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### THE POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA Favourable Enough to Africans?

Southern Voice Occasional Paper 17

Ibrahima Hathie

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Editor

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**Cover Design** Avra Bhattacharjee The Southern Voice on Post-MDG International Development Goals works as an open platform, and is a network of 48 think tanks from Africa, Latin America and Asia that seeks to contribute to the global post-2015 dialogue. Motivated by the spirit of wide academic inquiry, the initiative is committed to provide quality data, empirical evidence and policy analyses, derived from research in the countries of global South. Through strategic engagements, *Southern Voice* aspires to address the existing 'knowledge asymmetry' and 'participation deficit' afflicting the global discourse on post-2015 agenda.

With these goals in mind, *Southern Voice* launched a call for papers among its members to inform the global debate based on promoting original research on new issues that have emerged from various reports, structured conversations concerning the post-2015 agenda as well as from the discussions around them and beyond. Eleven research grants were offered during this phase.

In response to the call, we received numerous proposals which were reviewed by *Southern Voice* members. The research papers were also peer reviewed, and the revised drafts were later validated by the reviewer.

The resulting collection of papers highlights some of the most pressing concerns for the countries of the global South. In doing so, they explore a variety of topics including social, governance, economic and environmental concerns. Each paper demonstrates the challenges of building an international agenda which responds to the specificities of each country, while also being internationally relevant. It is by acknowledging and analysing these challenges that the research from the global South supports the objective of a meaningful post-2015 agenda.

In connection with the ongoing debates on post-2015 international development goals, **The Post-2015 Development Agenda: Favourable Enough to Africans?** by *Dr Ibrahima Hathie*, Research Director for the Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale (IPAR), Senegal explores key components of the African transformative agenda that are missing from most of the international proposals which may hinder the voice of Africa to be heard during the upcoming negotiation process.

Contributions of *Ms Andrea Ordóñez*, Research Coordinator of the initiative and *Ms Mahenaw Ummul Wara* (Research Associate, Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) and Focal Point at the *Southern Voice* Secretariat) in managing and organising the smooth implementation of the research programme are gratefully acknowledged.

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I hope the engaged readership will find the paper stimulating.

Dhaka, Bangladesh December 2014 Debapriya Bhattacharya, PhD Chair Southern Voice on Post-MDG International Development Goals and Distinguished Fellow, CPD E-mail: debapriya.bh@gmail.com

### Abstract

Recently, there have been extensive discussions on the post-2015 international development agenda with the challenge of building a single framework and a set of universal goals, while recognising national differences. Taking stock of the analysis of the current proposals at the global level, we analyse the Common African Position (CAP) elaboration process and its content. Despite some criticism from CSOs, the CAP is inclusive and successful, as Africa will speak with one voice and present a unified set of priorities into the upcoming negotiation process. Ownership and a willingness to align with these priorities during the international negotiation process will determine whether Africa has succeeded in getting its voice heard. This review has shown that key components of the African transformative agenda are missing from most of the international proposals. However, the outputs of the Open Working Group for Sustainable Development Goals seem to compensate most of the drawbacks identified.

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## Acronyms

AUC	African Union Commission
AfDB	African Development Bank
CAP	Common African Position
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
HLC	High Level Committee
HLP	High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
OWG	Open Working Group
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SDSN	Sustainable Development Solutions Network
UN	United Nations
UNDP/RBA	United Nations Development Programme's Regional Bureau for Africa
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNGC	United Nations Global Compact
UNSG	United Nations Secretary-General

### The Post-2015 Development Agenda Favourable Enough to Africans?

Ibrahima Hathie\*

#### **1. Introduction**

The last two years have witnessed extensive discussions on the post-2015 international development agenda. Alongside the United Nations (UN)-led global consultations, several autonomous processes have provided key inputs to the global debates. To date, several institutional proposals (HLP, SDSN, UNGC and UNSG<sup>1</sup>) and civil society contributions have emerged and are increasingly shaping the future sustainable development goals. In September 2013, the UN General Assembly's special event on the post-2015 framework and issues designed a roadmap towards the adoption of the post-2015 development agenda. At this special session, world leaders advocated for an "inclusive and people-centred post-2015 development agenda", calling for "a transparent intergovernmental process which will include inputs from all stakeholders including civil society, scientific and knowledge institutions, parliaments, local authorities, and the private sector" (United Nations - Special Event 25 September 2013: Outcome Document).

One of the challenges of the process is to build a single framework and a set of universal goals while recognising national differences and taking into account the primacy of national policies and priorities. The plethora of documents emerging from the global debates and discussions poses an organisational challenge and generate legitimate questions on how the world will reach a useful and efficient consensus. After a close examination of recent UN and civil society reports, Bergh and Couturier (2013) were able to disentangle this apparent chaos and to display the current areas of consensus and divergence in post-2015 goals. Their conclusion shows: i) a strong consensus on the importance of goals such as education, health, gender, energy and poverty; ii) a weaker consensus on goal areas such as governance, food security, water and sanitation, inclusive growth and employment...; iii) few goals areas do not capture much attention: urbanisation, social inclusion, infrastructure and technology.

Building on Bergh and Couturier's work, we question how the current state of progress in the making of the post-2015 development agenda is consistent with priorities set out by Sub-Saharan Africa through its 'Common African Position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda.' Specifically, we look at how the current consensus and divergence on the post-2015 goals and targets integrate the core priorities of Sub-Saharan African countries.

The last three years, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the African Union Commission (AUC), the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the United Nations Development Programme's Regional Bureau for Africa (UNDP/RBA) held several national, regional and continental consultations to articulate an African common position on the post-2015 development agenda. These initiatives were reinforced in July 2012 when the African Union Heads of State (*Assembly*/

<sup>\*</sup>The author wishes to thank *Dr Debapriya Bhattacharya*, Chair, *Southern Voice on Post-MDG International Development Goals; Ms Andrea Ordonez*, Research Coordinator; and *Ms Mahenaw Ummul Wara*, Focal Point at *Southern Voice* Secretariat for their continuous and invaluable support.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (HLP); the United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN); the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC); and the United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG).

*AU/Dec.423 (XIX)* mandated the AUC, in close consultation with Member States and Regional Economic Communities, to identify Africa's priorities for the post-2015 development agenda, with the support of AfDB, UNDP/RBA and UN-ECA. In May 2013, the AU Heads of State established a High Level Committee (HLC) of 10 Heads of State and Government<sup>2</sup> chaired by Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, to conduct the process of elaboration of a Common African Position (CAP) in the post-2015 development agenda (*Assembly/AU/Dec.475 (XXI)*). The mandate of the HLC was to finalise a demand-driven joint African post-2015 perspective and to build regional and intercontinental alliances around it. With the backing of a technical support team<sup>3</sup>, the HLC committed itself to include the outcomes of the various national, regional and continental consultations held in Africa into the draft CAP.

Alongside these initiatives, AUC, ECA and AfDB led a process to develop sustainable development goals (SDGs) that are compatible with African interest. This process culminated with the Africa Regional Consultative Meeting on the SDGs held in October-November 2013, and aimed at drafting Africa's sustainable development priorities and goals. Organisers clearly stated their hope to provide the meeting outcome as a technical input to HLC's CAP draft document. The 22nd African Union Summit held in 31 January 2014 (*Assembly/AU/Dec.503 (XXII*)) adopted the CAP on post-2015 development agenda with recommendation to the HLC for further refinement, suggesting the addition of a sixth pillar on peace and security. The HLC crafted and launched the final CAP document on 28 February 2014 in Ndjamena, Chad.

For countless reasons, Africa has a lot at stake in the future development agenda. Most social and economic indicators depict a gloomy picture of the continent. African countries are at the bottom of the Human Development Index list and display high levels of poverty and vulnerability. Climate change, environmental degradation, youth unemployment and rising inequalities are among key challenges that Africans have to cope with. Recent positive signs have surfaced, including record economic growth rates in several countries of the continent, even though these have not translated into real poverty reductions. Given the above conditions, it is imperative that Africans participate in the global debate on the post-2015 development agenda to ensure that their interests are taken care of. Unfortunately, information asymmetries and sometimes lack of capacities prevent proficient contributions. This research can offer guidance to Sub-Saharan Africa stakeholders on ways to have their voice heard.

The following section describes the methodology used as well as the data mobilised. Section 3 presents the results and discussions with emphasis on: i) the state of progress towards a post-2015 development agenda; ii) the CAP on the post-2015 development agenda; and iii) the consensus and divergence between the CAP and the current state of international agreement on the post-2015 development agenda. The last section presents the conclusions and policy implications.

#### 2. Data and Methods

This paper will mainly draw on a desk review to undertake the proposed analysis. First, we take stock of the analysis of the current proposals at the global level (Bergh & Couturier, 2013). Second, we describe the CAP elaboration process and its content (for further process and content analyses). Next, we analyse the CAP, focusing on its strengths and weaknesses. Additionally, we will select three countries in West Africa as a case study to complement the analysis at the regional and continental levels. Output of this analysis will be compared to the current proposals at the global level to identify gaps susceptible of improvements. The overall analysis will be based on key documents such as African Union resolutions, Outcome documents stemming from technical meetings and from regional/continental consultations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Algeria, Chad, Congo, Ethiopia, Guinea, Liberia, Mauritania, Mauritius, Namibia and South Africa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Members of the HLC had each a representative called Sherpa who met several times to prepare the inputs for the 10 heads of states and government. The AUC, UNECA and UNDP provided key technical guidance and support.

#### 3. Results and Discussions

#### The State of Progress towards a Post-2015 Development Agenda

This section presents a summary of Berg and Couturier's analysis on the state of consensus and divergence towards a post-2015 development agenda. The authors make a comparison of the key institutional proposals (HLP, SDSN, UNGC, UNSG), along with major civil society inputs. From their findings, it appears that these key institutional proposals agree on 12 priorities at the goal level: *education, health, gender, energy, poverty, food security, water & sanitation, inclusive growth & employment, peace and stability, governance, environmental sustainability,* and *global enabling environment.* Some of the proposals present few outliers at the goal level. Examples include *infrastructure & technology, urbanization,* and *social inclusion.* According to Berg and Couturier, three clusters can be determined: i) a group of themes with high degree of convergence in the approaches to goals and targets; ii) a second group of potential goals where most institutional proposals agree on the need to include these goals but they display a divergence of approach; iii) the last set of possible goal areas are not suggested by most proposals.

The first group includes *education, health, gender, energy,* and *poverty.* There is a broad agreement on eradicating poverty, focusing on a broader agenda to improve education, acting on key health issues (reduce or end maternal and child mortality, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria, expand immunisation rates...). There is also a large consensus on gender (women empowerment, equal rights and opportunities). For energy, there is an emerging consensus on a goal for universal access to sustainable energy and for energy efficiency. This apparent consensus on these goal areas does not preclude future divergence on how these goals will be implemented (targets and indicators).

The second set of potential goals includes *food security, water & sanitation, inclusive growth & employment, peace & stability, governance, environmental sustainability,* and a *global enabling environment.* The following facts are worth noting:

- Although the institutional proposals agree that a goal on food security should aim to end hunger, malnutrition and stunting, other basic components are missing. These include: self-sufficiency, rural-urban linkages, employment along food supply chains, and social protection;
- For water and sanitation, there is consensus on sustainable water management, universal access to drinking water and sanitation but few proposals suggest better governance of water systems management or more effective funding mechanisms;
- Most proposals consent to tackle climate change but the institutional proposals are far away from the advanced position of civil society;
- For the potential goal on governance, most institutional proposals agree on the need for transparency and accountability, strong institutions, and on fighting corruption;
- With respect to "*peace & stability*", there is consensus on the link between peace and development; the importance of rule of law and effective, inclusive institutions.

The last group includes *infrastructure & technology, urbanization, social inclusion*. These potential goals are almost outliers and without major shifts in the process, they have little chance to make it as a goal. The proposed goal on social inclusion focuses on social and economic inequities and shows the need to end discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, disability, geographic location or other groupings. This is popular among civil society organisations, but retains little attention among institutional proposals. The same is true for potential goal areas such as infrastructure and technology or urbanisation. Their best chance might be to figure in the final proposal as targets.

#### The Main Priorities Set Out by Africans: The CAP on the Post-2015 Development Agenda

The CAP on the post-2015 development agenda, which reflects Africa's development priorities, is based on six pillars including: i) structural economic transformation and inclusive growth; ii) science, technology and innovation; iii) a people-centred development; iv) environmental sustainability, natural resources management and disaster risk management; v) peace and security; and vi) finance and partnerships.

#### Pillar 1 – Structural Economic Transformation and Inclusive Growth

This first pillar is by far the highest on the African development priorities.<sup>4</sup> It promotes an inclusive growth that reduces inequality and creates decent and productive employment; a sustainable agriculture, food self-sufficiency and nutrition. It also calls for a diversified economy and more processing of primary commodities through national value chains development across sectors, and a development of the services sector. Infrastructure development is indispensable for this transformative process to succeed. This pillar is designed to reverse Africa's dependence on a cluster of primary commodities, to find solutions to issues such as the concentration of African growth in few sectors and its limited employment effects, the weak inter-sectoral linkages of the economy, and rising inequalities.

#### Pillar 2 – Science, Technology and Innovation

This second pillar is critical for the transformative agenda. It includes enhancing technological capacities; enabling a financial and regulatory environment to support innovation; increasing support for research and development; and inducing optimal utilisation of space and geospatial technologies through increased investments and human resources development.

#### *Pillar 3 – People-centered Development*

This third pillar contains three key goals of the current MDGs namely poverty reduction, education and health. Specifically, it focuses on eradicating poverty, developing human capital and providing universal and equitable access to quality healthcare. Other items include gender equality and women's empowerment, responding to population dynamics and development; harnessing the strengths of Africa's youth; and expanding access to sustainable human settlements.

#### Pillar 4 – Environmental Sustainability, Natural Resources Management and Disaster Risk Management

To date, the exploitation of Africa's natural resources and biodiversity base has provided limited results in terms of economic returns and employment opportunities. Thus, this pillar focuses on improving natural resource and biodiversity management, enhancing access to safe water for all, responding effectively to climate change, addressing desertification, land degradation, soil erosion, flooding and drought, and contributing to natural disaster risk reduction and management.

#### Pillar 5 – Peace and Security

This fifth pillar focuses on: i) addressing the root causes of conflict; and ii) preventing the outbreak of armed conflicts. This pillar was added during the final phase of the CAP formulation process. This is certainly an indication of the low level of consensus on this theme on security and peace. A closer look at the draft Africa regional experts report on the SDGs shows that most regions rated very low this theme. Not surprisingly, only the Central Africa group ranked it as the highest priority.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The African group has proposed to the Open Working Group sessions a standalone goal on structural economic transformation.

#### Pillar 6 – Finance and Partnerships

This last pillar is two-folds. Finance includes improving domestic resource mobilisation, maximising innovative financing, implementing existing commitments and promoting high-quality, predictable external financing. Partnership on the other hand comprises promoting mutually beneficial partnerships, strengthening partnerships for trade and establishing partnerships for managing global commons.

Beside these six pillars, the CAP on post-2015 development agenda defined factors enabling implementation. These include: good governance, transparency and fighting corruption; enabling governance architecture; human rights for all; sound macroeconomic policy; private sector development; a credible and viable participatory process; strengthened national statistical capacities; effective monitoring and evaluation systems....

#### Strengths and Weaknesses of the CAP

#### One Voice for Africa

The CAP on the post-2015 development agenda is a genuine success as Africa will speak with one voice and present a unified set of priorities into the upcoming negotiation process. This will also strengthen Africa's bargaining power and increase the likelihood of getting the African position fully integrated into the global development agenda. Moreover, the African Union has urged its member states to use the CAP as a negotiation instrument. Another feature of the CAP is its departure from externally driven initiatives, with an emphasis on domestic resources. Africa now calls for "a fully open, transparent and inclusive global negotiation process in which parties are treated equally and their voice carries equal weight".<sup>5</sup>

#### Inclusiveness of the Process

From the onset, Africa endorsed the participatory approach of the process by which the post-2015 development agenda is being formulated. The 30 national consultations, four regional consultations and online surveys, jointly coordinated by UN-ECA, AUC, AfDB, and UNDP/RBA, provided a unique opportunity to different stakeholders to give their inputs. The synthesis from these meetings has greatly influenced the final version of the CAP. For instance, four pillars out of six were already well-formulated and visible from the outcome document of the last regional consultation on the post-2015 development agenda held on March 2013 in Hammamet, Tunisia. Only pillar 4 on *'environment sustainability, natural resources management and disaster risk management*' and pillar 5 on *'peace and security'* were absent from the stakeholders' priorities.

#### CSOs' Involvement

In spite of this success, the elaboration process of the CAP is not free from criticism. African civil society organisations (CSOs) have criticised the process especially with regard to the development of the roadmap and the drafting of the CAP. The process was limited to member states (through the HLC and the Sherpas), AUC, UN agencies, and key regional institutions such as the AfBD. African CSOs have lobbied in vain for the inclusion of CSO representatives within the technical team of the Secretariat of the African Union to ensure that the content of the CAP reflects the aspirations and needs of the communities they represent. Finally, some voices resonated to alert on the huge influence of key African institutions and states on shaping the CAP, and urged other African stakeholders to engage in the next phase of translating this CAP into goals, targets and indicators.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Keynote address by H.E. President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf at a Special Event: *Getting ready for the post-2015 development agenda*, Rome, Italy, 4 April 2014.

#### Gender, Governance and Youth Employment: Three Hot Topics Hard to Discard

Although gender is mentioned within Pillar 3 as 'gender equality and women's empowerment', African women's rights advocates have reacted vigorously and urged the HLC to consider a standalone pillar on gender equality and advised mainstreaming gender across the entire framework. The same is true for youth employment. The youth bulge is recognised under the same pillar as "harnessing Africa's youth population" but its visibility does not reflect its crucial role with respect to the fate of Africa. Surprisingly governance is absent and considered only an enabler despite the crucial role governance plays in securing economic and social development. There is no doubt that poor governance has been an impediment to progress and is still key problem in Africa.

The CAP displays the level of consensus at the continental level. It is however interesting to complement and contrast this official view through two channels: i) exploring the differences within and between countries stemming from national consultations by selecting three countries in the Sahel; ii) integrating a more global perspective (Africa region) through the use of MyWorld2015 tool.

#### Post-2015 National Consultations: Case Studies of Mali, Niger and Senegal

In West Africa, Mali, Niger and Senegal share many commonalities. They belong to the same monetary region, have to cope with similar climate and environmental challenges, and often face regional insurgencies. The first two are landlocked, while Senegal is a coastal country. It is therefore worth looking at how people within these countries have formulated their expectations towards the post-2015 development agenda.

A closer look at the priorities stemming from the national consultations reveals the following key findings (see Table 1):

- Governance is a priority for all three countries although it does not seem to resonate loudly at the continental level (CAP);
- The main priorities are centered around three pillars of the CAP, namely Pillar 1 on *structural economic transformation and inclusive growth*; Pillar 3 on *people centered development*; and Pillar 5 on *peace and security*;
- There are limited references to Pillar 2 on *science, technology and innovation* and Pillar 4 on *environmental sustainability, natural resources management and disaster risk management*; there is no reference to Pillar 6 on *finance and partnerships*.
- Results of these three national consultations are consistent with the general picture of the output from the regional consultations.

Senegal	Mali	Niger
Strengthening the social base of human development	Governance, peace and security	Food security and nutrition
Promoting a competitive economy which creates decent jobs	Inclusive growth	Youth employment
Establishing a favourable governance for sustainable development	Education and technological innovation	Equitable and quality access to education, health, water and sanitation
Peace and security	Sustainable human development	Governance
		Environment and access to energy
		Women empowerment and equal opportunities

#### **Table 1: Summary of Country Priorities Resulting from National Consultations**

Source: National reports from Post-2015 consultations: Mali, Niger and Senegal.

#### A Look at MY World 2015 – What are the African Priorities?

The United Nations global survey 'MY World' is a platform that allows the general public to choose six (6) issues that matter most. An analysis of the survey results provides interesting and useful learning both at the global and at the African level as well.

Surprisingly, the first seven priorities are the same for the World and Africa, the only difference being the switched ranks of "better job opportunities" and "an honest and responsive government". For Africa, the seven priorities are in the following order of importance (number of votes obtained is shown in Figure 1 below):

- a. A good education
- b. Better healthcare
- c. Better job opportunities
- d. An honest and responsive government
- e. Access to clean water and sanitation
- f. Affordable and nutritious food
- g. Protection against crime and violence

These seven priorities are found almost entirely in Pillar 3 (education, healthcare and job opportunities) and to a lesser extent in Pillars 1 (affordable and nutritious food) and 5 (protection against crime and violence). In contrast, the priority on governance (an honest and responsive government) is not supported by the pillars of the CAP.

#### Figure 1: African Priorities: Votes from MY World 2015



Source: MY World 2015 (accessed on 12 May 2014).

### Consensus and Divergence between the CAP and the Current State of International Agreement on the Post-2015 Development Agenda

If we revert to the analysis made by Berg and Couturier, we note that issues such as *infrastructure* & *technology* and *social inclusion* are areas low on the international agenda and have little chance of being included in the list of post-2015 goals. However, these goals are considered essential for Africa's development. For instance technology and infrastructure represent critical ingredients for

the transformative agenda called for by African leaders and stakeholders. Unless African leaders are ready to compromise on one of the most fundamental pillars of the CAP, it is unlikely to reach an agreement on this area. Likewise, African CSOs value highly *social inclusion* and deploy a lot of energy to advocate for policies that address social and economic inequities. Ending discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity, disability, geographic location... cannot be set aside especially in a context in which Africa has experienced high growth rates that have not translated into tangible social and economic progress for the majority due to record inequality levels.

The CAP on post-2015 development agenda is Africa's offer of its transformative agenda to the world. A glance of the six pillars reveals three different outcomes when one assesses the possibilities of consensus and divergence between the CAP and the current state of international agreement on the post-2015 development agenda.

- a) The first two pillars (*structural economic transformation and inclusive growth; science, technology and innovation*) dedicated to the transformative agenda are unlikely to arouse the enthusiasm of the international community even though they are fundamental to Africa. Pillar 1 is extremely important, but there is little probability that it will gain support in the international arena. Thus, African leaders should act swiftly to find goals that can render the quintessence of this pillar. Goals such as inclusive growth, decent employment, food and security may be eligible although they offer an incomplete content. Pillar 2 is unlikely to obtain international support but is crucial to the transformation process of Africa. Perhaps, this is why some voices have started advocating specific goals for the Africa Union parallel to the internationally agreed goals.
- b) The next two pillars (*people centered development; environmental sustainability, natural resources management and disaster risk management*) are the most likely to get full support from the international community. For instance, Pillar 3 contains those human development goals that are present in the current Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and are not subject to any controversies. Likewise, Pillar 4 is extremely important for Africa given its natural resource endowment and the fragility of the management of these resources. However, this is also an area where world attention is gained.
- c) The last two pillars pose different set of questions. For Pillar 5 on *peace and security*, Africa should first consolidate its consensus within the continent. We have already mentioned all the talks that have fueled the debate around this theme and the circumstances that led to the adoption of Pillar 5. The game is not over, and time will tell how individual governments or their delegates have pushed for the implementation of this pillar. The situation of Pillar 6 on *finance and partnerships* is a bit different. Although the international community was called upon to respect its promise, decision was reached to count first on domestic resource mobilisation and private sector involvement. There is a risk, however, that resource-rich countries may concentrate international financing and investments, thus eroding the current consensus of the CAP.

Finally, the devil is in the details... The CAP is an excellent tool in the hands of African negotiators, but most of the forthcoming work will concentrate on targets and indicators. The HLC and its support team should make efforts to advance in this endeavour. Food security is an example on how they could make their voice heard and integrate Africa's concerns into the global agenda. In this vein, *food self-sufficiency, rural urban linkages and employment along the food supply chains* are legitimate claims that should integrate the *food security* goal.

A last word on governance: this is a theme central to international concerns and endorsed by African people as one of their top priorities. Unfortunately, it is on the periphery of African leaders' priorities.

#### 4. Conclusions

The Common African Position on Post-2015 Development Agenda is a vital tool as it provides a negotiation framework for Africa. Its impact depends however on the extent to which it is adopted

by African governments and negotiators. Ownership of these African priorities and willingness to align with them in the course of the international negotiation process will determine whether Africa has succeeded in getting its voice heard.

The new model of Africa's economic development focuses on structural transformation and Pillar 1 of the CAP shows how critical this new path is to the future of Africa. The Africa Group has proposed a standalone goal on structural transformation to the Open Working Group (OWG) sessions, without lack so far. This review has also showed that key components of the transformative agenda are missing from most of the institutional proposals. There is hope however, because the outputs of the OWG seem to compensate most of the drawbacks identified within the institutional proposals described in this paper.

The OWG for Sustainable Development Goals – an emanation of the Rio+20 processes – has published its final outcome on 19 July 2014. The OWG document is by far much closer to the African priorities. It provides 17 goals and 169 targets that reflect all the six pillars of the CAP. At first glance, this document is very close to African concerns. However, there is need to further analyse the proposed targets in order to see to what extent they are representative of the interests of Africa.

The African leadership should find the appropriate links and partnerships with the global South to make their voice heard during the adoption process of goals and targets, set to end in September 2015. Because the current OWG results seem to provide a good representation of African priorities, efforts should be undertaken to avoid substantial deviation from its content.

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#### Annexes

#### Annex 1: Formulation Process of the Common African Position on Post-2015 Development Agenda



Source: Author's elaboration.

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Annex 2:

	Pillar 1: Structural economic transformation and inclusive growth	Pillar 2: Science, technology and innovation	Pillar 3: People- centered development	Pillar 4: Environmental sustainability, natural resources management and disaster risk management	Pillar 5: Peace and security	Pillar 6: Finance and partnership
a)	Inclusive growth that reduces inequality	Enhancing technological capacities for Africa's transformative agenda	The eradication of poverty	Improving natural resource and biodiversity management	Addressing the root causes of conflict	Improving domestic resource mobilisation
(q	Sustainable agriculture, food self-sufficiency and nutrition	Building enabling environment for innovation	Education and human capital development	Enhancing access to Safe Water for All	Preventing the outbreak of armed conflicts	Maximising innovative financing
c)	Diversification, industrialisation and value addition	Increasing support for research and development	Universal and equitable access to quality healthcare	Responding effectively to climate change		Implementing existing commitments and promoting quality and predictability of external financing
(p	Developing the services sector	Optimal utilisation of space and geospatial technologies	Gender equality and women's empowerment	Addressing desertification, land degradation, soil erosion, flooding and drought		Promoting mutually beneficial partnerships
(ə	Infrastructure development		Leveraging population dynamics for development	Natural disaster risk reduction and management		Strengthening partnerships for trade
f)			Harnessing Africa's youthful population			Establish partnerships for managing global commons
g			Improving access to sustainable human settlements			

Source: African Union, March 2014.

No.	Goal Definition
Goal 1	Eradicate Poverty and Extreme Hunger, and Achieve Food and Nutrition Security
Goal 2	Vigorously Promote Good Governance, Peace and Security
Goal 3	Provide Adequate, Qualitative, Affordable and Accessible Healthcare to All
Goal 4	Enhance Accessibility and Affordability of Quality Education to All
Goal 5	Improve Availability and Accessibility of Clean Water and Sanitation to All
Goal 6	Intensify Gender Equality, Women Empowerment and Youth Development
Goal 7	Heighten Social Inclusion and Security for All
Goal 8	Transform Conventional to Inclusive Green Growth and Promote Sustainable Consumption and Production
Goal 9	Scale up Investments in Infrastructure Development and Efficient Services
Goal 10	Advance Sustainable Exploitation, Use and Management of Natural Resources
Goal 11	Improve Quality and Sustainability of the Environment
Goal 12	Promote Global Partnerships and Institutional Effectiveness

#### Annex 3: Proposed Sustainable Development Goals (Africa)

Source: Ogiogio (2013).



#### Southern Voice on Post-MDG International Development

Goals (Southern Voice) is a network of 48 think tanks from Africa, Latin America and South Asia, that has identified a unique space and scope for itself to contribute to the post-MDG dialogue. By providing quality data, evidence and analyses that derive from research in the countries of the South, these institutions seek to inform the discussion on the post-2015 framework, goals and targets, and to help give shape to the debate itself. In the process, Southern Voice aims to enhance the quality of international development policy analysis, strengthen the global outreach capacity of Southern think tanks, and facilitate professional linkages between these institutions and their respective governments. Southern Voice operates as an open platform where concerned institutions and individuals from both South and North interact with the network members. Southern Voice Occasional Papers are based on research undertaken by the members of the network as well as inputs received at various platforms of the initiative. Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD), Dhaka works as the Secretariat of the Southern Voice.



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