EMERGING
CONSENSUS:
Building Agreement for the Post-2015 Agenda

A Save the Children Discussion Paper

Save the Children

Save the Children works in more than 120 countries.
We save children's lives. We fight for their rights.
We help them fulfill their potential.

CONTENTS

Malawi: Three-year-old Pilirani Fadson plays football at the Thundu preschool, in Maulidi Village, Zomba.

INTRODUCTION

This is a momentous time. The international community is less than one year away from reaching final agreement on a new set of global development goals that can change lives profoundly over the next 15 years, and beyond. We are currently two years into deliberations on what the contours of these goals and targets, the successors to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), should look like.

Given the gains made through the MDGs, there continues to be enormous global interest in shaping the post-2015 development agenda, and there have been a broad variety of streams of input into the process thus far. Negotiations on the post-2015 agenda are rightly considered among the most democratic and collaborative in the history of the United Nations. With more than 100 country consultations and thematic debates, a High-Level Panel of experts from across the Global North and South, a global survey that has reached over 5 million people, and 13 meetings of UN Member States through the deliberations of the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development, enormous effort has been put into setting the next round of global development priorities.[1]

Given the rich variety of different perspectives on what the global development agenda should look like for the next 15 years, it is only natural that commentators have often gravitated toward focusing on potential disputes and disagreements. *Is such a sweeping new agenda really feasible? Can extreme poverty actually be eliminated? Will negotiations between UN member states produce a clear and limited set of goals with measurable targets that will mobilize social, economic, and environmental action in every country across the world?* These are difficult questions that need to be resolved if we are to agree on an agenda that works.

WHAT DO THE PEOPLE WANT?

As part of the post-2015 process, the United Nations has solicited broad public input through the "My World" survey, which has reached more than 5 million respondents to date. The surveys ask individuals to list six of 16 possible issues that would make the most difference to their lives and those of their families. The 16 issues were identified from priorities expressed by poor people in existing research and polling exercises, as well as from the contours of on-going technical and political discussions about possible future goals. So what were the needs most identified by the public? While the results varied by location and respondent group (age, gender, etc.), the top four priorities were the same for women and men worldwide: good education, health, jobs, and governance, with each of these four options chosen by over 50 percent of all participants. Other highly popular priorities included: access to clean water and sanitation; affordable and nutritious food; protection against crime and violence; the protection of forests, rivers, and oceans; freedom from discrimination and persecution; equality between women and men; and, support for people who cannot work. Notably, some of the most popular targets relating to good governance, protection against crime and violence, and freedom from discrimination have been the more controversial among UN Member States. "The World We Want" is also doing an SDG Scorecard, asking people to score the OWG's 17 goals.

See the survey at **Vote.myworld2015.org,** *which is one way to engage in the post-2015 process through "The World We Want" UN-civil society partnership:* **www.worldwewant2015.org**

The aim of this discussion paper, ahead of the release of the UN Secretary-General's Synthesis Report, is to highlight those goals and target areas that have appeared across major inputs to the UN and are moving us towards agreement and consensus. In addition, the paper identifies those goal areas that we believe need more discussion and commitment among member states in the inter-governmental negotiations next year.

The process to date offers much to celebrate, in terms of both landmark process and degree of consensus and confluence of opinion on many of the major elements of the post-2015 agenda. At the same time, important issues remain unresolved. This paper attempts to take stock of the most notable inputs into the process to date. Despite some areas of contention, the agreement has been considerable in every in-depth look at potential goals and targets, and if this momentum holds we have the potential to deliver an ambitious and focused new development framework in 2015 that is based on the fundamental principles of equal opportunity, with far-reaching implications for people and the planet.

Save the Children has pursued this research because we have noted an analytical gap and lack of attention around synthesizing and comparing major contributions to this UN process. While Save the Children has put forth our own recommended goal framework to the UN entitled, *"Framework for the Future: Ending Poverty in a Generation,"* we also felt that a comparative analysis was needed across different inputs.[2] This analysis does not seek to define or refine Save the Children's recommendations for the new agenda; rather it is intended as a descriptive overview of where agreement has been reached – a thought provoker rather than new policy.

In preparing our analysis, we reviewed key inputs to the post-2015 agenda:

- The Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (OWG) report;

- The report of the UN Secretary-General's High Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (HLP);

- The Common African Position (CAP);

- Sustainable Development Solutions Network's *Action Agenda for Sustainable Development* (SDSN); and

- Save the Children's *Framework for the Future: Ending Poverty in a Generation*[3]

While each of these major reports differs in its style, form, and presentation, as well as its relative political weight and influence in the post-2015 process, a comparison of their respective priorities offers important insights into the common ground as we head into the final year of negotiations on the post-2015 agenda.

There are large parts of the agenda on which all five reports agree, often with a surprising measure of specificity. That is not to diminish areas where real differences remain, but to underscore that a common measure of ambition – and understanding of how best to achieve that ambition – is increasingly emerging. A side-by-side comparison is also instructive in highlighting areas of potential agreement where variations of different proposals have been presented. It also shows additional areas where more work needs to be done. Perhaps most usefully, the comparisons presented in this paper enable the reader to understand where these five inputs stand in relation to the post-2015 development agenda and to consider a fairly complex set of options in a straightforward fashion.

We acknowledge that at this stage in the process, the OWG report carries significant weight and legitimacy, being born out of a member state negotiation. The September 10th UN General Assembly resolution stated that the OWG proposal, "shall be the main basis for integrating sustainable development goals into the post-2015 development agenda." However, while the OWG report is the basis for negotiations going forward, we believe that the other reports are also important and relevant inputs into the process.

For the purposes of this paper, we have broken down the different clusters of goals and targets that appear in these major post-2015 inputs into four broad groupings:

1. **Areas of Consensus** – those areas where agreement was reached and where there will likely be less debate going forward;

2. **Similar Visions** – goals and targets where different variations in language have been proposed, but where intentions are often overlapping and there is more agreement than there are differences;

3. **More Work to be Done** – a few well-known areas of disagreement, although even here important areas of agreement have been found; and

4. **Linchpin issues** – where we believe special focus should be given in the final year of negotiations, given the chance for impact.

AREAS OF CONSENSUS

This section consists of goals and targets that appear in all five post-2015 frameworks with almost identical headline language, with minor differences in the details. In other words, this list reflects areas that are very close to agreement among major stakeholders at this juncture. Many of the priorities in this category reflect a continuation and expansion of the work of the MDGs, such as ending extreme poverty and ending preventable child and maternal deaths. However, it is important to note that there are a number of new priorities for the post-2015 agenda for which all five inputs have expressed clear and similar support, including ending violence against children and reducing illicit financial flows. All of these issues have salience for countries across the development spectrum, and provide an important core of consensus on which member states can build toward a final agreement in 2015.

Ending extreme poverty: Ending extreme income poverty appears as a cornerstone in all five frameworks, and in many ways it is the over-arching goal on which all the five frameworks are ultimately based. Finishing the job of the MDGs and ending extreme poverty for all has accurately been seen as a crucial step in ensuring that no one is left behind in the new development agenda. While a lively debate may ensue on whether the poverty threshold should be set at $1.25 or $2 a day, with Save the Children pushing for greater ambition, consensus has emerged that ending extreme poverty is a shared priority. That alone is an important step in the right direction.

Ending hunger and malnutrition: There is consensus across all the frameworks on the need to end hunger, and each of them includes the importance of addressing malnutrition, which is a key dimension of extreme poverty. There is broad agreement that dramatically reducing stunting is an important target in this regard, as is addressing anemia and wasting in children under five, in line with World Health Assembly targets. With less specificity, the frameworks also stress the right of everyone to access sufficient, affordable and nutritious food, with a focus on vulnerable populations, including children under the age of five, pregnant and lactating women, and girls of childbearing age. Ensuring food systems are stable and sustainable and producing enough nutritious foods are also focused on in all the frameworks.

Ending preventable maternal and child deaths and improving health more broadly: While there are differences in the levels of ambition in dealing with these concerns, every framework calls for an end to preventable maternal, child, and/or newborn deaths. The OWG, HLP, and Save the Children reports have targets on ending preventable infant and under-five deaths. The CAP, OWG, and Save the Children frameworks mention newborns specifically. In addition to maternal and child mortality, all the frameworks support broad health ambitions beyond finishing the job on the MDGs, including targets to address communicable diseases (HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria), neglected tropical diseases, and non-communicable diseases. There is also strong support for universal health coverage in all of the frameworks, appearing either as a target or in the narrative.

Providing all girls and boys with equitable access to quality education and lifelong learning: Across all five frameworks there is a strong focus on equity, quality, and relevant learning outcomes. The main emphasis of all the frameworks is on ensuring access to quality pre-primary, primary, and secondary education leading to measurable learning outcomes. There is also unanimous recognition of the importance of early childhood development as well as technical and vocational skills for work and life. Ensuring inclusive education for children with disabilities, progress on gender parity, and sufficient numbers of trained teachers are prioritized in four of the five reports. The OWG, SDSN, and Save the Children frameworks stress the need for safe learning environments.[4] Save the Children's report also calls for target language focused on reducing the learning gaps between advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Providing all people with access to safe drinking water, sanitation, and hygiene: There is agreement across these five frameworks on the need for universal access to safe drinking water and sanitation. All of the inputs also stress improving water quality and management by reducing pollution and the release of harmful chemicals. The CAP emphasizes the need to deal with water issues and sanitation in both urban and rural areas. The OWG, HLP, and Save the Children support the need to end open defecation, with obvious links to sanitation, health, and environmental concerns.

Ending all forms of violence against children: All the frameworks explicitly state the need to end exploitation and abuses against children, including child marriage. While all five reports call for an end to violence against children, this appears in the OWG and HLP reports under the peace goal, while it is found in the CAP and SDSN reports as "ending violence against women and children" under the gender equality goal. Save the Children calls for a stand-alone goal on ending violence against girls and boys and for specific measures, including an end to sexual violence and harmful practices, violent discipline, unnecessary separation of children from parents, and hazardous child work, as well as ensuring child protection in conflicts and disasters.

Gender equality and ending all forms of violence and discrimination against women and girls: Support for increasing women's participation in political, economic, and public life is expressed in all of the frameworks, as is promoting equal opportunities for political leadership for women and ending violence against women and girls. Four of the frameworks have a stand-alone gender equality goal, and the CAP has a section on gender equality and women's empowerment. Equal access to economic assets and financial services, with land tenure noted as particularly important, also appears across the frameworks, usually under some combination of gender and inclusive economic growth goals.

Providing women with equal rights to economic resources: Overlapping significantly with the cluster above, across all five frameworks there is an emphasis on the equal right of women, particularly the poor and vulnerable, to earn, own, and inherit economic assets.[5] The CAP expresses this right in terms of "ensuring their access to, and ownership of, land and other productive assets, credit, and extension services and training."

Reducing illicit financial and arms flows: There is unanimity across the five frameworks on the importance of some variation of ending tax evasion, illicit financial flows, and the illicit flow of arms, and better managing natural resources in conflict-prone countries. Recovering illicit financial flows appears in all the frameworks and is also seen as instrumental in capturing assets that can be used to finance development.

Fulfilling Official Development Assistance (ODA) commitments: While ODA is a smaller proportion of the total funds committed to development than in the past, it remains a crucial means of support in low-income countries, especially the Least Developed Countries (LDCs). All of the frameworks contain language reflecting the need for strong ODA commitments from developed countries to finance the future agenda. Each framework specifically mentions the need for developed countries that have made such a pledge to meet their existing commitment of providing 0.7 percent of their gross national income (GNI) to development assistance. Additionally, a number of the frameworks urge that a significant percentage of these resources, 0.15-0.20 percent, be directly channeled to the LDCs, as per the Istanbul Programme of Action.

Nepal: Friends six-year-old Saraswati and five-year-old Mamata attend pre-school together at the Seto Gurans Bal Batika Early Childhood Development Centre, Kundule, Baglung.

SIMILAR VISIONS

The goals and targets in this section are fundamentally variations of similar themes, expressing very similar intentions but either using different words to describe the challenge or applying different methods to address it. While there is overlap and agreement generally, more clarity should be provided at the target and indicator level to bring shared aspirations into alignment.

National poverty lines, relative poverty and inequality: All the frameworks focus on the need to reduce relative poverty and to address income and social inequalities, but each takes a slightly different approach to this underlying challenge. The CAP calls for "inclusive growth that reduces inequality," but does not set specific numeric targets in that regard. All the other frameworks call for reductions in poverty by either a set amount or against a nationally determined percentage in relation to the national poverty line. The OWG report calls for sustaining income growth of the bottom 40 percent of the population at a rate higher than the national average by 2030, while the SDSN framework calls for reducing by half the proportion of households with incomes less than half of the national median income. The OWG includes other strategies for tackling inequality, including ending discrimination and enabling social, economic, and political empowerment across all social groups. Save the Children calls for a target to reduce relative poverty and income inequality, to be set at the national level, as well as interim "stepping stone" targets across all goal areas to ensure we are meeting the needs of the furthest behind first and closing the gaps between advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The debate on this issue reflects two challenging aspects of the process: the degree to which global goals can be designed to translate to the national context; and the lack of disaggregated data to allow for an accurate understanding of how inequality manifests in each national context.

Social protection: All the frameworks explicitly state the need for improved and expanded social protection systems, but none defines the term or details how improvements in such systems should be measured across countries. This vagueness may reflect a lack of consensus on which social protection systems have been most effective. It also shows the need for all countries to have the flexibility to design these systems in ways that are relevant and appropriate to their national contexts. Programs that include a combination of cash transfers, food rations, food for work, and school feeding have had demonstrated impact in some contexts while less so in others. The OWG and Save the Children reports propose that universal social protection systems and floors be established.

Leading healthy lives: Every framework contains the need for universal and equitable access to health services, although the HLP addresses this in its narrative rather than its targets, and the CAP calls for universal coverage of key interventions. Save the Children's framework calls on each country to achieve universal coverage of essential interventions and services with financial protection, defined at the national level according to priority needs and implemented through a strengthened health system. Three frameworks – the OWG, SDSN, and Save the Children – mention the need for financial risk protection to ensure that all people receive quality health services without suffering financial hardship. SDSN, HLP, OWG, and Save the Children all refer to the importance of universal access to essential health services. Other targets to ensure healthy lives appear in the frameworks, such as skilled birth attendance (OWG and Save the Children), treatment of substance abuse (OWG and SDSN), reducing the health burden from cook stoves (Save the Children), and reducing tobacco use (OWG and SDSN).

Resilience and vulnerability: All the frameworks have targets that include language on strengthening resilience, especially to climate shocks and natural disasters, and all the frameworks, with the exception of the CAP, have targets on reducing deaths and economic loss due to disaster. The CAP, OWG, and Save the Children have language on reducing the impact of natural disasters on vulnerable populations and

developing early warning systems. This is another area, similar to social protection assistance, that could benefit from more specific global targets that would enable countries to develop robust country-specific targets.

Food productivity and efficiency: Increasing sustainable food production (agricultural and fish stock) and reducing food waste are elements common to all the frameworks. While the OWG and HLP reports provide concrete targets, such as doubling agricultural productivity and reducing post-harvest loss and food waste, these targets do not appear across all the frameworks. The CAP focuses on agricultural infrastructure, modernization, and improved linkages between the agriculture and industrial sectors. The SDSN report provides measurable indicators such as the crop yield gap and the global food loss indicator. There is also similarity on how the frameworks describe sustainable practices: efficient use of water, soil, and energy; adaption to climate change and disaster; rebuilding fish stocks; increasing small- holder yields; and encouraging investment in agriculture infrastructure.

Creating sustainable energy sources for all: All of the five frameworks embrace the concepts behind the Sustainable Energy for All initiative, with a focus on energy access and affordability, renewable energy, and improved energy efficiency. Investment in clean energy research and technologies is a win for both developed and developing countries, with obvious benefits in terms of combatting poverty and curbing climate change. Phasing out fossil fuel subsidies are targets in the HLP and Save the Children reports, but this is expressed in the OWG as the need to "rationalize inefficient fossil fuel subsidies."

Open, inclusive and accountable governance: The HLP, SDSN, and Save the Children reports have stand-alone governance goals in their frameworks while the OWG merges concepts of peace and governance under a single goal. The CAP includes strong statements on fighting corruption, promoting the rule of law, and the participation of civil society organizations (CSOs) in its section on enabling implementation. Regardless of where it appears in the frameworks, there is concurrence on the core components to be included in a governance goal, including the importance of effective and accountable institutions that can deliver services without discrimination, particularly in relation to poor women or specific social groups. All the frameworks explicitly talk about reducing corruption and bribery, and all of them, except the HLP, refer to the

importance of the rule of law. Two frameworks, OWG and HLP, include the target: "provide free and universal legal identity, such as birth registrations," while Save the Children approaches this as an indicator. All of the frameworks talk about the importance of transparency and ensuring public access to information and government data, including open budgeting as well as ensuring opportunities for participatory processes and decision-making. The OWG, SDSN, HLP, and Save the Children frameworks explicitly mention the protection of fundamental freedoms as a key area, and all the frameworks, except OWG, highlight the importance of civic engagement and/or an enabling environment for the involvement of civil society.

Peaceful and inclusive societies: All the frameworks have separate goals or sections on peace and/or governance, though some targets, such as access to justice and accountable institutions, appear under both areas or under a single merged goal. While eliminating violence against children is a common thread across all the frameworks, reducing violent deaths also has wide support. Child protection in conflict or during emergencies is a target in the SDSN and Save the Children reports. The CAP includes tackling the root causes of violence – ending discrimination, exclusion, and economic and social inequalities – while improving domestic financing and the use of mediators. While a number of member states are likely to debate peace or governance issues being included in the final post-2015 agenda, the fact that they are included in these major inputs reflects broad support for them across key stakeholders.

MORE WORK TO BE DONE

The goals and targets in this section fall into several categories. Some of them reflect issues that are genuinely contentious among member states, some feature prominently in some of the inputs but not others, and some simply demonstrate very different ways of trying to achieve the same things. In most cases, there is general agreement on the merits of the aspiration, but there is significantly less on how to implement a plan of action to deliver.

Inclusive economic growth: While not every framework has one goal on economic growth, there are targets related to economic growth in each of them. All agree on the need to ensure decent work for all, which also extends to ending child labor and hazardous work for children. Beyond that there are a host of differences among frameworks. The OWG includes a 7 percent annual per capita GDP growth target for Least Developed Countries as well as a wide-range of other targets, from achieving full employment and protecting labor rights to ensuring policies that support entrepreneurship and the promotion of industrialization, technology development, and innovation. In addition to a focus on good jobs, the HLP includes a target on universal access to financial services and infrastructure.

The CAP includes regionally specific targets such as "accelerated, stable and sustained inclusive economic growth that creates decent and productive employment that rapidly reduces inequality" and the development of public-private partnerships, as well as some issues related to Africa-specific trade. In addition to promoting decent work, the SDSN report includes an overall goal that "each country reaches at least the next income level" by measuring GNI per capita and the employment-to-population ratio. The variation of targets within the inclusive economic growth area is less a reflection of disputes among member states and more a result of the difficulties inherent in achieving robust economic growth that widely benefits societies. Member states naturally want more economic growth, but the formulation for how best to achieve and measure more inclusive and sustained growth remains challenging to capture in a universal framework.

Sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR): SRHR has been a highly debated issue in the post-2015 discussions, yet all the frameworks have targets related to this appearing either under the health goal or the women's empowerment goal. The HLP and CAP reports focus on access to and education about SRHR, and support the fulfillment of these rights. Save the Children's frameworks includes the target "Ensure women's and girl's sexual and reproductive health and rights" within its goal on women's empowerment. The OWG report includes access to services under the health goal and access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights under the women's empowerment goal, thereby excluding sexual rights. While there are differences in approach, with the OWG report aligning with existing agreement rather than a more transformative agenda, there is agreement on the importance of sexual and reproductive health within a post-2015 framework.

Conserve oceans and forests: All five frameworks integrate action to promote conservation and halt environmental degradation; however, each has a different approach. The CAP has a pillar on environmental sustainability, natural resource management, and disaster risk management. The other frameworks have a goal on promoting a sustainable environment and resource management. Targets that are universal among all the frameworks are safeguarding ecosystems, use of sustainable agricultural and fisheries practices, reduction of deforestation, reducing soil erosion and combating desertification, and halting biodiversity loss. Across the five frameworks, there is a wealth of environmental targets, many of them encouragingly more specific and measurable than those in the MDGs. The challenges in this area are twofold: first, prioritizing those targets that will be the most powerful in protecting the environment; and second, navigating differences where member states may see environmental targets impinging on their growth or economic prerogatives.

Climate change: Whether as a stand-alone goal or integrated throughout, all five frameworks agree that tackling climate change needs to feature prominently in the post-2015 framework, while recognizing that the post-2015 agenda is not a substitute for reaching a deal through the UNFCCC process. Rather, it can be seen as a way to lend momentum to climate negotiations and begin shaping patterns of growth and development that are environmentally sustainable. All the frameworks state the importance of reducing national carbon emissions, reducing the vulnerability of families to the impacts of climate change, and mobilizing financing for climate change mitigation. The OWG, SDSN and Save the Children include a stand-alone goal for climate change in their frameworks.

Disagreement is related to who bears the responsibility for combatting climate change. For example, the CAP states, "while Africa is not responsible for the pollution and the factors causing climate change, it stands to suffer the most. The African leadership is poised to cooperate fully along the lines of the Rio+20 outcome." This report also points out, along with the SDSN and OWG, that developed countries should meet their commitment to provide the Green Climate Fund with $100 billion per year by 2020. Save the Children proposes a stand-alone goal on climate and an emissions target that recognizes that developing countries will need to increase their emissions in the short term in their pursuit of development, but should commit to bringing them down in the long term, while high-income countries should commit to immediate reductions. Even though climate negotiations will be challenging, there is wide recognition that large numbers of targets across any number of goals in the proposed frameworks should be climate friendly – ranging from reducing agricultural waste to increasing the use of renewable energy.

Sustainable consumption and production:
On this theme, there are divergent perspectives. Only the OWG report has an SCP goal, in part due to the fact that the working group was born out of the Rio+20 Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012. This conference established the 10-Year Framework Programme on Sustainable Consumption and Production (10YFP), and the action plan includes ensuring that SCP is in the OWG report, enabling the post-2015 and Rio+20 processes to be mutually reinforcing. However, SCP will continue to be one of the more controversial elements of the post-2015 discussion, given that some of its most vocal advocates argue that it imposes greater responsibility and

accountability on the high-income countries to take action and commit resources. The areas potentially covered under such a goal include sustainable management of natural resources, sound management of chemicals, reduction of waste generation, changing the harmful practices of large transnational companies, decoupling economic growth from environmental degradation, and support for developing countries to move toward SCP. Many of these targets are included in the other frameworks but under environment, climate, or means of implementation goals. High-income countries have been supportive of a number of targets that appear under SCP in the OWG report, but also clearly see some of the proposals in this area as a reach.

Sustainable cities and human settlements:
The OWG, CAP, and SDSN reports have separate cities goals, while the HLP and Save the Children include cities under other goal areas. Some targets, such as reducing the number of deaths caused by disaster, are also under the disaster goals, while control of pollution, waste management, and adaption to climate change can be found in goals relating to climate or the environment. Provision of decent and affordable housing and addressing the problems inherent to mega cities and urban areas are intrinsically linked to the agenda to end extreme poverty. Dealing with increasingly large and complex urban areas will be a central challenge for humanity over the next 15 years, and achieving an ambitious agenda will require more creative and innovative thinking about how best to tackle this challenge – whether it appears as a free-standing goal or not.

PHOTO: SUSAN WARNER

Philippines: Marilou Bînas, with her daughter Sarah, 4 months wait to be screened by the Save the Children's nutrition officer at their local health center. The program, Infant Youth Child Feeding (IYCF) monitors their children's growth and nutrition status.

LINCHPIN ISSUES

Among the various goals and targets in the respective reports, several issues stand out as foundational, or have "knock-on" effects for other goal areas. For example, women's legal right to own and inherit property has the multiplier effects of increasing their economic well-being, improving their self-confidence, and increasing the likelihood that, with greater financial assets, family health and nutrition will improve. For children under five, nutrition – and specifically addressing stunting – is a key link to improving child health, educational outcomes, and income growth.[6] These linchpin issues need more attention in the coming months to ensure they are prominent in the final framework, whether enshrined within specific goals and targets or explicitly mainstreamed across them.

Promoting equity: Each report mentions the problem of inequality. Only the OWG presents a stand-alone goal on inequality, while the HLP and Save the Children frameworks integrate equity throughout. However, this issue must gain more traction and definition. One clear lesson from the MDGs is that progress was uneven within countries and between countries, and the poorest and most marginalized groups saw lower rates of improvement. Due in part to the fraction-based targets of some of the MDGs, most countries focused on those groups that were easiest – not hardest – to lift over the poverty line. The result was that pockets of extreme poverty remain, and many of the extremely poor still face discrimination and lack access to basic public services. Furthermore, many countries that are conflict-affected or fragile saw little change with the MDGs. Due to corruption, limited external investment, and considerable domestic resources allocated to security, there was little funding to improve development outcomes and few donors willing to invest.

The principle that the post-2015 framework should "leave no one behind" can be discerned implicitly in all five frameworks, and each has included greater equality of opportunity as a key priority and a driver of success. The HLP report includes the recommendation that "no target is met unless met by all," and the Save the Children's

framework incorporates this recommendation and goes a step further, with stepping stone targets across all goal areas to ensure the needs of the furthest behind are met first and that gaps close between advantaged and disadvantaged groups.[7] The OWG and SDSN reports also include relative poverty measures. The clear lesson of the last 15 years is that no society can afford to leave significant portions of its own people behind, and the best way to lift people out of poverty permanently is to provide them with the basic social services that enable them to live healthy lives, connect them to the tools of a modern economy, and eliminate fundamental discrimination, violence and abuse, particularly against children and the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.

Means of implementation (MOI): Within the broad and complex goal of means of implementation, there is significant agreement across frameworks as a core on which to build. The frameworks agree that wealthier countries need to maintain their commitment to development finance at a time when domestic resource mobilization, private capital flows, and remittances also play a pivotal role in driving development. Most agree on the need to harness the private sector and the promise of public-private partnerships to align their goals with the signed-off framework. There is also agreement to put more resources and attention toward data gathering, sharing, and disaggregation. Furthermore, strengthening the transformative power of technology, reducing trade-distorting measures, lowering the transaction costs of remittances, and improving North-South and South-South cooperation also show up as widely shared priorities across the frameworks.

However, there are also important areas of difference within means of implementation goals and targets. The OWG report has MOI as a stand-alone goal and has targets listed under each goal area, reflecting the importance placed by G77 countries on developed countries being accountable to commitments. Some of the inputs, particularly the OWG and CAP, have included major trade issues, which are currently already subject to high-level negotiations through the World Trade Organization (WTO) and elsewhere. In other areas,

particularly where targets have not been drawn up with a sense of realism, the cost of sweeping changes and sheer scale of ambition of some goals is a concern for the final negotiation and national implementation.

Ultimately, reaching agreement on the means to implement the post-2015 agenda is the glue that will help hold the framework together. For that to happen, member states will need to move beyond simply trying to maximize their respective negotiating positions and begin to constructively detail what they will bring to the table at home and abroad in the vital effort to end extreme poverty within a generation.

Governance: Transparent and accountable governance, which is open to public engagement and scrutiny, is an issue that if addressed properly could have more impact on the success of the agenda by 2030 than any single issue. Capable and accountable public institutions that deliver equitable public services can play a big role in delivering on the promise of development. This issue was captured in the "Similar Visions" section because every framework includes governance, albeit in different forms. Yet, it is an issue that is among those most at risk for the final agenda.

Some countries argue that accountability and governance are challenging to measure and quantify, therefore these do not have a place in this framework. Most of the data required for tracking key governance targets in a post-2015 agenda, however, could be collected by expanding or adapting existing methodologies. As a non-legally binding framework, success depends on all stakeholders following through on commitments to create a national implementation plan, to gather data and track progress, to finance, to ensure that citizens can participate in governance processes based on access to public information, and to transparently report back on progress. All stakeholders will need to take ownership of the agenda and become invested in its success, and a governance goal will be critical for supporting this.

Youth: There are an estimated 1.8 billion young people (ages 10–24) in the world, with 90 percent living in developing countries.[8] The signed agenda in 2015 should both reflect their unique needs and grow out of their participation. While all of the frameworks mention youth, the focus in the HLP, SDSN, and OWG reports is on them gaining relevant skills and education to attain decent work. An estimated 238 million youth live in extreme poverty (less than a $1 a day)[9] and face specific challenges

such as early childbearing, violence and harmful practices, and HIV/AIDS, in addition to unemployment. Save the Children's focus in its framework is on issues affecting youth, including health (reduction of maternal deaths and HIV/AIDS prevention), ending violence, and youth education and employment, that together have great potential to improve the lives of the poorest children and youth. Echoing this notion, the CAP report states, "… investment in children, youth, and women always generates substantial development multipliers with positive effects on all sectors of the economy and society."[10] Youth can also become spokespersons on the agenda with the megaphone of technology. If young people are mobilized, they will have a strong voice within each country to drive implementation and demand accountability from government and other actors over the next fifteen years.

Data: How to improve data is another issue that risks lack of focus, detailed approaches, and ownership. While the HLP report was the first to talk about the importance of a "data revolution," and call for disaggregated data and no target met unless met for all income and social groups, the other four reports call for the need for improved statistical data systems to track progress, particularly in developing countries, as well as the need for the collection of disaggregated data.

The UN Secretary-General's Independent Expert Advisory Group on the Data Revolution for Sustainable Development is looking at data challenges in the post-2015 process, which is a promising step forward, but there is an urgent need to improve the coverage, quality, and transparency of data. While everyone agrees that the amount, accuracy, and sharing of data is insufficient and disproportionate to our goals, no one entity, institution, or government is responsible for delivering better data or ensuring a coordinated strategy on data. With accountability spread across multiple actors, and the need for better data at the local, national, and global levels, it will be critical to track financial commitments to data and coordination closely. Data is a linchpin issue for our success in 2030 that demands creativity and innovation. Private entrepreneurs, company CEOs, government leaders, CSOs, multilaterals, and others must step up to the plate and put forth solutions to the data challenge and create momentum for others to join.

Arabaqeyramso, Wajir, Kenya: A young girl drinks milk in a drought-affected region of Kenya. Families' incomes were greatly reduced as their livestock died off.

CONCLUSION

An enormous amount of time, energy, and thought has gone towards envisioning and shaping the post-2015 agenda from a wide array of different quarters. This is understandable and legitimate if we are to come to an agreement on an ambitious framework that drives development for the coming generation, protects the human rights of all, and safeguards the planet. What is perhaps most encouraging is that diverse groups and participants have repeatedly put forth visions, and means of achieving those visions, that are remarkably similar.

These areas of agreement comprise roughly half of the entire agenda. Issues where there is already powerful consensus – on the importance of ending extreme poverty, combatting preventable maternal and child deaths, and further expanding lifelong learning around the globe – provide the cornerstone of trust and mutual interest that can allow member states to work through more difficult issues, particularly on how best to breathe life into the entire agenda through means of implementation.

As they move into formal inter-governmental negotiations on the new agenda, member states should build on this trust to forge consensus on issues that may be difficult, but that can be translated into implementable targets. Establishing smart global targets and indicators that pinpoint the root causes, are widely understood and applicable to all countries, are technical, solid and measurable, and have positive knock-on effects for multiple sectors, will have the greatest potential to transform the lives of the world's poorest people in sustainable ways.

For the first time in human history, we have the chance to end extreme poverty in all of its forms and to establish a model for economic growth that not only lifts millions of people up but leaves the environment intact for today's children and future generations. This would represent an historic achievement, and provide the basic building blocks of a safe and satisfying life for all people. Forging a shared vision over the next year on the post-2015 agenda will not be easy, but the

evidence demonstrates clearly that we now have more agreement that should bind us together than differences that should drive us apart.

In these coming months, as we enter the inter-governmental negotiations on the post-2015 agenda, the trust built around these areas of agreement, and the global partnerships that they inspire, should lead the day. Putting aside the temptation for redlines, rancor, and "lowest common denominator" negotiations, we hope that the member states will be inspired to lead with great optimism, a generous spirit of cooperation and commitment, and incredible hope in the potential to better lives and the planet.

PHOTO: COLIN CROWLEY
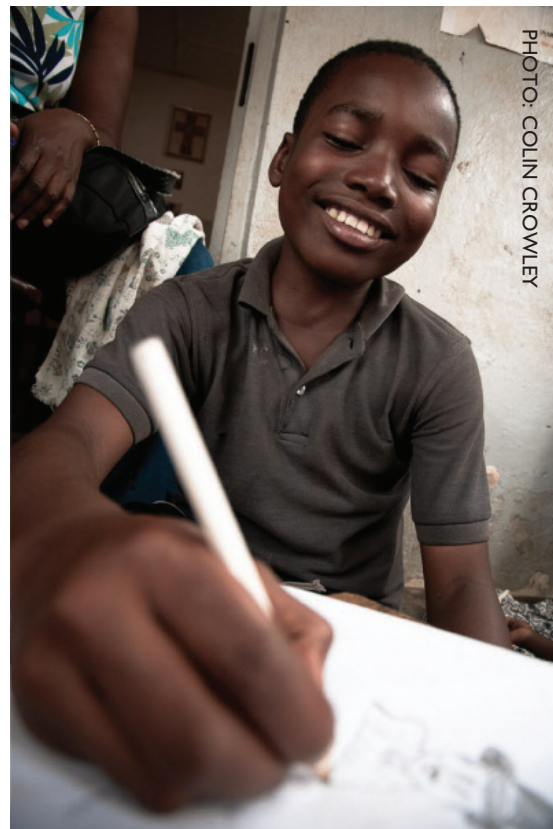
Ivory Coast: Kevin, fourteen, draws a picture in his notebook at the camp in Duékoué, in western Ivory Coast where he and his family are now living.

ENDNOTES

1   This paper examines the consensus reflected across five major reports to the UN since 2012 and is not intended to be a comprehensive analysis of all the policy positions and reports available. Millions of people have weighed in through surveys and consultations as part of "The World We Want" UN-civil society partnership, UN agencies have engaged in wide-ranging sectoral discussions, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), think tanks and civil society across the globe have advanced different proposals for the post-2015 agenda.

2   Save the Children's "Framework for the Future" appears as an annex at the end of this report.

3   The OWG, HLP, and Save the Children reports all include goal frameworks. The CAP is not expressed in terms of goals and targets, but instead as prose supporting different ambitions. In preparing this paper, those statements that most closely resemble targets and goals were drawn verbatim from the text for comparison with the other post-2015 inputs. Somewhat similarly, the SDSN report expresses its support for a relatively limited number of goals and targets but includes a lengthy list of indicators in its recommendations. Many of these indicators are almost identical to what other inputs dub as targets, and they are treated as targets for purposes of this comparison.

4   The OWG framework's goal and targets on education are most closely aligned with the UNESCO-convened Education For All (EFA) Steering Committee's Joint Proposal on Education Post-2015 and the 2014 Global EFA Meeting's Muscat Agreement.

5   This issue has been controversial for some UN member states, as reflected in the final OWG report discussions.

6   See https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/sites/default/files/images/Food_for_Thought_UK.pdf

7   Save the Children is one of over 3,000 NGOs calling on the UN Secretary-General to commit to "no target met unless met for all." See sign-on statement http://www.savethechildren.org.uk/sites/default/files/images/No_Target_Statement.pdf

8   "Adolescent and Youth Demographics: A Brief Overview" UN Population Fund at www.unfpa.org

9   See UNFPA fact sheet at http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2005/presskit/factsheets/facts_adolescents.htm

10 "Common African Position," section 34, page 12.

SAVE THE CHILDREN'S POST-2015 VISION

BY 2030 WE WILL LIVE IN A WORLD WHERE…

GOAL 1

Extreme income poverty has ended and the benefits of economic growth are shared by all

TARGETS

1.1 Eradicate extreme income poverty.
1.2 Reduce relative poverty and income inequality, promoting opportunity for all.
1.3 Increase the productivity, inclusivity and sustainability of economies.
1.4 Provide decent work for all and ensure that no child is involved in hazardous work.
1.5 Implement universal social protection systems.

GOAL 2

No one suffers from hunger, and everyone has food, nutrition and water security

TARGETS

2.1 Eradicate hunger and improve nutrition, including halving stunting.
2.2 Ensure food systems are stable, sustainable and produce enough nutritious food for all.
2.3 Ensure all people can access and consume adequate, affordable and nutritious food.
2.4 Ensure all people have access to safe water, sanitation and hygiene.

GOAL 3

No mother, newborn baby or child dies from preventable causes and everyone has access to good-quality healthcare without financial hardship

TARGETS

3.1 Eradicate preventable maternal, newborn and child deaths.
3.2 Achieve universal coverage of key health interventions.
3.3 Achieve universal coverage of financial risk protection.
3.4 Address the social determinants of health through coordinated multi-stakeholder action.

GOAL 4

All children and young people have equitable access to a good-quality education and achieve good learning outcomes

TARGETS

4.1 Ensure all girls and boys achieve relevant, measurable learning outcomes by the end of primary education, with gaps in learning between advantaged and disadvantaged groups significantly reduced.
4.2 Ensure all children start school ready to learn, with gaps in child development between advantaged and disadvantaged groups significantly reduced.
4.3 Ensure all young people have functional literacy, numeracy, and technical and life skills to become active citizens with decent employment.
4.4 Ensure all children have access to good-quality, safe and inclusive basic education, including in emergencies.

GOAL 5

All girls and boys live a life free from violence, are protected in conflict and disasters, and thrive in a safe family environment

TARGETS

5.1 Prevent and eliminate sexual violence and harmful practices against girls and boys.
5.2 End violent discipline of children.
5.3 Prevent the unnecessary separation of children from parents and ensure no child is placed in an institution against their best interest.
5.4 Prevent and eliminate child deaths from violence and the recruitment and use of children by armed forces and groups.
5.5 Establish effective child protection systems that reach all children, including in emergencies.

GOAL 6

Women and girls are empowered and have equal rights to men and boys

TARGETS

6.1 Prevent and eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls.
6.2 Establish the equal right of women to earn, own and inherit assets and reduce the burden of unpaid work on women and girls.
6.3 Ensure women's and girls' sexual and reproductive health and rights.
6.4 Ensure equal participation and influence of women and girls in private, public and political life.

GOAL 7

All people have access to resource efficient and low carbon energy

TARGETS

7.1 Ensure universal access to electricity, clean cooking and heating fuels.
7.2 End deaths and reduce the health burden from cook stoves, open fires and outdoor air pollution.
7.3 Double the share of renewable energy sources in the global energy mix.
7.4 Double the rate of global improvements in energy efficiency.
7.5 Reduce the carbon and water intensity of the energy sector.

GOAL 8

All societies are resilient to disasters

TARGETS

8.1 Halve deaths from disasters.
8.2 Halve economic losses from disasters.
8.3 Mainstream disaster risk management into national plans and poverty eradication programmes.
8.4 Halve exposure and vulnerability to disaster risk.

GOAL 9

All people enjoy a sustainable, healthy and resilient environment

TARGETS

9.1 Reduce ecosystem degradation and biodiversity loss.
9.2 Manage natural resources that are essential for people's basic needs within their natural limits.
9.3 Embed sustainable consumption and production in national policies and practice.

GOAL 10

The world is on track to avoid dangerous climate change and is less vulnerable to its impacts

TARGETS

10.1 Ensure that greenhouse gas emissions have peaked globally and are declining at a rate consistent with UNFCCC goals.
10.2 Reduce the vulnerability of countries and households to the impacts of climate change.
10.3 Mobilise climate finance for climate change mitigation and adaptation.

GOAL 11

Governance at all levels is open, inclusive and accountable

TARGETS

11.1 Ensure that governance is transparent, with open budgeting, freedom of information and integrated corporate reporting.
11.2 Ensure that governance is participatory, with greater civil and political freedoms and a flourishing civil society.
11.3 Ensure governance is accountable, with rule of law, effective institutions and reduced corruption.
11.4 Ensure global governance is transparent and accountable, with effective institutions and measures to end illicit financial flows.

GOAL 12

Robust global partnerships advance sustainable human development

TARGETS

12.1 Meet commitments on the quantity and quality of aid.
12.2 Mobilise new financial resources for sustainable development, and ensure responsible lending and borrowing.
12.3 Ensure international trade and economic transactions advance sustainable development.
12.4 Ensure all businesses respect and support the realisation of human rights and advance sustainable development.
12.5 Tackle transnational crime and stop the illicit flow of arms and conflict resources.

EMERGING
CONSENSUS:

Building Agreement for the Post-2015 Agenda

A Save the Children Discussion Paper

For the first time in human history, we have the chance to end extreme poverty in all of its forms and to establish a model for economic growth that not only lifts millions of people up but leaves the environment intact for today's children and future generations.

The international community is less than one year away from reaching final agreement on a new set of global development goals that will replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and millions of people have provided feedback on what these new goals and targets should be.

This discussion paper compares five notable inputs into the post-2015 process to find that diverse groups have repeatedly put forth visions, and means of achieving those visions, that are remarkably similar. These areas of agreement comprise roughly half of the entire agenda.

As UN Member States move into formal inter-governmental negotiations on the new development agenda, they should build on this trust to forge consensus on issues that may be difficult. For example, issues where there is already powerful consensus – such as the importance of ending extreme poverty, combatting preventable maternal and child deaths, and further expanding lifelong learning around the globe – can provide the cornerstone of trust and shared interest that will allow countries to work through the more challenging issues, such as governance and means of implementation.

If this spirit of cooperation and mutual accountability is sustained throughout the negotiations, we have the potential to deliver an ambitious and focused new development framework in 2015 that is based on the fundamental principles of equal opportunity, with far-reaching implications for people and the planet.

For more information, please contact:

Jenny Russell
Director of Global Development Policy and Advocacy
2000 L Street NW, Suite 500
Washington, DC 200036
USA
Phone: 202-640-6648
Email: jrussell@savechildren.org

savethechildren.org

Save the Children