

A need for new narratives

The MDGs post-2015

The economic, food and climate crises are making it even harder to achieve the MDGs. But they also provide a unique opportunity to formulate a new narrative to guide global development after 2015.

It is notoriously difficult to turn around an ocean liner. With just seven years to go before 2015, the benchmark year for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), it is clear that the development community will have to address a similar challenge. Faced with the prospect of failing to deliver on many of the MDGs, how can we speed up the process of eradicating poverty beyond 2015? To address this question, more than 100 international development experts gathered at the High Level Policy Forum 'After 2015: Promoting pro-poor growth after the MDGs' held in Brussels on 23 June 2009.

In the two weeks leading up to the event, in its role as preferred media partner for the policy forum, *The Broker* started gathering inputs from across the world, based on Andy Sumner's article 'Beyond 2015: rethinking development policy' (*The Broker*, issue 14). The contributions to the online debate, as well as blog postings by speakers at the forum, can be found at www.thebrokeronline.eu. This article takes stock of the discussion so far, and the new thinking on post-2015 that is unfolding.

Ethical imperative

Within the aid system, few policy ambitions are more widely discussed than the MDGs. Not only have the MDGs 'changed the talk', as David Sogge says, they have done more than just that. Charles Gore (UNCTAD) describes them as 'part of the emergence of a global consciousness in which people all over the world are seen as living in a single social space and the nature of their well-being is compared'. This impact on the normative level, observed Sakiko Fukuda-Parr (New School, New York), means that the MDGs have become an 'ethical imperative' that has been internalized worldwide.

Nevertheless, many forum participants were critical of the impact and the future of the MDGs. With regard to impact,

Summary

- The MDGs have resulted in a global ethical imperative to eradicate poverty, but positive impacts on the lives of the poor have not been rigorously proven.
- A new narrative is needed to guide global development policies, including an MDG-plus agenda, after 2015.
- This should combine a global orientation with more locally defined policies and definitions of poverty.
- Rights, justice and equity, rather than aid and charity, must be at the core of new global development policies.
- The development community needs to start building alliances with human rights and environmental organizations and trade unions.

significant progress has undoubtedly been made – due in particular to the rapid pace of development in China and India. But a calculation by Emmanuel Frot (Stockholm School of Economics) shows that in sub-Saharan Africa, using 2005 as a base year, and given past poverty reduction performance, it will take another 131 years to reduce 1990 levels of poverty by half. But a more fundamental criticism concerns process and approach. Among the forum participants there was a general feeling – which is also evident in the online comments and blogs – that it is high time for a new paradigm, or a new narrative, to guide development policy post-2015.

Beyond development

'The world has changed dramatically, as have the assumptions upon which the MDGs were based', writes Brian Pratt (INTRAC). The economic crisis has driven home the message that growth cannot be taken for granted in either the developed or the developing world. The economic crisis is just one of many pressing issues that demand a new narrative: climate change, food and resource shortages, and the so-called 'multi-polarity' of our new world. Together, these crises have provided a unique momentum for change, the direction of which Enrico Giovannini (OECD) succinctly summed up as follows: 'To find a new narrative we need to go beyond the

By **Ellen Lammers**, research editor for *The Broker*.



'Le dialogue' by Dominique Bovy, Geneva, Switzerland.

concept of development. In this interrelated world we must head for an integrated approach, towards more equitable and sustainable well being in a global context'.

Leaving behind Washington plus

Before discussing the proposals for a new narrative, it is important to note that the MDGs themselves do not represent a development paradigm. They are a set of indicators embedded in a paradigm, that is, the neoliberal Washington Consensus, including its 'plus' version, the Consensus with 'a human face' that emphasizes social investments. Yet the current development paradigm still promotes close integration with the global economy through deep liberalization, both at and within national borders.

David Sogge writes that Western donors 'continue marching in lockstep to the beat of Washington's market fundamentalist drums', and have good reason to do so if we look at the direction of financial flows. In 2008, the recorded flow of finance from sub-Saharan Africa to rich countries,

net of aid and foreign direct investment, was a breathtaking US\$126 billion. Sogge notes that 'the MDGs have a compensatory function, something with echoes of the past. The basic relationship of feudalism was predation compensated by charity'.

But if we are to leave behind a development policy guided by the Washington Consensus, what alternative do we have to offer that holds more promise? Several new perspectives were put forward in Brussels, which essentially involve a combination of a more global orientation – including setting up innovative global institutions – and a localization of development policies, or a true bottom-up approach.

Perspective 1: Global sustainable development

Charles Gore proposes that the MDGs should be re-embedded within a new paradigm based on global sustainable development. The challenge of finding effective and fair ways of mitigating and adapting to climate change, while at the same time reducing income inequalities, 'is staring us in the face now, but will be shouting at us after 2015'. A new paradigm must integrate the earth's ecosystem – supported by Andreas Rechkemmer (IHDP, Bonn) and others calling for green development policies – and will also require new global institutions. These can become responsible for innovative sources of finance, such as taxes on global transactions. Such taxes could serve as predictable redistributive instruments to replace the unpredictable aid flows, said Claire Melamed (ActionAid). She used the term 'global welfare state' to indicate what we should be working towards.

Productive capacities

Charles Gore stressed that a future 'global sustainable development' paradigm cannot do without a focus on productive capacities. Perhaps 'the most important historical lesson of the last 50 years' has been that substantial poverty reduction occurs in countries that develop their productive capacities and at the same time expand employment opportunities. Several online contributors, including Rajwant Sandhu (Ministry of Panchayati Raj, New Delhi), Lawrence Bategeka (EPRC, Uganda) and Osmund Uzor (University of Bremen), agree: any future MDG framework must focus on the fact that people in developing countries need jobs. This brings us to one of the dysfunctional outcomes of the MDGs: many young people, even university graduates, cannot find work. Rajwant Sandhu stresses the need for skills development programmes. Andrew Fischer warns against co-opting of this part of the poverty agenda in (Washington Consensus-inspired) strategies that 'focus excessively on education or microcredit, while neglecting employment generation, particularly employment with decent wages and with terms negotiated by strong labour organizations'.

Revisiting international trade policy will also be essential, say Bategeka and others, in order to remedy the MDGs' major oversight, which Uzor describes as 'a focus on social goals without addressing the macro-economic and growth problems in sub-Saharan Africa'.



Perspective 2: Rights and equity

At the Brussels forum many participants argued that rights, justice and equity should be central to the new paradigm, rather than aid and charity. The urgency of such a change was highlighted by Louis Kasekende (African Development Bank), who pointed to the growing social tensions across Africa as a result of growing income inequalities. In her contribution to the online debate, Heather Grady (Ethical Globalization Initiative) noted the benefits of meshing the internationally agreed human rights framework with the MDGs. That would ‘put the spotlight on discrimination, for example, which accounts for the social exclusion that many see as the most significant gap in the current MDG process’.

No power over, but power with

A focus on rights perhaps comes closest to the issue of power relations – one that should be central to the post-2015 narrative, but which received little attention in Brussels. Frans Bieckmann asks, ‘How do we position our idealistic crusade within the much broader global environment where powerful, and mostly hostile, interests dominate the scene?’ Several online contributors address this subject. David Sogge urges the ‘after-2015’ discussion to go beyond a focus on the poor, ‘to grapple with the skewed relationships that continually reproduce poverty’. Along the same lines, Fischer writes that the current development paradigm ‘has drawn attention away from the responsibility of rich countries for the poverty in poor countries, not simply in terms of the altruistic prerogative to provide aid, but more importantly in terms of actually causing poverty’. James Taylor (CDRA, South Africa) adds a philosophical perspective: ‘The dominant ways in which humankind organizes itself have a strong tendency to impoverish. I use the word “impoverish” as opposed to “poverty” to focus on the act of making poor rather than on its result’.

Taylor believes that the MDGs only have a chance of being realized if they are pursued through new forms of organization, ‘based on principles and practices that do not detract, diminish, exclude and control’. New development policies must start not with the poor but with the rich ... they must use ‘power with’, not ‘power over’ in order to include and maximize the potential of all people.

Perspective 3: Local perspectives

If development processes have to change towards ‘power with’, then what urgently needs to be addressed is the fact that the MDGs underemphasize poor people’s agency. In his article ‘After 2015’, Andy Sumner asked whether the focus of an MDG-plus agenda should be on global or local indicators. The forum participants were clearly in favour of ‘localizing’ the MDGs. Erick Roth (Catholic University, La Paz) endorsed the idea of ‘human-centred indicators’ that reflect individual or group aspirations, expectations, beliefs, attitudes and values. Ali Abdel Gadir Ali (API, Kuwait) reminds us that Amartya Sen’s ‘freedom approach’ to development is the supposed philosophical foundation of the

MDGs: to judge the welfare of people in terms of ‘substantive capabilities to choose a life one has reason to value’. Grady agrees: ‘In my years of working at the coalface of development in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, I found that vulnerability, risk, security, dignity and voice were more relevant for measuring the well-being of a household than the sectoral divisions we use with the MDG approach’.

Replacing the current impersonal and aggregated indicators with indicators of well-being, does run some risks, Giovannini warns: ‘Governments will misuse them if they are too softly defined. Politicians always pick the data that suit them best’.

Open questions for the future

One question that remains open is how to include new concepts that reflect people’s daily realities – such as well-being, or civic driven change – into a new development narrative, as well as how to translate these concepts into ‘hard criteria’ and practical strategies. Another ‘process’ area up for debate is how to do this in an open and inclusive manner. It is high time that the development community started to create ‘coalitions of the willing’, together with environmental and human rights organizations and trade unions. And finally, how can such local strategies be matched with the truly global governance orientation that we must strive for?

In moving from process to impact, many argue that the MDGs have been too much of a counting and accounting exercise. Not only did the many cost analyses often rely on unrealistic assumptions, comment Frot and Bategeka, but this approach also led many to believe that all that was required to achieve the MDGs was more aid money. For Stephan Klasen (University of Göttingen) the ‘too literal’ interpretation of the MDGs – targeting, costing, implementing – was ‘a step backwards rather than a step forward’. So are there other ways to measure progress and overcome the quantity–quality divide? New technologies (web 2.0, social media) that open up exciting new avenues for gathering data and translating them into new knowledge deserve our interest. Perhaps such methods can help to focus future policies on the question of ‘how we get there’. They would be a welcome change from the outcome focus that has characterized the MDGs so far, and which has led to their being dubbed the ‘Most Distractive Gimmicks’. ■

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See www.eadi.org for many interesting background papers prepared for the Brussels forum, as well as interviews and videos of the event.

👉 For a longer version of this article, the contributions to the online debate and the blogs postings quoted here, and to join the debate on the MDGs post-2015, visit www.thebrokeronline.eu.