National Deliberations
A Synthesis Report

Beyond 2015
Campaigning for a global development framework after the Millennium Development Goals
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Executive Summary
Since September 2012, Beyond 2015 and the Global Call to Action Against Poverty (GCAP) have been creating a global civil society position on a post-2015 framework. This is happening through a series of national, regional, and community civil society deliberations that are currently ongoing. So far, civil society deliberations are planned in 40 countries in Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia. In a review of the deliberations that have taken place so far around the world, we have received reports from 22 countries about community, regional and national deliberations. This report is the synthesis of these outcomes.

In the reports of the 22 deliberations that have taken place, we are receiving a wealth of information about both the successes and failures of the MDGs, as well as the possibility for a new framework to be more inclusive and just. We are receiving contributions from people all echoing the same demands. Across the world, civil society is concerned about rising inequality. People acknowledge that social protection is decreasing, and those who already living in poverty are being further marginalized. Even in times when economic growth is robust, many people are not benefitting.

For the eradication of poverty and the survival of the planet, a framework must be based on four pillars: human rights, equality and justice, environmental sustainability and poverty eradication. Furthermore, to ensure that action follows commitments, it must be underpinned by a foundation of good governance, which must include accountability and universality.

The outcomes of the national deliberations put forward a strong consensus on the right of each person on the planet to live a life free from poverty. A post 2015 framework must make explicit provisions for social protection and service provision, to provide an opportunity for all to live in dignity, regardless of race, sex, sexual orientation, or any other reason.

People coming together to participate in the deliberations, regardless of national origin, share the opinion that inequality is one of the biggest challenges facing the world today, and all nations have an equal obligation to creating a more just world. Acknowledging this, a post 2015 framework needs to focus on equality, through promoting gender justice, progressive redistribution, structural transformation, corporate regulation, and social protection.

There was a consensus in the deliberations: climate change poses an eminent threat to society, and its affects are already being felt by people living in poverty. A post 2015 framework must take into account the interconnectedness between social and environmental consequences of our growth path.

Finally, concern was raised in many national deliberations about the threat of poor governance to achieving current and future goals. Therefore, accountability, universality, and good governance must underpin a new framework. Without clear delineations of responsibilities as well as rights, and without a mechanism for holding actors to their account for commitments, progress will not be made. A post 2015 framework should be underpinned by a comprehensive and inclusive accountability mechanism.

Vision
We envision a world of peace, equality and sustainability, a future where society is free of poverty, inequality and powerlessness, and development takes place through the full exercise of economic, social, political, civil and cultural rights of all citizens, within the carrying capacity of our natural environment.

- Philippine CSOs and Social Movements Position Paper

A gender-transformative, gender-inclusive and gender-responsive policy frame guided by principles of gender equality and equity is essential to advance and achieve full potential of all women in all spheres of life, namely, economic, social and political.
In reviewing the outcomes of the national deliberation, the shared vision emerging was remarkable. Around the world, regardless of national context, there was not only a strongly shared vision for the future, but also a consensus on the purpose of a post 2015 framework. Many national deliberations have articulated the opportunity for the post 2015 framework to be a force for transformation, and respond to the urgent need to develop structural changes in the way people relate to each other, and the planet.

In the national deliberations, people considered the purpose, vision, values, and criteria for goal inclusion in a post 2015 framework. This vision is perhaps best illustrated by the quotations from the national reports that appear throughout the document. These communicate a strongly held, shared vision of the just, equitable world that is possible. It is a world in which every person, regardless of their age, race, gender, or ability, can access fundamental rights, enjoy a minimum level of social protection, and live sustainably, within existing planetary boundaries. This vision has been expanded on through the World We Want declarations in many national and regional contexts.

There was also agreement in the national deliberation outcomes about the purpose of the framework. Coming out of the deliberations was agreement that an ambitious post 2015 framework that was focused on human rights, inequality, poverty eradication and environmental sustainability could be a driver of change in government actions and decision making. If this framework deeply reflects the vision civil society shares, it can be a powerful roadmap to creating change.

There was more diversity expressed about the values and criteria such a framework and its goals could have. However, in the sections that follow, the values and criteria, as well as recommendations, are all expressed in the four pillars below, with an underlying acknowledgement of the importance of a foundation of good governance and accountability:

Many deliberations acknowledged that a just post 2015 framework can only be effective if it is created through an open and participatory process that includes people living in poverty and affected by climate change. The community consultations have endeavoured to do this, which makes the vision of a transformed world particularly important.

Human Rights

“The fulfillment of rights and freedoms is a foundation or prerequisite for the attainment of human development outcomes. Rights-based indicators should thus be developed and integrated in all endeavors for development and peace.” - Philippine CSOs and Social Movements Position Paper

“The post-2015 framework must prioritise the realisation of people’s rights and the key human rights-based principles must underpin it, including participation, non-discrimination and equality, empowerment and accountability”. – Beyond 2015 European Task Force

Until this point, global frameworks have generally focused on macroeconomics, with elements of national accountability, aggregate economic growth, and overall service provision. To their credit, the MDGs moved us closer to a human rights approach than most global development frameworks. With targets on maternal health, for example, we were one step away from explicitly talking about all pregnant women having the right to a skilled birth attendant. This rights-based focus is important, because it means nobody is excluded.

A post 2015 framework should be explicitly rights-based by seeking to operationalize the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states in Article 22 that “Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.” It should further include elements from the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights.
In the MDGs’ focus on halving poverty, an aggregate approach at the national level was taken, as opposed to a human rights approach. As a result, many countries found that social exclusion is making many people slip through the cracks. A goal can be achieved even if hunger is worsening among the poorest of the poor. This is something we heard of from nearly every country deliberation. Even when children are now in school – what about children with disabilities? Even when child health has improved dramatically – what about indigenous children? With inequality growing across the world, a message that came out very strongly is that for a new framework to be effective, data needs to be disaggregated. Even where there is aggregate progress, inequality and social exclusion means that the aggregate picture is incomplete.

In all country deliberations, we found that people are being left out of the MDGs framework. Young people were particularly frequently mentioned, as were people with disabilities, indigenous people, LGBTI and other marginalized groups. This highlights the limitations of the MDGs in integrating a human rights based approach. A post 2015 framework needs to respond to the needs of the poorest and most marginalized. It needs to explicitly provide for a minimum level of social protection that all people have a right to enjoy.

For a new framework to be truly grounded in human rights, it should deal strongly with peace and security, both at a global level (not a single country experiencing conflict is on track to meet the MDGs), and also at a local level (violence against women emerged as a critical issue in many national contexts). Peace is a fundamental prerequisite for people to claim their rights.

Recommendations:
- The framework should be explicitly linked to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights
- The framework should acknowledge the fundamental rights of all people to live free from poverty, and enjoy a minimum level of social protection
- The framework should, where needed provide explicit definitions and benchmarks for the progressive realisation of rights

Equality and Justice

“Civil society in Indonesia has not found conclusive evidence to substantiate claims of an inclusive and equitable development process. Hard facts on the multiplying wealth of the selected few and extreme inequalities are compelling evidence on the urgency for a shift in development orientation.... In view of this, all development efforts and measures must be directed at eliminating these inequalities. We strongly urge for a shift away from a growth-oriented development paradigm to sustainable development with the intent to end all inequalities.” - National deliberation, Indonesia

“Focus on Structural Change: unjust, oppressive or badly designed structures are often at the root of many of the issues that the framework must tackle.” - Africa regional CSO consultation

Equality emerged in virtually all country reports as a crucial pillar of a post 2015 framework, and this was connected to the issues of just global governance, and social inclusion. This came through in a number of different ways based on different country contexts. On one hand, a failing of the MDGs was its inability to address global governance in a meaningful way. So, inequality was often framed as a global issue. At the same time, localized inequality was one of the strongest civil society critiques on MDG achievement in nearly every deliberation. It was a refrain throughout the reports that nationally aggregated data do not tell the whole story. Young people, indigenous communities, women, and many other groups facing discrimination continue to be marginalised in the MDGs framework.
A shift in most countries from public health challenges of communicable diseases like HIV/AIDS and TB to non-communicable diseases like diabetes and heart disease emphasize the extent to which lifestyles are reflecting global, systemic inequalities in both society and the way people relate to the planet. Food sovereignty came through in deliberations as a tool for strengthening equality. Corporate accountability and global governance (which will be addressed later) also came through as an essential element in tackling equality, with unfair terms of trade and agricultural subsidies all feeding into the current context of inequality.

Therefore, equality is strongly linked by civil society to corporate regulation. This is due to three interlinked issues: decent work, strengthening the tax system, and economic sustainability. The financial crisis in 2008 and the subsequent bailout demonstrated that governments are often putting profits before people, and for a new development framework to be successful, it must confront unaccountable corporate practices.

The need for just global governance was articulated in many national deliberations. The democratic deficit at the global level was expressed as a factor for growing inequality, and at the same time, there was a call from deliberations, particularly in Asia and Africa, for equitable measures of progress and accountability across developing and developed countries. The MDGs only meaningfully addressed the development obligations of developing countries. To be just, a post 2015 framework must be sufficiently holistic to recognize that all countries in the world have an equal investment in eradicating poverty, and flexible enough to take into account the differing responsibilities of different countries in contributing to the effort. The framework must be sufficiently universal to include the needs of each individual national situation.

**Recommendations**

- The framework should be universal. It should incorporate the responsibilities of both northern and southern governments and other stakeholders.
- The framework should aim to combat extreme inequality by addressing unfair terms of trade, agricultural subsidies, and corporate accountability.
- A funding mechanism should be integrated into the framework, so progress is not dependent on fundraising or aid.
- The framework should employ a principal of Common but Differentiated Responsibility to allow for a universal framework that can be adapted to specific national contexts.

**Environmental Sustainability**

“Recognising that Climate change is an increasingly important reality affecting African communities and having a direct impact on their livelihoods and means of survival. Therefore, sustainable development functions must consider the need to put in place enablers that shield local African populations from the harmful effects of climate change.” - The Africa We Want Communiqué

“The development framework should be based on the climate rights as the poor and vulnerable people affected from the climate action must be protected. Climate change governance must be transparent and responsible to the people who have been victimized by the action of developed/industrial countries.” - Outcomes document, Nepal national deliberation

It is clear that civil society is speaking with one voice about the need for an approach to development that is for both people and the planet. The current system of extractive economic growth is unsustainable; the planet is being destroyed. Another refrain across many national contexts is that people living in poverty are becoming more and more vulnerable to climate shocks and extreme weather. This is particularly true
of indigenous communities, and people living in coastal or rural areas who are often dependent on the land for their survival.

In developing countries, the deliberations strongly condemned a lack of action on climate change, and acknowledged that people living in poverty are left increasingly vulnerable to natural disasters and other affects of climate change. Already impoverished rural communities have been unable to cope with the added affects of climate change.

There is a risk that the climate change discussion will remain in the realm of technical discussions on carbon emissions, without linking meaningfully to the more political issues of corporate growth and trade imbalances. While cutting emissions, and providing financial and technical assistance to countries to curb the worsening of climate change, this is only part of the story. From the national deliberations, we heard how issues like food sovereignty should be seen a critical element of the climate justice discussion. Energy, agriculture, and poverty are all intertwined, and a post 2015 framework needs to encompass them equally.

Land ownership is unequal in many countries, and relates not only to gender justice, but also to other localized situations, ranging from land grabbing to social exclusion. Lack of access to land has implications for equality, hunger, and a range of related issues. Civil society in many countries urged their government to begin regulating corporate ownership of agricultural land.

The national deliberations linked people’s experiences of the effects of climate change to generalized inequality, with industrialised countries polluting, and developing countries paying the price. Due to the inherent linkages between economic development, industrialization, trade, and fossil fuels emissions, climate justice must be linked to poverty eradication.

**Recommendations**
- The post 2015 framework should acknowledge existing commitments on emissions reductions and climate financing
- In considering development targets, the framework should be explicit about the planetary boundaries with which in activities must take place
- Provide for a mitigation of the effects of climate change on the most vulnerable people
- The post-2015 framework should be a unified framework which links the poverty eradication and environmental sustainability agendas

**Poverty Eradication**

*Participants of the consultation meeting have raised strong voices that the poverty continues to exist in our society because of unequal access to resources and services such as land, education, health and opportunities such as employment, and participation in decision-making.*

- Outcomes document, Nepal national deliberation

Poverty eradication emerged from the national and community deliberations as central to a post 2015 framework. While the MDGs endeavoured to halve extreme poverty, this was clearly considered inadequate by those taking part in the deliberations. The persistence of hunger and extreme poverty remains widespread in certain communities, which is both a clear violation of the rights of those concerned, as well unnecessary, given that the resources, technology, and knowledge exist to end poverty now.

Concern was expressed from several national deliberations that poverty alleviation is seen as a technical issue, when in fact, it is clearly and profoundly political. Connections were drawn between poverty eradication and gender-based discrimination, given the feminization of poverty we have seen over the
past decade. From the deliberations, it emerged strongly that civil society, even at a very local level, has a wealth of knowledge and understanding of the causes of poverty, and also the solutions. What is needed is the political will, courageous leadership, and an enabling framework for action to be taken.

Participation of people living in poverty was seen as key to poverty eradication, thus making crucial the foundational elements of deepening democracy, strengthening civil society, and promoting social inclusion.

To eradicate poverty, the deliberations pointed to a range of systemic issues that require action, and are addressed elsewhere in this synthesis. For example, the democratic deficit at the global level which results in unfair terms of trade and the deepening global inequality resultant from climate change. It emerged from the deliberations that a holistic approach will be required to eradicate poverty.

Finally, many deliberations called for stronger social protection mechanisms. As part of a human-rights based framework, these social protection mechanisms should be universal and guaranteed, regardless of nationality or any other factor.

**Recommendations**
- The framework should acknowledge both the imperative and the possibility to eradicate poverty
- The framework should require a minimum level of universal social protection
- The framework should explicitly acknowledge gender justice as an essential element in eradicating poverty
- The framework should explicitly acknowledge exclusion as a driving force in perpetuating extreme poverty

**Foundations: Just Governance and Accountability**

“MDGs were aspirations, some said targets but the question is how do we hold our governments legally accountable?” - Africa wide deliberation

Just governance must form the foundation of a post 2015 framework. It should be acknowledged from the outset that without a strong accountability mechanism in place, action will not be taken to meet commitments. From its design, a post 2015 framework should clearly spell out who is responsible for doing what to ensure that goals are achieved, and rights are accessed.

Financing should be an integral element of a post 2015 framework, and not seen as a charitable add on. As part of the goals overarching interest in justice, financing should be integrated into the framework’s design. There was an overwhelming agreement that resourcing should be seen as central to a future framework, and not as a charitable add-on. There was a strong sense of indignation about the affects of the global financial crisis on MDG achievement. At the same time, there was an acknowledgement that financing for development has moved beyond aid, and that discussions need to include tax reform, both nationally and globally.

The national deliberations called for a post 2015 framework that has strong links between the global development framework and national and local planning processes. Without harmonization with local planning processes, global development commitments are not tied to budgeting processes, participatory democratic processes, and other elements that are essential for accountability. We heard both from countries in which the MDGs had been strongly localized, and were an integral part of national planning, budgeting, and working, and those where the MDGs were a tangential add-on, housed in a remote ministerial committee. For a new development framework to be effective, it must be adopted and implemented at all levels. Not only that, but it must be integrated with other regional and global commitments, many of which have already been agreed. Neglecting to do this undermines accountability,
because it has implications for the budgeting capacity, reporting requirements, and other elements of transparency and good governance.

**Recommendations**

- The framework should be underpinned by a strong accountability mechanism.
- The framework should incorporate targets on the reform and democratisation of global institutions.
- The framework should be harmonized with existing international agreements, such as the UDHR, and should furthermore be localized at the national level.
- The framework should be underpinned by a financing mechanism that goes beyond aid.

**Conclusion**

We have a unique opportunity to transform the current global social, economic, and environmental system into one that is more just and inclusive. It is clear from the national, local and community deliberations that have taken place that the knowledge exists within civil society to eradicate poverty, uphold human rights, respect the planet, and build a more just future. As the MDGs come to an end, civil society in 22 countries has provided a roadmap for a framework that is holistic and inclusive in ensuring a more just world.

As more national deliberations are completed, this will remain a living document that will serve as a basis for a wider discussion in civil society about how to develop a post 2015 framework that will encourage governments to build a more just and sustainable world. We hope to continue to engage with the process of developing a post 2015 framework that will address the root causes of poverty, inequality, and environmental degradation. By ensuring widespread, meaningful participation from a community level, we can collectively set an agenda that will be responsive to the needs of people living in poverty and affected by climate change.
The Framework Should:

1. The framework should be explicitly linked to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights.
2. The framework should, where needed provide explicit definitions, benchmarks, and resourcing on the progressive realisation of rights.
3. The framework should be universal. It should incorporate the responsibilities of both northern and southern governments and other stakeholders.
4. The framework should aim to combat extreme inequality by addressing unfair terms of trade, agricultural subsidies, and corporate accountability.
5. The framework should employ a principal of Common but Differentiated Responsibility to allow for both a universal framework, and one that is adaptive to specific national contexts.
6. The post 2015 framework should acknowledge existing commitments on emissions reductions and climate financing.
7. In considering development targets, the framework should be explicit about the planetary boundaries with which in activities must take place.
8. Provide for a mitigation of the effects of climate change on the most vulnerable people.
9. The post-2015 framework should be a unified framework which links the poverty eradication and environmental sustainability agendas.
10. The framework should acknowledge both the imperative and the possibility to eradicate poverty.
11. The framework should require a minimum level of universal social protection.
12. The framework should explicitly acknowledge gender justice as an essential element in eradicating poverty.
13. The framework should explicitly acknowledge exclusion as a driving force in perpetuating extreme poverty.
14. A strong accountability mechanism will be included in the architecture of the framework.
15. The framework should incorporate targets on the reform and democratisation of global institutions.
16. The framework should be harmonized with existing international agreements, such as the UDHR, and will furthermore be localized at the national level.
17. A financing mechanism that goes beyond aid should be an integral element of the framework.
List of national deliberations taken into account

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