

100 VOICES



Southern perspectives on what should come after the Millennium Development Goals

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

For better or worse, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have constituted the longest standing paradigm that has ever emerged in development thinking. The goals have been an organising framework for international aid over the last ten years. At the core of countless policy documents, plans and announcements, they have attracted criticism as well as support. But what will happen after 2015, when the MDG deadline runs out? What, if anything, should follow the MDGs?

So far, the main voices responding to these pivotal questions have been established experts from powerful countries in the North. This joint research from the Catholic aid agency CAFOD and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) seeks to broaden the conversation, and to ensure that the voices of those directly involved in fighting poverty in the South are heard. Our research describes the perspectives of 104 representatives from civil society organisations, in 27 developing countries from across the world.

Key findings

Overwhelming support for a post-2015 framework

- Whatever reservations they had about the original MDGs, 87 per cent of our Southern civil society respondents wanted some kind of overarching, internationally agreed framework for development after 2015.

The MDGs were “a good thing”, despite their problems

- 75 per cent of respondents thought that the MDGs were “a good thing”. No respondent strongly disagreed with this statement.
- 72 per cent agreed that development had become a higher priority because of the MDGs.
- 60 per cent said the MDGs were a useful set of tools for non-governmental organisations (NGOs) – describing their value for lobbying, monitoring, fundraising and project design.
- 66 per cent believed that the MDGs improved the effectiveness of aid. They described the goals as useful for project management, planning and accountability – but questioned the validity of the MDG indicators, and pointed to numerous outstanding problems.
- Respondents were remarkably positive about the validity of MDG evaluations – with over 66 per cent believing they would be a true indication of whether aid has worked in their country.
- 59 per cent said that the MDGs had helped to improve government planning. However, many raised concerns about the implementation of the goals, and the management of increased funds.
- Just over half of respondents thought the MDGs were more important to donors than they were to anyone else. Several said they had been of limited relevance to grassroots work, or poor citizens themselves.

- Respondents were split down the middle in terms of the longstanding critique of the MDGs – that they have distracted from the structural causes of poverty.
- 64 per cent thought that the MDGs had contributed to greater gender equality; 65 per cent felt they had increased focus on addressing HIV and AIDS; but only 28 per cent thought that MDGs had contributed to reducing conflict and building peace in their country.

A post-2015 framework must be developed through an inclusive, participative process; in partnership between North and South

- 86 per cent agreed that the process of deciding a new framework would be as important as the framework itself. They stressed the need for an open, participative process, including poor citizens in developing countries.
- The most frequently expressed opinion of respondents was a desire to see North and South work in partnership to develop a new framework – rather than having one or the other take the lead.

It must take better account of country contexts

- An overwhelming 94 per cent of respondents said that any new framework must take better account of country contexts than the original MDGs.

It must address climate change and the environment

- In addition to the enduring development concerns of **poverty, hunger, health and education**, respondents stressed that the **environment and climate change** were top priorities for a new framework.

Our research includes perspectives from 104 civil society representatives from 27 developing countries around the world.

New framework, new context

Agreeing the original MDGs took ten years of gestation and discussion. With less than five years to go until they run out, there is considerable time pressure to set a global process of deliberation for any new framework in place. Indeed, the political momentum required to build international compacts like the MDGs is enormous, and we can't take for granted that any new framework will be agreed to replace them.

The world has changed since the MDGs were formulated and signed. Discussions for a new framework will be framed by many factors, particularly the following:

- **An uncertain and increasingly unstable world**

Whilst the MDGs emerged in a relatively benign, stable and fiscally buoyant period, a new framework would have to be developed at a time when the economic crisis has swept away old certainties; when the threat of climate change looms large; and when changes in global governance and emerging actors have diffused geopolitical power. It will be more challenging to negotiate a major international framework in these circumstances, because the multiple competing interests that will have to be balanced are diverse and also constantly in flux. This context also compounds the challenge of ensuring a framework is solid enough to compel action and hold actors accountable, but also flexible enough to adapt to changing circumstances and unforeseen events.

Six 'types' of Southern perspective

Qualitative data was used to construct six 'types', illustrating the range of views from our research respondents.

'Chuma'

Looking for action not words

- The MDGs were good in theory, but they were poorly implemented.
- Need to strengthen relationships between the top and the bottom in development; and between the North and the South.
- Countries should learn from their neighbours what works and what doesn't.
- A new framework should use geographic regions as a 'go-between' to mediate relationships at different levels, and adapt goals to regional contexts.



'Sister Hope'

The planning pragmatist

- MDGs were an important rallying point, both internationally and within developing countries.
- The substance of a new framework is the most important thing – keep the process in proportion.
- Need to analyse the interests of all different parties involved to broker a strong agreement.
- Ideally a new framework would be developed by both North and South, but the North should lever their power where necessary.



'Rom'

Bottom-up is best

- The MDGs were a useful 'hook' for funding and advocacy.
- There are no blue-prints for development – every country context is different.
- Inclusive consultation and participation will be critical for a new framework.
- Whatever comes after the MDGs must maximise power for those 'on the ground', who can adapt development solutions to their circumstances.



'Valeria'

The rights-based advocate

- The MDGs were better than nothing, but they could have been much more.
- A new framework needs to ensure governments honour their responsibilities to citizens.
- Minorities must be protected; especially from threats to the environment and climate change.
- Whatever comes after the MDGs must be based on rights, rather than needs.



'Amero'

International frameworks are a waste of time

- The North tried to dominate the MDG framework.
- The MDGs changed the language around development, but not what actually happens in reality.
- The goals were manipulated by elites; ordinary citizens were excluded.
- Southern advocacy should concentrate on changing trade rules and the private sector, rather than frameworks like the MDGs that are designed for aid.



'Jamal'

Capitalise on the MDG gains

- Don't waste all the hard work and progress made through the MDGs.
- Has been critical to align donors around goals, and encourage governments to take a holistic approach to development.
- Need to revise/update the existing framework.
- The process of developing a new framework should be co-led between North and South.



• Changing patterns of poverty

Most of the world's poor (around a billion people) no longer live in Low Income Countries (LICs). Seventy-two per cent of the world's poor now live in Middle Income Countries (MICs); with LICs accounting for 28 per cent, and Fragile LICs just 12 per cent. The total number of LICs has dropped (from around 60 in the mid 1990s to 38 today), whilst the number of MICs has risen. This is highly significant in terms of a post-2015 framework, as it poses the question of how development happens and what the best tools are to foster it in different contexts. The issue of where aid is allocated and what it seeks to achieve is key – and a broader range of instruments (for example, tax and trade policy, multilateral cooperation, climate policy etc) may be increasingly critical for development progress.

• Indicator innovation

A variety of new approaches to measuring poverty and development have been proposed, many of which focus on the measurement of people's wellbeing, rather than measuring economic production. The Sarkozy Commission; the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report Office (HDRO); Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI); Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Wellbeing in Developing Countries Network and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) One-world indicators have all proposed richer, more multidimensional approaches.

Considering the options

We posed three basic post-2015 options to our respondents:

- 1) Keep the existing MDG targets and extend the deadline.
- 2) Expand and develop the existing MDG framework.
- 3) Create a new and different framework for development.

Fifty-four per cent of respondents indicated that they would prefer to expand and develop the existing framework, while nearly 30 per cent said that there should be a new and different framework after 2015.

There was a very low appetite for keeping the existing MDG targets and simply extending the deadline.

The prevailing opinion was that there was a need to learn the lessons from MDG experience, and revise the framework in view of the current context and new issues that have arisen. There was a strong sense that extending the deadlines would undermine accountability and the value of time-bound indicators – but also that the investments of time, infrastructure and energy in the current MDGs should be built upon.

As a matter of urgency, the international community must kick-start a global process of deliberation to construct a new over-arching framework for global development after 2015.

Post-2015 trade-offs

Those seeking to construct a new international framework for development after the MDGs will have to face a number of trade-offs; both in terms of the process they undertake to decide the framework, and the content of the framework itself:

On process:

- Developing the framework through a genuinely inclusive, participatory process; versus ensuring it gains the necessary political momentum to forge agreement.
- Taking the time to ‘take stock’ of the MDGs; versus seizing the opportunity of their closure and preventing the debate from ‘going cold’.

On the framework itself:

- Ensuring the framework is as widely relevant as possible (and includes the issues neglected by the MDGs); versus making it pithy, coherent and memorable.
- Ensuring the framework takes account of the particular development contexts to be found throughout the world; versus ensuring it connects and galvanises the development movement as a whole.
- Addressing the causes of poverty and injustice; versus ensuring the framework can be agreed by international consensus.
- Making sure the framework is ‘ambitious’ versus making sure it is ‘realistic’; and judging what these two terms really mean in an increasingly unpredictable and uncertain world.

Recommendations

For all the diverse voices we have heard through this report, there is one clear, unequivocal message:

- As a matter of urgency, the international community must **kick-start a global process of deliberation** to construct a new over-arching framework for global development after 2015.

We can also point to the following additional recommendations:

- Policy-makers, politicians and leaders in both **North and South should work together in partnership** to lead the new framework.
- Everyone with a stake in development should prepare for a **passionate and demanding debate**; it will be a challenge to reconcile opposing views.
- Development thinkers, practitioners, academics and policy-makers must **address the trade-offs** a new framework must contend with, especially that of formulating a framework that takes account of **country context**; and yet galvanises development internationally.
- As well as the core development concerns and issues neglected by the MDGs, a new framework must **make the environment and climate change a priority**.

Introduction

Can't all this wait?

It took ten years to negotiate the original Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the framework runs out in just five years time. We can't afford to wait. Deciding what happens after 2015 will require us to consider the overall objectives of development work and the indicators by which we know we are achieving them. It will also be a competition to highlight the many varied issues that make up the sector. The post-2015 debate stands to be a 'lightning rod' for fundamental questions of what development is about, and how to make it happen.

It took ten years to negotiate the MDGs. With five years to go before the framework runs out, there has only been limited discussion about what comes next, and little – if any – work to engage those in the South with the post-2015 debate.

Debate on these critical questions, however, has barely begun. There has been understandable caution about even raising the question, with many concerned that the post-2015 debate might distract from efforts to hit the original MDG targets in the here and now. We are conscious of this possibility as we write this study, and have no intention of siphoning energy away from the MDG movement. It is our belief that reflection on what happens after 2015 is complementary to action to achieve the goals in the next five years, because the concerns of the original framework will be the starting point for debate. Indeed, there can be no assumption that there will be any global framework for development when the MDGs run out. It would be a hollow victory for MDG activists if indicators show development progress in 2015, only to experience reversals in the years that follow.

The agenda for post-2015 planning is very much up for grabs. There has been some academic writing on the subject¹ (), and the issue was touched on by various research hubs and reviews (for example, the Sarkozy Commission; the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) convened Measuring Progress Project; the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI); and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report Office (HDRO) 20-year review). In some meetings and conferences (for example, the Development Studies Association (DSA)/European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI) High-Level Forum, June 2009; Global Call to Action Against Poverty (GCAP), Johannesburg, February 2010). There have been some private consultation meetings by the UN donor agencies, and internal discussion papers floating around the bilateral donors. However, there has been very little – if any – work done to engage those in the South explicitly with the question of what should come after the MDGs.

This study aims to begin filling that gap – asking those who are directly working to tackle poverty in developing countries to speak about how to address these challenges in the future. It aims to describe opinions from Southern civil society,² taking CAFOD's partner organisations as a sample group.

Box 1: Research questions

1. **Have the MDGs been good?**

- *What difference has having the original MDGs framework made in developing countries? What positive and negative effects have they had?*
- *Have the original MDGs been useful for advocacy? If so, how?*
- *What lessons should be learned from the process of formulating, agreeing and working towards the original MDGs?*

2. **What should we do next?**

- *Should we develop new goals and targets? Should we try a different approach?*
- *What should not come after the MDGs? What was excluded or included inappropriately the first time? What mistakes need to be avoided?*
- *What are the possible options for what could come after 2015?*

¹ For example, Fukuda-Parr, 2008; 2010; Manning, 2009; 2010; Sumner and Melamed, 2010

² We are mindful of the complexity of this term, cf. Edwards, M (2004) Civil Society. Polity Press: Cambridge.

About this study

The research used CAFOD's network of partner organisations – across 27 countries in the developing world – to gather perspectives about what should come after the MDGs. Two key research questions aimed first to prompt reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of the original MDGs, and then to use this to prompt thinking about what should happen after 2015.

The primary modes of data collection for this research were a survey, which was distributed via email – and qualitative interviews, which were conducted primarily over the phone. In addition, there was one facilitated workshop in Kenya. Research participants were asked to contribute on a personal basis, rather than on behalf of their organisations.

Survey:

The survey asked a range of questions framed on a Likert scale (see Appendix). It was designed to take between ten and 15 minutes to complete, and was distributed in English, French, Portuguese and Spanish. We sent the questionnaire to 331 partners, and got responses from 95 – an overall response rate of 29 per cent. The survey was collected via email, then the data was manually inputted to Survey Monkey.

Qualitative interviews:

Following up from survey responses, we conducted qualitative interviews with partners by telephone, Skype and occasionally face-to-face. Interviews were conducted in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French, as appropriate. Where it was not possible to speak to a partner directly, we engaged them in conversation via email. Qualitative data was coded around key themes in two iterations.

Workshop:

Our colleagues in Nairobi convened a short workshop with 12 of our East African partners, to discuss key issues of the research in a group environment.

We were very pleased to share our emerging data with CIDSE,³ in order to contribute to their advocacy work. Throughout the project, we collaborated with the Irish aid agency Trócaire, whose 'Leading Edge' project addresses similar issues from the perspective of key international experts on development.

Sampling, skews and representativeness

Box 2: Research participants by country

Afghanistan (1); Angola (2); Bangladesh (3); Bolivia (3); Brazil (8); Burma (3); Cambodia (3); Colombia (4); Democratic Republic (DR) of Congo (7); Timor-Leste (2); Ethiopia (9); Indonesia (1); Kenya (6); Liberia (1); Mozambique (4); Nicaragua (1); Nigeria (8); Pakistan (3); Peru (3); Philippines (5); Sierra Leone (2); South Africa (2); Sudan (2); Tanzania (2); Uganda (9); Zambia (1); and Zimbabwe (11).

A total of 104 CAFOD partners made contributions to the research, from 27 countries all around the world.

Regionally, the largest number of contributions came from Africa – with 62 per cent of respondents working in this continent; 20 per cent of responses were from Asia, and 18 per cent from Latin America. There were a particularly high number of responses from those working in Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Brazil (see Box 2).

There were some important skews in the data:

- **Two-thirds of those contributing to the research were men; and only one third were women.**
We worked through CAFOD's International Division to get a list of contact details for partners who we should ask to participate in the research, and simply approached those who were recommended, regardless of gender.⁴ Eighty per cent of the individuals we were advised to approach were the heads of their organisation – directors; country representatives and programme managers.
- **62 per cent of the respondents were from faith-based organisations.**
As would be expected given CAFOD's faith identity, there was a strong representation in the data from faith-based groups – with Christian and Catholic organisations making up almost all the groups in this category. Our research does over-represent Christian voices, which are obviously only one part of Southern civil society as a whole.

We would not therefore claim that the opinions described in this study are fully representative of Southern civil society – although we would suggest they indicate a broad range of the views that exist.

³ CIDSE is an alliance of 16 Catholic development agencies from Europe and North America.

⁴ It would have been challenging to balance for gender in our initial approach, as it wasn't always possible to tell the gender of individuals from their names.

What does it mean to have 'Southern voices'?

The terms 'North' and 'South' are notoriously problematic elements of development-speak. In Andrea Cornwall's terms, they are 'fuzzwords' that "gain their purchase and power through their vague and euphemistic qualities".⁵ The opposition between North and South is a way of denoting the contrast between 'developed' countries and 'developing' ones. It replaces a string of oppositions that have lost favour due to their pejorative, cold-war and colonial associations: 'First' and 'Third world'; the 'West' and the 'rest' – and before that the 'metropole' and 'periphery'.

The 'North/South' opposition solves some of the problems of its discursive predecessors – removing implied hierarchies and working from the relatively objective observation that developed countries tend to be further north geographically, and developing countries tend to lie further south. However, even in terms of geography, the opposition is by no means watertight. As Gaventa et al have observed, there are parts of 'the South' that can be found in Northern countries; and parts of 'the North' that can be found in Southern ones.⁶ Given the importance of China to contemporary development, we might argue that the 'East' is a more relevant category. And some would propose to abandon the opposition completely – acknowledging that all countries are 'developing', and will always continue to develop.⁷

If we ask 'who can speak for the South?' the picture becomes further complicated. If someone has lived and worked in developing countries for 20 years, but was originally brought up in Europe, can they be a Southern voice? What about if the person has only lived and worked in a developing country for one year? How about someone who was brought up in a developing country but has worked in Northern countries for most of their lives? Do we have different answers to these questions depending on the ethnicity of the person concerned?

There can be no definitive answers to such questions, and for this research we relied on research participants' own sense of their identity to select themselves as appropriate contributors to the study. Several of the research participants had complex aspects to their identity in terms of 'North' and 'South' (see Box 3). One participant resisted the terms entirely, feeling that the North/South division itself reinforced a sense of 'us' and 'them' in development.

Box 3: Complex identities

Four of our research participants were nationals of Northern countries – the USA, New Zealand and the Netherlands. Two had dual citizenship between a Northern and Southern nation (Brazil and France; Brazil and Ireland). Two others were nationals of Northern countries, but had spent 20 and 35 years living and working in the South. A small number of other participants were nationals of developing countries, but were working away from their homelands.

Whilst acknowledging the limitations of the North/South opposition, we would argue that the terms remain useful as they enable us to question where the key ideas driving the post-2015 agenda are coming from. There has been a historic dominance of Northern 'authorities' in these kinds of international debates, with decisions being made by those with little direct experience of the contexts in which development initiatives will be rolled out.

The CAFOD partners who contributed to our research are all directly engaged in poverty reduction in developing countries – implementing projects and programmes that are embedded in poor communities. They are addressing issues ranging from building sustainable livelihoods to supporting people living with HIV and AIDS, and promoting more accountable government. They are from local organisations – rooted in the contexts where development programmes take place. Although their views and experience are very diverse, these partners share a proximity to the issues facing poor and vulnerable people across the world.

Collectively then, we recognise these research participants as 'Southern voices' in acknowledgement of their direct, lived experience of tackling poverty in developing countries. It is our hope that such Southern voices, as well as the voices of poor people themselves, will be at the heart of debates on what comes after the MDGs.

⁵ Cornwall A (2007) 'Buzzwords and fuzzwords: deconstructing development discourse' in *Development in Practice*, Vol 17 No 4, 2007 pp 471–484.

⁶ Gaventa J, Horton M and Freire P (eds) (1990) *We Make the Road By Walking: Conversations on Education and Social Change*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, PA.

⁷ www.guardian.co.uk/global-development/poverty-matters/2010/nov/03/millennium-development-goals-inequality

Research findings

Introduction

Our questionnaire, interviews and workshop generated a rich range of qualitative and quantitative data. This section organises the data around ten questions: five in Part A, which reflect on the MDGs themselves; and five in Part B, which reflect on what should happen after 2015.

Part A: Reflections on the MDGs

1. Were the MDGs a good thing?
2. How have the MDGs had a positive impact on development?
3. How have the MDGs had a negative impact on development?
4. Has having the MDGs strengthened priority issues such as gender, HIV/AIDS and peace-building/conflict?
5. How did the MDGs affect governments, donors and civil society organisations?

Part B: Reflections on what should happen after 2015

6. What should we do next?
7. Should we develop new targets?
8. What should be the process for post-2015 planning?
9. What are the criteria for a post-2015 framework?
10. What are the possible options for what could come after 2015?

Part A Reflections on the MDGs

1. *Were the MDGs a good thing?*

Overall, our respondents felt that **the MDGs were “a good thing”, despite their problems**. Seventy-five per cent of respondents agreed with this statement, and no respondent strongly disagreed. The MDGs were described by respondents as: a tool, an inspiration, an opportunity, an indicator, a scale to measure, a road map and a reference point.

Respondents praised the initiative for **improving awareness** of development issues, spurring commitment from governments and turning the fight against poverty into a global movement. Others suggested that the goals brought together the North and the South in an international partnership and a mutual commitment to a global goal of pursuing development. Eshetu Bekele Yimenu from Poverty Action Network in Ethiopia (PANE) argued the MDGs were good because they “forced governments to get framed and committed”.

In their qualitative responses, 33 per cent of research participants described how the MDGs had worked as a **reference point** for governments and development actors. The eight goals and 21 indicators helped to focus development by offering tangible targets to work for and, most importantly, an objective to achieve. “Development is very complex and MDGs enable you to have a better simplified idea of what development is,” according to Ateeq Rehman from Islamic Relief Worldwide, Asia Region.

Finally, a significant number of respondents argued that the inclusiveness of the MDG framework **covered vital development questions** and current issues. For Alouis Chaumba from the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) in Zimbabwe, the MDGs “covered fundamental issues, efforts had a direction”. The goals improved the effectiveness of aid by helping to improve management and planning. However, respondents also mentioned that the MDGs have not achieved what was expected and that some important issues were left out or were not sufficiently emphasised in the framework.

2. How have the MDGs had a positive impact on development?

“Did development become a higher priority because of the MDGs?”

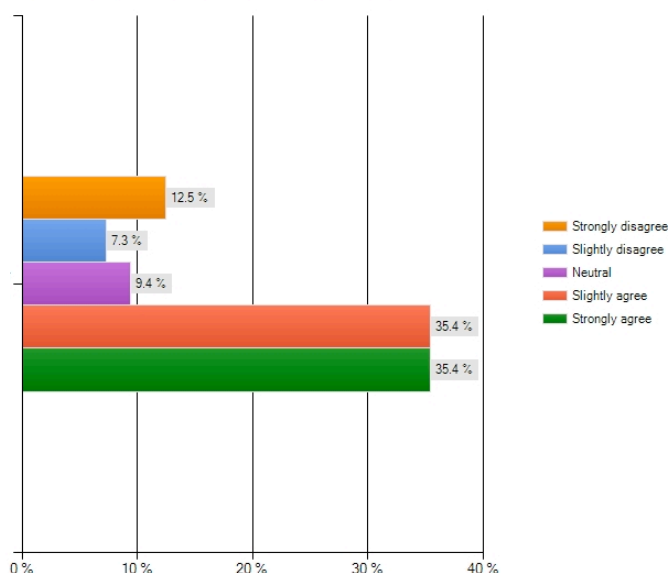
72 per cent of respondents agreed that development became a higher priority because of the MDGs (35.4 per cent strongly agreeing and 35.4 per cent slightly agreeing). However, the MDGs were described as having more of an impact on the global arena than in practical terms on the ground.

Respondents praised the MDGs for inspiring an **international partnership and commitment to development**. They made clear that development has always been the main priority for countries in the South, but they appreciated the fact that the MDGs succeeded in making development a higher priority globally. This wide agreement spurred development initiatives and planning at national levels, increased the awareness and focus on development, and increased scrutiny on governments. Consequently, development became a higher priority.

Nonetheless, most comments were followed by disappointed or sceptical remarks about the actual commitment to the goals, especially in regard to its **weak impact at the local level**. Regina Salvador-Antequisa from Ecosystems Work for Essential Benefits in the Philippines commented that the MDGs succeeded “at the international level, which somehow compelled the signatory governments. However, the implementation of the goals at local level did not necessarily follow”. Milimo Mwiba from Caritas Zambia argued that “they put the development agenda as a priority for our government, at least on paper”.

The MDGs had a series of **implementation problems** at the local level, and respondents argued that development didn’t become a higher priority in practice because the MDGs **did not cover important issues** that ranged from bad governance and corruption to social conflict and regional differences. John Materu from the Diocese of Moshi, Rainbow Centre in Tanzania declared that the MDGs “didn’t cover all the angles in development. They started out the right way but they ran into trouble when it came to implementation”. Astrid Mendocilla Alvarez from the Institute of Education and Health in Peru argued they “were used on national development plans, and were articulated by civil society organisations; nevertheless, concrete action is taken by regional and local governments which were kept outside of this process. MDGs were an important element but not a sufficient reference to justify actions and be successful in distinct regions”. Some respondents could not see any practical difference inspired by the MDGs. Musa Mohamad Sanguila from Pakigdait Inc in the Philippines argued that the MDGs influenced the “government to make some good plans but then they did not follow it, it’s just a document”.

“Development became a higher priority because of the MDGs”



“The MDGs improved the effectiveness of aid in my country”

Two-thirds of respondents believed that the MDGs improved the effectiveness of aid. Respondents described the goals as useful for project management, planning and accountability – but questioned the validity of the MDG indicators, and pointed to numerous outstanding problems.

Partners described the MDGs as a useful **tool for project management and planning**. Mauricio Martínez Rivillas from Caritas Colombia commented, “in Colombia the MDGs allowed for better planning in the targeting of aid. The grant is pinned to a strategy of international cooperation developed by the National Government and has the MDGs as one of its priorit[ies]. This is coordinated directly with the countries providing development aid to Colombia”.

There was also an **improvement in the amount of aid** that was appropriately allocated towards the MDG goals. Joaozito Viana, who works for Luta Hamutuk in Timor-Leste, said “considering the various activities of the UN agencies as well as the State in Timor-Leste, we saw they allocated a lot of aid to Timor-Leste based on the MDGs goals”.

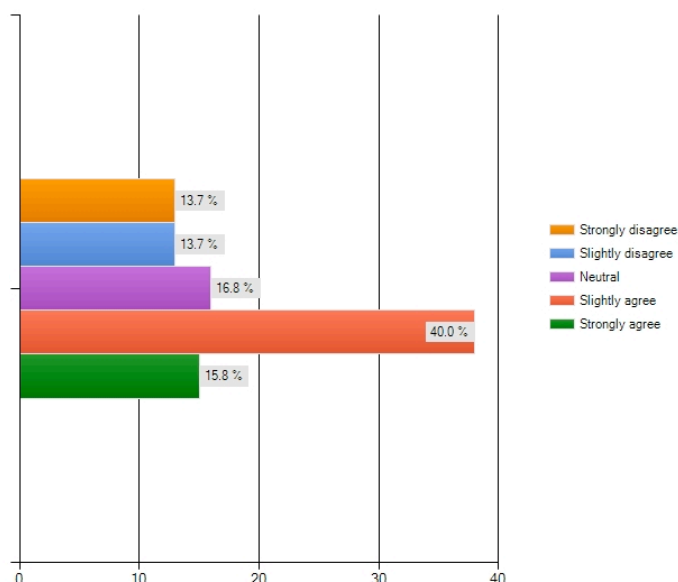
Nevertheless, respondents also argued the principles of aid effectiveness were not followed and many resources **were badly managed**. Donato Ochan Hakim from Southern Sudan Older People’s Organization (SSOPO) in Sudan commented that “Aid coordination and delivery is poor”.

Even though there was an improvement in the flow of aid, **the actual funds released were nowhere near the amount of aid initially promised by world leaders of the North**. Vitalise Meja from Reality of Aid and Kiama Kaara from Kenya Debt Relief Network (KENDREN), both in Kenya, said, “in 2005 the G8 agreed to get Africans \$25 billion till 2010, up till now we have only received \$8 billion”.

Some respondents also questioned the use of the MDGs as a practical tool and an **appropriate indicator**. Tim Vora, from HIV/AIDS Coordinating Committee (HACC) in Cambodia added the MDGs didn’t improve much aid effectiveness “because some important indicators are not present in the MDGs such as the Most at Risk Population Indicators (MARPs), etc”.

Moreover, there were other challenges to aid effectiveness mentioned by our respondents, such as the lack of a proper evaluation of the MDGs’ impact. Abbé Justin Nzunzi from the Diocesan Commission of Peace and Justice in Bukavu said, “Continual war keep[s] us afar from MDGs’ objectives”. Oscar Ramón López Rodas from Decidamos, Paraguay added, “In the area of aid, it is still too early to see the impact”. Corruption and bad governance was also put forward as an obstacle to the effectiveness of aid linked to the MDGs.

“The MDGs improved the effectiveness of aid in my country”



3. How have the MDGs had a negative impact on development?

Respondents felt passionately about two classic criticisms of the MDGs – that they have neglected critical issues in development; and that they have distracted people from the structural causes of poverty.

“The MDGs neglected critical issues in development”

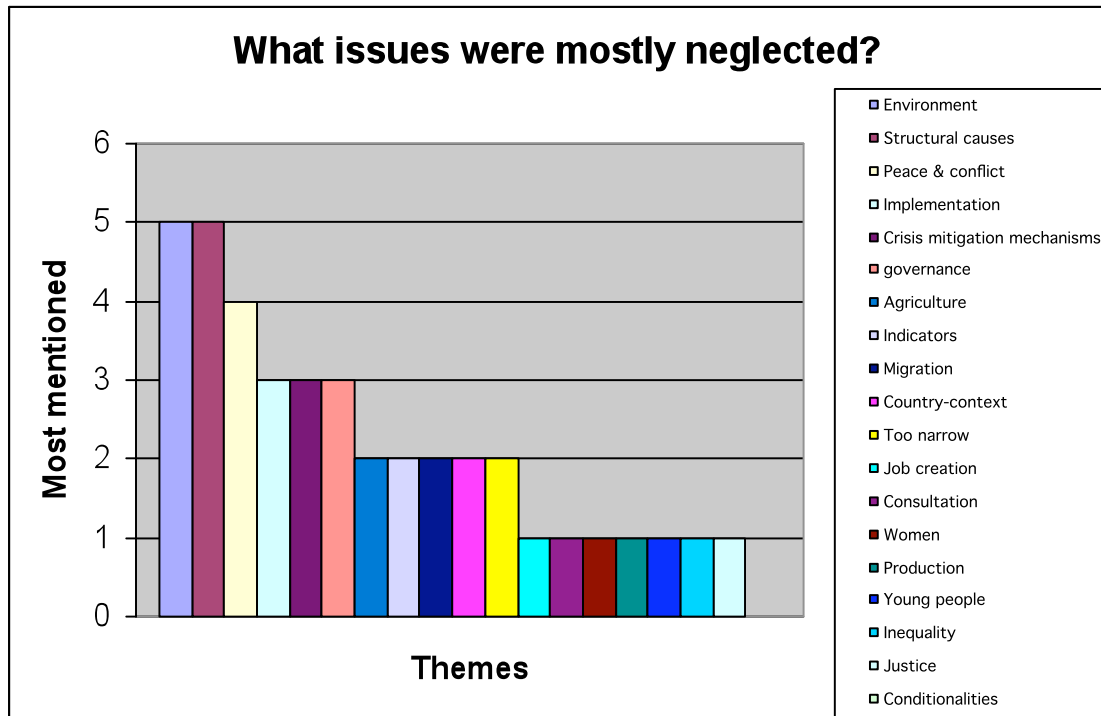
Respondents felt strongly about this issue, which attracted more comments than any other topic. Quantitative responses were spread considerably between our options of agree and disagree, and qualitative responses gave a wide variety of replies.

The main issues that were most frequently mentioned by our respondents were the **environment and structural causes of poverty**. For example, Sergio Cobo, working in Mexico for Fomento Cultural y Education, insisted that the environment is still not prioritised, saying “the government does not have a vision of protecting the environment”. **Peace and conflict** came in second place since current violence has either stopped governments’ efforts to achieve the MDGs or disrupted progress. Finally, in third place, **implementation problems, crisis mitigation and governance issues** were equally mentioned as relevant issues that affected the pursuit of the MDGs as well as

overall development. Ma Flor Te working for Sabakan in the Philippines, for example, said that, “Corruption at different structures of government is the most pressing issue which adversely affect the implementation of the MDGs”.

Interestingly, even responses that strongly agreed that the MDGs neglected critical issues did not really express the view that the MDGs were entirely wrong in their conception. Most of the comments on this question argued the MDGs were conceived in an appropriate way even, if they missed crucial issues.

In terms of themes that were deemed important to a new framework, there were a great variety of issues mentioned (see Figure 3).



“The MDGs have distracted people from the structural causes of poverty”

Partners were split in regards to the question of whether the MDGs had distracted people from the structural causes of poverty. Nearly 50 per cent of respondents either strongly or slightly disagreed with this statement while 42.1 per cent either strongly or slightly agreed.

Those who did not think the MDGs had distracted people from the structural causes of poverty argued the opposing case. Father Simeon A Omale from the Catholic Diocese of Idah, Kogi State, Nigeria argued, “It actually gave nations [the] opportunity to focus on structural causes of poverty”.

Overall, the following topics were the most mentioned as the main structural problems that were neglected:

- **Governance issues:** Corruption and political instability. For example, Ateeq Rehman working with Islamic Relief Worldwide, Asia Region said, “Emphasis was not put on good governance”.
- **Implementation and infrastructural problems:** Lack of money for programme implementation; no roads to facilitate transportation to school and hospitals. For example, Tarira Elizabeth from St Albert’s Mission Hospital in Zimbabwe said, “there seemed to be no money for programmes, so there was no impact”.
- **Unfair taxation, rules of trade and international debt:** For example, Wonder Mufunda from Caritas Zimbabwe commented, “Issues like trade imbalances between developed and developing countries remain unresolved”.
- **Peace-building and conflict resolution** were excluded from the framework, despite the fact that these problems directly influence development efforts and government planning. Moreover, conflict creates unstable environments, as well as leading to other problems, such as migration, ecosystem destruction and violence against women. Moreover, it increases poverty and hunger, as crops may be destroyed either by deliberate actions or by lack of people to farm the land. Horácio Fernando Simbine from the Comissão Episcopal de Saúde in Mozambique said, “(the MDGs) missed local problems such as inter-ethnic conflict and rivalry between tribes”.
- **Economic problems and unequal wealth distribution** were especially mentioned, such as inequality, power imbalance, land and property concentration. Mauricio Martínez Rivillas from Caritas in Colombia argued, “The

problem is not the definition of the goals but the design of policy to overcome poverty; in our case, [it] does not address structural problems such as the particular case of land concentration in few hands”.

- Finally, partners also drew attention to the **failure to account for different interpretations of development needs in diverse cultural, regional and national contexts**. For example, in Bolivia, popular and indigenous sectors have their own agenda, according to Emma Lazcano Davalos, Centro de Comunicación y Desarrollo Andino (CENDA).

4. Has having the MDGs strengthened priority issues such as gender, HIV and AIDS and peace-building/conflict?

“The MDGs have contributed to the achievement of greater gender equality in my country”

More than 64 per cent of respondents either strongly or slightly agreed with the statement that the MDGs had contributed to gender equality. However, comments suggested that, in practice, the impact of the MDGs has been limited, attitudes have not yet changed and the current situation is not ideal.

The MDGs were credited with helping to bridge the gender gap through **raising awareness** about the importance of this issue. Rose Mary from Karuna Myanmar Social Services (KMSS) in Burma said, “Gender equality ideas are starting to be known in remote communities”.

Indeed, partners argued the MDGs have influenced gender policies and helped to **strengthen women’s rights**. Joaozito Viana from Luta Hamutuk in Timor-Leste argued the MDGs had helped to “increase women’s participation in politics, an addition of 30 per cent as members of MPs and government offices. The law of domestic violence was passed in parliament and many women’s organisations are actively struggling for the rights of women”.

In addition, the aid allocated for the achievement of MDG 3⁸ has been an **effective tool** in the pursuit of gender equality, but there is some questioning about the effectiveness of this method. Regina Salvador-Antequisa from Ecosystems in the Philippines argued, “MDGs contributed to the enactment of policies aimed at improving gender equality. However, many of these policies do not have funding support from the government. Most funding comes from aid, thus gender inequality remains despite having positive gender policies”.

Respondents described how, in practice, the impact of MDGs has been limited, and **not much has changed on the ground**. Despite positive changes in legislation, attitudes have remained the same in most regions, and women and girls are still facing considerable challenges, risks and discrimination. Tep Monyrotha from the Salvation Centre Cambodia (SCC) said, “gender equality is still uncommon in Cambodia and right now many cases of rape are worsening the situation of women in the country”.

“The MDGs have meant that there is a greater focus on addressing HIV and AIDS-related issues in my country”

More than 65 per cent of respondents agreed with this statement. Most comments argued the MDGs were successful in **raising awareness** about the disease, as well as giving a greater focus on HIV and AIDS-related issues. However, in practice, these efforts were not enough to halt the problems and reach the most vulnerable communities.

For example, Abbé Justin Nzunzi from the Diocesan Commission for Peace and Justice in Bukavu, DR Congo said that the MDGs had “awakened consciences” regarding HIV and AIDS. This was important for **aid allocations**, which also helped to bring support on HIV and AIDS to a variety of places in the developing world. Zegeye Asfaw from Hundee-Oromo Grassroots Development Initiative in Ethiopia argued, “the incorporation of HIV/AIDS into MDGs has facilitated [a] huge flow of fund[s], both for prevention and control of the pandemic. Accessing ART⁹ free of charge is a result of such great focus given to HIV/AIDS”.

Although partners agreed that the MDGs had helped to bring a greater focus on the subject, it became clear through our data that efforts **were insufficient** to halt the problems of contamination and spread of the disease. Vincent Edoku from Caritas Uganda said, “(The MDGs helped) in theory but not in practice”. Oswald Musoni from Caritas Development Goma in DR Congo added, “The management of finance has not been rational”.

Numerous reasons were given to explain the failure of making an effective impact on the ground, such as **mismanagement, bureaucratic problems, insufficient funding and failure in providing vital medical supplies**. Tarira Elizabeth from St Albert’s Mission Hospital in Zimbabwe thought the MDGs helped but added, “it caused disruption of normal services. Staff started chasing for money only”.

“The MDGs have been useful in terms of reducing conflict and building peace in my country”

⁸ To promote gender equality and empower women; aiming to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary schools by 2015.

⁹ Antiretroviral therapy.

This is the only statement in our survey for which **the majority of partners remained neutral**. There are two reasons for this: first, the MDGs did not directly aim to reduce conflict and violence (except against women under MDG 3). A large number of respondents suggested that there might be a fall in violence indicators if the goals had been achieved. However, this was not the case in most places – as the MDGs’ impact was yet to be seen. A third of qualitative comments on the issue said that the MDGs had made absolutely no difference on matters of security in their countries.

| “The MDGs have been useful in terms of reducing conflict and building peace in my country” | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Strongly disagree | Slightly disagree | Neutral | Slightly agree | Strongly agree | Response count |
| | 24.2% (23) | 18.9% (18) | 28.4% (27) | 22.1% (21) | 6.3% (6) | 95 |

Several respondents argued that achieving the MDGs would help in peace-building efforts. On the other hand, most respondents felt that, regardless of the MDGs’ progress, violence had remained a huge problem. The four main explanations for this were:

- Firstly, partners alleged the MDGs did not directly target conflict and peace-building; therefore, there has been no relation between conflict reduction and the MDGs. Increasing security, public safety and social cohesion are not part of the millennium framework. Janneth Lozano B from CODACOP in Colombia said, “actually we can’t see a relation between MDGs and peace-building”.
- Secondly, partners felt there was no actual difference in violence levels on the ground. The MDGs were considered ineffective in fostering peace and the amount of conflict and wars has remained the same. Musa Mohamad Sanguila from Pakigdait Inc in the Philippines argued, “Chaos remains in the poor countries”. Francis Atul Sarker from Caritas Bangladesh added, “There being no specific agenda on justice and peace, the MDGs have some limitations to reduce conflict and building peace”. Wonder Mufunda from Caritas Zimbabwe argued, “Political tension and conflict still remains high in Zimbabwe and the MDGs have not helped much in my view”.
- Few partners linked this problem to the MDGs’ neglect of structural causes of poverty, such as inequality.
- Finally, a small numbers of partners believed that improvements on the levels of safety and security in their countries were beyond the MDGs’ capacity. For instance, Rose Mary from KMSS, Burma concluded, “it is not really a spell out and carry out type of issue; this is difficult and out of reach in our situation”.

Finally, it is important to note that partners considered the lack of targets for reducing conflict and supporting peace-building a significant weakness of the current MDG framework.

5. How did the MDGs affect governments, donors and civil society organisations?

“The MDGs led to improvements in my government’s planning”

Almost 60 per cent of respondents agreed that the MDGs had helped governments to improve their planning. However, many described important problems in following up or acting upon these plans.

Respondents described how the MDGs worked as a reference that was added to national development plans, and in some countries even to national legislation. Oscar Ramón López Rodas from Decidamos in Paraguay said, “the current government has drafted a 2010-2020 Proposal for Public Policy for Social Development, whose goals for 2013 are based on the MDGs”.

However, our respondents’ comments revealed that there were problems in putting the plans into action. A quarter of comments argued their governments either didn’t actually try to implement the MDGs’ plan or failed to implement it. Astrid Mendocilla Alvarez from the Institute of Education and Health in Peru argued, “There have been some strategies and plans for overcoming poverty that links their goals, targets and indices to the MDGs. For instance, the national strategy for food security, the rural development strategy, the national plan of action for children, etc. However, the budget allocation is inadequate and there are still significant gaps in achieving the goals set for 2015. It is planned and met halfway in some respects but in others, there are only some reported efforts, no clear progress.”

Some respondents argued their governments tried to act on plans but were unable to overcome the challenges to the MDGs due to a lack of ownership and a top-down approach. These led to little support or participation from other development partners. Zegeye Asfaw from Hundee-Oromo Grassroots Development Initiative in Ethiopia mentioned, “the planning including the budget allocation is characterised by a top-down approach. Even though Ethiopia has adopted a planning framework that really brought elements of the MDGs to the picture, there was a lukewarm

participation of other development partners and loss of focus as in the lower levels of administrative structure. This has put the effectiveness of the framework under question.”

Some partners also mentioned that, in some places, the MDGs helped to keep government accountable. In contrast, other partners said that, despite the MDGs’ help in improving government plans, these were not sustainable in the long term. Milimo Mwiba from Caritas Zambia said, “the MDGs were included in the national plans and used as benchmarks for holding government accountable”. In contrast, Rosilene Wansetto from Rede Jubileu Sul Brasil, Brazil said, “(The MDGs) contributed to mak[ing] the government have more concerns with core areas, but lack[ed] much to achieve sustainable goals.”

Governance was described as a central problem. Pablo Regalsky from Bolivia argued that “an international framework would only reinforce the financial dependence of developing countr[ies] and as it has been shown by the current financial crisis, it is not a sustainable situation”.

“The MDGs were more important to donors than they were to anyone else”

Our partners were divided over this question. While 34.7 per cent slightly agreed, a third of the qualitative comments suggested that partners actually considered the MDGs to be equally important to donors and recipients of aid. Nonetheless, an important 20 per cent of qualitative comments still revealed a significant scepticism about donors’ interests.

A large number of respondents commented that there were multiple beneficiaries to the MDGs, and that donors did not necessarily benefit more than recipients. Gilbert Nyarumbe from Caritas Chinhoyi, Zimbabwe stated, “MDGs were important to both donors and beneficiaries”.

The MDGs also meant the renewal of Northern countries’ commitment to aid, as well as a North-South partnership for development. Zegeye Asfaw from Hundee-Oromo Grassroots Development Initiative in Ethiopia said, “as the very name indicates, MDG is a global framework that renewed donors’ commitment to come to the rescue of developing nations. It also imposes a sort of obligation on the recipient nation to abide by standards of good governance, entailing also respect and protection of human rights. As marginalised segments, rights-holders would ultimately benefit from development interventions, and donors and developing states fulfil their responsibilities as duty bearers; labelling MDGs as being more important to donors than they were to anyone else is an untenable position.”

Nevertheless, it has been argued that donors did benefit from the MDGs too. Firstly, because the goals gave donors a clearer focus on which to concentrate aid efforts and monitor progress. Musa Mohamad Sanguila from Pakigdait Inc in the Philippines said, “donors rely more on the MDGs and can check how governments are doing”.

But there were disagreements on this issue too; some partners believed recipients benefited more because of increased funding, improved focus and a push for good governance. Mauricio Martínez Rivillas from Cáritas Colombiana, Colombia argued, “certainly the agencies have made a big impact on the government for compliance, but also has had the political will of both government and civil society”.

In contrast, 22 per cent of partners believed donors had benefited more from the MDGs because of its power over the recipients and a lack of local ownership. Pym Ncube from the National Council of Disabled Persons of Zimbabwe strongly agreed with this view and said, “There were no workshop[s] on the MDGs for (local) partners”. Donato Ochan Hakim from Southern Sudan Older People’s Organization (SSOPO) argued, “the majority of citizens do not know (the MDGs), thus, do not understand them”.

Yet, other comments complained the MDGs did not offer a way to achieve development. Oswald Musoni from Caritas Development Goma, DR Congo said, the “MDGs remain a theoretical framework without any measures on how to execute them”.

“The MDGs have been useful as lobbying tools for my organisation”

Just over two-thirds of respondents said that the MDGs had been useful as lobbying tools for their organisation.

A staggering 89 per cent of the qualitative comments made by respondents said that the MDGs were somehow helpful for civil society organisations (CSO), or the wider society. Respondents described how the framework gave development actors responsibilities towards achieving the goals. Firstly, the MDGs’ commitment helped to hold governments accountable and served to validate and support CSO lobbying for further progress. Luciane Udovic and Bernard Lestienne from Grito dos Excluídos in Brazil argued, “(Through the MDGs) concrete goals are established that give collective responsibilities (governments, organisations, leaders). These collective actions strengthen lobbying.”

Secondly, the MDGs also meant that some organisations either re-designed some of their projects, to be in line with the goals, or created new projects based on the MDG framework. Thus, they were not only useful for lobbying but also for evaluation and project design. Dr Alemayehu Mechessa from Oromo Self Reliance Association (OSRA), in Ethiopia

explained, “the MDGs had clear targets, so it helped organisations to clearly organise their projects, fundraise and lobby for achievements”.

Clearly, the MDGs were helpful to civil society organisations. However, our data seems to question the extent to which they were used. A large proportion of qualitative comments said that, in practice, the MDGs were not widely used – and that they were used either sporadically or by some “other” partner that the respondent was aware of. Respondents added a number of important caveats:

- They said the MDGs objectives were not new, so the activities and objectives of their organisations were already in line with the goals. They did not feel it required any further alterations or actions. Consequently, they did not actively use the MDGs directly for their programmes. For example, Katia Ferrari from LVIA in Mozambique said, “In practice it didn’t affect our organisation, we operate at grassroots so it didn’t influence our projects planning”.
- There was a lack of public awareness about the goals, as well as not much information available on the national/local progress of the MDGs. George Boran from Centro de Capacitação da Juventude (CCJ) in Brazil said, “In terms of lobbying they were good for some. But, it seems like only a person who works in the development area or is very involved on it knows what the goals are... The ordinary people don’t, it lacked publicity for this”.
- There was not enough funding or support for organisations in the South to act upon the goals. Horácio Fernando Simbine from the Comissão Episcopal de Saúde, Mozambique described how the goals “opened new spaces, but it was not easy to access funding” .
- Some features of the MDGs were considered more useful than others. Rose Mary from KMSS said, “The MDGs were helpful in some ways, for instance, on health and education for all”.
- Flow of aid seems to have influenced the use of the MDGs, but also led to some window dressing. Philip Kamara from Caritas Makeni in Sierra Leone described how, “it goes without saying that for any organisation to continue to stay in business, it has to dance to the tunes of the day. The achievement of the MDGs dictated the pace of events”.



Part B Reflections on what should happen after 2015

6. What should we do next?

After 2015, when the MDGs run out, should there be another overarching, internationally agreed framework for global development?

There was overwhelming support for another internationally agreed framework once the MDGs run out, with 87.4 per cent of respondents saying they backed some kind of new framework after 2015.

In qualitative interviews and comments, respondents gave a number of reasons for supporting a new framework:

- The MDGs **have not been achieved yet, we have unfinished business** that is too important to be forgotten. Respondents argued the goals are worth pursuing until we achieve them, thus either there should be a new framework or the current one should include supplementary issues. Tibor van Staveren, country representative in Timor-Leste for Progressio, wrote, “When the goals are being evaluated you will hear many people speaking as follows: ‘Yes, we didn’t exactly halve the population living in hunger – or whatever other goal you care to fill in. We have not arrived at point B yet, but at least we have moved out of point A? And we can see point B, over there, if you squint your eyes. And will you take a look at the surroundings? Much better than it used to be!’ That counts for something. We can still get there, in another ten years. What people forget is that the Millennium Goals are not an end point, but one marker along the way.”
- International agreements are important for **mutual support and cooperation, which are both needed for effective development**. Respondents were clear about the need for a framework that allows a continuum alliance between the North and the South. Oppa Rukara from Caritas Masvingo in Zimbabwe commented, “It assists in seeing the world as a village and generalising development activities”. Respondents were clear about the need for a framework that allows a continuum alliance between the North and the South. Takura Gwatinyanya from Caritas Zimbabwe Harare added, “such frameworks are crucial in trying to create and promote global partnership in which countries share the same vision for development though with different magnitudes”.
- Internationally agreed frameworks **act as a guide to development for governments as well as civil society**. Rev Phumzile Zondi-Mabizela from the KwaZulu-Natal Christian Council in South Africa said, “there is a need for a global framework to guide countries”. Moreover, targets were considered useful instruments that pushed development forward and as George Boran from Centro de Capacitação da Juventude (CCJ) in Brazil put it, “consensus on clear targets is essential for progress. Otherwise there is dispersion. Without priorities, everything is important and therefore nothing is that important.”
- Nonetheless, the research revealed a great concern over governance and a need to ensure accountability as well as facilitating monitoring and evaluation. The MDGs have helped to keep governments and **development actors accountable**, and this improves the quality of development work. Alemayehu Mechessa from Oromo Self Reliance Association (OSRA) in Ethiopia argued that a framework “encourages all development actors, and everyone else, to know the development targets – especially the government machineries”. Tsigie Haile from the Organization for Women in Self Employment in Ethiopia said, “Because it will, to a certain extent, make governments accountable”.
- There is an understanding that the **MDGs were not perfect, however, they were considered useful with potential for improvement**. Linus A Mayembe from Dacheo in Tanzania commented, “the first MDGs had gaps which can be bridged up in the next framework”. Development actors can learn from the lessons of the MDGs and create an improved project, either by refining the existing goals or creating a completely new framework. Joseph D Howard from the Center for Justice and Peace Studies (CJPS) in Liberia put it “the new framework will set the pace for addressing issues not addressed by the MDGs”. Partners wanted to add issues to a new framework rather than not having one at all. For example, Tim Vora from the HIV/AIDS Coordinating Committee (HACC) in Cambodia said, “Continue on the existing activities in the MDGs but include drug traffic, corruption, judicial reform and public administrative reform”.

There were, however, those who disagreed, hesitated, or placed caveats on their support for a new framework.

Respondents emphasised their concern for **adapting a framework to country contexts**. Yoseph Negassa from Action for Development in Ethiopia, for example, argued “regional disparities have to be considered”.

There were also those who feared that an international framework **may undermine country ownership**. For instance, Mutshipayi from the Conference Episcopale Nationale du Congo said, “I don’t think my country development should be thought from outside. We have to conceive it ourselves without being closed on ourselves”.

A few partners were also concerned that a new framework could **potentially lock up future planning** and that a new framework might not support their development needs. Moreover, there were also those who were concerned with the **failures of the original MDGs**, thus they were not sure if a new framework would be helpful for development. For example, Serge Bingane Narwangu from Caritas Bukavu in DR Congo commented, “the framework is not known by everyone and does not lead to the global development which was expected”.

In contrast, there were also those who **didn't believe a new framework was necessary or at all beneficial**. Simão Chatepa from Trócaire in Angola made the point by saying, “Development will never be reached at the global level, but through local initiatives in which the African governments (specially) take care of [their] own problems seriously”.

7. Should we develop new targets?

Overall, respondents were strongly in favour of setting new targets after 2015, and had high levels of confidence in evaluations of the MDGs.

“Whatever comes after the MDGs should take a target-based approach”

There was very strong backing for a target-based approach, with 80 per cent of respondents agreeing that this was best (62 per cent strongly agree; 18 per cent slightly agree).

Respondents argued that a target-based approach is more concrete and realistic. It enables monitoring and is a tool that can be used to measure the efficiency of the actions taken: “It is what will determine the efficiency; otherwise the common performance is not obtained,” according to Abbé Eustache Roger Tsovore of Caritas Bunia. Francis Kyaw Zin Oo from the Association of Volunteer Service International relayed his view that the “process should be properly monitored and evaluated” and that targets will help to monitor progress.

Another argument made by respondents was that a target-based approach enables people from the poorest countries to be prioritised. Francis Atul Sarker from Caritas Bangladesh stated, “Most of the MDGs are of relative terms and thus the MDGs' structure should give substantial emphasis on the poorest countries, focusing on the target with specific indicators in line with the country's long-term development plan.”

There were, however, important issues to be considered:

- **Methodological problems and the need to avoid “a tyranny of numbers”:**

Some expressed concern about the idea of quantitative means and the impossible task of measuring quality by solely having numbers. “Chasing of numbers is [a] great risk”, said Tarira Elizabeth, St Albert's Mission Hospital, Zimbabwe. Horácio Fernando Simbine from the Comissão Episcopal de Saúde added, “the goals are very important because they allow us to direct and see how far we are progressing, but we should also note the level of quality of the implementation of the programmes, because everything that increases in volume may decrease in quality”.

- **Importance of the process**

Respondents argued that the process of developing a framework was more important than deciding concrete targets at this stage. Matt MacGarry, working for CRS in Afghanistan, expressed his concern, “The next step that should be taken should be in the process. The most important change someone can make is through the process of deciding what should come after the MDGs. The priority is not the target or the goals but try[ing] to determine who is going to be involved in the process of deciding what should come after.”

“Evaluations of the MDGs will be a true indication of whether aid has worked in my country”

In the survey, respondents showed remarkable confidence in MDG evaluations, with two-thirds (66.4 per cent) agreeing with the statement that they would be a true indication of how well aid was working.

Respondents felt that evaluations were an important means to **knowing how funds were used** and **whether aid was effective**. Ma Flor M Te from Sabakan in the Philippines remarked that “efficient evaluation tools would help in identifying successful indicators to confirm the wise utilisation of the aid”. They believed evaluations of the MDGs would reveal whether their government has been committed or not to the achievement of the proposed goals, and **make governments accountable**. Janneth Lozano B from Codacop in Colombia argued, “it would give indications of the level of government commitment to this issue”. Sr Bernadette Uko from the Catholic Diocese of Kano, Congregation of Daughters of Charity, Nigeria said, “(evaluations) will bring about accountability to both government and non-governmental organisations”.

There was also optimism that evaluations would help to identify the problems encountered by the MDG framework, locally and internationally, and it would also indicate the best and worst initiatives. Oscar Ramón López Rodas from

Decidamos in Paraguay said, “(evaluations) will be an important indicator of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of aid programmes”.

At the same time, research participants stressed that it was very important to have an **impartial and fair evaluator**. Respondents were adamant about the importance of a joint consultation, which should include government, population and CSOs, in order to be a correct and accurate picture of aid effectiveness. Partners were suspicious of evaluations led just by national governments or foreign agencies. Instead they emphasised an all-round evaluation involving as many groups and regions as possible. Rose Mary from Karuna Myanmar Social Services (KMSS), Burma said, “it should start as a participatory process”.

A few partners highlighted the importance of using **an appropriate evaluation method** that would measure different aspects of development, but that should also take into account international factors. Emma Lazcano Davalos from the Centro de Comunicación y Desarrollo Andino (CENDA) in Bolivia argued, “the MDGs evaluation will be relative, especially if the vision is quantitative and not about the process”.

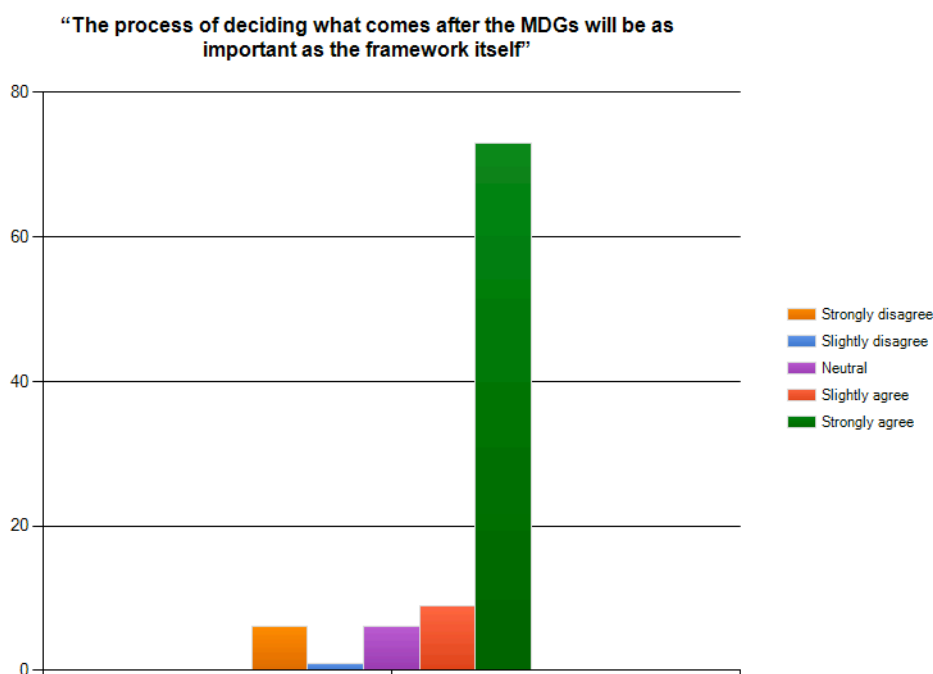
The more sceptical partners argued evaluations may be partial. Rita Schwarzenberger from Hope for the Village Child Foundation in Nigeria warned that “aid also comes through other sources and for other issues”, so an evaluation may not be an accurate picture of aid effectiveness. Additional concerns included doubts over the availability of data quality, as well as suspicions about political manipulation of data, either nationally or internationally.

8. What should be the process for post-2015 planning?

Research participants backed a process for post-2015 planning that is inclusive, participative and led through a partnership between North and South.

“The process of deciding what comes after the MDGs will be as important as the framework itself”

This question gave one of the most clear-cut answers of our survey, with 77 per cent of respondents strongly agreeing that the process of deciding what comes after the MDGs is as important as the framework itself. A further ten per cent slightly agreed with this statement. Dr John S Materu, a medical doctor from the Diocese of Moshi at the Rainbow Centre in Tanzania, for example, said that the process would be crucial to “ascertain the workability of the framework”.



Comments from respondents confirmed the importance of focusing on the process to **ensure lessons are learnt from the original MDGs**. This can only be done if the next framework is formulated with due participation of all, especially of the developing countries. Tim Vora from HACC in Cambodia pointed out, “We need to review and then decide based on the result of the review (the strengths and weaknesses). As these will assess the achievements and give the way forward for the identified hindrances and gaps”.

Moreover, there is a clear demand for **an inclusive, open and participative process**. Francis Atul Sarker from Caritas Bangladesh said, “the MDGs should concentrate on traceable mechanism of participation, empowerment,

mutual responsibility and accountability of [a] country's people and the government including the development agencies”.

Our partners insisted that communities should be included within the framework at different levels, and the process should be as participatory and consultative as possible. “It should be a collective discussion. Include civil society, governments, donors, but it should also include the population. They should also be taken on board and involved on decisions,” Said Rosilene Wansetto, Rede Jubileu Sul Brasil. In fact, there is a need to avoid decisions taken by elites.

However, not everyone agreed – some thought the focus should not be about process, but implementation and results. Pablo Regalsky, director of Cenda in Bolivia, said that “the framework is not an end in itself, it is what comes after the MDGs that I consider more important”. Philip Kamara from Caritas Makeni in Sierra Leone also declared that, “It is more important to decide what to do in the field, the framework is irrelevant”.

Others were sceptical that it would really be possible to have an inclusive, participatory process. Simao Chapeta from Trócaire said, “there will never be space for this kind of discussion... it would be only rich countries dictating the rules of the game”.

“Post-MDG planning should be led by the South”

This statement was arguably a weak element of the questionnaire research, as there was a significant disparity between the quantitative data derived from the Likert scale and the qualitative comments written and relayed in interviews.

While 67 per cent of respondents agreed with the survey statement that post-MDG planning should be led by the South, the majority of qualitative comments described a preference for post-2015 planning to be conducted in partnership between the North and South.

Those who backed a Southern-led process described the greater contextual knowledge available in the South, and their direct stake in the problems involved. For example, Luciane Udovic and Bernard Lestienne from Grito dos Excluídos said, “you do not have development without the participation of those who more desire it. It will not be the rich countries that will make the development of the poor countries, quite the opposite: the poverty of many is due to the enrichment of a few. Hence the need for leadership of poor countries in the definition of a post-MDG planning”. Marcelo Osvaldo Aramay working for CEPAS Caritas described how planning should be led by the South because the South has a better understanding of the reality of development problems, so can solve them more effectively.

Those who backed partnership between North and South stressed the need for cooperation. Rita Schwarzenberg, working for the Hope for Village Foundation in Nigeria, pointed out that it should not come either from the North or from the South, but it should be a combination of the best people who have on-the-ground experience and who are willing to do a good job. Francis Kywan Zin Oo from AVSI in Burma said, “as most donors are from the North, there should be a collaboration for mutual understanding”. Sister Bernadette Uko specified that, if the South gets involved as much as the North, it would lead the next step to be practical as well as theoretical. Emma Leslie, working in Cambodia declared, ***“This is a North South issue about partnership and shared resources. Some of the reasons the previous MDGs were not met is because of the North, so there needs to be ‘buy in’ from the whole planet, especially as the environment and gender equality are issues which affect us all.”***

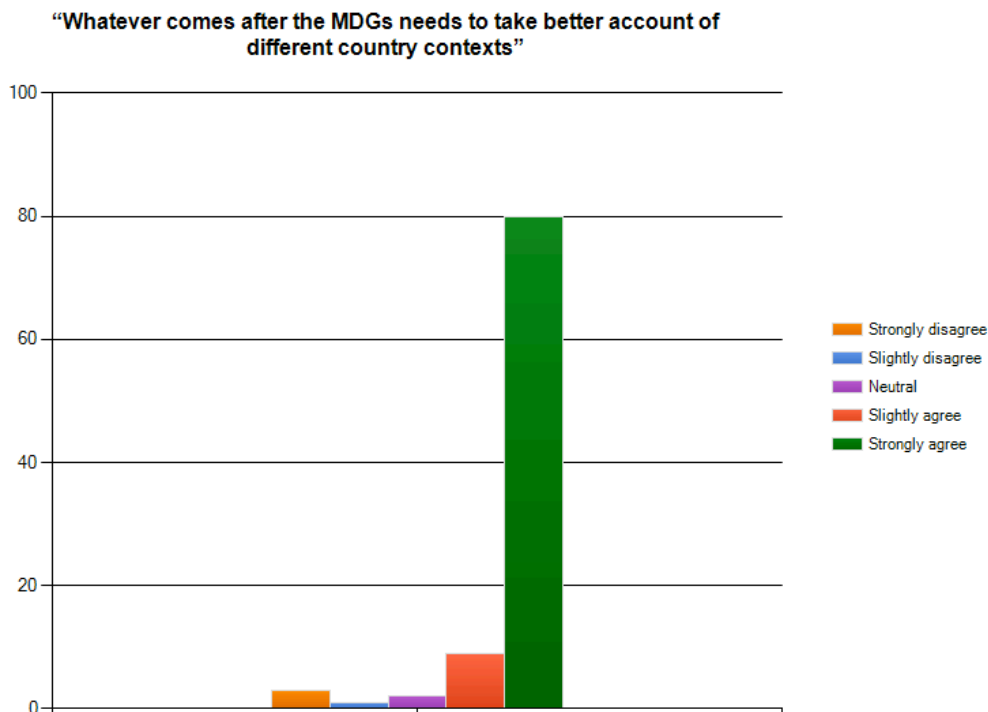
There were a small number of further research participants who argued for other approaches. Mauricio Martínez Rivillas, for example, argued for a process based on South-South cooperation, “with a greater role for the South. It is important to consider the processes of South-South cooperation”. Others took a more anti-elite approach and others still thought the process was not the most important issue. “I don't think what happened [was] due to who led the MDG planning,” said Dr John S Materu Diocese of Moshi, Rainbow Centre.

9. What are the criteria for a post-MDGs framework?

There was a strong and consistent push from respondents that a post-MDG framework needs to take better account of country contexts than the original MDGs. There was high demand for a new framework to be more inclusive of different development issues; but opinion was split as to whether it also needed to be more concise.

“Whatever comes after the MDGs needs to take better account of different country contexts”

Survey respondents were emphatic that whatever comes after the MDGs needs to take better account of country contexts. An overwhelming 85 per cent of respondents strongly agreed with this statement, with a further ten per cent slightly agreeing.



In qualitative interviews, respondents described adaptation to country context as a critical condition for development. Abbe Justin Nzunzi from the Diocesan Commission for Peace and Justice in Bukavu, DR Congo explained, “This is necessary so there is a real appropriation (of development plans), otherwise there is an imposition which will equal to failure”.

Some argued that the definition of the goals, and the targets that are set need to be country specific. Cornelius Munetsi Hamadziripi, working for Caritas Zimbabwe, declared, the goals have to be defined “in view of the different realities, contexts and situations in each country”. This perspective was tied into a view that the process would be inclusive and specific to each different country because, “The socio-cultural realities vary, thus the necessity to consider the different country contexts,” according to Etelvino Emilio Carlos of Caritas Mozambique.

Francis Atul Sarker from Caritas Bangladesh sums up the view put forward by many of our partners:

“Terminology of the problems, shocks, vulnerabilities and challenges may be alike but types/extents of these issues are different from country to country. Therefore, whatever may be the global development agenda should be locally defined in line with the individual country context.”

Others have argued to keep the overarching international framework to define the goals but to be country specific in terms of implementation of the goals. Pym Ncube from the National Council of Disabled People in Zimbabwe pointed out that, “Universal guidelines are OK but individual countries should implement them”.

“Whatever comes after the MDGs needs to be more inclusive of different development issues”

There was a strong feeling among respondents that a new framework needs to be more inclusive than the MDGs – with 89 per cent agreeing (72 per cent strongly agree; 17 per cent slightly agree).

However, it is quite a mixed picture in terms of what respondents think should be included in a new framework, and there is no clear-cut trend.

Some themes that we have noted earlier in the report re-emerged in answers to this question:

1. The necessity to include the structural causes of poverty

Regina Salvador-Antequisa from Ecosystems Work for Essential Benefits said, “In the Philippines, without addressing root causes of poverty and of other identified development issues, MDGs would be unlikely to be achieved. This would mean there is a need to address structural causes of poverty, otherwise, no amount of aid could change the situation”.

2. Environment/gender issues

Elizabeth H Monteza working for Social Action Centre of Pagadian Diocese, also in the Philippines, highlighted the environment as a priority that should definitely be included in a new framework. While Sr Christy Umeadi from Faith Base in Nigeria argued for the importance of “gender equality”.

3. Corporate social responsibility/learn the lesson from the financial crisis

Rosilene Wansetto from Rede Jubileu Sul Brasil in Brazil argued, “MDGs should clearly include corporate social responsibility. Businesses have a clear impact on environment, climate change and people. It deepens poverty, for instance, in Brazil the building of a hydroelectric [plant] led to people losing their lands and livelihood. Development, but at what cost? It is contributing to poverty too if companies are not kept to account. Goals should work with ground realities and businesses cause an important impact in development.” Emma Lazcano Davalos, working for CENDA, Bolivia added, “Especially when taking into account the structural lesson of the financial crisis and the actual financial situation that the world is in”.

4. Access to rural areas

Jean Robson Pinheiro of CIMI, Brazil clearly showed this by saying, “There have been improvements, but in the questions of access to health, education, capacity building need to be focused more in the problems of access to difficult regions. We work with very isolated groups, we need this to be taken into account and provisioned for.”

“Whatever comes after the MDGs needs to be more concise as a framework of issues”

In addition to being more inclusive as a framework, respondents also wanted a new framework to be more concise. Seventy-five per cent agreed with this statement (55 per cent strongly agreed; 20 per cent slightly agreed). However, this may be a misleading statistic, as it is not clear if respondents understood the question.

Some respondents were happy with the original MDG goals and didn't feel they needed much adjustment. Abbé Eustache Roger Tsovore from Caritas Bunia in DR Congo said “(the MDGs are) concise and precise to at least solve 80 per cent of the problems”.

Others were wary of being more concise, thinking it would undermine the possibility of adapting the framework to country contexts. Rita Schwarzenberger from Hope for the Village Child Foundation in Nigeria warned, “More conciseness would eliminate some of the areas where country context is relevant”.

There were, however, several partners who stressed that it was important to focus and prioritise with a new framework. Katia Ferrari from LVIA in Mozambique added, “It seems very extensive, you can fit anything into it. However, [you] don't see its effects on grassroots level”. Emma Leslie from the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, Cambodia suggested that “basic needs are first priority and maybe we need to focus on just one or two instead of so many. For instance, clean water or food. It is probably challenging given that everyone wants to put their issue on the agenda, but let's focus and tick a box instead of spreading ourselves”.

10. What are the possible options for what could come after 2015?

Just over half of our respondents suggested that the MDG framework should be expanded and developed after 2015; although nearly 30 per cent suggested that there should be a new and different framework altogether.

There is clear demand for change after 2015. In answering this question, 54 per cent of our research participants answered that “after 2015 we should expand and develop the existing MDG framework”. Only 15 of our 104 respondents chose the option, “After 2015 we should keep the existing MDG targets and extend the deadline”; and nearly 30 per cent chose the option, “We need a new and different framework for development”.

Explaining the view that the MDG framework needs to be expanded and developed, respondents described how the results of the existing MDGs should be used to evaluate the situation and determine what should be modified, kept or included in the next round. Shafiqul Islam from the Dhaka Ahsania Mission (DAM) described his desire for “an

improved revised version of the MDGs”. Jean Robson Pinheiro, coordinator of the CIMI in Brazil, said “the changes generated by the goals will require adjustments in search of what was not materialised in the MDGs as expected and also take into consideration the new elements which have arisen.”

Others argued that more issues should be included in the new post-2015 framework. Matt McGarry working for CRS in Afghanistan insisted that the simple extension of the MDG deadlines “would undermine the whole idea of accountability and time-bound indicators. Since a great deal of effort has gone into orienting donors, implementers and others to the MDGs, it would also seem a terrible waste to just scrap them and start over. A selective revision-extending where necessary, expanding or deleting where appropriate, would make the most sense.”

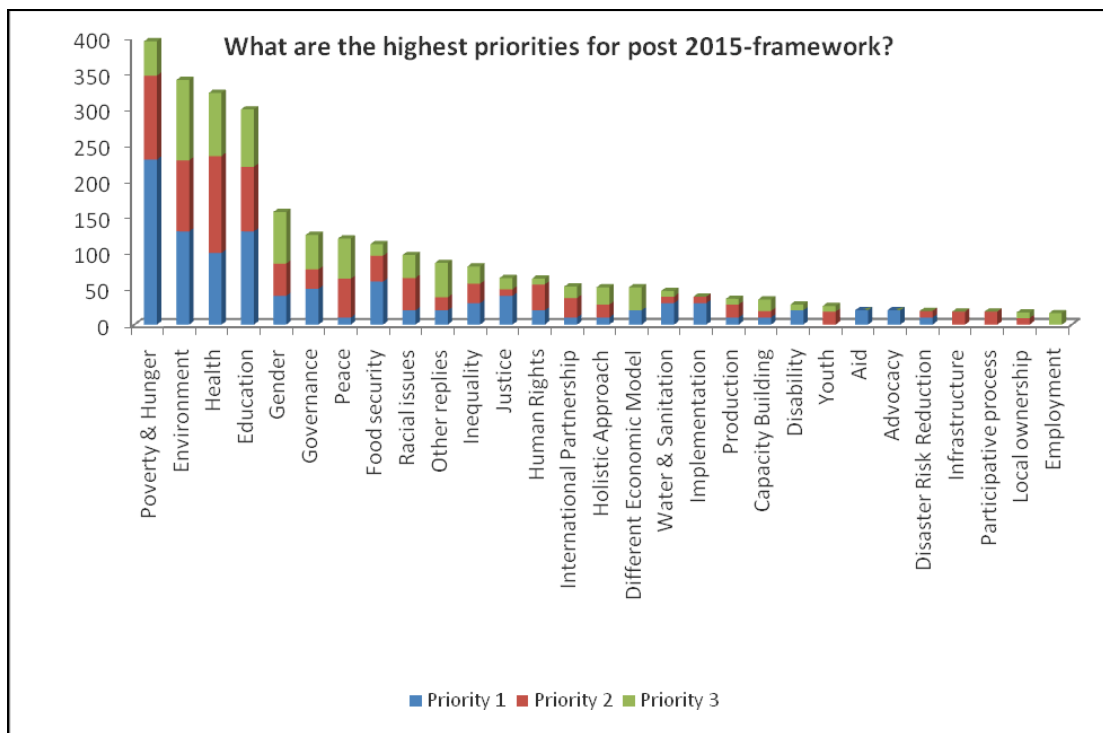
There were a few respondents who argued for keeping the MDGs entirely. Father Francis Nass, for instance, working for the Catholic Diocese of Yolain in Nigeria thinks “we should keep the MDGs because they are perfect and they have improved the conditions a lot”. His opinion is to expand the deadlines for the MDGs while keeping the target-based approach and continuing the funding. Others felt that, because there is so much to do and the original goals have not been reached, there is no better option than to keep them and extend the deadlines. “Our inability to have achieved the objectives would require that we should keep the existing MDGs and extend the deadlines,” said Fr Simeon Omale, Catholic Diocese of Idah.

Those who suggested that “after 2015 we need a new and different framework” did so for a number of different reasons. Welcome Sibanda from Caritas Zimbabwe referred to the economic situation to justify the fact that there should be a completely different framework, “Because of the economic melt-down in underdevelopment countries, we need to review the issues of poverty in line with globalisation”.

What three issues would be your highest priorities in a post-2015 framework?

There were a variety of answers to this question, as might have been expected. However, the survey data revealed strong trends for a post-2015 framework and four priorities were clearly identified as the most critical issues.

- 1) **Poverty and hunger**
- 2) **Environment**
- 3) **Health**
- 4) **Education**



Poverty and hunger

Around 50 per cent of our partners considered poverty and hunger to be their first priority for development. As Vincent Edoku from Caritas Uganda said, “the struggle to eradicate poverty and inequality and to solve development challenges in developing countries is real and multifaceted. The international community is right to put its full weight behind it”. Employment (target 1b) and food security were not the most explicit issues mentioned in our survey. However, if the number of times these issues were quoted was added to the number of times poverty and hunger were quoted, then MDG 1 (to eradicate poverty and hunger) would become far and away the highest priority in the development goals of any future framework.

Environment

Interestingly, the environment has ranked as the second highest priority. There was an overwhelming call for sustainability and protection of livelihoods and the ecosystem. In this regard, Javier Munera from CEUDES in Colombia argued, “Hopefully the main objective is not development, but maintaining the possibilities of the human species on the planet. Or better to keep the planet”. Ateeq Rehman from Islamic Relief Worldwide, Asia Region warned against “environmentally induced poverty”.

Such apprehensions were reflected in the comments of several partners. Climate Change ranked as the highest concern of those who put the environment as one of their main priorities for a post-2015 framework. Francis Kyaw Zin Oo from the Association of Volunteer Service International (AVSI) in Burma highlighted that the “global warming issue. Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability” was within the priorities she considered most important for our current times.

Health

Health was the third most mentioned priority in our survey, and 38 per cent of responses ranked physical wellbeing as an important goal to be included in any future development framework. Indeed, in the South, health problems are not only a cause for physical discomfort and pain, but are also having a great economic cost. Thus, as Etelvino Emilio Carlos from Caritas Lichinga in Mozambique argued, “(a new framework needs to) combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. I do not know any community that develops with vulnerable people, without health care”.

Within the topic “health”, there were a variety of concerns, which reflects the fact that the MDGs have three different goals specifically directed at health issues.¹⁰ Thus, despite health being the third highest priority overall, sub-themes such as HIV and AIDS, maternal health and child mortality were nonetheless the most frequently mentioned issues within this topic. For instance, Louis Legge Lako Kenyi from the Catholic Development Office – Pastoral Region of Kosti in Sudan said, “reducing child mortality rate is a key issue affecting us”. Tsigie Haile from Ethiopia requested “basic health services for all”.

Education

Lastly, education was identified as the fourth most critical issue for a development framework, thus, an imperative topic to be included in a possible 2015-agreement. Education is a vital skill to guarantee individuals full inclusion in social as well as economic and political life. Moreover, education can improve health, economic development and overall wellbeing. As Sr Esther Shebi from Carudep Kuru in Nigeria put it “(there is) empowerment through access to formal education”. Alouis Chaumba from CCJP in Zimbabwe added, “if people were more educated, they would be better informed, take better political decisions, have better hygiene and this would also lead to reduced child mortality”.

Many partners emphasised the goal for a possible framework should concentrate on reaching universal schooling. As Sylvester Mallah from the Mental Health – Fatima College Campus in Sierra Leone expressed a new agreement should pursue to “achieve universal primary education”.

¹⁰ MDG 4: to reduce child mortality; MDG 5: to improve maternal health; and MDG 6: to combat HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases.

A typology of Southern perspectives

About typologies

These typologies aim to identify significant ‘types’ of perspectives on the question of what should come after the MDGs. Between them, we hope they cover most (if not all) of the views we have gathered through this research. They constitute ‘ideal types’¹¹ –that are grounded in our qualitative research observations, but simplified and exaggerated to make them more recognisable and easy to understand. As such, they are fictional, but realistic. The types are not ‘ideal’ in the sense that they are excellent; nor because they are an average. They are constructed ideas that illustrate internally coherent, realistic positions on the post-MDG debate. Taken together, it is hoped that the types help us to get a better ‘feel’ for the different points of view currently circulating in Southern civil society.

The types help us to get a better ‘feel’ for the different points of view currently circulating in Southern civil society.

These are types, not stereotypes. It is easiest to understand and work with types by imagining they are real people – so each of our types has a name, gender, nationality and age – and also a photo.¹² However, these personal characteristics are often secondary to the essence of the type. Not all people like ‘Rom’ are female; and there are many people like ‘Chuma’ who are not in their 30s. It is true that ‘Amero’ is from Latin America, but the important thing about him is his critical attitude to Northern power structures, not his nationality.

One of the best ways to use the types is not to talk about ‘Sister Hope’ and ‘Jamal’, but to talk about ‘people like Sister Hope’ and ‘people like Jamal’. The types are representatives of groups, but in any group there will be diversity. We may recognise Valeria in people we have met, but the type ‘Valeria’ is not a real person. It’s also important to remember that the typology illustrates the range of views, rather than the number of people who might fit any one type.

They are not intended to cut everyone into a certain shape so they fit together like a jigsaw. Instead, the types aim to form key pieces of a social mosaic.

In real life, people are varied, unpredictable and complex. The types are not intended to cut everyone into a certain shape so they fit together like a jigsaw. Instead, they aim to form key pieces of a social mosaic – where we can look at each piece closely, then step back to improve our understanding of the bigger picture.

The following section describes six ‘types’ of Southern voice. There are further details on how the ‘types’ were identified in the Appendix.

¹¹ This concept was developed by the German sociologist, Max Weber.

¹² The photos are images of real CAFOD partners, who kindly allowed their photographs to be used for CAFOD’s work. In real life, the people in the photos might not necessarily agree with the views of the ‘type’ their image illustrates.



'Rom'

Bottom-up is best

Rom is the Programme Coordinator of an organisation helping women to set up small businesses in rural Cambodia. She is in her thirties and has been working in development for 11 years.

The MDGs were useful to Rom because they gave her a 'hook' for funding proposals – and she raised money for her organisation by linking their work with MDG 3 on gender equality. She does, however, criticise the MDGs for being a 'top-down' initiative, which was more important to donors than anyone else.

Through her practical experience, Rom has come to believe that real social change comes from the local, community level. She is passionate about 'bottom-up' approaches to development, and wants post-MDG planning to be rooted in the needs and priorities of poor people in their communities. For this reason, she wants the post-MDG planning process to be led by the South – with the framework developed in an inductive way, starting from the community level. Consultations and participatory methods should be used to reach vulnerable populations – and the goals of any future framework should be widely publicised for a general audience.

Rom believes the challenges and opportunities for development in Cambodia are very different from those found in other parts of the world – particularly in Africa. She wants a post-MDG framework to reflect the particular reality of her work, and does not tie to "one size fits all" targets.

For Rom, aid is a critical catalyst for development, which can facilitate the growth of small businesses like those of the women she works with. She wants a new framework that will mobilise international aid flows, but ensure that those working 'on the ground' have maximum decision-making power over how it is spent.



'Chuma'

Looking for action not words

Chuma is in his early forties, and is the Executive Secretary for an Episcopal Commission in Zimbabwe. He has worked in development for seven years.

For Chuma, there was nothing wrong with the original MDG targets *per se* – but he was very disappointed with the implementation of plans to achieve them. "The MDGs were a good thing in theory, but they have not had anything like the kind of impact that they promised". In his opinion, a future framework would take into consideration the practical side of making development possible. This means that issues such as the infrastructural availability of roads, schools and hospitals would be considered and included in development targets with aid made available to achieve these goals.

Chuma is concerned about the connections between the international sphere, national governments and communities in development – and thinks there should be better partnerships across all the different levels: "Turning words into action is about having strong working relationships from the top to the bottom". He thinks that if post-2015 planning was developed in genuine partnership between the North and South, there would be a chance of building a new framework that would really deliver development results. Chuma specially highlights the importance of delivering the total amount of aid promised at the Millennium Declaration as well as forgiving the long-standing debt of LICs.

Chuma sees an opportunity at regional level for strengthening these relationships. He thinks that it would be best to group countries by geographic regions, so that they could each come up with development plans that would be more appropriate to their own context – and would be in a better position to learn from their neighbours. "The region is the 'go-between' that mediates the national and global level. We need to facilitate these relationships."



'Sister Hope'

The planning pragmatist

Sister Hope works as the Health Coordinator of HIV and AIDS programmes in a diocese in south-eastern Nigeria. She has worked in development for 13 years.

Sister Hope thought that the MDGs were an important way to focus the minds of people working in development, and raise the profile of issues of poverty, especially at an international level. They created a common rallying point that helped to secure aid flows and debt relief, which have been vital in her country. Her main priorities are improving health, specially people living with HIV and AIDS, and vulnerable women, as well as education. She is sympathetic to conditionality measures, as long as they are used solely to ensure the accountability of governments.

The goals haven't always given the most accurate impression of how real change happens – “development is complex, and development goals give you very simple pictures”, she says. However, this simplified, basic picture has enabled the whole development community to see the fundamental issues of poverty that are common to people around the world. For Sister Hope, this is recognition of the inherent dignity of the human person, a key premise of Catholic Social Teaching.

Sister Hope feels that the most important element of a new framework is its substance and practicability – rather than the process of developing it. In an ideal world, Sister Hope would like to see developing countries taking an equal lead with the North in post-2015 planning. However, she is pragmatic:

“You have to look at the political reality, and the interests at play on all sides. People can use the power they have – both in the North and the South. So long as there is a framework at the end of it that really makes a difference to poor people, it's OK by me.”



'Amero'

International frameworks are a waste of time

Amero is in his late-fifties, and has been working in development for 35 years. He is currently head of the Justice and Peace Commission in a diocese in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Having fought on social justice campaigns and rights-based issues for many decades, Amero is profoundly suspicious of international agreements. He feels that they are always stacked in the interests of rich countries, and saw echoes of the Washington Consensus in the original MDGs.

Amero thinks that the MDGs changed the terminology that people used in development, but didn't have any real effect on what they actually did. “Everyone just did what they had always done – they just used different words to talk about it”. He thinks the MDGs created a donor-driven language that put the decision-making processes beyond the reach of ordinary poor people. He fears this is already happening again with post-2015 discussions.

Amero is afraid the North will work to dominate any new framework after 2015, and arrange it to suit their foreign policy objectives. He believes it is more important for countries to take responsibility for their own development through the stimulation of industry and production – and for development agencies to concentrate on promoting the pro-poor private sector, agricultural production and challenging trade rules that unfairly disadvantage the South – rather than giving aid.

He doesn't think it's worth the hassle of trying to agree a new international framework on development – as it would only be manipulated and exploited by elites, just like the original MDGs.



'Jamal'

Capitalise on MDG gains

In his early forties, Jamal is the Country Representative for the Pakistani branch of a major Christian development organisation. He has 14 years' experience in the development sector.

Jamal felt that the MDGs didn't have a huge relevance or impact in Pakistan, because foreign policy and security interests have been so dominant here (influenced by the "War on Terror", which started after the Millennium Declaration was signed) . However, he does think the MDGs have been useful in other development contexts, especially for advocacy, fundraising and benchmarking. His personal priorities in development are health and education – which he feels are at the root of other core development issues such as poverty and hunger.

Jamal is concerned that any post-2015 framework capitalises on the gains of the original MDG process. He feels that, given the huge amount of effort that has been made to orient development agencies around the MDGs and to ensure they are well-known throughout the development industry, it would be a waste to simply scrap them and start from scratch.

However, following the devastating flooding in Pakistan, Jamal is concerned that a post-2015 framework does take account of climate change issues. Overall, he would favour a revised version of the goals after 2015 – with some expanded, and others 'stripped down' or deleted. Jamal is wary of diluting the framework by extending it to special interest issues, but he does feel it needs to be updated so that is relevant in these changing times.

Jamal wants post-2015 planning to be co-led between North and South, in so far as there is capacity and interest to do so.



'Valeria'

The rights-based advocate

Valeria is Executive Director of a large Christian mission for the protection of indigenous rights, based in Colombia. She is in her early forties and has been working in development for 16 years.

From her work with indigenous communities, Valeria is highly aware of the cultural differences and diversity among people around the world. Equally though, she believes that we share fundamental rights as members of the human race. She sees a global framework as an opportunity to assert these rights and ensure that they are honoured by national governments. It is national governments, she says, who are responsible for guaranteeing and protecting the rights of poor and vulnerable communities.

Valeria was frustrated with the MDGs because she felt they were based on 'needs' rather than rights. This was particularly inappropriate in the context of her advocacy for indigenous people. It meant the protection of their land and natural resources was always at the whim of politics. Valeria felt the MDGs offered very little in terms of advancing her own work. "They were better than nothing," she says, "but they could have achieved so much more!".

Valeria's priority issues are the conservation of the environment; sustainable development and human rights – especially indigenous and minority rights. She sees 2015 as the chance to institute a new rights-based framework, which will constitute a more fundamental and compelling vision for a better world. She wants North and South to come together in developing it – so that all countries become invested in this radical new framework, and committed to making it a reality.

New framework, new context

So far, this study has described the views of 104 representatives from Southern civil society organisations in 27 developing countries across the world. Their views offer us a valuable insight into how the post-MDG debate might look from the perspectives of those in the South. However, these views do not exist in a vacuum. They emerge from – and must engage with – the broader development context, which differs significantly from the 1990s when the MDGs were formulated and signed.

While the core concerns of the MDGs – nutrition, health and education – remain as critical for development as ever, both the nature of these issues as development problems and the context in which they must be tackled has changed. The post-2015 discussions will likely be framed by a number of ‘new’ factors. Here we discuss just three of these: the post-crisis context; the shifting global picture on poverty; and the on-going ferment on indicators and institutional incentives.

1. Development in a post-crisis world

The current economic and political climate will make the run-up to 2015 very different from the run-up to 2000. An important difference is that the MDGs emerged in a relatively benign, stable and fiscally buoyant period. In contrast, any post-2015 framework would need to be adapted for the post-crisis context of instability and a fiscally and carbon-constrained world. The politics of development has also changed significantly since the Millennium Declaration was signed in 2000. There have been major changes in the global balance of power and international relations; new financing instruments (including climate financing, innovative taxes and private sector flows); and new competition for resources.

Whilst the MDGs emerged in a relatively benign, stable and fiscally buoyant period, a new framework would have to be developed at a time when the economic crisis has swept away old certainties; when the threat of climate change looms large; and when changes in global governance have diffused geopolitical power.

There is a sense that the economic crisis marked the beginning of a different world or ‘new normal’ in the post-crisis context – one of multiple, inter-linked crises. The conclusion of the US National Intelligence Council Report¹³, based on a widespread and large academic consultation, is sobering: “trends suggest major discontinuities, shocks and surprises”.

Nassim Nicholas Taleb (2007) has popularised the thesis of *Black Swans* – unexpected, unpredictable and high-impact events – such as the economic crisis itself. Taleb argued that human beings underestimate the likelihood and impact of hard-to-foresee events. However, we should not try and predict Black Swans but “invest in preparedness, not in prediction” (ibid.:208). In short, we can seek to identify a relatively small number of variables or drivers that will likely have a disproportionate influence over future ‘development’ and possible global future(s).

Simultaneously, there have been important changes in the geopolitical context for development more broadly, for example:

- **Global governance:** The shift from the G8 to the G20 means more representation and power for large developing nations (if not for low-income countries and Africa). However, changes in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, particularly changes to the way their heads and board members are selected, will likely be even more crucial for wider changes in governance.
- **New economic and social policies:** There is likely to be a greater tendency for developing countries to explore new development models, for example, approaches from China and the ‘Beijing Consensus’. The scale of food and financial crises has made a powerful case for better social protection systems, but building ownership in governments and civil societies remains a challenge in securing long-term budget allocations.

A further change is the continuing economic uncertainty caused by the crisis itself. It’s not clear when, or if, growth rates in the poorest countries will start to pick up, and whether the poorest people will benefit in time to prevent permanent damage to livelihoods and erosion of assets. In terms of recovery and the fiscal outlook, there are various concerns regarding recovery speed, fiscal space and impacts on public expenditure, social spending and debt service, which are highly country specific. Global growth is clear enough judging by the IMF World Economic Outlook estimates, and recovery is very much V-shaped in the emerging economies and in Africa too. Martin Wolf at the *Financial Times* and Moses Naim at Foreign Policy note the “LUV” recovery (the L-shaped recovery in Europe; U-shaped in the US, and V-shaped in big emerging economies). This implies a fiscally constrained, indebted North, in contrast to a dynamic set of larger emerging economies. Much depends on when the monetary and fiscal stimulus is withdrawn. In short, sustained recovery is not guaranteed.

¹³ 2008: xii

Economic uncertainty in donor countries is also leading to declining public support for aid budgets. This is an immediate concern for policy-makers over the next few years, and will be critical in determining the economic and social policy environment. Looking further ahead, there are some major 'game changers' beyond the recent economic crisis and food/fuel crisis (most notably climate change and demographic change/urbanisation to name just two) that will impact on the MDGs to 2015 and beyond.

One might also note the changing nature of aid itself in the rise of 'new' donors in Brazil, Russia, India, China and further afield; and debates on climate finance that may dwarf 'traditional aid' flows. These new donors have a different approach to aid than those from the OECD, and the long-standing consensus around terms like 'poverty reduction' has started to look vulnerable. Innovative financing is already changing the nature and structure of aid and post-bureaucratic age debates are very much appearing on donor radars. All of this speaks to a political and economic environment of increasing uncertainty over the next decade or more, and the likelihood that these will be times of "confronting the long crisis"¹⁴.

2. The shifting distribution of global poverty

The demographics of global poverty will also be different in the run-up to 2015 compared to the run-up to 2000. There have been changes in where poor people live geographically, which will have a significant impact on the design of development strategies.

The World Bank's most recent systematic estimate of global poverty on the international poverty line is that by Chen and Ravallion (2008). They updated the 1990 international poverty line (based on the average of a sample of developing countries) with a US\$1.25 new international poverty line. Data was then used to estimate trends and changes in the regional distributions of the world's poor between 1990 and 2005. They estimated that for 2005, 1.38 billion people lived below the new international poverty line of US\$1.25 per day. This number fell by 400 million between 1990 and 2005, from 1.81 billion in 1990.

Most of the world's poor (around a billion people) no longer live in Low Income Countries (LICs). 72 per cent of the world's poor now live in Middle Income Countries (MICs); with LICs accounting for 28 per cent, and fragile LICs just 12 per cent.

There was also a shift in the distribution of global poverty – from China, to India and sub-Saharan Africa. In 1990, 40 per cent of the global poor lived in China. In 2005, one third of the poor lived in India, and a further third in sub-Saharan Africa. If we look at millions of poor people (that is, not per cent in poverty), poverty has drastically fallen in China, but risen in absolute numbers in India and sub-Saharan Africa since 1990.

Looking ahead, if we take the US\$1.25 per day poverty line, the MDG target of halving poverty would mean 0.9 billion poor people in 2015 even if MDG 1 is met.¹⁵ If recovery from the current economic recession is rapid, there will be an estimated 918 million poor people in 2015, of which 40 per cent will be in sub-Saharan Africa. If recovery is weak, there will be 1.132 billion poor people in 2015, of which 421 million will be sub-Saharan African¹⁶.

The global distribution of the poor has also changed by Low Income Country (LIC)/Middle Income Country (MIC) classifications – with a shift towards the poor living in MICs. Over the last ten years, the number of low-income countries (LICs) has fallen from around 60 in the mid-1990s to just 38 in the most recent data just released for FY2011 (see Table 2).

¹⁴ Evans et al. 2010

¹⁵ The recent Ravallion and Chen (March 2010) estimate for the impact of the economic crisis on MDG 1 at US\$1.25 per day was to add 65 million more poor people in 2009 and 2010.

¹⁶ World Bank, 2010: 115

Table 1: Number of countries in each World Bank Category¹⁷

| Year | FY90 | FY95 | FY00 | FY05 | FY10 | FY11 |
|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Data basis | 1988 | 1993 | 1998 | 2003 | 2008 | 2009 |
| Low income | 48 | 58 | 61 | 60 | 43 | 39 |
| Lower middle income | 51 | 66 | 56 | 55 | 55 | 60 |
| Upper middle income | 26 | 37 | 36 | 37 | 46 | 50 |
| High income | 41 | 40 | 50 | 55 | 67 | 71 |

The largest number of LICs became MICs during the 2000s. This, of course, had immediate consequences for global poverty distribution. Of the total of 27 countries achieving MIC status, most notable in these terms was the re-classification of some very populous countries – India, Nigeria and Pakistan (China had already graduated in 1999). Two countries were close to the MIC/LIC threshold – the Ivory Coast and Pakistan. The latter has a significant impact on the global poverty distribution, and is technically under the LMIC threshold by just US\$20.

Most of the world's poor – around a billion people – no longer live in LICs. Only about 250 million to 300 million poor people live in LIC fragile states (see Table 3). The World Bank data suggests that 72 per cent of the world's poor now live in MICs – and 61 per cent of these live in MICs that are stable. LICs account for just 28 per cent of the world's poor, and fragile LICs just 12 per cent. Contrary to earlier estimates that a third of the world's poor live in fragile states, our estimate is about 23 per cent – and these are split fairly evenly between fragile LICs and fragile MICs. If Afghanistan, Iraq and Sudan together had a population in 2007 of 101 million, and we assumed a \$1.25 poverty headcount of 50 per cent (the average for fragile states), this might add another 50 million people, but this wouldn't radically change the global distribution by more than about 3 per cent.

In contrast, in 1990, with a more limited dataset, and thus some caution, we estimate that 93 per cent of the world's poor lived in LICs and just 7 per cent in MICs (see Table 3).

Table 2: Estimates of the global distribution of world's \$1.25 poor (per cent), 1990 versus 2007/08¹⁸

| | 1990 | 2007/08 |
|---|------|---------|
| Middle-income country (MIC) | 7 | 72 |
| MIC fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS) | 1 | 11 |
| MIC non-FCAS | 6 | 61 |
| Low-income country (LIC) | 93 | 28 |
| LIC FCAS | 13 | 12 |
| LIC non-FCAS | 80 | 16 |
| | | |
| FCAS, 43 countries | 14 | 23 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 13 | 27 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: Calculated by A. Sumner from World Development Indicators.

There are, of course, some *very* important caveats to these rather crude estimates.¹⁹ However, it does raise important questions, both about aid allocations, and what they seek to achieve. If the new bottom billion lives in middle-income

¹⁷ Source: World Bank: <http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-classifications/a-short-history>. Definitions of LICs and MICs are consistent over time in real terms.

¹⁸ Poverty data is for 2007 – as the most recent available year – or nearest year to 2007 in World Development Indicators (WDI); LIC/MIC status is based on World Bank country classifications for FY2010, which are based on 2008 data; Fragile and Conflict-affected States as list based on OECD (2010) 43 country compilation of the World Bank's Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) 2008 list; the Brookings Index of State Weakness in the Developing World 2008; and the Carleton University Country Indicators for Foreign Policy 2008 index. 1990 estimates should be treated with caution.

¹⁹ First, although we have used 2007/08 *or nearest year*, much data is not for 2007/08 and thus not strictly speaking comparable (please email authors for Excel spreadsheets). Second, these are not an exact estimate because there are missing data for some countries. Third, population and PPP data are always open to questioning accuracy. Fourth, poverty rates will have changed since 2007/08, not least due to the global economic crisis and thus the global distribution of the poor may also have changed.

countries, it might be that a broader range of development instruments (eg trade and tax policy, multilateral cooperation, climate policy) become more important than aid for development progress.

3. 'New' thinking on indicators and institutional incentives

There have been a wide range of initiatives seeking to rethink poverty and development indicators. One of the most significant of these has been the recent Sarkozy Commission, chaired by Amartya Sen, Joseph Stiglitz and Jean-Paul Fitoussi. This provided one of the strongest signposts of all, with its conclusion that there is a need "to shift emphasis from measuring economic production to measuring people's wellbeing"²⁰. The Sarkozy Commission regards its report as opening a discussion rather than providing the answers. Other initiatives include:

- **Broader human development**
The major review of 20 years of the Human Development Report and assessment of the Human Development Indices by the HDRO and the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) described the 'missing dimensions of human development'. These are dimensions important to poor people but with little or no data – focusing on decent employment, agency and empowerment, physical safety, the ability to go about without shame, and psychological and subjective wellbeing. This developed a new, multi-dimensional poverty index.
- **'Human/3D Wellbeing'** and poor people's own indicators. The ESRC Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) network has developed a 'human wellbeing' approach, which builds on human development and seeks to link together material, relational and subjective wellbeing and their interaction.
- **One-world indicators** – The OECD convened "Measuring the Progress of Societies Project", among others, has discussed broader definitions of progress such as sustainable wellbeing and intra-generational issues (poverty, inequality, etc). This would build on MDG 8²¹ and perhaps include climate adaptation as a focal point for building resilience at a variety of levels.

There are also a range of initiatives that are seeking to rethink institutional incentives beyond crude results-based management. For example:

- **Output-based aid approaches** (also known as 'cash-on-delivery'): These have been pioneered by the Centre for Global Development where financing depends on the delivery of key outputs (eg children completing primary education), rather than being provided in advance.
- **Post-bureaucratic approaches** (also known as 'choice architecture'): Developed by behavioural economists researching decision-making²². This approach is based on the idea that human beings are very much influenced by their context (eg 'default choices') and respond to that context or their 'choice architecture' so public policy should seek to design that context to 'nudge' people²³.
- **One-world or mutual solidarity triggers:** ie crisis-like trigger mechanisms. The idea that certain levels of need or deprivation trigger coordinated international and/or national responses. This has parallels to humanitarian approaches.

²⁰ 2009:10

²¹ To develop a global partnership for development.

²² See Ariely, 2008; Thaler and Sunstein, 2008

²³ Ibid., p. 5.

Trade-offs for post-MDG planning

Despite the mixed feelings that our research participants had about the original MDGs, there was an overwhelming view that there should be some kind of internationally agreed, overarching framework for development after they run out in 2015.

The question of what this framework should actually look like is not yet clear – and we have not attempted to provide all the answers through this research. We have aimed to describe the opinions, priorities and issues regarding post-MDG planning from the perspectives of civil society members in the South – but of course, their views will not be the only factors that need to be taken into account.

Those who seek to construct a new framework will have to balance a range of different factors in order to win broad agreement. Interpreting our research data against the broader context outlined in the previous section, here we seek to describe the trade-offs that any new post-MDG framework will have to balance²⁴.

1. Trade-offs in process

There will be trade-off in terms of the actual framework itself, but also in terms of the process through which it will be developed.

Inclusiveness versus momentum

Our research indicates a strong push for an open, inclusive and participatory process to decide what comes after the MDGs. Our respondents favoured a process where neither the South nor the North were 'in the lead', but where developed and developing countries work together in partnership to determine a global framework. But how could the international community really set about this in practice? Would a North-South partnership really be able to muster the political momentum to drive through agreement?

The trade-off here is between having a larger, more inclusive set of actors leading the process (which would be more legitimate), versus having a smaller, more powerful set of actors who would have a better chance of building momentum around a framework. The task of undertaking a fully inclusive global process – with meaningful consultation that includes poor people themselves – could be quite overwhelming. However, if the interests and views of 'big' actors are seen to take precedence, then post-MDG planning will be open to the accusation of the same elitism and Northern domination as the original MDGs.

Box 4: Potential ways of organising the post-2015 planning process

1. *Work through the UN system.*
2. *Start with a bottom-up exercise, such as a revamped "Voices of the Poor" study.*
3. *Work through the G20 or G77 structures.*
4. *Start with a range of participatory workshops, conferences and events.*
5. *Let a 'thousand flowers bloom', and ride the chaos.*

Taking enough time versus seizing the opportunity

It would be ambitious to construct a new global framework through a genuinely inclusive global process, and also broker international agreement on this framework in time to replace the MDGs in 2015. It might be better to take more time to consider a new framework, conduct a more comprehensive process around it, and allow the dust to settle on the MDGs before brokering a fresh agreement. This would allow greater space for taking stock of lessons from the original MDG process, and distance the new framework from disappointments that have been associated with the MDGs.

However, if there is a gap between the end of the MDGs and the beginning of a new framework, it would probably be much more difficult to get the process off the ground. For better or for worse, the MDGs have become a focal point for international development, and the structures around them offer a ready-made facility for forging a new agreement. Convening a discussion 'from scratch' in the future would require enormous political will and resources. These might never materialise – and we might end up with no framework for development at all.

Reflexivity versus the need to move forward

An interesting feature of our research was that sometimes, the same research participants gave different, even contradictory views when they were being interviewed versus when they were filling in a survey or participating in a workshop. This is not particularly surprising, given that participants were responding to our questions 'off the top of their heads' – and would be expected to change their minds as they had considered the issues more. It does indicate, however, that any consultation and planning for a new framework could not be expected to be a linear process. People will change their minds as they reflect on the issues, and respond to what other people say.

²⁴ See also Jahan, 2010; Manning, 2010; Vandemoortele, 2010

For those brokering a new framework, there will be a trade-off between facilitating this reflexivity and ensuring the process as a whole moves forward. It is a major complicating factor in any process that seeks to 'layer' agreement around it, with each aspect of the framework building on what has been agreed before.

2. Trade-offs in the actual framework

Concise versus comprehensive

A new framework will have to face the perennial problem for any global agreement about how to be as widely relevant as possible, while remaining pithy, memorable and coherent. The MDGs were criticised for neglecting a range of different issues – from disabilities to human rights – and a myriad interest groups will compete to see their issues included in a new framework. The MDGs were also criticised for being too long – with some suggesting the MDGs would have been better as just three or four goals. Our research participants were concerned about both issues. They wanted a new framework to be both more inclusive of different issues (89 per cent agreeing) and *also* more concise (75 per cent agreeing).

So, there will be a trade-off between ensuring that the diverse interests in development are included, and ensuring the new framework doesn't become a 'shopping list' of issues. An obvious fix for this problem is to re-categorise issues into broad groups, so more than one set of issues can be referred to at a single stroke. Of course, this runs the risk of making such categories less meaningful, and allowing different people to interpret the framework however it suits them.

Country-specific versus international

One of the strongest concerns of our research participants was to ensure that any new framework takes better account of country contexts than the original MDGs (94 per cent agreeing). This is borne out of the understanding that development priorities and issues are different in different places – and that the interventions that would be effective in those places are similarly diverse. Of course, at the same time there are many overlaps in the priorities of poor people around the world, and developing countries have much in common. Expressing these issues as international is a means to underline their importance, and create a rallying point for advocacy that cuts across borders.

Box 5: Potential ways to adapt a framework to country-contexts

1. *Have distinct frameworks at national or regional level.*
2. *Have a 'Russian doll' style framework, with local, regional and international versions nested inside each other.*
3. *Take advantage of new technology and have mass monitoring and ownership of progress (eg Oxfam's COOT system).*

A new framework will have to find a way to take account of the particular development contexts to be found throughout the world, without undermining the potential of the framework to connect and galvanise the development movement as a whole. The decision about how to balance the country-specific/international trade-off is a function of judgements we make over where change comes from in development. If we think that the primary drivers of development change are national governments or local civil society, then it may be best to locate a framework squarely at country level. If we think the primary drivers are international donors, trade policies and geopolitics, it may be best to locate it internationally.

Addressing causes versus finding consensus

The suggestion that the original MDGs did not address the structural causes of poverty was one of the most widespread critiques of the MDGs – and was something about half our research participants were concerned with. However, there are very different views on what those structural causes actually are – and it will be intensely challenging to broker a global agreement that identifies them.

Those seeking to agree a framework may wish to circumvent these issues by limiting its scope to a description of the changed world we want to see – the targets we hope to meet and indicators whereby we would recognise achieving them, much like the current MDGs. This approach avoids the question of how that change would come about – and ties into another critique identified by some of our research participants – that the MDGs meant little in terms of implementation 'on the ground'. Very possibly the original MDGs avoided such questions of implementation deliberately, aiming to constitute a set of questions about development, rather than prescribing the answers to them. Arguably, however, the way these questions were posed lent themselves to some solutions more than others.

Box 6: “MDOs rather than MDGs”

Ian Vale from the Poverty Eradication Network in Kenya suggested that one way to deal with the problem addressing the causes of poverty was to focus on the ‘Objectives level’ of a framework, rather than the ‘Goals’: “The Objectives give you a vision of what work towards the Goals really adds up to.” He described how working on ‘MDOs’ rather than MDGs, would enable development actors to focus on building the enabling environment that needs to be in place before change can happen.

A new framework would have to ensure that it frames the challenge of development so as to ensure that the solutions that present themselves as addressing it go beyond aid, and include levers such as trade policy, debt, the environment and foreign affairs. At the same time, it would need to avoid the political maelstrom that an attempt to definitively isolate the causes of poverty would potentially involve.

‘Ambition’ versus ‘realism’

The ‘ambition’ versus ‘realism’ trade-off must be faced in any planning exercise, but it will be particularly acute in a post-2015 framework because the nature of the ‘reality’ being dealt with is uncertain and in flux. While the original MDGs were formulated in a period of relative stability, a new framework will have to steer a path through an increasingly unpredictable world. The economic crisis has shaken confidence in conventional economic theory and practice, and the threat of climate change looms large on the horizon. If some of the predictions around climate change prove accurate, and action cannot be sufficiently mobilised to counter it, then we may spend the next decades ‘running to stand still’.

Given this situation, what kind of expectations should a new framework set up? If the framework sets out a series of targets, it might be ‘ambitious’ simply to hold ground on certain development indicators, and prevent the more extreme scenarios that have been posited regarding climate change. Some might find such a bleak projection rather uninspiring, however. It might be equally reasonable to set more optimistic targets, and rally a global expectation for development advancement in the coming decades. After all, without a vision of progress, it seems unlikely that progress would ever be possible.

A related dilemma here is the question of whether a new framework is conceptualised as in the long or short-term. A short-term framework like the original MDGs, spread over a 15 to 25 year period (most MDGs are based on the 1990 baseline), has the advantage of being reasonably well-matched to political horizons – and therefore easier for global leaders to sign up to. A longer term framework would be more challenging, and the 100-year proposal from one of our research participants (see Box 7) might be more challenging still.

Box 7: A long-term option – ‘Centennial Development Goals’

Tibor van Staveren from Progressio in Timor-Leste suggested that, after the MDGs, we should establish ‘Centennial Development Goals’ – to be hit in 2100, with Decennial Markers along the way. This would reflect the long-term nature of development engagement, and enable world leaders to get away from the relativistic nature of the original MDGs – which compared a present situation with a situation in the past. “People forget that the Millennium Development Goals are not an end-point – they are just one marker along the way. We need more markers, and we need to establish a forward-linkage between them”. Tibor proposed a Centennial Goal based on absolute figures, for example, “chronic malnutrition only happens in exceptional cases, no more than 1 per cent of any population anytime”. Decennial markers would mark intervals along the journey, and would use relative indicators (compared with previous years) to make them more politically palatable to global leaders.

Conclusion and recommendations

For all the diverse voices we have heard through this report, there is one clear, unequivocal message:

As a matter of urgency, the international community must kick-start a global process of deliberation to construct a new overarching framework for global development after 2015.

Our research indicates overwhelming demand from Southern civil society for some kind of post-MDG framework after 2015. Given the challenges of negotiating such a major international agreement, there is little time to lose.

We can also point to the following further conclusions and recommendations:

1. Qualitative evidence suggests that the prevailing Southern view is that the new framework should be developed jointly by those in the North and South. There are robust calls for an inclusive, participative process.
 - *Policy-makers, politicians and leaders in both **North and South** should work together in partnership to lead the new framework.*
2. While there are some points of consensus (for example, that there should be *some kind* of post-2015 framework), there is little Southern agreement on what exactly that framework should look like.
 - *Everyone with a stake in development should prepare for a **passionate and demanding debate**; reconciling opposing views will be challenging.*
3. Resolving the debate will require compromises. Those brokering agreement need to address the core concerns of those in the South – particularly on the contextual specificity of development; as well as political exigencies.
 - *Development thinkers, practitioners, academics and policy-makers must **address the trade-offs** a new framework must contend with, especially that of formulating a framework that takes account of **country context**; and yet galvanises development internationally.*
4. Our research indicates a shift in priorities from the South. As well as the enduring concerns of poverty, hunger, health and education, the environment and climate change were seen as among the most important issues for a new framework.
 - *As well as the core development concerns and issues neglected by the MDGs, a new framework must **make the environment and climate change a priority.***

Appendix

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Acronyms

| | |
|---------|--|
| AIDS | Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome |
| ART | Antiretroviral Therapy |
| AVSI | Association of Volunteer Service International |
| CADEC | Catholic Development Commission |
| CAFOD | Catholic Agency for Overseas Development |
| CCJ | Centro de Capacitação da Juventude |
| CCJP | Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace |
| CDRN | Community Development Resource Network |
| CENDA | Centro de Comunicación y Desarrollo Andino |
| CEPAS | Comisión Episcopal de Pastoral Social Cáritas |
| CEUDES | Corporación Unidades Democráticas para el Desarrollo |
| CIMI | Conselho Indigenista Missionário |
| CIR | Conselho Indígena de Roraima |
| CJPC | Catholic Justice and Peace Commission |
| CJPS | Center for Justice and Peace Studies |
| CODACOP | La Corporación de Apoyo a Comunidades Populares |
| CPIA | Country Policy and Institutional Assessment |
| CPT-BA | Comissão Pastoral da Terra da Bahia |
| CRS | Catholic Relief Services |
| CSO | Civil society organisation |
| DAM | Dhaka Ahsania Mission |
| DSA | Development Studies Association |
| EADI | European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes |
| ESRC | Economic and Social Research Council |
| FAR | Field Anomaly Relaxation |
| FCAS | Fragile and conflict-affected states |
| GCAP | Global Call to Action Against Poverty |
| HACC | HIV/AIDS Coordinating Committee |
| HDRO | Human Development Report Office |
| HIV | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |
| HOCADEO | Hoima Caritas Development Organisation |
| IDS | Institute of Development Studies |
| IHCA | Instituto Histórico Centroamericano |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| KENDREN | Kenya Debt Relief Network |
| KMSS | Karuna Myanmar Social Services |
| LIC | Low-income country |
| MARP | Most at Risk Population |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goal |
| MIC | Middle-income country |
| NCCJP | National Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| OPHI | Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative |
| OSRA | Oromo Self Reliance Association |
| PANE | Poverty Action Network in Ethiopia |
| SCC | Salvation Centre Cambodia |
| SSOPO | Southern Sudan Older People's Organization |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNAC | União Nacional de Camponeses/National Peasants' Union |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| WDI | World Development Indicators |

Developing the typology of Southern perspectives

The process for developing the types took inspiration both from CAFOD's previous work identifying 'types' of Catholics in England and Wales, and from a method known as Field Anomaly Relaxation (FAR). FAR is typically used when modelling scenarios for future planning. It identifies key 'drivers' for future change, and looks at how these might be combined to think through different scenarios. It might not be possible to combine certain drivers in an internally-consistent way (for example, a combination of high economic growth with high energy prices and high levels of political instability might be judged internally inconsistent). So, the research method works to deduce scenarios by combining drivers that could plausibly exist together.

For this research, instead of identifying the 'drivers' of future change, we identified the 'drivers' of people's opinions on what should come after the MDGs. An analysis of our qualitative research data generated six key issues:

- Were the MDGs a good thing?
- Where is the real power?
- What are the priority issues in development?
- Where should the lead on post-MDG planning come from?
- How similar is development across the world?
- What are key drivers of development?

The matrix below outlines simplified possible views on each issue:

| Issue | View | View | View | View |
|--|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| <i>Were the MDGs a good thing?</i> | No | Mixed feelings | Yes | *** |
| <i>Where is the real power?</i> | Local, community level | With national sovereign governments | At international, global level | All levels |
| <i>What are the priority issues in development?</i> | Climate change and the environment | Poverty and hunger | Health/education | Other |
| <i>Where should the lead on post-MDG planning come from?</i> | The South should lead | There should be a partnership between North and South | The North should lead | There should be no post-2015 planning |
| <i>How similar is development across the world?</i> | Every country context is distinct and different | There are some commonalities, especially at regional level | There are core, priority issues for almost all poor and vulnerable people | *** |
| <i>What are the key drivers of development?</i> | Aid/debt | Trade and the private sector | Foreign policy and security interests | Combination of factors |

Using our qualitative data, we then looked at how these views might realistically be combined. These two tables outline combinations of views in our six types:

'Rom'



'Amero'



'Sister Hope'



| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| <i>Were the MDGs a good thing?</i> | Mixed feelings | No | Yes |
| <i>Where is the real power?</i> | Local, community level | At local, community level | At international, global level |
| <i>What are the priority issues in development?</i> | Poverty and hunger | Inequality and income redistribution / Climate change and the environment | Health, education and gender issues |
| <i>Where should the lead on post-MDG planning come from?</i> | The South should lead | There should be no post-2015 planning | The North should lead |
| <i>How similar is development across the world?</i> | Every country context is distinct and different | Every country context is distinct and different | There are core, priority issues for almost all poor and vulnerable people |
| <i>What are key drivers of development?</i> | Aid/debt | Trade and the private sector | Aid/debt |

'Chuma'



'Valeria'



'Jamal'



| | | | |
|--|--|---|---|
| <i>Were the MDGs a good thing?</i> | Mixed feelings | Mixed feelings | Yes |
| <i>Where is the real power?</i> | All levels | With national sovereign governments | All levels |
| <i>What are the priority issues in development?</i> | Health and education | Environment and human rights | Health and education |
| <i>Where should the lead on post-MDG planning come from?</i> | There should be a partnership between North and South | There should be a partnership between North and South | There should be a partnership between North and South |
| <i>How similar is development across the world?</i> | There are some commonalities, especially at regional level | Every country context is distinct and different | There are core, priority issues for almost all poor and vulnerable people |
| <i>What are key drivers of development?</i> | Aid/debt | Combination of factors | Foreign policy and security interests |

Original survey – distributed to CAFOD partners

Section A: About you

Name: Is it a partner of CARITAS?
 Email: Is it a faith-based organisation?
 Job title: Nationality:
 Organisation: Gender:
 Which country do you work in? How long have you worked in the development
 Is this organisation a partner of CAFOD? sector?

Section B

Question 1. To what extent do you agree with these statements? Please mark with an 'X'.

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Slightly disagree | Neutral | Slightly agree | Strongly agree | Comment |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|---------|----------------|----------------|---------|
| "The MDGs were a good thing" | | | | | | |
| "Development became a higher priority because of the MDGs" | | | | | | |
| "The MDGs improved the effectiveness of aid in my country" | | | | | | |
| "The MDGs led to improvements in my government's planning" | | | | | | |
| "The MDGs were more important to donors than they were to anyone else" | | | | | | |
| "The MDGs neglected critical issues in development" | | | | | | |
| "The MDGs have distracted people from the structural causes of poverty" | | | | | | |
| "The MDGs have been useful as lobbying tools for my organisation" | | | | | | |
| "Evaluations of the MDGs will be a true indication of whether aid has worked in my country" | | | | | | |
| "The MDGs have contributed to the achievement of greater gender equality in my country" | | | | | | |
| "The MDGs have meant that there is a greater focus on addressing HIV and AIDS-related issues in my country" | | | | | | |
| "The MDGs have been useful in terms of reducing conflict and building peace in my country" | | | | | | |

Question 2. After 2015, when the MDGs run out, should there be another overarching, internationally agreed framework for global development? Please mark with an 'X'.

| Yes | No | Comment |
|-----|----|---------|
| | | |

Question 3. Which of these three possible alternatives for what could come after the MDGs best represents your view? Please mark with an 'X'.

| “After 2015 we should keep the existing MDG targets and extend the deadlines for reaching them” | “After 2015 we should expand and develop the existing MDG framework” | “After 2015 we need a new and different framework for development” | Other (please describe) |
|---|--|--|-------------------------|
| | | | |

Question 4. To what extent do you agree with these statements? Please mark with an 'X'.

| Statement | Strongly disagree | Slightly disagree | Neutral | Slightly agree | Strongly agree | Comment |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|---------|----------------|----------------|---------|
| “The process of deciding what comes after the MDGs will be as important as the framework itself” | | | | | | |
| “Post-MDG planning should be led by the South” | | | | | | |
| “Whatever comes after the MDGs should take a target-based approach.” | | | | | | |
| “Whatever comes after the MDGs needs to take better account of different country contexts” | | | | | | |
| “Whatever comes after the MDGs needs to be more inclusive of different development issues ” | | | | | | |
| “Whatever comes after the MDGs needs to be more concise as a framework of issues” | | | | | | |

Question 5. What three issues would be your highest priorities in a post-2015 framework?

Question 6. Do you have any other comments on what should come after the MDGs?

Many thanks indeed for sharing your views.

CAFOD

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CAFOD is the official overseas development and relief agency of the Catholic Church in England and Wales. Registered charity no. 285776

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