

# South-South Cooperation, Tool for Holistic Transfer of Knowledge and Best Practices for Development

## A Review of Non-Conditionality to Boost Local Economies

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**Abstract:** The Global South wields a great potential to transform the economies of partners as well as deepen bilateral ties for future prospects across several economic sectors. The adoption and implementation of South-South Cooperation as a development partnership approach in transferring knowledge, skills and technological capacities need to be holistic in every sense for ensuring that the development partners do not face the challenge of re-inventing the wheel or piloting a given project or programme with funds or technical support provided by the partner without taking local needs and conditions into account. It is against this backdrop that the principle of 'non-conditionality' should be reviewed in order to make a conscious effort in spreading development to the peripheries and boosting local economies. This approach will decongest the population as well as move away from the saturated development interventions of the centre (central business districts) and re-direct resources to local economies, i.e. local government authorities, towards the re-distribution of economic growth and improved standard of living.

**Keywords:** South-South Cooperation, Non-conditionality, Localisation of Development

### Introduction

This paper seeks to propose a review of the principle of non-conditionality with respect to SSC towards the attainment of an improved local economy or enhanced

local content in every sense. The use of local content at its basic meaning makes reference to the use of raw, indigenous, homegrown, and artisanal logistics, products, or services that are found or provided within a given local

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area and administration. Categorically, the best places to find these resources are mostly rural areas, communities or villages. Hence by facilitating economic growth in these areas or ensuring the development and use of their locally produced and available resources, it encourages development partners to ensure that interventions are directed to the appropriate areas for the attainment of local development. The paper captures the thoughts of some established authors, development experts, Think Tanks and personal views that mainly span observations made by the author of some systems of governance of West African Countries and a few other Developing Countries of the global South.

### **South-South Cooperation and Governance in Developing Countries**

South-South Cooperation (SSC) relies on a comprehensive understanding where the instruments of partnership may be used in unison with the objective of coherence across policy measures and with the aspiration of influencing development in totality. SSC has been primarily implemented through project-based approaches rather than programmatic and prescriptive approaches. The objectives underlying such projects are collective 'self-reliance' in the South that can be interpreted as the core mission intrinsic to SSC. In order to meet the above objectives, the multiple modalities and their convergence have been particularly effective. This paradigm of development cooperation has been termed as 'Development Compact'.

Overall, such approaches are broadly expected to adhere to the principles of SSC such as demand-driven, non-conditionality, sovereignty, national ownership and horizontality among others (RIS, 2019). The SSC by all standards is an effective tool for sharing both knowledge and best practices with developing partners for achieving the long-term goal of self-reliance. That notwithstanding, it appears most of the concentration is based more on the transfer of skills through capacity building and training but not on the insistence of applying best practices shared with the developing partners.

The World Bank Policy Press Release (2017) on the topic, "Improving governance is key to ensuring equitable growth in developing countries" emphasised the fact that a new World Bank policy report urges developing countries and international development agencies to rethink their approach to governance, as a key to overcoming challenges related to security, growth, and equity. Also, the World Development Report: Governance and the Law (2017) explores how unequal distribution of power in a society interferes with policies' effectiveness. Power asymmetries help explain, for example, why model anti-corruption laws and agencies often fail to curb corruption, why decentralization does not always improve municipal services, or why well-crafted fiscal policies may not reduce volatility and generate long-term savings.

The report notes that when policies and technical solutions fail to achieve intended outcomes, institutions often

take the blame. However, it finds that countries and donors need to think more broadly to improve governance so that policies succeed.<sup>1</sup> It defines better governance as the process through which state and non-state groups interact to design and implement policies, working within a set of formal and informal rules that are shaped by power.

Most governments of developing countries run a system of governance that mostly ensures that the local governments are tightly knitted to the strings of the authority of the central governments. Though most systems of governance are decentralized both for federal states and unitary states, the decentralized establishments mainly tasked with implementation, mostly experience interference from the central bodies whose only aim is to provide policy direction and supervision of the intended programme or project. The devolution of power to the local government authorities is not absolute and this instance goes an extra mile to influence development interventions that are meant for some particular local economies as the selection of the area may be left to which Member of Parliament or Metropolitan, Municipal or District Assembly/Local Authority Representative/Chief does a good job at lobbying for it. From personal observation, it has been noticed that most of these development interventions end up in the capital and its surroundings for the proximity of supervision by the central authorities, i.e. Ministries and Regional Coordinating Councils and lead to a saturation of interventions

within the Central Business Districts (CBD) and their environs while in effect, the peripheries, outskirts and rural areas that deserve these interventions more, are left out. These interventions are commonly found in areas/regions/provinces close to the seat of government or the CBDs to affirm evidence of the local authorities or their representatives who are notably seen to be working or exercising their mandate. Chaturvedi *et al.* (2013) indicated that 'the prime purpose of Small Development Projects (SDP) in Nepal is to link development projects with community and local development efforts while also ensuring a role for local agencies' (Chaturvedi, 2016). Central Governments must learn to delegate entirely the purpose of local development to local authorities and agencies and take some best practice lessons from Nepal's two-tier local administrative system.

## **Review of the Principle of Non-Conditionality**

According to the Forum for Indian Development Cooperation (FIDC), from the structuralist perspective, imposing conditionality does little to influence the growth prospects of a programme country. According to structuralists, a certain level of inflation is a natural phenomenon in developing countries, which tend to experience long-term supply bottlenecks. Since the structuralist framework sees a convergence between inflation and development as a long-term policy objective, it imposes no strict adherence to conditionality. Though this approach is too simplified to address

short-term imbalances in the economy, it has long-term implications for allowing macroeconomic stability to go hand-in-hand with economic growth. Therefore, India's current practice-development cooperation programmes without conditionality are very much consistent with the structuralist approach.<sup>2</sup>

This to an extent seeks to achieve a long-term objective with respect to macroeconomic stability. On the contrary, with the existence of possible bottlenecks in the system of governance, it would be necessary to crack the whip by applying some 'mild conditionalities' in the bid to ensure localisation while respecting the other guiding principles of sovereignty, equality, national ownership, horizontality among others. The review of the principle of non-conditionality is likely to positively influence the sense of knowledge sharing and partnership as conditions that may be enforced to circumvent bottlenecks within the system of governance in the developing partner country.

The conditions may be limited to providing parameters such as the population size of the given locality (e.g. a population size between 1000–3,000 people), high illiteracy rates, mainly farmers or low-income workers, just to mention a few. These few mild conditions when requested by the provider may allow the proper allocation of development interventions to the appropriate local areas or regions to ensure that the benefits meet both the goals of the provider and the developing partner country.

The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) seeks to make aid programmes effective through policies

of conditionality, budgetary support, microtargeting, and other monetarist principles. This approach has often drawn criticism because of the complex nature of its financial procedures and the risks involved in adhering to conditionality (Oxfam, 2006). Moreover, several developing countries have failed in the past to comply with stringent conditionality because of domestic compulsions, despite sincere efforts (Mohanty, 2016). He was also of the view that many emerging countries noted that although the scale of cooperation resources they can offer lags behind that of more developed countries, the demand had surged. He (Mohanty) alluded to the fact that emerging countries often engaged in sectors where 'traditional donors' have minimal or no presence and such projects may prove highly effective precisely because their financing does not depend on the recipient's overall macroeconomic performance or on conditionality. This position was affirmed by Chaturvedi *et al.* (2013) that the growing dependence on cooperation from emerging countries may also indicate effective delivery systems.

India's adoption of the Mission Approach makes it an established partner 'on campaigning against colonialism and helping empower developing countries. It has therefore aimed to sustain present levels of engagement with developing countries, further supporting them in efforts to come out of deprivation and engage in long-term, sustained development'. The Mission Approach according to Mohanty aims to identify a set of growth drivers that support partner development efforts, setting

them on high growth path (Mohanty, 2016). Technically, an understanding of economic conditions (based on macroeconomics paradigms) in partner countries could help identify these economic drivers and key growth sectors. This might also help in devising a 'road map' for providing consistent and predictable resources to selected areas, without conditionality and in the spirit of 'partnership' principle (Chaturvedi & Mulakala, 2016).

The engagement in trade cooperation differs from one emerging country to another, and further demonstrates assumptions closer to the structuralist position than the monetarist one. For example, China finances infrastructure projects in recipient countries but uses barter-trade in settling loans with these countries. Instead of recovering loan elements in monetary terms, China prefers to accept equivalent amounts in goods such as minerals<sup>3</sup>.

According to Sengupta (1993), the development compact must be based on the principles of 'mutuality of obligation' and 'reciprocity of conditionality'. Under the development compact, developed countries and international organisations will provide the assistance necessary for the successful implementation of development plans in poor countries, while in return developing countries will cooperate in the process through bold reform programmes. In the absence of appropriate capacity within a developing country, the developed countries will be required to provide whatever assistance is necessary for developing countries to achieve their targets. The development

compact envisages a reciprocal obligation between developing countries and bilateral donors, international organisations and the UN system; hence it will be a country-specific arrangement, instead of a traditional 'one-size-fits all' solution applied across the board to take care of all problems of developing countries.<sup>4</sup>

India's mission approach differs distinctly from the framework approach<sup>5</sup>, but it has some elements similar to those of the ingredient approach. It favours defining development cooperation as demand driven, impelled by the aid-recipient requests and needs. In this view, development cooperation should adopt sectoral-support programmes, based on specific projects, rather than providing broader budgetary support. These projects may not be highly capital-intensive in nature but should cover several desired sectors, depending upon the request of the partner country. These projects should also aim at improving supply conditions in these countries; the mission approach emphasises sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing, which create large forward and backward linkages in the partner country (Mohanty, 2016).

In the conclusion, Mohanty in his article 'Shaping Indian development cooperation-India's mission approach in a theoretical framework', emphasised that 'in examining the approaches and policies of the monetarist and structuralist providers, we found that orthodox and heterodox programmes failed in most of the programme countries during the last five decades. Stringent conditionality

associated with an orthodox stabilization programme could not produce better results than structuralist heterodox stabilization programmes. Therefore, the efficacy of development cooperation policies related to conditionality should come under close scrutiny’.

The above assertion goes to underscore the reason for the review of the principle of non-conditionality, applying ‘mild or soft conditionality’ with utmost observance of all other guiding principles of India’s development cooperation and ensuring that the cooperation offered is not tied to the macroeconomic performance or any other stringent conditionalities that steers it in the direction of the monetarist approach. The application of the ‘mild or soft conditionality’ is a step in the right direction for ensuring that developmental interventions are directed to influence local economic growth and in the long term promote the empowerment of local authorities in growing their respective economies and proffering solutions to the immediate local economic challenges which should not be the reserve of central/federal governments and its budget or revenue.

The ‘mild or soft conditionality’ will also be a credible tool in shaping the governance system of the recipient partner without applying force or appearing as controlling. This could be achieved by empowering the respective local economies through various economic interventions (i.e. agriculture and manufacturing) and most exclusively the provision of housing support in the stead to bridge the housing deficits that

bedevil most developing countries. By extension, the local economies will also be empowered by the increased population of qualified and skilled workers residing within their respective areas who can make meaningful contributions to their local economic dispensation. A key player in this strategy will be the provision of affordable and conducive housing which will decongest the cities, central business districts and what is herein termed as the ‘saturated centre’. As the skilled workers and their families will be drawn to affordable and conducive housing in the peripheries, there will be the transfer of businesses, innovations, technologies, business solutions and ideas, social capital, transport services and others to these local economies as they provide a fertile ground for business transactions and also fit the purpose of ‘ground zero’ for the introduction of tried and tested modern infrastructure, land use and spatial planning as well as eco-friendly developmental interventions.

Chaturvedi (2016) in his book, ‘The Logic of Sharing; Indian Approach to South-South Cooperation,’ with reference to the nature of non-conditionality stated that one strong explanation for the significant attention and acceptance that the SSC has attracted from the recipient partners is the absence of conditionality. He, however, indicated that there is a growing debate among some experts whether the SSC is really as free from conditionalities as frequently claimed. He added that critics allude to the directed sourcing of material for the SSC-funded projects as conditionalities in disguise. Chaturvedi (2016) rebutted



the assertion and emphasised that “provisions as regards materials and equipment sourcing hardly contradict the conditionality principle because they aligned to the ‘mutual gain’ principle of SSC. The policy of non-interference in domestic affairs and respect for the national sovereignty of development partners also make the SSC partnership more acceptable to the global South. Insofar as the SSC provides an elbow room for recipients to conceive, construct and administer development projects sensitive to national priorities and developmental aspirations, it carries with it respect for the independence and national sovereignty, cultural diversity of the recipient and the identity of local content”.

The concerns and thoughts by these critics raise the need to review the principle of non-conditionalities of the SSC as there is definitely no concept of a ‘free lunch’. The most religious principles underpinning the SSC are the respect for national sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, non-interference in domestic matters, non-aligned status of partner countries, a preference for negotiated solutions through dialogue and equality of partners. These principles highly distinguish the SSC from any other development cooperation out there. The distinguishing key elements the SSC offers are the Five Rs (5Rs); - respect, recognition, reliability, reasonability, resources and results.

It is based on these arguments, that the concept of the ‘mild or soft conditionality’ is proposed to ensure that slight adjustments are recommended by

provider partners during negotiations or dialogues with the recipient partners. These ‘mild or soft conditionalities’ shall not interfere with the other key principles in anyway, nor shall they be mainly profiteering to the detriment of the recipient partner nor shall they be premised on the macroeconomic performance of the recipient partner but rather, these ‘mild or soft conditionalities’ shall aid the direction of programmes or projects to the appropriate local area and ensure to benefit both partners as well as help in the recipient partner attaining self-reliance in due course.

The ‘mild or soft conditionality’ is not an aberration of a demand-driven or needs based request from developing countries but only provides parameters for meeting the description of a local area or economy out of which the needed interventions shall be implemented to ensure that it is not left to the decision or mercy of political will or lobby. The provider will witness their funding or support being applied where it is needed most and this will awaken the developing countries’ governments to make commensurate efforts in promoting growth in that regard. For instance, when investments are made in agriculture to increase yields as well as process raw materials in a given locality, it behooves the government of that developing country to initiate plans to ensure that the needed infrastructure such as motorable roads is provided to enhance transportation of produce and products to the markets and end-users. This position is affirmed by Chaturvedi (2016) in his article, ‘Towards Health

Diplomacy – emerging trends in India’s South-South Health Cooperation’ where he concluded that, ‘partner countries also need to invest more in their science, technology, innovation, and health-promotion plans’. This approach is a partnership in its very essence as both parties match up the efforts of each other without stringent conditionalities and the gauge of macroeconomic performance.

The given parameters of ‘mild or soft conditionality’ may restrict the influence of bottlenecks of the given interventions and accord the provider or partner country the opportunity to select an area from amongst the list suggested by the recipient country to direct the project or programme. In essence, this will ensure that development is fairly distributed and the peripheries and local economies receive a fair share of a holistic economic boost. This practice upholds the demand-driven and mutual benefit features of SSC.

## **Localisation - Boost to the Local Economy**

Among the various development strategies, localisation is emerging as the new normal. More and more efforts are being made to ensure growth with local content and local hands with local livelihood security with as less carbon footprint as possible. This has given greater flexibility for the national governments to choose policy options from successful experiences and strategies. Specific experiences from emerging economies - be that China or India, and even earlier the newly industrialised countries (NICs), stand

for that endogeneity. Efforts are on to identify the most appropriate modality in this regard (Chaturvedi, 2016).<sup>6</sup>The UNDP Human Development Report of 2003 further explained the proposition, defining the development compact as an arrangement based on a system of shared responsibility, where all countries could orientate their efforts towards helping poor countries achieve their development goals. The compact allows poor countries to pitch for higher assistance and improved market access, while provider countries can demand better governance and accountability in return.<sup>7</sup>

As more efforts are being made by partners in SSC to ensure growth with local content, it would not be a breach of agreement with respect to ensuring that some forms of conditions are applied to redistribute economic growth from the centre (i.e. central government areas and urban economies) to the local authority or rural areas. This in the long term would help address some economic challenges such as high unemployment rates in the urban areas, as ready labour (skilled and unskilled) will be motivated to find employment in the peripheries or rural areas. In the same stead, it will bring infrastructural and socio-economic developments to the local economies, i.e. good roads, improved health facilities, advanced educational establishments, etc. According to Mohanty (2016), ‘the mission approach emphasises sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing, which create large forward and backward linkages in the partner country’. Moving forward it will be apt for providers



or donor partners to look beyond the regular areas of cooperation and consider affordable housing in ensuring localisation. This to a long extent fulfils Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 of attaining sustainable cities and communities.

The World Health Organization defined housing as a “residential environment which includes, in addition to the physical structure that man uses for shelter, all necessary services, facilities, equipment and devices needed or desired for the physical and mental health and social well-being of the family”. It is estimated that around 40 per cent - in some cases, 75 per cent - of the population of fast-growing cities in developing countries is housed in squatter settlements without basic services. Cities are growing at an unexpected and exponential rate, often not aligned with urban planning and development. Many people are moving from rural areas to cities for work, and since the cities are not able to expand at the same pace, most of them end up in slums – overcrowded areas with inadequate access to safe water or sanitation, poor structural quality of dwellings and insecurity of tenure. Today, the number of people living in slums is estimated around 881 million in developing countries only, against 689 in 1990. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 59 per cent of the urban population lives in slums; in Asia and the Pacific, home to half of the urban population of the world, that per centage drops to 28 per cent of the population, while in Latin and Caribbean countries it passed from 30 per cent to 21 per cent over the last decade. Having

access to quality affordable housing is fundamental to reduce poverty, improve equal opportunities and guarantee sustainable growth: for this reason, it became the objective of UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) number 11. The aim, by 2030, is to put housing at the centre of specific policies to reduce drastically the number of people living in conditions below the minimum standards. Housing can be considered affordable if its cost (mortgage or rent) is below 30 per cent of the household income: according to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), if a family pays more than 30 per cent of their income for housing, it is considered a cost burden. HUD also estimated that currently, 12 million people in the U.S. pay more than 50 per cent of their annual income on housing, thus living in conditions of unaffordability (Habitat for Humanity, 2020).

The application of ‘mild or soft conditionalities’ towards directing developmental interventions to the peripheries or local economies do have a ripple effect on transforming the economies of the peripheries and diffusing the challenges and economic difficulties of the centre. The consideration of issuing grants or line of credits towards implementing affordable housing projects by providers or partner countries in addition to the other areas of intervention such as manufacturing, production, capacity building, technology transfers can help developing partners gain self-reliance in a more rapid manner.

In summation, this will help the central government to focus on

formulating policies that will decongest the capital and urban areas to ensure that the high risk of health concerns, clustered developments or slums, high unemployment rates, security and crime concerns are controlled and managed.

### **Localisation Model - 'Mild or Soft Conditionality' by Provider/Partner**

The above model gives a pictorial description of the influence 'mild or soft conditionalities' proposed by providers that may accelerate localisation in a given developing country. It also indicates how such conditionalities can help redistribute economic growth, enhance devolution of developmental power to the local governments and mitigate the economic developmental challenges of the 'saturated centre', through strategic interventions such as agriculture, production and most importantly affordable housing, which this paper considers the '21st century quandary of socio-economic development of developing countries.

Figure 1 indicates how most developmental interventions are implemented within the proximity of the seat of government or central administrations of a recipient country. This is referred to as the 'saturated centre' as the influential powers retain these projects or programmes within the core in the bid to resolve the challenges that are known or visible to them as they also reside in the centre. As these projects and programmes are clustered around the centre it engenders a breeding ground for constant migration to the centre, thereby, increasing unemployment

rates, housing challenges; slums, health concerns, crime rates, evasion of tax nets by petty traders and non-regulated street/mobile businesses amongst others. It is also noted that just a few developmental interventions are seen in the peripheries, this may even be due to the lobbying capacity or skill of some Members of Parliament or Regional or Metropolitan, Municipal, or District Assembly Chiefs.

The decentralisation system in most developing countries appears as centralization in disguise as all local representatives aside from Members of Parliament (MPs) are appointed by the Executive or President. In addition to that, the multi-party system makes the lobbying process quite difficult even for Members of Parliament from the opposition side of the government of the day or ruling party. These features of the multi-party system grossly affect development and localisation in the long run. This inadequate distribution of development to the peripheries is referred to as 'partial localisation' in Figure 1.

Developmental interventions are only seen and experienced in the centre while a greater number of the population reside at the peripheries. The plain areas of Figure 1 are untouched, not built, little to no infrastructure (ground zero), an area viable to be developed and to receive sustainable development and implementation of advanced and modern development interventions. This is further explained in Figure 2. It presents an opportunity for sustainable steady growth, green developments, eco-friendly programmes and projects, and helps reverse the system of 'disguised

LOCALISATION MODEL FOR DEVELOPMENT PARTNERSHIP: THE DEVOLUTION OF POWER BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, THE INFLUENCE / CONDITIONS OF PROVIDERS/PARTNERS TO CATALYSE LOCALISATION

Figure 1. THE SATURATED CENTRE

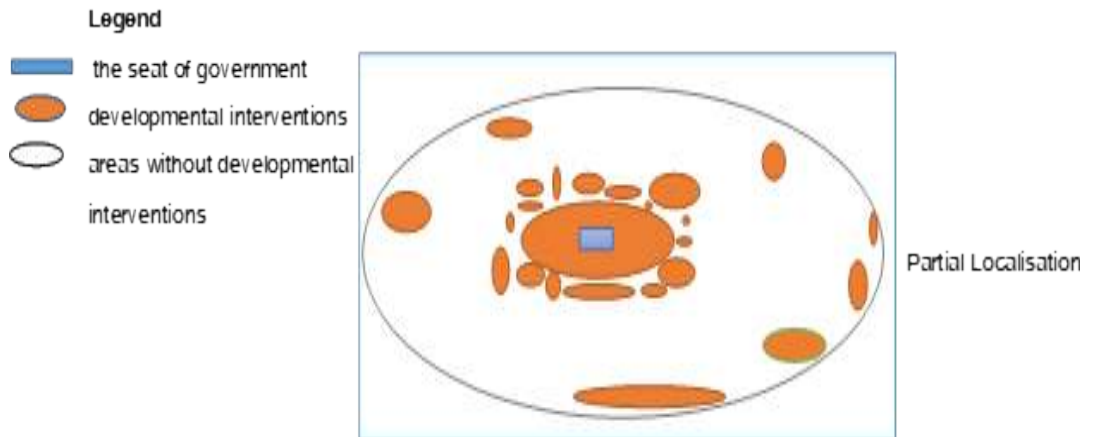
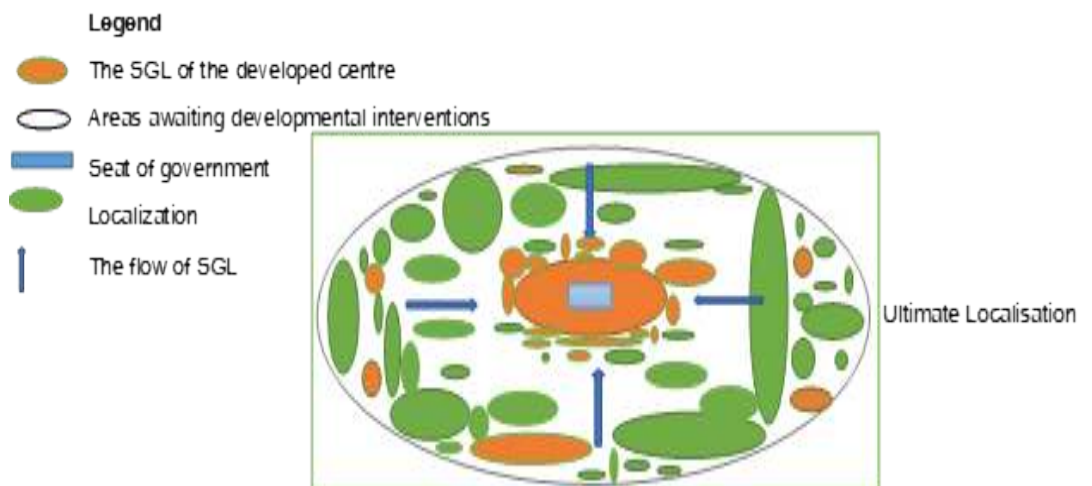


Figure 2. SUSTAINABLE GREEN LOCALISATION (SGL)



Source: Compiled by author

centralisation' into full devolution for local authorities to be in the position to grow their localities with little or no control from central governments. Figure 2 also indicates sustainable green localisation which is influenced by the 'mild or soft conditionalities' of the provider in ensuring that the best practices and recent trends of development are introduced to the peripheries to help grow the local economies and resolve the socio-economic challenges of the 'saturated centre'.

Figure 2 also shows sustainable green development, which is development that protects the environment and causes no defect to it or its constituents but provides economic activities and gains to the inhabitants for present and future needs. The blue arrows imply the direction of sustainable green localisation and economic growth from the peripheries to the centre while the centre is decongested by encouraging voluntary relocation from the saturated centre to the peripheries for sustainable employment (i.e. policies/incentives to make farming more innovative and rewarding), living in birth places and helping build home communities/villages, finding affordable housing, better health facilities and services, full educational level institutions from basic to tertiary (satellite campuses of main universities) in the same locality amongst others.

With regards to the previously saturated centre in Figure 1, repeated in Figure 2, it is worthy of note that the orange circles in Figure 2 have green lines around them, this indicates the

mitigation of developmental challenges suffered by these areas earlier and the process of localisation resolves them in the long run.

As a way of preserving the centre, it is advisable for the governments of the developing countries to implement policies that will regulate businesses and residents of the centre i.e increased taxes, ground rents, tolls and parking fees. When the population and challenges are finally reduced, the centre could be designated as a government administrative area, technology, commercial residence / hotels or financial businesses centre

## Conclusion

Sachin Chaturvedi (2016) expressed the opinion that 'the specified set of modalities for the compact might evolve over time'. In the same vein, this paper has faith in the SSC's guiding principles while being flexible enough to adapt to new realities brought about by factors like shifting economic conditions, new international industrial and fiscal policies, acts of God or force majeure.

In summary, to attain conscious holistic development and increased local economic growth, the application of some conditionalities is key to ensuring that there is a controlled wave of development that will be easily monitored and experienced by the provider/development partner and the recipient partner, respectively. This new wave will be result oriented in ensuring that the pressures of the centre are dissolved by attending to the needs of the peripheries. There will hence be a ripple effect of growth from the local

economies towards the centre. The ‘mild or soft conditionalities’ only affords the provider to have a say where their support or funding is directed for there is a proverb that says, ‘he who pays the piper calls the tune’. The review of the ‘non-conditionality’ principle and the strict observance of the other key principles does not in any way liken the SSC to how business is done by the North-South or the DACs. This review will also clear the doubts in the minds of critics on the thought of ‘non-conditionalities’ being ‘conditionalities in disguise’ in South-South Cooperation. Hence the key recommendations are: Developing countries should be made to submit a list of communities that fit the parameters as prescribed above, for the selection of the Donor/Provider. This practice still follows a demand driven request approach in SSC. Provider partners should also provide parameters/ characteristics that captures/defines a local economic area that should benefit from a given development intervention. This shall be known as the ‘mild or soft conditionality’ as the paper explains.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> The analysis points to the fact that engaging partners for South-South cooperation should not be business as usual. Efforts should be made were necessary to enhance economic growth and development even if it requires the admonishing of partners to adjust their systems slightly for a smooth run of a development intervention. This will lead to the collective good in the long term.
- <sup>2</sup> FIDC Policy Brief of March 2016 on the Indian Development Cooperation: A theoretical and Institutional Framework.

- <sup>3</sup> FIDC.
- <sup>4</sup> Sachin Chaturvedi, the Development Compact: A Theoretical Construct for South-South Cooperation RIS-DP # 203 June 2016.
- <sup>5</sup> According to his definition, the framework approach represents the ‘rules of the game’: economic agents make decisions and take action in a given economy, itself conceived in terms of the functions of institutions and mechanisms, thereby underscore the need to enforce conditionalities. By contrast, the ingredient approach refers to tangible organisational units such as enterprises, official bureaus, and industrial projects, along with their aggregations in industries, sectors, and regions (Chaturvedi & Mohanty, 2016). Wonhyuk Lim ascribed the framework approach to North-South engagements and the ingredient approach to South-South ones (Lim 2012).
- <sup>6</sup> Sachin Chaturvedi, Technical to Triangular Cooperation: Reconfiguring Development Partnerships for Localisation, Development Cooperation Review, (Vol. No.9 Pg. 3)
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid iii.

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