



2015 On Post-MDG International Development Goals

Southern Voice



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POST-MDGs
Issues for the Future

Southern Voice Occasional Paper 5

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Preface

The *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs) constitute one of the ideas of the United Nations (UN) that has literally changed the world. Conversely, the actual state of delivery of the MDGs continues to remain a matter of intense debate. With the 2015 deadline drawing near, the international development community remains preoccupied with reflecting on 'MDGs' future'. Indeed, an explicit understanding seems to have emerged that the MDGs are going to continue beyond 2015 in one form or another. Consequently, questions are being asked about the processes that are being followed to decide on the substance of the post-2015 international development goals as well as about what would be their distinguishing features.

The *Southern Voice on Post-MDG International Development Goals* is a network of 48 think tanks from Africa, Latin America and South Asia that has identified a unique space and scope for itself to contribute to this post-MDG dialogue. By providing quality data, evidence and analyses that derive from research in the countries of the global South, these think tanks seek to inform the discussion on the post-2015 framework, goals and targets, and to help give shape to the debate itself. In the process, *Southern Voice* aims to enhance the quality of international development policy analysis, strengthen the global outreach capacity of Southern think tanks, and facilitate professional linkages between these think tanks and their respective governments.

The initiative emerged in Cape Town, South Africa in June 2012 at a meeting of awardees of the Think Tank Initiative (TTI), a multi-donor facility managed by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), in Ottawa, Canada. Since then, the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) has further conceptualised the initiative and prepared its programme document through a consultative process with the other think tanks. The initiative was launched to various stakeholder groups including the larger development community in November 2012. Subsequently, CPD organised an expert group meeting in Dhaka on 11-13 January 2013, to set the agenda for the initiative. The key outcome of the Dhaka meeting was captured in the document *First Approximations on Post-MDG International Development Goals*, which was forwarded as a contribution to the High-Level Panel appointed by the UN Secretary-General to draft the post-2015 framework.

It is reckoned that the guiding spirit and initiative of the programme will rest with the Southern think tanks, but it will operate as an *open platform*, where concerned institutions and individuals from both South and North will interact with the network members. This approach will help to enhance the quality of international development policy analysis, strengthen the global outreach capacity of Southern think tanks, and facilitate professional linkages among these institutions as well as with their respective governments.

Southern Voice Occasional Papers are based on inputs received at various platforms of the initiative. The present issue of the Paper includes contributions made at the third session on "Post-MDGs: Issues for the Future" of the Dhaka Expert Group Meeting (11-13 January 2013). The publication is a collection of five presentations and interventions which addresses a number of emerging issues that need to be included in the post-2015 agenda. The contributions, besides highlighting the difficult policy choices to be made in the future, focuses on the country experience of Pakistan, as well as issues for Southern countries in general, and fragile states in particular. The need to integrate science and technology issues in the post-2015 agenda has been underscored in one of the pieces included.

In connection with the launch of the *Southern Voice on Post-MDG International Development Goals*, I would like to thank *Professor Mustafizur Rahman*, Executive Director, *Ms Anisatul Fatema Yousuf*, Director, Dialogue and Communication, *Dr Fahmida Khatun*, Research Director and *Dr Khondaker Golam Moazzem*, Additional Research Director of the CPD for their support in getting the *Southern Voice* off the ground. I recall with thanks

that a number of CPD colleagues have worked hard in rapporteuring the sessions of the Dhaka Expert Group Meeting and preparing the transcriptions of the presentations and comments.

On this occasion, I would like to recall with gratitude the contribution of *Dr Peter Taylor*, Programme Leader, Think Tank Initiative (TTI) in shaping the *Southern Voice on Post-MDG International Development Goals* and taking the initiative forward.

I would also like to acknowledge with thanks the contribution of *Ms Mahenaw Ummul Wara*, Research Associate, CPD for coordinating the publication process and *Mr Avra Bhattacharjee*, Deputy Director, Dialogue and Outreach, CPD for designing the cover of the series.

I hope the engaged readership will find the document stimulating.

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Post-MDGs

Issues for the Future

Ambiguities, Difficult Decisions and the Need for Convergence

*A B Mirza Azizul Islam**

As is often the case in any discourse on development, there can be significant differences of views among commentators. I will limit myself to a few points that I consider important.

First of all, I would like to submit that 'post-MDG' does not mean that MDG 1 has become irrelevant. Considering the fact that in many countries many of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have not been achieved in terms of many indicators, we need to continue to emphasise the need for fulfillment of the targets that were set up in MDG 1. Before embarking upon a new post-MDG agenda, an objective review of the causes underlying the failure to achieve the relevant targets should be undertaken. A diagnosis is needed about the extent to which the failure is attributable to omissions by national governments and/or to inadequate international cooperation. The diagnosis should be accompanied by implementable prescriptions for future corrective actions.

My second point is that in whatever form the post-MDG agenda comes – either as a reiteration of the MDGs and emphasis on the fulfillment of unfulfilled targets or a whole new development framework – we have to remember that there will be some sort of global targets. The question that will have to be resolved is: how do we allocate these global targets across countries? For example, in the case of environmental sustainability, if carbon emissions have to be reduced to fulfill some global target, should a country like Bangladesh give a high priority to the reduction of emissions at the cost of its economic development when its per capita income is one of the lowest in the world? What sort of responsibilities should countries like China and India bear, given their high rates of economic growth but having per capita income at considerably lower levels compared to many developed countries?

The third point that I would like to make is that development is a multi-dimensional concept in terms of its contents and connotations. The fundamental problem we face is that in many instances there may be complementarity among various elements, but there are also trade-offs. In fixing the targets or goals, how do you deal with the potential trade-offs? To provide a simple illustration, mention has been made that countries need to give higher allocations to science and technology in their developmental budgets. But if you give this suggestion to any finance minister, the first question he or she is going to ask is: "But where do I reduce allocations, given that there is a pressing need to increase public expenditure on infrastructure, health and education?" If you cannot provide an answer to that question, simply suggesting that allocations to science and technology, innovation, and information and communication technology (ICT) should be increased will not help policymakers. The question is especially relevant because the international community has blatantly failed to meet the targets for development assistance.

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The fourth important issue is the fragility of states. The number of fragile states has increased in recent times, especially in the wake of Arab Spring. Now what sort of governance should we expect these fragile states to deliver? Even assuming a normally functioning state, what should the content of governance be? This latter issue alone would initiate considerable discussion. To monitor achievements in sound governance or good governance in the post-MDG era, we need to agree on some measurable indicators. The first question here is: how should we define the content of good governance? Something to remember is that the link between good governance and economic development is tenuous at best. One can always argue that, other things remaining the same, better governance will lead to better development. But look at the empirical experiences. A fairly comprehensive study, sponsored by the United Nations (UN), found that the link between governance and economic development in some East and Southeast Asian countries is rather ambiguous. The study demonstrated that some countries with excellent governance delivered high rates of economic growth, while others with relatively poor governance delivered equally high rates of growth.

Fifth, since the post-MDG agenda is going to be based on a global resolution agreed upon within the UN, we need to delineate the boundary between national and international actions. Obviously some of the areas will be more amenable to international cooperation and actions, and in other areas, action will primarily be the responsibility of national governments. Specifically in the area of governance, what sort of international action can be taken to improve a country's governance, and how should international action and interference in the domestic affairs of a nation be distinguished? We evidently have to select the content as well as indicators carefully.

The sixth point I would like to make is that along with ongoing discussions on the post-MDG agenda, there are a number of other processes that are going on in the UN system. For example, there is the process of financing for development, there is the process for enhancing aid effectiveness, there is the process for environmental sustainability, and so on. How do you bring about convergence among these processes? One fundamental problem is that at the UN governments are represented by different ministries in different processes, and in most cases, particularly for developing countries, there is not enough coordination within the governments. That creates an obstacle to bringing about convergence and coherence among various processes.

One final point is that the Southern Voice on Post-MDG International Development Goals initiative is a non-governmental process. The question here is: how do we build bridges among diverse non-governmental, governmental and intergovernmental processes? After all, it is the intergovernmental process that will make the final decision on the new agenda.

Pakistan's Progress on the MDGs and Key Issues for Going Forward

*Vaqar Ahmed**

An appraisal of the recent performance of the MDGs in Pakistan conducted by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) showed that six of the indicators are ahead of target and two are on track, while four were ranked low in terms of achievement. There are 20 indicators on which Pakistan's progress is lagging, including one of the most important – infant mortality.

Looking deeper at each goal gives a more detailed picture of the status of Pakistan's progress on the MDGs. Selected important indicators for eradicating extreme poverty and hunger (MDG 1) showed that progress on all three of its targets is lagging. Similarly, achieving universal primary education (MDG 2) has been a challenge, as progress on its targets is also lagging.

Looking at performance on promoting gender equality and women's empowerment (MDG 3), progress on the first three indicators – the gender parity index for primary, secondary and tertiary education, the gender parity index for youth literacy, and the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector – is slow. However, Pakistan is ahead of target regarding the proportion of seats held by women in the National Assembly.

With regard to reducing child mortality (MDG 4), the most problematic indicator is the infant mortality rate, which is going off track. Notably, there were 25,000 instances of refusal of immunisation against polio in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which has affected the national coverage rate.

As to other health-related goals, all five indicators for improving maternal health (MDG 5) are lagging. In combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases (MDG 6), Pakistan is ahead of target for HIV prevalence among 15 to 24 year-old pregnant women and vulnerable groups as well as for the proportion of tuberculosis cases detected and cured. However, the country is lagging on targets for malaria risk and incidence of tuberculosis.

In ensuring environmental sustainability (MDG 7), Pakistan is on track with land protected for wildlife conservation and ahead of target on the use of cleaner fuels. However, it lags on many other important environmental indicators, such as the proportion of the population with access to basic sanitation and the percentage of forest cover on farmland.

With respect to developing a global partnership for development (MDG 8), Pakistan has reduced traditional aid dependence, but its tendency toward budgetary mismanagement keeps it going back to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Trade-related partnerships are being fostered and foreign investment in infrastructure is planned, although the latter may not materialise soon, given the growing uncertainty caused by national elections coming in May 2013.

When we look at overall progress on these eight goals, there are three issues that come to mind. The first is the disconnect between macroeconomic and microeconomic performance in Pakistan. For example, education and health indicators may be increasing in absolute terms, but long-term economic growth continues to decline, contrary to most economic theories. Also, investment

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allocations are greater, but disbursement and capacity to utilise funds efficiently in the education and health sectors are declining. A 2012 study commissioned by Pakistan's Planning Commission to evaluate the Public Sector Development Programme showed that out of every 100 rupees spent for development purposes, 38 do not reach the poor.

The second issue is how inequality is viewed in the country. Disparities in income, consumption and opportunities are three examples of rural inequality. In rural areas, per capita income is rising, but there is a lack of access to basic services. There is also a lack of capacity to manage reforms, which inhibits development. Thus, income growth is not translating into empowerment in rural areas.

In urban settings, Pakistan's fragmented zoning has led to the malfunction of cities and stifling of domestic commerce. In many South Asian countries, domestic commerce accounts for more than 15 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP). The high rate of migration to Pakistani cities is overloading urban infrastructure and threatening health and environmental indicators.

The third issue regards who implements reforms. Having capacity building programmes without comprehensive civil service reforms and initiating half-hearted civil service reforms without accountability reforms has resulted in the failure to deliver outcomes. Without such reforms, Pakistan has seen the time period of the MDGs be wasted.

Going forward, Pakistan faces numerous challenges in meeting the MDGs. First is the imbalance in economic growth and social welfare across the country. We know, for example, that income and consumption in the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan are not at the same levels as in prosperous Punjab and Sindh. In addition, this is a country that is facing back-to-back crises due to climate change, with floods each year since 2009. Its fragile border with Afghanistan has led to an increase in expenditure on the war on terror. This is also an election year during which all political parties will be repositioning. It is hard to envision the future with a government in transition.

However, there are good things to celebrate. There has been a move toward devolution with the transfer of fiscal powers to the provinces through the 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. Pakistan also has one of the largest social protection schemes in South Asia – the Benazir Income Support Programme – although implementation is uncoordinated and the programme has low impact due to lack of capacity at the local level.

In addition to inequality, there are three issues that get diluted during macro-level discussions. First, in the short-term, we are paying too little attention to the food insecurity and malnutrition that prevails in Pakistan. The most recently conducted National Nutrition Survey indicated that more than 50 per cent of the population was malnourished. Second, in the medium-term, we are not paying enough attention to the importance of youth and engaging with them. We probably do not have a clear idea of their discussions about their futures on Facebook and Twitter. And third, in the longer term, the subject of health hazards related to climate change is not sufficiently part of the mainstream discourse.

As Pakistan moves forward, we at the SDPI believe that new goals cannot be achieved without implementing capacity building reforms first. These reforms should be supplemented by accountability reforms at all tiers of government. Only after these have been implemented will we be able to evaluate sectoral investments that are required. We can then execute those investments through community-based arrangements and public-private models. Such an approach will ensure stronger local ownership and a shared vision.

MDGs and Fragile States

*Khalida Ghaus**

My analysis of the performance of the MDGs draws on three perspectives. First, I asked my younger colleagues to give me their views on the future of the MDGs – what the goals have done for them so far, what they have not been able to do, and what issues need to be at the forefront when considering goals beyond 2015. Second, I asked these young colleagues to synthesise for me the various studies on the MDGs that have come out of Pakistan in order to bring forward the broader Pakistani perspective. Third, as a professor of international relations, I keep reflecting on the dynamics of the political economy and international political environment that tend to strangle the decisions or measures that have been taken time and time again.

The global discourse on the issues of development and peace has not helped to strengthen cooperation between donors, traditional financial institutions and developing states. This is particularly so with fragile states. Because of political developments since the Cold War, along with existing conflicts between states, many countries – including Pakistan – now fall into the category of ‘fragile state’. Although the MDGs matter for these countries as much as for all developing countries, fragile states have partially failed in achieving them. Fragile states are particularly daunted by the opportunities and challenges posed to them by social steeping, which we will need to keep in mind when we talk about the post-2015 development agenda.

Equally important, many developing countries – particularly those in the Middle East and North Africa since the beginning of the Arab Spring – are experiencing transitional phases. They demonstrate that even countries affected by conflict and facing tremendous social challenges are able to bring themselves back on track.

I believe that the post-2015 framework must take into account the damage caused to government and society by the security and governance issues faced by fragile states all over Asia and Africa. If we look at the policy narratives of these countries, we find that they have been fragmented by a number of factors, including prevalent security and political compulsions, conditions attached by or priorities of the donor community, and social issues that are creating more problems for the people living in these countries. Any new framework must be relevant to such socio-economic and political contexts.

The MDGs represent a reductionist view of development that leaves out the issues of peace, security, human rights, democracy, good governance and marginalised groups. As we look toward a post-2015 phase, the new framework must help address the pressing challenges posed by continued poverty and other threats to human well-being. To do so, it must contain measurable targets and should help reshape the linkages between goals, targets, and indicators. The complex issues of poverty and human well-being require equally complex decision-making processes that move beyond the current system.

The literature I reviewed indicates that the governments of many developing countries have wrongly interpreted the MDGs in their national development planning. Therefore, instead of focusing solely on end human development goals, the new framework needs to articulate more

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clearly the practical means for achieving goals and targets. It must, for example, incorporate a goal-oriented implementation process and a strategy for human development. It must also build capacity for policy making at the local level, where the lack of capacity is jeopardising the whole development process.

Regarding specific issues, food security must be addressed by the post-2015 framework. Population growth is an issue that requires further study because, despite governments' efforts to improve development, excessive population growth is nullifying the progress made. I believe that marginalised groups, including those who are physically challenged, are a very important issue that is generally excluded from current poverty reduction initiatives. Keeping in mind the socio-economic-political dynamics that exist and affect countries, we need to be realistic and cautious about these issues when moving forward.

Promoting Science, Technology and Innovation Beyond 2015

*Musambya Mutambala**

Of the key themes of the ongoing discussions on the post-2015 development agenda, this contribution focuses its discussion on issues for the future. Taking Tanzania as a case study, it first provides an overview of progress on the MDGs. This overview is followed by an analysis of the MDGs and an argument in favour of building science, technology and innovation (STI) capacity beyond 2015.

Achievements So Far and Remaining Challenges

A recent progress report on the attainment of the MDGs indicates that countries have made marked steps in achieving some of the goals, while progress on others has been less than expected. In Tanzania¹, which has a good framework for universal primary education, the net enrolment ratio increased to 97.2 per cent in 2009, with the target being 100 per cent by the end of 2015, and the gross enrolment ratio was 112.7 per cent in 2005, which was ahead of target. In terms of gender equality and women's empowerment, the ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education was, respectively, 101 per cent and 105 per cent in 2007, exceeding the 100 per cent targets. The achievement of gender equality in tertiary education is probable, with the ratio increasing to 68 per cent in 2007 from 18.7 per cent in 1991. Similar probable is increasing of the proportion of women in parliament, which was 30.3 per cent in 2007, to 50 per cent by the end of 2015. Tanzania is also on track regarding the reduction of child mortality. The report indicates that the under-five mortality rate in 2010 was 81 per 1,000 live births, with the target being 64 per cent, the infant mortality rate was 51 per 1,000 live births, with a target of 38, and the proportion of children vaccinated against measles was 85 per cent, with the target being 90 per cent by the end of 2015. For the goal of combating HIV/AIDS, HIV prevalence reached 5.7 per cent in 2008 for youth aged 15 to 24 years, with a target of less than 5.5 per cent. The reduction of malaria incidence is also probable. In 2006, there were 27,030 cases, with the target being 18,062 by the end of 2015. A grand success story is that 83 per cent of the urban population was using an improved drinking water source in 2009 – the target is 84 per cent by the end of 2015 – and access to improved sanitation was almost universal.

The report predicts that certain goals and targets will not be achieved in time. Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger has been a challenge. The proportion of the population living on below USD 1-per-day at purchasing power parity (PPP) based on the national income poverty line was 33.6 per cent in 2007, which is much higher than the 19.5 per cent target set for the end of 2015. Similarly, 16.6 per cent of the population was living on below USD 1-per-day at PPP based on the national food poverty line, with the target being 10.8 per cent. The percentage of under-five underweight children was high at 20.7 per cent in 2010, the target being 14.4 per cent by the end of 2015. The percentage of under-five stunted children was also high at 35.4 per cent, the target being 23.3 per cent. There have also been difficulties in improving maternal health. The report shows that in 2010 there were 454 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births, a figure which is much higher than the target of 133, and only 51 per cent of births were attended by skilled health personnel, which is much lower than the target of 90 per cent. Reducing incidence of tuberculosis will also not be achievable. The number of tuberculosis cases was reported to be 158 per 100,000 in 2007, up from 107 in 1990, which is also the target. Similarly, there has been a failure to improve the access of the rural population to an improved drinking water source. The proportion with access slightly improved to 57.1 per cent in 2009 from 51 per cent in 1990, with the target to reach being 74 per cent by the end of 2015.

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¹United Nations Development Programme, "Mainland Tanzania: Progress in MDGs at Glance," (Dar es Salaam: UNDP, n.d.), http://mirror.undp.org/tanzania/docs/MDGs_at_%20a_Glance.pdf.

Analysis of the Performance of the MDGs

This analysis of the goals and targets achievable by the end of 2015 indicates that governments made tangible efforts ranging in terms of investment in and policies for improving education, realising gender equality, reducing child mortality, combating HIV/AIDS, reducing the incidence of malaria, and improving access to water and sanitation for the urban population. Despite achievements, there are issues that require special attention, particularly quality indicators for monitoring and evaluation and geographical disparities, given the tendency to not deliver outcomes in rural areas where the majority of population often reside. Governments and population of the South should not sit back, but should rather set context-specific frameworks that reflect goals in order to forge ahead. Together we must find a way to be flexible and cope with the challenges that may occur.

If we look at the nature of the goals that will not be achievable by the end of 2015 – those related to poverty, hunger, health and environmental sustainability – we find that capacity in STI is a missing link. The importance of STI to solve problems in production, competitiveness, employment, poverty alleviation and economic growth cannot be overemphasised.

Building STI Capacity

A crucial issue for the post-MDG agenda is building or strengthening the STI capacity of Southern countries. Capacity building should emphasise on the roles that interactive linkages and learning play among diverse actors across these countries. We should strengthen North-South cooperation, put emphasis on South-South cooperation, and prioritise cooperation within our own countries. Science and technology development is fundamental. Southern countries, particularly their productive sectors, should adopt specialised business services, incrementally enhance them, and implement radical innovations where possible. We should strengthen systems of innovation so that governments, private sector actors, universities and other institutions can come together to generate and facilitate the diffusion of knowledge.

Building STI capacity requires funding. Where will it come from? We should set priorities to establish our own sustainable funds for innovation. I recognise that some African countries, Tanzania included, have agreed to allocate 1 per cent of their national budgets to building STI capacity. This is an essential step from the governments as far as political recognition is concerned. However, given that, for instance, Tanzania's GDP amounts to around USD 28 billion, 1 per cent is not enough. Additional funding should be identified to reach a critical mass.

Another requirement in building STI capacity is human resource development. We should invest in quality education, training and ICT. The latter will help address the problem of exclusion in, for instance, rural areas. We should maximise the use of ICT since it facilitates information and the participation of people. It can subsequently increase people's sense of ownership of the post-2015 development agenda.

STI capacity building should be included in the post-2015 agenda as one separate goal with linkages to targets in other goals. It is necessary to adopt an approach that will promote STI through strengthening institutional, technological and organisational elements. Strong institutions can provide a framework for STI capacity building, monitoring and evaluation, and assessment of impacts on the targets of other goals.

The Southern Context of the Post-MDG Agenda

*Asif Iqbal**

My overall impression regarding these contributions and discussions is that the issues that have been brought forward are very much in line with the international discourse. For example, the United Nations System Task Team on the Post-2015 Development Agenda presented four key points for the next agenda: inclusive social development, environmental sustainability, inclusive economic development, and peace and security. I feel that these contributions and discussions have been revolving around all of these issues.

Hence, I do not think that we have to come up with new issues but rather our challenges are to put these issues forward emphasising the Southern context and place them on the post-2015 agenda. I will reiterate a few points for the future agenda. Number one is the integration of the MDGs and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The MDGs are relatively simple and non-controversial in nature, whereas the SDGs are complex and have more common deliverables. The challenge is to converge their processes in the new international framework.

Another point is the transition from current practices of production and consumption toward a global green economy. This transition would not only require commitment at the policy level, but also at behavioural and attitudinal change in societies. For example, we see that one-third of the food produced in the world is wasted rather than consumed, so multi-level changes are needed.

Another point is about decentralisation and local democracy. Many of the MDGs are related to basic social services such as health, education, water supply, and so on. It is widely accepted that basic social services are best provided by democratic local government systems that adhere to the principle of subsidiary. Local governments can certainly play a key role in fulfilling the new targets. Therefore, promoting decentralisation and strengthening local self-governance needs to be placed on the future agenda.

The other point I will make is about local ownership of the new development framework. The donor-centric view of development has remained dominant, which has led to a disproportionate emphasis on external financing in achieving targets and goals. This view tends to shift focus away from national governments to the international community. Therefore, the next development framework should allow for the inclusion of national priorities in order to develop local ownership of the new goals. Issues that are often debated include goal conception, implementation and measurement, while processes are overlooked. Emphasising processes according to national priorities will make it possible to realise goals related to those issues.

One point about measurement is that the MDGs are set out in terms of aggregates and averages. Such figures often conceal the nature of goal delivery because there are no references to distributional outcomes. Single summary measures of performance cannot reflect the well-being of the poor in the presence of large inequalities. Unless we focus on the distributional aspects of goals, it is very difficult to actually achieve them.

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The last point I would like to make is related to environmental sustainability and climate change. Many countries and the population within them are vulnerable to climate change and increasingly frequent natural disasters. Climate vulnerability and disaster risk reduction therefore must have focus in the post-2015 agenda.



Southern Voice on Post-MDG International Development Goals (*Southern Voice*) is a network of 48 think tanks from Africa, Latin America and South Asia, that has identified a unique space and scope for itself to contribute to the post-MDG dialogue. By providing quality data, evidence and analyses that derive from research in the countries of the South, these institutions seek to inform the discussion on the post-2015 framework, goals and targets, and to help give shape to the debate itself. In the process, *Southern Voice* aims to enhance the quality of international development policy analysis, strengthen the global outreach capacity of Southern think tanks, and facilitate professional linkages between these institutions and their respective governments. *Southern Voice* operates as an open platform where concerned institutions and individuals from both South and North interact with the network members. *Southern Voice Occasional Papers* are based on inputs received at various platforms of the initiative. *Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD)*, Dhaka works as the Secretariat of the *Southern Voice*.



Southern Voice

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