



WORLD LEADERSHIP ALLIANCE
CLUB DE MADRID



A SHARED SOCIETIES PERSPECTIVE on the POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA



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POSITION PAPER

The Club de Madrid, an independent non-profit organization composed of over 90 democratic former Presidents and Prime Ministers from more than 60 different countries, has, through its Shared Societies Project, been working for more than seven years, to promote policy approaches that generate, safe and prosperous shared communities, and a productive and dynamic environment to maximize the economic contributions of all individuals, regardless of their race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, or other markers of identity.

As a result of this experience we are firmly convinced that the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals must address the issue of the continuing marginalisation of many groups on grounds of identity. The processes of marginalisation damage not only those groups but also the society as a whole, socially, economically and politically¹. In particular it has hindered and impeded the full achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. If it is not addressed in the new set of Sustainable Development Goals that are being formulated, it will hinder and impede their achievement again. This is why we have prepared and are promoting this position paper.

We are aware of the need to keep the new set of goals to a manageable number and that there are many competing demands for specific issues to be included. Therefore, it makes sense to identify goals which will have a multiplier effect and are not just “stand alone goals”. Through the Shared Societies Project, the Club de Madrid has shown that inclusion of all sections of society and particularly marginalised identity groups has significant impact on economic and social wellbeing². Therefore it is proposed that the **inclusion of all identity groups is embedded in the new goals**.

We note the approach and the structure suggested by the High Level Panel in its Illustrative Goals and Targets³. We believe that this provides an effective format and the following proposals are placed within that framework, though we realise it may not be followed in the final statement of the New Sustainable Development Agenda. We make five suggestions, each of which would in itself be a valuable addition. But they are mutually supportive and will be more effective if they are all included and given due weight in the final set of goals.

1. The importance of **disaggregating data to show the differential outcomes for different sections of society** has been stressed in the Report of the High Level Panel and welcomed. It would be helpful this is explicitly stated in the new Agenda and that it includes disaggregation in terms of identity. Otherwise we will have no way to know if new development has reached all sections of society.

2. It would be helpful to include references to **inclusion of all identity groups** within the statement of the specific targets in many of the Goals.

¹ See Club de Madrid: Economics of Shared Societies, http://www.clubmadrid.org/img/secciones/The_Economics_of_Shared_Societies_Publication.pdf

² See for example Club de Madrid: “The Economics of Shared Societies” http://www.clubmadrid.org/img/secciones/The_Economics_of_Shared_Societies_Publication.pdf

³ The *Supporting paper to the Club de Madrid Position Statement on the Post-2015 Development Agenda* (attached) further elucidates the underlying thinking of the Club de Madrid behind this statement and gives a more in depth explanation of the importance of including these concepts in the post-2015 agenda.



3. We propose a **specific target on social inclusion** and relations between identity groups. We believe that this can best be achieved by a target on participation and consultation which could be placed within Goal 10 of the High Level Panel, *Ensure Good Governance and Effective Institutions*:

All states with separate identity groups that make up at least x% of the population will establish consultative bodies with each identity group, ensuring that their representatives on the consultative body are acceptable to that community

These bodies would be at both the national and local level and would consider all matters that have a direct impact on that community. This is a tangible and specific target with limited cost implications. It has already been implemented in some countries. Therefore it is feasible. It is already enshrined in an international agreement, the International Labour Organisation Convention 169, though that convention only relates to indigenous communities in relation to specific circumstances and is only one provision within that Convention. Sometimes it is avoided by arguments about the definition of an indigenous community. It is proposed that this target should relate to all identity groups, including migrants, which would have the added benefit of avoiding the problem of definition. We would recommend that the goal should adopt the example of Convention 169 in requiring consultation, but it is not considered necessary or desirable to confer on any specific group a veto. If such participation is ensured, it will have a multiplier effect as it is more likely that the interests and needs of those communities will be taken into account in relation to the other Goals and will enhance their achievement.

4. A specific target would be helpful in relation to Goal 11, *Ensuring Stable and Peaceful Societies* to **ensure that the problem of poor inter-community relationships is addressed**.

Create effective channels of communication between identity groups and also with Government and other sectors of society to develop mutual understanding, prevent conflicts, and facilitate crisis management when conflict arises.

Goal 11 recognises that poor inter-group relations can be a cause of instability and conflict, but does not indicate how relationships can be improved. This additional target would deal with that issue. It would be possible to spell out how this could be done though it is not appropriate or necessary to include this in the statement of the Target.

5. It is proposed that additional targets should be included under Goal 12, *Create a Global Enabling Environment and Catalyse Long-Term Finance* to **address the impact of global financial policies on specific identity groups**.

Carry out an assessment on the impact on identity groups and inter-group relations of all new global financial policies and programmes, and the results of those assessments shall be made public.

Such a practice would not deal with any of the specific challenges in relation to building a shared sustainable world but the publication of such reports would provide a monitoring system on the impact of policies and programmes on specific communities and would encourage more careful development and planning of such policies and programmes to avoid a negative audit. This practice would also be beneficial at the national level and in relation to existing policies and programmes as well as new initiatives.



Background to the Club de Madrid Position Statement on Post-2015 Development Agenda

Throughout the position statement and this background paper the term identity groups is used specifically to refer to communities distinguished in terms of race, colour, descent, language, religion, national or ethnic origin, and other markers of identity and belief. These become the basis of tension, rivalry and discrimination by one or more group towards others. Identity groups may also be disadvantaged in other ways. They may live in remote and inaccessible areas away from the main centres of governance, in rural communities often disadvantaged when compared to their urban counterparts. When they move to cities, they are often only able to find accommodation with their kinfolk in poorer and less developed settlements lacking adequate services. Many of these identity groups exist outside the market economy. We are also mindful that there are intra-community divisions, with a small elite often the most visible and articulate personification of the identity group, becoming its representative as a result of their influence over clan and kinship systems. But the interests of this elite may be very different from, and out of touch with, the realities of those for whom they speak.

Therefore, in considering global goals, it is necessary to identify the different communities in any given society and understand how these are differentially affected by those goals and the policies intended to realise them.

Endorsement of Post-2015 Process and Progress to Date:

The Members of the Club de Madrid (more than ninety former Heads of State and Government from every continent) welcomed the decision to formulate a new set of Sustainable Development Goals to follow on from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). They share the widely-held view that the MDGs have been effective in stimulating the progress made in meeting the targets laid down in 2000. The MDGs have demonstrated the impact that clearly agreed goals can have on development and the Club de Madrid supports the efforts to build on their success through a new Development Agenda. We have also seen that the goals help to change attitudes about what is acceptable, or not what is in fact feasible, challenging the fatalistic acceptance that little can be achieved.

The Members have also been encouraged by progress made on the new development agenda to date. They welcome the report of the UN System's Task Force, "Realising the Future We Want for All", the report of the UN Secretary-General's High Level Panel, "A new Global Partnership²", and, the Progress Report of the Secretary General to the General Assembly, "A life of dignity for all³". We were honoured that one of the Members of the Club de Madrid, Horst Köhler, former President of Germany, was a member of the High Level Panel. We were able to present our views to the High Level Panel's meeting of Bali. All these reports reflect principles and values that Club de Madrid regards as essential: "universality, equity, sustainability, solidarity, human rights, the right to development and responsibilities shared in accordance with capabilities. The partnership should capture, and will depend on a spirit of mutual respect and mutual benefit"⁴.

¹ www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/Post_2015_UNTTreport.pdf

² <http://www.post2015hlp.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/UN-Report.pdf>

³ http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/68/202

⁴ Report of the High Level Panel, page 9



The Members also support the Open Working Group of the General Assembly that has taken on the key task of reaching agreement on the content of the New Sustainable Development Agenda. We trust that the outcome of their work will reflect the principles and values already enunciated in the earlier work.

Positive elements:

The Members of the Club de Madrid welcome the High Level Panel's emphasis on inclusion, bringing people in from the margins – "development for all" – "leave no one behind".

The Members also value the focus on a people-centred approach, and trust that the implications of this are accepted. We argue below that the only way to ensure that the new Sustainable Development Agenda meets the needs of the marginalised and the poor, those whose needs the Development Goals will be intended to meet, is by including them in planning and implementation – recognising their voice and their agency.

It is also important that the framework of the Rio +20 Conference of 2012 has been affirmed - economic development, social inclusion and environmental sustainability – and that the interconnected nature of these issues has been recognized. As the UN Secretary-General notes in his report to the General Assembly⁵: "Each of these dimensions contributes to the others and all are necessary for the well-being of individuals and societies". Together, they are meant to enable people to fulfil their potential within the finite resources of our planet."

The Members of the Club de Madrid endorse this view and are particularly encouraged that the concept of social inclusion lies at the centre of this framework. This is the very basis of the Shared Societies Project (see below). As the Secretary General goes on to say⁶:

In order to leave no one behind and bring everyone forward, actions are needed to promote equality of opportunity. This implies inclusive economies in which men and women have access to decent employment, legal identification, financial services, infrastructure and social protection, as well as societies where all people can contribute and participate in national and local governance.

We also welcome the call by the High Level Panel to "forge a new global partnership"⁷ reinforced by the Secretary General when he says that the new Sustainable Development Agenda should "foster a new global partnership, recognizing shared interests, different needs and mutual responsibilities, to ensure commitment to and means of implementing the new vision."⁸

The Club de Madrid's work with national leaders the Club de Madrid has repeatedly confirmed that a fair and inclusive international economic system is central to a global partnership. It is often difficult for national leaders to develop a fair and equitable national economy because of pressures from the international financial system. For this reason the Shared Societies Project, with other international partners, developed the **Global Shared Societies Agenda** to Promote Long-Term Inclusive and Sustainable Growth⁹.

We, therefore, support the call by the High Level Panel for international financial institutions to be "more innovative, flexible and nimble in the way they operate"¹⁰ and concur with the view of the Secretary General¹¹ that: "A universal development agenda beyond 2015 will require a robust framework for sustainable development finance including both private and public funding".

⁵ Paragraph 74

⁶ Paragraph 84

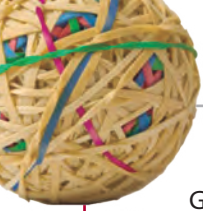
⁷ Page 9

⁸ Paragraph 96

⁹ http://www.clubmadrid.org/img/ssp_secciones/GSSA_31082012.pdf

¹⁰ Page 11

¹¹ Paragraph 100-101



Given this concern we strongly support the call from the High Level Panel **to disaggregate data to show the differential gains and losses for specific groups** in the development process.

What Needs Greater Emphasis?

While endorsing the overall thrust of the various reports, the Members of the Club de Madrid are conscious that, without taking positive steps and providing greater protection, some groups will be left behind: for example different identity groups, the disabled, the elderly, the young and women. From a Shared Societies perspective, the differentials that are of particular concern are those related to group identity, those based on factors related to race, colour, descent, language, religion, or national or ethnic origin, without ignoring the equally valid concerns of other sectors. Those who are currently marginalised and in danger of continuing to be left behind are listed at many points throughout the various reports. Barriers such as gender and age are often highlighted as challenges to be overcome but Club de Madrid is concerned that other identity groups should not be overlooked. The hurdles resulting from differences of identity, be they race, ethnicity, religious, or language, are equally pernicious in limiting the potential for development for all.

Marginalised identity groups often are invisible and have no voice in the wider society, as they seldom have cross cutting connections with other sectors, including those with power and influence, in order to ensure that their concerns are heard, understood and addressed. They have no one to speak for them but themselves. Time and again their natural spokespersons move away from their origins through education and employment, and loose touch with the concerns and realities of everyday life. At the same time identity divisions often create intense volatility because polarisation can lead to tensions and hostilities that cannot be channelled through the existing political process. The Members of the Club de Madrid have repeatedly emphasised the challenge of improving relations between identity groups is one of the most important conversations of our time.

While there is commitment to ensure that these groups are not left behind, there is as yet little indication of the kind of measures that will be necessary to achieve this. The reality is that, in the present world, there is a consensus about respect for the dignity and needs of all these groups but they often are overlooked, neglected and discriminated against because other more powerful sectors have a stronger voice and more levers (political power, money, expert resources) to ensure their voice is heard and given most consideration.

The Members believe that this lacuna needs to be addressed.

We were concerned that the High Level Panel at times seemed to fall into this trap. In the section on decent work for all¹² their Report says little about discrimination and dealing with poor practices by employers but much about freeing up businesses to grow and create jobs. We know that, without oversight and regulations, bad practices and discrimination may be tolerated. This needs to be addressed immediately, not left to be fixed later.

Similarly, the section on food security (p.40-41) relies rather heavily on promoting large scale agriculture without acknowledging its negative impacts on the environment and says little about encouraging farming practices in sympathy with nature. Apart from a call for secure land tenure, it does not address the needs of small scale peasant farmers, who will continue to support and feed a significant proportion of the poorest people, and, by necessity and lack of resources, do so in greater sympathy with the environment. The Panel rightly says¹³: "Sustainable production is far cheaper than 'Grow now, clean later' but that sentiment is not fully reflected in the report as a whole.

We know that a rising tide does not raise all boats, because some are damaged and disregarded and are not capable of floating with the tide. Nor does the trickle down of some growth models reach down very far and certainly does not always trickle to the most marginalised and disadvantaged.

¹² Pages 46 - 47

¹³ Page 8



The Report of the High Level Panel correctly notes:¹⁴ "...we must go beyond the MDGs. They did not focus enough on reaching the very poorest and most excluded people. They were silent on the devastating effects of conflict and violence on development. The importance to development of good governance and institutions that guaranteed the rule of law, free speech and open and accountable government was not included, nor the need of inclusive growth to provide jobs. Most seriously, the MDGs fell short by not integrating the economic, social and environmental aspects of sustainable development."

The Club de Madrid believes that an important aspect in addressing these concerns is to ensure that the society respects and includes all identity groups, especially the poorest and most excluded. Tensions within and between communities can lead to conflict and violence which often impacts most severely on marginalised identity groups. One cannot be satisfied with the quality of governance if, as often is the case, marginalised identity groups are unable to participate.

The potential contribution to the economy of such groups is significant but they are often discriminated against in seeking employment or developing their own economic activities. And we have seen that indigenous communities can be much more sensitive to the needs of the natural world and natural processes and more sustainable in the management of natural resources. They have to be, because they are dependent on their environment and cannot shift elsewhere if it is overexploited or polluted.

The way different identity groups are treated is an indicator of how the society is treating its members overall. Their status and situation is a bellwether for the overall wellbeing of the community – or a sign of its problems. As the High Level Panel said throughout its report, looking after the weakest is not only the right thing to do. It also makes social and economic sense. "Working together is not just a moral obligation to help those less fortunate but is an investment in the long-term prosperity of all"¹⁵.

We were also disappointed by the limited attention given to the issue of migration and relations between immigrant groups and the host communities. As the world becomes more global and humanity is on the move, this is one situation where problems of inter-group relations is increasingly marked.

We have no problem with what has been said. It is simply not enough. The Members agree with the High Level Panel¹⁶ that: "The universal rights and fundamental freedoms of migrants must be respected". We are also glad that the panel has pointed out that: "These migrants make a positive economic contribution to their host countries, by building up their labour force". Equally the Secretary General makes a number of important points when he calls for the enhancement of the positive contribution of migrants:¹⁷

More than a billion people rely on international and domestic migration to improve the income, health and education of their families, escape poverty and conflict and adapt to environmental and economic shocks. Countries receiving migrants can also benefit significantly. Yet many barriers limit the positive effects of migration, including possible large economic and social gains. Discrimination is widespread and the human rights of migrants are often denied at different points in the migration process. The scourge of human trafficking, an unacceptable dimension of migration, must be ended.

While all of this is true, these two paragraphs provide a rather meagre coverage of this important topic.

The Shared Societies Perspective:

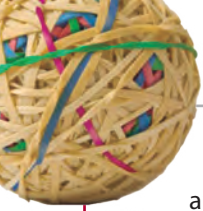
In the light of the challenges described in the previous paragraphs, the Members of the Club de Madrid decided that they must raise the issue of inter-group relations, overcoming divisions and hostilities and building constructive relations. Their own experience has made the costs of social divisions and economic

¹⁴ Executive Summary, paragraph 3

¹⁵ Page 10

¹⁶ Page 18

¹⁷ Paragraph 93



and social exclusion glaringly obvious. As a result the Shared Societies Project was initiated in 2007 to provide current leaders and the wider society with a greater understanding of the benefits of social inclusion and ways to bring it about.

The Members know that by including and respecting all communities, a society will develop which is at peace with itself, in which everyone can feel at home and is able to contribute to the good of the whole society. We called it a **Shared Society** because it is one where everyone has a stake and everyone has responsibilities – it is a society that is not owned by any group but shared by everyone. We also know that we can not leave it to chance for such a society to emerge - it can be built, but it requires political will. Governments and the dominant sectors of society must enable the whole society to belong and fulfil their ambitions, to have a reasonable quality of life, a sense of control over their destiny, to be accepted and respected by the wider society, and if they are parents to be able to give their children a good start in life.

In the Club de Madrid we believe that we need to have clear policies and programmes in place, at the heart of which four key elements must be presented: mutual respect for the dignity of each individual, equality of opportunity, the absence of discrimination, and, democratic participation. These principles reflect the values which are at the heart of the framing the new Sustainable Development Goals¹⁸. But if these principles are only aspirations and ideals, little will have changed. They need to be embedded in specific policies and practices. To this end, Club de Madrid has identified 10 policy areas which we call “The Ten Commitments” because we believe all societies must commit to address these policy areas if they are to avoid social tensions and hostilities and achieve sustainable development. We commend them to those tasked with the development of the New Sustainable Development Agenda.

The Secretary General and the High Level Panel have noted that an inclusive society is “an investment in the long-term prosperity of all”¹⁹. The Shared Societies Project established a working group to explore this economic dimension of the Shared Societies concept and published its report with supporting material in “The Economics of Shared Societies”²⁰. Reference has also been made to the “Global Shared Societies Agenda to Promote Long-Term Inclusive and Sustainable Growth”, which was produced with partners because of the recognition, shared with the High Level Panel, that a fair and inclusive international economic system is central to building a prosperous and sustainable shared society nationally. It has therefore identified in the Global Shared Societies Agenda the kind of policies and practices that would be required.

On the basis of the earlier comments on the work on the Post-2015 Development Agenda to date, the experience of the Members of the Club de Madrid in general and the analysis developed within the Shared Societies Project, we have presented our position statement indicting how the ongoing work on the new Sustainable Development Goals may be strengthened by greater emphasis on a Shared Societies dimension.

¹⁸ For example, High Level Panel, page 9

¹⁹ Page 10

²⁰ http://www.clubmadrid.org/img/secciones/The_Economics_of_Shared_Societies_Publication.pdf