Building Mutual Learning between the Rising Powers

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Abbreviations

AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CSO	civil society organisation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
DRC	Development Research Centre
ESF	Estratégia de Saúde da Família [Family Health Strategy]
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
Food-EPI	Healthy Food Environment Policy Index
GIMIC	Globally Influential Middle-Income Country
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
INFORMAS	International Network for Food and Obesity/Non-Communicable Diseases Research, Monitoring and Action Support
IPC-IG	International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth
IPRCC	International Poverty Reduction Center in China
ITEC	Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation
ML	mutual learning
MLP	Mutual Learning Programme
NDB	New Development Bank
NeST	Network of Southern Think Tanks
NICE	National Institute for Health and Care Excellence
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRIA	Participatory Research in India
RPID	Rising Powers in International Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SIA	Senior International Associates
SS(D)C	South–South (Development) Cooperation
STEPS	Social, Technological and Environmental Pathways to Sustainability
SUS	Sistema Único de Saúde [Unified Health System]
TCDC	Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WDS	Western Development Strategy
WFP	World Food Programme

1   Introduction

This Evidence Report provides a summary account of the Mutual Learning research initiative at the Institute of Development Studies, carried out from 2012 to 2014 as part of the Rising Powers in International Development programme. It offers an explanation for the growing interest in mutual learning as a way of engaging with 'rising powers' – such as the BRICS[1] – in international development cooperation, and showcases some of the work carried out under the Mutual Learning component, including the Senior International Associates fellowship programme. It synthesises the IDS approach to mutual learning, as well as some of the challenges and opportunities presented by mutual – or multidirectional – learning in an increasingly multipolar world. Finally, the report outlines recommendations for how to accelerate mutual learning about different countries' development experiences.

The Mutual Learning component of the DFID-funded Rising Powers in International Development (RPID) programme (2012–16) sought to learn from the development experiences of the 'rising powers'[2] – countries such as Brazil, China, India and South Africa – by facilitating dialogue between different policy actors in the UK, the BRICS, and other developed and developing countries. Under the Mutual Learning component, work was undertaken with thought leaders from the rising powers to systematise an approach to mutual learning that allowed for learning exchanges with a range of policy actors.

Work done on this programme component shows that learning exchanges are most successful when the **process**, **politics** and **technical** elements are all in place, taking **context** and **history** into account. Less attention is given to **personal** relations, but, as in any context, these are key and often underpin positive learning experiences. These principles can be seen most strongly in South–South Cooperation, where cooperation and learning exchanges are meant to be demand-driven and embedded in a spirit of equality, non-interference, horizontality and mutual respect.

Historically, North–South cooperation exchanges are often considered to have been more problematic than South–South relations; although the BRICS' involvement in Africa has also been subject to criticisms of being extractive. Nonetheless, the political context of North–South relations is encumbered by complex histories and the weight of the neo-colonial development project. While it is accepted that the 'you have problems, we have solutions' model is dead, the architecture of international development organisations and their accompanying funding structures has only just started to change: nevertheless, development cooperation is now moving from a conception that is vertical to one that is, if not horizontal, then at least multidirectional, and underpinned by the Global Goals (also known as the Sustainable Development Goals – SDGs), which are seen as putting domestic and international development on a more equal footing. In a time of rapid change and growing complexity, mutual learning emerges as a key currency underpinning knowledge exchange.

The Mutual Learning component has now been formalised into the Mutual Learning Programme (MLP) at the Institute of Development Studies, where research continues to be undertaken in health and social policy and international development cooperation, supporting cross-country dialogue and analysing the opportunities and challenges for mutual learning between developed and developing countries alike. The MLP focuses on

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[1] Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.
[2] Calls for South–North 'mutual' learning at IDS stretch back even further, to the 1970s. As Richard Longhurst points out, the concept of lessons from the developing world is not new: 'Here at IDS these arguments were initiated in the 1970s with an IDS Bulletin co-edited by Richard Jolly and Robin Luckham, (see Britain: A Case for Development? *IDS Bulletin* 9.2, 1977)'. Available at: www.developmenthorizons.com/2014/03/richard-longhurst-its-time-for-uk-to.html.

opportunities for learning between the UK and rising power countries such as Brazil, India, South Africa and China, as well as other countries experiencing rapid change and development.

This report looks back at the work done under the Mutual Learning component, and shares some initial findings from ongoing IDS-convened research on the key factors shaping the success of such mutual learning processes.

2   Why mutual learning? Why now?

The BRICS are not an economic bloc, but they share a number of common challenges: rapid economic, social and demographic change; changing patterns of inequality and pressure to ensure that all social groups benefit from development; rising expectations, and a need to respond to them rapidly. The BRICS have become centres of social innovation – they share an interest in learning what works from each other in addressing their problems.

This quotation from a senior Brazilian policymaker, speaking at the launch meeting of the IDS Rising Powers in International Development programme in 2012, highlights that the BRICS – like many low- and middle-income countries – are experiencing interconnected challenges that are driving them to seek innovative policy responses, while also increasing their interest in learning from countries that are undergoing similar processes of change. These challenges include rapid industrialisation, urbanisation, demographic transition, and changes in patterns of vulnerability and inequality. Large numbers of households and communities have benefited from economic improvement, yet remain vulnerable to shocks such as financial misfortune or a family member falling ill. In the health and social sectors, the governments of these countries share the challenge of providing access to safe, effective and affordable health services and protecting households from extreme poverty.

Until recently, in seeking models for the organisation of the health and social sectors, international development policy has drawn mostly on experiences from Europe and North America. However, these predominantly rich countries in the global North face growing challenges in adapting to economic crisis and to long-term geopolitical, economic and social change, and are now less likely to be seen as 'models' to be emulated; while countries such as China and Brazil are often operating on more restricted budgets and thus forced to find ways of doing more with less. This has led policy analysts to become more interested in identifying and learning from potentially important innovations in rapidly developing middle-income countries, at the same time as these countries are themselves increasingly interested in learning from each other's experiences.

Thus, working with partners from China, Brazil, South Africa, the UK and beyond, the Mutual Learning research initiative examined the potential for mutual learning with and between the rising power countries. It studied examples of multidirectional learning and exchange in order to better understand how policy innovations emerge and are disseminated. Overall, the initiative seeks to fill a gap in the policy transfer and policy diffusion literature, which has hitherto broadly focused on successful policy learning among developed countries (Marsh and Sharman 2009). The literature on policy transfer and policy diffusion has identified a number of success and drive factors required for effective policy transfer/diffusion to take place (see Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, 2000; Marsh and Sharman 2009; Peck and Theodore 2012; Rose 1991); however, few studies have focused on mutual learning in the South, and even fewer examine South–North learning.

The IDS Mutual Learning Programme has developed a framework to support a more systematic understanding of mutual learning, and is applying it to sectors such as health, social development, energy policy, development finance, agriculture and development cooperation practice. The approach is designed to enable actors involved in the policy-making cycle and in international cooperation initiatives to understand what works, when, where, for whom, why and how, exploring the following questions:

- How do policy innovations emerge, go to scale in countries and travel?
- What determines the relevance of one country's innovations to other country contexts?

- What are the key barriers and enablers for international policy learning, and how can they be overcome?
- How can communication and learning exchanges be supported, both within and between countries and regions?

The research presented here was carried out with members of the IDS Senior International Associates fellowship programme[3] and partners from the BRICS and OECD-DAC[4] countries in the Future International Cooperation Policy Network. The research also included a short review of the literatures on aid and learning, capacity building and capacity development, policy transfer and diffusion and innovation, as well as on the mutual learning approaches developed by the rising powers themselves.

Figure 2.1   Principles of mutual learning
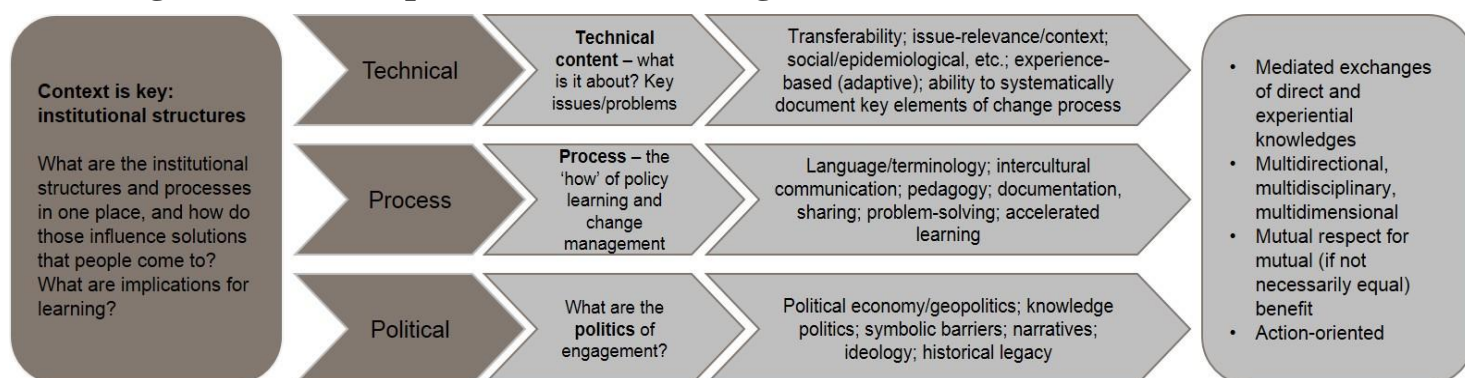
Source: Authors' own.

2.1   Building the evidence base from across the rising powers

Collaborative learning with Globally Influential Middle-Income Countries (GIMICs; see Shankland and Constantine, *IDS Bulletin* 2016 forthcoming), such as Brazil, India and China, is becoming increasingly relevant. This reflects a shift within global development policy away from the tired binaries of North and South towards a more universalist approach – a shift that is perhaps most explicit in the framing of the new Sustainable Development Goals. Developed and developing countries are grappling with many similar challenges, and recognise the benefit of mutual policy learning. The GIMICs are facing rapid growth and persistent structural inequalities: these are challenges which require technical solutions that can be rapidly scaled up while also delivering more inclusive policies and securing the accompanying social developmental gains. Within the GIMICs, innovation is often led by different branches and levels of government, as well as civil society organisations (CSOs) and businesses; however, their results are not always documented or made available to international policy communities. Research shows that the documentation of relevant aspects of the change process is complex, and requires substantial technical skills.

The mutual learning (ML) methodology developed by IDS includes learning exchanges and trajectories, participatory training courses, primary and secondary research, case studies, innovative use of print and electronic communications media, and the learning exchanges carried out within the context of the IDS Senior International Associates programme.

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[3] The Senior International Associates (SIA) fellows are highly experienced policymakers and leading thinkers from the BRICS and other rising powers, who spent a part of their fellowship working closely with IDS to reflect on the experiences of their country, whilst participating in activities aimed at building mutual understanding around the lessons extracted from these experiences, as well as their implications for development policies and strategies. The Associates participated in high-level meetings with a range of policy actors, supporting partnership research and policy engagement, and providing thematic and strategic inputs to the work of the RPID programme (from 2012 to 2016).

[4] Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development-Development Assistance Committee.

3 Mutual learning in international development cooperation

The institutional arrangements needed to facilitate the translation of national policy learning into mutual learning at the international level are still evolving, although new multilateral and intergovernmental spaces have emerged in the last decade. Multilateral and bilateral actors such as the World Bank, the United Nations, and the German, Japanese and UK governments, as well as philanthropic organisations such as the Rockefeller and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundations, have partnered with rising power countries to promote joint ventures such as the International Poverty Reduction Center in China (IPRCC), the UNDP-Brazil International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG), and the Brazil-World Food Programme (WFP) Centre for Excellence, as well as convening their own programmes such as the Joint Learning Initiative, or encouraging their domestic agencies to invest in international knowledge exchange through initiatives such as the UK's NICE[5] International.

The BRICS countries have established a rapidly evolving set of mechanisms and spaces for collaboration and exchange of experience (Poskitt *et al.* 2015), and see the creation of institutions such as the New Development Bank (NDB) as a strategic opportunity for mutual learning, as well as for investment and influence. Given their remit to invest in both rising powers and poorer countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the NDB and other new institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and China's Silk Road Fund are increasingly showing that there are significant opportunities for mutual learning across contexts.

At the same time, the rising powers are intensifying what for many of them is a longstanding commitment to South–South Cooperation (SSC), a UN-supported approach which since the 1970s has emphasised Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC) as a mechanism to promote knowledge exchange. Initiatives such as the Network of Southern Think Tanks (NeST), launched in 2014, are now engaged in efforts to codify diverse SSC policies and practices in order to facilitate monitoring as well as learning. China and Brazil have both developed major SSC programmes in the last ten years, which emphasise mutual learning, and are evolving their own distinctive approaches.

3.1 What conditions mutual learning?

The RPID mutual learning research initiative is continuing to explore different existing approaches to policy learning and exchange, such as Brazil's *cooperação estruturante* (structuring cooperation), the South–South Cooperation approach of India's ITEC[6] programme, and the thinking about 'mutual learning' in China, where the term was first used before it gained broader global currency. This work is ongoing, but initial findings suggest that the outcomes of mutual learning initiatives are conditioned by three sets of factors.

Firstly, the key **technical** factors are the relevance of the content of the mutual learning process to both parties' development priorities, the strength of the evidence base on the contextual conditions that have shaped success domestically, and the nature of these conditions in the partner country. Secondly, even technically sound initiatives can struggle if they take insufficient account of **political** factors, including the importance to many actors involved in SSC of deeply held political principles, and the negative effects of power imbalances, whether between Northern and Southern actors or between rising powers and

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[5] National Institute for Health and Care Excellence.
[6] Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation.

poorer developing countries. At the same time, power is a key catalysing element in leading to and creating change during learning and reform processes. Lastly, **cultural** factors can play an important role in facilitating exchange (for example through a shared language) or hindering it (for example through the influence of stereotypical views of the other party), which means that methodologies for effective intercultural communication and for promoting more dialogical and reflective kinds of learning have an important potential role to play.

To summarise, mutual learning works better when the technical content is a good fit, but also when the actors involved have appropriate methodological support and can take time to understand the process – language, ideas, cultural factors – shaping what gets shared and how. The political, technical and cultural aspects are intertwined, and combining them effectively can ensure the atmosphere of mutual respect that is a precondition for mutual learning.

4 Mutual learning starts at home

The first key finding from the RPID Mutual Learning research initiative is that although there is strong international interest in the major advances achieved by the rising powers in supporting economic and social development and creating new health and social protection systems, there are still gaps in the understanding of these experiences, and these gaps hamper efforts to ensure that the right lessons are incorporated into international mutual learning processes.

Secondly, it is important to note the limitations of seeking to codify policy learning in this way – as Lewis Husain points out, much of what is written about policy learning is a summary of what are 'complex, messy and unstructured realities as deliberate and programmed' (pers. comm. 2016). This is very much in line with what Behn (1988) describes as 'management by groping along', although the lessons which emerge from such processes are frequently given a new narrative in the retelling, with decisions re-cast as deliberate. Indeed, Husain reminds us how eclectic China's approach to development has been, and interviews with Brazilian policy actors show that much of what is now packaged as 'best practice' was the serendipitous result of much trial and error. This may equally be applied to scaling up processes which are rarely as neat or successful as case studies (including our own) sometimes show.

Nonetheless, the case studies included in this research include social development programmes in Brazil and China, two countries that have effectively managed rapid change while fostering broadly positive developmental outcomes through real-time learning and adaptation of policy responses to development challenges, particularly in the health and social sectors. This includes analysing the learning processes which made it possible to scale up local-level policy innovations into national programmes, such as components of China's ongoing rural health reforms and Brazil's Bolsa Família cash transfer programme and evolving social protection policy frameworks. The circulation of policy innovations between more and less developed regions of these countries generates important lessons on the role of context in shaping the transferability of initiatives. This process of adapting policies for implementation in different contexts in turn provides a valuable starting point for mutual learning at the international level.

4.1 Learning from the development of Western China

The Western Development Strategy (WDS) programme is infrequently cited in the literature of development success in the era of the Millennium Development Goals, and yet the WDS was by far the largest national programme of investment for development during the period. Announced in 1999 and launched in 2000 as the Xibu Da Kaifa, the WDS accounted for total investment equivalent to 1.4 per cent of national gross domestic product in the period between 2001 and 2005 (Herd 2010; Golley 2007). In order to deliver it, the PRC government established national planning and management systems designed to ensure the resources were used well, while implementation was mostly devolved to local government levels. A large proportion of the investment was in infrastructure, including facilities for health and other social services. Over time, it became clear that investment could not be limited to physical infrastructure and that it was also important to help local governments create systems to provide access to effective and affordable services. This meant developing systems for financing services, facilities management and delivery of basic services. The government encouraged local authorities to experiment with innovative approaches for health system organisation, the results of which contributed to the design of major national

health reforms. This local-to-national learning included a significant element of what Husain (2015) refers to as 'less glamorous, routine and procedural innovations'.

4.2 Learning from Brazil's achievement of universal health coverage

Brazil is lauded for its commitment to universal health care as a right for all citizens, enshrined in the 1988 Constitution after a long struggle by health reformers known as *sanitaristas*. Health care is provided through the Sistema Único de Saúde (Unified Health System, SUS), a publicly funded, national health service (see Gragnolati, Lindelow and Couttolenc 2013). The SUS design includes participatory governance mechanisms which involve service user representatives in management through Health Councils at different levels of the system, as well as in setting policy priorities through large-scale Health Conference processes which involve hundreds of thousands of citizens. This mass participation helped maintain the high level of political commitment, to which most observers have attributed Brazil's success in rapidly achieving universal coverage of primary health care services through the flagship Family Health Strategy (Estratégia de Saúde da Família or ESF). Less attention has been paid to how the ESF was effectively scaled up in a complex context in which responsibility for service delivery is largely devolved to Brazil's 5,500 municipalities, some of which have a significant track record as innovators while others have low levels of technical capacity and high levels of corruption. The ESF derived from local innovations in the first phase of decentralisation, which were brought together in a national programme. Following a slow and uncertain start, the scaling-up process accelerated after a carefully designed incentive structure was put in place to ensure that central government transfers were used to support the expansion of the ESF. This included municipalities being encouraged to sign up to the strategy by the offer of increased resources and then being held accountable for delivering the programme both by the technical monitoring mechanisms of the Ministry of Health and by local populations mobilised through participatory governance institutions. As a result of its success in scaling up the ESF, Brazil is seen as a successful case study in terms of its management of fragmentation, which is often prevalent in decentralised systems, as well as in ensuring that the right incentives are in place to secure continued political support for this model for primary health care.

5 Road-testing development policy for mutual learning

These examples demonstrate the potential for such case studies to be used as the basis for further mutual learning between countries, particularly in multilateral fora such as the new Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and in the work around setting up national and international systems for the Global Goals, as part of the UN-led post-2015 process. In effect, China's Western Development Strategy was a national-level road-test of projects similar to those which institutions like the AIIB and the BRICS New Development Bank are likely to finance. With the Family Health Strategy, Brazil developed not only a technical design for effective primary care but also a political strategy for rapid scaling-up in a context characterised by highly variable levels of local capacity and commitment; an example which is very relevant to the efforts to achieve universal health coverage that are envisioned as a key element of the Global Goals.

In both cases, for countries that are contemplating learning from China or Brazil's example, greater attention to the *realpolitik* of negotiating delivery and to the sometimes messy and incremental nature of the learning processes involved could yield lessons that are just as important as the technical design of the interventions.

5.1 Challenges in identifying lessons for mutual learning

However, policymakers and policy analysts in rising power countries face a number of challenges in identifying and disseminating cross-context lessons from their experiences:

- These experiences are relatively recent and there is little systematic evidence of the factors that have contributed to successes and failures;
- The theories and frameworks commonly used to analyse development experiences largely arise from the intellectual traditions of advanced market economies and are unlikely to adequately reflect – or indeed provide the right language for – new practices and understandings;
- Social policy analysts in the rising powers have tended to focus their work on support for the implementation of rapid reforms and have only recently begun to undertake systematic studies of their reform experiences as a contribution to global knowledge;
- Social policy analysts in the rising powers have relatively little experience of identifying lessons from their own countries which might be relevant to other contexts;
- The lack of detailed understanding in other countries of the economic, social, cultural and institutional realities of the rising powers makes it particularly difficult to communicate across national and cultural boundaries.

Figure 5.1   Projects emerging from the RPID Mutual Learning research initiative

Accountability Politics of Reducing Health Inequities: Learning from Brazil and Mozambique

This new ESRC/DFID-funded programme (2016–18) has as its main impact goal is to help ensure that better-quality health services reach the poorest and most marginalised people in Brazil and Mozambique, by making use of the strong links with key policymakers and practitioners in both countries already developed by the research team, including through the Mutual Learning research initiative.

See more at:
http://gtr.rcuk.ac.uk/projects?ref=ES/N014758/1

UK-Brazil Learning Exchange on Healthy Food Environment Policies

Financed by the New Venture Fund, this learning exchange between the UK and Brazil is part of a collaboration with the Food Foundation (UK), researchers in Brazil and members of the INFORMAS Network. The project showcases lessons learnt from Brazil and the UK's healthy food and nutrition policies, and provides opportunities for policy learning between UK Members of Parliament and Brazilian Congress members in a learning exchange which will take place in 2016.

Source: Authors' own.

6 Conclusion: what can be done to accelerate mutual learning of development experiences?

The policy and research communities in the rising powers need to review what has worked well and why, and identify lessons learnt. This will contribute to the ongoing management of change in their own countries, as well as to global learning about managing health system change. At the same time, policymakers and policy analysts in the rising powers need opportunities to exchange experiences and research findings between countries, explore solutions to their common problems and contribute to global understandings about options for health system development in contexts of rapid change. And at the same time, policymakers and policy analysts in low- and middle-income countries need opportunities to learn more about the rising powers and test the local applicability of lessons from their experiences. On the other hand, analysts from the OECD countries who are familiar with international development experiences can contribute to more effective diffusion of experiences from the rising powers by drawing on the lessons from several decades of attempts to support the development of health and social sectors.

Finally, a more systematic approach is needed to ensure greater understanding of the approaches to learning from the rising powers, in particular focused on the role of political economy and delivery, as opposed to technical design. It is important to respect the diversity in experiences of development that may be relevant in different contexts, avoiding the imposition of hierarchies of knowledge by ensuring that appropriate methodologies are used to overcome barriers to learning and to build intercultural communication.

6.1 Lessons learnt: innovative partnering for development

The new projects which have emerged from the Mutual Learning research initiative show that there is both an interest and a need for evidence-based learning from other countries' development experiences. The UK-Brazil Food-EPI[7] and Parliamentary Exchange project shows that while the SDGs are barely a year old, there is a growing awareness that 'developed' countries also have much to learn from 'developing' countries' experiences, particularly as they grapple with socioeconomic challenges they have not faced for many decades. Development problems go beyond 'North' and 'South', and so should the lessons learnt from successfully – or otherwise – tackling sticky developmental challenges.

One of the key lessons from the work done under this programme was how much time is needed to develop relationships and understandings about context, both of which are crucial for providing a foundation on which to explore how lessons learnt might be applicable in different contexts. For example, the Brazilian Unified Health System is very different to the British National Health Service, and the British welfare state is in turn very different from the China Western Development Strategy. However, the processes which underpin policy exchange and learning are common to us all: they are embedded in the need to address development problems through implementation, where failure and success are two sides of the same coin and learning from others' similar experiences can sometimes be a successful shortcut to improved implementation. Sometimes the changes and successes are small and incremental, or so technical and procedural that they would not attract the attention of policy types keen on documenting the 'how' of these changes; but such learning is nonetheless taking place – at the local, municipal, regional and national level in all the countries we

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[7] Healthy Food Environment Policy Index.

examined. Research done under the Mutual Learning Programme shows that these are often the cases where policy learning 'travels' the most, particularly at sub-national/municipal levels, where champions have a key role in sharing hard-won/learnt policy innovations with their peers in different contexts. These examples infrequently come to the attention of high-level policymakers or analysts (see Shankland and Constantine 2014).[8]

Developing trust between policy actors is fundamental, given that failure is frequent and policy actors operate in political environments where admitting failure is risky and undesirable. At the same time, developing political cultures of trust which allow experimentation and failure is equally important, if challenging. Ensuring there is budget, space and time for meeting in person is a vital component of such exchanges, which then enable electronic communication to take place, for example over email or through communities of practice. Interviews with Chinese policy actors show a marked reluctance to talk about the 'political' elements of mutual learning; however, the meanings of 'political' vary across China, Brazil and the UK. Understanding these multiple meanings and rooting them in their context is key to enabling mutual learning to take place, and this takes time. The Accountability Politics of Reducing Health Inequities project brings together researchers and policy actors who have been 'getting to know' each other for years – not just in the Rising Powers Mutual Learning initiative, but in the Development Research Centre (DRC) on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability (Citizenship DRC) and other projects in between. In the same way that building these relationships takes time, so does mutual learning, which is perhaps why there are various cases at the local level in countries such as Brazil and China, where it attracts so much interest – many of the actors already know each other and know their contexts well, even if much of the learning that takes place is *ad hoc* and – depending on the context – sometimes of limited technical efficiency.

The effort to provide decision-makers with practical lessons learnt from rising power countries requires new and innovative kinds of partnerships between policy *implementers* – the 'doers' – as well as analysts or policymakers in the rising powers, in the development communities of the OECD countries and in low-income countries. If these partnerships work well, they will contribute to faster and more effective development in specific sectors, as we have seen in the case of the health and social sectors, responding to growing needs in contexts of rapid change and helping to meet the aspirations of the Global Goals' international development framework, with its commitment to universal sustainable development which transcends the asymmetric politics of North and South. However, the creation of capacity for this kind of mutual learning will take a substantial amount of effort over time, first to understand and then to overcome the initial constraints.

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[8] Available at www.ids.ac.uk/publication/beyond-lip-service-on-mutual-learning-the-potential-of-cso-and-think-tank-partnerships-for-transforming-rising-powers-contributions-to-sustainable-development. See also the case studies and related material prepared for the IDS-convened Focus Session at the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation 1st High Level Meeting in Mexico, 2014: http://effectivecooperation.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Focus-Session-3-BRICS-MICS.pdf and http://effectivecooperation.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/FocusSession3Summary_MICBRICS.pdf.

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