A girl reconnects with friends who were also displaced by conflict in the Philippines. In March 2014, a peace deal was signed after 17 years of violence-interrupted talks during which tens of thousands were killed and over 3.5 million people were displaced.
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FROM THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS TO THE POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA: BUILDING A CONSENSUS FOR PEACE

The question of how issues related to peace, governance and justice fit into the post-2015 development framework – indeed whether they should be included at all – was the longest-debated and most divisive issue during the debates of the Open Working Group on the Sustainable Development Goals. The final outcome document included a goal to "Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels". This represents a significant step forward. Yet there remains opposition from some Member States to including these issues in the new development framework.

This briefing paper presents a summary of the state of play regarding peace and the post-2015 development agenda. While there is a growing acknowledgement that peace should be one of the global priorities addressed within the new development framework, some United Nations (UN) Member States still have substantive concerns about its inclusion. This paper reviews the political debate: first recapping the evidence on why peace should be included and exploring how it can most effectively be integrated into the post-2015 framework. Building on a year-long process of research and dialogue with a range of Member States, including those who have been most vocally opposed, it examines key concerns that have been put forward and responds to the arguments made against the inclusion of peace. To help reconcile these perspectives, the paper proposes a number of principles on which consensus could be built. It concludes with a series of practical suggestions for securing inclusive agreement on a framework that is effective in promoting peace. This is of paramount importance as the participation of the widest possible range of Member States – including key actors from the Global South – in framing the new development agenda is essential if the selected goals and targets are to be legitimate and effective.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY PEACE?

Saferworld's priority is people – we believe that everyone should be able to lead peaceful, fulfilling lives, free from violent conflict and insecurity.

The peace we seek to promote through the post-2015 development framework is focused on people in countries currently experiencing or emerging from violent conflict. However, this is only part of our vision: the mere absence of violence – referred to as "negative peace" – can often mask latent instability. As such, we believe that all countries must reduce the risks of violent conflict through focusing on a range of issues such as governance, justice and equal access to economic opportunities, in order to build a positive peace that is sustainable. Furthermore, we are also conscious that people across the world face violent insecurity – this can be different to violent conflict but is equally detrimental to both individuals and societies. A holistic approach to building sustainable peace should aim to address all types of conflict, violence and insecurity.

THE STATE OF PLAY

The inclusion of a goal on peace, justice and governance in the Outcome Document of Open Working Group (OWG) on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agreed in July 2014 has been hailed as a significant step towards changing the lives of some 1.5 billion people currently living in countries experiencing high levels of violence. However, from a close analysis of the OWG discussions it is clear that there is still considerable work to do to ensure that peace features in the new post-2015 development framework.

The interdependence between peace, security and development has long been a key part of the discussions on the post-2015 development agenda. The High-Level Panel (HLP) report on the post-2015 development agenda published in May 2013, for example, described the promotion of peace as one of its "five big, transformative shifts" on the basis that such issues comprise the "core elements of wellbeing, not optional extras."[1] In addition, the Outcome Document for the Special Event on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) held in September 2013, which all Member States signed up to, stated that the new development framework should "promote peace and security, democratic governance, the rule of law, gender equality and human rights for all".[2]

The statements and positions of a wide-range of UN Member States have also highlighted the importance of peace for sustainable development. Speaking at the opening of the 68th UN General Assembly (UNGA), for example, China's Foreign Minister Wang Yi colourfully remarked, "in advancing the development agenda, we must cherish peace as we do our eyes".[3] Most notably, the Common African Position launched in February 2014 – representing the views of 54 African Member States – included a pillar on peace and security.[4] However, despite the growing political and expert consensus, the debate over whether and how to include peace in the SDGs was one of the most keenly contested of the OWG discussions.

Peace as a 'Goal' or as 'Targets'

During the OWG deliberations Member States typically articulated one of the following four positions:

1. Rejection of any reference to peace in the goals and targets;
2. Opposition to a standalone peace goal, but support for some peace-related targets under other goals;
3. Support for at least one goal with a focus on peace; or
4. Support for two goals, one on peace and one on governance.

The vast majority of Member States, multilateral and regional groupings including the African Union (AU), the Least Development Countries, the G7+, the EU, as well as the likes of China, India and Brazil positioned themselves in categories 2, 3 and 4. The variation between Member States' positions were largely attributable to concerns about the potential effects of including peace within the SDGs, which are explored in greater depth later in this briefing. However, three key concerns and arguments are worth highlighting, as they are very likely to recur once negotiations on the post-2015 framework commence. These are:

1. Including peace could lead to the 'securitisation' of the development agenda;
2. Peace falls outside the Rio+20 agenda, which some see as defining the parameters of the post-2015 discussions; and
3. Development leads to peace, not vice-versa.

KEY PROCESSES	2012	2013	2014			2015	
UNITED NATIONS	**Rio+20 UN Conference on Sustainable Development**, *May–June 2012* Agreement by Member States to develop a set of SDGs through an "inclusive and transparent intergovernmental process open to all stakeholders".	**Opening of the 68th UNGA**, *September 2013* Member states decided to bring together the Rio+20 SDGs process with post-2015, calling for "a single framework and set of goals – universal in nature and applicable to all countries."	**UNPGA Thematic Debates & High-Level Events**, *February–June 2014* To assist with elaboration of priority areas for the post-2015 development agenda.	**Opening of the 69th UNGA**, *September 2014* The theme will be "Delivering on and Implementing a Transformative Post-2015 Development Agenda". There will also be a UNPGA High Level Stocktaking Event on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. It is expected that the exact modalities for negotiations and status of the OWG Outcome Document will be further clarified by this stage.	**Report of the UNSG**, *(date tbc)* The report will cover "vision, principles, goals and targets of the post-2015 development agenda". It is expected to draw on the OWG on SDGs and the work of the ICESDF.	**Negotiations on the Post-2015 Development Agenda**, *(date tbc, expected to start from January and last until September 2015)*	**Opening of the 70th UNGA**, *September 2015* A critical moment when the post-2015 development agenda is likely be formally adopted – it might include an extra-ordinary session of the High Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development at head of government level.
	Global Thematic Consultations, *May 2012–June 2013*	Focused on 11 different themes including 'Conflict, Violence and Disaster', which affirmed peace as an enabler and an end in itself.				
UN OPEN WORKING GROUP ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS		**OWG on SDGs**, *March 2013–July 2014* Tasked with proposing goals and targets for consideration by the UN General Assembly, the OWG was comprised of 70 member states sharing 30 seats. The Outcome Document included 17 goals and 169 targets.					
FINANCE		**Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing**, *March 2013–August 2014* Comprised of 30 experts nominated by different regional groupings, the committee was tasked with assessing financing needs, existing financial instruments and frameworks, with a view to preparing a report proposing options on an effective sustainable development financing strategy to facilitate the mobilization of resources for sustainable development.				**Third Conference on Financing for Development**, *July 2015* A critical moment for the post-2015 development agenda – high-level meeting will discuss array of issues including progress made in the implementation of the Monterrey Consensus and the inter-relationship of all sources of development finance.	
CLIMATE				**UN Climate Summit**, *September 2014* Hosted by the UNSG, at head of government level – intended to raise ambition for COP 21 in Paris in December 2015.	**COP 20 of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change**, *December 2014*		**COP 21 of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change**, *December 2015* A critical moment to decide on global climate policy from 2020 onwards.
OTHER				**G20 Summit**, *November 2014* Hosted by Australia.		**World Economic Forum**, *January 2015* / **G20 Summit**, *(tbc)* Hosted by Turkey, could include focus on post-2015 and development cooperation.	**AU Summit**, *(tbc)* Will include focus on post-2015 development
INPUTS	**UN System Task Team**, *June 2012* Key recommendations: A more holistic approach including: (1) inclusive social development; (2) inclusive economic development; (3) environmental sustainability; and (4) peace and security.	**Dili Consensus**, *March 2013* G7+ and Pacific Island countries called for the new agenda to promote peace, stability and the rule of law. **UNSG's High-Level Panel**, *May 2013* Proposed five shifts: (1) leave no-one behind; (2) sustainable development; (3) jobs and inclusive growth; (4) build peace and effective institutions; and (5) a new global partnership. **Sustainable Development Solutions Network**, *June 2013* Ten priority areas that sustainable development must address including the need to transform global governance. **UN Global Compact**, *June 2013* Proposed goals on four areas: (1) poverty; (2) health and education; (3) resources; and (4) enabling environment including governance, peace and stability. **Listening to 1 Million Voices**, *September 2013* Report examined what over one million people from across the globe want to address in the post-2015 development agenda.	**Common African Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda**, *February 2014* Sets out vision of 54 African Member States on how to end poverty in all its forms and achieve an integrated, prosperous, stable and peaceful Africa. **EC Communique: A Decent Life for All**, *February 2014* EU common position on the post-2015 development agenda proposed 17 priority areas, emphasising that the new framework should promote good governance, democracy and the rule of law and address peaceful societies and freedom from violence.				

Members of the South African contingent of the United Nations Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) patrol the area near the Kalma Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) Camp. © UN PHOTO / STUART PRICE

KEY

AU	African Union
COP	Conference of Parties
EC	European Commission
ICESDF	Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing
OWG	Open Working Group
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UNGA	UN General Assembly
UNPGA	UN President of the General Assembly
UNSG	UN Secretary General

Goal 16: promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

Open Working Group outcome document, July 2014

WHAT NEXT?

It is clear that there is still substantial work to be done to design a goal that will effectively promote peaceful and inclusive societies, while also commanding genuine political buy-in from the largest possible number of Member States. Several issues with a critical bearing on whether these two objectives can be reconciled are outlined below:

1. Fewer targets, stronger language

One of the recurring themes throughout the OWG discussions was the need to **reduce the number of targets** in the goal on peace, justice and governance.

Number of peace & governance targets	
OWG 10	25
OWG 11	11
OWG 12	23
Outcome Document	12

While the number of targets did decrease, the final overall total of 17 goals and 169 targets for the Outcome Document (compared with 8 MDGs and 21 targets) is likely to come under renewed pressure as negotiators seek to design a framework that is both communicable and actionable. Given that the inclusion of a goal on peace, justice and governance was hotly debated, targets under this goal could be especially vulnerable.

Another concern that applies across the OWG Outcome Document is that many of the **targets are focused on capacities and processes rather than on actual outcomes**. During OWG discussions, many developing countries favoured a focus on support to institutional capacities. While an emphasis on capacities and processes will be a necessary component of the post-2015 development agenda, there is a risk that such a focus obscures what it is that these capacities and processes are intended to achieve, and also that such goals are disconnected from the lives of citizens across the globe, thereby diminishing accountability. Other targets

are simply **too vague to be actionable** as currently formulated (see, for example, target 16.8), while some targets could even lend themselves to **coercive approaches to security** such as target 16.a, which commits to "building capacities at all levels… for preventing violence and combating terrorism and crime".

2. Global governance and external stresses

Another critical aspect of the OWG debate on the inclusion of peace relates to what developed countries are prepared to do to promote peace and foster good governance. Many developing countries articulated the position that **reform of global governance institutions** is a critical component of any goal on peace, justice and governance on the basis that key global institutions (e.g. the UN Security Council [UNSC] and the International Monetary Fund), which make decisions that have a profound impact on peace and governance around the world, are dominated by a select and unrepresentative group of countries. While target 16.8 alludes to the need for reform of institutions of global governance, this will be a key area of debate once negotiations on the post-2015 development agenda start. Another unresolved question is **how far developed countries are prepared to go in addressing transnational conflict factors**, such as illicit financial flows and the arms trade.[5] While many of these countries have pushed for the inclusion of such issues in the OWG discussions, it is uncertain whether there will be appetite to tackle them when doing so may conflict with other national interests.

Illicit financial flows pour out of developing country economies at a staggering rate. Estimated at roughly $1 trillion per year, they dwarf Official Development Assistance and Foreign Direct Investment.[6]

Targets under Goal 16

16.1 significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere

16.2 end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children

16.3 promote the rule of law at the national and international levels, and ensure equal access to justice for all

16.4 by 2030 significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen recovery and return of stolen assets, and combat all forms of organized crime

16.5 substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all its forms

16.6 develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels

16.7 ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels

16.8 broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance

16.9 by 2030 provide legal identity for all including birth registration

16.10 ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements

16.a strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacities at all levels, in particular in developing countries, for preventing violence and combating terrorism and crime

16.b promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development

3. Modalities for negotiations

There are still several unresolved questions about modalities of the post-2015 negotiations, including:

1. What is the status of the OWG Outcome Document? Will this serve as the 'zero draft' for the post-2015 negotiations?

2. How will the new development agenda be adopted? Will it have to be unanimously agreed?

3. Will there be a place for civil society within the negotiations?

It is expected that many of these issues will be addressed during the 69th UNGA, but their resolution will have obvious and potentially far-reaching implications for the post-2015 negotiations. For example, if the OWG Outcome Document does serve as the zero draft it poses the question of whether the goals and targets should be left as they are or if there should be further revisions – which could result in changes to the goal on peace, justice and governance.

WHY SHOULD PEACE BE INCLUDED?

CURRENT LEVELS OF VIOLENCE MUST BE REDUCED	**FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE WORLD WAR II, MORE THAN 50 MILLION PEOPLE – MORE THAN HALF OF THEM CHILDREN – ARE CURRENTLY FORCIBLY DISPLACED**[7]	**RESPONDING TO VIOLENCE COST US$ 9.46 TRLLION IN 2012**[8]
ERADICATING POVERTY IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT PEACE	**"AN ENVIRONMENT OF STABILITY AND PEACE IS ESSENTIAL FOR DEVELOPMENT"** BRAZIL'S STATEMENT AT THE 8TH OWG MEETING[9]	**BY 2030, 75% OF PEOPLE IN EXTREME POVERTY WILL BE LIVING IN COUNTRIES AT RISK FROM HIGH LEVELS OF VIOLENCE**[10]
PEACE IS A PRIORITY FOR PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD	**AS OF AUGUST 2014, 3.2 MILION PEOPLE HAVE VOTED IN THE MY WORLD SURVEY PLACING 'PROTECTION AGAINST CRIME AND VIOLENCE' 6TH OUT OF 16 PRIORITIES**[11]	**"… PEACE AND SECURITY ARE ESSENTIAL FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE CONTINENT'S DEVELOPMENT ASPIRATIONS"** THE COMMON AFRICAN POSITON[12]
VIOLENT CONFLICT AND INSECURITY HAVE PREVENTED ACHIEVEMENT OF THE MDGs	**A COUNTRY THAT EXPERIENCED MAJOR VIOLENCE BETWEEN 1981 AND 2005 HAS A POVERTY RATE 21% HIGHER THAN A COUNTRY WHICH SAW NO VIOLENCE**[13]	**7 COUNTRIES ARE UNLIKELY TO MEET A SINGLE MDG BY 2015 – ALL OF THESE HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY HIGH LEVELS OF VIOLENCE**[14]
NO COUNTRY IS INVULNERABLE TO VIOLENCE	**OVER HALF A MILLION PEOPLE DIE VIOLENTLY EVERY YEAR**[15]	**LONDON RIOTS IN AUGUST 2011 COST AN ESTIMATED £300 MILLION**[16]

HOW COULD PEACE BE INCLUDED?

If the 'Why peace?' arguments hold, the next question is how peace can be articulated as a coherent set of global policy priorities – in goal, target and indicator format. This is challenging because all incidences of violent conflict and insecurity are complex and need to be addressed in a context-specific way. However, a number of insights have underpinned progress in this debate:

1. Peace is about more than the absence of violence

Sustainable and 'positive' peace depends both on ending violence and on making progress in addressing the drivers of conflict. The absence of violence can mask latent instability – often as a result of unaccountable governance, corruption, impunity and injustice – which can result in political crises, humanitarian emergencies, costly interventions and the derailment of development gains.

2. Peace should focus on preventative approaches to conflict and violence

A preventative developmental approach would complement the more reactive and security-focused institutions in the multilateral architecture (such as the UNSC) and potentially ease the financial burden, as military expenditure on responding to outbreaks of conflict would be reduced.

3. Peace should not lead to coercive approaches to security

Targets that promote peaceful and inclusive societies should emphasise people-centered outcomes such as "people from all social groups feel safe and have confidence in security provision" rather than simply focusing on strengthening the capacities of security forces, such as the police, so as to mitigate the risk of promoting coercive approaches to security.

4. Peace should focus on drivers of conflict that lead to violence

No single factor will inevitably lead to violence in every context; however, there are a number of drivers of conflict that tend to lead to violence in context after context. These include a number of governance-related issues, including vulnerability to insecurity, grievances related to injustice, corruption, competition for resources, poor mechanisms for mediating between competing interests, denial of a say in political processes and inequalities between social groups. Such issues will need to be addressed across the new development framework, not just under a goal on peace, justice and governance.

5. Peace must be broadly owned at country and local level

Promoting sustainable peace is not about what the international community does to individual countries, but what countries do for themselves and how the international community can best support them. Implementation of the peace agenda thus requires broad ownership by all actors involved at the country level. Member States should develop their own baselines and benchmarks for indicators.

6. Peace must be universal

While some countries have been seriously affected by armed conflict, people everywhere face insecurity in their lives. Any goal on peace, justice and governance should look beyond what some Member States refer to as "special situations" and ensure that freedom from fear is promoted in all countries.

7. Focus on outcomes

Targets on peace, justice and governance issues should be framed as outcomes, not processes or capacities, to ensure clarity on their purpose and accountability. While state capacity often plays a critical role in creating peaceful societies, individual targets on this specific issue risk being overly prescriptive and undermining the framework's universality and sensitivity to differences between country contexts.

Vulnerability to violence is a universal issue: London suffers rioting and looting in August 2011. © DEMOTIX
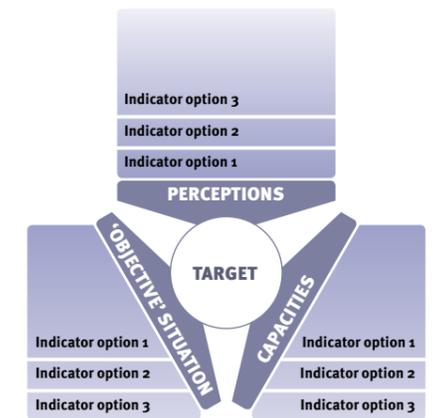
What should targets on peace focus on?

Based on these insights, most actors participating in the debate on these issues – whether in the UN system, across global civil society, between regional and global groupings of Member States and among experts – have recognised the following as core elements of the post-2015 peace agenda:

- Working to **reduce violence**, and ensure the **public feels safe**,
- Ensuring **fair access to justice**,
- Ensuring **access to livelihoods, resources and services** between different social groups,
- Enabling **voice and participation in decision making**, and constructive resolution of grievances,
- Addressing lower levels of **corruption and bribery**,
- Significantly reducing **external stresses** (including flows of arms, drugs, conflict commodities and illicit finance).

Variations on these elements of the peace agenda have been consistently included in almost all key contributions to the post-2015 debate thus far.

How should indicators for targets on peace be designed?

No single indicator can in every context tell a full, fair and reliable story about progress. Peace, justice and governance targets will need to monitored using a basket of indicators that combine:

- **Capacity** – is capacity developing to address the key issue?
- **'Objective' Situation** – do statistical measures of key outcome indicators show that improvements are being achieved?
- **Public Perception** – do people feel that the situation is improving?

None of these indicators will by itself present a full, reliable picture but, when combined, each indicator type can validate the other – helping to avoid misleading results and perverse incentives. It is crucially important that peacebuilding indicators in the post-2015 development framework are not reduced to one or two 'catch-all' proxies that are supposed to show progress in addressing violent conflict and insecurity.

An example can help to clarify this: to measure progress in the thematic area of justice, increases in the capacity of the judicial system (such as the number of judges per violent death) are a step in the right direction. As improvements in justice take time to be achieved in practice, **capacity indicators** help show and give credit for the level of progress that is being made. But the effects of this capacity in terms of improved judicial performance will not be clear unless clarified by improvement in an **'objective' situation indicator** (such as a criminal justice score that includes measures of effectiveness, timeliness, impartiality, due process and the rights of the accused or rights violations). However, such statistics are often politicised and can be manipulated. Therefore, a **perceptions-based indicator** showing how the public actually feels about their judicial system can validate trends in the indicators on capacity and the objective situation – illustrating whether the ultimate outcome is actually being attained.

Indicator option 3
Indicator option 2
Indicator option 1
PERCEPTIONS

TARGET

'OBJECTIVE' SITUATION   CAPACITIES

Indicator option 1
Indicator option 2
Indicator option 3

Indicator option 1
Indicator option 2
Indicator option 3

RESPONDING TO CONCERNS ABOUT PEACE

"We also reaffirm the importance of freedom, peace and security, respect for all human rights, including the right to development and the right to an adequate standard of living, including the right to food, the rule of law, gender equality, women's empowerment and the overall commitment to just and democratic societies for development."
The Future We Want, 2012[22]

	CONCERN 1			RESPONSE 1		
"Inserting security issues in the discussion about the post-2015 development agenda … runs the risk of jeopardizing a process that can be extremely beneficial to development." Brazil and Nicaragua at OWG 8[17]	**The inclusion of peace will lead to 'securitisation' of the development agenda**	Including peace could put the broader development framework at risk of becoming securitised – i.e. aid being used to advance the national security agendas of particular states rather than to promote people's development.		**There is plenty of scope to frame peace-related goals and targets to mitigate any such risk**	The concerns about 'securitisation' are well founded. However, rather than rejecting the inclusion of peace, constructive engagement by Member States that are apprehensive about the peace agenda could help to ensure that this risk is mitigated. This could be achieved by careful framing of peace-related targets, in particular, ensuring that they focus on people's security – while avoiding issues of national security and international peace and security.	"This is not about the securitization of development. We maintain that peace and stability are critical for the reduction of poverty, the least developed countries and sustainable development." South Africa at OWG10[23]

	CONCERN 2			RESPONSE 2		
"The discussion of relevant issues should not involve internal affairs… In the context of the post-2015 development agenda, the discussion of such issues should be carried out in terms of how to create an enabling environment for peace and development for developing countries at international levels and avoid dwelling too much upon internal mechanisms." China's statement at the PGA's Thematic Debate on "Ensuring Peaceful and Stable Societies"[18]	**A goal on peace could lead to the violation of countries' sovereignty**	Including peace might give scope for external interference on issues which are the responsibility of the state. Some have even cautioned that incorporating peace in the framework will open the door to more militaristic interventions.		**Implementation of the post-2015 framework will occur at country and local level, so will not legitimise external intervention**	The post-2015 development framework is about how individual countries can help themselves – rather than what the international community can impose. Implementation of all goals and targets will take place at country and local level, through the collective actions of domestic leaders, officials, civil society and the wider public. As it is a non-binding commitment, nothing in the post-2015 development framework will provide any legal basis for military intervention.	"We recognise that national ownership is essential if we are to tackle these challenges effectively. We need to take into account different contexts and capacities." EU at OW8[24] "It should be clear that States retain their sovereign prerogatives to ensure peace and stability within their borders." UK, Netherlands and Australia at OWG8[25]

	CONCERN 3			RESPONSE 3		
"Can we be assured… that this would not translate into new conditionalities for the flow of international aid and the diversion of funds away from poverty eradication and human development to security-related activities?" India's statement at the PGA's Thematic Debate on "Ensuring Stable and Peaceful Societies"[19]	**Peace-related targets could translate into new aid conditionalities**	Peace-related targets, on issues like good governance and human rights, could enable donors to impose conditionalities on aid recipients, which proponents of this view regard as interference and an abuse of aid.		**Aid conditionalities are a consequence of the relationship between individual donors and aid recipients**	Targets for the reduction of violence or increased safety, for example, imply an extension of aid conditionality no more than targets for issues like maternal health or malaria reduction. As was the case with the MDGs, the post-2015 development framework will be a non-binding commitment by all the world's countries to work together to meet development challenges, not a list of conditions for countries to meet before aid is delivered. Looking back at the experience of the MDGs, it is evident that conditionalities were a consequence of the relationship between individual donors and aid recipients – rather than the MDGs themselves. The need to ensure that relations between donor and recipient countries reflect genuine partnership could be addressed under a goal on means of implementation.	"The post-2015 framework is not a legally-binding treaty and it should not compete with, replicate, or seek to re-negotiate existing legally binding documents, but it should be aligned with, and be underpinned by, those standards." UK, Netherlands and Australia at OWG6[26]

	CONCERN 4			RESPONSE 4		
"Issues of peace and security should not be at the core of this debate, so as not to deviate our focus from dealing with the essential social, economic and environmental challenges of sustainable development." Brazil and Nicaragua at OWG 8[20]	**Peace is not included in the Rio+20 agenda, which sets the parameters for post-2015**	The Rio+20 outcome document is based on three pillars: economic development, social development and environmental protection. It does not include a specific pillar or goal on peace, security, justice or governance, so there is no mandate to include such issues with the SDGs.[21]		**Promoting peaceful societies will strengthen and build on the Rio+20 agenda for sustainable development**	The peace agenda should not be seen to displace or weaken the focus on sustainable development. As the Rio Declaration of 1992 states in Principle 25: "Peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible." And while there is consensus that the post-2015 agenda should be framed by the three pillars of Rio+20, it was not intended that these should be used to delimit the post-2015 development framework when the Rio+20 outcomes were agreed in 2012. The new framework will reflect a broader conception of sustainable development that is informed by the outcome document from the OWG on SDGs, as well as a range of other inputs including the UN Task Team Report, the High-Level Panel Report, the UN Global Compact Report and the My World Survey. Finally, it should be reaffirmed that the Rio+20 agenda will be impossible to achieve without reducing violent conflict and insecurity.	"… we see the need to reaffirm that Peace and Security, Human Rights and Development remain the three pillars of the UN System and that these pillars remain inter-linked. In addressing the existing global challenges it is important that we adopt a holistic approach that takes into account these inter-linkages among the three components of the UN." South Africa at OWG11[27]

"We will spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law, as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development."
UN Millennium Declaration, 2000[33]

"We must tackle economic and social inequalities and exclusion; strengthen good and inclusive governance; fight against all forms of discrimination and forge unity in diversity through democratic practices and mechanisms at the local, national and continental levels."
Common African Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda, 2014[35]

"… the role of addressing these series of issues has been addressed in their appropriate context, which is through the Security Council, Peace Building Commission and other relevant United Nations' bodies handling peace and security."
China, Indonesia and Kazakhstan at OWG 8[28]

CONCERN 5
Peace issues are already dealt with by the existing peace and security architecture

Peace and security are already being addressed by other more appropriate UN organs, so the post-2015 development framework does not need to focus on such issues. Linked to this is an apprehension that the inclusion of peace could lead to the mandates of various UN organs being reconfigured – opening the door for UNSC interference on development issues. This is a particular concern as many perceive the UNSC as unrepresentative and in urgent need of reform.

RESPONSE 5
Including peace within post-2015 will help reduce violence and insecurity through a preventative approach that addresses root causes of conflict

Including peace in the post-2015 development framework is not about reconfiguring existing institutional responsibilities; it is about mainstreaming a preventative approach within development – addressing a significant gap in current approaches. A preventative approach could ease the burden on other parts of the UN system by reducing the frequency of conflicts, helping to reduce the costs of peacekeeping and crisis response, and lessening controversy regarding these issues between Member States.

"We do not disagree with those who believe that the Security Council or Peacebuilding Commission have important roles in maintaining peace and stability. But, they are tools contributing to a peace goal – they are a means, not the end. And, they cannot by themselves achieve this goal sustainably. Building institutions, developing a peaceful and stable society requires long-term development, commitment and investment, well beyond the scope of these bodies."
Timor-Leste at OWG10[38]

"… conflicts start from poverty and inequalities."
China, Indonesia and Kazakhstan at OWG 8[29]

"The grievances that often lead to conflict … are driven largely by a sense of deprivation linked to absence of development."
India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka at OWG 8[30]

"… the main cause of conflict and instability in many societies across the world is poverty."
Southern African countries at OWG 11[31]

CONCERN 6
Development leads to peace, not vice-versa

It is accepted that peace, security and development are inter-connected, but this is essentially a one-way relationship. Underdevelopment, poverty and inequality are key drivers of conflict, so prioritising these issues in the post-2015 development framework will contribute to peace.

RESPONSE 6
Peace is essential for sustainable development, and vice-versa

Sustainable development should be at the core of the new development framework. However, there is a two-way relationship between development and peace – a one-direction approach that seeks to achieve either peace or development in insolation will achieve neither sustainable development nor peaceful and inclusive societies.

Although it is evident that economic development can take place in insecure, corrupt or non-inclusive societies, at the same time, such progress is rarely sustained for long periods. Moreover, development programmes that ignore internal conflict dynamics may, in fact, exacerbate them. When one considers the pillars of sustainable development – including social development and environmental protection, as well as economic development – there is overwhelming evidence that it is much harder to achieve development in contexts seriously affected by violence. The post-2015 development framework should be based on the best evidence of what will lead to sustainable development.

"… addressing conflict prevention, post conflict peacebuilding, and promotion of durable peace, rule of law and governance is critical for the achievement of sustainable development."
Uganda at OWG8[39]

"Only by recognizing the interconnectedness of peace and security, human rights and development will we be able to achieve sustainable development."
EU's statement at the PGA's Thematic Debate on "Human Security and the Post-2015 Development Agenda"[40]

"Conflict is case-specific and does not invite sweeping generalizations or 'one-size-fits-all' formulae."
Brazil and Nicaragua at OWG 8[32]

CONCERN 7
A goal on peace will only be relevant and applicable to a minority of countries

The post-2015 development agenda must be universally applicable, but a peace goal and targets apply only to a particular sub-set of countries that suffer from armed conflict.[34]

A variant on this argument is that the conditions that underpin conflict are context-specific, and are not amenable to the universal approaches of the post-2015 development framework.

RESPONSE 7
All Member States have progress to make on peace

Many targets will be more applicable to certain Member States than to others. For example, the number of maternal deaths in Sweden in 2013 was 4 per 100,000 versus Sierra Leone's 1,100 per 100,000.[36] The fact that some Member States have more progress to make on certain issues than others does not invalidate the issue as a universal aspiration.

Outbreaks of violence, riots and upheavals around the world in recent years have highlighted that it is not only so-called "conflict-affected and fragile states" that suffer from violence and insecurity. Indeed, the reality is that one in four of the world's people – many of them living in stable middle-income countries – live in areas affected by political and criminal violence.[37] So, all Member States need to make progress on peace. The concern that targets on peace issues may be overly prescriptive can be mitigated: firstly, by ensuring that they focus on genuinely universal key issues; secondly, by designing targets so that they are outcome-orientated – enabling Member States to decide how best to make progress.

"All research and development experience shows that peace and stability in a society … are at the very heart of successful development experiences."
Timor-Leste and São Tomé and Príncipe at OWG 10[41]

"… no country around the world is free from violence – certainly not my own country – and all countries therefore have an interest in promoting freedom from violence and peaceful societies."
Timor-Leste and São Tomé and Príncipe at OWG 10[42]

"Sustainable development in least developed countries is closely linked to peace and security... Progress in achieving internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals, and towards sustained, inclusive and equitable economic growth and sustainable development has been slowest in least developed countries affected by conflicts."
Istanbul Plan of Action for Least Developed Countries, 2011[48]

"We support the perspective, articulated most prominently by our g7+ countries, that the MDGs cannot be achieved in small, landlocked or conflict affected states in the absence of peace, stability and the rule of law. We affirm the need for our development efforts to be underpinned by universal principles of respect for human rights, fairness, justice and peace."
Dili Consensus, 2013, 2011[49]

WHICH OF THESE ARE MOST IMPORTANT FOR YOU AND YOUR FAMILY?

3,795,307 VOTES
AS OF 19 AUGUST

http://data.myworld2015.org/

"The suggested targets reflect, in our view, a selective approach, especially that it ignored major concerns of security and stability, in our region where we belong, particularly foreign occupation, terrorism, the arms race and the proliferation of nuclear weapons."
Egypt at OWG 10[43]

"… the overarching and global issues of disarmament, particularly nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass-destruction should be addressed."
Nigeria at OWG 10[44]

CONCERN 8

The framing of the peace agenda is selective and limiting

In order genuinely to address conflict and insecurity, the post-2015 development framework will need to consider issues such as military interventionism, nuclear disarmament, military expenditure, and unilaterally-imposed sanctions, as well as institutional issues such as global governance reform.

RESPONSE 8

Development can contribute to resolving 'hard security' issues through a preventative approach

An open dialogue about issues such as interventionism, military expenditure, nuclear arms and sanctions is important – as is ensuring that global institutions are fit for purpose. Nevertheless, some aspects of the broader peace agenda are clearly within the mandate of institutions that focus on 'hard security' or international peace and security; and to discuss them within the context of the post-2015 development framework could duplicate the work of other bodies and be so polarising that it undermines efforts to build consensus around a transformative agenda. Notwithstanding these points, linkages do exist. The post-2015 framework should contribute to resolving these harder security issues through endorsing and promoting an upstream preventative approach to violent conflict and insecurity.

"… not convinced that peace and governance can be targeted and measured in ways that are consensual."
Brazil at OWG 8[45]

"… what are international agreed methodologies and frameworks to begin, to measure, to monitor and to evaluate them [peace-related targets] with?"
Iran at OWG 10[46]

CONCERN 9

Peace targets cannot be measured

Targets related to peace, security, justice or governance cannot be reliably measured – either due to the lack of appropriate datasets and/or state capacity to measure such targets – so they should not feature in the post-2015 development framework.
Furthermore, it is not possible to measure peace-related targets in a way that reflects and respects the particular political, economic and social trajectories of different countries.

RESPONSE 9

Peace can be measured – though investment will be required to strengthen data-collecting capacities

It is true that peace is not a straightforward phenomenon to measure, and in many cases data is limited. However, a surprising amount of data is available on relevant issues already, and work is being done to further develop credible targets and indicators, all of which demonstrate what is possible.[50] For example, African statisticians from 24 National Statistic Offices recently came together under the auspices of the AU and UN Development Programme to share and discuss innovative, nationally owned efforts to measure peace-related targets.[51] However, sustained investment in capacities to collect data, especially those in the Global South, will be critical if progress on peace-related targets is to be measured.

"… the lenses of security can indirectly contribute to promoting the discriminatory idea that violence and instability only exist in poor or less developed regions."
Brazil and Nicaragua at OWG 10[47]

CONCERN 10

The inclusion of peace-related targets will stigmatise certain countries

Peace-related targets encourage 'name and shame' approaches, which will make certain countries look as though they are failing to make progress on the SDGs. Some of these countries are tackling domestic insecurity and violence but resist peace-related targets such as violence reduction as they don't wish for international focus on issues that they find challenging domestically.

RESPONSE 10

Post-2015 targets are about highlighting the challenges that countries face and how they can be addressed

The MDGs were not about 'naming and shaming'. They sought to focus attention on the developmental challenges countries were facing and how to address them – with the support of the international community where necessary. The post-2015 development framework is intended to play a similar role, galvanising and directing attention to key development challenges – while recognising that it should apply to all Member States and not just to developing countries.
Although peace-related targets could highlight domestic issues that some governments would prefer hidden (e.g. high rates of violence), building more peaceful and inclusive societies is a priority for citizens across the world – and thus should not be rejected by Member States worried about their international reputations. Indeed, many conflict-affected states are calling for a focus on peace-related issues, even though such an emphasis could highlight negative aspects of their development, arguing that they cannot make development progress without support on peace issues.

A good education

Better healthcare

An honest and responsive government

Better job opportunities

Affordable and nutritious food

Protection against crime and violence

Access to clean water and sanitation

Equality between men and women

Support for people who can't work

Freedom from discrimination and persecution

Reliable energy at home

Better transport and roads

Protecting forests, rivers and oceans

Political freedoms

Phone and internet access

Action taken on climate change
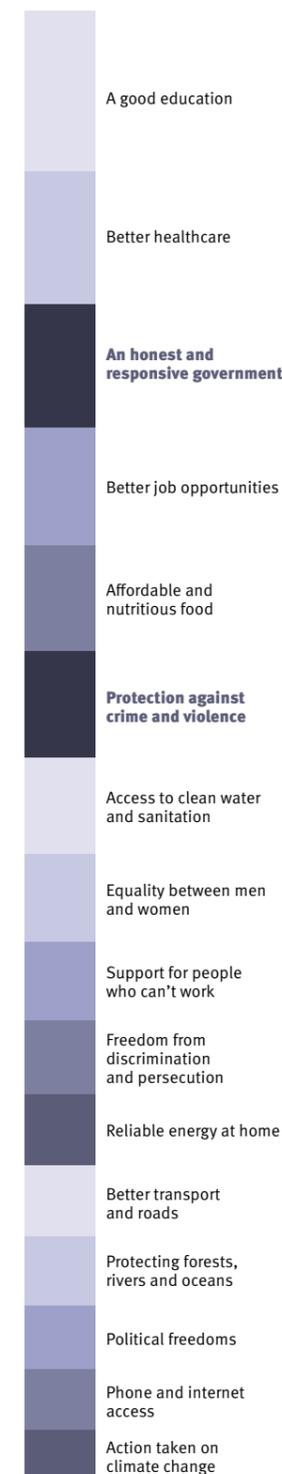
BUILDING CONSENSUS FOR PEACE

UN Member States agree that **poverty reduction must be at the centre of a universal post-2015 framework**, and that it should promote sustainable development. While there is growing consensus that violent conflict and insecurity obstruct such efforts, **differences remain on whether and how to promote peace** through the post-2015 framework.

Although there is some overlap between them, **Member States have typically articulated one of the following four positions:**

POSITION 1: Reject any reference to peace in the goals and targets, arguing it has no place in a development framework.

POSITION 2: Oppose a goal but support the inclusion of targets explicitly focused on peace in other goal areas alongside targets that address the socio-economic causes of violent conflict and insecurity.

POSITION 3: Support at least one goal, which focuses on issues of peace and governance together as a related set of issues.

POSITION 4: Support two goals, one on peace and one on governance, pointing to their priority for development and the array of issues that must be addressed by each goal.

The **vast majority of Member States position themselves in groups 2, 3 and 4**. This provides a solid foundation for building a more comprehensive consensus on peace, which is critical as only genuine commitment by the widest cross-section of countries rather than a grudging acceptance on paper will ensure that the post-2015 development is both legitimate and effective.

Moreover, while the OWG Outcome Document does contain many elements that would support sustainable peace, it could be significantly strengthened, so **Member States should deliberate on how to make a goal on promoting peaceful and inclusive societies more effective**.

PRINCIPLES

There are substantive concerns about the potential effects of including peace in the post-2015 development agenda. To mitigate some of these concerns, all Member States could articulate a **set of principles** that clearly set out what a goal on peace is – and is not – about. These could affirm that:

■ Sustainable development in all countries is at risk from violent conflict and insecurity, and a new development framework can help to reduce these risks through a holistic approach;

■ While they can contribute to global peace, efforts to promote peaceful societies and people's security within countries are distinct from the formal mandate and powers of the UNSC;

■ Addressing peace in the post-2015 framework will have no impact on state sovereignty and will draw on existing international norms and agreements;

■ The implementation of the post-2015 development agenda will be guided by the principle of inclusive country ownership;

■ Addressing peace through the framework will be based on a preventative approach to violent conflict and insecurity that contributes to global peace initiatives and complements existing institutions such as the UN Peacebuilding Commission;

■ Peace is a universal agenda, in support of which developed countries are ready to join with all nations to take actions that may challenge their other policy priorities, such as on illicit financial flows.

People all around the world see peace as essential to their well being. Young boys in Mogadishu, Somalia. © SAFERWORLD

HOW TO GET TO PEACE

Using this set of principles as a guiding narrative, there are several measures that could be taken by different groups of Member States in order to secure agreement on a framework that is effective in promoting peace.

EMPHASISE THE DEMAND FOR THE INCLUSION OF PEACE: Member States belonging to positions 3 and 4 should demonstrate that the vast majority of countries support the inclusion of peace, justice and governance issues at a goal-level within the post-2015 development agenda – as well as the depth of public support.

AGREE ON A LIMITED NUMBER OF PRIORITY TARGETS: Member States articulating positions 3 and 4 must agree on a limited number of priority targets to fall under a goal on peace that will be most effective in promoting peaceful societies. While acknowledging that there is significant room for improvement, Member States should use the targets from goal 16 of the OWG Outcome Document to form the basis of this discussion.

BUILD ON TARGETS WHERE THERE IS CONSENSUS: Based on statements during the OWG, it is clear that there are targets where consensus can be attained between Member States expressing support for position 2 and those Member States adhering to positions 3 and 4.

MAKE CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON HOW TARGETS CAN ADDRESS PEACE UNDER OTHER GOALS: Using the OWG Outcome Document as a basis, Member States expressing support for position 2 should make concrete proposals for targets in other goal areas that will promote peace through a developmental approach and ensure that the framework addresses peace in a holistic and cross-cutting way.

KEEP REFINING TARGETS ON PEACE: As noted, many of the individual targets from the OWG Outcome Document can be significantly improved. All Member States need to ensure that the agreed peace related-targets:

1. Address the **key drivers** of conflict and not only their symptoms

2. Focus on outcomes for people and will **not lead to securitisation** of the development agenda

3. **Do not prescribe** the means to achieve the agreed targets

4. Are truly **universal** and not context specific

5. Are based on **widely accepted evidence**

6. Are **measurable** through a basket of indicators

DEMONSTRATE THE MEASURABILITY OF PRIORITY TARGETS: Member States articulating positions 3 and 4 should demonstrate the measurability of their priority targets, commit to supporting the development of capacity to measure them at national level in developing countries and should also highlight the kind of actions they would take in their own countries to address these issues.

ADDRESS SYSTEMIC ISSUES: All states must collectively examine systemic issues – including **external stresses** and **global governance**. This should involve agreement on what can be addressed directly by the framework through individual targets and what should not be linked to this agenda (as well as ways in which the post-2015 framework can catalyse action to address excluded issues through other frameworks and institutions).

REITERATE THE INTERCONNECTEDNESS OF PEACE AND GOVERNANCE ISSUES: As previously stated, peace and governance issues are intrinsically connected. Member States supportive of the inclusion of peace within the post-2015 development agenda should continually reaffirm these linkages while protecting key governance-related targets. Failure to do so will likely result in a framework that is ineffective in promoting peace.

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We are a not-for-profit organisation that works in over 20 countries and territories across Africa, Asia and Europe.

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- *Peace and the post-2015 development agenda: Understanding the Brazilian perspective*
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