not democratised or made advances in terms of human rights; on the other hand, some countries that have not stood out in terms of economic development have made major progress in setting up formal democracies. Other scholars have insisted that it is socio-cultural factors such as education level, the absence of extreme inequalities and political pluralism that best explain societies' democratization processes. From the point of view and given the intentions of this study, which views social transformation and the reduction of inequalities from the "local", these other factors are much more relevant and so they will receive greater consideration in the analyses.

As has been mentioned, in the 1990s debates about democracy as a condition for economic development arose again, when neoinstitutionalism gave warnings about the need for a minimum effectiveness of the State for the smooth running of the market economy. These theoretical debates and the praxis of good governance and democratic governance over the last twenty years have not provided satisfactory results in terms of human development and social justice. With the new millennium and the appearance of the new aid architecture, governance began to be linked to an ideal model of state management that countries receiving Official Development Assistance (ODA) were to follow. Those politically and economically unstable countries that wished to receive ODA were obliged or persuaded to put these management models into practice. Debates about governance and development are restricted to the level of their management of the ODA. In a previous subsection, mention was made of political economy analyses such as the DfID's Drivers of Change (2004), and Power Analysis by the SIDA agency (Pettit, 2013) which aim to assess development results with an emphasis on the interactions among economic and social structures, formal and informal institutions and internal and external agents. Although these proposals contain elements of interest, they do not question dominant understandings regarding development.

These approaches had parallels in the Latin American debates about governance, local economic development and decentralization of the State (Llorens, Albuquerque, del Castillo, 2002; Gonzales de Olarte, 2003). These debates about local governance and decentralization were limited to importing the dominant economic approaches and political experiences of decentralization in countries of the North to local realities of countries in the South. Local economic development strategies explored political and fiscal decentralisation as determining factors. This very technocratic view of local governance and decentralisation has been criticized by scholars who have understood that decentralisation of the State aggravates a lack of social policies and an increase in poverty and exclusion, in that political decentralisation is conceived as a survival strategy for some elites, rather than as a positive action for the empowerment of local communities (Graña, 2005).

Political decentralisation is useful if it can bring decision-making to the people of a territory. If not, it is simply a way of sharing power among different dominant groups. As against this limited approach to governance in the study of development processes, a more radical institutionalism is being built that proposes institutional formulas and democratic practices aimed at implementing economic and social initiatives that put justice at their heart, both at the macro and micro levels. It is in the analysis of these new trends where key points, including the territorialisation of public policies and transformational coalitions, must be sought that might be useful for the LHD framework.

Holding regular elections and a minimum guarantee of civil and political rights, governmental effectiveness and the State's capacity to set up regulatory frameworks that are sufficient for the markets to work in, measures to reduce corruption, clientelism and a lack of transparency, and the governance of ODA have occupied the attention of debates. Meanwhile, other matters that are fundamental in order to articulate a democratic interaction between governmental and social actors have been left on the margins. It is these other questions, which allow an exploration of the complexity of the forms of interaction among the different actors and a strengthening of group actors with transformational capacity, that should be incorporated into our analysis of LHD.

III. Democracy, participation and human development



After this brief summary of the concepts of democracy, participation and governance in development studies, below, some reflections and ideas are tackled that may be useful in order to understand better the relationships between the public and the private, and to build a more normative approach to democracy and participation.

The capability approach proposed by Sen and other authors is not sufficient unless it emphasizes the individual capabilities that have a relational content (Dubois, 2008: 60). The following subsections present a battery of concepts and categories that link democratic participation and institutionality with collective and system capabilities, with the aim of being of use in the assessment of the achievements of (public or private, formal or informal) institutions and of their norms and resources.

Among those who have theorized about the capability focus, one of the central debates has been with respect to the integration of the group dimension into the concept of wellbeing and human development. Originally, this concept was inspired by an individualist ethical theory that came from within the approach although from critical positions within the approach there has been a reaction to Sen's categorization of freedoms, and the evaluative vision of the social dimension has been strengthened (Dubois, 2008: 40-41). A more normative conception of democracy and participation starts from the premise that people are not passive objects of social welfare institutions, but are the active subjects of their own destiny. In this regard, democracy and participation are fundamental dimensions, in that they are mechanisms by which human beings exercise their agency in the public space (Deneulin, 2009; 185-186).

Representative democratic and elitist theories have limited the understanding and the contents of individual capabilities to take part in the decisions that affect people's future. The capability approach has attempted to make progress in other aspects of the private dimension of participation, although in the case of this study, steps have also been taken with regard to the identification and assessment of the group aspects of participation and the interaction between public and private institutions.

This section starts with a revision of the main contributions and debates that the capability approach has made to theory on democracy and participation, and the efforts to make these theoretical contributions operative. As well as drawing up the basic premises of the capability approach, Amartya Sen has dedicated much of his work to establishing the links between human freedoms and development, and to constructing a new idea of justice. In doing this, theoreticians of this new

approach have also concerned themselves with the links among democracy, political participation, political equality and the development of human capabilities. Some of these contributions will be looked at below.

1. Amartya Sen's three values of democracy

The starting premise is that **the hegemonic understanding of democracy is insufficient to tackle debates about wellbeing and people's capacities**. Sen, aiming to go beyond the narrow vision of Western democracy and its proposals for universalization, proposes a recovery of the three values of democracy (intrinsic, instrumental and constructive) and that citizens be able to participate in public debates and so influence public life. Participation and political liberty, as well as being intrinsically important in human existence, are instrumentally essential in order to create political initiatives and to guarantee the responsibility of governments and their accountability, but they also underlie the formation of values and the understanding of needs, rights and obligations (Sen, 2009: 77-91; Deneulin, 2009: 191-196).

In this more complex and complete view of democracy that is set out in table below, public reasoning plays a central role in the connection between democracy and justice, while political participation, dialogue and public interaction also stand out as essential elements (Sen, 2009: 10-12; Sen, 2010: 352-357). Public reasoning is at the heart of the democratic process, and for the capability approach, democracy is, above all, government by discussion (Drèze and Sen, 2002: 379 cited by Deneulin 2009: 201).

To articulate this way of understanding democracy, the capability approach school has examined different aspects of democratic theory, particularly referring to the literature on deliberative democracy and egalitarian democracy. Democratic freedoms and public deliberation are key aspects within the capability approach.

Citizens' equal capacity to influence political processes was a concern of the political theory of the 1980s. The debate was focussed on how it was possible to guarantee an equality of opportunities in public deliberation. Both from the point of view of Rawlsian postulates and those of the capability approach, the theory of deliberative democracy has acted to face up to the limitations of liberal democracy and its emphasis on formal juridical-political equality. The first advocate a more equitable distribution of political and economic resources, while the second argue that such a redistribution cannot guarantee an equality of opportunities, and so theorists insist on the need to boost the development subjects' capabilities, particularly deliberative capabilities, which will allow individuals to not be excluded from the public sphere (Bohman, 1996; Pérez Zafrilla, 2010). The lack of these skills for participating effectively in the political process has been a focus of the capability approach's attention in recent years, and is an aspect that should be highlighted in the construction of this LHD analytical framework that will be set out below.

Democracy, participation and public-private interactions for LHD: Different conceptions of democracy: dahl's polyarchy and democracy for human development	
Constitutional liberal democracy/DAHL's polyarchy	Democracy and human development
<p>Five criteria:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective participation; • Equality of vote; • Enlightened understanding; • Control of the agenda; • Inclusion of all adults in decision-making <p>Seven institutions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elected public positions • Free, impartial and frequent elections; • Inclusive citizenship; • Right to stand for a public position; • Freedom of expression; • Alternative sources of information; • Freedom of association; 	<p>Three values of democracy:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Intrinsic value of democracy: associated with human dignity respecting cultural plurality. 2. Democracy as an instrument: representative democracy and respect for constitutional rights are not sufficient for political equality. What is needed: a) education; b) popular organization; c) political traditions; d) certain social equality; ESCR should be a part of political rights; policies for making progress against inequality. 3. Democracy as a set of values that contribute to the construction of values around which society is organized. <p>Democratic practice in the capability approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of the groups most excluded from decision-making at all levels of power: political inequalities originate in economic and social inequalities. Proposal: Improve self-affirmation of excluded groups; and increase solidarity between most privileged and excluded groups. • Boost democracy's deliberative dimension: at all levels of democratic decision-making • Strong educational systems that boost equality of opportunities.

Sen himself argues that democracy is a universal value, not so much in its electoral/organizational dimension or understood as “government of the majority”, but rather than many cultures understand it, above all as “government by discussion”. In almost all cultural traditions, public reasoning and tolerance of dissent are habitual practices.

In his autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, Nelson Mandela describes how impressed and influenced he was, as a young boy, by seeing the democratic nature of the proceedings of the local meetings held in the regent's house in Mqhekezweni: “Everyone who wanted to speak did so. It was democracy in its purest form. There may have been a hierarchy of importance among the speakers, but everyone was heard, chief and subject, warrior and medicine man, shopkeeper and farmer, landowner and laborer... The foundation of self-government was that all men were free to voice their opinions and equal in their value as citizens.” (Sen, 2010: 362)

Despite his claim for this universal character of democracy, Sen defends some of the virtues of Western democracy. As he understands it, a respect for fundamental rights is a basic condition for public reasoning. Democracy requires free and independent media that contribute to strengthening freedom of expression and freedom of the press, offering sufficient information to citizens so they can make decisions appropriately, forming values of tolerance and the protection of minorities, and granting a voice to the least favoured sectors so that they can defend their interests (Sen 2010: 365-368). Together with Sen's concern with the freedom of the media, the other major matter for him is that democracy has to be inclusive, able to promote inclusive values, ones that recognise multiple and plural identities in each person (Sen 2010: 384-386).

Another major part of Sen's work on democracy has involved his hypothesis that electoral democracies facilitate public debate to a greater extent than authoritarian governments and, as a result, have a greater protective power for the provision of human security. However, even so, these democracies do not sufficiently guarantee people's capability development when it comes to making the decisions that affect their wellbeing (Drèze and Sen, 1998). In his work on development and participation in India, these authors maintain that liberal democracies, when they are unable to articulate the services and public policies needed to satisfy the minimums demanded by their society, they tend to limit public reasoning and social pressure. The recent world financial crisis and the cuts applied to social policies support Drèze and Sen's hypothesis in the current context of Western governments, in that these governments are also cutting down on individual, civil and political rights.

In short, a group's inclusion in or exclusion from the political system in force in their society will be a determinant of their wellbeing. Authoritarian systems provide less wellbeing than democratic systems. However, neither constitutional liberal or socialist democracies, nor traditional democratic practices guarantee sufficient participation in decision-making and in the definition of plans for the future. In any case, the important thing is to determine the capacity for inclusion or exclusion of a given political system, and whether its values and principles contribute to accentuating this inclusion or exclusion.

The key, then, is not to perfect institutions, but rather lies in the reasonable use of these institutions, and that the decisions and choices made are socially responsible (Sen 2010: 380-386). Therefore, for this LHD framework, the reasonableness and responsibility of (both governmental and non-governmental) institutions is important; that is to say, it is crucial that institutions work appropriately to achieve wellbeing and, to do this, it is important to know who is making these decisions, as well as how and why they are made (Dubois, 2013: 110-111).

Democratic liberties, public deliberation and activism are the formulas for improving social justice and the specific failings of each system. Sen has suggested that these institutions' respect for human freedoms and the existence of opportunities for public

deliberation and activism would be good indicators for assessing the democracy of a society's different institutions.

Another premise of the capability focus is that **there is no political equality without a minimum of socio-economic equality and respect for cultural diversity**. The close link between political and civil rights and economic, social and cultural rights is a basic aspect of this school's debates. The central thesis is that economic, social and political inequalities mutually reinforce each other, which casts doubt on the assumption that juridical-political equality is guaranteed in States with a liberal democratic tradition. As has been mentioned, in order to advance in terms of equality of opportunities, the mere distribution of resources is not enough, people's capabilities must be developed.

Democratic liberalism has defended the idea that classical political liberties (the right to choose representatives, freedom of expression, freedom of association...) are necessary requirements for political equality and has endeavoured to establish a series of institutions, mechanisms and procedures that guarantee these fundamental rights. Academic sectors inspired by deliberative democracy and the capability approach question this basic premise of the democratic liberal State, since this model is unable to guarantee an egalitarian minimum participation in decision-making. People with greater economic capacity, better education and better understanding of public matters have more means for influencing power and decision-making. As a result, equality of opportunities in terms of accessing the goods and resources offered by a state institution is not guaranteed.

In less modernised societies where the State is not present to the same degree access to security offered by the community or the family group is usually also conditioned by these socio-economic, political, cultural and gender inequalities. Direct participation, deliberation on public affairs and individuals' representation in decision-making spaces are central elements in people's lives, and it is very difficult to make these effective without certain minimums in terms of socio-economic equality and equality of men and women (in the Mandela quote above, all the men could participate in the deliberations involved in decision-making, but not the women).

2. Boosting the most excluded sectors' deliberative capabilities and relational democracy

This is an essential element for the capability approach to work on in order to reduce inequalities. Deliberation per se does not necessarily bring an increase in equality of opportunities, but rather, on the contrary, it can even aggravate inequalities. As Shapiro (2003: 56-57) points out in his reflections on the advantages and disadvantages of the aggregative tradition and the deliberative tradition of democracy, deliberation can be useful on some occasions, but on others can be inadequate in terms of the goal of undermining domination. From his point of view, legitimate hierarchical relations can

exist which are not domination relations. The quid of the matter lies in the legitimacy of power, and a government by discussion can be legitimate as long as it maintains a strengthening of the most vulnerable sectors as a priority task (Shapiro, 2003: 76-77).

The work of Bohman (1996: 3-6) also questions the acritical defence of public deliberation. Cultural pluralism, enormous social inequalities and social complexity affect possibilities for deliberation. The evaluation of interests and reasonings in a public forum by citizens and its representatives as a normative ideal requires deliberation of quality as well as rational and transparent decisions. Therefore, different kinds of deliberation are not equal; deliberation is worth more if it is at least subject to principles of publicity, quality in terms of reasoning, defence of common goods, consensus and impartiality of points of view. When citizens have these self-government capabilities and new spaces in reformed institutions, then public deliberation will make sense (Bohman, 1996: 247). This last author talks of “political poverty” or lack of skills when it comes to participating effectively in the political process (capacity to take the initiative, to set the agenda with regard to matters of interest, to be listened to...). The threshold of political equality would be linked to the capability to not be excluded from the public sphere (Bohman, 1997: 233 cited by Pérez Zafrilla, 2010: 168-169).

As can be appreciated, the real and tangible capability to take decisions about a future that affects people individually or collectively is a central element in this evolution of thought on democracy and participation within the capability and human development approach. In this regard, Drèze and Sen (1998) suggest the need to go beyond this association between social privileges and political power, and improve the political power of the least favoured, for which they propose encouraging the political organization of the most excluded sectors, thus counteracting the most powerful sectors and encouraging solidarity between the most privileged and the least favoured (Deneulin 2009: 200-201). Following these suggestions, Crocker (2003) defends those aspects of deliberative democracy that might be of interest for the capability approach, insisting on the social dimension of this approach and the need to make participative development operative in small-scale grassroots development initiatives.

The human development and capability approach, although critical of many of its aspects, includes reflections and analytical elements from the theory of deliberative democracy, underlining the link between deliberative capabilities and the lack of equality of opportunities of people and human groups in public decision-making, and inequalities in power relations. However, deliberative democracy and participatory democracy proposals are not sufficient.

The conceptual framework offered by relational democracy and the concept of deliberative public spaces (Ibarra, 2011) can be useful to contextualise social and political processes related to public management and collective action, and for this LHD framework. The central importance of seeking consensus, impartiality and rationality in deliberation can become an obstacle to social transformation. By

contrast, agonistic democracy's criticisms of the liberal pretension of seeking rational consensuses that hide the antagonism in social relations sketch out scenarios of high conflictivity of actors, where the lack of deliberation can lead to situations in which the "status quo" of disadvantageous relations for excluded sectors is perpetuated. Faced with these two proposals, Ibarra considers as a possible solution "deliberative public spaces" as a formula whereby the different actors of a society come into contact, and where governors and the governed can achieve a greater agreement. In this respect it would be necessary to specify these deliberative spaces (e.g. electoral, media-based, social mobilization, governance and local participatory democracy) where the goals of collective wellbeing promoted by the different social and state agents would have to be negotiated in order to have them included on the institutional agenda and taken into account in the creation of public policies (Tellería and Ahedo: 167-172).

The next step would involve making these ideas useful for development processes and for participation in decision-making by the groups involved in these processes. As will be seen below, Held's concepts of autonomy and nautonomy and seven sites of power (1997: 197-229), Ibarra's public deliberative spaces and idea of relational democracy (2011: 93-116), the work of Sabina Alkire on the capability approach and political participation in local development initiatives (Crocker, 2003), that by the UNDP and Baser and Morgan (2008) on collective capabilities and a new concept of appropriation (Dubois, 2011: 35-37) can act as inspiration to configure new methodological proposals such as the University of Bath's WellDev framework, the Territorial Development approach, and this LHD analytical framework by Hegoa.

In short, in order to determine whether a society is democratic and its individuals really are guaranteed their political liberties, it is not sufficient to consider their participation in free and transparent electoral processes to choose their governors and leaders. As well as determining electoral preferences, people must have capabilities to determine their demands and criticisms. In other words, in order to assess how democratic a society is, it is not enough to measure the right to electoral participation, it is also crucial to take into consideration the tolerance of this human group with regard to different points of view (if it is able to accept agreements and disagreements) and promotion of public debate (if it recognizes that it is possible to learn from other people). Discussion, debate, criticism and dissidence, which are in general underestimated capabilities, should be guaranteed rights in order to create informed options, since they are central to conceptualizing economic needs and to induce social responses to these needs (Sen, 1999: 10-11).

The deficiencies of discussion and public reasoning lie not so much in cultural parameters, but in the workings of modern authoritarianism and censorship, the suppression of dissidence, the prohibition of parties, regulation of the press, the imprisoning of dissidents and others. The potential of Sen's capability approach, which understands freedoms as development, grows when collective action is considered key to the expansion of liberty.

As Evans (2002: 56-58) maintains, collective action, deliberation and debate are essential to the capability development of the least favoured human groups. Another key point, related to those stated above, is how progress is to be made in the empowerment of excluded sectors, in public deliberation and in the mechanisms of substantive participation, and this is a question that does not have simple answers. Considering collective action and empowerment as something natural that occurs in all contexts and territories must be questioned. Proposals for articulating social and political movements that consider broader and more direct participation in public affairs (including sectors that are presently excluded) must take into account other historical and political factors, and those regarding the socioeconomic structure of that society or group. To accompany social transformation processes of the human development kind, it is vital to take into consideration the elements that have been indicated and, as well as these normative guidelines, it is necessary to carry out political economy analyses of these territories (Arellano, 2013).

3. Political participation and the capability approach

In the capability approach's theoretical debates on the matter of political participation, discussions have focussed on two subjects, already mentioned: the first is related to the insufficiency of the current electoral democracies and majority governments, and the importance of some basic freedoms such as liberty of expression, of association and information. The second focuses on the construction of an approach to participation that is in accordance with the ideal of deliberative democracy, which stresses asymmetries of power in decision-making in terms of the most excluded sectors, and which views participation as inherent to people's development and as an aim in itself.

Having taken on board the criticisms of the 1980s and 1990s regarding participation methodologies in development projects, the capacity approach is trying to go beyond this instrumental conception of political participation and to create new methodological proposals for intervention oriented at human development and wellbeing.

Constitutional liberal democratic practice does not work. People do not know the political parties' programmes or do not have a sufficient educational level to understand political matters (what Bohman calls "political poverty") and, as a result, their vote cannot reflect their interests (Deneulin, 2009: 199-201). Based on this diagnosis, the writers who have set out the capability approach have concerned themselves with relational capabilities and debates about them; the processes of collective action for achieving wellbeing through strategies and methodologies oriented at capability development; the skills for political functioning and the quality of deliberative participation; and participating in the decisions made at the level of the State, the market, the community and the family, and the interrelations among these different spheres.

The connection among the concepts of agency, collective action and empowerment is one of these debates. As has been pointed out, participation is key to human development in that it is one of the central mechanisms by which people exercise their agency in the public sphere. The academy has had in-depth debates about individual empowerment and participation in the planning of development processes, and about how the least favoured and most excluded sectors should work on recovering their self-esteem and, in this way, be able to act in the decisions that affect their future.

This evaluative-liberal interpretation of the capability approach needed a more political and relational focus. Fukuda, Lopes and Malik (2002) have proposed a concept of capability that includes social processes, highlighting that capability development takes place not only in individuals but also among them and among the institutions and networks they create by means of “social capital”. Deneulin (2008), with her reflections on “irreducible social goods”, underlines the importance of “structures of living together” and of the notion of socio-historical agency as a central element in the promotion of capabilities. Thus begins a debate about collective capabilities, which grants a central role to collective action and participation in human development processes.

The awareness of being an agent, of being a creative agent who, on occasions, is able to overcome limitations and generate transformational change is only possible by accepting the notion of collective agency (Fariñas, Peris and Boni, 2013: 13-17). These writers, giving continuity to this reflection that connects collective action and capabilities, distinguish between weak agency (development of goals and individual capabilities) and strong agency, which includes the exercise of responsibility towards others and society, and where collective reasoning and conscious reflexiveness are essential elements for challenging power and trying to change the rules, the flow of resources and ways of thinking about things (Healey, 2006: 47-49, cited by Fariñas, Peris and Boni, 2013: 14). That is to say, this interaction of individual agency with that of others, as well as being useful for the individual, creates another series of collective capabilities that contribute to the development of common identities, values and goals (Evans, 2002: 57, cited by Fariñas, Peris and Boni, 2013: 16).

Following this thread of theory and argument about collective capabilities, the UNDP (UNDP, 2009) and the ECDPM (Baser and Morgan, 2008) have drawn up some proposals aimed at improving international development interventions based on transversal functional capabilities. As well as technical capabilities, in each group, independently of its complexity or territorial level, there is another series of capabilities linked to the formulation, implementation and revision of policies, strategies and projects. According to the UNDP, these capabilities are related to: 1) undertaking dialogue among all interested parties; 2) analysing a situation and creating a vision; 3) formulating policies and strategies; 4) budgeting, managing and implementing; and 5) monitoring and evaluating (UNDP, 2007: 16-23).

Similarly, ECDPM emphasises that collective capability is related to the collective ability or aptitude of a system or organization to carry out functions or processes. Baser and Morgan (2008: 10) identify the following capabilities: 1) commitment and engagement; 2) carry out technical, service delivery and logistical tasks; 3) relate and achieve support and resources; 4) adapt and self-renew; 5) balance diversity and coherence. These first attempts to make operative the contents of collective capabilities, as long as they contribute to developing common identities, values and goals, and include responsibility towards others and challenge power, are necessary paths in order to make progress in the construction of indicators or terms of reference in order to understand the local processes of social transformation.

The quality of deliberative participation is another debate current within the capability approach. A starting point is the premise that not all participatory processes are positive in terms of transformational development. Deliberative participation basically faces two limitations: the nature of the participatory procedures planned in each organization, institution or political system; and “political poverty” or incapacity of citizens to participate effectively in the democratic process.

In most societies and territories, participatory procedures are usually formal or instrumental, and it is only rarely that a representative participation that expresses the population’s interests, and hardly ever that transformational participation, is achieved. These procedures are understood as citizen consultations to inform some decisions and grant them, in this way, with an apparently greater legitimacy, whereby people, instead of being treated as citizens, are conceived as clients of certain services or a new infrastructure. Bureaucratic or management models are imposed instead of relational models of participation, and it is uncommon for consensus between the authorities and citizens to exist, or that there is direct participation by citizens in decision-making or management.

The reality is that most models and methods of participation, as has been mentioned, are based on political exclusion, and participation will be transformational when individuals or groups participate in debates and when they have the appropriate level of political know-how and the skills needed to claim their rights. Therefore, in order to confront this individual and collective inability of people to participate in decision-making, what is required is both strong educational systems that boost equality of opportunities and a robust participatory political culture that is founded on democratic and pluralist values. These comments do not mean to state that people excluded from political decision-making do not have the technical capabilities for participation. Exactly what is intended is to highlight the fact that, in order to transform unjust and largely undemocratic decision-making procedures, it is necessary for people to have the capabilities to face up to this form of deciding and, therefore, the capabilities to create new spaces for deliberation and to establish other forms of deciding.

The participation and empowerment of women has been another of the capability approach's focal points of attention. As with economic inequalities, gender-related political inequalities discriminate against women in the decision-making processes that affect people. Despite a gradual incorporation of women into certain spheres of decision-making in certain societies and groups, it is clear that cultural norms that construct formal and informal institutions (market, State, community, family) continue to reinforce a series of patterns in different actors in order to continue reproducing these inequalities. Male superiority, the fear of uncertainty and the presumed stability offered by the institutions are some of the arguments that perpetuate sexism and discrimination among women and men in all societies.

The study tackling LHD from the gender equity perspective considered the deficiencies of institutionalist feminism in the transformation of these inequalities and emphasis was placed on the need to include some contributions by radical institutionalism that highlight the institutional importance in people's individual and group behaviours and their normative proposals that defend participatory and democratic institutional changes in societies, not only in the case of the State but also in the realms of the market, community and family.

The question then is how to define transformational and political processes that are capable of building more just and egalitarian relations in the different spheres. In this regard, empowerment and gender mainstreaming strategies are essential elements to be taken into consideration. However, strategies of efficiency and anti-poverty that homogenise and instrumentalise women to a greater degree have been imposed upon the equity strategies that make the patriarchy visible and which propose the reform of power structures. The Gender and Development (GAD) approach attempts to shine light on this matter, although public policies and social processes continue to replicate Women in Development (WID) ways of thinking.

The capability approach has involved a substantial change, given that it considers new possibilities for the transformation of relationships between men and women, and for making progress with the incorporation of the gender perspective into policies and programmes (Cruz, 2007: 22). This author has considered gender challenges with respect to the human development paradigm: 1) the need to join together human development, the gender approach and human rights, in a way that takes up justice once again; 2) define a new global governability that includes a transformation of the existing institutions and the creation of new global structures that can boost the human development approach; 3) be aware of the possible instrumentalisation of the approach; 4) the incorporation of the spheres of production and reproduction in the measurement and conceptualization of work; 5) the need to mark out the concept of liberty. To her way of thinking, it would also be interesting to take up feminist theory and practice again, especially feminist economics, in order to continue creating indicators that include the empowerment of women and report on the lack of equality between women and men that occurs in all societies.

As was pointed out in the investigation carried out by Mertxe Larrañaga and Yolanda Jubeto, gender analysis is central in both the individual and the collective capability approach. Unfortunately, however, the matter of gender in human development has not yet gone into enough depth in terms of the challenges related to human capabilities, particularly with collective capabilities. People's ability to forge their own destiny has, as its goal, the transformation of subordination structures and radical changes in the laws, property rights and institutions that perpetuate the dominant model. One of the central lines of GAD has been a leading role for, as well as the visibility and participation of, the women's and feminist movement as a key political subject in the processes of recognizing women's rights and in the construction of alternatives for the creation of new relations between women and men. This GAD viewpoint indicates some overlaps with the human development approach and feminist economics, which are useful in this effort to examine in greater depth the idea of collective agency and in specifying those collective capabilities.

By way of summary, it is important to seek ways of determining the role and place of women and men in organizations and decision-making, whether these procedures are democratic in gender terms, and whether the values of justice that are defined as a horizon are shared by both. It is also important to make progress in evaluating the lack of equality between men and women in the different spheres (public institutional, community, labour-economic and, particularly, in the sphere of the family and the home) in order to articulate new strategies for empowering women in the struggle against inequalities in these different spaces.

IV. Governance and the new institutionality in territories' transformation strategies



Development-related governance has been conceived essentially as a precondition in order to achieve economic growth and reduce poverty, or as a previous requirement so that ODA is effective in its goal of reducing poverty –Pro-poor governance– (Gonzalez Martín, 2007: 12-14). This has been expressed either as a development strategy that prioritises the reinforcement of a society's institutions or as a policy aimed at fragile states aimed at combating what has been considered to be threats to global security (the fight against terrorism and international mafias, immigration control...).

Local governance has been linked to the idea that decentralization would favour the reduction of poverty or local development through improvements in governability (Illán, 2006: 53). For this reason political decentralization and governance programmes and projects have focussed on the promotion of local economic development and social capital (promotion and strengthening of local autonomy, reinforcement of the capacities of local authorities, support for participatory and associative management and strengthening of coordination among institutions).

However, these points are insufficient to explore the complexity of forms of interaction among a territory's actors and to strengthen their collective capabilities with respect to transformation. In other words, the hegemonic concepts and categories regarding governance are not sufficient to take steps towards a democratic new institutionality of human development. Globalization has destabilised the Nation-State setup, which no longer possesses exclusive authority over a territory. This makes necessary a reconsideration of the spatial hierarchies among the local, the national and the global that have generally been taken for granted. These complex new institutionalizations that arise from struggles and conflicting interests aim to join territories, authorities and rights in specific structures that, over time, achieve different levels of performance. To understand these incipient institutionalizations, new lines of conceptualization and new analytical logics are necessary (Sassen, 2006: 97-99).

In order to overcome the stagnation of these debates on governance and development and to analyse some of the central concerns about the interaction among social, market and governmental institutions in the development of individual and collective capabilities that could be useful in the construction of this LHD analytical framework, three themes are proposed: 1) a revision, based on the capability approach, of the link between public-private interaction and participatory processes; 2) the presentation of some key points in order to advance towards a new way of understanding the interaction among the State, the market and society (greater interest by citizens in public affairs, new formal and informal spaces for deliberation and more participatory public policies) and 3) a new way of understanding the territory and relations between the global and the local.

1. Participation and public-private interaction

Hegemonic thought has emphasised the fact that the main sources of development are the result of interaction between the market and the State. From a more critical point of view, the production of wellbeing is determined by the interrelation of these public-private spaces, but it is important to take into consideration other sources, such as the community and the family. Gough and Wood's Institutional Responsibility Matrix proposal (2004), as was pointed out in the LHD's theoretical and methodological framework, can act as a basis for a more integrated approach to evaluating participatory processes throughout different spheres, and can help to distinguish among different kinds of wellbeing, bearing mind the different cultural and social contexts. The aim is to analyse the capacity in each context for provisioning by the market, the State, the community and the home (availability) but also the capability of access to resources by people and families (accessibility).

According to these authors (Gough and Wood, 2004: 1-14), the interaction among market, State and society gives rise to certain kinds of institutional, political and practical agreements that affect the wellbeing of any human group, and it is possible to distinguish situations in which high levels of wellbeing are achieved (welfare state), others of informal security and still others, known as insecurity regimes.

These three kinds of wellbeing regimes (welfare state, informal security and insecurity regime) can be useful for analysing the processes for achieving wellbeing in specific territorial contexts. The capability to make decisions about the allocation of commercial, public and family resources is different in the different kinds of wellbeing regime, and determines access to paid work, conditions of access and capacity to purchase goods and services (degrees of commercialization), direct or indirect access to the authorised allocation of services through state programmes (degrees of decommercialisation) and access to unpaid work organised around the sexual division of work in the family (degree of defamilialisation). These dimensions proposed by Martínez Franzoni (2007: 12) are fundamental when it comes to analysing the inequalities of participation in the different institutional spheres and to be able in this way to set goals for achieving wellbeing.

In order to analyse the interactions among the different actors of a group that occupies a territory it is necessary to study all its institutions since these are at the forefront when it comes to achieving wellbeing. As a result, to do this it is essential to analyse: a) availability or channels and the factors that ascertain the resources people have; b) rules and institutions that control access to these resources; c) people's access to the resources offered by the different institutions, both in terms of insertion (when, who and why they access) and of vulnerability (why some do not access certain resources); and d) the operation of economic activity as a generator or reducer of poverty and its potential for people's achievement of wellbeing.

The first and second points refer more to the ability to supply or "availability" of the market (or the connection between supply –production– and people's capacity to

function); of the State (or the provision of health, education, risk protection, social policies); of the community (and the variability of the supply that can occur in each context) and the household (where reproduction strategies and care task distribution strategies are set). The third and fourth points, on the other hand, refer more to accessibility in terms of ownerships, distinguishing between the categories to measure individual wellbeing (psychological, objective personal capabilities) and collective wellbeing (relational capabilities and adaptation of institutional workings to the achievement of wellbeing, understanding that there is no wellbeing without justice).

Fraser's (2006) proposal of three demands, of redistribution, recognition and representation, could constitute another good starting point for the establishment of indicators. It is necessary to measure: a) a society's capability to redistribute equitably its wellbeing-related resources (health, education, income...) in terms of gender, territorial, generational and cultural equity; b) the capacity a society has to recognise different people and groups, which reflects the ability to live together, respect for human rights, associationism...; and c) a society's capacity to establish a decision-making system that integrates the adequate representation of different interests, and thereby assess the functioning and quality of the democratic system, people's participation and groups in decision-making, governance.... This study aims particularly examine these collective capabilities of recognition and representation that transcend mere democratic political representation in its constitutional liberal conception, and its narrow view of the values of tolerance and solidarity.

2. Keys points with respect to interaction among State, market and society

As has already been indicated above, there are few spaces in which the State and market work together with society. On the contrary, it is ever more frequent that social interests appear in opposition to the interests of capital, and to the interests of certain governments subject to its dictates. However, while a sector of society resists, organises and radically questions this model of governance by the two, where the major companies and state authorities make the decisions, the large social majority remains trapped in this same model, without an interest in questioning it or the capacity to do so.

The paradox is that, in many contexts, civil society and citizens do not agree on the values and interests that make up their visions, and so any possibility of transforming the hegemonic model of governance become very difficult. Furthermore, the existence of these different kinds of wellbeing regimes or systems makes this paradox even more complicated. The extent of goods and services supplied by the State, the community and households varies from one place to another, which means that in more modernised societies it is necessary to emphasise the institutional setup of the State, while in other societies where the State has less importance, it is crucial to pay greater consideration to the community and family structures that are essential to the life development of those who constitute them.

In any case, the current articulations of governments, institutions and policies are insufficient for the development of the central human capabilities and wellbeing both in societies of the South and those of the North. Both the global dynamic and denationalization are destabilizing existing systems and meanings. Current conceptions of the social contract, social democracy, citizenship and the legitimacy of liberal democracies are disintegrating, which means a breaking up of the normative and organizational structures necessary to the functioning of the liberal State (Sassen, 2006: 111).

As a result, new formulas are required in order to understand the interactions among State, market and society, and new approaches are needed for development to be genuinely transformational. Citizens' alignment with, lack of interest in and disaffection with politics and their governments has been the subject of many pages of development analysis in recent decades. It is of interest to focus the debate on these matters, in that citizens and civil society are where visions of the future will be defined for each society. Specifically, it is suggested that attention be paid to three matters:

- a) **Modelling the way for citizens to increase their interest in public affairs and decision-making, and better articulate the combination between political institutions and public policies.** In order to improve governance, it is not enough to improve the rules and institutions of markets and governments, and their bureaucracies and judicial systems, it is also necessary to try to obtain a greater interest by citizens in participating at the different levels (meta, macro, meso and micro) of decision-making.
- b) **Devising new formal and informal spaces for deliberation and consensus among the different actors.** The strengthening of socializing and aggregative dimensions (see table) indicated in the last point is not possible if new deliberative spaces and formal and informal institutions where agents can interact and come to agreements are not also constructed. Many of the proposals of the market and governmental institutions and policies obstruct social wellbeing. What is required is institutional innovation, to create new spaces of agreement, where civil society and citizens have the capability to decide where they can appropriate their projects for the future, and where the different actors can articulate strategies that benefit society as a whole.
- c) **Boosting new models of public policies open to a more active and transformational participation by the most excluded sectors and citizens in general.** The promotion of development and the elaboration and administration of public policies and conflict resolution cannot be a sphere exclusively for business and governments and their administrations. Participation in contexts of high conflictiveness and little deliberation, or in contexts of liberal democracy where consensus is sought, are insufficient in terms of human development. The sectors most excluded from decision-making, and normal people in general, must

have deliberative spaces for and paths to a more transformational participation, and even the capability to manage public affairs directly and thereby go beyond the current nominal and representative models of participation.

In short, as against a relatively depoliticised conception of governance that conceives it as sufficient institutional reinforcement for the smooth running of the markets and which, occasionally, considers the participation of the most marginalised sectors, what is proposed is a more profound conception that boosts the political functioning of the most excluded sectors, that takes into consideration local democratic knowledge, and that is inspired by a relational model in which citizens deliberate with the other public powers and other actors, and participate directly in decision-making and management when it considers this necessary. In order to articulate strong social and political institutions in the complexity of the different local settings, it is essential that there be a certain symmetry among the different actors.

**Democracy, participation and public-private interactions for LHD:
Revision of the debates about democratic governance and human development:**

Relation of Governance with other concepts and activities: Considering governance at each level and interaction among levels:		
Level	Activity	Concept
Meta	The political	governance
Macro	Politics	Policy creation
Meso	Programme	Public administration
Micro	Project	Management

Adapted from: Hyden&Court, 2002.

Functional dimensions and institutional areas of governance: Insisting on socializing and aggregative functional dimensions in order to influence the rest		
Functional Dimension	Institutional Sphere	Goal of regulations
Socializing	Civil society	Model the way in which citizens' interest in public matters is increased
Aggregative	Political society	Model the way in which public policies are to be combined with political institutions
Executive	Government	Model the way in which policies are to be created by governmental institutions
Management	Bureaucracy	Model the way in which policies are administrated by civil servants and bureaucrats
Regulatory	Economic society	Model the way in which the State and the markets interact in order to promote development
Adjudicatory	Judicial system	Model the way of approaching dispute and conflict resolution

A greater quality of participation, the activation of unused spaces for participation, and better mechanisms of delegation and representation are key so that the different actors set common frameworks of values and take on appropriate management of public goods. Evidently the symmetry of relationships among actors will depend on each context (for which it is necessary to take into account wellbeing regimes, degrees of decentralization, the political regime, institutions' availability, people's access to resources...). The fundamental thing about the construction of symmetrical relationships is in the manner of employing structures of political opportunity in order to increase social legitimacy, and to go beyond and replace current models of decision-making that are based on certain political representations and legitimacies that impose the interests of a few actors on society as a whole.

3. New conception of the territory and relations between the global and the local

In Professor Dubois' introduction to this theoretical and methodological framework of LHD, stress was laid on the need to rediscover the sense of place and of community, from which it is possible to work on a group project, and the need for a new way of understanding the relationships between the local and the global. The paper reviewed different contributions for understanding local development (territorial economic development, or TED; endogenous development; and place-based development) that contain useful elements for this LHD framework. Integratedness or simultaneous intervention, multi-dimensionality, inter-scale analysis, complexity, collective action and appropriation are some of the elements mentioned in the study.

Consequently, in LHD it is important to understand the territory not as a space of institutional governance (governance of a country or region), but rather it is important to understand it as a space for life, where the subject and the space cannot be separated (Mañano, 2008: 1-20). The territory should be understood as a historical and social construct, as a physical and geographical space, but also as a social, political, economic and cultural product that is defined by the interests of those who produce it. Territories, then, are multi-dimensional rather than static, they are realities in continuous construction that are defined based on power relations. They are spaces that are continually being disputed by social and institutional agents that pursue different models of territorial development. While governmental and economic sectors are committed to boosting their comparative advantage and accommodating themselves to the global markets, other proposals aim to activate capabilities for a different globalization, some based on endogenous development proposals, and others with proposals for the construction of socially just and cohesive societies.

This more complex way of understanding the territory and its governance leads to a rethink of other elements that are fundamental to LHD processes. Some of the elements that will have to be considered include: the dismantling and reconstruction

of the processes of public authorities; the analysis of the relations, alliances and conflicts among the different levels of government; the promotion of local governments' capacities to implement territorialised policies; consideration of the full set of actors, both public and private, but also new actors; the centrality of groups goals; the articulation of spaces for relating both formally and informally; and a new understanding of participation that transforms relations between governors and the governed.

V. Political concepts and categories for revising the collective capability approach



The collective capability to participate is at the heart of LHD processes, and to understand it better and incorporate it into our analysis of social transformation, new categories, such as affiliation, resilience and institutional innovation, and the reformulation of other terms, such as power, appropriation and empowerment, are required. As has been emphasised from the beginning, this study aims to prioritise the collective and group contents of human development and transcend the initial ethical-individualist theoretical contents of this approach, as well as to propose tools for the evaluation of these collective and relational capabilities (Dubois, 2008: 40). In order to examine in greater detail this relational content of human capabilities, and to try to articulate new analytical concepts and categories that are useful for assessing institutionality in social transformation processes, what is proposed is: a) to explore the complexity of relations of power and its spheres; b) to underline some connections among participation, the capability of affiliation and collective capabilities; and c) propose some general points regarding the concepts of institutional innovation and resilience.

1. The complexity of relations of power and its spheres

Something that has been stressed throughout this study has been the need to pay more attention to the complexity of power relations when it comes to political participation and democracy. Continuing with these reflections it is evident that, in each context, power relations will determine the obstacles that stop people being free and/or autonomous. Traditionally, the lack of power of majority sectors of the societies that live in authoritarian regimes or “imperfect democracies” has been demonstrated, declaring that the road to follow is that of the democratic states with the rule of law, where citizen participation is guaranteed with the democratic principal of one person, one vote. Approaches critical of formal and pluralist-elitist democratic theories have pointed out that even in post-industrial societies and those with “advanced” wellbeing regimes, people and civil associations hardly have the capability to influence the decisions made by their governments.

In this regard, it is interesting to recall briefly some of the contributions proposed by Held (1997: 197-229) on autonomy and nautonomy, and his seven spheres of power framework. These ideas partially coincide with some of the capability approach's premises, which maintain that democratic practice does not work due to imbalances in the exercise of a power that is based on economic and social inequalities (whoever has more economic capacity, better education and a better understanding of public affairs has more chance of influence in power).

In his analysis of cosmopolitan democracy and the plurality of sources of authority in order to understand systems of power, this author proposes resignifying the idea of people's autonomy, and seeking greater depth in the deliberative democratic dimension. The legitimacy of a system goes beyond believing in the existing political institutions, norms, laws, and so, in his understanding, it is necessary to go beyond the liberal democratic model, and it is essential to identify those practices and institutions that are incompatible with democracy and to redefine the way of understanding autonomy. According to Held, people cannot exercise political action in a state of equality, or even in systems and institutions that are formally free, and so it is necessary to design an analytical framework that takes into consideration other realities, over and above the state sphere as a formal guarantor of fundamental rights, or the sphere of economic power as a principal source of inequalities.

In other words, this author proposes a critical exploration of the relationship between political principles, participation conditions and types of obedience, and a more relational understanding of power, which departs from the premise that power makes sense when an agency or institution clarifies its intentions and goals with regard to others. His goal is to analyse the causes that explain the lack of political liberty based on the concept of "nautonomy", that is to say, the analysis of the sources of those inequalities in opportunities to participate in socially-generated cultural, political and economic goods ("life chances").

According to Held, there are seven spheres of power that deny rights to individuals and which create these inequalities depending on certain social criteria which are a reason for exclusion (gender, race, ethnicity, age...). There is a first sphere of bodily power, which stops many people from accessing a healthy life. There is a second sphere related to welfare, which denies many people care, education or the availability of community services. A third sphere covers the cultural power that limits people's tolerance and their freedom of thought and expression. A fourth sphere of power makes it impossible for people to make progress with their individual and personal projects because not everyone can join civic associations. A fifth is related to economic power and the inability to undertake economic activities without the risk of being exposed to a situation of vulnerability. A sixth is the sphere of coercive power and organized violence, which cannot guarantee physical security to everyone. In seventh place is the power of legal and regulatory institutions which means that not everyone can participate in drawing up the public agenda, in political debates and in the election of representatives.

These proposals by Held, who can be criticised for his attachment to the liberal/capitalist model, could be another good starting point for the creation of useful tools for evaluating political participation and the institutionality of local human development processes. This analysis of the spheres of power will be of use as long as it helps in the assessment of the systems of multiple domination that exist in different societies and contributes to identifying the roots of the different inequalities that originate in

the classifications established by the dominant groups based on different factors or realities (Del Cid, 2013): sex (man, woman, other bodies); sexuality (heterosexual, homosexual, lesbian...); ethnic-racial (white, mixed-race, indigenous, black...); class (rich, poor...); geopolitical (North, South...); geographical (urban, rural); other criteria (surname, income, possessions, place of residence, language, religion...).

Analysis of the system of multiple domination (capitalist, heteropatriarchal, productivist, colonial and undemocratic) is fundamental in order to identify lack of governance, injustices and unsustainability in the system, in order to build emancipatory horizons focussing on the sustainability of life, diversity, relational democracy, collective capabilities, politicisation of the everyday, confrontation and diversity.

2. Affiliation, participation and collective capabilities

One of the essential pillars of this LHD analytical framework is the social dimension of wellbeing, that is to say it grants great importance to the limitations or potentials of social settings and structures, and to tackle these collective capabilities it is suggested that new analytical categories be examined, including: the affiliation capability; relationships among liberty, values of justice and interpersonal or care values; and the need to evaluate institutions. Understanding that the last two matters have been tackled in the studies by Mertxe Larrañaga and Yolanda Jubeto, and by Alfonso Dubois, this subsection will focus on the connections among affiliation, participation and collective capabilities.

Sen's understanding of liberty is based on a very individualist conception of liberty, and so it is very difficult to use it to measure inequalities. However, other capability approach thinkers recover the human condition of affiliation (Nussbaum, 2002; Nelson, 2004) in order to go beyond this very individualist formulation. People are not alone, since they form a part of something larger which is what gives meaning to human existence. Nussbaum, according to Gough (2007: 192), in her list of central human functional capabilities, has differentiated between the "A" affiliation, or the capability to live with other people and become involved with them, and to commit oneself to different kinds of social interaction; and the "B" affiliation, or the capability to treat other creatures with dignity, that is to say, to protect them against discrimination and give them recognition. The first ("A" affiliation) has a more instrumental character and is a means for undertaking commitments of a general scope, and the second ("B" affiliation) is understood more as a value that is totally necessary to any society based on democratic principles.

"B" affiliation is partly related to the idea of the three values of democracy and its intrinsic value (democracy associated with human dignity and the participation of excluded sectors). The concept of "A" affiliation (living together, solidarity with other people and willingness to interact) is of interest in order to go more deeply into the

idea of collective agency. This affiliation capability connects with two aspects of LHD that are being tackled in this study. It is related to the need for people to recover interest in participating in different areas of life, that is to say, related to the need for the socializing functional dimension to have a greater importance in governance, and is related to a reconsideration of collective participation as a mechanism to transform subordination structures.

However, affiliation is not free from contradictions. In the case of the imposition of ties of belonging to the group, group coercion might predominate over individual agency. On the other hand, it might occur that individual liberty is imposed, and so there is a greater risk that situations that are discriminatory to certain groups might be hidden or perpetuated. Affiliation makes us feel something more than individuals, and it is a means for undertaking commitments of general interest or collective scope. In short, this is what makes people work as a family or as a society. The difficulty resides in how to boost this second aspect of the affiliation capability without the group cancelling out the individual. This concept of affiliation is linked to the need for political, social and critical participation, and to human rights and, also to provide new points of view for the analysis of collective capabilities.

3. Resilience and institutional innovation

In the document that describes LHD's theoretical and methodological framework, various categories were underlined that are essential to studying the complexity of development processes. Some are related to systems (resilience, emergence, identity and meaning, feedback, interdependence and interrelation), others to changes (institutional innovation, initial conditions, context) and others to agency (self-organization, co-evolution, learning and experimentation). In one way or another, almost all these categories are related to LHD's socio-political dimension, and directly or indirectly the aim of this study has been to respond to some of its aspects.

However, it is important to refer to two categories in particular: firstly to the capacity of systems to withstand change and continue with their own vision of development, that is to say, what is now known as resilience; and secondly, once these changes are underway, the importance of transforming existing (both formal and informal) institutions in order to guarantee the smooth running of the system, which is able to tackle human development goals (individual and collective wellbeing, sustainability and justice), or what has been called institutional innovation.

Resilience and transformational coalitions. The capacity of a social system to develop and grow in the face of strong difficulties, known as "resilience", has two dimensions; one is associated with the relationship people have with nature and with the development model (when human beings design their development strategies, they rarely consider the restrictions and conditioning factors of nature); and a second

is associated with the properties needed so that a system has the capacity to make a joint analysis and create a vision of the future, that is to say, the capacity needed to make progress with a specific project in a complex setting. The list of relevant functional capabilities that Dubois (2013: 48) describes in the theoretical-analytical framework of LHD connects the idea of resilience with the transformational coalitions of territorial dynamics (Berdegué, et al., 2012).

Resilience (or the capability for analysis and vision of the future), the critical analysis of power relations and the commitment to the forms needed for political impact (or the capability of commitment and engagement), the capability to relate and achieve support, the capability to balance coherence and diversity, the capability to adapt and self-renew, the capability to take decisions when faced with complex problems and the capability to carry out tasks are all necessary capabilities for setting up transformational coalitions that can act in particular territories. For a territorial dynamic that creates poverty and inequalities to become a transformational territorial dynamic it needs to change the rules and processes of governance that concentrate natural resources and economic and political opportunities in a few hands, create new structures that distribute power in a more equitable manner, and also change the way in which agents reproduce existing power structures, overcoming what was once known as “political poverty”. To confront institutional distortions a great effort is needed by those parties who want to transform this unjust institutional setup, and to do so, conflict and institutional change are necessary.

It is not enough for some interest groups or certain social movements to make common cause, territorially speaking, and articulate a transformational territorial dynamic based on a series of convergent actions. So that a transformational coalition can arise in a territory, what is needed is a range of actors, common human development and social justice goals, permanence over time, the availability of diversified resources (both tangible and intangible) and a capacity for articulated action. As has been stated, the activation of the collective action of social sectors is not enough, what is needed are long-term projects in the territory; sufficient economic, social, cultural and political resources; and a legitimate and common discourse by the majority of the actors who are committed to transformation. There are no magical recipes for the empowerment of subaltern sectors, for true public deliberation on problems, requirements and priorities, or to make progress in substantive participation mechanisms (Arellano, 2013).

Institutional innovation for LHD and synergies with the analytical approach of rural territorial dynamics: Territorial dynamics articulated based on coalitions will undertake a long and necessary process aimed at transforming existing institutions, and they will have to confront the resistance presented by those who want to maintain the status quo. There is no reason to suppose that this change is necessarily progressive.

The potential for institutional change can be affected by extraterritorial forces

and impact, although this exogenous explanation is not sufficient, and it requires endogenous dynamics. The different structures and institutions that regulate the behaviours of actors in a territory will be in constant tension. The sources necessary for this institutional change are internal contradictions (obsolescence of some institutions, difficulties in terms of cooperation among different institutions, changes in political balance...), the changes in the processes of routine reproduction (critical reflexivity, acquisition of new capabilities and new ideas and visions of the possible), changes in the distribution of power (social mobilization and coalitions and external interventions in the distribution of assets) and discursive changes (new political proposals and goals, social coalitions that create legitimate territorial projects, new ideas...) (Berdegué, 2012). As can be appreciated, this analytical framework of rural territorial dynamics created for Latin America has many elements in common with the LHD methodological proposal being prepared by Hegoa.

VI. Proposals for measuring LHD's political dimension



This proposal is designed to evaluate capabilities for democratic participation and interaction among people, institutions and societies that work and are based on a communal wellbeing project. The first part of this final section looks at some of the tools for the measurement of the different variables of the political dimension of development processes, while in the final part some indications are offered that aspire to be useful in the identification of steps so that a society can autonomously determine the future it desires and that is possible for it. In other words, the goal is to offer an overview of the analytical model and the central categories for assessing the socio-political dimension of human development in a given territorial space.

1. Politics and development: what to measure, how to measure, why measure it and for whom

In recent years, HEGOA's LHD research group has been creating analytical tools in order to evaluate whether it is possible to activate capabilities within territories for a different globalization. This study on LHD's political dimension has identified some of the key elements for the appropriate functioning of societies/territories and their politics. It has been shown that building technical, administrative and management capabilities is not sufficient, and neither is it sufficient to underline certain historical, structural, institutional and political aspects. It has been emphasised that the central element is the process of making decisions about the desired future, and for this it is necessary to change the structures, institutions and workings of power, and this transformation is only possible by means of changes in the actors themselves. These texts have presented a series of contributions by the capability approach, by feminist and ecological economics, by radical institutionalism and postcolonial studies and others with the intention of gradually creating a framework able to analyse the political dimension of these complex processes, which will act to accompany change processes related to power and collective and system capabilities, and to build cohesive societies, based on common goals, able to view the future in a participatory manner.

As has been mentioned throughout this study, some interesting steps have been taken in the creation of more complex analytical systems that better describe reality and which are useful for accompanying change processes. However, it is also useful to stress that these systems are somewhat limited in that they do not sufficiently question the current status quo. Below, after some reflections on the uses of the measurements, some of these proposals are revised briefly.

A central matter is the "what", "how", "why" and "for whom" to measure, since this will ascertain the goals and uses of the different development indicators. Particularly, in the

political sphere of development it is important to bear in mind whether participation in the design of the future is something for all, or just for certain elites, and whether wellbeing goals and living well reach the group, or just certain sectors of the society that is being analysed.

There are a great many tools for the evaluation of development processes (Bandeira, 2011: 144-150). Depending on the analysis method, it is possible to distinguish between narrative diagnoses and quantitative indicators. There are national and subnational territorial spheres, and depending on the political sector analysed there are global indicators that analyse political systems or public administrations as a whole, or sectorial ones that analyse specific sectors. Depending on who the measurements are for and what is being measured, there are global collective indicators that are used to condition ODA to institutional quality, or for the negotiation of cooperation strategies and projects with governments receiving ODA and to support the demands of civil societies. In this case, quantitative indicators are usually combined with narrative diagnoses. There are also many national and sectorial indicators that measure different aspects of the political dimension of development.

The main tools for measuring and evaluating development have different aims. A number of the indicators measure results in terms of the effectiveness of Official Development Assistance. A logic is employed of monitoring and assessing the agenda of the Millennium Development and Paris Declaration Goals (now the 2030 Agenda and SDG), and those developing countries that do not keep their promises will receive less attention from the main donors. Another goal of a second group of tools is to measure the impact of the results of projects and programmes run by multilateral agencies, governments and NGOs. There are different ways of understanding the impact, but in recent decades the logical framework approach (LFA) has been the main analytical tool for management, and the most used by the different development and cooperation agencies. There is a third kind of tool, which focusses on the measurement of the positive and negative results of particular interventions, and which instead of focussing on management, takes into consideration other external events (economic, demographic or political changes) and the intervention of the set of agents in these realities. Political economy analyses are gradually gaining ground on the logic of the LFA.

Our LHD proposal insists that it is necessary to measure and evaluate with the goal of accompanying specific processes that aim to make progress in designing the future considered to be desirable, in such a way that these proposed tools contribute to strengthening these LHD processes. In this logic, it is essential to focus analysis on the following elements: a) the founding projects, given that based on the definitions carried out by the group in question, structures and institutions will be created, and priorities and results achieved; b) the legitimacy of political operation and the determination of the concept of justice used; c) and processes of change and empowerment.

What is certain is that the main indicators of governance, democracy and human rights (Freedom House's Freedom in the World, the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index, the Kaufmann team's Worldwide Governance Indicators for the World Bank, and many other measurement systems created by specialised consultancies and companies) have focussed on institutional analysis for the smooth running of the market economy. In other words, these measurement systems have been limited to assessing formal democracy, governmental stability and the rule of law, and corruption, so that transnational companies and foreign investors can carry out their operations with confidence.

There is a second block of tools and evaluation systems that have also focussed on institutional quality and/or good governance, although their intention has been to improve the quality of international cooperation interventions. The main donors have begun to negotiate with partners projects aimed at the incorporation of actions for the reform of public institutions, for which they are prepared to grant greater ODA resources to governments who commit themselves to these reforms, and to support the social organizations that finance good governance projects. It is in this context where analytical approaches arise that, from very different origins and concerns, are intended to boost development, study change and take institutions as reference points. Some of these proposals follow theories of change, and others look to political economy analyses (the DFID's Drivers of Change, and the World Bank) and a last group make a critical revision of these analyses, specifically the studies carried out by the Development Leadership Programme (DLP) and Effective States and Inclusive Development (ESID).

The theory of change arose in the mid-1990s, associated with the evaluations of development programmes working towards social and political change. The new features of this analytical proposal were long-term goals, backward mapping, connecting outcomes, the identification of basic assumptions and of interventions in order to achieve the desired change, the creation of indicators in order to measure results and performance, and the description of a narrative able to explain their logic (Anderson, 2005: 11-17). Despite some narrow versions, linear as regards cause-effect and understanding it as a supplement to the logical framework approach, there is a more critical version of the theory of change (Vogel, 2012; 2-8) that considers analyses as a long-term process for which a flexible approach is necessary that takes into consideration context, actors, change and strategy, and which is capable of considering the main questions and key areas. Nonetheless, it is still a planning methodology.

The Political Economy Analysis (PEA) framework has been promoted by the world of donor government's development cooperation agencies and multilateral international cooperation organizations. The main PEA initiatives have been led by: the World Bank (Poverty and Social Impact Analysis, PSIA); Problem-driven Governance on Political Economy Analysis (PGPE); UNDP (Practical Analysis and Prospective Scenarios Project, PAPEP); the European Union (Country Political Economy Assessment);

and bilateral development agencies: DfID, United Kingdom (Drivers of Change); Netherlands (Netherlands Strategic Governance and Corruption Assessment, SGACA); SIDA, Sweden (Power Analysis). The continuing failure of development interventions led these agencies to focus on institutions and political will, and on the attitudes of receiving societies and the local context. They analyse the interaction of political and economic processes in a society, based on the distribution of power and wealth among the different groups and individuals and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time.

However, the large majority of these analytical proposals lack the analytical tools needed to understand internal development policies, and have been criticised for their bias towards the most immediate interests of the cooperation agencies. In them, political economy is considered strictly as the economics of politics, or, to put it another way, the way in which donors' incentives shape recipients' behaviours (Hudson and Leftwich, 2014: 48-72). However, although these methodologies do not consider the measurement of development in an alternative manner either, as has already been stated, some of the elements of their proposals (DfID, SIDA...) are useful for analysing the political dimension of human development (Alberdi and Dubois, 2015: 70-76). The question lies in measuring for donors and their programmes, or measuring for subjects at the heart of change processes.

Recently, other tools have appeared, based on a critical view of these political economy analyses. Specifically, the DLP and ESID proposals stand out. They focus on the political factors of inclusive development, that is to say they focus on the study of the specific dynamics that lead to the transition of a situation of limited access to one characterised by the opening of political orders, with political and social results of economic development and with policies that promote and guarantee social justice.

The DLP concentrates on studying the thought and political work of policymakers, in political processes involving government, State, companies and civil society and in the collective action and coalitions that work politically to achieve development results. The emergence of future leaderships, particularly of women and young people, and the role of attitudes, values and ideas in the leadership of development are also other focal points (DDD manifesto, 2014). The ESID (von Hau, 2012: 24-27) dedicates more attention to the relationship between political agreements and state capacity, the potential impact of the historical legacy of the formation of the State, the study of the contemporary State in the global context, and the nexus between state capacity and legitimacy. To do this, it draws on the comparative study of cases. These approaches are more normative and critical of the State, government and democratic participation, and they are not so subject to the specific interests of agencies or other actors, and so important reflections can be drawn from them in order to analyse the political dimension of LHD processes.

2. How to establish indicators for LHD's political dimension

The goal is not to create a synthetic indicator that evaluates individual wellbeing and social wellbeing, but to advance with a framework that allows the integration of different indicators for the evaluation of justice (a society's capabilities for equitable redistribution, for living together peacefully, and for appropriately representing interests in general).

The different kinds of wellbeing regimes: The end goal of this study of LHD is to set down the foundations of an analytical model that allows each local society's processes to function. In this regard, starting with the Welfare States of Esping-Andersen (who studied the differences among certain societies' welfare based on the resources and services of the combinations of State, market, community and family), and Gough and Wood's (2004) Institutional Responsibility Matrix, three wellbeing types are distinguished: welfare state, informal security and insecurity regime.

In order to be able to identify the different Institutional Responsibility Matrix of each society and to be able to study LHD processes, it is essential to list the characteristics of the State, market, community and families in each specific context, and therefore it is essential to evaluate the different actors of this territory and their functions in the generation of individual and collective wellbeing. As well as bearing in mind the capabilities of individuals to participate in decision-making in each of these spaces (State, market, community, family), the way in which relations of power are articulated in these spaces, and their ideology, are also important; for this reason it could be useful to take into consideration Held's (1997) spheres of power framework and the system of multiple domination based on identity classifications (sex, sexuality, ethnicity, class, geopolitics, geography...) (Del Cid, 2013).

The market and liberal democratic institutions of wellbeing states leave little space for the traditional and religious structures and popular and community frameworks that, with considerable difficulty, are service providers in "modernised" societies. In these contexts, the household continues to be an essential space in the reproduction of the system by means of care provision, and it is women who continue to take on the burden of this function, which is one of the most important sources of inequality between women and men. On the other hand, the community and organised civil society have lost space, in that their values and interests often do not coincide with those of citizens, and power relations between the State and the market are those that really determine the unjust distribution of goods and services to society as a whole.

In regimes that are characterised by people's ability to acquire a certain security by means of informal channels, or simply cannot achieve any security, the weight of state modernity is lesser, and a scheme is set up whereby a group of people can acquire a series of goods and services provided by the market economy and a generally weak State, while the large majority of the population is excluded, and has a greater

dependency on family, popular, community or traditional power structures and on the informal economy. In these contexts, the role of the household and the community is fundamental for excluded sectors, while there are other social sectors that remain at the mercy of the relations established by big capital and governments in its service.

These general descriptions simply aim to be a first view to allow the social and juridical sciences to tackle democratic participation processes in decision-making and the interactions among actors in a more complex way than they normally do. Obviously the study of this socio-political dimension of local human development must be done based on the different kinds of wellbeing regimes and the study of the processes of each local society based on the different combinations among the different actors.

As well as wellbeing regimes, in order to make progress in assessing the socio-political dimension of this model for analysing LHD, some categories need to be rethought and others created that act as a way of understanding what each society needs in order to move forward with a common democratic and participative project.

Participation in wellbeing attainment processes: A first question is how to articulate the participation of each person with the different institutions that offer these goods and services. Some specific categories that might explain the participation of individuals in the household, the community, the State and the market would be related to empowerment and imbalances in the exercise of power. It is important for people to recover their self-esteem and for legitimacies to be created in order to act, although something even more important is collective empowerment, which is what leads to the questioning of unjust situations caused by institutions and systems.

In order to analyse imbalances in the exercise of power that might take place in a territory, it is necessary to explain the sources that create different economic, social, cultural and gender inequities in the set of different realities experienced by people. As well as analysing the State and its capacity to guarantee basic rights and liberties, and the economic inequalities created by a certain economic structure in a territory, it is essential to determine other inequities related to health, education, care, political participation and other areas. In other words, to understand LHD processes it is important to see who has the power in the different decision-making spaces (whether these are formal or informal, private or public) and determine whether economically disadvantaged people or groups or those with a lower educational level have, or do not have, the possibility to influence the decisions made. As a result, some indicators for the analysis of power inequalities are the degree of political organization of the most excluded sectors (sexual, economic, social, political, identity/cultural, gender and other forms of exclusion) and the existence, or not, of alliances between excluded groups and privileged people or groups.

Another dimension to be evaluated would be actors' participation in different processes, that is to say, it is not a matter of describing what a territory's citizens, civil society,

private sector or governments do, but to evaluate their actions in normative terms, and try to identify those agents and processes that are the most relevant from the LHD perspective. In order to assess their actions, it is necessary to analyse the development values and visions that the actors in this territory have.

A society will have a more just development when it is socially active, when it shows it has the skills to participate effectively in processes, when there are opportunities and new spaces for public deliberation and when the most excluded sectors have the capability to organise themselves, express their needs and participate in decision-making processes.

In short, changes and innovations in formal and informal institutions are needed, as are new political models open to a greater participation by people and organised groups. However, these changes in government's public policies, in the structures of companies and businesses, in the organization of civil society and communities, and in the home itself, cannot be brought about easily without an increase in interest by people in public affairs, without the creation of formal and informal spaces for quality deliberation that can achieve strong consensuses, and without governmental and administrative institutions opening up in ways that favour new ways of doing politics.

Evaluation of participation in LHD processes
• Interest in public affairs.
• Existence of formal and informal spaces for quality deliberation.
• Questioning of unjust situations caused by institutions and systems.
• Degree of political organization of the most excluded sectors.
• Existence of alliances between excluded and privileged sectors.
• Consensus regarding priority values, goals and goods.
• Existence of spaces for participation in the creation of public policies.

The integrated nature of the socio-political framework and governance processes in local societies: It is not enough to describe the responsibility matrix of the State, the market, the community and the household, but rather it is crucial to attempt to offer a dynamic perspective of the different actors and processes; that is to say, the aim is to find out the socio-political structures, the articulation of the territory, authorities and rights, and the dynamic when it comes to making the decisions that affect the group that lives in that territory and which determine its future.

On this point, studies regarding the territorialisation of public policies and about governance in local societies are a good starting point. It is important to go beyond the current trend towards a technocratic decentralization, and promote creative processes, whereby governments and other actors aim their efforts towards collective wellbeing. Necessary for this is the dismantling and construction of the public powers'

processes of action (both at the level of intervention and that of decision-making), the examination of relations among the different governmental and administrative levels, and a clarification of local governments' capabilities in order to involve them in these change processes. The set of actors and institutions would have to be motivated by the reasonable nature and responsibility of their social justice and equity goals.

Evaluation of the integrated nature of the socio-political framework in local societies

- Diagnosis of the actions of the different government levels.
- Interrelation among the different (local-national) government levels.
- Capability of local governments for transformation in LHD terms.

Degree of appropriation of Local Human Development processes: People, groups and societies will have to appropriate human development processes and to do so it is fundamental that they have real participation in decision-making. If this participatory capability of individuals and groups is not genuine, or is in the hands of the few, communities and societies will not be able to appropriate development processes. Each local society has to be able to define the common goods it considers desirable and how to achieve them, although these definitions and strategies regarding the desired development will inevitably be marked by national and international contexts.

However, this external conditioning cannot be an excuse for each local society not to continue to look for new forms of participation. The degree of appropriation of local human development strategies by the different agents is an indicator to take into consideration.

Evaluation of the degree of appropriation of LHD processes

- Ensure that the appropriation is not imposed from outside.
- Appropriation according to people's preferences and priorities.
- Group appropriation of a change process aimed at reducing inequalities.

“Strong” collective agency and functional capabilities for democratic participation and interaction with other actors: Capabilities need to be studied as processes, but also as results. It is important to evaluate whether a local society is capable of a joint vision, that is to say, whether it is capable of sharing values and projects in order to improve wellbeing and in order to advance in terms of social justice, and also whether it is able to take joint decisions, ones taken in interaction with other actors in that setting.

In this regard, some reflections made previously should be emphasised. Firstly, to highlight the importance of the capability of affiliation, of strong collective agency and the capability of a system to confront change and continue its development (resilience). In order to build joint values and visions of what is wanted and what is just for society

as a whole, it is fundamental that each actor show responsibility towards others and towards society. Consequently, another of the elements for evaluating LHD processes is this responsible commitment by actors towards others.

This strong collective agency needs to be supported by some functional capabilities that all groups have to obtain. Firstly, a group must have the capability to make a space to build empowerment and to be able to create options. Secondly, it must have sufficient knowledge and logistical capabilities to confront the tasks and requirements presented by its own process. Thirdly, it must have skills to relate to other actors, achieving support and obtaining resources. Fourthly, it must have the capability to adapt to the circumstances that arise, and to self-renew; fifthly and lastly, it must make an effort to balance the coherence of its actions and goals with that of the other actors involved in the process, without losing the nature of its proposal (Baser and Morgan, 2008). As stated in the LHD analytical framework text, this requires ambition, conviction, determination and collective identity (Dubois, 2013). To know whether a system is capable of facing up to the changing situations that surround it and to see if it is capable of continuing with its transformational development proposal, it is important to assess the spaces that exist in this society for resistance and local knowledge (Ceceña, 2012: 17-23).

Evaluation of collective agency and functional capabilities for the LHD process
• Degree of responsible commitment to others (capability of affiliation) by the different actors.
• Existence of a collective identity in order to advance the change process with ambition, conviction and determination.
• Existence of spaces of resistance and local knowledge.

3. As an epilogue

The aim of these pages has been to provide some key points and categories in order to better understand local socio-political realities and to advance towards a methodology that can be of use for those human processes that aim to define what is wanted, and what values and goals are wished in order to face the future. In the current context of strong changes resulting from the globalization and denationalization processes, which question the capacity of the State and liberal democracies to provide, the goal has been to examine the collective vision of human development. The new forms of institutionality are an opportunity so that local societies have the capability of functioning with different logics and mechanisms, for which it is fundamental to examine relational capabilities, which the capability approach has rather ignored. So that people can live better, it is essential that human beings be aware that they have mutual obligations.

The challenge now lies in making all the contributions that go into making up this proposal for the analysis of LHD processes practically useful. The starting point must

be the collective capabilities that there are in each territory, and it is necessary to understand that our analytical frameworks and proposals are external, and therefore very limited. It is important to make proposals for action based on the very actors of these territories since it is they who can boost individual and collective capabilities. With a democratic basis at all times, the key issue is to understand territories' political processes and connect some of these theoretical ideas of LHD with the practical knowledge of local actors, with their political and change processes and with their values, culture and social leaderships. For this it is necessary for contributions made from LHD or other similar methodologies to have a strong pedagogical approach (Portieles, 2013).

I would like to conclude with a summary of some of the concerns and ideas debated during this LHD group's research process. A first reflection points in the direction of leadership in capability development, and whether this corresponds to local governments or to organised sectors of civil society. Each context will reflect the more central role of some, or others, but the most important thing will be whether a symmetry is achieved among the different actors in terms of power and legitimacy. The quality of participation, revision of the mechanisms of delegation and representation, inclusive leaderships, the use of all participatory spaces, and a greater horizontality in terms of the deliberation of matters among the different actors, are all fundamental matters when it comes to creating a common framework of values and appropriate management of public goods.

A second reflection is on the role of civil society and communities for making progress with individual and collective wellbeing. During our research, the importance of the capability of social control of governmental activity, and the potentials and limitations of collective action have been highlighted. Warnings have been made about the risk of undermining civil society in order to exert social control, related to the co-opting of social activists by local governments. It has also been pointed out that a lack of connection between organised civil society and the social majority can explain why, in certain contexts, collective capabilities that act in the direction of change are not constructed. These are important warnings to bear in mind.

Indications for a new analytical proposal for LHD's socio-political processes

Institutional Responsibility Matrix (Gough and Wood):
List the characteristics of the State, Market, Community and Families in each specific context, and assess the different actors of this territory and its functions in the creation of individual and collective wellbeing

	Market	State	Community	Ousehold
Welfare state				
Informal security regime				
Insecurity regime				

Central categories for evaluating LHD's socio-political dimension

Evaluation of participation in LHD processes

- Interest in public affairs.
- Existence of formal and informal spaces for quality deliberation.
- Questioning of unjust situations caused by institutions and systems.
- Degree of political organization of the most excluded sectors.
- Existence of alliances between excluded and privileged sectors.
- Consensus regarding priority values, goals and goods.
- Existence of spaces for participation in the creation of public policies.

Evaluation of the integrated nature of the socio-political framework in local societies

- Diagnosis of the actions of the different government levels.
- Interrelation among the different (local-national) government levels.
- Capability of local governments for transformation in LHD terms.

Evaluation of the degree of appropriation of LHD processes

- Ensure that the appropriation is not imposed from outside.
- Appropriation according to people's preferences and priorities.
- Group appropriation of a change process aimed at reducing inequalities.

Evaluation of collective agency and functional capabilities for the LHD process

- Degree of responsible commitment to others (capability of affiliation) by the different actors.
- Existence of a collective identity in order to advance the change process with ambition, conviction and determination.
- Existence of spaces of resistance and local knowledge.

A third and final reflection is related to the creation of coalitions among actors for institutional change and new spaces for deliberation. The conclusion is that not all alliances are necessarily possible, although it is crucial to articulate a dialectical relationship between conflict and dialogue that allows a greater symmetry among different actors, and advance in those coalitions with transformational capability.

In short, to evaluate the political dimension of LHD, we propose combining narrative diagnoses of specific cases and, in as much as possible, articulating quantitative indicators that are useful to accompany emancipatory change processes. The narrative diagnoses and indicators must take into account the dimensions previously indicated: founding projects, public reasoning in new spaces that include excluded sectors, and change and empowerment processes. As a first step towards new analytical tools, this last table is offered with analytical proposals for LHD's political processes.

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