

Joining Forces for Peace Post-2015

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For those who care about embedding building of peace and prevention of violence into the post-2015 debate, understanding – and possibly joining forces with – those arguing for inclusion of governance, justice and human rights as well as inequalities and responsible global partnerships is important.

In order to build alliances across different constituencies and to manage political sensitivities, a balance between the ‘transparency and accountability’ and the ‘effective and capable institutions’ sides of the good governance coin needs to be maintained.

A key issue to watch is the need to place a strong focus on the global drivers of conflict. Illicit financial flows receive attention globally, while the illicit trade in drugs, arms and minerals or corporate corruption warrant equally strong attention.

Reducing violence and conflict and building peace receives attention in the context of the discussions on a new post-2015 global development framework, after having been ignored by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The UN Secretary General has recently urged the inclusion of conflict and peace in a new framework². Protection against violence and crime, two important factors impeding on peaceful societies, have also emerged as one of the top 7 priorities of individuals in the recent MyWorld online survey³. Yet, the area of building peace and preventing conflict raises politically sensitive issues, of governance, justice, and inequality, which governments may find difficult to agree on at the global level. However, it is not only those who care about embedding peace and security in the post-2015 framework that advocate for the inclusion of these issues. Issues of governance, justice and human rights are also receiving attention in the post-2015 debate.

Joining forces with other constituencies may support the push to have the issues central to the building of peace and prevention of conflict included in the post-2015 framework. This briefing note thus aims to provide an insight into where the global conversation stands on these issues, where synergies and the possibility for joining forces may lie, and where these consultations may go in directions that are less conducive for building peace.

This briefing note will briefly present the emerging consensus, challenges and opportunities with regards to incorporating the prevention of violence and the building of peace into the post-2015 framework. Furthermore it will analyse how actors in the thematic areas of governance, justice and human rights as well as inequalities wish to have their key concerns addressed. We will also see which constituencies show a concern for addressing those global factors that are known to drive conflict, such as illicit trade in drugs and arms. To this end we have analysed inputs into the global consultation in the abovementioned thematic areas⁴. We also will present an analysis of social media messages to give a sense of the degree of public opinion behind these issues, as an indication of support for their inclusion in a post-2015 framework. On the basis of this analysis we can identify a number of key issues that may warrant specific

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² See UN News Centre (2013).

³ Myworld is a large-scale survey reaching out to people to learn about their priorities for post-2015, see <http://post2015.org/2013/05/16/my-world-survey-summary-of-results-may-2013/>

⁴ A variety of actors have provided thematic input and background material to the UN Global Thematic Consultations, and they include civil society, NGOs, research institutes, UN agencies, and individuals as well as government officials having expertise and working in these particular areas. For a list of main inputs analysed see the Annex.

attention in the year ahead. Now the High Level Panel Report has been released we can show where the Panel comes out on some of these key issues. Lastly we will suggest a few potential entry points where bridges to other constituencies can potentially be found.

Results of the post-2015 peace, conflict, and violence discussions

The conceptual starting point of the discussions is the interlinkage between peace, conflict and violence, human rights, security, justice and sustainable development, which are seen as indivisible and interrelated.⁵ There is thus a strong consensus that none of these can be sustained in the absence of the others. It is for this reason that in most inputs human rights and justice are advanced as strong universal principles that need to underpin any new development framework.⁶

Viewing peace and security as integral to human rights also makes it a more universal issue, and not one that is limited to conflict-ridden or conflict-prone states. Quite a strong consensus has been reached with regards to the universal importance of addressing conflict and violence and building peace, and that these objectives are valid for all contexts, both in the developed and the developing world.

Two rationales for addressing conflict and building peace in a post-2015 framework are often presented: On the one hand peace and security are introduced as instrumental for reaching other socio-economic development outcomes, to which the continuous citation of the statement from the World Development Report (WDR) that no conflict-affected and fragile state has met the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is a clear testimony.⁷ On the other hand peace and the absence of violence and conflict are viewed as inherent development outcomes in their own right and as a (human) right for societies and individuals. These two rationales are not mutually exclusive, as they are interlinked.

As a result of the comprehensive conceptual understanding of the interrelations between human rights, security, development and peace adopted in the discussions of integrating peace in the post-2015 framework, it flows logically that addressing violence and building peace requires a range of multidimensional factors to be addressed in a comprehensive way. **There is thus an overwhelming consensus in the peace- and security community to not only eradicate violence and its manifestations (i.e. negative peace) but also on the need to address the drivers of violence, conflict and insecurity as well as developing approaches that foster (positive) peace, i.e. promote the drivers for peace.**

Manifestations of Conflict: Stop violence and establish personal safety

Almost all inputs place a strong emphasis on combatting the negative outcomes of violence, such as violent deaths. Most inputs propose to monitor these manifestations of conflict and violence in a post-2015 framework. For example, the UN Task Team has proposed to include a target on violence, 'which can be measured through indicators on battle-related deaths and intentional homicide'. Not all of the inputs put forward specific proposals for targets and indicators at this stage but the measurement of violent deaths or homicides per 100,000 of general population and similar measurements for other manifestations of violence, such as 'number of recorded rapes per 100,000'⁸ are among the most common.

However, the manifestations of conflict and violence are mostly framed in relation to people's individual security and safety, and go beyond violent deaths. Inputs tend to include factors such as homicide, abuse, coercion and harassment, trafficking in human beings, torture, sexual violence in addition to violent deaths. **A relatively strong emphasis is put on violence and insecurity affecting women and girls.** Other groups that receive special attention in several of the documents are children and youth. The specific goal

⁵ See statement of Ban Ki-Moon of March 1st 2013: UN Secretary General (2013); see also UNPBSO (2012).

⁶ See UNDP et al (2013a).

⁷ It is important to note that the World Bank's most recent assessment of progress of fragile states towards the MDGs is more positive. 20 fragile and conflict states have met MDG targets recently and additional six are likely to meet their individual targets before the 2015 deadline. See World Bank (2013).

⁸ See Saferworld. (2013a), see UN PBSO (2012) and see CIGI and KDI (2012).

proposed by the consultative process on Violence, Citizen Security and the Post-2015 Development Agenda includes the reduction of violence, the elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls and the protection of children and youth from violence.

Ambitious aim: getting to the roots of conflict and peace

Although most proposals for specific goals for conflict and peace include an emphasis on the manifestations of conflict, the narratives accompanying such proposals strongly stress the importance of addressing root causes and drivers of conflict and violence as well as the drivers for peace.

Various factors have been identified that drive conflict across a broad range of contexts. These relate for example to the lack of development, endemic structural unemployment (especially a lack of opportunity for youth), limited empowerment, human rights abuses, impunity, horizontal socio-economic inequalities and exclusion, competition over extractive and subsistence resources (including disputes over water, forests, and food security), unsound resource management, the lack of credible mechanisms to resolve disputes, as well as corrupt and weak institutions. In particular horizontal inequalities and the marginalization or exclusion of certain groups from development and opportunities receive relatively strong attention. Again, especially gender inequality, as a driver of conflict, is singled out as an important issue area to address. With regards to governance aspects a relative focus is on the inability of governments to manage natural resources fairly, transparently and effectively⁹.

Yet, it is also recognized by most that the prevention of conflict and building of peace means more than addressing the root causes of conflict. Peace requires a solid foundation, for which capable, legitimate and transparent institutions are key. Many inputs refer to the work undertaken by the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding and the g7+¹⁰ on the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals, through which, we have gained a better understanding what such a foundation for peace can look like¹¹.

The overarching theme of **good governance** is strongly present as a driver for peace, and it mostly concerns healthy state-society relations and a social contract, and the presence of **inclusive, responsive, transparent and accountable institutions**. **Equitable economic development** that creates decent jobs and provides inclusive economic growth and opportunities is seen as necessary to provide the basis for equitable access to decent livelihoods for all groups - an important driver for peaceful societies, and includes the need for economic institutions such as property rights and economic empowerment for women and youth. Economic diversification is often mentioned as a prerequisite for inclusive economic growth. **Sound management of revenues** is often related to the centrality of increasing domestic revenues for development, and often has a strong focus on managing natural resources fairly, transparently and effectively. Some inputs also place emphasis on the necessity to foster a '**culture of peace**', characterized by tolerance and social cohesion, and 'resilient societies' that can channel tensions through non-violent means, and actively and constructively resolve existing divisions and grievances within society. It goes beyond good governance in the sense that it aims at fostering peaceful relations between groups within society, in addition to healthy and peaceful state-society relations.

As much as the different inputs present slightly different emphases, and may differ in the suggestions on how to incorporate these issues in a post-2015 framework, there is one aspect of these discussions that warrants some deeper attention. Looking a little deeper into the area of good governance, one can distinguish two broad components to good governance. The first relates to the accountability of the institutions to its citizens; i.e. its responsiveness to citizens and their concerns, dialogue, civic participation, free flow of information and voice and opportunities for participation in decision-making to citizens. These rights need to be underpinned by a legal system, the rule of law, justice and democratic structures, which ensure access to political, economic and social justice, and equality before the law as well as conflict resolution and accountability mechanisms. The second component relates to the administrative and technical capacity of relevant state institutions to fulfil their functions, for instance to provide social services accountably or manage revenues effectively. **Although both components receive attention there is a**

⁹ This was specifically highlighted in the draft synthesis report of the Global Consultations on Conflict, Violence and Disaster. See UNDP et AL. (2013a).

¹⁰ The g7+ is an independent and autonomous forum of fragile and conflict-affected countries, that have united to form a collective voice.

¹¹ The International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding makes the case for integrating Peace and Statebuilding Goals in the post-2015 framework. See International Dialogue (2013).

relatively strong emphasis on inclusiveness and accountability of governance and institutions, equal access to services as well as empowerment to take part in decision making, and perhaps somewhat less attention given to the capacity of state institutions.

No full consensus is yet reached on the way to include these manifestations of conflict and violence and the drivers of conflict and peace in the post-2015 framework. Some argue for one comprehensive goal on reducing conflict and building peace, whereas others argue for a more mainstreaming type of approach where all issues relevant to peace are brought in as targets under other goals, and thus made 'conflict-sensitive'. Mainstreaming the issue could contribute to a conception of building peace as a truly multidimensional undertaking, and if it succeeded, could help break down silos, and make all efforts towards inclusive and sustainable development more conflict-sensitive. The risk is however, that such an approach would lead to the issue being side-lined and not receiving a prominent focus. The middle ground is a hybrid version where some issues are brought in as targets under some 'peace-goal' and others are brought in as targets under other goals. Saferworld, for instance, put forward a comprehensive overview on what such a hybrid approach could look like¹². **Generally however, there is a strong consensus that peace and security should receive a more central place than treating them as part of a basket of 'enabling factors'**¹³.

Peace as a national undertaking or an international responsibility?

Drivers of conflict exist at both the national, regional and global level¹⁴. A number of inputs into the peace and security debate place emphasis on these global factors. For instance Saferworld (2013a) underscores the importance of addressing global drivers in the post-2015 context, especially with regards to transnational crime and the trade of illicit drugs and arms, transnational corruption and illicit financial flows as well as protection against destabilising price-shocks and resource scarcity. Other civil society actors have equally jointly emphasized the need to address irresponsible international corporate practices, especially in the context of natural resource extraction, establish conflict-sensitive policies in trade and aid, and combatting illicit flows of arms, drugs or money.¹⁵

Table 1: Key global drivers of conflict featuring in consultations

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illicit transnational trade in drugs, arms and minerals • Transnational corruption (including practices of multinational corporations with regards to land and other natural resources) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illicit international financial flows • Price shocks and resource scarcity • Conflict-insensitive aid and trade policies
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However, the significant recognition of the pivotal nature of strong institutions and good governance, inclusive economic development and a peace culture as drivers for peace puts the onus for building peace and reducing conflict predominantly at the national level. The prevailing focus – with some exceptions - therefore seems to still be on national drivers, especially when it comes to proposals on goals, indicators and targets. For example the UN Task Team's Think Piece on Peace and Security hardly referred to external drivers of conflict. Neither do these come out strongly from the discussions at the Global Thematic Consultation on Conflict, Violence and Disaster. The current discussions on integrating peace in the new framework thus seem quite strongly focused on the need to build good governance at national level, rather than on addressing the regional dimensions or the global drivers of conflict and fragility at the international level.

¹² See Saferworld (2013a)

¹³ See UNDP et Al. (2013a)(p. 4)

¹⁴ For an overview and the links between the key areas and conflict see OECD (2012), Putzel (2009) and World Bank (2011).

¹⁵ See the statement issued by Civil Society Organisations' at the Bonn Conference 'Advancing the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda' on Peace and Human Security: http://new.paho.org/hq/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=21077&Itemid=, see also the Civil Society Organisations' Joint Communication 'Bringing Peace into the post-2015 development framework: http://www.cso-effectiveness.org/IMG/pdf/cso_joint_statement_on_post-2015_-_final.pdf and Act Alliance. 2013.

Wording matters

As said, there are many ways to incorporate peace and security in a post-2015 framework, and while some argue for one comprehensive multidimensional standalone goal for peace, others prefer to divide the issues under different goals. These different perspectives partially stem from the dilemma posed by a recognition of the sensitivity of some of these issue on the one hand, and the need to keep them firmly on the agenda on the other hand.

The concern with having a multidimensional goal capturing all aspects of peace, conflict, violence and security, for instance, is that it may be difficult to agree on with some powerful states. China or Brazil may not fully subscribe to an agenda that is too strongly framed around conflict and security¹⁶, out of a fear for 'interventionism'. At the same time, grouping issues of good governance together with issues of inter-personal violence may reduce the chances of issues of inter-personal violence to be captured, if a pushback occurs against the politically sensitive concept of 'good governance'. This is one of the reasons for the proposal made during the UN Global Consultation debate to separate personal violence from conflict, fragility and peace and negotiate goals for these issues separately¹⁷.

Also during the Consultation on Violence and Citizen Security in Panama significant discussions on terminology took place. A proposed goal with specific wording on national institutions was replaced with a broader formulation on eliminating all forms of violence and promoting freedom from want and fear¹⁸. The label 'peace and security' was proposed to be replaced with the terms 'peacebuilding and human security' or 'peacebuilding and people's security'¹⁹, as was highlighted during the global consultations of the UN. For similar reasons, the Civil Society Organisations present at the Conference 'Advancing the post-2015 sustainable development agenda' in Bonn named their position paper 'Peace and Human Security' rather than 'Peace and Conflict'. As we will see later, the High Level Panel reports avoids the use of the word 'security'. Even the word 'conflict' raises sensitivities, as this falls within the mandate of the Security Council, and – it is argued by some – therefore falls outside the scope of a development framework.

Fragility is another contested term, and this impacts the acceptance of the work done by the g7+, who deliberately grouped themselves around the term 'fragility'. Especially the Peace and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs) have been viewed critically by some powerful actors, such as Brazil²⁰. They are contested due to a perception that the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (IDPS) and the g7+ follow a purely donor-driven agenda and partly because PSGs are perceived to pose threats to national sovereignty.

The bigger picture: cross-thematic synergy and overlap

It is clear that many of the drivers of conflict and drivers of peace overlap very strongly with the thematic consultations on Governance, Human Rights, and Justice, and the thematic consultations on Inequalities. Let us have a look at where the overlap lies, where differences in emphasis are, what the relative balance is between national and global factors drivers that are being put forward, and how these inputs and consultations propose to have these key issues included in a new post-2015 framework. But let us first get an understanding with regards to how much public support these different thematic areas seem to have in the twitter-sphere. To approximate the momentum the different key areas, conflict and security, inequality, governance and global drivers, receive in the global discussions we analysed the amount of tweets linking these areas to the post-2015 context over the last year²¹.

¹⁶ See Saferworld (2012).

¹⁷ See UNDP et al. (2013a).

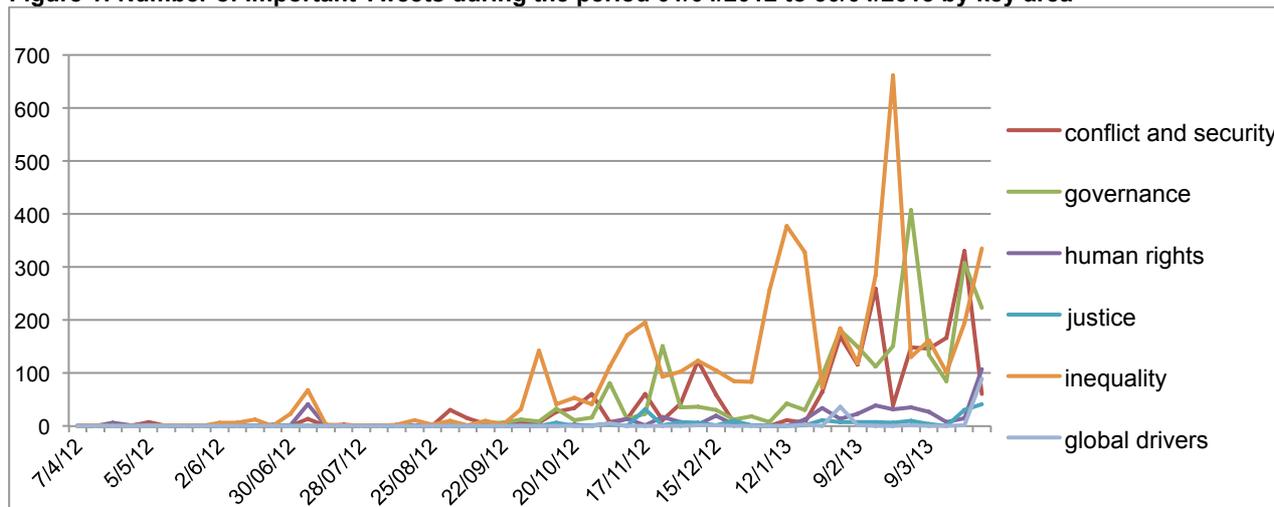
¹⁸ See UNDP et al. (2013b).

¹⁹ See UNDP et al. (2013a).

²⁰ See Saferworld (2012).

²¹ The analysis is conducted with TopsyPro, a software that allows to identify emerging social trends within specific topics via analysing the number of 'important' tweets (TopsyPro defines tweets as 'important' if they contain a link or if they are being retweeted. The TopsyPro Methodology can be found at topsy.com). We identified a number of key words for each issue area and have conducted a search of the tweets that contain the key word in combination with #post2015 (the official UN assigned hash-tag). We then added aggregated the results under the five areas 'conflict and security', 'governance', 'human rights', 'justice', 'inequality' and 'global partnership'. The search was conducted using

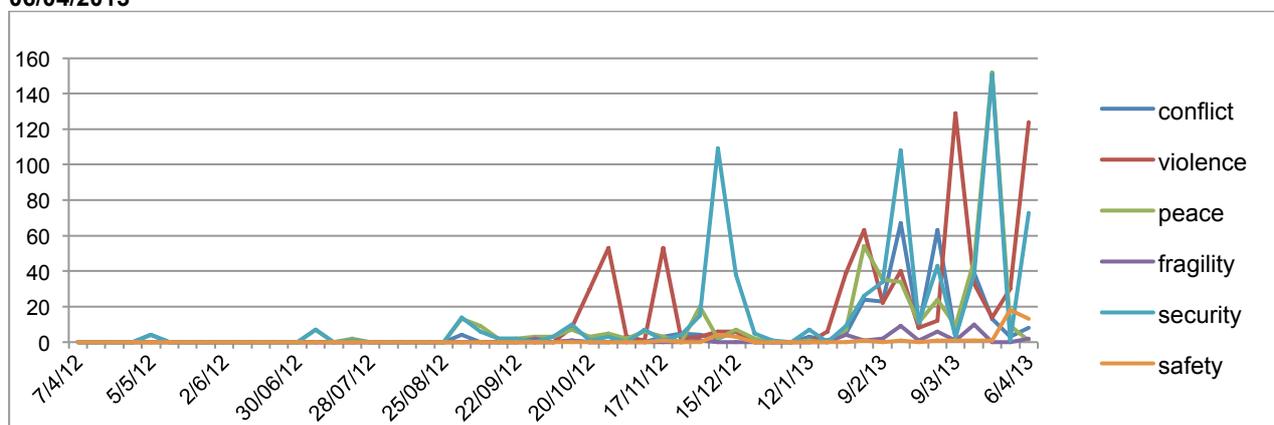
Figure 1: Number of important Tweets during the period 01/04/2012 to 30/04/2013 by key area



The area of inequalities clearly emerged as one of the most powerful sub-thematic areas of the post-2015 discussions among the areas relevant for peace and conflict. Within this category the keywords gender and women appeared frequently in combination with inequality. Yet, key aspects of good governance as well as peace, conflict and security linked to the post-2015 context also caught up in the last months and received increasing momentum on Twitter as shown in Figure 1. Keywords for important global drivers of conflict in combination with #post2015 have also received relatively little attention.

When looking at important key words used in the peace and security thematic area the words violence and security²² are most often used in the post-2015 context, whereas safety, conflict, peace and fragility receive less attention. Violence was often noted in combination with gender based-violence. It thus seems that the manifestation of conflicts in form of violence receives somewhat more attention together with security aspects.

Figure 2: Number of important Tweets in the peace and security thematic area during the period 01/04/2012 to 06/04/2013



Inequalities

Inequality has emerged as a key salient issue in the overall post-2015 debates building on the shortcoming of the MDGs. Again, there are three different rationales for why inequality is put forward: i) the legal obligation of and commitment to human rights treaties, ii) moral reasons of fairness and iii) their instrumental importance for development. The analysed inputs usually note all of these three. The emerging consensus from the UN consultation discussion on inequalities in the post-2015 context is that

English key words. For more info on the methodology please contact the authors, and for more information on the analysis software see www.topsy.com.

²² This however includes tweets linking 'food security' to the post-2015 debates, which partially explains the higher number.

inequalities should be included as universal issues in the overall framework. Gender inequality and discrimination features very prominently in the discussions and has emerged as a priority area.

There is quite a strong connection made to peace here. Many inputs refer to conflict, social unrest, crime, political instability as one of the consequences of inequalities besides negative impacts on economic growth and other factors. One of the key messages of the Global Thematic Consultation on Inequalities is for example, that 'addressing inequalities is not only the right thing in principle, but also vital in ensuring that we have a sustainable and peaceful world'.²³ However, while global level inequalities are noted, there is a much stronger focus on tackling inequalities within countries rather than the global level power imbalances.

There is agreement in the consultations that it is not sufficient to address only vertical inequality, but that there is a need to also address horizontal inequalities, which are reproduced by a variety of structural causes of inequalities in the social, political and economic sphere. A focus on income equality alone may mask the social and political inequalities, which are known to perpetuate each other. The strong recognition of the structural causes of inequalities shows quite a strong focus on the drivers of inequalities. The global public consultations on inequalities indeed promote a comprehensive and transformative approach to tackle structural drivers of inequalities²⁴. There is also a strong push by some to include human rights as the core of the post-2015 framework²⁵ as the human rights agenda is seen as one of the means to address the structural nature of inequalities.

Many documents put quite a strong emphasis to the notion of 'getting to zero' on the development goals, which would help moving towards the realization of human rights for all and ensuring that no one is left behind. The rationale is that establishing goals that aim to get to zero and focusing on eradicating extreme poverty for all would also be a way to eliminate unfair (income) inequality. So far, the SDG Open Working Group²⁶ substantive discussions also seem to go down that road and it is also the approach that the Co-Chair of the HLP has lobbied for²⁷. **Yet, zero-based goals, i.e. ambitious poverty reduction goals, only focus on getting the poorest segments of society across the minimum threshold. They do not necessarily lead to a reduction of inequality, as it is theoretically possible that all the poor would be above the poverty line but inequality remains high.** As such, it does not necessarily incentivise a transformation towards a more equitable society, which would be needed to combat poverty sustainably. One may also doubt whether such zero-based goals necessarily address the structural factors that lead to exclusion and discrimination²⁸, although arguably this will mostly depend on which dimensions (economic, political and social) are included in the zero-based goals.

The outcome of the UN Global Consultations thus argues for a self-standing goal on inequalities in addition to targets and indicators focusing on the most disadvantaged across the other goals. Such **a self-standing goal would – in addition to getting everyone across the threshold - incentivize more proactive policy measures**²⁹, such as targeted social protection measures as well as more systemic redistributive and transformative approaches, which tackle unequal relations head on. This debate is further complicated by the more technical details of how to measure inequality, and the risk of such a goal becoming too inclusively focused on income inequality, as opposed to a broader conceptualisation of inequality³⁰.

To conclude, the inequalities debates are converging on the need to tackle inequalities but there no strong consensus on the way forward, i.e. on the wording to use, the type of equality to include and the way this is to be done, has emerged from the consultations. Yet, the high importance of horizontal inequalities in the

²³ See UNICEF and UN Women (2013)(p.7).

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ See UNICEF and UN Women (2013); Statement by Civil Society at the Bonn Conference 'Advancing the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda' - For an inclusive and equitable post-2015 agenda. See <http://www.worldwewant2015.org/file/332173/download/360926>

²⁶ The Open Working Group for the Sustainable Development Goals (OWG) is an outcome of Rio+20 and is mandated with designing the SDGs. It is assumed that the OWG will take forward the negotiations of the post-2015 framework, if no other separate intergovernmental process is set up.

²⁷ See Watt (2013).

²⁸ See Wagstaff (2013).

²⁹ See ODI (2013).

³⁰ Current discussions have circled around the strength of the Palma index (comparing the top decile vs. the bottom four deciles) vs. the GINI coefficient, both of which measure income inequality. There is a need for better data to complement such tools with measures that capture broader dimensions of inequality.

economic, political and social sphere as key drivers of conflict, do make these discussions very relevant for the peace and security community. **The peace and security constituency would benefit from a strong focus on the drivers of social, economic and political inequalities, and an approach that would incentivize transformative policies in all these spheres.**

Governance, Human Rights, Justice and the Rule of Law

The human rights agenda aims to explicitly make human rights the overarching principle of the post-2015 framework as well as to ensure that the new goals reflect constituent elements of the human rights agenda. While human rights are usually viewed as ends in themselves, the rationale for the strong focus on good governance principles is also based on their importance as a means to achieve development. Good governance is thus often positioned as 'prerequisite and precondition to development outcomes' in these discussions. This thus mirrors the consensus in the thematic area on conflict and peace in the post-2015 context on the link between human rights and development, although less emphasis is placed here on the link to security.

The focus in these discussions is mostly placed on civil and political rights such as freedom of expression, association and information or on socio-economic rights including education, decent work and an adequate standard of living. From a human rights perspective, the emphasis in the thematic discussions on governance lies more on 'freedom of want' rather than 'freedom of fear', and thus the personal security aspects seem less covered. Furthermore, in contrast to the peace and security thematic areas, there is little reference in this thematic area to the *drivers* of bad governance. Perhaps for this reason, issues of security, conflict and violence are rarely mentioned³¹. Neither are cross-border spill-over effects of conflict on governance outcomes discussed. Yet, in spite of the lack of direct references to conflict and security or the drivers of bad governance in these thematic discussions, in terms of key issues identified there is a clear overlap between the thematic area of governance and the area of conflict, peace and security in the post-2015 discussions.

However, something similar can be seen to what we noted to some degree in the peace and security community, which is the **strong focus on transparency and accountability, perhaps slightly at the expense of the need for state capacity and the effectiveness of state institutions.** Although the outcome document of the consultation states that 'robust and well-capacitated institutions are needed in both the private and the public sectors to ensure effective and equitable service delivery, policy formulation and implementation', the overall focus of the document is still somewhat one-sided. This may however not be surprising against the background of past imbalances of investments in capacities of governments in spite of low accountability and misconduct.

A similar point comes back however with regards to 'justice' which is a central theme in the human rights and governance sub-thematic area. Here the emphasis lies on international legal obligations, such as human rights treaties and covenants, **while less attention is paid to the more down-to-earth notion of having adequate administrative capacity to deliver 'access to justice for all' as an explicit outcome.** Inputs from Southern Actors do bring issues of lack of capacity and resources of institutions to the foreground a little more. For example the emerging post-2015 position of the African Union explicitly mentions the need to strengthen institutional capacity.³² At the SDG Open Working Group the G77 proposed that future goals should consider capabilities of governments amongst others.³³ This is a key issue to keep in mind, because it shows that in spite of the resistance to the Peace- and Statebuilding Goals as such, there seems to be some consensus on the need to strengthen capabilities in the public sector³⁴.

Also in these thematic discussions there is recognition that a goal that puts a strong emphasis on highly political issues such as human rights, democracy and political freedom may be very difficult to agree. Some proposals thus exist on ways how to deal with the sensitivity of the issue. Also here wording matters. The fact that human rights and governance are often presented as instrumental to

³¹ An exception here is the recently launched Concord Europe position – here the link between good governance and conflict is made, see Concord (2013).

³² See African Union (2013a)

³³ See ISSD (2013)

³⁴ According to Saferworld (2012) "Chinese officials and leading Chinese thinkers have also argued that the *"focus of work should be on enhancing the concerned country's capacity building instead of weakening its leadership"*.

development is one strategy to make their inclusion in a global development framework more politically palatable. **Another strategy is to focus on transparency and accountability rather than taking a more strongly normative stand on inclusive governance and politics.** It is hoped this framing will weaken the perception that the emphasis on good governance may threaten sovereignty³⁵. The outcome document of the final meeting of the Global Thematic Consultation on Governance and the post-2015 framework already uses much of the accountability and transparency language³⁶. It is further recommended to avoid overly prescriptive forms of institutions or political systems that may be seen as imposing a western, neo-liberal agenda³⁷.

Similarly to the peace and security discussions, the emphasis here lies quite squarely at the national level and less at the global level. If global governance is mentioned, it mostly concerns the governance of the international financial institutions and to a lesser extent the global drivers of bad governance, such as the illicit trade in drugs, minerals and arms or the increased criminalisation of politics or politicisation of crime. However, the major exception here is the increasingly strong emphasis on a global financial system that avoids illicit financial flows and tax havens. This has been a strong message from the pre-meetings to the thematic consultations on governance and the post-2015 agenda³⁸ and has emerged as key aspect in the consultation itself³⁹. It will be discussed in more detail later.

Global Partnerships and Global Collective Action

We have seen that neither of the thematic areas of inequalities, governance, human rights, and justice put a strong emphasis on the key international drivers for conflict. What importance do these global level drivers receive in other overarching proposals for the post-2015 framework?

Reference to them varies. Several post-2015 proposals hardly mention the identified global level drivers, such as the Communication put forward by the EU Commission or the Bellagio Goal proposal. Some civil society actors – in addition to those from the peace and security community - do put a strong emphasis on them and explicitly link global factors to conflict and violence. The position of European civil society task force on post-2015 (Concord/Beyond2015), for example, argues for ‘zero tolerance for external factors fuelling conflicts’, which they propose as a separate goal. Overall, however, such a strong focus is the exception rather than the norm. Moreover, **these global factors have so far not received much attention in the discussions** of the Open Working Group working on devising the Sustainable Development Goals.⁴⁰

There is one issue however, that has received a lot of attention in recent months, which is the relatively strong emphasis is put on collective action against international tax avoidance and illicit financial flows as well as international corporate transparency in the natural resource sector. The fight against international tax dodging also receives prominent focus in other international fora such as the G8 and the G20, so there seems to be a real opportunity to move ahead in this area. **Other important drivers, such as price shocks, illicit trade in drugs, arms and minerals or conflict-insensitive aid and trade policies receive only little or no mentioning.**

³⁵ See Bergh et al. (2012).

³⁶ See UNDP and OHCHR (2013).

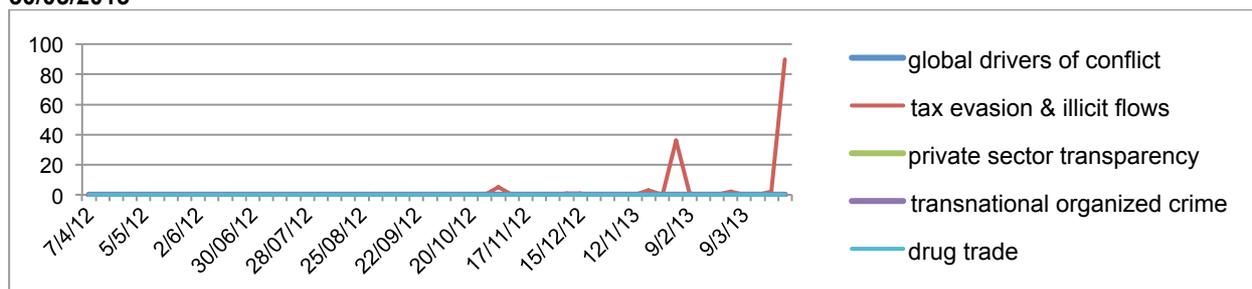
³⁷ Note for instance the Chinese *officials and thinkers quoted by Saferworld 2012, who “argued against imposing predetermined governance solutions or promoting Western liberal democratic models of government, instead urging attention to poverty reduction and addressing unemployment”.*

³⁸ See the ‘Key Outcomes and Recommendations from Pre-Meetings to the Global Thematic Consultation on Governance and the post-2015 Development Agenda’, <http://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/315203>

³⁹ See UNDP and OHCHR (2013).

⁴⁰ See IISD (2013).

Figure 3: Number of important Tweets in the area 'global drivers of conflict' during the period 01/04/2012 to 30/03/2013



What does the High Level Panel say?

Through our analysis a number of areas have emerged where there is a clear consensus, as well as areas in which debate continues and constituents take up different positions. Part of these differences may stem from variations in perspectives on priorities, partially they represent different level of aspiration, and partially these are caused by different strategies on how to increase the chances of difficult political issues to be adopted in a complex political negotiation process.

A lot of eyes are now on the recommendations of the High Level Panel. So how has the HLP dealt with some of the issues emerging from the extensive consultations and discussions that took place?

The final report of the HLP⁴¹ views five transformative shifts as essential to drive sustainable development post-2015. One of them directly relates to building 'peace and effective, open and accountable institutions for all', and it presents freedom from conflict and violence as *the* most fundamental human entitlement, and recognises peace and governance as core elements of well-being, not as an optional extra. The inclusion of an illustrative goal on 'stable and peaceful societies' further underscores the **fundamental value the High Level Panel places on peace and freedom from fear**. As such, in line with the consensus emerging out of the consultations, it clearly views peace as an end in itself and not merely as a means to an end or enabler. **It also follows the recommendation to view peace and the reduction of violence as an universal issue, and not as one limited to conflict-affected countries.**

The HLP proposes an (illustrative) separate goal on peace called 'Ensure stable and peaceful societies' as one of the 12 proposed indicative goals. As such the High Level Panel follows the call of the peace community to have a standalone goal, but couples this with conflict- and peace-related targets in other goals. As could be expected, **the emphasis on violence against women is echoed by the High Level Panel**, and reflected in a specific target under the illustrative goal on empowering girls and women.

The High Level Panel also agrees with the need for a broader conceptualisation of peace that goes beyond addressing the manifestations of conflict, and aspires to address drivers of governance and drivers of peace. Next to the reduction of violent deaths as manifestations of conflict this goal calls for ensuring 'accessible, independent' and 'well resourced' justice institutions as well as enhanced capacity and accountability of security forces, police and judiciary. Furthermore, the report recognises peace as a cross-cutting issue and recognises the centrality of jobs, participation in political processes and local civic engagement, and the transparent management of public resource. Its focus on peaceful societies also follows the recommendation by some to incentivise the emergence of a culture of peace. In this sense, the report is aspirational and puts forward a strong push for inclusion of issues related to peace across the board.

The report has taken political sensitivities into account. It clearly uses the words security and fragility sparingly, and also makes no specific reference to the Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals. It separates out the building of peaceful societies with broader issues related to good governance. It has brought the manifestation of conflict (reduction of violent deaths), together with some of the key drivers of conflict (external stresses) and drivers of peace (strengthened institutions in the justice and security sectors). Other drivers of conflict and peace are reflected as targets under other goals. This reflects a broad-based

⁴¹ See UN HLP (2013c).

understanding of peace, but does lead to a slightly awkward situation where the goal of 'good governance and effective institutions' focuses mostly on participation, voice of citizens and accountability of the government towards its citizens, and actually has no targets related to the 'effectiveness of institutions' at all.

As expected, the language around 'transparency' is strong in the report, which even speaks of a 'transparency revolution', and further underscored by the proposed separate goal on 'good governance and effective institutions'. Despite the strong emphasis that is put on voice for citizens, accountability and transparency, the fact that effective institutions are explicitly mentioned in the goal on 'ensure good governance and effective institutions' could point towards a balance between the capacity of institutions and accountability aspects. However, it is an area to keep watching, especially since this area may prove to be an entry point to gain further support for peacebuilding in the post-2015 context.

Interesting to note is also the relatively strong emphasis on the global responsibility for cooperation, and its recommendation to 'infuse global partnerships and cooperation into all the goals'. **The global drivers of conflict also appear rather prominently.** Governments are explicitly called upon to bring about a swift reduction in corruption, money laundering, tax evasion and aggressive avoidance, hidden ownership of assets, and the illicit trade in drugs and arms. The goal on 'stable and peaceful societies' notes that external stressors leading to conflict, including many of the international drivers identified above and with a specific focus on organised crime, should be addressed. The reduction of illicit flows and tax evasions are separately included under a goal on a global financial enabling environment. In the past, the MDGs were often treated as national-level goals, despite their intention to be global. Highlighting the global responsibility for achieving goals of a new framework may create more urgency to seriously consider and address such global factors.

On inequalities the HLP has opted to follow the 'leave no one behind' narrative and to mainstream the issue of inequality in all goals by proposing to view goals only met if every group (defined by location, gender, income, social group, etc.) has achieved the targets. **However, except for a goal on gender equality, general inequalities are not centrally captured in a stand-alone goal.** In this sense the HLP has not followed the emerging consensus from the consultations on inequalities. The reduction of economic income inequality as measured by the GINI or Palma is equally not proposed since it is viewed as an issue to be decided at the national level. From the perspective of inequalities as a driver of conflict, the disaggregation of data on all goals across social groups is a real bonus. However, as much as tracking the progress of various groups to achieve targets and ensuring accountability and responsiveness to all social groups may go a long way to address some of the horizontal inequalities fuelling conflict, some may have hoped for an even more explicit incentive to reduce inequality across the social, political and economic spheres.

In summary, the report of the HLP has sent another strong signal to include peace and security in a post-2015 framework, and to do so not in a narrow but in a comprehensive manner. It has also lent additional weight to the work done by the g7+ by specifically mentioning it as a group of effective cooperation. All the issues considered key in their work on peacebuilding and statebuilding are included in one way or another in the report. As such, it will be generally welcomed by those advocating for a strong embedding of peace in the post-2015 framework.

Concluding Remarks

Facing up to the political reality

The strong inclusion of peace elements in the report and the proposed goals of the HLP has been mainly due to some strong pressure of a number of panel Members. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Emilia Pires, both whose countries are members of the g7+, were instrumental in bringing the goal on peace and sustainable societies into the report. The High Level Panel report is just one input into a long inter-governmental process, and the principles for transformation and the illustrative goals are just that; illustrative. A post-2015 framework will ultimately emerge out of political negotiations at the UN level, in which political sensitivities – some of which we discussed above - will remerge and play an important role. The work to ensure that peace, conflict and security is adequately addressed in the intergovernmental negotiations of a

future post-2015 development framework has thus just begun, and joining forces is necessary to deeply embed the universal challenge of a peaceful world in the post-2015 framework.

Some support for embedding peace deeply into the post-2015 framework can already be seen in the emerging stakeholder positions. The European Union emerging position, for instance, strongly supports the Peace and Statebuilding Goals and the New Deal and lobbies to integrate peace and issues surrounding violence as a universal aspect in a post-2015 agenda. The OECD equally is also a strong supporter of integrating peace and goals based on the PSGs in the new framework.⁴² Switzerland joins and proposes to address peace and security dimensions post-2015.⁴³ The African Union emerging position sees peace and security as development enabler and prerequisite for other goals rather than a development goal in itself.⁴⁴ The regional consultations in Africa stress the responsibility of national governments as well as the international community to prevent violence and conflict and promote peace⁴⁵. Nigeria stressed during the SDG Open Working Group session, for example, that the group should seriously discuss peace and security as enablers of sustainable development as well as factors that fuel conflict. Similar remarks were made by Pakistan.

Yet, the placing the item on the work programme on conflict, peace and security envisaged for discussion at the 8th session of the Open Working Group in 2014 has **already been subject to controversy**. While Nicaragua, speaking also for Brazil and Argentina pushed for rewording the item to only apply to countries in special situations and not to discuss it as a universal issue, China and Indonesia would have liked to see it deleted altogether.⁴⁶ The integration of peace and conflict in the new development agenda may thus stand or fall with the cautious approach that is taken by the emerging powers, such as China, Brazil, Russia, India or South Africa, as they will have a significant influence on the negotiations to come⁴⁷.

It is necessary to start bringing on board other actors to support key aspects important for building peace and stopping violence. It is important to start to build bridges with those who may oppose the inclusion of strong peacebuilding and conflict prevention dimensions. **A clear narrative clarifying the distinction between personal safety and territorial security could, for example, be a way to increase support for the inclusion of violence and conflict.** The concept of personal security also has a constituency in Latin America because of own experiences with lack of safety due to crime. Furthermore, the observation that the G77 seems to be open to consider building the capabilities of governments and the effectiveness of institutions as voiced in the Open Working group on the SDGs among others, may provide another entry point to include goals on creating institutions and governance outcomes conducive to peace. As such, **a stronger focus on the effectiveness of state institutions could take the sting out of the 'good governance agenda'.**

Issues to watch

Based on our analysis of the consultation inputs and the High Level Panel report, there are a few issues to watch across the different thematic areas. Looking at the strong momentum behind the inequality debate, it is starting to seem likely that inequalities or a focus on the most marginalized will be considered – in one way or another - in the post-2015 framework, as it is high on the agenda. There is a risk that during negotiations the ambitious goals in this area will be transformed to focus on the most marginalized groups without tackling relational issues or redistribution, or establish 'getting to zero' goals without much action to address structural causes, which are an important driver of not only poverty but also of conflict.

In the thematic area of governance there is a strong constituency for transparency and accountability, perhaps with a bias towards accountability over state capacity. Yet it is important to maintain a balance between the 'transparency and accountability' side of the good governance coin and the 'effective and capable institutions' side of the coin, especially as this may provide a potential entry point for gaining more traction on this agenda.

⁴² See OECD (2013).

⁴³ See Tokyo Tech. et al. (2013) (p.9).

⁴⁴ See African Union (2013a).

⁴⁵ See UNECA (2012).

⁴⁶ See IISD (2013).

⁴⁷ See Attree (2013).

An area that may still fall through the cracks – despite the mention by the HLP report - is the issue of global level drivers of conflict. Most traction is behind tax evasion, illicit financial flows and transparency in managing resources, which could be further pursued and may have better chances to be addressed than do other identified international drivers of conflict.

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