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## **THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT BASED ON EASTERLY AND SACHS: THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURALISM AS THE PATHWAY TO THE FUTURE**

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If there is something in which William Easterly and Jeffrey Sachs agree on, is that the politics of Development Cooperation have failed. And this failure is not a matter of how much money have been invested, but how the money is spent and why has been decided to invest in the already existing politics. The XXI century started with the increasing concern about the efficiency of such politics. Simultaneously, the concept of Development Cooperation has been constantly questioned, following, as a result, a heated argument that tries to clarify the reasons behind the failure and how the resources available should be properly managed. This text focuses its attention on one of the main issues regarding the deficiencies of the Development Cooperation: the weaknesses of the institutions. Therefore, the concept of Institutional Structuralism (Midgley, J, 2014) will come up as a means to successfully achieve the goals that the development projects demand.

*Keywords: projects; development cooperation; social development; politics.*

## **LA COOPERACIÓN INTERNACIONAL AL DESARROLLO DESDE EASTERLY Y SACHS: EL ESTRUCTURALISMO INSTITUCIONAL COMO APUESTA DE FUTURO**

Si hay algo en lo que están de acuerdo William Easterly y Jeffrey Sachs es en el fracaso de las políticas de Cooperación al Desarrollo. Y este fracaso no es una cuestión del cuánto, sino del cómo y el por qué. El siglo XXI arrancó con la preocupación sobre la eficacia de la ayuda. El concepto de Cooperación al Desarrollo ha sido continuamente cuestionado y ha dado paso a una verdadera lucha de teorías que intentan explicar el porqué del fracaso y el dispendio de recursos. Esta comunicación se centra en uno de los principales problemas de la Cooperación al Desarrollo: las debilidades de las instituciones. Por eso se pone en valor en esta investigación el concepto del Estructuralismo Institucional (Midgley, 2014) como medio para alcanzar los logros que demandan los proyectos de desarrollo.

*Palabras clave: proyectos; cooperación al desarrollo; desarrollo social; políticas*

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## 1. Introduction

It is difficult to find a complete definition of Development Cooperation, which fully complies with a single conceptual reality and which can be kept valid for any time and place. Development Cooperation has been modifying its contents in accordance with the dominant thinking and values on development and the orientation of relations between rich countries towards the poorest ones (Álvarez Orellana, 2012).

Gómez and Sanahuja (1999) provide a classic definition of Development Cooperation:

Set of actions, carried out by public and private actors, between countries of different income levels with the purpose of promoting economic and social progress in the countries of the South, so that it is more balanced in relation to the North and is sustainable.

The difficulty in defining the concept of Development Cooperation, partly attends to the continuous modifications in its approaches, methodologies and actors. It has gone from being a support tool against underdevelopment, to focusing on the fight against poverty, managing to consolidate new approaches, such as: active participation, mutual interest, partnership and appropriation by local actors (Álvarez Orellana, 2012). In this sense, as Fontana and Balcázar (2009) point out, "International Cooperation shows itself as an extraordinary opportunity to channel experiences and funds that allow cementing the institutional framework of those countries that present deficit indexes of social development".

Recognizing that Development Cooperation plays an essential role as a complement to other sources of development financing, especially in those countries with less capacity to attract direct private investment (UNO, 2002). The various International Summits, in recent years, point out their concern about the effectiveness of Development Aid: there is no proportion between the aid used and the results obtained (UNO, 2005). In these events, Fontana (2012) points out, it has been pointed out that the various States and international organizations have not been concerned with establishing mechanisms to correct inefficiencies and ineffectiveness. Evaluation and follow-up have been lacking. Coordination among donors has been poor, giving the case of duplication of efforts. There has been a lack of ownership by the recipient country, as well as a lack of coherence with national development strategies. For example, at the Rome Summit it was mentioned that "donor practices do not always coincide with national development systems and priorities: with their budget, program and project planning cycles; and with public expenditure management systems and financial administration" (UNO, 2003, p. 1).

Consequently, international events are pushing development aid planning to be characterized by a national strategy for cooperation, broad social participation and an evaluation of results.

## 2. Two opposing synthetic visions: Easterly/Sachs

The failure of policies and the causes that aid from Development Cooperation does not have the effect that it should have often lie in the so-called "three I's", that is, ideology, ignorance and inertia, by experts, of aid workers or local leaders and managers that Banerjee and Duflo revealed in 2016, three years before receiving the Nobel Prize in Economics, precisely for their work on small projects measuring the degree of effectiveness as a way to solve the challenge we face.

As Fisman and Miguel (2008) point out and includes in their work Jiménez-Castillo (2018) "there is fundamental disagreement among economists on the issue of foreign aid. Essentially, it boils down to whether rich countries have already provided too much money [...] or not enough".

When reviewing the literature related to the role of Official Development Assistance we make two considerations in this regard. As Rodríguez et al., (2013) point out "the first affirms that foreign aid is necessary to promote and drive the development of poor countries" (cited in Sachs, 2005). The followers of this position rely on what has been called the theory of public interest. The second consideration contrasts sharply with the previous one, arguing that the development aid system is not only ineffective, but also contributes negatively in recipient countries (Rodríguez et al., 2013). This perspective on aid effectiveness is known as the theory of public choice (as quoted in Easterly, 2006).

For several decades, the two economists have been leading one of the fiercest discussions on the intellectual scene in the United States and its corresponding international repercussion. A dispute which mainly puts the focus on the 75,000 million dollars that the rich world spent annually to developing countries to help them out of poverty. For Sachs, that amount is insufficient. For Easterly, a lot of that money is wasted. The discussion between Easterly and Sachs has become the cornerstone of the debate on Development Aid in the 21st century. A debate that is sometimes on the verge of insults, but whose conclusions can mean life or death for the more than 2.5 million people worldwide who live on less than 99 cents a day.

## **2.1 A top-down view: Jeffrey Sachs**

Sachs' theoretical elements –along with the UN, the World Bank and a good part of the organizations linked to aid- are based, as Rodríguez et al., (2013) "in the so-called theory of public interest, which assumes that it will be possible to find a general agreement or consensus that allows a policy, action or proposal that will be beneficial to all". In particular, Sachs (2005) states that the aid system could have a transformative effect if it is applied correctly and in sufficient volumes. He argues that aid could lead recipient countries to escape the poverty trap, by providing necessary investments that they are unable to provide with their limited resources (Sachs, 2005). Sachs' top-down vision is framed within an "interventionist" strategy, both economic and ideological: what is known as the economic "big push".

In his 2005 best-seller, *The End of Poverty*, Sachs argues that if rich countries contributed \$ 195 billion a year in cooperation between 2005 and 2025, by the end of this period poverty could have completely disappeared (Banerjee and Duflo, 2016). Of course, and as Fernández Leost (2010) points out, Sachs introduced in his plan the "need for relations between donors and beneficiaries to conform to criteria of effectiveness, so that the recipient country would have to design an annual investment program in that the strategy to be followed be clarified". Regardless of the possible inaccuracies of the measurement (unknown effects of externalities, rupture of the linearity between inputs and achievements, etc.), and the little optimism that can be treasured after five years of meeting the deadline (the 2008 crisis did not figure as a variable in the expected growth rates), the Sachs treatment is referential (Fernández Leost, 2010).

## **2.2 A bottom-up view: William Easterly**

Faced with Sachs' proposal, William Easterly appears as one of the authors who, from a liberal current in the European sense of the concept, defends another way of facing development policies (Fernández Leost, 2010). This bottom-up vision is framed within a strategy that promotes self-development, making it easier for people, communities or nations to prepare their own development plan, according to their needs and objectives.

Easterly has become one of the most prominent public figures in opposition to international aid (Banerjee and Duflo, 2016), believing that aid not only corrupts governments, but also because he believes, on a more basic level, that we should respect people's freedom (Banerjee and Duflo, 2016). He argues that "aid does more harm than good, by discouraging people from seeking their own solutions, by corrupting and undermining local institutions and by creating

an NGO lobby that tends to perpetuate itself". The best option for poor countries is to rely on the basic idea that when markets are free and the incentives are right, people can find the solution to their problems without the need for alms from abroad or from their own governments (Easterly, 2006).

### 2.3 Two insufficient visions

The debate cannot be resolved abstractly. Evidence is needed, but unfortunately the data that is often used to answer these big questions does not inspire confidence (Banerjee & Duflo, 2016). However, if there are answers, even if they are not radical answers to the liking of Sachs and Easterly. As Banerjee and Duflo (2016) point out, "it is possible to achieve a very significant advance in the fight against development by accumulating a series of small cases, each of them well thought out, carefully tested and carried out with judgment". This may seem obvious, but this is not how the policies defended and often promoted by Sachs and Easterly are usually carried out.

The models of development cooperation that have been dominant until very recently have not yet managed to offer effective ways of integrating the actions and wills of all the actors involved in these processes (Afonso-Gallegos et al., 2013). Many partial achievements have been achieved that together have facilitated a progressive global improvement of developing countries, but it is also repeatedly found that the development objectives set at the global level are not being achieved, or at least not achieved by expected pace when formulated. A reorientation of Development Cooperation policies and plans is necessary, allowing more attention to be paid to the set of relationships established between the different actors present in a territory, instead of focusing only on the consideration of partial aspects of needs of each actor.

Jeffrey Sachs is convinced that extreme poverty can be eradicated with much more financial support and a good technical strategy. Planners –planners is the term by which Easterly refers to Sachs and his followers- conceive of poverty as a technical problem that their experts are capable of solving. They decide where and what is necessary and apply it with a western mind. By contrast, search engines –seachers- find out what people need, and help them implement it. They assume that there is no plan that can eliminate poverty, but that it must be built little by little. *Easterly's non-alternative plan.*

Although this critical vision of William Easterly may seem logical, and is supported by the undeniable fact that the strong Development Aid promoted since the 1950 has not given the results it promised, his vision also has many criticisms. The main one is that it makes an unfair caricature of the planners and international organizations. Easterly assumes that things have improved a lot in recent years, professionals are much better trained and informed than he suggests, and Development Aid is becoming more efficient and better evaluated.

It is possible to make the world a better place, but for this it is not enough to reflect or lazily speculate (Banerjee and Duflo, 2013). Sachs and Easterly have not been able to adapt to the intellectual changes required by the new planning models, and this has translated into a minimal impact –and not always a positive one- in the development levels of the most vulnerable territories.

Recent research by Banerjee and Duflo shows that the antagonistic paths of these two visions may not be so far apart. Contrary to what Easterly's ideology of self-organization may dictate, a plan is needed to help lay the foundations in the most vulnerable territories, as recent Nobel research shows a significant lack of capacity on the part of these territories to achieve development by themselves. But that plan cannot come from top-down impositions or be the result of ignorance of the real needs that the population demands, as Sachs has been pursuing in recent decades. The answer may be found in a joint top-down/bottom-up vision, which encourages self-development through the management of planning professionals whose

purpose is to seek balance from above, public action in the territory where the people and structures, and from the base, creativity and innovation, counting on the people involved in the process. This is another element that Sachs and Easterly lack: the sensitivity and preparation of the planners to unite the expert knowledge with the experienced and achieve project actions that improve the lives of people, being they the true protagonists.

The following is a case study of planning according to the Social Learning model that, following the nomenclature recently used by FAO, we could call "living laboratory" and that reveals an intellectual background not dealt with so far in our research and that we consider they can help, due to the wealth they contain, by proposing a new way of approaching Development Cooperation in a very practical way.

### **3. Program of the Coordinator of Aymara Women (CMA)**

Development Cooperation projects present a series of peculiarities that differentiate them from engineering projects, something known but not always taken into consideration. In the latter, notes Negrillo (2018) "the execution of the project generally does not suffer deviations from its original design". This is not the case in Development Cooperation projects, due to their complexity and the confluence in them of territorial, economic, cultural factors, etc. Such deviations can deviate substantially from the original design, since the level of uncertainty when working with groups of people and organizations is enormous (Negrillo, 2018). For this reason, development projects should be considered more as a process, and consequently their execution as the management of a process (cited in Montes, 2010).

The development program presented below –in a classic sense of program, as a set of related projects- applied this contribution from Negrillo in its operation: the Project as a process and is being executed as a process of constant learning, with continuous modifications according to the new needs that arise in the process. This forced and continues to force to rethink the activities to be followed, allocating resources and personnel for it: one thing that we do not forget is "life itself" in any activity, almost always forgotten in development projects, where it seems that a sustainability forever and that simply does not exist (Cazorla, 2020).

The Program "Development of women's leadership capacities in communities of Puno", is being developed by the GESPLAN group and the Coordinator of Aymara Women in Puno (CMA), in the Peruvian highlands since 2008, remaining in force. It was, in a first phase, to strengthen the leadership capacities of women artisans, enhancing the capacities of CMA members and incorporating a value system that would guide social practice through normative planning, based on the model Working With People.

UPM/CMA used the ethical-social component of the model (Cazorla et al., 2013) to guide and manage this process, taking into account the principles and values of the CMA. Thanks to their knowledge of the development context, the institution's directives covered the appropriate elements of the political-contextual component. It was the experts mobilized by UPM who provided the elements corresponding to the technical-business component that also included CMA women as an active part of the process (Cazorla, 2018). It is noted that the shared design and distribution of the "roles" was the result of the crossing of expert (UPM) and experienced knowledge (CMA) and there, at the starting point of political and negotiating planning, is where the basis was born solid to create a common element, within a framework of actions and priorities.

This first project, within the Program, in its most practical aspect, was articulated from that of the carrying out of several participative workshops for the taking of information directly with the members of the CMA groups. Here part of the planning in Social Learning was used, since the local knowledge of the members of the association was used to identify the potentialities of the area through a SWOT analysis in which technicians from the GESPLAN group (UPM) and the

CMA participated, who acted as "planning entrepreneurs", mobilizing resources, people and institutions in an innovative way, with the aim of implementing and accelerating the process. The main activity that was consolidated to develop was handmade textile crafts that combined tradition, quality and respect for nature (Negrillo, 2018).

The continuous process of linking projects –and within these, subprojects- linked by the need to achieve an end, has strengthened an association of artisans (more than 300), in the search for business sustainability of their organization, strengthening its structure in a continuous learning process (Negrillo, 2018). Among the projects carried out with the CMA (2008-2010; 2011-2014; 2015-2018) subprojects were designed that were executed to meet the new needs that originated during the implementation of the previous project. These at the same time have activities that are identified by the participation of the beneficiaries/protagonists in each of the stages of the project cycle. The process of the CMA project therefore, in addition to being cyclical, was dynamic, since new project ideas emerged from the final results of a project and incorporated the new information into previous approaches, thus reorienting the process of preparing the project.

In summary, the development of each of the three projects carried out by the GESPLAN group together with the CMA is highlighted below:

A) Project (2008-2010)

The consolidation of the CMA as a legal organization was achieved, after obtaining its inscription in public records. In addition, it was possible to provide a minimum infrastructure to function as a technical office and liaison point and it was also possible to develop a website where products can be offered and the project related.

B) Project (2011-2014)

During the development of this second project, the knowledge of the CMA members was improved with specific training, the development of new collections, in which new markets were progressively covered. In addition, the final quality of the garments continued to be improved with the implementation of quality control workshops. In this project, the process of improvement in knowledge and quality was evident, but deficiencies were still found to be taken into consideration.

C) Project (2015-2018)

This new project developed two new collections, with the accumulated of all the previous workshops and the needs of the clients. Also to complement the technical knowledge economic courses were given. The development of the project allowed the CMA to establish relationships thanks to the use of ICT and social networks.

Although the evolution data of the program is dated 2018, from that moment to the present, activities and expansion have continued to increase with exports to 10 countries and expansion as a methodology to other environments such as the Rural Development Centers (CDR) that they depend on the National University of San Marcos (UNMSM).

After more than ten years working with the CMA, a series of elements that are unique to this process can be highlighted compared to others that have been initiated (references from the GESPLAN projects) (Cazorla et al., 2018): awareness among the community so that they can take ownership of their own development; shared evolution process from a community structure to an economic-commercial structure; a new way to manage revolving funds; and the role of GESPLAN (UPM) as a planning entrepreneur. It should also be noted that not only the members of the CMA have increased their competences (for example, technical capacities related to weaving and in some cases with project management). The UPM experts, fruit of common learning and the continuous dialogues between beneficiaries and planners that take

place in this two-way model, have also increased their skills. From an eminently technical profile to one that evolves with the development of each of the projects and subprojects.

The competences in the three areas of the WWP model that the members of the program have been developing have had an evolutionary process of increase as can be seen reflected in Negrillo's doctoral thesis (2018) and which in summary is presented in Fig. 1:

**Figure 1: Level of affinity between the main participating institutions in relation to the components of the WWP (2007-2018), where 0 = very low and 4 = very high (Negrillo, 2018)**

Institution	Ethical social component				Political Component				Technical Component			
	2007	2012	2016	2018	2007	2012	2016	2018	2007	2012	2016	2018
Gesplan-UPM	4	4	4	4								
CMA	1	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	0	2	3	3
Others					0	1	1	3				
UPM experts					1	2	3	4	4	4	4	4
Entrepreneurs									0	0	2	3
Design team capabilities									0	3	3	4
CMA women									2	4	4	4

The experience of the CMA has been the object of study and interest among entities from different regions, which try to copy the development of the institution. This demonstrates the success of this "laboratory lived" and highlights the meaning of the project as a process to achieve sustainability.

#### 4. New Elements Extracted from the CMA Experience

Friedmann, with a pioneering vision in his book "Retracking America: A theory of transactive Planning" published in 1973, proposed a new system that would come to replace the bankruptcy planning model imposed until then: the *Blue Print* model, a *top/down model*. Years later, in 1994, he concretized his thought in an article published in the *Journal of the American Planning Association* entitled "Toward and Non-Euclidean Mode of Planning". His critique of allocative planning, which dealt with the central distribution of a series of scarce resources among different people, would be replaced by innovative management planning, with a key element, the personal relationship that must exist between the expert and customer. Cazorla (2014) further concretizes that vision of Friedmann, pointing out that "this postmodern planning model requires coherence –values- that allows to discover and resize vital spaces based on participation and commitment", understanding this as "the personal contribution" of each one of the agents that are within or associated with a project (cited in IPMA, 2010).

The CMA project has served, firstly, to value those innovative planning ideas that authors such as Friedmann and Cazorla had advanced years ago, and, secondly, to better understand, from a pragmatic vision, what the new development models. Thanks to the experience and feedback from each of the projects designed by the GESPLAN group and by the CMA, elements can be extracted that facilitate understanding of the recent approaches implemented in rural development programs.

##### 4.1 The project as a process through managed pluralism

From a non-European perspective, Midgley writes in 2014: "It is about adopting a form of governance that is called managed pluralism and that, as it is argued, is the best way to

mobilize different and associations, as well as different practical strategies” (as cited in Negrillo, 2018). Calling it differently, there is a fundamental coincidence between Midgley and the Leader approach.

Managed pluralism has two basic characteristics: first, it enshrines the principle of the participation of the protagonists; and secondly, by keeping institutions and associations linked to the project in mind, as objectives are being achieved with the various subprojects, new ones are proposed, as a result of that Social Learning (Negrillo, 2018).

The figure presented below (Fig. 2) summarizes this creative process and, leaning on the concept of managed pluralism, which implies a shared leadership, it can be affirmed that in the development process there is a way to carry out through successive feedback projects and that improves the successive levels of development.

**Figure 2: Project as process (Negrillo, 2018)**



#### **4.2 James Midgley's Institutional Structuralism**

As Negrillo (2018) recounts in his work, James Midgley defines social development as “a process of planned change, designed to promote the well-being of the population through a dynamic development process in which social investments and population participation” (as quoted in Midgley, 2014, p. 232). A little further on, he concretizes that process that he calls institutional structuralism and that is based on the “mobilization of the different social institutions and the associations they represent to put the social development agenda into practice” (Midgley, 2014, p. 233) and continues affirming his argument with the key role assigned by the State directing and guiding that agenda. He calls this particular role that the State must play as a form of action “managed pluralism”, the most advisable to mobilize groups, associations and practical strategies (Midgley, 2014).

However, the question remains to be answered is which institution, community, or persons are responsible for managing, guiding and enabling this process (Cazorla et al., 2018). Midgley (2014) argues that the state or other government agencies in different contexts can play an important role in terms of guiding, managing and allowing the planning of the development process, given the institutional strength that they can exercise in specific countries or regions. But as Cazorla et al., (2018) point out, there are many "contexts sociopolitical worldwide in the state (in various state, regional or local levels) is not mature enough to guide, manage or enable this continuous process planning over time", for various reasons: economic, social or political. It is convenient that social development processes are guided and directed by institutions that are stable over time, with values that remain, with strong commitments and established in territorial areas. These institutions with these characteristics can be vectors for achieving that institutional structuralism capable of generating linked projects through successive learning that has come to be called by the scientific literature Social Learning (Cazorla et al., 2013). Midgley's masterful structural vision forgets, however, that just as



important as the structures are the people who must carry it out. Hence the following number where the need for them with their professional and personal baggage is argued.

#### **4.3 Planning and project professionals**

The knowledge that we use –our vision of what needs to be done- and what Friedmann calls “systematic and vertebrate expert knowledge”, is not complete to succeed in developing policies that lead to a good and fair society, especially in an environment of t social and technological urgency (Cazorla, 2018). Friedmann (2011) points out that “it must interact with the so-called experienced knowledge that other people provide, and that is often not systematic or vertebrate, but real”. In this way, the policies that are applied with plans would not be seen, by the affected population, as something distant, but close, and they would commit themselves because they would perceive it as something good for their lives (quoted in Cazorla, 2018). As seen neither Sachs “vision from the experts” nor Easterly “vision from the bottom” find the solution, simply because the “two visions” are needed.

This style of planning for postmodernity in which we find ourselves (Cazorla, 2018) is not a system of assembly or of continuous consultations with affected individuals. In a reasonably organized civil society, this is possible and will depend on the area, the type of policy, etc. This will require something that is actively and increasingly demanded in society: social sensitivity on the part of the main actors, which Friedmann defines as planning entrepreneurs: mobilizers in the public sphere who seek to solve society's problems with formulas novel based on “learning from action” and, as Friedmann said in 2011: “this relationship between knowledge and action must be understood interactively, as a continuous process of Social Learning” (as quoted in Cazorla, 2018).

These planning entrepreneurs can play a key role in guiding and managing institutional structuralism (Negrillo, 2018). This figure can be the State or not. In the European Union, in some development policies implemented, this role has been exercised by public-private consortia (Cazorla et al., 2005) such as the LEADER Community Initiative (Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale).

#### **5. EIR Model and its Components as a New Policy for Cooperation**

With the elements described from the CMA experience, the structuring of the model is presented. In this context, following Midgley (2014, p. 233-234):

Institutional structuralism pragmatically recognizes the contributions of a complex mix of institutions that overlap to achieve the social process. To mobilize different agents and practical strategies, a proactive and permissive State is required that uses its power to direct the development process.

As Negrillo (2018) points out “this bet is not always real in immature democracies” where the power of the State does not manage to play this key role in achieving social development. It also happens that the State in its various stages (National, Regional or Local) seems complicated, even in the cases of developed countries, that can reach the level that Midgley says of “proactive and permissive” (Negrillo, 2018). It is more common to be frequently blamed for “rigidity and slowness” in the implementation of policies (Cazorla et al., 2005) (Friedmann, 2001).

The success of the Initiative Community LEADER –top-down European Community policy-, is due to the role played in the promotion and implementation “proactive and flexible” with focus bottom-up consortium public-private project methodologies very clear, decentralization of decision-making (Cazorla et al., 2005) and financing of projects that are promoted by local entrepreneurs in both individual and collective formats (Negrillo, 2018).

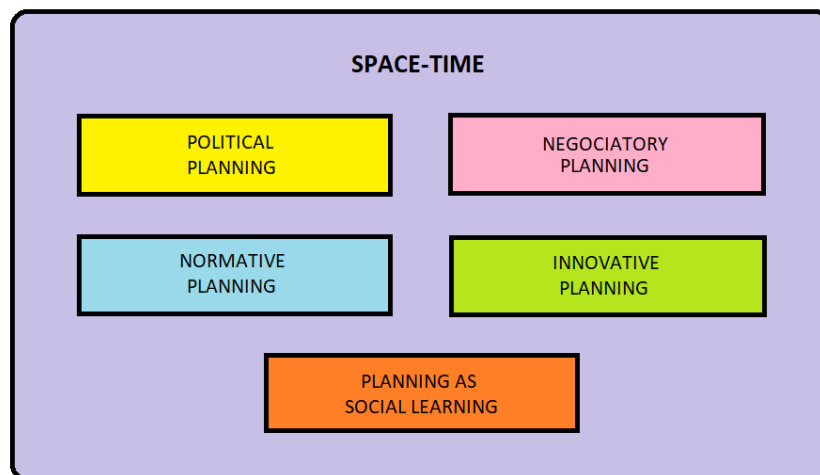
These elements and their conceptual foundations allow us to affirm that with the renewed institutional structuralism one more step is taken than with the Leader as a concept to achieve social development, because its dynamic process with a form of government called pluralism managed and promoted by entrepreneurs of planning, they operate in situations where they must not necessarily have the State in its various manifestations as a driver (Cazorla and Negrillo, 2018). This style of governance without State intervention, because it is not or is not effective, represents a conceptual enrichment to Midgley's proposal and, as we said, we consider the Leader approach to be decisive in rural development projects in areas where the State is hardly has presence.

Summarizing, it is committed to a model that comes to fill a gap in the management of International Development Cooperation. An EI (Institutional Structuralism) enriched by the LEADER methodology. Hence the acronym EIR, the R of renewed and which was achieved in the CMA/UPM Program with a much more advanced approach than what is proposed here: the Polytechnic University of Madrid (UPM) is the one that replaces the State applying something still Newer than the LEADER methodology since the beneficiaries also become protagonists in the management of economic resources and propose the continuous new projects together UPM/CMA (Ortega and Cazorla, 2019).

### 5.1 Components of the proposal

The components pointed out by Afonso-Gallegos et al., (2013) in their top/down approach inspired by Friedmann (1994) are intertwined with the one carried out bottom/up from the UPM/CMA Program as we will see below. The proposal includes five components (Fig. 3): political planning, negociatory, normative, innovative and based on Social Learning.

Figure 3: Elements of the action proposal (Afonso-Gallegos et al., 2013)



#### A) Political planning

There must be a clear framework of actions and priorities. Priorities should be established on the basis of specific indicators, to determine in which territories efforts and investment should be concentrated. This may be more or less debatable, but it does allow guiding policies and monitoring results. In the CMA program this planning component allowed the construction of a solid base to create a common element between planners and beneficiaries.

#### B) Negociatory planning

To carry out joint projects, co-financing must be sought, since, as Afonso-Gallegos et al., (2013) points out in the “fight against poverty, it is necessary that part of the money comes from national entities in the places where that the project is going to be executed”. Together they have to arbitrate concrete policies and engage in the fight against poverty without waiting for problems to be solved from the outside. In the field of development, negotiations must be carried out openly and with due regard to the position of each party. In face-to-face negotiations between planners and the affected population, it is possible to find adequate knowledge bases for the problem and, consequently, the way to a better solution (Friedman, 1994). In the CMA program, this negotiation process was the result of the crossing of expert (UPM) and experienced (CMA) knowledge.

#### C) Normative planning

It should not be seen as regulation but as ethical values. The words solidarity, justice and equity must be present in the design of the projects themselves and in their evaluation. In the first phases of the CMA program, a value system was incorporated that today guides social practice from the public sphere.

#### D) Innovative planning

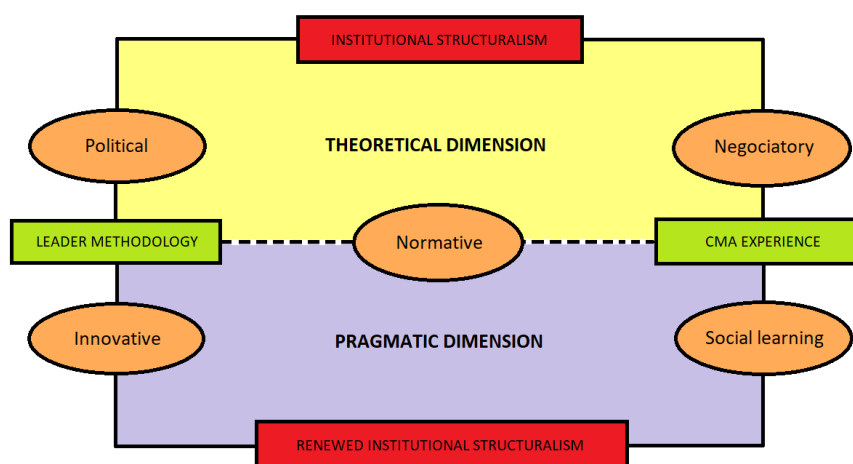
The innovative term, implies that "the promoters of the project must have adequate preparation" assuming a "business function" in its noblest sense as mobilizing resources of all kinds –human, economic, public and private-. The technicians of the GESPLAN (UPM) group exercised that role of "planning entrepreneurs" managing resources in the CMA program.

#### E) Planning as Social Learning

These are mechanisms for training people to carry out these policies and programs. This training involves incorporating in managers an open attitude so that from the public sphere they develop an appearance of values (AEIPRO, IPMA, 2006), understood as the ability to perceive the intrinsic qualities of other people and understand their points of view. It also involves developing the capacity to communicate with the population affected by the projects and to be receptive to their opinions, value judgments and ethical standards. The CMA program promoted this type of planning by holding participatory workshops where the different points of view of the parties involved could be discussed.

As a synthesis of what is exposed in this section, a diagram of the EIR model is presented below (Fig. 4):

**Figure 4: EIR model maturation process (Ortega y Cazorla, 2020)**



The EIR model arises from the need and, above all, from the opportunity to transfer to a pragmatic dimension the theoretical ideas of the social learning model collected in the scientific literature by authors such as Friedmann or Midgley. The intellectual reflections of both are reinforced with an approach from the world of development practice, reflecting and connecting those ways of doing with these conceptual approaches, which we think gives it a certain intellectual strength that serves as a basis for understanding differently the rural development projects.

## **6. Discussion of Results**

Throughout this research, elements have been contributed to corroborate that rural development projects are different, since they have a high degree of uncertainty when working with people (Negrillo, 2018). The social dimension that is characteristic of any development project becomes more important in the case of rural development in which the sustainability of the projects is only possible with the participation of its beneficiaries/protagonists. This reality of events urgently demands a change in the ways of approaching the planning of projects derived from Development Cooperation.

The experience with the CMA confirms that the social learning model is identified as the most effective of the planning models, since it allows a continuous exchange of knowledge between the technical team and those affected, thus helping to improve sustainability. From a bottom-up vision, things are seen that cannot be seen from a top-down vision. To achieve greater effectiveness in Development Aid, it is necessary that investments from International Cooperation be directed to projects that have managed pluralism between the different institutions, that can provide complementary resources and competences that guarantee continuity in the weather. The institution that leads the process must be a committed and structured institution that acts as a "planning entrepreneur" and does not necessarily have to be part of the Public Administration, as the EIR model, civil society organizations, communities collect in its bases. Research associations or organizations can also play that role. In the development process carried out by the CMA, this role is assumed by the UPM's GESPLAN group, also providing a WWP approach as a driving tool for the process.

### **6.1 Limitations of the investigation**

Planning covers a wide field of knowledge and, as is evident, it is impossible to give definitive answers to specific topics. This research is focused on International Development Cooperation based on the approaches and contributions of the Nobel Laureates in Economics Esther Duflo and Abhijit Banerjee, therefore the topic to be developed is very specific. Furthermore, this is not a classic investigation, since a new model is provided through the experience of a rural development program and the available bibliography.

### **6.2 Strengths and weaknesses of the study**

The greatest strength of the model presented in this research is its reproducibility to other rural development experiences, this being one of the main pillars of the scientific method. The success and interest in copying this model in other territories, raises the need to continue advancing research in order to continue seeking the integration of social aspects in all phases of the cycle of rural development projects.

Currently, there is an evident situation of blockade in relation to Development Cooperation. To the eternal debates on the effectiveness of Development Aid is added the critical situation we are going through, the result of the pandemic caused by COVID-19. However, this situation may provide an opportunity to ensure more rural development, allowing the return to less congested spaces and with adequate public-private participation. This proposal is being taken

into account by organizations such as FAO to develop policies from other approaches (Cazorla, 2019).

However, not all development projects can be carried out in this way. The top-down approach of the proposed model also makes explicit the need for planning based on policies, programs and projects. Unfortunately, this planning methodology is not yet found in many of the areas of public management, so it lacks a long-term vision.

## 7. Final considerations

It is evident the importance of Cooperation at the Development as an instrument and fight against poverty, the realization of human rights and extending the capabilities of individuals to the margin of discussions eternal that may exist around its figure. Not everything is said in International Development Cooperation. It is important to further strengthen the role of civil society and the dynamism of the private sector, as both take part each time wider and important a space that was exclusive to the state (Alvarez Orellana, 2012). In this context, the renewed institutional structuralism that allows the consideration of the "project as a process" and its continuous conceptual improvements seem to be a key aspect for all the actors to assume their leading role. Only through acquisition and increased powers by the actors involved in the process can it reach higher levels of development in the territories.

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## Communication aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals

