

Section III: Emerging perspectives from Africa on the post-2015 development agenda

In September 2000, the UN Millennium Summit endorsed the MDGs in the Millennium Declaration, and more than 180 countries signed it. The main objective of the summit was to set quantifiable and time-bound global development goals to end human suffering from hunger, destitution and disease, mainly in developing countries. Since inception, the MDGs have been embedded in several international and regional initiatives and have had a huge influence on policy discourse throughout the developing world. The MDGs – comprising eight goals, 21 targets and 60 indicators – were the culmination of international efforts to mobilize resources for development (box 9.1).⁴⁸

With under three years to the 2015 deadline, it is imperative that development partners and policymakers accelerate progress on the MDGs and assess the successes and failures of the current goals, in an attempt to shape and develop an inclusive and sustainable post-2015 development agenda. The question is not about having a set of international development goals after 2015, but

48 The most notable were the UN Development Decade, UN 1961; 25th Session of the General Assembly, 1970; UN Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 1992; UN International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 1994; Copenhagen UN World Summit for Social Development, 1995; and Fourth UN Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995.

rather, what the proposed framework will consist of. Indeed, should the MDGs be retained in their current configuration with an extended deadline? Reformulated? Or replaced by an alternative framework? Underlying all these is the question of which option is likely to have the greatest impact on poverty eradication in Africa.

To articulate Africa's position on the post-2015 agenda, UNECA commissioned papers (Gohou 2011; Ohiorhenuan, 2011; Ewang, 2011; Nyarko, 2011) on these three options. Given the centrality of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) to the continent, UNECA also commissioned a paper on the likely implications of the post-2015 agenda for NEPAD. UNECA also initiated consultations to capture member States' perspectives on the issue. Working with the AUC and UNDP-RBA, UNECA convened a regional workshop on 15–16 November 2011 in Accra, Ghana, attended by 47 representatives from 18 African countries⁴⁹ of government, civil society and academia. In tandem, UNECA and AUC administered an electronic survey on the post-2015 agenda, completed by 112 representatives (in 32

49 Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Togo, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

Box 9.1 Development goals – A brief time line

The MDGs date back to 1961 when the UN Development Decade was launched. With no international development strategy at the time, the UN General Assembly called on economically advanced economies to give 1 per cent of their combined national incomes as ODA to developing nations.

After the 25th session of the General Assembly in 1970, economically advanced countries committed to increasing ODA to a net amount of 0.7 per cent of gross national product. In the 1980s, structural adjustment programmes began to dominate development thinking and policymaking. Once these approaches came under scrutiny, the development community sought alternatives.

The next couple of decades saw the emergence of the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-economic Recovery and Transformation, and later, the International Development Goals, the immediate precursors to the MDGs, created in 1996.

African countries across the five sub-regions) of civil society and non-governmental organizations, research institutions and ministries of planning, finance and economic development.

Drawing on the commissioned papers, the outcome document of the workshop and the findings of the electronic survey, this chapter assesses the MDGs to date by reviewing their positive contributions and challenges, the three options proposals for improvement and suggestions for the post-2015 agenda, and ends by articulating the emerging common African position.

The MDGs assessed

Positive contributions

The MDGs have focused attention on the poor

Without doubt, the MDGs have made significant contributions to the social and economic development of countries across the globe. Indeed, the goals have had unprecedented success in galvanizing international support, not only from governments and inter-governmental bodies, but also from civil society, the private sector, charities, foundations, the media and academia about

focusing on a common set of goals that seek to enhance human capabilities (Vandemoortele, 2009; Moss, 2010; UN, 2011).

Further, the MDG framework has helped to raise global consciousness about the multiple dimensions of poverty and has made the complexity of the development process more easily comprehended by policymakers and the public (UN, 2011).⁵⁰ Since adopting the MDGs, developing countries have given poverty reduction greater priority, embedded the MDGs in their national poverty reduction strategies and development plans, and run MDG-focused policies (Polard et al., 2010).

The MDGs have been associated with increased funding

Although a causal relationship has not been established, there is a growing consensus among development practitioners that the MDGs have improved and increased the targeting and flow of aid and other investments in development (Waage et al., 2010; Moss, 2010; Bourguignon et al., 2008).

⁵⁰ Global campaigns such as Make Poverty History, and End Poverty 2015 also contributed to enhancing MDG exposure globally (Melamed and Scott, 2011).

From 1992 to 1997, total aid plummeted by more than 20 per cent. Around the September 2000 summit when the MDGs were adopted, total aid was about \$60 billion a year, but by 2005 it had doubled to roughly \$120 billion, and remained around this level for several years (Moss, 2010). Before the Millennium Declaration, ODA amounted to 0.22 per cent of DAC countries' GNI, but by 2006 had climbed to \$104.4 billion, or 0.31 per cent of their GNI (Bourguignon et al., 2008). While this ODA increase cannot perhaps be fully attributed to the MDGs, there is still no doubt that they played an instrumental role in targeting the flow of aid.

OECD figures for 2000–2006 show that total development assistance for health more than doubled from \$6.8 billion to \$16.7 billion. Indeed, the World Bank's 2010 *Global Monitoring Report* indicates a steep rise in development financing over the last decade, particularly in response to health-related issues (World Bank, 2010b). For example, from 2001 to 2005, aid commitments to HIV/AIDS programmes rose by nearly 30 per cent (\$4.75 billion), fuelled by the establishment of the Global Fund and philanthropic efforts of the Clinton Foundation and of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (World Bank, 2010b).

The United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS relief (PEPFAR) and UNITAID are examples of other financial mechanisms inspired by the MDGs. In 2008, public and private entities allocated \$15.8 billion for global HIV/AIDS programmes. Pledges to the Global Fund rose from \$2.5 billion in 2007 to \$3.0 billion in 2008, before declining to \$2.6 billion in 2009 as a result of the global economic downturn. The United States PEPFAR programme increased its contributions from \$4.5 billion in 2007 to \$6.2 billion in 2008 and then increased

its annual budget. The 2010 fiscal year allocation is just shy of \$7 billion, suggesting that US support was continuing (World Bank, 2010b).

The MDGs have ensured greater focus on results

As a third contribution, the MDGs focused the international community on measurable outcomes, creating a shift in practice to tracking progress on intended targets rather than merely calculating inputs (Moss, 2010). In other words, with specified targets, the MDGs allow countries to track and report on specific indicators, emphasizing the importance of data collection and analysis: "the MDGs have stimulated an improvement in monitoring development programmes through data collection and analysis: Once the MDGs gained currency, a cascade of statistical and analytical work got underway" (Waage et al., 2010: 6).

This not only influences countries to adopt better data monitoring, evaluation and reporting systems, but also allows governments to create social and economic development policies that better reflect the reality of their countries.

MDG challenges

The MDGs have been misinterpreted

A first criticism of the MDGs is that "while they were initially intended as global aspirations, they quickly became actual targets for countries" (Moss, 2010: 218). Consequently, they are wrongly expected to be achieved individually (by countries), as opposed to globally. The MDGs have been "over-abstracted", "over-generalized", "over-simplified" and altogether misinterpreted as global one-size-fits-all targets, and perceived as yardsticks against

which countries' performance is to be measured and judged.

In fact, "the MDG agenda has overlooked differences in initial conditions and capacities of countries and as such, by using a uniform set of targets, could unfairly judge efforts made by countries that started in more disadvantaged positions" (UN, 2011: 19). It is for this reason that some analysts (Vandemoortele, 2009; Hailu and Tsukada, 2011; Bourguignon et al., 2008; Moss, 2010) maintain that countries in South Asia and Africa (excluding North Africa) in particular, were not only initially set up to fail but "still lag behind" in achieving the MDGs, further reinforcing the perception of Afro-pessimism among critics.

Trenchantly: "Given the vast disparity of starting points, and the diversity of country capabilities, using a universal measuring stick seems not just simplistic, but absurd" (Moss, 2010: 219). Poorer countries that started from a higher poverty rate and a wider poverty gap are likely to take longer and/or require more effort to cross the poverty line (World Bank, 2010b). Especially because "high initial poverty incidence slows progress against poverty at any given growth rate" (World Bank, 2010b: 22) some commentators (Hailu and Tsukada, 2011) advocate a more comprehensive method of assessing country performance. Rather than monitoring levels of indicators and how on or off track the MDG countries are, they propose a new rate of progress methodology which evaluates the commitment of countries, as measured by their effort to accelerate MDG progress.

The MDGs often lack ownership and leadership

The MDGs are often criticized for lacking clear ownership and leadership at national and international

levels, and for not assigning accountability to any one institution, party or country. The MDGs were conceived as a top-down approach and so developing countries' involvement in the initial framework was minimal, leading to weak national ownership. In addition, they were not aligned with continental programmes in Africa, leaving a discontinuum between the two sets. Although many low-income countries have linked their national strategies and poverty reduction strategy plans to the MDGs, their focus has often been selective at best, suggesting that this compliance could be for mere "political correctness".

It was perhaps for this reason that the 2005 Global Mid-Term Review of the MDGs urged low-income countries to develop MDG-consistent poverty reduction strategies and national development plans that more closely aligned national priorities with international goals. Although efforts to promote MDGs-consistent development strategies did not fully rectify ownership and accountability concerns, it did help to accelerate progress towards the MDGs after 2005.

Internationally, the fragmented and contested nature of institutional ownership of health-related MDGs, for example, has complicated overall co-ordination and leadership. "Within United Nations agencies, ownership of maternal health is split, causing ambiguity in leadership for MDG 5. Within WHO, maternal health is split between *Making Pregnancy Safer*, the *Human Reproduction Programme*, and the Department for Child and Adolescent Health. Among agencies with funds for implementation, both UNICEF and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) have a role" (Waage et al., 2010: 12–13).

The MDGs are limited in scope

Critics of the MDGs caution that the goals either limit the scope of, or altogether omit, several important issues that they regard as indispensable for enhancing human development (German Watch, 2010). These include the protection of human rights, gender equality, peace, security, and disarmament, environmental sustainability and climate change, (Vandemoortele, 2009; UN, 2011).

The MDGs do not take inter-sectoral synergies into account

Another criticism is that the MDGs are sector specific and thus too narrow to realize synergies among sectors. "The MDGs were not a plan derived bottom-up from a broad, inter-sectoral conceptualization of development and prioritization of development needs, although superficially, they might seem to have been" (Waage et al., 2010: 5).

The MDGs have a disproportionate focus on the social sector

Critics allege that the MDGs have a disproportionate focus on social indicators and de-emphasize the productive sectors. This has created a disconnect between achievement of outcomes and the sustainability of such achievement. Without growth and strengthened productive capacities, the observed positive social outcomes are unlikely to be fiscally sustainable. For instance, the positive performance on HIV/AIDS indicators has been successful largely because of inflows from global funds. These gains are likely to be reversed if such resources cease.

The MDGs are weak on issues of quality

The MDGs are criticized for being too focused on quantity rather than quality. For African education, for example, emphasis is often placed on

increasing primary enrolment ratios, while the overall quality of education remains challenging (UNECA et al., 2011).

The MDGs have promoted dependency

It is also said that the MDGs promote a "money-metric" and "donor-centric" view of development (Vandemoortele, 2009) because until recently, the development discourse overemphasized donor funding, thus creating foreign aid-dependent countries and reinforcing an imbalanced partnership between recipients and donors.

The MDGs lack data for consistent monitoring

An obstacle to monitoring MDG performance in Africa is the lack of timely and reliable high-quality data, as well as efficient monitoring and evaluation systems. Both shortfalls have limited countries' ability to assess the impact of interventions and thus inform their future policies (UNECA et al., 2011).

The MDGs neglect issues of inequality

The MDGs are silent on issues of equity in access to social services. The emphasis on national aggregates in performance has shifted attention from critical issues such as spatial (mainly rural–urban), vertical (high-versus low-income) and horizontal (cultural and ethnic group) inequality, manifested in part by disparities in access to social services. Undoubtedly, this shift can be partly attributed to data constraints that make it hard to track inequality. Still, one can argue that the absence of targets to capture the MDGs' distributional dimensions has absolved statistical institutions from strengthening data on inequality indicators.

Options for improvement

A review of available literature suggests three main options for the post-2015 agenda: retain the MDGs in their current configuration; reformulate them to take account of some of the criticisms; or develop an alternative framework altogether.

Retaining the MDGs in their current configuration

This case hinges on the argument that the time-frame for implementation was too short. Although the MDGs were introduced in 2000, it took eight years to design and fine-tune the current “final” set-up of goals, when the MDGs were improved and tested. Today, they are known globally, and many, if not all, countries are striving to mainstream the goals in their national development strategies.

Over the last decade, the MDGs have been the subject of 10 world summits and numerous international discussions and meetings. Indeed, there is significant political momentum around the MDGs that unifies global efforts to eradicate poverty and achieve the human development goals. In light of the time it has taken to finalize the current framework and the solid political momentum the MDGs have garnered, advocates for retention maintain that the 2015 MDG deadline should be extended to give developing countries more time (Gohou, 2012). According to this view, developing countries have not been given enough time or resources, and so reformulating the MDGs or developing an alternative agenda would be premature and ill-advised.

Moreover, given that the very existence and livelihoods of the world’s poorest and most vulnerable

are at stake, retentionists argue that the international community cannot afford to invest more time and resources in reformulating the MDGs – nor can it afford to experiment with developing an alternative framework. Economic development requires effective and sustained policies as well as adequate time. Despite wide variation in performance among MDGs and countries – the argument runs – African countries have made good progress, and although the overall advance is too slow for the continent to achieve all the MDGs, its countries will fare better with additional time and resources.

Reformulating the MDGs – “MDG-plus”

This case is based on the premise that, although the MDGs have weaknesses, they also have enough successes to warrant continuation. Nevertheless, given that the current global context for development differs markedly from the 1990s when the MDGs were negotiated, any post-2015 agenda should reformulate or customize them to robustly address the new, complicated challenges that have come to the fore (Ohiorhenuan, 2011).

Proponents for reformulating the MDGs argue that it would be most beneficial, post-2015, to adopt an “MDG-plus” approach that restructures the MDGs, eliminating overlaps and thus creating space for salient issues that were omitted in the original set (Vandemoortele, 2009). Simply extending the 2015 deadline would, they argue, be an implicit acceptance of failure. On the other hand, abandoning the MDGs would hinder progress and prevent the development community from building on achievements made so far.

The global development context in Africa has undoubtedly evolved in recent years. Africans continue to suffer from the impacts of crises. The continent is also increasingly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and variability – and greater population stresses. By 2020, its population will likely exceed 1 billion, perhaps even hitting 1.4 billion by 2035, with roughly half the population under the age of 24 (UN-DESA, 2007), accentuating the scale of the young population joining the labour force. High economic growth rates registered in many African countries have not had a commensurate effect on employment creation.

The post-2015 agenda must therefore be revised to focus on creating institutional mechanisms that will foster inclusive and equitable growth and improve the living conditions of the majority of the population, including creation of decent jobs.

Developing an alternative framework

Proponents of an alternative framework argue that the focus on development outcomes is misplaced, particularly for developing countries. They propose a framework that is largely process oriented and driven by a transformative agenda (Nyarko, 2011). They maintain that economic development requires new ideas and new enterprises, facilitated by a developmental state and anchored by economic revolutions that generate economic transformation. Environments conducive to concretizing viable ideas need to be created. Education and markets are a key part of the idea formation and implementation processes.

Although the MDGs aim to reduce global poverty, their focus is, proponents argue, primarily on outcomes (human development indicators such

as education and health) and not on processes (increasing the sophistication and complexity of developing countries' economies, including economic transformation). The current global framework has failed to create the required economic revolutions, which are generated by new ideas and experiments in key sectors and which are necessary to enable Africa to maximize its full potential. For this reason, they claim, a new set of development goals that specifically target structural transformation of developing economies should be initiated after 2015.

Proponents of this option argue that an alternative framework should thus focus on transforming the structure of the economies of developing countries; developing internal economic institutions to facilitate and sustain structural transformation; strengthening the capacities of developing countries for greater reliance on domestic resources and revenue; and spawning formal and entrepreneurial skills.

The key elements are:

- Supporting human capital development, especially in higher education and skills.
- Encouraging sophisticated agricultural markets.
- Supporting financial markets to help with screening new ideas and mitigating risks.
- Pursuing deep and sophisticated energy markets.
- Enhancing cross-border trade and regional markets in Africa through appropriate infrastructure development.
- Encouraging development partners to focus on investments in Africa (excluding North Africa), particularly in infrastructure.

What distinguishes the proposed alternative framework from the existing MDGs is the relative emphasis on intermediate rather than final outcomes and a focus on “enablers” (as listed in the next section) of development as opposed to development objectives in themselves. The alternative framework is thus more prescriptive than the MDGs, which highlight selected targets but leave the mechanisms and strategies for their achievement to policymakers.

Moving towards a common African position

Which of the three options should shape Africa’s position on the post-2015 agenda? Which is likely to yield maximum poverty reduction, and improve the livelihoods of Africa’s poor?

The outcomes of the electronic survey, as well as the consensus statement from the regional workshop in Accra, strongly point to the adoption of an “MDG-plus” agenda for Africa, post 2015.

Findings from the electronic survey

The UNECA/AUC-administered electronic survey yielded the following perspectives on the post-2015 development agenda.

The MDGs remain relevant to Africa

The overwhelming majority of survey respondents agreed that the MDG areas are important development priorities for their countries, reflect “most/all” or “some” of the development priorities of their countries, and should feature in the post-2015 agenda.

The MDGs reflect only a subset of development priorities

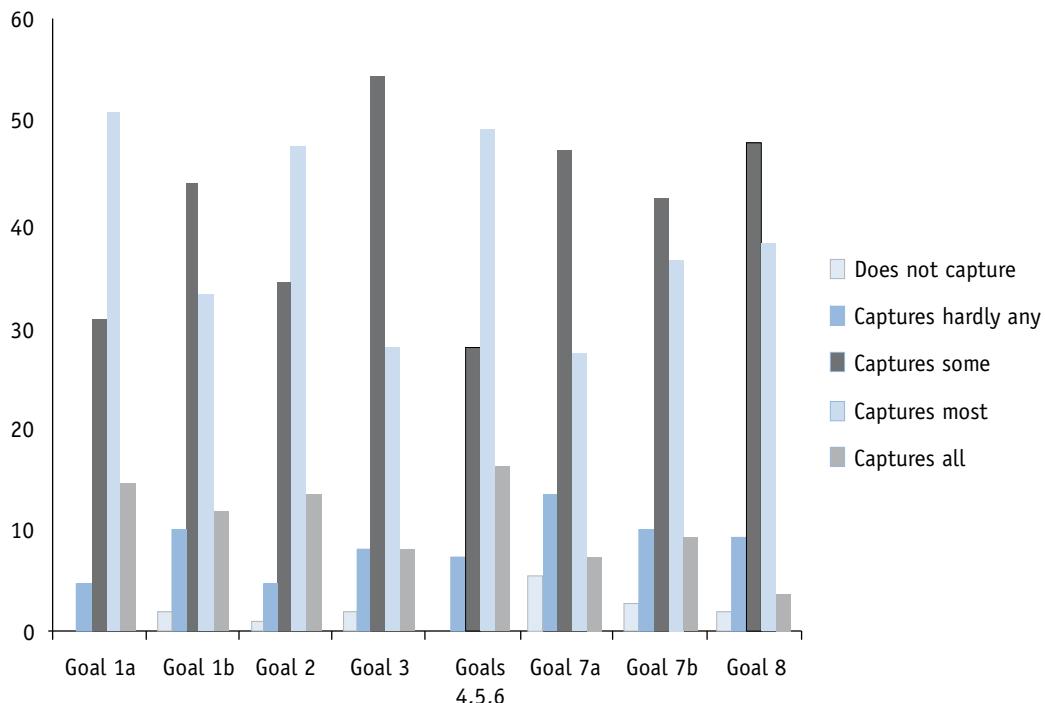
A fair share of survey respondents identified other broad development areas that the current MDGs neglect. MDG 3 and 7, for example, do not adequately capture the development priorities and concerns of member States (figure 9.1). They made suggestions for improvements.

Suggestions for reformulating the MDGs

On Goal 1, respondents reported that there was insufficient focus on inclusive growth and job creation. With education (Goal 2) they decried the exclusive focus on primary education and called for greater emphasis on post-primary education. They also argued for greater focus on education outcomes and not only on enrolments.

For gender (Goal 3), they urged that indicators of women’s empowerment must extend beyond women’s representation in parliament to include representation in local government, as well as issues of sexual and gender-based violence, sexual division of labour, access to finance and early marriage. Respondents also noted that the goal did not take full account of early pregnancy and its implications for population growth and high dependency rates.

On the health goals (4–6), a key criticism was the neglect of the health status of the aged, non-communicable diseases and mental health issues. On the environment (Goal 7), respondents observed that, despite the importance of rural–urban migration, internal displacement and climate change, these issues were not captured in the MDGs. For instance, there are no specific indicators and targets for climate change adaptation or

Figure 9.1 To what extent do the MDGs capture countries' priorities and concerns?

Source: Compiled from the UNECA/AUC electronic survey.

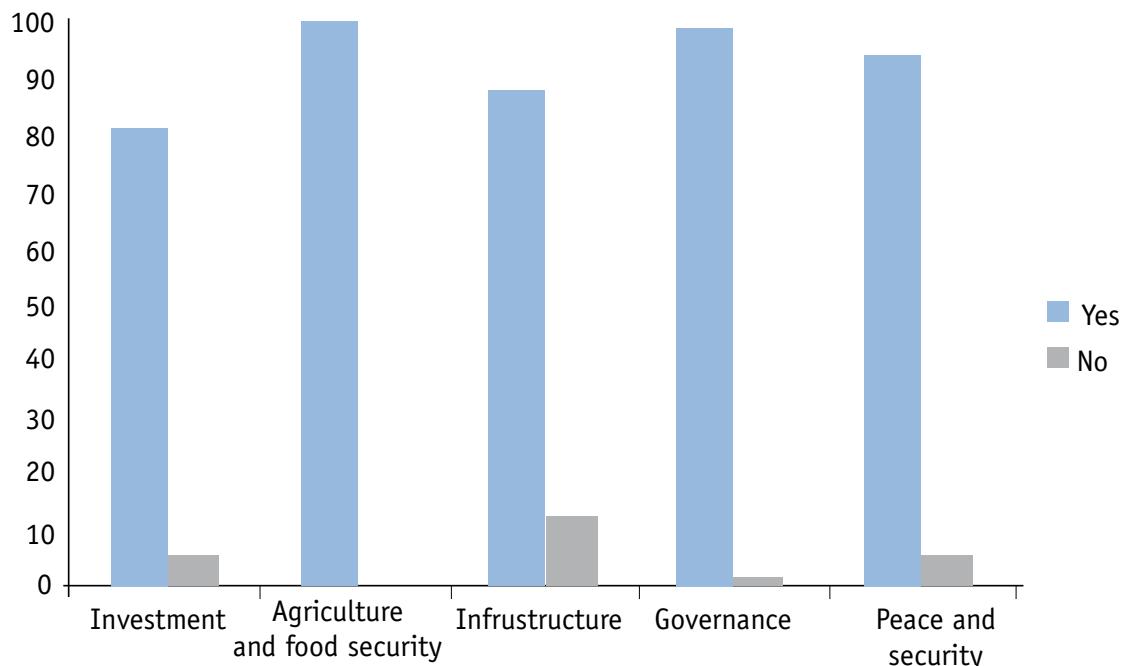
for financing adaptation programmes. Moreover, there are no indicators to measure the gender, health and poverty dimensions of climate change.

Related to international partnerships (Goal 8), respondents argued that the period after 2015 should focus on trade – global and intra-African – rather than aid.

Suggested priorities for the post-2015 development agenda

Respondents were asked their opinions on whether investment, agriculture and food security, infrastructure, peace and security, and governance should feature as priorities for the post-2015 development agenda. The responses provided

below suggest that most respondents perceive the areas identified above as priorities for the post-2015 agenda. However, in addition to the options provided in the questionnaire, respondents identified other priority areas, particularly lowering of intra-continental trade barriers, confronting the challenges of climate change and promoting economic growth and employment creation. Furthermore, respondents called for the agenda to be more participatory in design to provide guidelines for funding mechanisms and measure results in quantity and quality of service delivery (figure 9.2).

Figure 9.2 Suggested new areas for the post-2015 agenda

Source: Compiled from the UNECA/AUC electronic survey.

Findings from the regional workshop on the post-2015 development agenda

The consensus from the regional workshop was similar to that among the electronic survey respondents, namely that the MDGs should be amended post-2015, because as now constituted they have limited focus on economic growth and transformation; do not sufficiently emphasize domestic resource mobilization in Africa's development agenda; tend to neglect issues relating to the quality of service delivery; are silent on inequality, including spatial and horizontal inequality; and disproportionately focus on outcomes, with limited consideration of the enablers of development, thereby excluding the role of factors such as infrastructure and peace and security.

Workshop participants stressed the need for the post-2015 development agenda to reflect an appropriate balance of development outcomes and enablers (see table 9.1 below). Participants also urged that the post-2015 agenda should focus on economic transformation, human development and education and technology (see table 9.2 below).

Suggestions for a post-2015 development agenda

Consultations with African member States so far suggest that reformulating the MDGs – “MDG-plus” – is the preferred option. Drawing on the findings of the commissioned papers and outcomes of multi-stakeholder consultations – that is, the regional workshop and the electronic surveys – in

Table 9.1 Enabling the post-2015 development agenda: perspectives from Africa

Goal	Enablers
To create an enabling environment for the realization of the post-2015 development agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhanced peace and security Good governance Human rights for all Strengthened access to justice and equality A credible participatory process Enhanced capacity to measure progress and ensure accountability

Source: Based on UNECA/AUC/UNDP consultations (regional workshop and electronic survey) on the post-2015 development agenda.

Africa, this section makes specific proposals for the post-2015 agenda.

Policymakers face many suggestions for the post-2015 agenda, and there are concerns that the agenda could get overloaded. It is important to remember that the simplifying and concise nature of the MDGs helped to “brand” them and their subsequent implementation efforts. Given that no development framework can be conceived as a comprehensive expression of the complexity of human development, goals and targets should be kept to a minimum, post-2015 (Vandemoortele, 2009). It will therefore be necessary to minimize overlaps among goals and to select MDG areas that are likely to have the greatest multiplier effects in socio-economically advancing developing countries. In addition, it is important to maintain a balance between development outcomes and enablers, and to highlight common, binding constraints to achieving the MDGs and thereby create a global platform for advocacy and support for addressing such constraints.

An analysis of the above consultations highlights key enablers of development, which should serve

as the basic preconditions for success in carrying out the post-2015 agenda (table 9.1). It is however, debatable whether specific targets should be established for all the enablers. Monitoring should though be encouraged for indicators such as infrastructure and domestic resource mobilization, for which data are at hand.

As well as tracking enablers, reformulating the MDG outcomes is required to take into account emerging issues, priorities and aspirations (table 9.2), based on the African consultations so far.

An important obstacle to monitoring MDG performance in Africa is the lack of timely and reliable high-quality data, as well as efficient monitoring and evaluation systems. This has limited countries’ ability to assess the impact of interventions. After 2015, investments in data collection, analysis and dissemination will need to be scaled up.

Moving forward

As the international development community evaluates the contributions of the MDGs and begins the process of defining a post-2015 global

Table 9.2 Priorities for the post-2015 development agenda: perspectives from Africa

Goal	Priority areas
Promote transformation and sustainable growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prioritize employment creation • Promote rural development • Promote agriculture, value addition of primary commodities and resources • Ensure food security • Promote and expand trade, markets and regional integration and investment • Prioritize sustainability and support green economy initiatives • Increase commitments to multilateral environmental agreements
Promote education and technological innovation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen quality and access to basic and tertiary education • Invest in secondary, tertiary and vocational education • Promote technology transfer • Invest in research and development
Promote human development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote gender parity/empowerment of women in all spheres of endeavour • Protect human rights and ensure justice and equality • Promote access to social protection • Promote maternal and child health • Support and empower the elderly and disabled • Prioritize disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation initiatives • Promote access to ecosystem services and biodiversity benefit sharing

Source: Based on UNECA/AUC/UNDP consultations (regional workshop and electronic survey) on the post-2015 development agenda.

framework, Africa too must articulate its common position. Although the MDGs have led to socio-economic gains in the continent, poverty remains rampant and much more needs to be done.

Discussions on a post-2015 agenda currently revolve around three options –retaining the MDGs in their current configuration, reformulating them and developing an alternative framework. Feedback

from African member States through the regional workshop in Accra and the electronic survey suggests that it is in Africa's interest to reformulate the MDGs – the "MDG-plus" option – post-2015, to reflect current and emerging challenges. This approach must comprise a judicious mix of development enablers and outcomes.

The post-2015 development agenda should include all policy areas currently addressed by the MDGs. It should, however, be amended to take into account elements of emerging challenges. In

addition, two new policy areas should drive the post-2015 agenda: agriculture, food security and rural development; and economic transformation of developing countries.

