

Development Discourses  
of the  
Low Human Development Index - Countries  
in  
UN Post-2015 Discussion

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# Development Discourses of the Low Human Development Index - Countries in UN Post-2015 Discussion

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study is about development discourses and agents of the countries with low Human Development Index (HDI) in Africa. It is based on six UN Post-2015 national consultations. These six nations are Burkina Faso, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Liberia and Zambia. The criteria of data selection involve the level of HDI, language, format of the report and geographical location.

The idea about development as discursive constructed social reality is at the focus of theoretical framework. The method is Discourse Analysis (DA) with some Foucauldian characteristics.

The research questions are: What kind of specific development discourses and agentive roles are there in policy papers in Post-2015 discussion? What are the main discourses of development according to low-HDI nations? How do low-HDI nations in Africa perceive the concept of development and its discursive representations?

The discourses found from the data are labelled as UN, Nation State and Services. The theme of agency is quite cross-cutting in the discursive regime. Thus it is given its own chapter with analysis of discursive roles found in the papers. The roles found are labelled as facilitator, consultant, consultee, beneficiary and responsible. Different data-driven discourses as well as the analysis of agency create the basis for synthetization and identification of broader development discourses. These broader development discourses are identified as Development Path and Power of International Development Agenda.

Key words: development, concept of development, developing nations, HDI, Post-2015 discussion, discourse, Post-2015 agenda, nation state, services, discursive agents, developmental studies

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In this thesis the development discourses of nations with low Human Development Index (HDI) have been studied and explored. The focus will be the discourses of development that are taking place in the Post-2015 agenda planning through the consultation of low HDI countries. UN-based Human Development Index (HDI) is used as an indicator for development. It is broader and more thorough way to measure the level of the development in a state than Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (which is often used as a means for development). The discourses of the low HDI nations are defined by analyzing the UN Post-2015 national consultation reports.

It is important to distinguish between the discourses considering the effectiveness, meaning and monitoring of Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) themselves, and Post-2015 framework. Even though they are strongly interlinked they are not the same thing. My main interest is in the future and what the developing nations would wish to see happen.

In September 2015, United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have reached their deadline. Following this the 193 member states of the UN agreed on 2030 agenda on Sustainable Development and Sustainable Development Goals (SGDs). MDGs have faced a lot of criticism in terms of measurement, geographical distribution and coverage (see, for example Vandermoortele 2011; Easterly, 2009; Attaran ,2005). The SDGs "seek to build on the Millennium Development Goals and complete what they did not achieve" (UN General Assembly, 2015). As my thesis is more focused on the process that took place during the MDGs I will mostly focus on them and SDGs are mentioned more as an update on current situation.

The motivation for this thesis comes from a realization that development is not something that can be easily introduced. It means different things to different people. The idea of development is powerful because it "is not an abstract set of philosophical or scientific propositions, but an elaborate contraption that *does* something" (Ferguson 1994, xv). Peet & Hartwick (2009, 1) state that "development can be used for many different political purposes, including some, and perhaps most, that conflict with essentially egalitarian ethics ("a better life for *all*"). Indeed, the

idea of development can be used to legitimate what in fact amounts to more money and power for few”. So now we know that the concept of development has power and that it can be used to multiple different purposes. My aim is to understand how some low HDI nations perceive the concept of development.

Development is a debated, multilateral concept. There seems to be mutual understanding that developing means something synonymous to “making something better”. Thus the final aim of development in this sense is a good life to all humans and the Earth. Constant debate about the means, aims and interpretations of development is on-going in academia and politics.

Development is sometimes understood as reducing poverty and increasing economic growth. This can already be seen in the MDG number one: reducing extreme poverty that has now been transformed into SDG number one: no poverty (United Nations, 2015). The general idea of the goal is hard to disagree with, but the results are measured only in terms of economic growth and the standard of living is counted purely on the basis of income. The ways of measuring it are complex and do not go without critiques (look, for example, Ravenhill, 2011). This kind of poverty-reducing centered discussion can simplify things to make it look like achieving that \$1,25 (mentioned in the MDG number 1) per day would be the end of development.

Often we refer to the countries with high GDP as developed countries. This gives the sense, that those countries have reached the final point of development. It can be so if we only look at the Rostow’s (1990) stages of economic growth as an indicator. But there are signs that oppose this kind of idea: The World Overshoot Day (the day when the demand of the people exceeds the nature’s budget) in 2013 was August the 20<sup>th</sup> – earlier than ever before (Global Footprint Network, 2013); International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) 2014 report showed that the amount of greenhouse emissions is still rapidly growing and there is an urgent need of reduction only to stay within the range of two degrees (IPCC, 2014) which is goal often set in global discussion. All in all we can conclude that Rostow’s model of development is not sustainable – not at least with the current technologies and practices. Thus I find it more meaningful to measure development in other terms, such as the quality of life.

## **Research questions**

The research questions are:

- 1) What kind of specific development discourses and agentive roles are there in policy papers in Post-2015 discussion?
- 2) What are the main discourses of development according to low-HDI nations?
- 3) How do low-HDI nations in Africa perceive the concept of development and its discursive representations?

As discussed, the development apparatus has power to actualize the developmental ideologies. The motivation for these questions comes from a desire to understand the development from the perspectives of poor, "developing" countries and what kind of an ideology they wish to actualize. I am curious to see the hegemonic discourses dominating within different countries. Post 2015 discussion was chosen as the scene for this development research due to its magnitude and the timing of the thesis. I am interested to know what the issues are that development is expected to improve in low-HDI countries.

Concentrating first on specific development discourses and roles also creates sufficient basis for some generalised assumptions. Agentive roles are mentioned specifically in order to understand the different actors on the field. By analysing the actors we can also analyse power streams and change-makers as a sidenote. The findings of the first research question feed into the findings of the following questions and helps us to understand the main discourses ruling in the development field.

Development discourses are chosen as a topic because they are not very obvious but can still be powerful. Discourses arise on many different levels and this has been taken into account in the question-setting. Analysing both country-specific as well as general development discourses offers us a wider image than only focusing on a certain level would have done. The third question sums up the two previous ones. As a research question it leads us back to the focus of the research and the concept of development with its different actors.

The question-setting for this research is designed to create an overall image on what the concept of development and its discursive representations are for the low-HDI countries.

### **The structure of the thesis**

Chapter 1 is used for contextualizing the Post-2015 debate and setting the scene for my research. The UN & Bretton Woods, MDGs and Post-2015 process are introduced as a background for the study.

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework of the study. Some different definitions for development in historical, sociological and economic contexts are outlined. Then development is discussed as a discursive regime. The final section of this chapter deals with measuring development.

In Chapter 3, the research material and method of my research are discussed. My method of discourse analysis is discussed in detail. Criteria and categories of the policy papers, which the data consists of, are demonstrated. Finally the practical method of analyzing the policy papers is shown.

Chapter 4 (Findings) shows us the primary findings from the policy papers. They are divided into discourses and discursive agents which are then further evolved into synthetization discourses that form the core of my findings.

In Conclusions (Chapter 5), the findings are further discussed and related into the larger field of development studies. Some proposals for further research are also made.

## **2. CONTEXTUALIZING THE POST-2015 DEBATE**

This chapter serves as context-creation for this thesis. First the UN and Bretton Woods institutions are introduced, as they are important global development institutions and influential in discourse-creation. Then functions and meanings of MDGs are discussed to create a basis for the final chapter which introduces the Post-2015 process in more detail.

## **THE UN and Bretton Woods institutions**

The United Nations is a platform for the largest global sectoral development organizations in the world - such as World Food Programme (WFP) and the United Nations Populations Fund UNFPA (United Nations, 2013). The UN also leads the global development discussion, especially on the Post-2015 issue. "The United Nations has played a facilitating role in this global conversation and has the responsibility of supporting Member States by providing evidence-based inputs, analytical thinking and field experience" (UN-DESA, 2013). As the world's largest international development organization, the UN has some power to set discourses and the measurements provided in global perspective as well. This is why I wish to examine the material provided by the UN.

Through understanding discourses used in the UN-related discussion about the possibilities after the Millennium Development Goals, we can understand the larger power relations of the development field as well. Also, by examining the general discussion we can better understand the different roles of various actors in the discussion: is someone victimized, who are seen as actors, who has the power to make decisions and is there an unequal partnership between the different actors.

The United Nations was built on the ruins of the League of Nations after the Second World War. The League of Nations was formed after the First World War to ensure peace but it was unable to prevent the Second World War from happening. The realization dawned, that a large international organization, more powerful than the League of Nations, was needed. The UN charter was signed in October 1945. The five founding members of the UN (China, France, United Kingdom, United States and USSR) each held the power of veto. It was mostly the victors' organization, with the "losers" of the war only awarded membership later. The following Cold War had an impact on the organizations inner politics. (Hanhinmäki, 2008)

The global economic order was partly set with the creation of the Bretton Woods -institutions in 1944. The Bretton Woods -institutions mean the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Bretton Woods -institutions hold great global

financial power. Hanhinmäki (2008, 95) states that “while the United States and other rich Western nations were undoubtedly concerned over economic stability and security, their agenda was dominated by the belief that the promotion of free trade through international treaties and mechanisms was the best guarantee against future international economic collapse and offered the best hope of future prosperity around the globe”. The actions and values of Bretton Woods - institutions have been heavily criticized for lack of transparency and actually promoting poverty and inequality instead of reducing it (see, for example, Peet 2003; Stiglitz 2002).

The UN was created to prevent future wars and conflicts. For this reason, the UN was designed to take part more broadly in international security also in terms of military security, economic and social development and human rights and international justice. (Hanhinmäki, 2008) Its structure has been criticized to be heavy and complex. Hanhinmäki (2008) argues that while he agrees with the criticism of “part abstraction, part real” structure, there is a reason behind it: the UN is an outcome of several nations with various backgrounds and aims meanings. Lately the UN has been trying to trim its overlapping functions and smooth its management with different agendas. One example of this is the Delivering As One -programme launched to achieve system-wide coherence.

The UN consists of fifteen agencies with several different programmes and bodies, of which the General Assembly, World Bank, International Labour Organization ILO, UN Women, International Court of Justice and Security Council are some examples.

## **MDGs**

MDG stands for Millennium Development Goals. MDGs are introduced here as a concept since they are relevant both to the history of development as well as to the Post-2015 process. Newly-agreed Sustainable Development Goals are built on the basis of MDGs and on what has been learnt from them.

MDGs were launched in September 2002 at the Millennium Summit, where nations committed themselves to eight different goals aimed to “reduce poverty, improve health and promote peace, human rights, gender equality, and environmental sustainability” (UN Millennium Project, 2005,

3). The Goals are considered important to the development field because they are the “most broadly supported, comprehensive and specific poverty reduction targets the world has ever established” and “the fulcrum of international development policy” (UN Millennium Project, 2005, 2).

The Goals are: 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger 2. Achieve universal primary education 3. Promote gender equality and empower women 4. Reduce child mortality 5. Improve maternal health 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases 7. Ensure environmental sustainability 8. Develop a global partnership for development. The meaningfulness of the Goals is also based on the fact that they are time-bound and have targets that are quantified. The progress is monitored using 21 targets and 60 indicators addressing the issues the MDGs are battling. (UN Millennium Project, 2005)

The Goals are built on the partnership of rich and poor countries and the realization that both need to do their part for a more equal development. The Goals were generated during Doha Round on international trade in 2001-2002 and they are based on the Millennium Declaration. In addition, the world leaders met in Monterrey, Mexico for the International Trade Conference on Financing for Development in March 2002, where the framework for joint actions and global partnership was agreed upon. Finally, the Goals were adopted in the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002 where all the UN member states were gathered. (UN Millennium Project, 2005)

MDGs have been criticized for being too universal or impossible to measure or globally unfair (see, for example, Attaran, 2006; Saith, 2006; Easterly, 2009). According to the UN, they have partly succeeded and partly failed. Figure 1 below presents the results of the UN Millennium Development Goals Progress Chart 2015. It can be seen that the progress in Sub-Saharan Africa has not met any of the goals presented so far. In other parts of the world the progress is uneven. This can depend on various reasons: politics, geography, monetary or environmental crisis etcetera.

The deadline of these goals has now passed and the Sustainable Development agenda has been agreed upon. There seems to be a firm belief that lessons have been learnt from the successes and failures of the MDGs. As already mentioned before, the SDGs are introduced only to bring the reader up to date with current situation while the process that took place during the MDGs is the focus of this research.

Goals and Targets	Africa		Asia				Oceania	Latin America and the Caribbean	Caucasus and Central Asia
	Northern	Sub-Saharan	Eastern	South-Eastern	Southern	Western			
<b>GOAL 1   Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger</b>									
Reduce extreme poverty by half	low poverty	very high poverty	low poverty	moderate poverty	high poverty	low poverty	—	low poverty	low poverty
Productive and decent employment	large deficit	very large deficit	moderate deficit	large deficit	large deficit	large deficit	very large deficit	moderate deficit	small deficit
Reduce hunger by half	low hunger	high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	high hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger	moderate hunger
<b>GOAL 2   Achieve universal primary education</b>									
Universal primary schooling	high enrolment	moderate enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment	high enrolment
<b>GOAL 3   Promote gender equality and empower women</b>									
Equal girls' enrolment in primary school	close to parity	close to parity	parity	parity	parity	close to parity	close to parity	parity	parity
Women's share of paid employment	low share	medium share	high share	medium share	low share	low share	medium share	high share	high share
Women's equal representation in national parliaments	moderate representation	moderate representation	moderate representation	low representation	low representation	low representation	very low representation	moderate representation	low representation
<b>GOAL 4   Reduce child mortality</b>									
Reduce mortality of under-five-year-olds by two thirds	low mortality	high mortality	low mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	low mortality
<b>GOAL 5   Improve maternal health</b>									
Reduce maternal mortality by three quarters	low mortality	high mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	low mortality
Access to reproductive health	moderate access	low access	high access	moderate access	moderate access	moderate access	low access	high access	moderate access
<b>GOAL 6   Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases</b>									
Halt and begin to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	low incidence	high incidence	low incidence						
Halt and reverse the spread of tuberculosis	low mortality	high mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality	low mortality	moderate mortality
<b>GOAL 7   Ensure environmental sustainability</b>									
Halve proportion of population without improved drinking water	high coverage	low coverage	high coverage	high coverage	high coverage	high coverage	low coverage	high coverage	moderate coverage
Halve proportion of population without sanitation	moderate coverage	very low coverage	moderate coverage	low coverage	very low coverage	high coverage	very low coverage	moderate coverage	high coverage
Improve the lives of slum-dwellers	low proportion of slum-dwellers	very high proportion of slum-dwellers	moderate proportion of slum-dwellers	—					
<b>GOAL 8   Develop a global partnership for development</b>									
Internet users	moderate usage	low usage	high usage	moderate usage	low usage	high usage	low usage	high usage	high usage

Figure 1. Results of the UN Millennium Development Goals Progress Chart 2015 (UN, 2015)

### 2.3. Post-2015 Process

The introduction of the Post-2015 structure is considered relevant for a more in-depth understanding of the role of the nation states in the process. Developing Post-2015 agenda is

very a complex project with multiple stakeholders and consultation and working groups. Figure 2. below introduces the processes feeding into Post-2015 agenda.

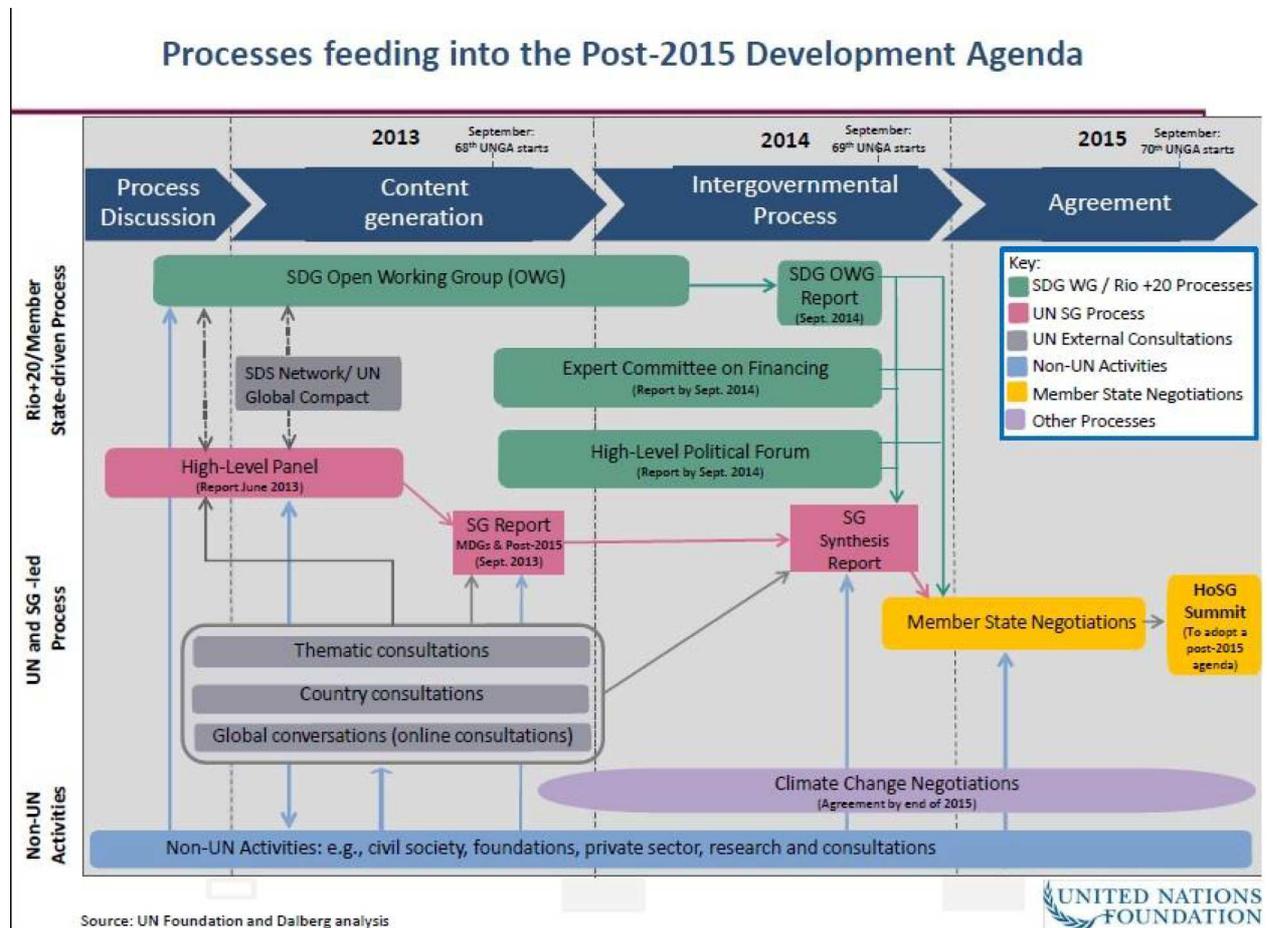


Figure 2. Processes feeding into the Post-2015 Development Agenda (UN Foundation & Dahlber Analysis, 2014)

The UN mostly sees itself as a facilitator of the Post-2015 discussion. However, it has several bodies, groups and task teams working with this issue. Some of the teams and bodies feeding to the Post-2015 process are introduced in more detail below.

The Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon's role was to "provide overall leadership to the process with the support of the Deputy-Secretary General and the Secretary General's Special Advisor on Post-2015 Development Planning" (United Nations, 2013).

As a part of the Post-2015 discussion, the UN and its associates launched the MY World electronic voting system so that every person with access to the internet would have a chance to express their opinions. It was a global survey about the goals that citizens find important. The results of the survey were given to the Secretary-General for the foundations for the further agenda. (United Nations, 2013) In addition, there was also global survey gathered. This survey was named My World. Consultations are carried forward by the UN country teams and they are coordinated by the UN Resident Coordinator. Many different stakeholders are taking part of the consultations. (United Nations, 2013) The United Nations Development Group is the actor that initiated the gathering of different kinds of consultation. Both national as well as thematic consultations are available (see more in data chapter).

In 2013, the Open Working Group of General Assembly (OWG) was established. It was mandated to create a proposal for the Sustainable Development Goals according to the Rio+20 Outcome. It was a thirty member group but the system of representation is new in the UN agenda. Each seat is shared by the group of countries that decided amongst themselves how the representation of each group is done in the meetings. The other relevant stakeholders, such as civil society and the scientific community, were supposed to be fully involved in the work of OWG. (United Nations, 2013) In 2014 the Open Working Group Proposal for Sustainable Development Goals was published and it generated framework and discussion for the future Post-2015 process. Its proposals for the SDGs were later on accepted as part of the Sustainable Development Agenda (see appendix 1).

High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda was a group launched by the UN Secretary-General and chaired by the Presidents of Indonesia and Liberia and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The other members of the panel were people from civil society, private sector, academia and local and national governments. The high-level panel published a report called "A New Global Partnership: Eradicate Poverty and Transform

Economies Through Sustainable Development”. In the report they proposed five transformative shifts named as followed: 1. Leave no one behind, 2. Put sustainable development at the core, 3. Transform economies for jobs and inclusive growth, 4. Build peace and effective, open and accountable institutions for all and 5. Forge a new global partnership. (United Nations, 2013)

The UN Secretary-General also established the UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda. More than 60 UN agencies and international organizations were part of it. Its task is to ”support the process by providing analytical thinking and substantial input” (United Nations, 2013). The first input was the report called Realizing the Future We Want for All which created some visions for the Post-2015 agenda. It also had three internal work groups: two of them aim to offer analytical input and tools for monitoring the development in terms of global partnership. The third group, an interagency technical support team (TST), was there to support the OWGs via an information sharing platform including background material and analytical input. It included more than 40 UN entities. (United Nations, 2013)

The task of the Regional Economic Commission was to bring forward regional perspectives to the Post-2015 by conducting reports. The role of the UN Global Compact is to ensure that the views of both the private and business sectors are involved in the Post-2015 discussion. (United Nations, 2013)

The Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) was a network of multiple stakeholders: it involved research centers, universities as well as technical institutions and worked with business, civil society and the UN organizations. It was a global and independent network. Its task in the Post-2015 discussion was to offer expert services by establishing ten groups of experts of different areas of sustainable development. It also gave technical support to the High-level Panel of the Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. (United Nations, 2013)

As can be seen, the work streams of preparing the Post-2015 agenda were multiple. The group of four Assistant Secretaries General (ASGs) from Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), United Nations Development Programme UNDP and UN Women as well as the

Special Advisor on Post-2015 Development Planning were put to place to ensure the coordination and coherence between these co-independent work streams. The group was called the One Secretariat. (United Nations, 2013) This research only considers the actors working directly with the United Nations. The civil society, nation states and the private sectors are widely included through these actors.

All this is to say, that in Post-2015 the UN tried to take all the sectors on board and also increase transparency and rule of law in its own actions. The apparatus seems quite heavy in bureaucracy but as Hanhinmäki (2008) notes there are several stakeholders and nations to take account into as in the whole functioning of the UN.

Originally SDGs were introduced in the Synthesis Report of the Secretary-General on the Post-2015 agenda by Ki-Moon where they were rationalized as following:

*“following more than a year of inclusive and intensive consultative deliberations, the Open Working Group proposed 17 specific goals with 169 associated targets, which it described as “action-oriented, global in nature, and universally applicable”, taking into account national realities, capacities and levels of development. It sought to combine aspirational targets with country-specific targets to be set nationally... the SDGs break new ground with goals... mechanisms to review the implementation of goals will be needed, and the availability and access to data would need to be improved.”*

The list for agreed SDGs is attached as appendix 1. The SDGs were finally agreed on in the Summit on Sustainable Development in September 2015 “where the world will embrace the new agenda and a set of Sustainable Development Goals, which we hope will mark a paradigm shift for people and the planet” (The Road to Dignity by 2030 - report).

As shown, the process of consultation played a significant role in the process of formulating the new Goals that act as the main agenda on the development field. The consultations are the focus because it is where the low-HDI countries have a chance to speak their opinions (or opinions of their citizens). Therefore it is important to analyse the discourses their policy papers represent. UN Post-2015 Discussion was a very large and multifold process. Therefore, for the purposes of

a master's thesis, the focus must be clearly defined. For me, researching the ideologies and discourses of low-HDI nations was very motivating compared analyzing the functions and discourses of for example UN-entities. If, as we will see, the development is very nation-centered then the messages of the nations should be in the focus of creating or updating the agenda.

### **3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CONCEPTUALIZING DEVELOPMENT**

In this chapter the conceptual framework around the concept of development will be introduced. It starts with a historical overview of different development paradigms and then introduces some economic and sociological theories affecting it. Different forms of aid are introduced as well, since they are seen as an outcome of contemporary dominant paradigms. The most important development scholars introduced will be James Ferguson and Arturo Escobar. Both of them understand development as a socially constructed discursive regime and this is an idea on which my research is also built. This chapter is also meant to help place the Post-2015 discussion in the context of the general development discussion.

#### **Defining and measuring development**

There has never been just one way to perceive or measure the desired development. While this is acknowledged, only the dominant paradigms of each period are discussed in order to create an overall image of the field. All in all, development is a puzzle and the definitions usually depend on the lenses the viewer is wearing: the way he or she sees the world in general, the cultural, sociological, political, religious or whatever social perceptions one has. One thing that has remained static is that “the idea that outside intervention is necessary to *generate* development” (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003, 44)

The process of defining development can be started from multiple different angles. One way is to take a look at the development path and factors of each country. These are always individual and tied to multiple different aspects. Desired development can be boosted or slowed down by different factors. Björk (2009) lists governance, education, property rights and economy as the four basic pillars of development. The success of the pillars in development is backed up by long

”durée” and auxiliary factors. The long durée factors are the stable, unchangeable ones: geography and climate (Braudel, 1980). In his study Björk (2009) lists culture, religion, colonialism, security, health, aid, globalization and communication as auxiliary factors. These are more flexible factors that can change and develop over time.

Collier (2008) contributes partly to the same subject. He lists four reasons for countries falling behind on development. These are the conflict trap, where conflict in society slows the growth; the natural resource trap, where natural resource wealth actually reduces growth; landlocked with bad neighbours, where the conflict and problems of the neighbours spread over the border; and bad governance in a small country where government and policies may slow down or destroy the growth. Some of these are auxiliary and some long dureé factors. These are just some examples of issues, actors and factors that contribute to the fact that no two countries can develop the exact same way. Every country has its own history of development and there is not one universal model to explain them all.

Currently a lot of attention is paid to measuring and evaluating development. Methods from measuring vary from analysis of Gross National Happiness Index to the use of the Gross Domestic Product as a measure for development and wellbeing. The most central concept for measuring development for the purposes of this thesis is the Human Development Index (HDI). HDI is also a tool that reflects development trends of the countries. HDI takes an alternative, more extensive approach to the well-being of nations. There is a call for a broader approach to the public and policy discourse considering well-being, and a discussion about moving away from the focus on economic success (see, for example, Hämäläinen & Michaelsson (2014)). In my research it is considered as a suitable indicator for development of the nations.

HDI is a statistical index created by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to measure development in both social and economic terms. It consists of the indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment and income. Thus the HDI serves as a more extensive development indicator than often used Gross Domestic Products (GDP). Amongst other explanations, the GDP can be defined as ”the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products ”

(World Bank – website, 2014). All in all, GDP measures the value and growth of a nation state's economy in monetary terms.

All of the three components of the HDI are calculated statistically based on observed values. For example, the life expectancy is calculated so that the maximum value is 83,57 years – this is the observed maximum value of the countries in the observation period of 1980–2012. 20 years is used as a minimum value. This means that if a country's average life expectancy is 55 years, this component would be 0,551. (UNDP-website, 2014)

The education component is constructed by measuring the mean years of attending school for adults currently 25 years old and an estimation of how many years a child starting school now will attend school (the maximum value is capped at 18 years). The final outcome of this component is a mix of these two. The data used for these measurements come for example from the UNESCO. (UNDP–website, 2014)

The approximated maximum value for the wealth component is \$ 84 478 and the minimum value \$100 (UNDP-website, 2014). Sums in HDI are in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) which means transforming national currencies and prices into one international dollar. This makes the comparison of the prices between the countries more reliable (Schreyer & Koechlin, 2002). In the measurement component the recent standard of living is measure on the basis of Gross National Income (GNI) instead of GDP. According to the World Bank –website (2014) ”GNI is the sum of value added by all resident producers plus any product taxes (less subsidies) not included in the valuation of output plus net receipts of primary income (compensation of employees and property income) from abroad”. So GNI is GDP plus income from abroad.

HDI is measured on a scale from zero to one, one being the highest possible value and zero the lowest. At the moment, the countries with highest unadjusted HDIs are Norway (0,94), Australia (0,937) and Switzerland (0,917). The lowest HDIs are in Central African Republic (0,341), Niger (0,337) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (0,338). (UNDP - website, 2015)

Often the HDI is presented on a state–level, comparing each state to one another. The state-level comparison somewhat disguises the differences within the country. The use of it has been multi-

functionalized by disaggregating so that also different groups within the country can be compared with each other. These groups can be formed based on geographic regions, income, gender or ethnicity, for example. This is called the disaggregated HDI. (UNDP-website, 2014)

Another feature is equality: the HDI can also be processed into Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI). With full equality the IHDI is equal to HDI, but if there is inequality the level of HDI declines. The difference between HDI and IHDI in Norway is  $-0,061$  whereas in the USA it is  $-0,116$  and in China  $-0,156$ . HDI can also be tailored to be country-specific or to emphasize certain criteria. (UNDP-website, 2014) Björk (2009, 35) argues, that HDI is the mean to tie together development and poverty-reduction: it is the tool which takes into accounts both GDP and development as capability-enhancing actions.

HDI might not be the best measurement for short-term changes since life expectancy and educational policies are slow to change (UNDP-website, 2014). However, for this thesis it is a valid instrument since it presents the long-term shifts in development. It also takes into account the quality of life and not only the economic growth. The UN-based index is easy tool to use in comparing and reflecting different countries in this research.

Measuring development is one important aspect of the issue. But to better understand the concept of development it is necessary to introduce the historical, economic, social and, most of all, discursive aspects of development.

### **History of development and development aid**

Theories of development may be represented based on, for example, history or content. Rist (2006) argues, that the Western concept of development originates from the ancient times but it was globalization that truly paved the way for it. The Second World War modified the world order once more and also laid some foundations for development aid as it is understood today. In a speech, President Truman of the USA created the ever-lasting division of developed/underdeveloped. (Rist, 2006)

When the idea of “development” took hold in the West, it was believed that all the countries could follow the same route towards the same destination. The poorer countries were thought to be able to benefit from the technologies and lessons already learned in the developed countries and thus their route to development was thought to be even faster than that of their predecessors. Aid, both financial and technical, was also expected to speed up the process. (Malik, Lopes & Fukuda-Parr, 2002)

After the Second World War “there is essential agreement that ‘development’ is above all an economic matter of production and accumulation, based upon private investment and external assistance” (Rist, 2006, 85). Rostow’s much-cited *The Non-Communist Manifesto* describing different stages of economic growth was published in 1960 and according to Rist (2009), its significance is based on the clear line it offered for policies to follow. The Cold War and world division left marks on his anti-Marxist theories as well. The Cold War had its significance on the form and means of aid too; during the war the Western-oriented developing countries were better off in terms of aid than the Soviet-friendly ones. The shifts in the donor countries’ monetary and governmental politics also affected the form of aid. Some things (like focus on the infrastructure) have remained relatively the same while some (like the role of the state in the aid) have varied significantly over time (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003). The changes in the world order and in dominant economic theories can be seen in the different forms of aid.

Many donors focused their projects on developing a physical infrastructure. The dominant development theories led to aid that believed in a trickle-down effect. The idea was that the benefits would start from the top and trickle down to the poorer. The need for financial and technological assistance to poor countries, so that their economy can take-off and close the gap between the rich and the poor states, dominated. . (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003)

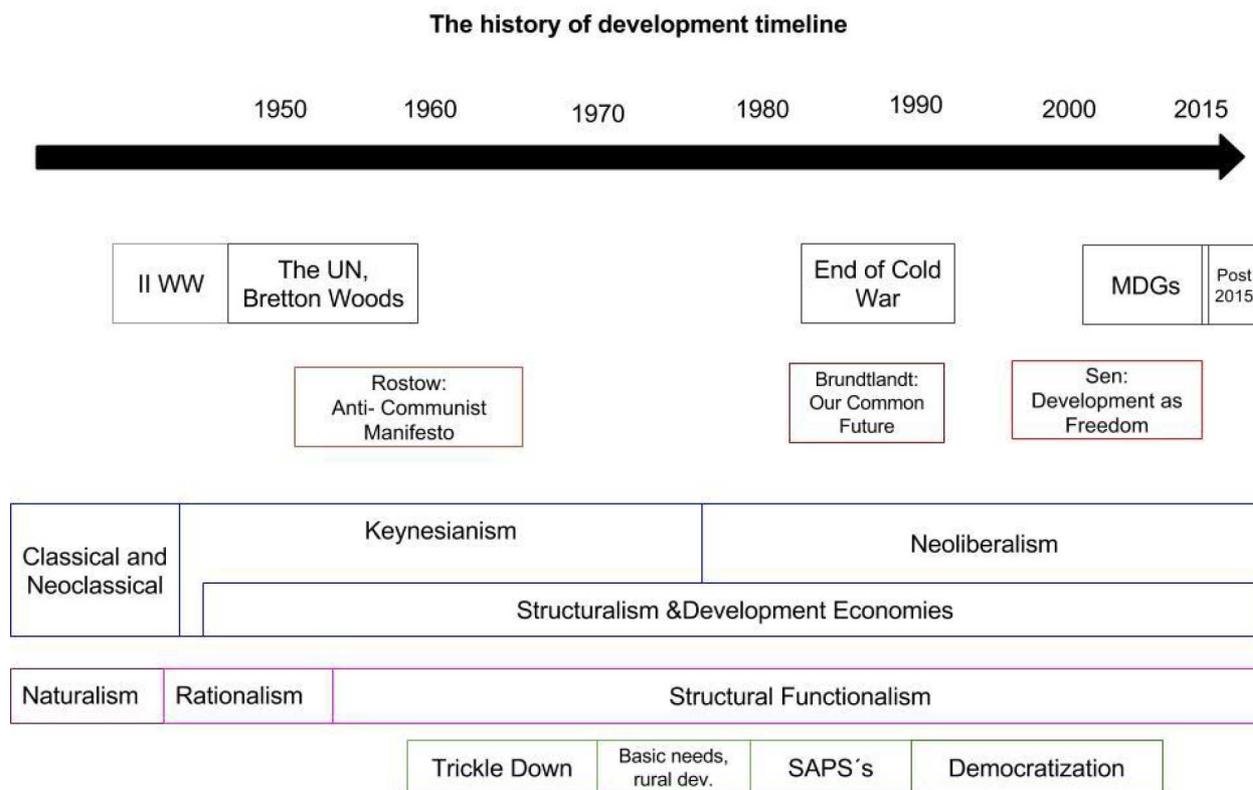
In the 1970s, the focus of the aid shifted towards a basic needs -approach and integrated rural development projects. The idea was that the basic needs of people (which involve for example food, water, health, employment and housing) should be fulfilled in order to make them into

productive work force and help decrease poverty. The role of civil society and NGOs as a channel for aid strengthened. Rural development projects often grew to be large and complex. (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003)

The complexity of the projects was one reason behind the next shift of focus in the 1980s. Risks, such as debt crisis, inflation and state deficits, in countries' economies led to a demand for liberalization. In order to achieve this, the World Bank and the IMF created Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) for the developing countries. Some donors stayed detached from SAPs and there were actual political differences on the beneficiary support. SAPs mostly focused on attempts to create macro-economic balance in economics. (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003) The effect of the growth of neoliberal ideas in world politics can be seen here as well.

Sustainable development came into public discussion after the publication of the Brundlandt Report called *Our Common Future* in 1987. The well-known definition of it goes that “sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need” (1987, 1). Sustainable development in development theory means a more needs-focused approach. It was a significant shift in the development paradigm and has become a very common term in the development field ever since. Sustainable development takes into account all three pillars (social, economic, environmental) of development and aims for a more holistic and sustainable change. (Baker, 2005)

In the 1990s, the Cold War came to an end and this affected the form of aid as well. The support for transitional states came in and the political aspect grew stronger in the form of demands for democratization. In this era sector programme support, policy dialogue between the IMF/World Bank and governments, selectivity of beneficiaries and capacity-building of developing countries' own organizations, for example, marched into the arena. (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003). So one can say that the number of forms of aid increased.



**Figure 3. History of development timeline: development, economic and aid theories, major events and publications. Drawn by the author based on the books by Rist (006), Peet & Hartwick (2009) and Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2003).**

Figure 3 above introduces the main trends of development history. On top, there are major events affecting the development ideas. On the next row, important publications have been listed. Then the dominant economic and sociological theories have written. On the bottom, the dominant forms or features of aid have been squared. This graph is based on the authors cited in the text.

### **Economic and sociological development paradigms**

The paradigms of development have been evolving over time ever since they were born. According to Escobar (2012, viii) the most significant changes over the last forty years are

caused by three main factors. The first is the role of China (and India) in global economy. the second is the attack on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11th 2001 followed by the invasion of Iraq and a general transition in world politics. Third, Escobar says, is the end of Washington Consensus and neoliberalism. These factors are listed on the preface of the 2012 edition of his classic book *Encountering Development: the making and unmaking of the Third World*.

As already seen in the previous paragraph and the previous chapter, the history of development is quite closely entangled with the history of economic theories, so they are shortly introduced here in the footsteps of Peet & Hartwick. "Development is fundamentally economic...--...All theories of development have significant economic aspect, along with other dimensions. So, we have to know economics to understand development" (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, 23). Escobar (2012, 59) notes, that the Western Economics are often considered "the way things are" but they are just as well outcomes of discourses and historical contingencies as all other ideologies. The ideology has its roots in the history, which is the history of modernity. Discourses for development have often been structured alongside this anthropology of modernity. Previous economic theories were the antecedent for the (current) idea of development economics. The notion of developed and underdeveloped economics was born after the Second World War (Escobar, 2012, 63) alongside the general discourse of development.

Peet & Hartwick (2009) divide development theories into three main categories: conventional theories on development; nonconventional, critical theories on development; and critical modernism. Each category has its own sub-division which is introduced in a bit more detail below.

Conventional theories are based on the idea of capitalism and that economic growth equals development. The downsides of capitalism, such as accumulating wealth only in the hands of few, drive for more innovations and growth. The discipline of economics is in the center of the conventional theories. (Peet & Hartwick, 2009) They further divide the conventional theories into four historical phases: classical, neoclassical, Keynesian and neoliberal.

Classical theories are based on Adam Smith's and John Stuart Mill's economic ideas in the revolutionary times of the 1800s in Europe. They were based on the idea of economic growth, self-interest, rationalism and competitive advantages. At the time, Smith & Stuart Mill highly contributed to the creation of a new political economy that was centered on growth and development. (Peet & Hartwick, 2009) Some of the principles of the time are still part of the paradigm even now.

Neoclassical theories entered the arena during the second half of the 19th century. They were based on classical theories but further developed the idea of price-making mechanism, perfect competition and the rules of supply and demand. Capitalism was the favorable form of economy because everyone receives the amount of income corresponding to his or her efforts. (Peet & Hartwick, 2009) In the early stages of development thinking, economic growth was considered a goal in itself and not so much as a means for development. Economy and human development were not seen as very much interlinked. (Björk, 2009)

Neoclassical theories were followed by Keynesian thinking of the state being able to promote or restrain the economics through investments and policies. Keynesian thinking was strong in the Post-war period, during the time which the concept of developmental state also came into being and structuralism was founded in Latin America. Structuralism opposes the idea of universal mono-economics and understands that the economies work differently in different countries. (Peet & Hartwick, 2009)

From 1960s onwards, the Keynesian thinking started facing more criticism especially from neoliberalists following problems in the global markets. The outcome was that "whatever the fact, the neoliberals won the interpretive debate: Keynesianism retreated, social democracy was ruined and "New Deal liberalism" became a term of derision. Neoliberalism in development is often based on the Washington Consensus: fiscal discipline, trade liberalization, privatization and deregulation of the Third World economies. Neoliberalism, with some changes on the emphasis, has been a dominant economic paradigm until this day. (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, 90) On the uses of neoliberalism, see for example Ferguson (2010) or Peet (2003).

According to Peet & Hartwick (2009), sociological developmental theories started from (Euro-centered) naturalism evolving into rationalism at the end of the 19th century. From the Second World War onwards, structural functionalism became the dominant sociological paradigm. The sociological theories do not see people in quite as simple terms as economic theories but rather try to take their origins and humanity into account as well.

In some schools, development is understood as synonymous to modernization: “in the economic sphere, modernization meant specialization of economic activities and occupational roles and the growth of markets; in terms of socio-spatial organization, modernization meant urbanization, mobility, flexibility, and the spread of education; in the political sphere, modernization meant the spread of democracy and the weakening of traditional elites; in the cultural sphere, modernization meant growing differentiation between the various cultural and value systems (for example, the separation between religion and philosophy), secularization, and emergence of the new intelligentsia.” (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, 122) They also state that “modernity is that time in Western history when rationality supposed it could change the world for better”.

The forms of aid are always a subject to debate. One thing permanent is that “the international development cooperation has always been based on the belief that government interventions supported from outside are necessary in order to promote development in the poorest countries” (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003, 39).

### **Development as a discursive regime**

*”Each of these central organizing concepts [civilization, God] presupposes a central, unquestioned value, with respect to which the different legitimate positions may be arrayed, and in terms of which different world views can be articulated. ”Development” in our time is such a central value. Wars are fought and coups are launched in its name. Entire systems of government and philosophy are evaluated according to their ability to promote it. Indeed, it seems increasingly difficult to find any way to talk about large parts of the world except in these terms.*

*Like "civilization" in the nineteenth century, "development" is the name not only for a value, but also for a dominant problematic or interpretive grid through which the impoverished regions of the world are known to us. Within this interpretive grid, a host of everyday observations are rendered intelligible and meaningful....--...To say that "development" is a dominant problematic is, of course, not to suggest that everyone hold the same beliefs about it." (Ferguson, 1994, xiii-xiv)*

The above comment from Ferguson discusses some facets of the multilayered concept of development and its meaning within the global world order. Ferguson argues that "development" (Ferguson regularly uses quotation marks when talking about development) has become a central value or paradigm of our time. World is divided into developed and underdeveloped regions and what the underdeveloped regions are lacking is just that: the notion of development. The motivation and also method of this thesis is well explained in Ferguson's (1994, xiv-xv) own question-setting: "how does this dominant problematic work in practice, and what are its effects? If, as I intend to demonstrate in the pages that follow, all this talking and thinking about "development" is not merely ideological icing, then what are its specific effects? What happens differently due to the "development" problematic that would not or could not happen without it?...--...If one begins, as I do, from the premise that thinking is as "real" an activity as any other, and that ideas and discourses have important and very real social consequences, then in analyzing system of ideas one cannot be content with interrogating them from their truth value." Escobar (2012, 11) follows along the same lines by arguing that discourse of development "results in concrete practices of thinking and acting through which the Third World is produced".

According to Escobar (2012), there is a certain language of development that has evolved over time. This language is not the same as the development discourse but contributes to it. A part of this language is the terminology used on the field which has evolved over time. At first, it was called "development assistance" and "technical assistance". After some decades "assistance" was replaced with "co-operation" making it the "development cooperation" we are familiar with. (Malik, Lopes & Fukuda-Parr, 2002) Researchers (ibid.) call for a change in terminology; the

term “technical cooperation” (or “assistance”) does not make justice to the fact that most of the cooperation done under this title is non-technical, such as education- or health –related cooperation. The way the words are used is important for example due to the discourses they create - both within and between the societies. The development apparatus must have heard the call of the researchers since “many of the words that have enjoyed a meteoric rise in popularity over the past decade are those which speak to an agenda for transforming development’s relationship” (Cornwall, 2010, 475).

Although the ideas of development advocated by Escobar & Ferguson and Malik, Lopes and Fukuda-Parr do not completely go hand in hand with each other, they still contribute to the same subject on some level. Many countries have named their own development paradigms: Nepalese call it *bikas* (Escobar, 2012) and Tanzanians have *ujamaa* (Maijala, 2014). For me, this represents the power that lies within the development discourses of the Third World - as argued by for example Ferguson and Escobar. Sometimes the development paradigms grew so important to countries that they affected their national identities and constructed them as poor, underdeveloped and inferior as a nation. It also made it possible to apply repressing forms of power and systems of control. Escobar (2012, 52-54) notes how general development language (and discourse) puts all the “underdeveloped” or “poor” into one homogenous category and often forget the different and individual settings applied in each case (for example: peasant vs town dwellers, Nepalese vs Mexican and so forth). Escobar (2012, 154) discusses the “developmentalization” of peasants, women and the environment and explores the discursive structures behind the phenomena. It is similar to that of a construction of the Third World.

According to Ferguson (1994), the development scholarly writing concerning the conceptualizing of development institutions has been divided into two main lines. The first line is the one where the development apparatus is seen as sympathetic, although probably not completely functioning, tool for beneficial change and better performance. The problems are due to the malfunctions of the systems and they can be inspected and fixed for better functioning of the institutions. The other line of thinking falls under radical critique and is often linked with neo-Marxism and dependency theory. Writers of this view see actions of capitalist development

institutions (e.g. World Bank) only as a way to promote imperial capitalism. Capitalism is understood as a cause of poverty and not the cure for it. Escobar (2012, 152) also argues that many institutions that appear as neutral and rational, are representations of Western power in the modern world and the development apparatus thus as contributing to the domination of the Third World.

Ferguson (1994) and Escobar (2012) note that the political economists are possibly the most influential theorist group in development field. Ferguson criticizes that they too often see development projects from an economic aspect: their function is mostly just to advance economic transformation. They also put a lot of emphasis on interested agents in projects. Escobar (2012) has also explained in detail the role and functions of political economists in the creation and sustaining of development discourse. As already mentioned, the role of political economics in the historical development discourse is significant both on the level of theory and practice. Development economics have transformed and shifted over time and now Escobar (2012, 57) talks about the “death and recasting of development economics [that are] undoubtedly linked to the demise of neo-Keynesianism and the rise of neoliberalism”. Escobar also stresses the significance of economics and economic discourses to whole the development machinery.

Ferguson (1994) then further argues, that there is a dual misinterpretation in development discussion (in both general and in use the of political economists) in which the misuse of terms creates disorder to the discussion and evaluation of development. The word development is used in reference to multiple different meanings. Ferguson lists especially two main meanings he often comes across. The first concept of development he lists is used in reference to the processtowards a known end point, usually called modernization, modern industrial capitalism, modern society or capitalist development. This involves, for example, Rostow’s (1990) theory of stages of economic growth. In Rostow’s theory, development is measured according to the economic modernization of a country and the final target of development is a high mass-consumption society. Ferguson argues that modernization is not synonymous with alleviation of poverty. Sachs (1992, 2) also criticizes this view and states that “if all countries 'successfully'

followed the industrial example, five or six planets would be needed to serve as mines and waste-dumps”. Further on, this will be called the modernizational view.

The other meaning of development which has developed from the 1970s onwards takes into consideration improving the quality of life, alleviation of poverty or the expansion of people's capabilities. In this view, the development is seen as “war on poverty on a global scale” (Ferguson, 1994, 15) and the development of capitalism is not synonymous to the elimination of poverty. One of the great thinkers associated with this second view is Amartya Sen. In his famous work *Development as Freedom*, he argues that development should be seen “as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy”. In his opinion, the growth in GDP or income is a good means to development but not the end of it. In addition to economics also the social, political and civil rights should be in a good form for the members of society to be able to achieve freedom (and thus to be developed). This kind of development can be achieved through “the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states.” (Sen, 2001, 4) Peet & Hartwick (2009, 2) also agree with this view and argue that “development is interested not so much in the growth of an economy but rather the conditions under which production occurs and as the results that flow from it.” Further on, this will be called the poverty-alleviation view.

Using these two concepts synonymously may cause misinterpretation and cause conflicts in the development field. Problems with concepts do not only lie within certain regimes of development. Based on his experience, Ferguson (1994, 67) argues that the dialogue between the academic and the discursive regime is defective: statements applying in academia may be considered absurd on the discursive regime level and the other way around. Escobar (2012, xi) also argues that the pressure towards alternative understanding of development and the world in general are growing within and outside of the academia. Until that day the categories and uses of knowledge are most often produced and created by (Northern) academics.

All of these conceptual characteristics influence the work of the institutional apparatus. Development projects do not function in a vacuum or straightforwardly focus only on the issue at

hand. At the same time, when projects try to make the change they are themselves changed by the socio-political surroundings. This is an important factor to be noted in all development projects and especially in the planning of them. The projects are commonly seen as subjects while the host country is viewed as the object; still, in reality, the politics do matter in development field and the economy does not respond to the national policies to the hilt. Ferguson also criticizes the way the donor organizations and recipient government have often been seen: development institutions often do not see states as a political but an administrative framework and forget that it also always works to keep itself in power. The role of the government is mainly only to function as a neutral framework that provides services to citizens: it has been something that has policies, but no politics (Ferguson, 1994, 66). Malik, Lopes and Fukuda-Parr also note the fact that development cooperation relationships are, in principle, asymmetric in power. Donors are free to set the agenda according to their own needs and beliefs. They are also accountable to their home offices and thus are willing to prove their effectiveness with showy and sometimes short-term actions. The recipient governments are dependent on the values of the donor and thus they are often willing to strive towards them - at least on paper. Malik, Lopes & Fukuda-Parr (2002) call for the change of angle and attitude so that the approach would be from bottom-up and not from top-down. Thus the change would be more of what is needed and more sustainable. Escobar (2012) uses the notion of representation when exploring the inequalities in power. He states that those who are “being developed”, so to say, don't often have their own voice and are objects instead of subjects. Their representation is built somewhere else by someone else.

Developmentalization and politics are linked to the issue of ownership of development as well as is Ferguson's next argument. He says, that the meaning of development is constructed somewhere else than in the “developing” areas. Development institutions want their actions to be successful and thus define development according to certain criteria. This criterion involves ideas and control of aboriginality, agriculturality, national economy and governmentality; together these create a framework on which the “idea of development” can easily be built. These four ideas are the ones used by the development apparatus to create the receiver as an object of development and an area in which the transformation (=“development”) can easily be done. This

is one way the apparatus makes itself important, kind of a self-feeding cycle, and it happens everywhere that development work is done. (Ferguson, 1994, 71-73) Escobar (2012, 53) also criticizes development: “as a discourse, development is thus a very real historical formation, albeit articulated around an artificial construct (underdevelopment) and upon a certain materiality (the conditions baptized as underdevelopment)”. So he also sees the construction of development discourse happening somewhere else than in the “developing” area. Esteva (1992,7) follows along the same lines of thinking when stating that “for those who make up two-thirds of the world's population today, to think of development – any kind of development - requires first the conception of themselves as underdeveloped, with the whole burden of connotations that this carries” .

Ferguson (1994) then goes on arguing that possibly the most prominent case of dual characterization of development is the creation of the concept of a “Less Developed Country” (LCD). “The fallacy, of course, consists in changing the meaning of one of the terms of the syllogism in the middle of the implication. The “development” version goes as follows: (1) poor countries are (by definition) “less developed”: (2) less developed countries are (by another definition) “those which have not yet been fully brought into the modern economy: therefore, (3) poor countries are those which have not yet been fully brought into the modern economy” (Ferguson, 1994, 56). In this explanation the discursive understanding of development changes in the middle causing conceptual misinterpretation. This kind of changing of meanings is happening on the development field constantly according to Escobar (2012).

Another similar issue is the so-called basic unit of development. According to Ferguson, country (with its developed or underdeveloped national economy) is the basic unit and the problems addressed are its problems as a whole. In a country so strongly labelled as LCD everything is seen as an aspect of economy. The national economy in LCDs is often understood as a system that fully responds to national policies (which, themselves, are not value-free non-political actions). The drop in economy is seen as the result of government failure, while development/growth is due to the development apparatus’ planning and projects. (Ferguson, 1994, 64) Malik, Lopes & Fukuda-Parr (2002) criticize the international development apparatus

for its inability to build the capacity of the local civil society and NGOs. This problem has been acknowledged but the means to tackle it have remained ineffective. They state that “technical cooperation had proven effective in getting the job done, but less effective at developing local institutions or strengthening local capacities; and that it was expensive, donor-driven, often served to heighten dependence on foreign experts, and distorted national priorities” (2002, 4). Sometimes the actions taken by the donors lead to replacement rather than transformation in the beneficiary societies.

The point of studying discourses partly lies in the concept of structures. Ferguson (1994, 17) notes that the apparatus always operate in such a complex surroundings containing social and cultural values and structures, that the outcome is often something very different than originally intended. Struggle and progress are always required in structural reproduction and this may cause hardships on the way. Escobar (2012, 154) says that the history of development is viewed in multiple different ways. For example, a political economist sees it as a reflection of ideological responses to capital accumulation and circulation. Evolution of theories and ideas or analysis of the cause and effect relationships is a conventional way to interpret the history. Escobar himself sees the history of development from the perspective of changes and transformations in the discursive regime affected by the discursive practices of political economies, traditions and societal institutions.

Escobar (2012) calls for unmaking the development and annihilation of current development discourse and language. Wolfgang Sachs (1992, 1) goes further and wishes to bid farewell to the whole idea of development. “The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusions and disappointment, failures and crimes have been steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work.” Instead of a drive for modernity Escobar advocates a hybrid model of the extensively understood concepts of modernity and traditionality. “Instead of searching for grand alternative models or strategies, what is needed is the investigation of alternative representations and practices in concrete local settings, particularly as they exist in contexts of hybridization, collective action, and political

mobilization. This proposal is developed in the context of the ecological phase of capital and the struggles over the world's biological diversity.” (Escobar, 2012, 19)

Ferguson's ideas about development being constructed in discursive regimes serve as the main theoretical framework of my thesis. I follow his and Escobar's Foucauldian line of thinking about the order of discourses and that this discourse-setting also has practical consequences. Structures are created within and between discourses and thus the concept is explained briefly above. In my study, I will start with the idea of development as discursively constructed entity, and therefore investigate what kinds of development discourses are presented in the policy papers.

#### **4. METHODOLOGY: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF POLICY PAPERS**

In this chapter I will describe the methodological approach of my research. In this thesis mostly discourse analysis is used in order to better understand the countries' position on ideology of development. First I will introduce my approach in the field of discourse analysis. Then I will present the research data. Finally, I will explain the methods of analysis that have been used.

Development does not, for me, even exist without the contexts because only in the context does it become meaningful. Because of this social constructionist view, Discourse analysis (DA) with critical characteristics is a meaningful method for this research. It can hopefully be applied to the data in a way that offers us new information about the social reality.

##### **Discourse Analysis as a methodological field**

The method of this research is Discourse Analysis (DA) with some Foucauldian characteristics. DA is used in my thesis to analyse and introduce different kind of discourses emerging from the Post-2015 consultations of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Burkina Faso, Zambia, Ethiopia and Mozambique. These countries are viewed as examples of low Human Development Index -countries.

As the theoretical framework suggests, it is possible to see development as a discursive regime with power to construct reality socially. This is why discourses are the focus of my research and that makes DA a logical choice of method. Foucauldian characteristics come to the picture when different agencies and discursive development ideologies are analysed. Discursive representations of development are analysed through the theme of agency and specific development discourses found from the policy papers. At its best, DA produces new and meaningful observations from society and reality; their structure, functions or phenomena (Väliverronen, 1998, 14) - and, in this case, development.

DA is vast and complex methodological field. Even experienced researchers talk about “the jungle of context” (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen, 1993, 11) or “a jumble of concepts” (Valtonen, 1998, 96). This makes it possible to use the DA in multiple purposes. For this research, it has been framed for the purposes of analyzing developmental discursive regimes.

DA has been influenced by anthropology, semiotics, linguistics, sociology, social psychology and social policy. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen, 1993, 10; Valtonen, 1998, 96). Valtonen (1998, 96) describes DA as a group of theoretical supposition concerning language, its use and the society. They loosely guide towards certain kind of question-settings and methodological decisions. It is a loose framework that the researcher may use for his or her own decision-making. According to Paltridge (2012), discourse analysis can be viewed as a study of patterns of language and a study of social and cultural context of the text. In my research, discourses are seen as social constructions of reality and representations of ideologies in policy papers.

### ***The definition of discourse***

A discourse is a way of talking and a system of symbolic relations. Discourse is not the same as the topic or theme of the discussion: it is the social reality constructed by the author and, on the other hand, by the reader. Discourse is not an opinion but a framework through which an issue is looked into. Discourses always use their own perspective to analyse the truth and prioritize their own viewpoints. (Kunelius, 2009, 223) The reality created by discourses is always socially constructed. It is characterized by conflicting perspectives and speeches. Discourses are a

platform that everyone uses to create their own social reality. Discourses are constantly renewed. Phenomena, such as development or madness, are produced and reproduced in discourses constantly. (Valtonen, 1998; Foucault, 2005) Valtonen and Kunelius, as well as I, follow the Foucauldian understanding of social reality as discursively constructed.

DA is the analysis of different kind of discourses. It is a kind of mixture of theory and research, theoretic-methodological framework for the research. It is used to interpret the text and the reality behind the text. While trying to see “through” the text the researcher also interprets the language itself as creative and reality-constructing action. (Valtonen, 1998, 97)

DA is, in other words, loose framework in which the researcher is allowed to make his or her own decisions.

Discourse analysis is a study of language but it is different from content or rhetorical analysis. The focus of the research is not the message of the text or rhetoric means but the reality the language constructs. In the center is not the individual but the social practices. (Jokinen, Juhila & Suoninen, 1993, 37). I understand that discourse can never be studied in a vacuum because it is actually constructed only in the context. This realization gives my thesis its socially constructed characteristic.

### *Critical dimensions of DA*

Discourse analysis becomes critical when power, ideology and sociocultural change are added to the scene. Paltridge (2012, 187) lists the characteristics of Critical Discourse Analysis as follows: “social and political issues are constructed and reflected in discourse; power relations are negotiated and performed through discourse; discourse both reflects and reproduces social relations; ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse”. Quite a few of these bullet points will be touched on in the analysis of the data, and this gives my research a critical touch. I see development as a social and political issue and as some kind of a discursive ideology as well. Fairclough (1995, 1) sees the conceptualization of power happening in asymmetrical discursive events between different participants. He also sees it in production, distribution and consumption capacity of texts in sociocultural contexts. This Foucauldian idea of asymmetrical

power links together with the idea of Malik, Lopes and Fukuda-Parr (2002) about principally asymmetrical power relations within the development field. Foucault (1972, 45–47, according to Valtonen, 1998, 103) has stated that discourses and power are closely linked. This is because the world (created by language and comprehension) consist only of discursive elements that intertwine themselves differently in people's minds creating power relations. The power relations arising from the policy papers are analysed in the form of roles different actors take. I am trying to apply a critical dimension in the analysis of discursive roles. Power relations emerge when the research material is asked questions such as: who has the power to make the change? How does the message of development travel? This is further explored in Chapter 5.

We are all users and objects of power whether we know it or not. Discourses often have the power to define the norm or the truth and are used to create power relations between subject groups. (Kunelius, 2009, 221). This way we too become ideological subjects, both dominant and submissive – we are a part of the implementation and the experiencing of the discourses (Kunelius, 2009, 221–222). Dominant discourses are always linked to the time and place and context but they have their own historical legacy (Valtonen, 1998; Foucault, 1969). The idea presented by Kunelius also contributes to the analysis of roles and discourses when attempting to find norms and self-evident truths. Just as all other discourses, the idea of development also carries its historical weight with it, as do all the nation states.

Fairclough (1995) explains that the discursive power lies in controlling and sustaining certain discursive practices as well as in focusing and rebuilding of ideologically dominant discourses instead of alternative ones. These power relations are renewed every day in different social contexts (e.g. in the way of talking or behavior towards others) as well as in documents, like in the data that will be used for this research. Fairclough (1995) argues that discourses play a major role in modern society reproduction and change. They contribute to the reproduction of power relations but try not to claim anything to be true or false as such. Development could be just this kind of reproduced societal phenomenon. The role of the research material in renewing the discursive hegemonic practice of development is interesting.

Power relations emerge within and between discourses. Some of the discourses may gain a status so strong that they actually become foregone conclusions and self-evident truth. These can be very hard to question. Thus they become hegemonic discourses. (Jokinen & Juhila, 1991 ja 1993; Valtonen, 1998, 103) These kind of hegemonic discourses of development are the ones I set out to explore here. The most hegemonic discourses can be so dominant that even the researcher themselves will not notice them (Jokinen & Juhila, 1993, 80). The hegemonic discourses are analysed in this research through self-evident characteristics and structures of development; are there some things that are taken as foregone conclusions?

The analysis of inner power relations of discourses are built on the analysis of the inner relations: who has the right to speak, who is the active actor, how the actors are stationed or where are they positioned (Jokinen & Juhila, 1993, 86). Examples of the inner power relations of the discourses can be found anywhere: for example “third world” is quite a new concept which is built on discourses. “Third world” itself is not a value because it is only based on the position of the viewer and the discourse. (Seppänen & Väliverronen, 2012, 106). Discursive roles are introduced in Chapter 5.

### *Discourse analysis in development studies*

In my research I exercise a Foucauldian social constructionist view on development in general. This means that “people's notions of reality are constructed largely through interaction with others, as mediated by the use of language and other semiotic systems” (Huckin, 1997, 86). This kind of interaction is the place where different notions of development have also been born. This social constructionist view makes the use of DA the best possible method for this research. See, for example, Maijala (2014) for more information on Critical Discourse Analysis in development studies. Rossi (2007) has also used Foucauldian approach in a development project study.

For this research, the most influential developmental scholars using DA in their studies are Ferguson and Escobar, who have already been broadly cited in the theoretical framework. Their understanding of development as a discursive regime makes the analysis of discourses significant for my research as well. In this study, the understanding of development as a discursive regime

means that the current dominant ideology of development consists of multiple different discourses. All of these discourses are reflected and related to one another somehow. They are not equal in power nor are they uniform or parallel when compared. These discourses can be dissonant, fighting or controversial. Together they built this general understanding of development.

Escobar (2012, 15) is one of the main critiques on the current developmental discursive understanding: “Also disturbing, as Said proceeds to argue, is the lack of attention on the part of Western scholars to the sizable and impassioned critical literature by Third World intellectuals on colonialism, history, tradition, and domination— and, one might add, development. The number of Third World voices calling for a dismantling of the entire discourse of development is fast increasing.” The understanding of development discourse is important because "this discourse results in concrete practices of thinking and acting through which the Third World is produced." (Escobar, 2012, 11)

Although strictly speaking some of the terms of this definition might be more applicable to the colonial context, the development discourse is governed by the same principles; it has created an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and the exercise of power over, the Third World. This apparatus came into existence roughly in the period 1945 to 1955 and has not since ceased to produce new arrangements of knowledge and power, new practices, theories, strategies, and so forth. To sum it up, it has successfully deployed a regime of government over the Third World, a “space for ‘subject people’” that ensures certain control over it. (Escobar, 2012, 9).

In this research DA is used to bring forward dominant and sometimes underlying discourses considered the desired development of low-HDI countries. This makes DA more of a study of separate nation-specific discourses and the main development discourses they lead into. They create a certain discursive regime (or ideology) but I will handle them as somehow related individual, dominant discourses. The study of power relations comes into the analysis of roles, but is not in itself in the focus of the study. The emphasis is on discourses which emerge from the policy papers.

## **Research material**

The data consists of six different policy papers. These papers are chosen from the World We Want -website which is run by the UN. Policy papers chosen are those from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Liberia and Zambia. Further on policy papers and reports are used synonymously referring to the data.

## **Criteria for selection of the material**

There were originally 88 papers available so some narrowing down was required. The selection criteria involve the continent, language and the form of the report.

All the policy papers chosen are from countries situated in the continent of Africa. Africa has been chosen due to the fact that a sufficient amount of data is available. Focusing on one continent should help create a more coherent picture of the discourses due to geopolitical reasons. Regional division within the continent would not have been sufficient since the eligible countries are scattered across Africa (see figure 4). Thus the level of HDI is used as a basis of the division.

The consultation reports are in several languages. Only English-language reports are used. Reading reports in a language that I am not fluent in would increase the risk of misunderstanding. Also, this is another reason to choose country reports from the African continent since quite many of those countries use English as a native language. Links to the national consultations can be found in appendix 2.

Most of the reports are published in a certain format, possibly provided by the UN. In this format the consultation process is recorded step by step and also stakeholders, activities and methodologies (or “who, what, how”) are explained. This kind of uniformity makes the interpretation easier and more resistant to invalid judgements. Only reports published in this format are eligible for this research. They provide a good opportunity for analyzing differences that emerge between discourses that look similar at first glance.



Figure 4. Geographical representation of data. Chosen countries marked in orange

The final formulation of the reports vary from each other. The shortest report by DRC is twelve pages long while Ethiopia's report is fifty-five pages including annexes. Some are very professional-looking with their bibliographies, table of contents and annexes, while others were more like potpourris of consultation workshops and stakeholders. Reports were published in the spring of 2013, excluding Zambia and Burkina Faso who have not given the publication date in their reports.

During my internship in the Embassy on Finland in Lusaka, Zambia, I heard some concerns that were raised on the inclusivity of the national consultation process. These concerns were mostly dealing with coverage and the inclusivity of the poorest in the Post-2015 national consultation process. It should be acknowledged that the final consultation reports might not express the opinions of the poorest of the poor or those really marginalized. It may be that they were too hard to reach or mobilize and probably the resources allocated to the consultation process were limited. So the voices we are hearing and interpreting in the consultation may be relatively successful stakeholders in each country's own standard.

On the other hand, these concerns are often tackled in the policy papers. It even seems like the writers of the reports are aware of this issue and concern and do their best to face it. For example Burkina Faso (7) states that the aim of the report is to "promote the contribution of the entire population in discussions for a global vision of the desired future, (ii) consultations will be the voice of the poor, the elderly and marginalized in the negotiation process. To achieve these specific objectives, more than 1,000 representatives of various organizations, institutions and structures of development stakeholders participated in the various consultations." DRC (3) introduces the provincial consultative focus group workshops and other inclusive actions. Ethiopia has established a national taskforce to ensure general inclusion. The length of the reports as well as the language makes it difficult to analyse the true coverage of these consultations. This issue is discussed more in Conclusions.

### **Categorizing the development stages of report countries**

The reports' countries of origin were categorized based on the HDI. In table 2 below, all of the groups are presented in terms of HDI and IHDI, as well as GDP and HDI rankings. The level of HDI is mentioned as a means for measuring and categorizing the data. IHDI is presented to give the ability to compare the equality (explained by the difference between HDI and IHDI) between different countries and different groups. The difference between HDI and IHDI is also visible in the table. GDP ranking means the size of the national economy and how it is placed in the global comparison according to the World Bank (2015). It simply tells the placement of the nations in the biggest economies –listing. The same goes with the HDI ranking: the number represents the

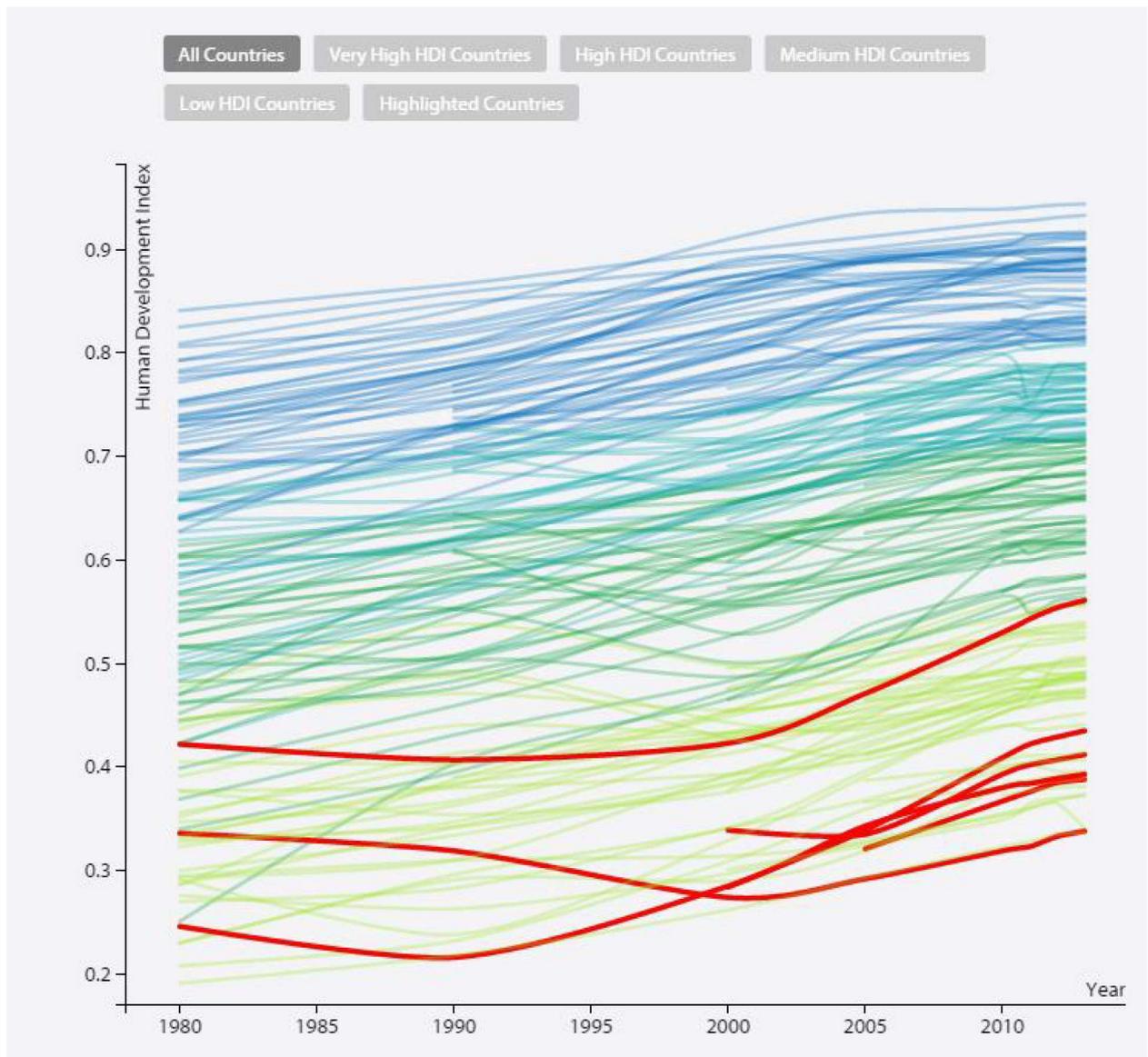
level of the HDI and how developed it is compared to other countries. The higher the ranking the higher is the level of HDI.

In the research group there six countries are presented. These countries are the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Liberia and Zambia. In the HDI ranking they are ranked between 186th and 141st. In the HDI-chart there are 187 countries listed so it can be concluded that these countries present the poorest of the poor on that list. The value of their GDP is ranked between 168th and 84th. The difference between HDI and IHDI is more than 0.1 units in all of the countries of the group. Figure 5 shows the countries and their trends over some time.

GDP is used as an indicator to see the possible relation with the size of the economy and the level of HDI. GDP per capita is often used to show the country's wealth. In this research it was however more meaningful to stick to the GDP in general to create a more coherent data analysis.

<b>Country</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
Liberia	LIB
Democratic Republic of Congo	DRC
Zambia	ZAM
Burkina Faso	BF
Ethiopia	ETH
Mozambique	MOZ

**Table 1. Abbreviations of data**



**Figure 5. Countries in data group highlighted in red in HDI chart. Updated 22.10.2015. (UNDP - website)**

As can be seen, there are some differences in the HDI development of the countries. The data was chosen at the end of year 2013 and at the time they filled the criteria. For example Zambia's HDI has grown more than 0.11 units between October 2013-October 2015 leaving some other countries behind in the HDI-listing, but as it was valid at the time of data selection it will be included in the data.

<b>Country</b>	<b>HDI</b>	<b>IHDI</b>	<b>HDI - IHDI</b>	<b>GDP Ranking</b>	<b>HDI Ranking</b>
Democratic Republic of Congo	0,338	0,211	0,127	98	186
Mozambique	0,393	0,277	0,116	117	178
Burkina Faso	0,388	0,252	0,136	131	181
Ethiopia	0,396	0,269	0,127	84	173
Liberia	0,412	0,273	0,139	168	175
Zambia	0,561	0,365	0,196	102	141

**Table 2. Comparison of the HDI, IHDI and the size of economy of the three different groups. HDI is Human Development Index, IHDI Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index, Economic ranking is the size of the national economy in the world based on the World Banks listing (World Bank, 2015).**

## **The methods of analyzing the reports**

The analysis loosely followed the guidelines given by Paltridge (2000, 153-159) on doing CDA. Some findings/discourses were quite easy to discover and some only emerged in relation to others. The identification process was data-driven so there are no tables or themes chosen beforehand. The method of my research is discourse analysis with critical characteristics so the analysis was started based on Paltridge's instructions and then elaborated with traditional methods of DA. Paltridge (2000, 153-159) advises the reader to focus on genre, framing, foregrounding, omission, presupposition, topicalization, agency, connotation and modality. From these agency, topicalization, foregrounding and framing were seen as relevant for this thesis. Thus I applied them in the practical analysis of the data.

The analysis of discourses was done by first thematically coding the data. First, all the papers were read and the most obvious themes identified. In addition color coding was used. This is the part I see as my own foregrounding and topicalization, if we follow Paltridge's (2000) instructions on conducting DA. Topicalization stands for the focus and main lines of each report – e.g. what are the topical and mainstreamed issues of each report. My aim was to create an overall image on the issue(s) and create topical and discursive presuppositions I could later go back to. At this point, foregrounding meant the way the reports represents the country and what kind of picture they give from the progress and actions of the country. Foregrounding was part of creating the background on which the reports are reflected on. Findings concerning this were gathered into a table. Other tables called MDG/UN and agency were also created.

On the next reading round the focus was more on what lies "behind" those most obvious contextual aspects. After the color coding and the first impressions, I started looking for answers for my questions from the text. The most obvious themes emerging during color coding were women, economy and MDGs. The identification of these helped me shape the questions for the analysis.

Some questions asked were for example: are women viewed as subjects or objects of development? Where does the money come from and who is it supposed to benefit? Who is responsible for the current progress towards the MDGs?

Because of the emphasis on agency was decided on prior to the research, it is one of my focal points. The questions concerning it were such as: who starts the development? Where does it end and by whom? Who are there in the middle and on which side? These questions are just some examples of questions shaped on the basis of first impressions. This is where I tried to frame issues into a more easily adaptable and more clearly shaped form. The concept of framing is mostly used in terms of how each country frame their idea of development in a national and agentive perspective.

Framing helped focus on the relevant issues and trim out some characteristics that did not seem important. At this point, I once again read through all the policy papers and filled out rest of the tables. The table concerning agency was modified into a more detailed one as it got filled in. The other tables mostly helped me structure the findings into rational ideas. Similar questions as already mentioned were used throughout the whole analysis for identification and shaping of issues.

At some points of data analysis certain papers were more in the focus: for example when I found a clear discourse about the politics I read that report through more carefully than the others and then compared the results with the other reports with not as much detail. The characteristics of the research material (unclear formatting, emphasis on different themes, different naming) made it sometimes hard to compare, but I constantly tried to be as objective as possible.

At this point, several developmental policy paper discourses were identified, as well as various roles emerging from the text. The next reading round was dedicated for the testing and framing of these reports. The identification process was data-driven. Some generalizations were made but details from each paper are presented in the following subchapters. As always, I had to make some choices on the presentation of the outcomes of the data. I tried to choose the strongest and most telling discourses for the presentation; for example, the economic discourse was only

introduced in relation to other discourses, and it did not seem to have value on its own. Then again, the discourse of nation state was too strong to pass and its presence is strong in other discourses as well. Still it has value to itself, since it is working as a basic “unit” for development.

When the discursive findings on the level of the policy papers were identified, I had to put them into some logical order. Over the first reading rounds I had created tables to which I had marked all special features of each country. This time I no longer read all the policy papers thoroughly but instead started targeting some issues that had already emerged and comparing them with other papers. When the focus was for example on nation-state, I went through all the papers and saw what they said about nation-state. I used hints given by for example coding colors and tables of contents to find the right pages. I also browsed through the papers once more. My idea was to take examples from the report in which the discourse emerged as strongest and after that take more examples (that either strengthened or opposed them) from other reports. I put quite a lot of effort into going through all the reports but in each discourse I focused on few reports and then compared them with others. I also drew a mind map to help to understand the inner relations.

When I had decided the preliminary order and findings, I started writing the chapter for the thesis. The process of writing was also helpful for organizing and describing the findings. There are some bits left from the original draft but most of the text in this thesis has been written at least twice.

After that, it was time to do the final round of reading and try to analyse the more general discourses about development. These findings created a basis and contributed towards a more general discourse. Also, the names of the roles were changed and shaped – some original roles were blended and some divided. One major discourse was separated into two smaller ones when I realized that putting them into the same graph did not seem reasonable.

## **5. FINDINGS: THE DISCOURSES OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE REPORTS**

In this chapter the discourses of development found in the analysis are introduced. The introduction of the findings begins with a presentation of three different discourses from the policy papers and a description of each in detail. These discourses are named UN, Nation State and Services. The theme of agency is quite cross-cutting in the discursive regime and thus it is given its own chapter with the analysis of the roles in the papers. Different data-driven discourses as well as the analysis of agency create the basis for synthetization and identification of broader development discourses, which are presented at the end of the chapters. By broader development discourse I mean a certain kind of discourse that seems to cross-cut over in the general field of development. I assume that these discourses could be found at all levels of development and that they are often quite hegemonic in organizing development. I call them “broad” because they consist of many other discourses identified here and their coverage in the development field is wide. In other words, they are broader than the developmental discourses of UN, Nation State and Services. These broader development discourses are identified as Development Path and Power of International Development Agenda.

The first place for differences between policy papers to emerge is in the setting of the headlines. They are used here as an example to show that there is variation in the angle and perceptions of the reports. Mozambique’s report was subtitled “Voices and Perceptions From Groups and Organizations in Mozambique” while Liberia’s report was subtitled “The People of Liberia’s contribution towards an emerging consensus on the Post-2015 Development agenda and Framework that will be globally endorsed and locally relevant”. Ethiopia’s report was “The Voice of Ethiopia”, Zambia’s was called “Zambia Consultations on the Post the Millennium Development Agenda (MDGs) Agenda”. In the reports of DRC (“Summary report of national consultations on international development agenda Post 2015”) and Burkina Faso (“Country National Consultations for the definition report Agenda Development of Post-2015”) there was no mention of stakeholder groups in the title. For Ethiopia, Zambia, DRC and Burkina Faso the country itself seemed to be the unit of discussion. Mozambique emphasized the role of the groups and organizations and Liberia the role of its people.

The way the report is subtitled is not a dominant clue towards the discourses that will follow but it is still a clue. The title is the first place to emphasize certain groups and actions (or, just as well, leave some out). The effort and views of the reporter of course has a strong role in titles. In most places the reports were however publicly validated and thus most stakeholders also had some power in the title-giving.

Shedding light on the variation of the techniques and focal points of each report may explain some of the other main characteristics of the report. These characteristics could be such as why are certain groups seen responsible and some as vulnerable in the reports while other reports see things the other way around. To give a practical example: why is the state so strong in DRC-report but citizens hardly mentioned, while Burkina Faso sees moralized citizens as the lead actor in the role of the responsible. In my opinion, the structure goes like this: first the UN gives out the instructions to gather national data and to publish a report about the Post-2015 agenda. Then the UNCT and group of facilitators decide how and who to consult and who their target groups are (as mentioned, consultees and target groups do not always go one in one). This decision and the practicalities that follow (the actual data gathering) are steered by the angle the facilitators take towards the report and the whole Post-2015 discussion. So the actions are an indicator of the roles taken. They can be either the cause or the outcome of a certain decision.

When considering the data-collection for the reports, the skills of the consultants must play an important role. It is my belief, that consultants will consult those who they can reach and it is easiest to reach someone you know. So the selection of facilitators and consultants probably affects the selection of consultees and thus can lead to biased results in the report. This is something that is important to notice. Often the genuine aim seemed to be to make the consultation process as extensive as possible. Ethiopia was an example of this with its established wide-based national taskforce. The surrounding conditions (e.g. timetable, infrastructure, knowledge, ways of reaching people, people's availability, relationships of different groups, season and so forth) can also have a very large impact on the practical actions followed by the previously mentioned decision. So the actions are not only a reflection of the

relationships of different stakeholders and roles but also a reflection of the conditions and possibilities the data gatherer had at the time.

Poverty-reduction comes up very often amongst the goals proposed. There were quite a few economic values stated in the reports. However, often the development was seen as a tool for something else: whether it is for employment of the young or well-being of the rural people, for example. In some reports, the economic growth itself was stated as the priority, but often it was as a channel towards development, not as development itself.

In Findings the discourses are presented methodologically based on all six policy papers. The discourses were not evenly strong in all discourses (as can be seen in each sub chapter). For example the reports from DRC and Mozambique varied from each other quite a lot in relation to nation state and role of politics. The synthetization discourses were more evenly presented in the policy papers: they were generally hegemonic.

## **Discourses of development perspectives**

### **UN: Development as achieving MDGs**

One notable discourse in each policy paper is the strong presence of the United Nations or United Nations System or some of the member organs of the United Nation. This is partly understandable due to the fact that consultations were initiated and sometimes fully run by UN entities.

In the papers MDGs are often used as a framework to reflect a country's progress over time and also to present the current situation (which MDGs have been reached by the time of publishing and which have not)? This is also a kind of understanding of “development” and how the countries had developed over time. The MDGs are probably a formal and uniform framework: they are easy to compare within and between countries and are thus used often . They are also UN-originated and on their part make the UN-discourse stronger. The countries often see themselves somehow submissive to the UN and the development apparatus it represents. It can also be that the country is not submissive as such but the UN as a large global actor is in other

ways dominant. It is interesting to reflect this on Ferguson and Escobar's ideas about the construction of development discourse and apparatus. As explained in the theory chapter, especially Ferguson (1994) strongly argues that the discourse of development is not created in the area the development is supposed to "take place". Ferguson (1994, 71-73) states that the construction of development is usually done by development apparatus that define actions through their own criteria in order to be successful. Escobar (2012, 53) sees development and underdevelopment mostly as historical, artificially constructed discourses more than anything real as such.

It is also possible, that the UN has given some guidelines on the form and structure of the report. If the instructions include the notion to use the MDGs as a base for comparison this could mostly also explain the tendency to highlight the MDGs in the reports. The whole Post-2015 agenda is set to build on the Millennium Development Goals and improve on them so critical reflection is of course important. According to my understanding, it is also the role of these consultations to highlight the ups and downs of the MDGs and thus contribute to more inclusive and effective Post-2015 agenda. Possibly some countries would present differently emphasized views on development in other contexts. In these reports the presence of MDGs is very strong and probably overshadows some other focal points.

Yet some other, mostly economic, indicators have been kept on the side as well. For example, economic growth was mostly measured in terms of the GDP. Economic aspect is often presented in relation to MDGs. It emerges in foregrounding and framing. (Economic) growth was often amongst the top priorities when planning the new Post-2015 objectives. It was both a prerequisite and an outcome of development. It came up especially when discussing poverty reduction or low employment numbers.

The dysfunctions in development are often seen to be due to the actions of the nation state but some reports also state that the malfunctions are also due to flaws in the Goals: "the evaluations made on the implementation of MDGs were not participative and did not include in proper manner the main beneficiaries such as the population and civil society." (MOZ, 26). Zambia's policy paper states that: "Young people in Zambia believe that the reasons behind the country's

slow progress with regard to meeting MDGs are: a) lack of information about MDGs: b) inadequate political commitment; and c) absence of accountability mechanism” (ZAM, 17). As the MDGs emerge as a strong discourse they are almost always reflected on the discourse of nation state. The UN also uses state as a unit of development in its measurement. For instance, the HDI measures the development of a state, and not for example a geographical or linguistic area. The global development apparatus, and most of all the UN, is built on agreements and agendas agreed upon by the nation states as well, so measuring development using these as units is probably justified. This might leave some regional, ethical or other intranational divisions into the dark but gives data which is comparable at different points of time.

### **Nation State: Taken-for-granted responsible unit of development**

Each report has also a strong discourse of nation state. The state was seen as a self-evident and legitimate “unit” for development.

In the reports, the nation state is often seen as the main entity and main responsible in actualizing the development. It is the actions or non-actions of government that have influenced the reaching the MDGs. Burkina Faso (BF, 4) listed the “withdrawal of the state from social sectors (education, health)” (BF, 4), and “poor governance in the management of public affairs, corruption and unequal distribution of the fruits of growth” (BF, 4) as reasons for slow development in general. This strengthens the image of the state as a responsible unit for development. Zambia’s policy paper highlights the role of communication in relation to the Goals. “Had there been more awareness about MDGs, people may have proactively engaged more. To realize the strategic development priorities - whether it is about providing quality education with life skills or eradication poverty: ensuring better health care or improving access to clean water and sanitation: creating jobs or addressing issues of inequalities and environmental sustainability - access to information and technology is essential. Also key is to put in place a monitoring and accountability mechanism.” (ZAM, 18)

In the reports the nation state stands out as the uniform actor in development. There is no mention about politics or political distribution (with the partial exception of Mozambique and

Liberia). The political actors were taken aboard in the Post-2015 process differently in each country. In DRC the government was the main facilitator while in Zambia the MPs were acting both as consultees and consultants. The political assets were also in other ways represented in the consultation process, at least in Mozambique's report. "In the case of Parliament, direct interviews were conducted to some Members of Parliament (MPs). At the level Government Institutions, the interviews were documental since these institutions chose this way." (MOZ, 11)

All the notes concerning government and, in most cases, political governance are considered to belong under this discourse. "Transparent and accountable governance is a prerequisite to achieve all other development goals. Also important is an application of the Human Rights Based Approach in governance to address issues of minority groups (e.g. people with disabilities)" (ZAM, 14). In Zambia's report, both Government and governance are mentioned. The word "governance" puts the responsibility into a more abstract level, while Government is a clearly structured actor. "Zambians are asking for civil service productivity: a disciplined and accountable work culture: decentralization of service delivery: and a stronger collaboration between public and private sectors as well as participation of civil society, youth and other stakeholders ensuring 'good governance'" (ZAM, 15) Good governance is sometimes labelled under services and sometimes as a more abstract entity of good practice and responsible network..

Liberia states that the government is responsible for "**Inclusion** ensuring inclusive economic growth, which may involve use of administrative guidelines of what can be expected to be government's responsibilities for progressive realization of further development" (LIB, 6). In this, the government is seen mostly as a framework, catalyst or guide towards the economic growth but possibly not the initiator of it. From this paragraph one could find a discourse of policies the government is expected to implement on the economic sector. It also highlights the government's responsibilities in development and thus reflects the analysis of roles in this thesis: government is expected to offer opportunities for development and set out a discourse for it through following agendas and policies. Ethiopia also takes a stance in this kind of thinking: "Despite some implementation gaps, the policies, infrastructures and institutions are already in

place to advance further progress and sustain economic growth and development” (ETH, 4). This quotation shows the attitude the Ethiopian report has towards development: it also sees the development actualizing through the tools (policies, institution and infrastructure-building) of the nation state.

In this discourse, the report of Mozambique was exceptional to some extent in relation to nation state and politics with its specific mentions of political instability: ”Mozambique still faces great challenges related to political stability, while being the fragile network provider of basic social services in various areas, food insecurity, high prevalence of HIV and AIDS, chronic malnutrition, lack of schools and qualified teachers, as well as failure of health services and inadequate infrastructure to stimulate the private sector activities.” (MOZ, 9). With this quotation the political stability is put on the same line with other means and outcomes of the factor. It could be asked whether this mention of Mozambique includes the notion of government as political entity or just as the framework of service-production machinery. More discussion about the discourse of services will follow in the next chapter. Liberia had the strong discourse of fragility and it goes, to some extent, together with this Mozambicans’ thinking about political instability. Compared to the general level of the reports, this is quite a critical comment about the government's actions and inactions affecting the development.

The outcomes of economic growth and development are mentioned in the next quotation. This is not direct critique towards the political entity of the state but this is something that the government could have power over. ”Despite this progress [economic growth with annual average of 7.5 %], the country continues to have severe constraints particularly in the diversification of the economy, weak institutions, high funding costs and fragile infrastructure” (MOZ, 8).

Mozambique also reflects on the relationship between the government and the donors and the influence both have to the desired development of the country. ”In recent year, the Government increased closer relations with development partners in order to materialize its plans, program and projects” (MDG 8) and “The government strengthened bilateral and multilateral cooperation with other countries and international organizations through the establishment of joint

committees, annual meetings and/or through participation in international conferences, realization and reception of visits.” (MOZ, 10)

Although well-being and service-production were often stated to be on the level of nation state, there were some notions towards global responsibilities and partnership. For example Ethiopia lists “strengthening global partnership and accountability” (ETH, 4) as one of its emerging development needs.

In the following pages there will be an introduction of the relationship between the role of responsibility and the discourse of nation state.

In the DRC-report the responsible role of government is multifold. They are seen as partners in improving business-climate, managing the ecosystem and conflict resolution in partnership and coordination with donor agencies. Even though the government is stated as the main responsible in DRC report for almost every issue, it is not listed alone. Different UN agencies (ILO, UNICEF, UNFPA, and Unifem) as well as other donors are mentioned as partly responsible for problem resolution: the role of responsibility is shared. In some issues, such as stabilization, government is not mentioned as responsible but instead many UN organization and women and youth organizations are. (DCR 2-6)

In Zambia's report, the role of responsibility of government is focused on improving the educational system and environmental protection. This is further discussed in the chapter Services. In educational improvements the main responsible is the government in improving the responsiveness towards the citizens and the quality of teacher's education. Also, the parents with adequate resources are seen as possible change-makers but their role seems more voluntary. In environmental protection the approach is wide: policymakers, traditional chiefs, private sector and communities are all seen as part of the problem as well as the of solution.(ZAM 16-17)

In Burkina Faso's report, the emphasis on responsibility is mostly laid on policies, politics and other “technical” aspects of the issue. Both nation state and government are mentioned as the change-makers, as well as the president of Burkina Faso. Their role is not function as initiators of development but more like a channel or catalyst for it: they are stated to have a strong role in

building and maintaining bilateral and multilateral relationships with partners and mining companies (the actual change-makers). Other stakeholders (whose role could be responsible or more consultative) who would have an impact were for example traditional and religious authorities, state institution, trade unions, civil society, political parties, banks and microfinance, technical and financial partners (in aid) and Civil Society Organisations (CSO) network on the regional and subregional level. Burkina Faso, too, takes a broad approach towards national issues.

In Liberia's report as well, the government is one of the main responsibilities for progressive realization of further development. This links with the national development plan and Liberia's Vision 2030. The connection with, for example, responsibility-sharing in Burkina Faso's report seems strong: the government itself does not have to create the desired development but to generate and find ways for it. Investors (including government but others also) are the initiators and enablers for the change. This reflects the general outcome of the Post-2015 national consultation: the government is desired to be more responsive to citizens and investors by reviewing the Constitution, for example. This way it, as a responsible one, would generate more development (inclusive growth) for the people and investors. Some responsibility has been set on traditional authorities, too: there is a call for strong institutions instead of "strong individuals", as it is now. In my view, this means that authorities are politely asked to cooperate and decentralize their power instead of centralizing power into their own hands and trying to force their own opinions on others.

In Liberia's report, the role of responsibility is noted in the Our Priorities –section, in which proposals for Post-2015 agenda are introduced. Under every goal there is a section called Delivery and Monitoring, where the responsibilities for the desired change are listed. It is characteristic of the complexity of the issue of responsibility that in quite many goals the Delivery and monitoring section has been left blank.

In Ethiopia's report, the goal is to produce recommendations for government, civil society and other stakeholders and "influence the intergovernmental processes so that they align with citizens aspirations" (ETH, 3). Here the international relations are seen as the target of influential

process. The role of government is more active than in some other reports but still it is not seen to function on its own. In the annex there is a notion that the government needs to reduce inequality in all segments of the society: in this government is seen as the main responsible organ and other stakeholders go unidentified. The Ethiopian report puts the responsible role on many levels of decision-making: “not only local, also global unfair acts and power relations” (ETH, 37) should be acknowledged with global and local actions. Still, there is a call for a “system of global governance” (ETH, 37) that puts most of the responsibility on global relations and decision-making. Some responsibility is put on national development plan (Growth and Transformation Plan) and its successor that is possibly influenced by Post-2015 agenda.

In Ethiopia’s report as well, the stakeholders are listed in annex. These include all segments of society and the partnerships between them. Once again, I interpret these to be at least partly responsible or at least capable for change.

Mozambique’s report, has a strong idea of development as something the government should encourage in partnership with donor partners. The government seems to be most responsible while the country itself faces hardships despite the international assistance. The government is the biggest organ in relation to maintaining and applying the relationship with the donor partners and development agendas. Development agendas, such as Post-2015, are a powerful tool and it is hoped that it will give concrete guidelines to the government and thus have an impact on, for example, basic social services. Mozambique’s approach is quite policy-oriented asking for example stronger governance.

As already shown, Mozambique’s differs from the other reports on some levels. For example, it sets societies and communities as main responsible in solving “girl problems” and sees moralized citizens as both the means and the outcome of development – also adding some pressure to these individuals. National professionals would, according to the report, be willing to take on their responsibilities but are poorly recognized on national level.

This is a discourse to which Ferguson (1994,66) also commits himself in his works: the development apparatus does not understand the state or the government as a political totality but instead of neutral and even natural. He argues that the development institutions often consider

the nation states as an administrative framework and not political entities. In development talk, the government's role is to act as a neutral service-provider for the citizens and not to make politics, just policies. Their national economy is expected to respond to actions to the hilt, even though this does not happen anywhere (including the “developed” states). The downfalls of national economies are considered as a failure of the state actions, while positive development is seen as an outcome of the actions of the development apparatus. Countries’ economies and other sectors of society always function in relation to complex social and cultural surroundings. (Ferguson, 1994, 64)

### **Services: The manifestation of development in everyday life**

The discourse of services link to the discourse of nation states. Nation state is often seen as the first provider of services or at least the government is somehow responsible of their production. Once again, the government is a non-political but very responsible entity. In this discourse, the concept of services includes the life-improving aspect that is considered a state's responsibility to organize. Most often these include education at various levels and health services. To various degrees security, good governance and economic services, such as reduction of unemployment, are also part of these. Inclusion of the marginalized is a rather cross-cutting theme in most of the policy papers.

Service-production is one of the main tasks of the state. As Ferguson (1994, 66) has already discussed, the government is seen as a neutral framework instead of a political entity. Policy papers seem to prove this point.

There are no mentions of political leftist or rightist ideas, such as privatization. The only reports highlighting the role of their political leader are those of Liberia and Burkina Faso. Liberia’s paper mentions the role of the President of Liberia, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, in the co-lead role in the UN Secretary General’s High Level Panel (HLP) of Experts on Post-2015 agenda (LIB, 4). This was something to be proud of. Burkina Faso’s paper lists the President of Burkina Faso as a main advocator and framework-setter for development. (BF, 5) In Zambia, the First Lady at the time, Christine Kasemba, was also acting as the advocator of Post-2015 process. Her role was to

raise awareness and political aspects are not mentioned (ZAM, 4). Still the role of all these political actors is introduced in a non-political context: as an advocator or builder of well-being, not as a maker of political reforms, for example. In the political agenda what is not said is almost more interesting than what is said.

Mozambique's policy paper brings together the political side, services and the development discourse. I understand the political stability as the government's democratically chosen, equal and mutually beneficial way to produce development. The following quotation sums up the relationship between development, nation state and services: "[Slow development] presents major challenges to political stability which is a fragile network provider of basic social services, including food security, high HIV and Aids prevalence and AIDS and chronic malnutrition" (MOZ, 8)

In general, the services seem to be considered a part of human development. Human development comes up often in almost all of the reports, but it is not systematically used as synonym to development. I interpret this to be part of general movement towards a bottom up - approach. "Equality of Income, Gender, Access and Opportunity" (ZAM, 12) is one of the titles where human development is brought up. Zambia has more similar notions, too: "Zambians suggested that the Government should increase the health budget to take such into account, and ensure rights-based approach in planning so that issues such as disabilities are well addressed. Ensuring accountability mechanism in the Post-2015 framework to hold the Government accountable is also a priority for Zambians." (ZAM, 11)

In Liberia's report (LIB, 5), equality and rights are mentioned as major factors affecting the quality of services. Improved quality of services is seen as development in the report, so equality and rights are considered a part of services and the other way around. Everyone has an equal right to use of the services the state provides. The idea of "equality of opportunity AND provision of better services" (LIB, 5) ties in with Sen's (2001) idea of development as the freedom of choices and expansion of people's possibilities.

The quality of services plays a major role in this discourse. It is not enough to produce services: the services should also be of adequate quality. While observing this discourse I realized I had another, mostly subconscious hypothesis. I was expecting to find a discourse about service-production but more along the lines of quantity ("education for all") than quality ("good education for all"). Although there are comments about the latter ("Access to health care quality spring heads need expressed by the populations at the regional consultations" (BF, 2)), the quality is still often emphasized. Mozambique's report also has mentions production and equality of the quality: "to the Mozambican citizen represented in the consultation, by different social groups, those challenges and weaknesses contribute to poor standards of living, from the point of view of availability and access to basic quality social services that can provide a decent life for citizens regardless to the urban or rural areas location" (MOZ, 12)

The main services listed in the reports are education and health service. Other services include, for example, minimizing inequality (ZAM), food security (BF), access to clean water and sanitation (BF), a more enabling business environment (BF), political and social peace and security (LIB) and basic social protection to vulnerable people (ZAM). These are just some examples of the wide notion of services. It also shows that services are not always material or easy to measure, but they are very cross-cutting in many sectors of society.

The different notions of services are quite interlinked. For example, improved infrastructure may make it easier to offer health services and education in rural areas. Thus they cannot be divided into their very own niches but are all part of a wider concept of services provided by the nation. There are discourses within and between different services.

One example of internal discourse could be, in case of education, the quality of teaching and the usefulness of education. The cause and effect relationship is explored: even though somebody would finish school, there is still often a lack of jobs. In the education path there are many different spots where one can fall out: "Zambia has made tremendous progress in providing universal access to primary education, but many children fail to complete secondary and tertiary education" (ZAM, 10). So the shift from primary to secondary and tertiary level is a hot-spot.

“People have noted that substantial efforts have been made to improve the education system...They want the state is more interested in the literacy, secondary and tertiary” (BF, 2). The quality of the education received is also important and often insufficient: “Teacher training and teacher housing therefore come across as priority investments to be advocated for” (ZAM, 10). Once somebody passes through all the grades he or she will face the hardships of getting a job and looking after themselves. Zambia calls for “quality education with life skills” (ZAM, 10). Zambia especially has a strong discourse of young people as change-makers. They are the eventual beneficiaries of development but poor education often hinders their life-skill development. The youth unemployment issue is mentioned several times, and it is possibly considered one of the most liable issue of all.

Education has an effect on equality and better health care, too: “More public information and education related to improved health and to gender equality and women's empowerment was prioritized” (ZAM, 11). This is one example where the external discourses of different services can be easily found: they are in relation to each other as well as somehow responsible for each other. Health care is often analysed in relation to education and also the infrastructure. Equality and/or women's empowerment comes up in reducing maternal and infant mortality, which is highlighted in many of the reports.

As already mentioned before, there are different kinds of notions fitting the Services. For example, Burkina Faso's report states that security is something that the state should produce: “To solve the problem [increasing insecurity in the workplace, theft and armed robberies, injustice and violation], the interviewees suggested that the state means more people at the base” (BF, 3). Following this quotation and my criteria, security can be based on the niche of services.

“Better job opportunities and an enabling business environment” (ZAM, 13) is seen as a kind of service as well. This can be viewed as critique towards the current business environment or the economic policy approach the government is running. There are also aspects of inequality-reduction and provision of social protection that can be labelled under services. “Achieving equality in society - income, access to services, gender and geographic” (ZAM, 12) is something that a nation state could produce or at least improve if they wished to do so. About social

protection Zambia states that “providing basic social protection to vulnerable populations and creating jobs for youth, empowering people and creating space for them to demand and claim their rights, as well as building infrastructure are other priority areas for investments in the Post-2015 to reduce extreme poverty” (ZAM, 14).

In Burkina Faso's (2) report, power is raised as a primary goal in relation to access to adequate food. This is the first paper to link these two together: “To solve these structures the people propose to develop the access infrastructure to facilitate the flow of products, promote crop season against through the control of water dams and regulate prices of grain products”. Since these actions all should be taken aboard by the nation state administration, these could also be labelled under services. If the focus would be somewhere else, then the labelling of power could be different.

All these immaterial services are hard to define and conceptualize. Security, enabling business environment, basic social protection and food security are all ways and means of development. They are to certain extent administered on the national level by policy-approaches and a political entity.

### **Discourses of agency: Different roles in development**

A main feature of the analysis is the different roles that can be found in the policy papers. The analysis of roles is later on combined with the analysis of discourses in the synthetization chapter.

Agency is not a discourse itself in this research; it is a broader discursive regime representing itself in different contexts. The roles are the representations of agency in the policy papers. So each role is a kind of discourse belonging to the theme of agency. For the sake of this research, they have all been put under the same label even though they are all their own discourses. The roles of facilitator, consultant, consultee, beneficiary and responsible are explained in more detail in the subchapters. The labelling is data-driven but some generalizations are made. Roles that mostly emerge from the data serve the aim of this thesis: they also relate to wider discourses of the reports and thus create some base for more analysis as well. This approach is also interesting

when indirectly researching the motivation for the consultation and what the role of whole Post-2015 agenda is for the nations. Also the countries relationship towards the report is an underlying theme: for what purpose do these papers seem to be published– e.g. are they purely to contribute for the Post-2015 process or do they act as evidence for the countries' push towards the MDGs?

The analysis of different actors also helps understand the foothold and angle each report takes towards the Post-2015 discussion in general and its different stakeholders. It also shows how responsibilities are divided between different actors and who are the ones supposed to be the change-makers for better. Each country had its own way of gathering their data and creating the report and this may affect the way the roles are shared in the report. There is not one uniform model of data-gathering or reporting and thus actors may represent themselves differently. This means that reports vary from each other but in my opinion the general roles were quite common in many ways.

Main roles are those of facilitator, consultant, consultee, beneficiary and responsible.

Facilitator is the one who initiates and often funds the process. In some cases, facilitators also write the final, official report. The facilitator seems to be the highest authority in the process. Consultant(s) is the organ responsible for gathering and reporting the actual data. There is no clear division between the facilitator and the consultant and sometimes they act almost in the same role. Often these roles include UN agencies, local NGOs, consultants and other advocates. Sometimes the name holders are explained in detail (named politicians or advocates) and sometimes grouped in larger groups (e.g. Women's groups). In every case there is some level of authority in relation to the consultants and consultees.

Consultees are the ones interviewed: local focal groups, academia, private sector representatives, representatives of vulnerable groups and so forth. Some of them are part of some vulnerable group while some represent some national or local institutions and some are considered professionals on a certain field. The division between consultant and consultee is not always clear because some interviewees had taken part in the process of implementation as well. Beneficiaries and consultees are often linked as well. The roles of facilitator, implementer and

interviewee are not always very clearly divided. The role of advocator could have been added to the list as well but at the end it is included in the role of consultant. For example Zambia has a strong tendency to use advocacy in their Post-2015 process: the First Lady of the time as well as some famous artists are involved in the public discussion and awareness-raising (ZAM, 2, 4).

The role labelled as responsible is not directly involved with the collection process. It means the ones that are seen either as responsible for the current situation or that are the ones who are supposed to make the change for better. The players of the role vary from international apparatus to the personal moral of citizens. In some cases, direct proposals for change are introduced and in some cases more focus is on showing what has been done wrong previously.

Zambia (14) has set “an honest and responsive government as one of the key development priorities of the consultation.” This is an interesting quotation when reflected on the roles defined in this thesis. The role of “enablers” is not strictly synonymous of the role of the responsible one, even though these two roles are connected. Enabler is the actor that makes the desired development possible, but responsible is the one who is supposed to make it happen. The role of responsible could also have been called the role of enabler. Then the emphasis would have been different: it would have been on creating possibilities instead of actual general responsibility of development. I chose to stay with the label of responsible because it better reflected the other discourses found in the text and the responsibilities of, for example, political parties. In the previous quotation the government is set to be the main responsible. In Ethiopia’s report, peace and security especially are viewed as “the necessary enablers for achieving and ensuring justice and development” (ETH, 12).

### ***Facilitator***

In every report the UN Country Team is mentioned as a facilitator in some context. In some cases this is in partnership with some other agency: in Zambia with two large CSOs (the Civil Society MDG Campaign and the Zambia Climate Change Network), in DRC with the state system and in Mozambique with an NGO called Foundation for Community Development. In Ethiopia a national taskforce to facilitate the process was established for Post-2015 process. This

includes organs from the Government, the UN Country Team, the private sector and Civil Society Organizations. The facilitator's role in the DRC report was quite different from the others: it had a strong role of the state as a facilitator and the UN system as a sub-facilitator or technical and financial support provider. In Liberia the report was prepared by the Government of Republic of Liberia and Ministry of Planning and Foreign Affairs and strongly supported by the UNCT. In the case of Liberia the role of United Nations High-Level Panel, with Liberia's president Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf as its co-lead, in facilitating the process was also emphasized. It is still difficult to tell the role of the High-Level Panel on country-specific level –has it actually been facilitating the process on a country-level or is its role on the global level only.

In this section the concept of the United Nations Country Team (UNCT) includes the UN agencies such as UNDP and Resident Coordinator's Office. In those cases where there was a non-UN partner involved in facilitating the tasks seem to be divided so that the UN system are funders and technical authority, and the partners are the practical facilitators.

The technical side of facilitating the national consultation consist probably of tasks such as funding the process, hiring the consultant, guiding the consultant in their action, setting the aims and goals for the consultation and giving technical details and deadlines. The practical side of facilitating includes the actual gathering of the data: for example, finding the interviewees, identifying areas and groups that want to be heard, contacting them, carrying out the questionnaire, organizing workshops, carrying out a campaign in social media, airing radio discussions and so forth. In the cases of Ethiopia, DRC and Zambia the roles of facilitators and consultants are overlapping as one role while in the case of Liberia and Burkina Faso these two roles are more clearly separated.

### ***Consultant***

As already mentioned, the role of consultant does not always differ significantly from the role of facilitator. On the other hand, in some cases there are significant differences. The consultant's role was to act as catalyst and data transferor between the facilitator and the consultees/target group. It is hard to say whether the regional and social coverage is decided by the facilitators or

the consultants. However, the actions of the consultants are closely linked to the discourse of stakeholders and their coverage.

The tasks of consultants are to organize interviewing sessions, report them, advocate the Post-2015 agenda and do the general data-gathering. In some cases they are also the ones doing the reporting and writing the actual final policy paper.

It is noteworthy how little the role of consultants was introduced or explicated.

### ***Consultee***

The inner division of the role of consultee was somewhat problematic. The representatives of different branches of society (especially the CSOs) are often the ones fulfilling this role. Also women's and youth clubs or associations are often brought forward. The relation between consultee and the "vulnerable group" they represent is rarely clearly stated.

Women as a group are specifically mentioned in every report. Especially poor women are highlighted as a target group. Women from different social strata are often consulted as interviewees. For women, there are two varying roles: women as a target group or woman as a representative of a certain group. I find that there is often a mixture in conceptualizing these two different roles. For me, these show as two very different roles. Women were both the target as well as the potential practical implementers of the development.

The same formula applies to the role of the youth in the consultation process. In addition, social media and radio are connected to youth participation in for example the Zambian report. Social media and e.g. SMSs are used in an attempt to extend the reach of the consultation process and to reach the very vulnerable ones. Of course the type of vulnerability affects the possibility of reaching certain group: it can be expected that the poorest of the poor do not have mobile phones while physically disabled people might not be able to leave their homes but may well be able to use mobiles in a SMS-consultation.

### ***Beneficiary***

Beneficiaries are often used as a synonym to “target group”. In my thesis I am using beneficiary as a concept that includes the target group – that is, those who are expected to benefit from the development through, for example, improved quality of life, better services or more equality. This concept does not include for example those responsible target groups that are targeted as the change-makers and not as beneficiaries (e.g. policy makers). As already discussed, the division between consultee and beneficiary was not simple. For example, Liberia’s report states that the target groups are people with disabilities, previously marginalized groups based on their location, ethnicity, sex or disabilities, women, children and minorities (LIB, 2). For this Post-2015 report they have consulted groups of women and people with disabilities, street children, youth organizations, domestic marginal workers, as well as for example motor-cycle unions, market trade unions and traditional chiefs and leaders (LIB, 5, 11, 19). In this case, for example, women are both consultees and beneficiaries and, on the other hand, for example motor-cycle unions are mentioned to be only consultees. The generalizations (e.g. Marginalized people, women’s organizations) again make the exact analysis of beneficiary target group coverage inadequate. So it is done on a more general level to create the base for further discourse analysis.

The role of the beneficiary seems to be quite passive. They were mostly receivers of aid/development/funds and not the maker of it. The role of consultee is more active, and people’s voices were heard.

### ***Responsible***

The role of responsible varies often depending of the focus the report takes. Each report emphasizes different aspects of development and this affects who were seen as responsible. The motivation for the Post-2015 national consultation reflects this section as well. Because the Post-2015 agenda is seen to have power over desired development it is also seen to have responsibility towards it. This is discussed more in depth in Power of International Development Agenda.

There are two different definitions for the role of responsible. One definition is the ones that are seen as responsible for the current situation and thus are also seen as the ones that are responsible for improving things further. They could be the reason for the current status in good or bad:

either the situation now is their fault or their merit. This kind of a view includes more history and continuity: some things had already been done and now is the time to either undo them or to do them better. The other definition is the role of a new developer. This is someone who might not have been on the scene but is now considered a potential partner in development and someone who can make an impact.

The focus of responsibility (e.g. what are the main problems to which the responsible should find solutions) correlated with the general focus of the report. For example, Liberia had a strong consensus on conflict resolution in this section as well. In the Principles -section there is a statement that “Peace and security needs also to refer to reconciliation and rule of law. These issues of national identity and inclusion and the nature of citizens state compact and horizontal inequalities are of wider significance than Liberia only” (LIB, 6).

In this section, responsibilities are identified on all levels from moralized citizens to the global political system. Almost all levels of society, nation state and global political system are present in the reports in one way or another. Moralized citizens, national professionals, religious authorities, political leaders, UN organizations, and other global actors, teachers, CSOs, MPs and parents were all acting out this role. The emphasis they are given in each report varies. What is notable in this role is how the national government is stated as a strongly responsible actor in every report. This was a cross-cutting common feature in other areas as well and is explored in more detail in the chapter on Nation State.

The agenda of responsibility is cross-cutting in both time and space: the responsables are responsible for different stratas of life now, as well as for the future generations. It is also divided in terms of target of responsibility. Sometimes agendas (such as thee Post-2015 agenda and the national development agenda) are seen as something that has power to influence the change, and sometimes the responsibility is on practical institutions: individuals, the president, organizations, national or global actual institutions. The division seems to go as follows: individuals, organizations and institutions have power to affect agendas, which in turn are created to guide the behavior of the first. This idea is explored more in Development Path.

In some reports the practical institutions had the role of responsables and in some reports it was more on agendas and policies. The concept of responsibility (just like the concept of development) has many aspects. According to Ferguson (1994, 67), this kind of dual misinterpretation of the concepts makes the dialogue between different actors more difficult.

## **Synthetization of Discourses: Development Path and Power of International Development Agenda**

This chapter combines the development discourses and discourses on development agency presented above. It serves as a synthetization of previous discourses to show some more general and broader discourses of development based on the policy papers. The discourses leading to two synthetization discourses are named the UN, Nation State, Services and the discourse of agency. In this, the discourse of agency is listed with the other discourses although it differs from the others. UN, Nation State and Services are all discourse perspectives on development while the discourse of agency is an agentive perspective on development that manifests itself through the identification of different roles.

The synthetization discourses are named Development Path and Power of International Development Agenda. These discourses were found at the final stage of analysis. I had categorized and formatted the previously introduced discourses and started to look at the bigger picture. Development Path and Power of International Development Agenda can be seen as puzzles where each discourse represents one piece. These specific pieces are not the only pieces these puzzles consist of, but they are still significant.

My main method for finding discourses is asking questions from texts. It took some time for synthetization discourses to manifest themselves or to be shaped into logical form. I started finding them when I began comparing the specific development discourses with each other: for example, how does the UN relate to the Nation state? What is the relation between the state and services? Who is the responsible in each discourse? What (roles) initiated this whole process of consultations? The Power of International Development Agenda seemed simple at the beginning because of the Foucauldian power-centered characteristics. In other words, it was more in the

forefront of my mind and my thoughts had been shaped to be responsive to discourses of this kind. Development Path arose when I started thinking that if the international agenda has the power, then how do the actions reach the grassroots-levels. It can be said, that I actually found these two first and only then started to understand how interrelated they are with each other as well as with specific development discourses and discursive roles.

### **Development Path**

The first discourse is named the Development Path. This discourse is strong in setting the agenda of the whole idea of development, and describing the “typical”, or “taken-for-granted”, or desired process of development. It emerges when looking for the answer for questions on the “beginning” and “the end” and also the actors of development. This discourse relates to the roles and actors of development. It seems that the initiative for development often came from the global level, most often from the UN. The fact that the whole Post-2015 process originates on the UN-level surely explains some of this. Also the aim of the process was to effect the development agenda on a global or intergovernmental level. For example Ethiopia states that: ”The consultations have amplified the voices of the poor and other vulnerable groups in formal negotiation processes and influence the intergovernmental processes to ensure alignment of the global agenda with citizen's aspirations” (ETH, 3).

It is interesting to analyse how the message and idea of development is seen to be moving around. By this I mean, how the aims of development are constructed and who is seen as the powerful constructor. For instance, what are these reports for, where and how agendas are set and applied and so forth. I analysed this looking at how the structure of the Post-2015 process is presented in the data. On the basis of the data, the development path would roughly go as follows: the need for a new initiative – in this case the Post-2015 process – is identified in some UN organ or another organization of a similar stage. Then the message or inquiry of consultation or data-gathering is sent out to regional or national actors. In this case, the UN Country Teams are these national stage actors. The UCT with its partners facilitates the process further either by going into societies for interviews or consulting the societies and other stakeholders on the best possible way to accomplish the goal. I named this the consultant level. It often involved the civil

society actors, organizations, unions and sometimes businesses. Then comes the stage of consultees (see the Agency chapter), where the actual interviews or advocacy's schemes are carried through. It is where grass-root level and, especially in the Post-2015 process, the vulnerable groups are meant to make their voices heard. Now the message has travelled from top to bottom and then it starts its way back up. Here it is put in the forms of these reports that are often prepared by the consultant or the UCTs. The reports are probably sent to the global level, back where this whole journey began. They each have nationally oriented goals but they are there to influence the global agenda – which then again is there to affect the national aspect of development. This message is to be taken onboard on global and especially national level (nation states, policies, advocacy) then to spread out on global and national organizations and finally to the grass-root and community-based organization where the change is supposed to actually happen. The next step would be monitoring and reporting of the change, sharing of best practices and further improvement of “development” and the “development method”.

The power of the global actor mostly lies in their ability to set the development agenda and make policies which are then meant to be taken aboard by a smaller unit. Most often these are nation states. The discourse of nation states is discussed in more detail earlier but it is to be noted, that these two are interlinked: the role of the nation state as the responsible and implementer of development is a part of the development path. The development roles identified in the chapter about agency are also a part of this picture.

The message of development which by now has travelled from the top to bottom and back up, is then translated into a global agenda which is globally agreed upon and endorsed. Then this agenda makes its way from global to regional or national level. This is almost the same way as how the initial message travelled but the aim of the agenda is different: now it is meant to influence, for example, policies or actions. The agenda is to put pressure on the responsables of development. In the Post-2015 process those are mostly nation states. Then the nation states are to apply the rules of agenda to their own actions leading to some improvements on individual and societal level. This is the role of beneficiaries. This would also be the aim and the end of

development: better life for individuals. Before reaching this it would still have travelled “up and down” the path of development. The path could also be pictured as a ladder.

Liberia has a strong aim to effect the global agenda “yet concern remains that consultation may lead to new policies at national and global level, which may not be effectively implemented and affect lives on the margins” (LIB, 2). For most part it seemed like the actual change is made by affecting the global agendas, which then trickle down to the society and individual level. Ethiopia (ETH, 3) notes that “this intensive collaborative effort towards contribution to a global Post 2015-development agenda recognized that a more robust “people-centered” approach was required in a changing development context to address the critical challenges of our time, building on momentum of and lessons learned from the MDGs”. For me, this shows so-called high-level actors trying to bring development to the low-level: an attempt for a people-centered approach. Still the initiative comes from top down. In this I am not trying to judge whether this is “right” or “wrong” way but just trying to identify some features of this particular concept of development.

The idea of the whole process seems to have a global agenda but national goals. The agenda and the goals are there to influence one another: the pressure from the global level could help reach the goals while the bottom-up consultations should influence the setting of the agenda. “Thus, the run-up to the Post 2015 national consultation is recognized as an important exercise, not only as an instrument for contributing to global shared vision, but also informing areas of emphasis for accelerating progress on the MDGs in the remaining time and rethinking the follow-up national development priorities and policies” (ETH, 7).

Liberia’s paper sums up quite well the core of the development path: “In seeking to elaborate on the principles, dimensions and goals that they would want to see globally endorsed, they have had a mind to make their painful experiences useful for other country context, while ensuring that they are rooted in the distinctive and unique Liberian context. They have sought to go from the specific and local to the general and global so that in turn the global agenda when agreed may be readily contextualized in the local situation of Liberia and similarly in other fragile states”. (LIB, 5)

The strands hindering the development were explored in Liberia's paper. The main reasons that "prevent people from living well" were identified as ignorance, illiteracy, selfishness and growing individualism, intergenerational social reproduction of poverty, the low agricultural productivity, and the withdrawal of the state of the social sectors, among others. (BF, 5) Maybe, if these issues could be tackled fully by some responsible actor, then the desired development would be free to happen.

### **Power of International Development Agenda**

I named the second synthetization discourse Power of International Development Agenda. This discourse focuses on the motivation of the reports and the goal these reports aim to achieve. The discourse of the international development agenda is quite cross-cutting in each report. It emerges also when reflected the progress towards the MDGs. Most of the time this discourse is present as the dominant perception towards development: the international agenda has power and that power is something that the reports published are trying to influence. Once again, the fact that the UN has initiated this whole process of Post-2015 discussion can also make this discourse stronger. The UN is, after all, one large manifestation of international development agenda.

The international development agenda is seen to have power on actualization of development on the grass root level. Zambia's report states that "for example, empowering citizens is crucial as this will enable people to demand and hold those who are meant to be responsible for delivering services accountable. Likewise, the role of political parties and Government as enablers is critical to increase transparency and accountability. Political leadership both at global and local levels should be responsible to uphold internationally agreed goals such as MDGs and fundamental rights through legal and institutional reforms" (ZAM, 14). For me, this represents the power of agenda in all levels. In the same quotation, the discourse of nation state and the role of responsible are also quite visible. While discussing the power of development agenda, it is good to keep in mind that there are multiple definitions for the concept of development. Ferguson (1994, 15) makes a point with two most used concepts: the first is used in reference to actions working towards a known main goal (e.g. modernization), and the second when discussing the expansion of people's capabilities.

The following citation from Burkina Faso's policy paper shows some actual improvements possibly affected by the development agenda and the MDGs: "People have noted that in recent years, some socio-economic policies implemented by the government were in favor of people's lives. These actions include, among others, the distribution of food to social prices, subdivisions, frameworks between the President of Burkina Faso and CSOs (peasants, youth, women), creating employment and support measures private initiatives (PSCE, GVWR, FAIJ, HLI) and improving access to care and health services. However, some impacts of natural and social order have contributed to degrade the climate of social welfare. It is essentially recurrent socio-political crises in school crises, deterioration of living condition of academics, mutinies of 2011 and elections in some areas. Added to this is the phenomenon of dear life, poor governance and natural phenomena related to climate change" (BF, 3)

The concept of agenda seems quite vague sometimes. In this thesis, the word agenda is often synonymous to the agenda the UN will set at the end of the Post-2015 process. As already mentioned, this is now the Sustainable Development agenda. However, the agenda in general is a wider concept. The DRC has listed Post-2015 process and its "synergies with Processes: to feed the global consultations to define a new agenda for development, national consultations Post 2015 DRC took into account the consistency of the results of other processes from the global and national partnership such as:

- ✓ The New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States
- ✓ The declaration of Busan
- ✓ The Rio +20 process
- ✓ The PRSP process (National and Provincial)
- ✓ The economic program of the Government (PEG)
- ✓ The Paris Declaration
- ✓ The agenda of Kinshasa on the effectiveness of official development assistance

- ✓ The International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and statebuilding
- ✓ The MDG Report 2010
- ✓ Sectoral analyses of study and planning ministries of the Government of the DRC Directions,
- ✓ Consultations of the social partners and corporate entrepreneurs (Enterprises, Confederation of Small and Medium Enterprises of Congo FENAPEC)....” (DRC, 2) and the list continues.

In part, this is to prove how multifold the concept of development is. But in part this represents the fragmentation of the development agenda: there is not just one agenda but many, some of which are even conflicting. The processes listed above are some that the DRC report considers important for the Post-2015 process. It is a process which, based on my data, is considered as powerful and important but sometimes the consultees doubt the actualization of the report outcomes.

Burkina Faso has divided their actors and actions into three main levels: regional, national and international (BF, 4). This division once again highlights the development path or ladder identified earlier. Although these levels were specifically identified, the actors listed next were not identified as belonging to a certain level. For example, decentralized state services, traditional and religious authorities as well as NGOs, projects and programs can work on any of these levels.

When following the list of stakeholders, the political parties are mentioned and they are demanded “to facilitate the national political scene, raise awareness of the democratic game and work for political change....” (BF, 5). The periods at the end of the sentence once again suggest that this is not the case at the moment, but it should be in order for development to happen.

Many of the reports mention that the goals and priorities they are sending out should not be meaningful only for them but for a larger set of actors as well. “**Peace & security** needs also to refer to reconciliation and the rule of law. These issues of national identity and inclusion and the

nature of citizen state compact and horizontal inequalities are of wider significance than for Liberia only” (LIB, 6). This way Liberia tries to set out its priorities as a part of the global agenda and also prove them to be significant. These are issues Liberia sees as significant for the global agenda. They rise probably mostly from the country's own history of instability and fragility. These are the issues Liberians see (according to the report) as most significant for the national development agenda.

Based on their report, for Liberia development stands for the idea of going forward, further away from the fragile state they have once been and to some degree still are. “Liberians are strong in affirming that they do not want to return to the past and the conditions that led to conflict and that their view of the Post-2015 agenda should help all countries avoid the mistakes of the past that destroy lives and livelihoods and hope for the next generation.” (LIB, 5)

“Many of the Focus Groups and Consultation Plenaries listed administrative strategies and targets, rather than Goals. There was difficulty in looking ahead and setting broad goals, beyond either immediate concern for current corrective measures or aspirations for rapid development that across all sectors without any sense of sequencing or human and physical resource constraints. This lack of practical realism reflects recognized development failure against an over-ambitious time-discourse. It also reflects confusion between targets and goals and that these can be set above the levels of rights, yet to be defined, to a minimum level of outcome and of service. Some targets were less than universal, despite commitment to rights.” (LIB, 7) In Liberia’s report, the notion of good governance is highlighted in multiple different sectors of development. It is attached, amongst others, with services, forest and environment management, food security, income and nationwide reconciliation.

Ethiopia’s policy paper states that the country had a “collaborative effort towards contribution to a global Post 2015-development agenda recognized that a more robust ‘people-centered’ approach was required in a changing development context to address critical challenges of our time, building on the momentum of and lessons learned from the MDGs.” (ETH, 3). This gives a sense of a high-level development apparatus truly trying to make development happen on the low-level. Still, the consultations objective “is to stimulate an inclusive debate on a Post-2015

development agenda by providing an analytical base, inputs and ideas that will contribute to a shared global vision on the **Future We Want**, with the voices and recommendations of the citizens.” (ETH, 3) So the object is to implement the wishes of the low-levelists into the high-level agenda and then back to low-level again - this also follows the development path identified. The intergovernmental agenda is still the actual change-maker: “The consultations have amplified the voices of the poor and other vulnerable groups in formal negotiation processes and influence the intergovernmental processes to ensure alignment of the global agenda with citizen’s aspirations” (ETH, 3).

In Burkina Faso’s report the role of government as responsible is quite clear: “The government should support the actions of the people by setting up the conditions for development. It must implement socio-economic infrastructure, promoting good governance, implement, monitor and evaluate projects and programs” (BF, 5). Also the President of Burkina Faso and the state institutions were expected to work with implementation, evaluation or encouraging the desired development. The political aspect was mostly dismissed but between the lines one could read that the state institutions “must be at the service of the defense of the interest of the population”, suggesting they are not doing so at the moment. This whole chapter links with the role of responsibility, the discourse of nation state and the role of politics in development and the development path.

Development itself seems like a non-political idea of “moving forward” or strong stable phenomena. The actions of previous governments are discussed mostly only in relation to the development that has occurred, or in Liberia’s and Mozambique’s cases, in relation to political stability. Other than that, the governments appear mostly as neutral frameworks. “Development” focuses on countries but somehow outside of the political sphere. Maybe it is considered to be so common and universal a value that the political idealism of the ruling government should not have power over it. In a way, this is contradictory to the original function of the reports: to bring out the idealism of development in each consulted country. By idealism I mean how development is measured and considered in each reported country: what are the ideal outcomes of it. In a way, development could be considered as any other idealism: everyone has their own

view of development. Often this is tied to one's biological, sociological and ecological surroundings.

## **6. CONCLUSIONS**

In this chapter, the conclusions of this thesis are summed up and discussed further. This chapter is also used to relate my thesis to the wider field of development studies. In the first subchapter, the research questions are revisited in the light of the findings. The next subchapter reflects the relationship between the theoretical framework and the discourses found in this thesis. Then the policy consultations are discussed in the context of development and the lessons that should be learned. Finally, reflections and proposals for further research are discussed.

### **Research questions revisited**

My original research questions are: What kind of specific development discourses and agentive roles are there in the policy papers of the Post-2015 discussion? What are the main discourses of development according to low-HDI nations? How do low-HDI nations in Africa perceive the concept of development and its discursive representations?

I used DA as the method to bring forward the discourses from the data and to find the answers to my research questions. The DA used has includes Foucauldian characteristics. The data consists of six Post-2015 National Consultations from countries with low level of Human Development Index. These countries are the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Liberia, Zambia, Burkina Faso and Mozambique.

From the data I found three different developmental discourses and a discursive perception on agency. These policy paper discourses are named UN & MDGs, nation state and services. UN & MDGs emerge when discussing the progress, aims and initiators of development. Nation state is seen as the legitimate and responsible unit for development, the one that should initiate and enforce it in the life of the citizens. Services are the manifestation of development in people's everyday life; education and health services in particular were highlighted. The discursive findings on agency introduced the different roles found in the policy papers. These were named

facilitator, consultant, consultee, beneficiaries and responsables. This is the brief answer to the first research questions.

These developmental policy papers' discourses lead to two synthesized development discourses. They were named as Development Path and Power of International Development Agenda. These represent a more general perception on development. Development Path introduces the journey of development ideology or message. It is often initiated on global level, travels through different layers of consultants to the grass-root level and then back to the international level again. Then it transforms into an agenda and tries to apply itself often on the level of nation state. Through the government and NGOs it is supposed to affect the citizens' lives for example by improving services. This is often roughly the path that development takes.

The other general discourse, Power of International Development Agenda, is more related to the motivation towards consultations and the attempt to affect the global agenda. The global agenda is seen to have power on grass-root and national levels and thus it is worth action. International goals should be achieved on a local level and thus should match local perceptions and needs. More than anything, the power of international development agenda is based on the fact that it can enforce the goals set on national levels or even act as a goal-setting structure. Because the goals (in this research, the MDGs and Post-2015) are seen as a legitimate unit and measure for development on many levels, they can shape the emphasis of development in multiple ways.

### **The discourses of development meet the theoretical framework**

The theoretical framework of this study is partly based on Ferguson's (1994) and Escobar's (2011) critical theories on development. At the heart of this thesis was Ferguson's (1994) idea of the construction of development in discursive regimes. The thesis also focuses on the dual misinterpretation of development.

In addition, Malik, Lopes & Fukuda-Parr (2002) were referred to on power relations, Peet & Hartwick (2009) on "modernization", and Rist (2006) and Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2003) on the history of development in the theoretical framework. The idea of Sen (2001) about development as freedom is also part of the theoretical framework.

Peet & Hartwick (2009) and Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen (2003), amongst others, discuss how development is often seen synonymous to “modernization” or understood only as an economic matter. According to this thesis, this is still partially the case, if we understand economic development as modernization. Three out of six countries list becoming a Middle-Income Country (MIC) by a certain year as the core of their development programme. This is usually the case when it comes to their national development programmes. Other than that, the economic discourse (which was discussed in the hypotheses, too) was not very strong on its own, although it was mainstreamed into some goals. Still, as such, other goals were generally listed as more important.

To some extent, development is still an economic paradigm but the hypotheses about strong economic development discourse were not proven completely right. Possibly the approach towards development has widened some, or the economic paradigm has never been as strong as I assumed. This could be the prominent finding of this thesis, since both Ferguson (1994) and Escobar (2012) note that political economists may be the most influential theoretic group in the development field. Economic findings of this thesis do not seem to straightforwardly support the statement.

Ferguson’s (1994) famous division of two development concepts goes as follows: development towards economic growth (modernizational view) vs development towards alleviation of poverty (poverty-alleviation view). Ideas and characteristics introduced above are related to the modernizational view. For me, the previous chapters prove that the modernizational view may be present, but it is not the dominant paradigm of these two. Concepts of development used in most of the policy papers tend to favor the poverty-alleviation view. There were some characteristics from both views. Ferguson (1994) argues that this dual misinterpretation makes development discussion in general much more difficult. Based on these policy papers, I cannot agree a hundred percent: policy papers seemed to favor the poverty-alleviation view with only some notions from the modernizational view. I was not able to find a significant mismatch between these two views in the development discourses. This could be due to the fact that all of these papers were published within the same developmental zone.

The idea of developmentalization Escobar (2011) offers is hard to identify: the policy papers seemed to take it as self-evident that they are “developing” or “underdeveloped” in terms that there is certain development that needs to be achieved. So if developmentalization is done, it has blended into discursive structures before these policy papers. Maybe we can say that these reports renew the idea of developing nations, and thus also developmentalization. This is just an interesting sidenote I came to think about when reflecting on the theory and data. In the theory chapter I introduced Ferguson’s notion of development/underdevelopment. The national policy-papers’ understanding of themselves as “developing” or “underdeveloped” strengthens this image as well and makes this discourse more dominant.

The existence of countries’ own development programmes may act as evidence of a very important development paradigm. Based on this research, it is hard to say whether this kind of paradigm functions as repressing and homogenizing as Escobar (2012) thinks it does, but it seems that development as an idea is quite deeply-rooted in national identities.

Discourse about nation state and some agentive roles go in line with Ferguson’s (1994) ideas about development. As already discussed in the chapter about nation state, politics are often forgotten in the text and the nation state is seen as an objective framework for service-production and manifesting development. Ferguson (1994) argues that everything is seen as an aspect of economy in a LCD-country because it is such a strong label. This is where Ferguson’s ideas and my findings contradict to a certain extent. As already explained, the economic discourse was mainstreamed but not as strongly as Ferguson seems to suggest. It was a cross-cutting aspect but not a determinative one. Although I have to admit that the limitations for development seemed mostly to be economic ones. LCD was also a label from which every country wanted to get out of.

Malik, Lopes and Fukuda-Parr (2002) stated that the international development apparatus too often overruns the local actors. Policy papers reply to this notion by calling for more a interactive global partnership although nothing is directly said. The role and actions of donors were always introduced in a grateful way. This represents the asymmetrical power relations between the donor and the receiver. I suspect that aid-receiving countries would not criticize donors directly

in fear of losing the current aid. This kind of caution could be very hegemonic in the development field.

In the theoretical framework, Ferguson's (1994) dual idea of the development apparatus was also introduced. This is the idea where the development apparatus is either seen as a sympathetic but malfunctioning tool, or as tool for advancing imperial capitalist development. The views of the policy papers seem to fall under the first category. The overall image seems to be that the development apparatus tries its best and has even improved the living-conditions of some. The main agents are either the UN, nation states or some other (civic) actors. The amount of critique towards capitalism does not seem significant.

### **Policy consultations in development context: What to learn?**

In his work, Escobar (2011) was questioning whether such thing as development actually exists. According to these policy papers, development does exist, at least for these countries – and it exists in a very practical manner: people are willing to discuss “development” as something that will change their lives, make services better, offer employment and make the nation state function for the best of its citizens. This further proves Ferguson's (1994) statement that development apparatus discourses should be acknowledged because they have power over people's lives. They are not just a mere ideology that exist only on paper but also in everyday life – in schools, clinics, supermarkets, work places. Despite the previous comments, Escobar (2012, 11) agrees to this by saying that development “results in concrete practices of thinking and acting through which the Third World is produced”.

Paltridge (2012, 187) notes that ideologies are born and renewed in discourses. This ideology of development, with its built-in power relations, could be renewed with a change of angle. Especially the Development Path and Power of International Development Agenda are discourses that tell us how the development ideology travels around at the moment and why. If we take them under the loop and start brainstorming, we can find some solutions for the issue.

Let us take for example the path of development. We have seen that at the moment it starts from the top, goes all the way down, then back up and down again (here “up” and “down” are of course used metaphorically and not to give value). What if the message would start from the

bottom? Or what if it would not have to travel all the way back up, only half way? What if the national/middle level would be skipped on the second round? Why is it going the way it is at the moment? I believe this is where the notions of power, ownership, control, donor and receiver, monitoring, and influence come in. These are just a few examples of concepts affecting the current development path. Currently the message goes as follows because the international development apparatus has the power to set the agenda and to make initiatives for renewing the agenda. Then the initiative travels down, because the international apparatus believes in a people-centered approach and tries to listen to the voices of citizens. Then these voices travel back up to affect the international agenda (which is always the outcome of political and economic negotiations) because this agenda is held powerful in grass-roots level too. The agenda is applied on the national level because this is the level with responsibility and authority over its citizens. This is the level where the nation state gains ownership and possession over development issues. The nation state is also expected to be an expert on regional ecological, cultural and economic divisions and thanks this expertise to be able to deliver development in the best way possible.

If the message of development would not start from the top, would it be less powerful and more likely to be unheard? If the citizens would not be heard on the first round, would a people-centered approach apply? If nation-states would be skipped in the application of the agenda, would there be issues with authorities and ownerships?

This is just one example of a path that a message or ideology of development travels. It is strongly interlinked with Power of International Development Agenda, which strongly functions as a motivation for the path: if the power would function differently maybe then the path would go other ways.

My thesis is aiming to shed some light on the current practicalities and power structures of the development apparatus. It brings forward some possibly previously unseen structures of power and influence. This way they are easier to scrutinize and even change, if deemed necessary after the scrutinizing. The outcome of the analysis can just as well be that things are fine the way they are. My theoretical framework suggests that there are lots of issues to tackle in the development

field in order to make it function more effectively for the best of the people. Intensified understanding of issues, such as development, could give more effective methods to influence it. One aim of this thesis was also to shape people's understanding about the power distribution, possibilities and practicalities of development. This happens by dividing general understanding of development into smaller pieces and analyzing them in more detail. In this case, the Post-2015 discussion and low-HDI countries in Africa offered a reasonable framework for this.

The most important thing is to understand that, like Ferguson and Escobar already argued, development is not an abstract notion happening somewhere else. It is a real social construction that has power over people's lives and it does not only happen in the poor areas of the world. It happens (and should extensively happen) and has an effect on richer, more modernized areas of the world as well. The idea of development as something that is happening somewhere else seems stupid since every nation in the world is trying to tackle the same issues. For me, this is like the slogan of Brundtland's report turned global: development that meets the needs of my nation without compromising the ability of others globally to meet their own needs now and in the future.

The nature of consultations was intended to be as inclusive as possible. Some effort has been put in proving this inclusiveness to the reader as well. For me, it seemed like the nations were happy to take this task upon them and to introduce their favorable development discourses. Possibly this was considered as a real opportunity to influence the international development agenda or it could have been made out of obligation to keep the current development aid coming. Still, this seems like an important step towards the people-centered approach of development and this seemed to be one of the messages of these national consultations. This could well go in line with the hybrid model Escobar (2012, 19) calls for with decentralization of power to concrete local settings instead of grand alternative models.

## **Reflections and proposals for further research**

### ***Limitations and benefits of study***

Using data collected by someone else is always a limitation. I was not able to evaluate the process of collection and handling of the data very much. Verbal and cultural differences are not taken into account as such but the data is handled uniformly despite the possible differences in verbal culture. Also, the coverage of interviews is difficult to validate. To some extent, this was already discussed in previous chapters.

Limitations and benefits that apply to any thesis apply here as well: the length and time set limits to the scope of the research. On the other hand, they also help to set the focus and the questions so that I was able concentrate on one thing only.

Discursive approach has its benefits and limitations and most of them apply to this research as well. I was able to look “behind the obvious” but at the same time it leaves, for example, some contentual, cultural or rhetorical features unacknowledged. Discourse analysis analyses the world the writer writes from. When we focus our thinking on that world then we might miss something about the message he or she is trying to communicate. DA is a method that anyone can shape to look like their own and anyone is able to use the way they like. At the same time, this freedom and use for multiple purposes makes, for example, comparing the results over time and space challenging, if the DA is focused differently. The flexibility of the analysis might lead to creativity and nonuniformity in findings. DA is very contextual and case-sensitive depending on the researcher. For this study, it allowed me to go beyond the numbers and proposals written in the text and try to understand the discursive regime behind the policy papers. With a different emphasis and characteristics of methods, other issues could have risen: someone might for example wish to concentrate on the consultation process, dialogue, legitimacy and so forth.

Focusing on six policy papers instead of for example just one gives a broader but less thorough picture of the whole issue. I did not have the resources to find out about the cultural or societal issues that were not mentioned in the text but may have affected the outcome of the paper. Using one policy paper as material enables the researcher to make a cross-cutting picture of a certain society or issue. He or she is able to reflect more on the historical background or contextual surroundings of the issue. Development has been affected by multiple aspects as already introduced in Chapter 3. The amount of research material also affects the emphasis of the study:

the emphasis of my analysis lies more in the general, international and possibly more universal field of development. Of course the countries chosen had a strong impact but the findings present the views of a wider base. Still, the discourses introduced are compromises of their views: they are the outcome of six different texts (and my own conceptualization). With only one policy paper the findings would be situated mostly on the national level and there is only little need to compromise - no one will be presenting a controversial view.

When categorizing the research material, the geographical factor serves as one criterion. This makes the research material to some extent more uniform and allows me to go deeper into the ideas of this certain region. Then again, it neglects the ideas of the other regimes of the world. The nation states are mostly outcomes of their own history. For example, most of the countries researched have been part of the Scramble of Africa and this gives them some unifying characteristics (as well as does the low-HDI). Then again, in a continent the size of Africa no one can expect the geography, politics and flora and fauna to be the same. The size and geographical and biological differences give some dividing characteristics to the data. As the HDI index shows, these countries have progressed differently over time.

The approach of my thesis was data-driven so it does not serve as justification or abolishment to any given theory as such. A more critical approach towards the research could have given a clearer distinction of power relations within and between different agents. Now Power of International Development Agenda sheds some light on this issue. A more Foucauldian approach could have given a more thorough analysis on power relations in the development discussion.

### ***Proposals for further research***

When the data and findings are reflected on in the light of the theoretical framework some proposals for future research emerge. If we follow the critical aspects of development set by Ferguson (1994) and Escobar (2011) we may end up asking a question: If developed countries and low-HDI –countries discuss development as different concepts, then what could be done to get them closer to each other? If the concepts differ from each other to start with, then the outcome cannot be very efficient – not at least for both sides. What concepts of development should and could be applied to make development support everyone? Possibly the synthetization

discourses of this study could be used as a starting point for promoting mutual understanding of development.

The very ambitious outcome of this thesis is that the synthetization discourses identified could be reformed into development principles that would lead to a successful Human-Rights Based Approach (HRBA) in development entities.

Benefiting previous suggestions another proposal for further research is (similar to this) an analysis of policy papers of high-consumption countries. It would be almost compulsory for the previously suggested analysis to be possible. Although this kind of an analysis would possibly not serve to unmake or annihilate development like Escobar (2012) would have happen.

One aspect of future research would be to follow this same line of study now that the SDGs have been agreed on. A logical next step would be to take the SDGs under the loop and investigate the relationships between the SDGs and the proposals introduced in the national consultations. This could be done within a content or discursive analysis framework.

Other proposals would be connected to critical views of,, Escobar, Ferguson and Sachs amongst others. If they call for the undoing of development, then what would be the best way to do this? Is it to systematically drive down the development institutions and on-going projects or end them all in a crash? Then who would fill out the vacuum left by the UN or is there even a need to fill it? Who would act as the global entity then or do we need one? How could we achieve global equality – would we need a different monetary system or should the current one be released? These are all very big questions but they all emerge from the theoretical framework used in this study.

If we would have strictly followed the ideas of development-criticizers then maybe this study would have been carried through in a different manner: the focus could have been on the options and criticism and downsizing of development, not the general developmental discourses. I hope that this study could be used to understand current developmental ideologies better. Understanding them makes organized change more manageable as options for uncontrolled shifts in ideologies.



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## APPENDIX

Goal 1	End poverty in all its forms everywhere
Goal 2	End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
Goal 3	Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
Goal 4	Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
Goal 5	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
Goal 6	Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
Goal 7	Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
Goal 8	Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
Goal 9	Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation
Goal 10	Reduce inequality within and among countries
Goal 11	Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
Goal 12	Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
Goal 13	Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
Goal 14	Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
Goal 15	Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
Goal 16	Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to

	justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
Goal 17	Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development

*Appendix 1. The list of Sustainable Development Goals (UNDP, 2015)*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Link to national consultation</b>
Burkina Faso	<a href="https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/370996">https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/370996</a>
Democratic Republic of Congo	<a href="https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/371004">https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/371004</a>
Ethiopia	<a href="https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/371010">https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/371010</a>
Liberia	<a href="https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/307444">https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/307444</a>
Mozambique	<a href="https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/371035">https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/371035</a>
Zambia	<a href="https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/371062">https://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/371062</a>

*Appendix 2. Links to Post-2015 national consultations used as data.*