



Labour Campaign
for International
Development

BEYOND AID:

Labour's ambition for a radical development agenda

Edited by Glenys Kinnock and Stephen Doughty MP





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FOREWORD

Mary Creagh MP
Shadow Secretary of State for International Development

Fifteen years ago, the Labour government led the international community to agree the Millennium Development Goals. They drove enormous progress: seventeen thousand fewer children die every day; nine out of ten children in developing regions attend primary school. And with Ed Miliband as Secretary of State for energy, the UK became the first country in the world to put into a law a target to reduce carbon.

This year the world will agree the Sustainable Development Goals to meet our ambition to eradicate poverty over the next fifteen years. In Paris in December the world will seek a new agreement to tackle climate change. More than ever, Britain and the world need leadership to tackle poverty, inequality and climate change.

The old model of donor-led aid has achieved a huge amount but it is becoming increasingly outdated. We need new ideas and innovations to ensure we are spending increasing amounts of aid as effectively as possible. And with UK parties agreed on the wish to spend 0.7% of gross national income on aid it is more important than ever that taxpayers' money makes a lasting difference to the poor.

Labour has the values, vision and courage to meet these challenges and ensure that the UK remains as thought leaders in the international debate. This pamphlet sets out some of the innovative ideas we need to return Britain to its position as a global leader. It draws on the expertise of experts from different countries, backgrounds and sectors. Crucially, it provides a strategic overview of how we can work with global partners to meet Labour's ambitions for a world where human rights, conflict prevention and sustainable development can change lives for the better.

2015 provides a unique opportunity for the world to think bigger and do better - for ourselves, our children and the world's poorest people. With the right leadership and values, ours is the generation that can wipe out extreme poverty, reduce inequality and tackle climate change. We must seize it with both hands.

INTRODUCTION

Glenys Kinnock & Stephen Doughty MP



The world is changing. The winds of globalisation continue to sweep across the world, gifting us opportunities unimaginable a decade ago - with advances in technology, enhanced connectivity, growing markets and the increasingly mobile nature of capital and labour.

But with these opportunities come challenges and insecurities - also global in nature, but equally felt in the United Kingdom.

As the world grows ever smaller, what happens on the streets of Freetown in Sierra Leone, Kabul in Afghanistan, or Dhaka in Bangladesh, ultimately has an impact on the streets of the United Kingdom. It is increasingly likely therefore, that the nexus between acting on the basis of moral imperative, in the global interests of humanity, and in our own national interest will become further entwined.

While we must embrace the opportunities arising from globalisation, we must be brave in tackling the challenges, insecurities and threats with a renewed ambition - and not allow ourselves to be paralysed by orthodoxies of yesteryear.

The policy prescriptions which were applied between 1997 and 2010 led to huge advances around the world. It was Labour that helped lift 3 million people out of poverty each year, and get some 40 million more children into school. Polio is on the verge of being eradicated and 3 million people are now able to access life-preserving drugs for HIV and AIDS. Water and sanitation services have been improved for over 1.5 million people. But the post-1997 development agenda cannot be simply replicated in today's world, which has changed so much since then.

It is clear that in this world where poverty persists - in spite of the gains that have been made - where more than a billion people still live on less than \$1.25 a day, core development challenges remain. International development matters more, not less.

It would be erroneous to believe that a cosy consensus exists on development. It is a hotly contested space. Because when it comes to developing and delivering workable solutions to some of the most pressing issues - like mapping out a path to tackle climate change, deciding which countries will receive bilateral assistance from the UK, and determining the projects and the causes we prioritise - decisions of this nature are inherently political.

We must not retreat from the frontline where the politics of development and the nature of internationalism is played out - because if we do, it is the world's poorest and most vulnerable people, in some of the most fragile and conflict-affected countries, as well as our own national interest, which will ultimately be left to suffer.

This pamphlet, which draws on expert opinion from different backgrounds and sectors, aims to spark the debate about, and offer renewed ambition for, a radical development agenda and what the UK's role should be in shaping it.

It begins with a look at the changing economic paradigm. No longer is it simply sufficient to focus on economic development without consideration of its social and environmental consequences. Our responses need to be integrated - because inequality, sustainable development, decent work and corporate responsibility are so important to our conception of doing economic development better.

All of our authors acknowledge the impacts of the UN's post-2015 process which aims to introduce a new set of global development goals to replace the Millennium Development Goals. The rights of the poorest and most marginalised, especially women and girls, must form an integral part of this process so we are therefore calling for a renewed rights agenda at local and international level.

The drive for universal public services is close to the Labour Party's heart and should be an integral part of the UK's development strategy. Universal access to health and education, and innovation in the way we work with development partners to deliver public services, are crucial.

Conflict and fragility are two of the most pressing issues the global community must face if we are truly to reach our goal of eradicating poverty. The UK has played a key role in the past and has the ability to continue to be a strong voice in ensuring a holistic approach to addressing humanitarian crisis and conflict in the future - and there must be better synergy between development, defence and diplomatic actors in Whitehall.

Finally, as an internationalist party we understand the importance of working closely with our overseas partners - and none is more important than our partnership with the EU, as well as within the UN family of nations.

This is a crucial time in the battle for a progressive internationalist posture - because Britain stands at a cross-roads, and on May 7 there is a clear choice.

A choice between a Labour government determined that the Sustainable Development Goals do more to tackle inequality, promote human rights, tackle climate change and deliver universal health coverage; and a Conservative Party which is increasingly beset by narrow mindedness and isolationist tendencies.

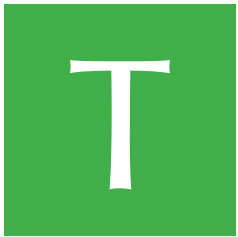
Labour led the world on international development and we can do it again. Only the Labour Party can deliver on an ambitious agenda - we are the party of social justice, who truly believe that inequality and marginalisation are the barriers to eradicating poverty; and that aid is not about charity, but about justice. We are the only party of progress on rights, peace and security.

The march towards progress is not inevitable, it happens not by chance but by choice. We've done it before and we can do it again, so let's not shy away from the fight, of intellectual and moral leadership and for ambitious action, which lies ahead.

INEQUALITY: THE GREAT PARADOX OF OUR TIMES

Naila Kabeer

Naila Kabeer is Professor of Gender and International Development at the London School of Economics and Political Science. She has been engaged in research, teaching and advisory work in the field of gender, poverty and social exclusion for over 25 years. Information on her publications can be found on www.nailakabeer.com.



The post-war years of development policy were focused on economic growth in the newly-independent nations but envisaged a strong role for the state to both create conditions that would allow private sector enterprise to flourish as well as provide a degree of protection to labour. Many achieved remarkable rates of economic growth and social development.

The 1980s saw the ascendance of a new market-driven growth paradigm in some of the more powerful wealthy countries, one that was then imposed on the developing world through the lending policies of the World Bank and the IMF. The new growth model was based on the deregulation of labour markets, the liberalization of trade and financial flows, opening up countries to global competition and the reduction of the role of the state in the economy. Free market forces, it was believed, would deliver broad-based growth that would benefit all sections of society, including its poorer sections: “the rising tide that would lift all boats”.

Has the free market paradigm delivered on this promise? Certainly the world is richer than ever before with unprecedented rates of growth in many of the emerging economies. The Millennium Development Goal 1 of halving extreme poverty between 1990 and 2015 has been achieved ahead of its deadline. But the world is also more unequal than at any point since the Second World War. It has been the strong rates of growth in a few populous countries, like India and China, and their success in reducing the proportions of their population in extreme poverty that accounts for the achievement of MDG1. Elsewhere, growth rates are more sluggish and the gains from growth have been largely captured by an elite minority. As a recent UNDP report on inequality put it: “Great and persistent inequality in the midst of plenty is a paradox of our times”.

This rise in inequality has been consistent throughout the period of market-driven growth. And while extreme poverty may be concentrated in the developing countries, the rise in inequality is a global phenomenon. Seven out of ten people today live in countries where economic inequality has increased in the last 30 years. The bottom 5% of the global income distribution made no progress at all between 1988 and 2008. The top 1%, have done spectacularly well. In a statistic that grabbed the public imagination: the 85 richest people in the world, who could fit into a London double-decker bus, control as much wealth between them as the poorest half of the world’s population, that is 3.5 billion people. Inequality is also very much a UK phenomenon. An OECD study found that income inequality in the working age population in the UK has risen faster than any other wealthy country since the 1970s. By 2008, the income of the top 10% was 12 times higher than the bottom 10%. The ratio in other wealthy countries was 9 to 1.

However, inequality is not just about the distribution of income. Inequality also has a social dimension, reflecting the

devaluation of certain groups relative to others on the basis of their socially ascribed identities. While group-based inequalities can take many different forms, even within the same society, the most enduring examples of such inequalities are those, like race, gender, ethnicity and caste, which are ascribed from birth and transmitted across generations. As assessments of the Millennium Development Goals have shown, the intersection of economic and social inequality play an important role in determining which groups have made progress on these goals and which groups have been left behind.

For instance, while India experienced extremely rapid economic growth between 1983 and 2005, accompanied by a 40% decline in national poverty, the pace of decline was much slower among its socially marginalized groups: it declined by just 35% among the lowest castes and 31% among its indigenous groups. In China, average income grew for both ethnic majority and minority groups in the 1990s, a period of rapid growth, but at a much slower pace for ethnic minorities, leading to a widening of income inequalities between the two groups. In Latin America, moderate and extreme forms of poverty have been decreasing but remain much higher for ethnic and racial minorities. Thus, white people made up 88% of the richest 1% of the population of Brazil in 2005 and just 27% of the poorest 10%, while Afro-descendants made up 12% of the richest 1% and 74% of the poorest 10%. Gender often exacerbates disadvantage among socially devalued groups. So, for instance, in Nigeria, rural Hausa children have the lowest levels of education of groups but Hausa girls have less education than Hausa boys. In Bolivia, while 93% of births to urban women had a skilled attendant present, it went up to 99% of births to urban, non-indigenous women from the richest quintile. While 67% of births to rural women had a skilled attendant present, it went down to 38% of rural, indigenous women from the poorest quintile.

There have always been groups who have opposed inequality on grounds of social injustice. Inequality means that a person’s chances in life, including their chances of survival, will depend on circumstances beyond their control. It means that their efforts to make a living and to build a better future for themselves and their families, will be rewarded on the basis of who they are and where they are positioned in the social hierarchy rather than by the intensity of their efforts and their willingness to make sacrifices. Not surprisingly, this is likely to undermine the efforts of those at the bottom of the hierarchy. A very interesting study from India found that children from different castes all performed equally well when asked to solve a maze puzzle as long as their caste identities were not revealed to each other. But the success rates of children from the lowest castes plummeted when caste identities were made public. They plummeted even further when children were asked to perform the puzzles in caste-segregated groups. Our sense of ourselves, and how we relate to the rest of the world, is strongly influenced by what the world believes we are capable of.

But along with obvious concerns about social justice, other

reasons to care about inequality have made their way into public policy agenda. The 'Spirit Level' by Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson was important in pointing out that the effects of inequality are not only confined to those who are at the bottom of the social hierarchy but affect the rest of society. More unequal societies reported poorer levels of health, mental illness, drug addiction, obesity, imprisonment and poorer wellbeing for children. The data used by Pickett and Wilkinson is taken from the rich OECD countries. We do not have equivalent data sets in developing country contexts to carry out a similar exercise but there is evidence along the same lines. Socio-economic inequalities do not simply have consequences for those immediately affected by them but weaken the social fabric of the wider society through increased levels of crime, conflict and social instability. For instance, the proportion of global conflicts that are classified as 'ethnic' have risen from 15% in 1953 to 60% in 2005. Driving these conflicts are the grievances of those who find themselves marginalized in the distribution of valued resources in their society and denied voice and influence in shaping its future.

These findings have led to a major shift among growth economists from their previous position which saw growth and redistribution in terms of a trade-off to a recognition that the social consequences of inequality serve to slow down the pace of economic growth. There is now an unexpected but growing convergence between groups normally focused on social justice and those normally focused on growth, including central bankers, business leaders, growth economists and the IMF. We would not expect the redistributive agenda emerging from these otherwise divergent groups to be the same but there is an important degree of overlap. They can be broadly grouped under the headings of responsive states, active citizens and global solidarity.

In contrast to the demonizing of the state which characterized the neo-liberal agenda, there is growing recognition of the need for effective and responsive states able to protect their citizens from the worst depredations of market forces and global competition and to undertake strategic investments to enable their economies to engage with global market forces. In marked departure from its earlier emphasis on fiscal austerity, the IMF is now calling for progressive taxation to finance progressive expenditures. Progressive taxation should include taxing some of the huge profits and bonuses that have become common in the corporate sector and tackling tax avoidance and tax havens that allow wealthy corporations to avoid shouldering their fair share of public contribution.

Progressive expenditure should include financing a basic social protection floor that not only reduces the costs of economic crisis and natural disasters for the whole population, but also increases the bargaining power of the poor and vulnerable. For instance, the National Employment Guarantee Scheme in India which has built the right to employment into its design has helped to mobilize the rural poor in defense of these rights as well as leading to a rise in agricultural wages, given that wage laborers are able to bargain with landlords from a strong bargaining position. Women and members of the lowest castes have been among the main beneficiaries of this scheme.

Progressive expenditure should also include investments in the care and quality of the human resources of a nation, its people. Greater support for the care of children, the sick, the elderly and the disabled would also permit the women who make up the army of unpaid carers in most countries to participate in the economic and public life of their communities. Finally, progressive expenditure should include strategic investments in building a country's 'competitive advantage' in the global economy as well as developing its domestic markets so that a country is not unduly dependent on global trade.

But states are unlikely to become responsive to the needs of their citizens without active pressure from these citizens. It has become clear that the introduction of multi-party elections does

not add up to democracy. It is important to enable all citizens to participate in shaping the future of their society, including the ability to take part in elections. Social mobilization around demands for justice have proved to be one of the most effective routes to democratizing states and societies. Over a decade of social mobilization in Latin America has resulted in some of the most progressive constitutions in the world, including a commitment to a pluralistic society and indigenous values as well as various experiments in participatory policy making and budgeting. But social mobilization cannot be willed into existence and very often it is most marginalized groups that lack political agency. Once again, we have evidence from around the world of the effectiveness of purposive efforts to build citizenship from the grassroots, organizing men and women into groups, promoting their capacity to analyze the injustice of their situation, increasing their knowledge about the legal system and supporting their struggle for their rights.

Finally, there needs to be action at the global level. Untrammeled global competition has had global consequences. International co-ordination is necessary both to deal with these consequences but also to put in place the policies that can check some of the excesses of the current system. One reason why globalization has been accompanied by a race to the welfare bottom is that no country on its own is ready to adopt policies that might make its own labor more costly relative to others and undermine its ability to compete. Yet in a system where capital enjoys almost unlimited mobility, where labor faces many restrictions on its mobility but little legal and social protection, it is clear that globalization has been carried out on highly asymmetrical terms. One widely advocated idea that would both curtail both speculative flows of capital and generate revenue for promoting a global social floor is a Tobin tax on international financial transactions. Other ideas include reform of the governance structures of global institutions, particularly the World Bank and the IMF, along more democratic lines in place of their current domination by rich countries. Finally global co-ordination is needed to hold countries accountable to the promises they have made to contribute to global redistribution through financing international development.

Background readings

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(<http://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/MDGreportwebsitew2WC.pdf>).

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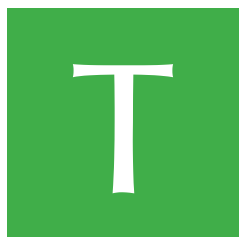
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CLIMATE CHANGE & SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Edwin Laurent

Edwin Laurent is Senior Adviser with the UNEP Green Economy Initiative in the Caribbean and Director of the London based Ramphal Institute. The views expressed in this paper are his and do not necessarily reflect those of either of those two institutions.



The world's climate has been changing dramatically over the last fifty years, with temperatures increasing sharply. During the previous decade, the global average was the highest since 1880. By the end of this century, it is expected to increase by a further two to four degrees Celsius. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, such increases will have serious negative consequences.

One such consequence will be rising sea levels; in the most optimistic case, sea levels are set to rise by 9 to 48 cm by 2080, and the worst case by 16 to 69 cm. This threatens low lying island states like Kiribati and Tuvalu and the heavily populated coastal plains of Bangladesh, which could disappear underwater.

In the United Kingdom the changes are not very noticeable and do not yet affect everyday life. The issues can therefore seem remote and the debate over who is to blame, what should be done and who should pay, rather esoteric.

Some still question the reality of the threat or that human activity is the cause; but denial is no more of a shield against impending danger, than for the ostrich hiding its head in the sand.

True small islands and marginal areas are most affected by climate change. But no one should be complacent. In the olden days, canaries were taken down the mines since they would collapse as the air got poisonous; even before the miners sensed danger. In the same way the plight of small islands gives early warning to the rest of the world

The Climate Culprit

Since 1950 global productive activity has expanded tenfold, greatly increasing concentrations of greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide, in the atmosphere and upsetting its delicate chemical balance. This has set in train the consequences that we are now experiencing.

But productive activity does not have to cause such damage. Rather, it was the particular economic model that most countries followed which was to blame. In that model, enterprises, both private and public did not sufficiently take account of environment costs: pollution, loss of habitat for endangered fauna and the extinction of species, etc. (in other words the natural capital being used up in production). Not having to bear those costs, business had little incentive to minimise them, particularly if doing so adversely affected profits.

When the true cost of natural capital is factored in, greater attention is paid to emissions control, energy efficiency, pub-

lic transportation, sustainable agriculture, water conservation etc. Nowadays, many enterprises are seeking to accommodate environmental concerns; possibly responding to growing public awareness of the fragility and value of the environment and the threats that it faces.

Governments around the world have been intervening with regulation, taxation and incentives to resolve the conflict between profit making and environmental protection in favour of the latter by changing the cost calculation. Since EU governments are committed, by 2030, to reducing greenhouse gas emissions¹ by 40%, they will inevitably need to deploy these indirect measures to change the behaviour of businesses.

China and the United States, the world's two largest emitters of greenhouse gases, must do the same. They agreed last November on the importance of global decarbonisation and their responsibility to take the lead. The US is to reduce by 26-28% and China has set 2030 as the year its emissions will peak.

But what of developing countries? Can they avoid conflict between safeguarding the environment and the imperative to escape poverty and create better lives for their people? They need to generate more income through economic growth. But how can they do this without damaging the local and global environment. China did not; it is growing rapidly and now emitting 29% of global greenhouse gases.

Support for Developing Countries

The 1992 Rio Earth Summit marked a milestone in understanding the forces that shape and guide sustainable development that brings about lasting improvement in living standards and welfare, without eroding environmental assets.

The choices for poor countries are not always easy. Most have limited capital and skilled labour and therefore depend heavily on natural resources. This can make it difficult to grow and develop whilst safeguarding environmental assets.

Speaking at the UN Conference on Small Island Developing States in Samoa last September, Arvin Boolell, Mauritius' Minister of Foreign Affairs said; "we cannot be expected to make progress towards the next level of development when our survival is uncertain and our limited resources are being diverted to managing the impacts of climate change."

Economic development therefore cannot be viewed in isolation from environmental considerations, but it is essential to understand the challenges and the factors impeding progress.

Essentially, poor countries are not generating enough income

1. The EU agreed on the 22nd January 2014 to a package of measures to cut its greenhouse gas emissions by 40% by 2030, compared with 1990 levels, and will produce 27% of its energy from renewable sources by the same date. EU emissions currently account for 11% of the world's total.

2. This process can be equated to what UNEP defines as a green economy that results in "improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities". Pg. 16. Towards a Green Economy: Pathways to Sustainable Development and Poverty Eradication. UNEP 2011.

An illustration of how the growth is devalued when it degrades the environment is provided by the experience in the Ogoni region of the Niger Delta in West Africa, where decades of oil extraction have spoilt much of the lands and disrupted local communities.

to meet their people's needs. Their levels of domestic investment and access to up-to-date technology are inadequate and most are at the bottom, and least profitable end, of global supply chains where they produce and export raw materials. They are not sufficiently resilient to disasters and the adverse consequences of climate change. Many are so small that they cannot benefit from economies of scale and diversify their economies. A few fail to capitalise on their full human resources and potential because they discriminate against women. In some, poor governance results in inadequate policymaking and wasteful and inefficient management. Also, armed conflict and its aftermath have blighted the prospects of many.

Of course primary responsibility for national development and addressing these challenges rests with the country's own government.

However many developing countries cannot manage this entirely on their own. They lack the capacity and financial resources, and often face external constraints that are beyond national control. For instance some countries are no longer eligible for concessionary loans because of their income. However their national debt burdens are at unsustainable levels. Servicing requirements limit funding available for new investment and can even compromise the country's ability to meet the basic needs of its population.

A Development Partnership

Governments like the UK's, and institutions like the World Bank, can help bridge the funding and capability gaps and promote an international environment that is more favourable to development and sympathetic to the challenges facing low-income countries. The UK and others can also assist them devise and pursue appropriate policies that decouple economic growth from high emissions and pollution. To be successful though, they need appropriate technology and promote innovation.

It is such long-term transformation that development aid seeks to bring about, differentiating it, in purpose and delivery, from humanitarian aid³. The latter is driven by a sense of shared humanity and charity that prompts the UK public and government to provide food, medicines and other humanitarian support to victims of disasters or to countries, too poor to meet their people's basic needs. But supporting development is about more than that. It entails helping build the capacity of the country to generate more income and itself be able to meet the needs and aspirations of its people.

Admittedly economic development does not grab public interest in the same way that television images of a starving child or of homeless tsunami survivors can.

Despite lacking sentimental appeal, development cooperation is vital and in the interests of both parties. Support though must be meaningful and cost-effective and based on a shared vision of development goals and the path to be followed. Next September, the UN is set to adopt a new set of sustainable development goals to replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), now in their final year. The new goals⁴, which are being called the SDGs, will incorporate environmental concerns and help guide future international development policy.

Development is a long-term process and achieving desired results can often entail a range of interventions and investments over an extended period of time. Their full value would only be realised when all the components are finally in place. For instance the importance of building robust public health systems in West Africa

was highlighted by the recent Ebola outbreak. However that would have entailed considerable and coordinated investment over many years in several areas including educating and recruiting nurses and doctors; opening and equipping hospitals and health centres; improving public sanitation and conducting education campaigns.

The value of individual interventions depends on their contribution to overall development goals – not just easily measurable short-term results. Of course some, but not all, projects can deliver immediate benefit in addition to contributing to long-term development e.g. an infant immunisation campaign or a bridge.

The Business Community

Whilst governments are important partners, it is the business community that drives growth and can bring economic transformation. UK investors can be key, whether on their own or in joint ventures with locals, in channelling investment into socially and environmentally responsible productive activities that generate decent jobs and sustainable income.

Self-help

Policy choices of poor countries should be respected and they need flexibility to pursue their own paths and seek their own solutions to their development challenges.

Not only governments need leeway but also the business community and the non-governmental sector, which have clear roles in economic transformation and environmental protection.

A remote coastal community in Trinidad with high unemployment and limited prospects for the youth found an innovative approach to helping itself. Endangered leatherback turtles nested on their Matura beach, where villagers slaughtered them and raided their nests. This was not sustainable so in the 1990's, after discussing with wildlife officers, they organised to protect the turtles.⁵ With initial outside help they started studying, tagging and breeding turtles. They now conduct tours of nesting sites for tourists and raise more income than they did from turtle meat and eggs. Their success is remarkable: poaching has stopped, public awareness of turtle conservation has been raised and 68 jobs have been created.

With the support of Small Grants from UNDP, this model is being replicated in neighbouring islands.⁶

What is the UK Government to do?

The Government works domestically and internationally to help reduce greenhouse gases and tackle climate change whilst advancing sustainable development of low-income countries.

National Level

The various Departments seek to achieve set goals within their designated mandates e.g. working to achieve a highly educated society, protecting national security, independence and interests, etc. However, whilst advancing national environmental goals is not the primary concern of most, their policies often have environmental consequences, whether deliberate or unintended.

Without sufficient inter-departmental coordination, it is

3. Some interventions can serve both purposes.

4. The UN is considering proposals for a set of SDGs that contain 17 goals with 169 targets covering a broad range of development issues, including ending poverty and hunger, improving health and education, combating climate change, and protecting oceans and forests.

5. See: www.natureseekers.org.

6. For further reading on the UNDP Small Grants Programme see https://sgp.undp.org/index.php?option=com_sgpprojects&view=projectdetail&id=20122&Itemid=205.

A New Economic Paradigm

possible that some policies and actions could well detract from the attainment of national environmental goals. Structured consultation is therefore essential to ensure that government's divergent activities combine to help achieve national environmental objectives.

The most significant change required though is attitudinal. Policy makers and officials should view environmental concerns not as an "add-on" but an inherent component of their mandate, which they automatically include in their considerations and calculations.

International Engagement

The world's climate is an integrated system. For its best climate outcomes, the UK must therefore not only reduce its damaging greenhouse gas emissions, but also seek to ensure that others do the same and that low-income countries pursue a development path that safeguards the environment.

Funding for development is vital. In this area, the UK's performance as a donor has been relatively commendable. It is approaching the international target for development aid of 0.7 % of GDP and has pledged £720 million to the Global Climate Fund. Shifting support to long-term programming, away from a project based approach, would greatly enhance the development impact and value for money of that support.

Governments are the key players in global attempts to safeguard the environment and promote sustainable development, but the private sector is the principal provider of finance for low-carbon investment. Governments set the ground rules, both nationally and internationally, which influence investment decisions. They must use that power to help ensure that investments are environmentally friendly and contribute to sustainable development.

Even more important than what it can do directly is the catalytic role of the UK. The Government must use its influence to secure support for decisive action on climate and sustainable development. In groupings like the EU, the Commonwealth and the G20 it should work with partners to help steer global policy in the optimal direction. Of course in all of these organisations, there will be countries that are less supportive, but that should not deter engagement. At the December 2014 UN conference on climate change held in Peru, Malta announced that it will discuss climate action at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting next November.

Conclusion

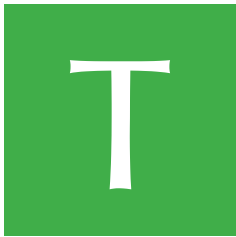
The UK Government needs new thinking and creative approaches to balancing short-term political and economic considerations with long-term vision, investment and programming. It must also play a more decisive and catalytic role, engaging better with partners in organisations like the EU and the Commonwealth to advance support for climate action and sustainable development.

Our generation has so far not been spectacular as custodian of the environment. But we can still change course so that generations following will not look back on ours, as the one that squandered, rather than nurtured the planet's resources.

DECENT WORK AND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

Owen Tudor

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here is no real wealth but the labour of people.”
-Percy Bysshe Shelley

In developed countries, we often spend a lot of time bemoaning how much time we spend at work, although even in Britain, there is enormous inequality between the overworked and the unemployed. Work is undeniably crucial to successful economies, but often figures all too little in development discourses.

Decent Work

The best and most sustainable route out of poverty is decent work, as defined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Decent work encompasses the provision of good jobs and living wages as one pillar, and social protection as a second pillar including unemployment benefit, sick pay and pensions as well as the provision of universal health care and other public services. But it also includes two other pillars: workers' rights and social dialogue, meaning that people have a voice at work and, more broadly, a say over economic developments in their country. Decent work covers terms and conditions of employment, but it also brings democracy and good governance to the workplace and the economy generally.

This may seem a pipe dream for the poorest countries on the planet, and has not entirely been achieved even in the OECD developed economies (except perhaps in Scandinavia), but it is an objective to which progress can and must be made if developing countries are to overcome endemic poverty, inequality and powerlessness. A key demand of the trade union movement globally which seems to have been achieved is the inclusion of decent work in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that will replace the MDGs, where decent work was merely a (much neglected) indicator under the goal of halving extreme poverty.

Without decent work, people will continue to stumble from crisis to crisis, unable to access education, make effective use of family planning, or deal with occasional periods of sickness. Famine is more likely in communities without decent work, and poverty and destitution in old age often results. Many of these symptoms of global poverty interact, and decent work can be what breaks the vicious circle. To take one example, adequate pensions for grandparents mean that they can care for their children's children while the working age parents go to work and earn a decent wage.

Under the last Labour Government, DFID had a strategy for

decent work – set out in the publication *Labour Standards and Poverty Reduction* (2004) – and there was a Decent Work Forum which the TUC ran for unions, NGOs and employers. Unsurprisingly no longer available, DFID's decent work strategy should be revisited, especially when the new SDGs are adopted.

DFID should commit itself to promoting decent work through international institutions like the World Bank and the Commonwealth, and work with colleagues at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to spread adherence to ILO core labour standards in developed as well as developing countries.

The ILO itself – as well as its standard-setting role – is crucial to the elimination of global poverty.

Unique among UN institutions by virtue of its tripartite nature, the ILO brings together employers, unions and governments to set standards for the workplace and also seek the implementation of decent work. Child labour and forced labour are forbidden by four of the core labour conventions of the ILO, with two more outlawing discrimination at work (especially sex discrimination but also arguably discrimination against LGBT communities) and two which provide for freedom to associate (ie to join a union and participate fully in its activities) and to bargain collectively with employers.

As well as setting those standards, which as well as binding governments can be written into trade agreements and voluntary initiatives, the ILO works with governments in particular to ensure that its conventions are not just ratified but implemented. The decision of the coalition's first Secretary of State for International Development - Andrew Mitchell MP – to withdraw DFID's discretionary funding for the ILO (the British government remains a member of the body, and pays its normal subscription) was an ideological decision that ought to be reversed.⁷

Since that decision was taken, DFID has had to restore ILO funding for its work in Bangladesh, to cope with the aftermath of the Rana Plaza disaster, and through a joint DFID-ILO programme, *Work in Freedom*, designed to eradicate forced labour among migrant domestic workers in the Gulf. It would be especially helpful if DFID could make a major contribution to the ILO's International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), a programme in which last year's joint-Nobel Peace Prize winner Kailash Satyarthi has been heavily involved. IPEC helps governments take the necessary steps to get working children out of the workplace and into school, helping to deliver *Access for All*, and it also assists employers to cleanse their supply chains of child labour.

The ILO also does work which DFID should embrace, creating Decent Work Country Programmes in developing countries.

7. There are indications that the decision was taken to demonstrate hostility to the trade union movement (eg Conservative Party conference speeches and interjections in the House of Commons), despite the fact that half of the ILO's Governing Body are government representatives, and a quarter are employers!

A New Economic Paradigm

These Country Programmes, which should be drawn up through national tripartite mechanisms that bring working people into national decision-making, set out how each country can make practical progress under the four pillars of the ILO Decent Work agenda. As well as providing the ILO with financial support to complete their elaboration, DFID country offices should help employers and trade unions to take part in the implementation of Country Programmes, including monitoring and evaluation. That would involve DFID country offices far more deeply in economic development, while ensuring that they were engaged with the actors who could make that development inclusive.

Corporate Responsibility

The ILO mostly addresses governments (it is they who bear the responsibility for implementing ILO Conventions, for example), so there is a major dimension missing from the decent work agenda, which is the role of employers. ILO Conventions are, of course, designed to ensure that governments regulate corporate activity to ensure decent work is delivered, but more needs to be done.

Voluntary measures to encourage corporates to provide decent work abound, and a lot of money is made by consultants and auditors who claim to be able to assist employers to deliver – in some cases, offering to lift any responsibility or accountability from the corporate altogether. Some of the factories in Rana Plaza had received clean bills of health from such firms, demonstrating luridly how ineffective such measures are.

Far preferable are voluntary measures like the UK Ethical Trading Initiative⁸, which operates on the ILO's tripartite principles as well as a Convention-inspired base code. ETI gives out no badges for good performance, and indeed focuses on what can be done to improve performance rather than awarding clean bills of health. The eighty-odd corporate members are involved to improve the way that their involvement in global supply chains respects the rights of working people. Just under half of the funding of the ETI comes from DFID, and DFID should be committing far more resources to scaling up the ETI experience to cover more than the 10 million workers worldwide who are involved in the supply chains ETI covers and enhancing the capacity of unions in developing countries to engage in supply chain work.

Because it is important to tackle the challenges raised by the private sector in development rather than simply amplify the voices of discontent. Indeed, there is an old joke in the global trade union movement that there's only one thing worse than being exploited by a global multinational... not being!

The private sector is not only a major element in world economic development that needs addressing, but it can also do good things for development, such as providing workers – including women workers – with good jobs, wages and skills, as well as providing consumers with goods and services, investing in infrastructure and so on. In Cambodia, multinational garment retailers have worked with unions to press the Government to raise minimum wages, and in Bangladesh, corporates worked with unions to establish the Accord for Fire and Building Safety. We know of employers who have lobbied for better treatment of LGBT communities, and provide crèches to encourage women's employment. That should be encouraged.

The current Government's gung ho attitude seems to suggest that all business is good business, and that it is DFID's role to take on the costs of good behaviour, such as the Trade in Global Value Chains Initiative which has been accused of using tax-payers' money to pay corporates to do what they should have been doing out of their own resources.

All too many communities and workforces know that business can also do considerable damage as well as good.

We urgently need a more balanced approach to private sector development, maximising the benefits and minimising the harm.

The UN Guiding Principles for Business and Human Rights developed by John Ruggie and adopted in 2011 set out a new agenda for corporate responsibility, with three pillars:

- the state's 'duty to protect' human rights
- the corporate 'responsibility to respect' human rights;
- 'access to remedy' for victims of business-related abuses.

The current Government was, to give them credit, the first to develop a national action plan to implement these principles. The USA is only now consulting on theirs, and Poland has only just translated the principles into Polish (thanks in part to the Solidarnosc trade union centre.) But being first means that the UK national action plan needs a review, as there are a number of areas where it could be improved.

In particular, the national action plan on business and human rights should be underpinned by a more robust legal framework ensuring that businesses are required to protect their workforces – including bringing those placed at arm's-length by contracting-out and informal employment practices back into secure jobs – and that those who suffer abuses should be able to obtain practical redress. This might mean being able to join a union, or it might mean providing access to UK courts by restoring some of the legal aid cuts that have made it less likely that cases such as the Trafigura toxic waste dumping episode in the Cote d'Ivoire in 2006 could be pursued if it happened again.

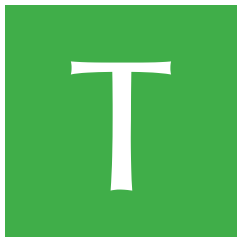
Finally, establishing a human rights unit in DFID – as exists already in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office – would be a major step forward not just for tackling corporate abuse.

8. Disclosure: I am a Director of the ETI.

PUTTING DEVELOPMENT TO RIGHTS

David Mepham

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he struggle against poverty and want cannot meaningfully be separated from the struggle against tyranny and injustice. Yet for too long, they have been addressed independently of each other. Development programmes, supported by governments like the UK, have often ignored the critical inter-dependence between these issues, giving too little priority to challenging systemic patterns of abuse,

discrimination, disadvantage and disempowerment – violations of rights – that make people poor or keep them in poverty.

This is even true of the much-praised Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). A set of targets for poverty reduction and development, they include commitments to halve income poverty, cut child and maternal mortality by two-thirds and three-quarters respectively, and secure access for all children to primary schooling. The goals were agreed in 2001, and they were supposed to have been achieved by 2015. There is significant and welcome progress against some of these goals, but most will not come close to being achieved by the target date.

Back in September 2000, at a special UN Summit, the world's governments endorsed a commendably holistic Millennium Declaration. This asserted that freedom, equality, solidarity and tolerance were fundamental values. Making progress on development, the statement said, depended on “good governance within each country”, adding that governments should “spare no effort” to promote democracy, strengthen the rule of law, and respect internationally recognised human rights and fundamental freedoms.

But the Millennium Declaration's vision, and the important human rights principles it contained, never found their way into the MDGs agreed the following year. While drawn from the Declaration, the MDGs were more limited in scope, giving priority to some economic and social issues, seen as easier to measure and less political.

Nor did the MDGs set any goals or targets related to political freedom or democratic participation, equality for ethnic minorities or people with disabilities, freedom of expression, or rights to peaceful protest and assembly – as if these issues were of less importance or perhaps because they were deemed irrelevant to economic progress.

This is not to deny that the MDGs have made an important contribution to development. They have encouraged higher levels of international public investment in education and health, contributing to welcome increases in primary school enrolment and big reductions in child mortality over the last decade.

But the general neglect of human rights by the MDG framework, as well as by many governments, international institutions and donors like the UK, has come at a high cost. It has diminished and distorted development efforts, producing outcomes that are unequal and abusive.

Unequal Development

Many governments around the world are unwilling to address discrimination in their development strategies. Authoritarian governments are reluctant to empower restless minorities or disadvantaged groups that might threaten their grip on power. Such governments also often refuse to accept that women, girls, indigenous people, or other marginalized social groups deserve equal status under the law. But development donors and international institutions like the World Bank or the UK's Department for International Development have also often shied away from the more complex approach to development implied by an emphasis on rights.

Moreover, the MDGs, with their stress on measuring development in terms of average or aggregate achievement of particular goals, for example on child and maternal mortality, have done little to change these calculations.

Nowhere is unequal development more pronounced than in the widespread and systematic discrimination against women and girls in large parts of the world. In recent years, most development organizations have woken up to this problem and identified gender discrimination as a major obstacle to inclusive development.

Nonetheless, development agencies often underreport or fail to properly address many forms of gender discrimination. In Bangladesh, for example, where considerable progress has been made (at the aggregate level) towards some MDGs, Human Rights Watch has documented entrenched discrimination in the country's Muslim, Hindu, and Christian laws governing marriage, separation, and divorce. These often trap women or girls in abusive marriages or drive them into poverty when marriages fall apart, contributing to homelessness, reduced incomes, hunger, and ill-health for Bangladeshi women and children.

People with disabilities are another overlooked group. Many of the 1 billion people with disabilities worldwide—80 percent of whom live in the developing world—are marginalised and excluded from development programmes and opportunities. Human Rights Watch's research on education in Nepal and China, for example, has documented widespread discrimination against children with disabilities, who are much less likely to be in school than other children, and suffer worse education even when they are in school. And yet the MDGs make no reference whatsoever to disability.

Ethnic and religious minorities also experience serious discrimination, sometimes rooted in basic prejudice towards them on the part of other groups, at other times linked to hostility towards the political or separatist agendas of particular ethnic groups. The London-based Overseas Development Institute (ODI) has suggested that two-thirds of the world's poorest people live in households headed by a member of an ethnic minority, with these families more likely to be sick, illiterate, and malnourished.

Abusive Development

Incongruous as it may sound—especially to those who view development as a uniformly benign process—large numbers of poor, vulnerable and marginalized people around the world are actually harmed and sometimes further impoverished by policies carried out in the name of development.

These abusive patterns occur because basic rights—including the right to consultation, participation, fair treatment, to join with others in a trade union, and to just and accessible legal processes—are missing.

In China, for example, the government maintains that the country's development progress is extraordinarily successful. Income poverty has indeed fallen very rapidly in recent years: with the UN estimating a decline in income poverty from 60 to 12 per cent from 1990 to 2010. But the record is decidedly less impressive if development is defined, as it should be, to include freedom from fear, violence, ill-health, life-threatening environmental pollution, and abusive employment practices. These ills are rife in China. But they are not captured in conventional economic indicators.

In a 2011 report, Human Rights Watch documented the devastating effects of lead poisoning on children. This occurred in four provinces—Shaanxi, Henan, Hunan, and Yunnan. Without institutions to protect their rights and hold local officials accountable for abuses, hundreds of thousands of Chinese children have suffered appallingly from mismanaged economic processes, leading to reading and learning disabilities, behavioural problems, comas and convulsions.

Aspects of Ethiopia's development model have similar problems. The country has made real progress in some elements of its health and education policies, and it is often cited – especially by the UK government – as a development success story. But some elements of its development strategy have caused serious human rights abuses and worsened economic and social conditions.

This includes elements of the government's "villagisation" or resettlement programme. Ethiopia justifies this programme in development terms and says it is voluntary. Some 1.5 million people in five regions are being relocated over three years to new model villages with the stated aim of giving them better infrastructure and services. But Human Rights Watch research into the first year of the programme in one region, Gambella, found that people were forced to move against their will and that government security forces beat and abused some who objected. We also found that new villages often lacked promised services and adequate land for farming needs, resulting in hunger.

In another part of the country, the Ethiopian government is forcibly displacing indigenous communities from the Lower Omo Valley to make way for large-scale sugar plantations. The cost of this development to indigenous groups is massive: their farms are being cleared, prime grazing land is being lost, and livelihoods are being decimated. Yet the response to these abuses by international development donors like the UK has been seriously muted.

Workers in many parts of the world are also particularly vulnerable to abusive development. This includes the more than 50 million domestic workers worldwide, most of them women and girls, who are employed as cooks, cleaners, and nannies. In many countries, such workers lack basic legal rights and protection. Yet their work provides essential services to households and enables the economic activity of others.

Similarly, millions of migrant workers in more visible sectors of the economy, like construction, suffer abuses. Ironically, these are often most egregious in the context of hugely expensive and high-profile construction projects intended to showcase economic achievements and encourage investment and tourism. Abuses include arbitrary wage deductions; lack of access to medical care, and dangerous working conditions.

If rights-free development can produce outcomes that are unequal and sometimes abusive, what are the advantages that might result from rooting development more concretely in internationally-agreed human rights standards and principles? The shorter answer is better and more inclusive development. The challenge and the opportunity for the next UK government is to make this case and win support for it internationally.

Rights-Respecting Development

While influencing any process of social change is difficult and complex, requiring long-term engagement and commitment, rights-respecting development offers at least four advantages over more technocratic development approaches.

First, it encourages greater focus on the poorest and most marginalized communities, the very communities that are often left behind. The MDGs include global targets for percentage reductions of child and maternal mortality and hunger. By contrast, a human rights approach would require that universal goals be set for providing effective and accessible healthcare and nutrition for all women and children, including the poorest and most disadvantaged, alongside specific targets and policies for reducing disparities between social groups and improving the conditions of the worst off.

Second, rights-respecting development would encourage action to address the root causes of poverty—such as inequality, discrimination, exclusion, and low social status—by promoting legal and policy reforms and challenging patterns of abuse, as well as harmful cultural practices like child marriage. And it would require action to tackle formal, informal and cultural barriers that prevent women, ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, and indigenous people in particular from owning and having equal access to land, property, assets, and credit; inheriting and transferring property; and accessing education and health services.

Third, a rights approach requires that poor people are fully consulted about development programmes that affect them. Indigenous peoples, for example, should have the right to give or withhold consent to development projects on their traditional lands, before they are approved and after receiving all relevant information. Such safeguards would help prevent the kind of abusive, environmentally harmful patterns of development already cited – and which development donors currently do too little to prevent.

Fourth, by emphasizing budget transparency, freedom of information, and free media, and by supporting civil society organisations, a rights approach can help to tackle corruption. Each year, senior government officials or powerful individuals steal hundreds of millions of dollars that were intended to benefit the poor through development programmes in health, education, nutrition, or water.

Bringing Rights to the Fore

There is currently a major, UN-led process to agree new global development goals and targets to replace the current MDGs that expire at the end of 2015. It is encouraging that support for rights has emerged as a priority amongst many of the civil society participants that have taken part in UN-sponsored consultation meetings around the world. There were also strong references to human rights in the reports of the High Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the post-2015 development agenda and in the UN Secretary General's own report on these issues. Both these reports were published in 2013, and it suggests that the compelling case for rights is at last being heard. But many governments remain hostile.

Some will continue no doubt to invoke the tired old argument

that poor people care mainly about material improvements and that wider human rights entitlements, like freedom of speech and association or access to justice, are not necessary, and perhaps even an obstacle, to securing them. But this position has been thoroughly discredited, not least by ordinary peoples' own actions. To give one further and final example, just consider the recent case of Tunisia.

Before Tunisia's popular uprising in late 2010, the country was considered by many in the international community as a development success story. But for many Tunisians this clearly was not enough: higher incomes and better access to services for some did not compensate for the ills and costs of corruption, repression, inequality and powerlessness. Nor did it satisfy their aspirations for greater justice, freedom and dignity. In January 2011, popular protests ousted Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali from the presidency after 23 years in power.

While Tunisia's struggle to consolidate rights-respecting democracy continues, its experience exposes the narrowness of many existing approaches to development. It reinforces the argument that development should be reframed more broadly, not just as higher income, but as the creation of conditions in which people everywhere can get an education, visit a doctor, and drink clean water, but also express themselves, associate with others, live free of abuse and discrimination, access justice, and with the chance for their voices to be heard and the opportunity to shape their future.

As UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon stated in July 2013: "Upholding human rights and freeing people from fear and want are inseparable". A post-MDG global development agenda and development policies that embrace this essential truth will help promote better development – development that is more inclusive and just and that advances basic rights and freedoms for all. The next UK government should champion this approach.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND GENDER JUSTICE

Glenys Kinnock

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It is justice, not charity, that is wanted in the World".

So wrote one of my heroines, Mary Woollstonecraft, in her book "Vindication of the Rights of Women" in 1792.

Her words, written over 200 years ago are, I believe, as relevant and challenging today as they were in her time. They remind us that the search for justice is one of the oldest struggles in human history and the objective is, for many, a distant prospect.

Since we who are free have the duty to use our liberty to extend human rights everywhere, we need to respond to the aspirations of all people for freedom, for equality, security, human dignity, health care, education and decent employment.

There are those who will claim that the battles for women's rights have been won. The proven truth, however, is that patriarchy is still deeply entrenched, inequality is still endemic, and all over the world equality between women and men still has to be fought for.

The reasons are very basic:

Women, who are just over half of the world's population, are disproportionately represented among the poorest and most marginalised people on the planet. They account for about two thirds of the 1.4 billion people globally who live in extreme poverty. They bear a disproportionate burden of disadvantage and discrimination which is demonstrated by the high levels of poverty, ill health, gender based violence and hunger. Women face endemic levels of violence at home and outside the home.

In many countries they are denied entitlement to land or property, their formal education is inferior or non-existent, they often lack the knowledge needed to access any justice system and, as the NGO Womankind has reported, even if there are laws and agreed commitments, there are few guarantees of implementation or means of redress. They are caregivers, educators, farmers and entrepreneurs and without their commitment and sacrifice their communities would have no social services and no economic production.

Gender equality and the advance of women's and girls' rights manifestly makes a substantial contribution to efforts to meet development targets, in tackling poverty reduction, improving health and education, and securing peace and security. Despite that compelling reality, there is pervasive gender discrimination in too many countries.

The health and wellbeing of women and girls is, of course, a useful indicator of the quality of society. You can tell a lot about a country's current status and future prospects by examining, for instance, the risk of maternal death, the percentage of women using modern contraceptives, women's literacy rate, their participation in national growth, and the enrolment of girls in school.

The evidence from those measurable indices is that gender inequality remains a major propellant of poverty. That won't change as long as almost two out of three illiterate adults are women, when, in so many places, girls are much less likely to be in school

than boys, and when the term "young mothers" relates in millions of cases to children giving birth to children.

Violence against children taking place in homes, schools and communities around the world is a problem on an epidemic scale – and one that disproportionately affects the most marginalised, including girls. Around one in nine girls in the world are married before the age of fifteen. That, and what follows from it, is a profound offence against their human rights. Child marriage should be universally illegal. Girls need protection and must have sexual and reproductive health education. High priority must be given to keeping girls in school, including in secondary education, so they can be healthy, educated, protected and equipped to make choices about their lives.

In addition female genital mutilation has to be combated as cruel child abuse, a violation of human rights, and an appalling crime. About 125 million women and girls are currently living with the consequences of FGM and the UN has said that "We must step up our efforts in the 21st century to ensure that no woman or girl suffers or dies due to FGM". Addressing the persistent inequalities that negatively affect women and girl's health, safety and wellbeing is our unfinished business.

Women are the primary carers of the world's children and the elderly. They provide most of the world's farmers and they are cleaning, cooking, washing, collecting fuel and water, managing households, sustaining families and maintaining communities. According to the UNDP: "Women perform 66% of the world's work, produce 50% of the food but only own 1% of the property".

Their numbers in economic, social and political leadership at any level are very small. Only 21.8% of parliamentarians in the world are women, and in many countries they are, of course, politically invisible.

Faced with that reality, it's clear that women will never gain the respect and status that they deserve and need until the underlying root causes of discrimination are plainly and publically identified as gender inequality and prejudicial social norms.

Progress along such a course is urgently needed because gender equity is too often missing from discussions and "Summits" about economic growth, social development and environmental sustainability.

It is an astonishing but grim truth that one in three of the world's women has been beaten, coerced into sex, bullied, or abused in some other way, most often by someone she knows. Sexual violence against women and children has been described as the most deep rooted, yet least recognised, human rights abuse in the world, despite the fact that a number of international agreements which set out the responsibilities of governments already exist.

Simply reiterating the arguments for dealing with sexual violence won't do. We also have to fulfil commitments to promote gender equality and to tackle the underlying causes of such violence, including power imbalances, systemic inequality and the effects of discriminatory social norms. In addition, access

to justice is essential. It must include increasing investigation and prosecutions as well as establishing policies and practices which punish violence against women and ensure that there are adequate support services for victims of abuse. The need for urgent and effective prevention is also, of course, essential.

A vital element of the discussions taking place in New York on a post-2015 development agenda agreement must clearly include a commitment to eliminate all forms of violence against women and children, including sexual violence, by 2030.

Violence against women and girls is in many places rooted in ingrained social conventions. It is often considered to be normal and acceptable, and police are loath to intervene in domestic violence cases. Experience shows that development funding that tackles the root causes of violence against women, including by challenging entrenched social norms, can achieve more success than focusing on institutional changes.

Justifiable concerns have recently been expressed about the fact that only 14% of the UK Department for International Development (DFID) Country Plans tackle violence against women and girls as a strategic priority. For example, plans for the Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Somalia, and Nigeria do not include a priority for violence against women and girls. This surely raises questions about the claims made by the DFID Secretary of State that these issues are “a top priority”.

As Hilary Clinton famously said, “Women’s rights are human rights”, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent treaties, declarations and UN conference outcomes confirm that maxim. Our task now is to fulfil the promise of these decisions by achieving development with equity, eradicating gender inequality, and empowering women and girls.

The fact that there is such a lack of progress on reducing maternal mortality and achieving access to reproductive health is deeply disturbing. The MDG target was to reduce maternal mortality by 47% but the UN estimate now is that 800 women are still dying every day from complications related to pregnancy and childbirth. Every year 20 million women and girls undergo an unsafe abortion and nearly 50 thousand die as a result of lack of access to safe, legal abortion. More than one million babies die on their first and only day of life and the Director General of the WHO estimates that 99% of birth related deaths occurs in developing countries.

Meanwhile, countless people face continual discrimination, harassment persecution and violence simply because of their sexual orientation and gender identity.

As Helen Clark, the Head of the UNDP, has said women need to have control over their own health and sexuality and must be able to plan their pregnancies and protect themselves from HIV/AIDS. Women clearly need access to family planning, to education, and to productive work if they are to enjoy the right to the better, more secure future they need and deserve. Millions of

women in developing countries want to prevent pregnancy but lack access to contraception, resulting in unplanned pregnancies and unsafe abortions.

Against that background, sexual and reproductive health and rights must be a clear and firm prerequisite for the post-2015 agenda so that no one is to be left behind as a perpetual victim of dogma and inequity.

We know that where conflicts are raging - in Syria, South Sudan, Sudan and the Central African Republic, women experience specific and devastating sexual violence, transmitted infections and stigmatization.

Grave problems with impunity for war criminals persist in almost every conflict affected setting around the world.

What we have to ensure, therefore, is that reproductive health rights, gender equality, tackling violence, and the empowerment of women and young people are firm and related priorities in the post-2015 agenda for Sustainable Development, and special reference must be made to the dangers and injustices which are heightened in conflict conditions.

All who are committed to securing advances towards positive change in the condition of women will have to work to maintain levels of interest and advocacy as the MDG’s unfinished business and preparations for the post-2015 agenda are dealt with.

Persistent emphasis by civil society on the interdependence of humankind and the relevance of the preventable pain and suffering of far-away people in far-away places is therefore essential. Indeed, for all who understand the need for prosperity and security in the world, it is in our self-interest because we know that there are now no really “distant countries”, few problems are truly “local”, and most ills are more communicable than ever.

The current disparities are glaring and they illuminate the awful reality that health problems and the leading causes of mortality and disability among women differ dramatically between high and low income groups: In high income countries cancers, heart disease and stroke are the main killers.

In low income countries, maternal and perinatal conditions, infections, diarrhoeal diseases and HIV account for nearly 4 out of 10 female deaths. Clearly, a large proportion of these deaths could be prevented - and the results of that, in economic and social terms, would be hugely beneficial to the whole world.

The world is growing ever smaller because of transport, growing population, the propulsion of economic migration, and economic globalisation. We simply cannot afford the wanton waste and systematic injustice of allowing the inequalities that women face to prevail.

A CHILD RIGHTS APPROACH TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Mavis Owusu-Gyamfi

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A new government elected in May would take on responsibility for negotiating the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which will set the framework for international development until 2030. The SDGs offer a once-in-a-generation opportunity to address inequalities in life chances which destroy the lives of many poor people. Like the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which have been the guiding framework for international development

since 2000, it is an opportunity for the world to join forces behind a common agenda for international development.

To be effective, the SDGs must learn the lessons – both good and bad – from the MDGs. The SDGs must recognise ensure that, as progress is made, no child is left behind and all children have the chance to survive, thrive and realise their potential irrespective of their place of birth. If the goals agreed in September 2015 are rooted in the principles of human rights, they have the potential to benefit all children, to tackle inequality and discrimination and to create a world in which all children realise their right to a safe and fulfilling life. Many of us, where I work at Save the Children and across the development sector, have great ambitions for the SDGs. We have seen how the MDGs set the global agenda and guided work around the world during the past fifteen years. We now want to build on that influence to end some of the greatest injustices across our world.

The world has made great progress in reducing child deaths, halving the annual number of deaths from 12.6m in 1990 to 6.3m in 2013. In 1990, almost half of the population in developing regions lived in “extreme poverty” on less than \$1.25 a day. By 2010 this had dropped to 22%. The target of halving the proportion of people without access to an improved drinking water source was achieved in 2010, five years ahead of schedule. School enrolment rate in primary education in developing regions increased from 83 per cent to 90 per cent between 2000 and 2012.⁹

However we cannot pretend that progress has been universal. Despite the progress made in reducing child deaths, the world will not reach the fourth MDG goal of a two-thirds reduction. One in four children around the world remain stunted by the lack of access to nutritious food, health care, safe drinking water and sanitation. In all cases, it is the poorest and most excluded that have not benefitted from progress. Inequalities within and between countries have continued and, in some cases, worsened in recent years.¹⁰ Of the 1.2 billion people living today in extreme income-poverty, about one-half are children. This pattern will continue, unless there is a concerted global focus on child poverty.

If the SDGs are to be different they need to take a different

approach. They need to learn lessons from the MDGs and ensure we develop a global framework with the right approach to the responsibilities of governments and the global community in tackling inequalities. To do this it can learn lessons from and incorporate elements of a different framework.

November 2014 saw the 25th anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). This treaty, originating from a draft declaration by Save the Children’s founder Eglantine Jebb, is one of the most widely-adopted human rights treaties. Since 1989, only two governments have failed to ratify it into national laws: South Sudan and the United States of America. The CRC was revolutionary in recognising for the first time that children are individuals with their own rights, capable of making decisions about their own lives. Through the CRC, the world acknowledged that children are not the possessions of their families and that their interests and well-being are not secondary to those of adults.

One of the most important principles of the CRC is that rights apply universally to all and without discrimination. Entitlements should be universal. There is recognition that not all governments are immediately able to provide the entitlements it guarantees. The principle of progressive realisation must be applied but in ways that do not discriminate against sections of society.¹¹ This is very different to many of the MDGs which called for incremental change but without safeguards to ensure that all could benefit.

Countries that have ratified the CRC have committed to bringing their national legislation in line with its standards and principles. Many countries have undertaken this, making sure their legal framework aligns with the Convention. Some have introduced overarching laws on children’s rights and others have enshrined children’s rights in their constitution.

The CRC also has a strong accountability mechanism. Unlike the Millennium Declaration, which lacked enforceable accountability (beyond global reporting) for commitments, the CRC has been incorporated into the national laws of countries that are party to the treaty. This creates binding obligations on governments, and national legal processes can be used to hold governments to account. The CRC obliges government to report on progress every five years to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the international body tasked with monitoring implementation of the CRC. Governments’ assessments can be challenged by civil society organisations that have the right to make their own submissions in response to a government’s report.

One priority that Labour has set out for the Sustainable De-

9. The Millennium Development Goals Report 2014

10. PROGRESS FOR CHILDREN, Achieving the MDGs with Equity, UNICEF 2010

11. 25 YEARS OF THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD: Is the world a better place for children? UNICEF 2014

velopment Goals will be a test of whether the next agreement will benefit all. It is crucial that the SDGs guarantee universal rights – a powerful difference from the MDGs and one which could be transformational.

No mother, newborn baby or child should die from preventable causes – and this can be done by ensuring that everyone has access to good-quality universal health coverage, healthcare without financial hardship. We are calling for a world where no-one suffers from hunger and everyone has food, nutrition and water security. We know that every child could have equitable access to good-quality education and achieve good learning outcomes; and all girls and boys should live a life free from violence, protected in conflict and disasters.

The SDGs should have built into them clear accountability frameworks including between governments and their citizens through national reporting and tracking mechanisms.

The principles of the CRC offer powerful and inspiring approaches which could inform the new government, as it negotiates the Sustainable Development Goals and ensures that no child is left behind.

MIND THE 'DISABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT' GAP

Mosharraf Hossain & Polly Meeks

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Elisabeth is a seventeen-year-old girl with albinism from Uganda.¹² Uganda's economy is growing at around 6% per year, and the proportion of people living in extreme poverty almost halved between 1992 and 2009.¹³ Yet these gains mean little to Elisabeth. A talented scientist, she dreamt of becoming a doctor. But Elisabeth lives in an area where people with albinism face the risk of extreme violence, due to a belief that their body parts bring good fortune.

When Elisabeth was fifteen, she experienced repeated kidnap attempts on her long walk to class. Her family could not afford the fees of the private schools nearer home so, reluctantly, they decided to pull her out of school – the path of her development ended. Now Elisabeth spends every day sitting at home, and she has no interaction with anybody in society – she is isolated and dependent on her family.

Elisabeth's experience shows that narrow measures of income growth only tell half the story on development progress, and can conceal intolerable levels of suffering, marginalisation, and wasted opportunities. It is not an isolated example, but a systematic pattern that we see repeated with alarming frequency across our work in poor regions of Africa and Asia, where an estimated one in five people has a disability. While we agree that income growth, and other aggregate targets, are valuable measures, we firmly believe the future development agenda should be broader, with a strong emphasis on social justice, rights and fighting exclusion.¹⁴ Until this happens, attempts to eliminate poverty will never adequately reach the poorest and most marginalised – and no group illustrates this more starkly than the world's one billion people with disabilities.

International law is clear on the importance of the rights of people with disabilities. These rights – already implicit in the International Bill of Human Rights and other treaties – were made explicit in 2006 by the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. 151 countries have ratified the convention, and in many countries it has resulted in important changes to national disability policies and legislation.

However, implementation of these new policies has been slow, and many have yet to make an impact on the daily lives of people with disabilities, who remain among the poorest of the poor. Disability can trap people in poverty from one generation to the next. Exclusion and stigma; low incomes; and high costs of rehabilitation and care, all create a vicious circle that holds back not only people with disabilities, but their families too – with children particularly affected.¹⁵

More worrying still, as countries grow their incomes and

progress towards aggregate development goals, inequalities between people with and without disabilities can actually increase – creating a so-called 'disability and development gap'.¹⁶ So while primary school enrolment in developing regions rose from 80% in 1990 to 90% in 2012, only 10% of children with disabilities in these regions attend school, according to some estimates. Worldwide, children with disabilities represent around a third (19 million) of all out-of-school children. And while child mortality has decreased from 12.7 million in 1990 to 6.3 million in 2013, children with disabilities frequently miss out on basic healthcare and immunisations.¹⁷ Moreover, there is emerging evidence that, as countries move from Low Income to Middle Income status, the employment gap between people with and without disabilities may actually widen.¹⁸

In other words, people with disabilities – some of the poorest and most marginalised people in the world – are often the last to benefit from the very programmes designed to reduce poverty and marginalisation. In fact, such programmes can – in relative terms – leave people with disabilities even poorer and more marginalised.

The causes of the disability and development gap are complex and diverse, ranging from physical inaccessibility to communication barriers. But there is one recurrent theme that we see time and again throughout our work in Africa and Asia: social norms persistently discriminate against people with disabilities, reducing their power to benefit from development, or to challenge their exclusion.

As a wheelchair user, Mosharraf Hossain, (Founder Country Director of ADD Bangladesh and current Director of Policy Influencing of ADD International), co-author of this article, has experienced discrimination first hand. At the start of his career, he applied for a job in the Bangladesh civil service, with all the required qualifications. But the Government rejected his application out of hand, telling him it was their policy not to employ people with disabilities.

And we know many people with disabilities who have experienced even worse – including Jorani, a woman with an intellectual disability from Cambodia, whose community shunned her, and whose family used to beat her. All too often, those who discriminate against people with disabilities are never held accountable. In Bangladesh, we work with Chandni, a fifteen-year-old girl with an intellectual disability. When she was thirteen, a neighbour raped her, and she had a child. Two years on, the perpetrator still walks free – while Chandni's family have been forced from their home, after the neighbour threatened to kill the baby so as to destroy the 'evidence' of his crime.

12. Albinism is a disabling genetic condition associated with visual impairment, skin disease and, often, misunderstanding and discrimination.

13. DFID Annual Report and Accounts, 2013-14

14. For a fuller version of this argument, see David Mepham, Putting Development to Rights: A Post-2015 Agenda, 2014

15. Thomas, Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals, 2005

16. Groce and Kett, The Disability and Development Gap, 2013. A similar point has also been made by Dr T Shakespeare.

17. All statistics quoted from UN agency reports (MDGs report, UNESCO, UNICEF)

18. Mizunoya and Mitra, Is there a Disability Gap in Employment Rates in Developing Countries?, 2012. Based on analysis of 15 countries: the authors say this issue would benefit from further research.

No development programme would intentionally seek to perpetuate discrimination against people with disabilities – but that is precisely the risk, unless future development policy places an explicit emphasis on tackling the underlying inequalities and human rights issues that trap people with disabilities in poverty. And until these barriers are overcome, aspirations of ‘getting to zero’ on poverty will be meaningless.

Towards a Socially Just, Rights-Focused Approach to Disability and Development

Our vision for future development policy includes three key steps to bridge the disability and development gap:

i. Disability-Inclusive Sustainable Development Goals

The Secretary General’s recent Synthesis Report on post-2015 development sets out a bold vision of “a future free from poverty, ... built on human rights [and] equality”.¹⁹ It is essential that the final Goals retain this focus.

We recognise the Millennium Development Goals’ achievements in galvanising support, and securing impressive progress, on issues such as reducing extreme poverty; increasing primary school enrolment; and achieving gender equality in primary education. But the Goals were silent on disability. The Sustainable Development Goals should refer explicitly to people with disabilities, who are critical to development outcomes over the next fifteen years. This should include – but not be limited to – the current references in draft Goal 4 (education), Goal 8 (employment), Goal 10 (inequality), Goal 11 (cities), and Goal 17 (monitoring).

And crucially, measures of progress against the Goals must be disaggregated by disability. Disaggregated measures should apply not only to services such as education and health, but also to less tangible outcomes such as reduction in violence. Only with disaggregated data will development actors get adequate early warning of emerging disability and development gaps – and only with disaggregated targets will they have an incentive to bridge them.

ii. Making Rights Real

Almost a decade after the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities came into being, it is time that its impact is felt, not just in legislative assemblies in capital cities, but in the remote villages and urban slums where people with disabilities are disproportionately concentrated.

No area of development should be indifferent to disability. Accordingly, the Convention covers the full spectrum of development work, with far-reaching implications for programmers and policymakers. The examples below illustrate four areas that have historically received little attention.

- **Right to Health:** for people with disabilities, the injustice of unequal access to healthcare is compounded by inaccessible facilities, and negative attitudes. Low expenditure on public health increases personal cost. In a low-income country like Bangladesh, out-of-pocket expenditure is 65% of the total health expenditure, which leads to inequality. Healthcare will never be truly universal until these barriers are overcome.
- **Right to Protection in Disasters:** people with disabilities are often the very hardest hit by natural disasters, as

they have fewer resources and support networks to help them cope. If the world is serious about climate change resilience, this is a critical group to target.

- **Right to Participation in Political and Public Life:** people with disabilities are frequently denied basic political rights such as voting and standing for election. Society can only be inclusive to all if people with disabilities have the right to participate in governance, as well as campaigns and advocacy.

- **International cooperation:** Article 32 of the Convention requires that international cooperation, including international development programmes, is inclusive of and accessible to people with disabilities. In the UK, DFID’s excellent Disability Framework, published in December 2014,²⁰ lays the foundations to make UK aid more sensitive to the rights of people with disabilities. But – as the Framework acknowledges – it is early days, and decisions taken over the coming years will be critical if these rights are to be realised comprehensively across UK development work.

Realising the rights of people with disabilities cannot be a sole enterprise. Real change will require concerted action – from governments, development agencies, and civil society, but also from the private sector. Our experience in Bangladesh has shown how these different sectors can come together for positive change – for example, through collaboration between civil society groups, parliamentarians, and the private sector, we secured agreement for employment of women with disabilities in the garment industry.

iii. Empowering People with Disabilities

Work to tackle the exclusion of people with disabilities will be self-defeating unless they themselves are empowered to play a central role. Actively seeking input from people with disabilities at all stages of mainstream development programmes – from design, through planning and implementation, to evaluation – is the surest way to guarantee such programmes are genuinely accessible. More importantly still, empowering people with disabilities, particularly women, to play prominent roles in development – whether advocating for access, or delivering programmes – directly challenges the negative social attitudes that lie behind discrimination and exclusion.

Our experience in some of the world’s poorest communities has shown the changes that empowerment can bring, both for individuals and for national policies. A single mother with a disability recently told us how her life had changed since she joined a local disabled people’s organisation in Uganda:

“Before, I had low self-esteem, and suffered from stress. Now I have more confidence, and my health has improved. Now I too am seen as an important person in this community.”

And throughout our partner countries, if governments have moved towards ratifying or implementing the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, it has often been thanks to lobbying from disabled people’s organisations.

19. The Road to Dignity by 2030: ending poverty, transforming all lives, and protecting the planet, December 2014
20. DFID, Disability Framework, December 2014

Conclusion: Disability and Development at a Crossroads

2015 is a unique opportunity. Decisions taken this year must recognise the vital importance of people with disabilities for wider development objectives. The Millennium Development Goals achieved many things, but they did not refer to disability. Only disability-inclusive Sustainable Development Goals, building on the widespread ratification and legislative adoption of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in countries across the world, can establish the right policy environment to end poverty. All development actors – governments, multilateral agencies, civil society organisations and private sector companies alike – must then rise to the challenge of realising the rights of people with disabilities throughout their work. And they must do so in a transparent, accountable, way that empowers people with disabilities.

Development that fosters social justice and empowers excluded groups, such as women with disabilities, is development at its best. No other kind of development will do, if we want to live in a world where nobody is too powerless to escape from poverty.

HEALTH AND CO-DEVELOPMENT

Nigel Crisp



The UK plays a leading role in health and development globally. It is a major participant in international health organisations and promotes health and disease control through its many bilateral agreements with other countries. Research funders, like the Wellcome Trust and the MRC, as well as its universities and businesses make enormous contributions to health improvement globally.

Many UK NGO's such as Save the Children, Oxfam, Sightsavers and Water Aid are world leaders. Moreover, the NHS and associated bodies, such as Public Health England and NICE, continue to be an inspiration and model for many countries.

The next Government will inherit this impressive and very valuable tradition; however, I believe that it will also need to develop new relationships globally. As the world changes around us we need to build longer term, more equal and respectful partnerships with low and middle income countries – and in particular to recognise that we each have something to gain from these relationships, albeit in different ways. I call this co-development.

Co-development as an Operating Principle

Co-development should become a key operating principle of UK development policy. My argument for this has five parts. For the first, I draw on the words of Dr Francis Omaswa from Uganda. He and I have co-edited a book on African Health Leaders which celebrates their achievements and describes how they are re-claiming their future. He has written in it that: "Africans went to the Bretton Woods institutions and to other institutions and countries begging for advice and for money and we got both, but in exchange for certain core values. Africans lost self-respect, self confidence and self-determination".²¹

Dr Omaswa's point, borne out by the bitter experience of many Africans, is that we Westerners arrived with our own ideas about what was needed, devalued local leadership and initiative²² and imposed our own approaches. It didn't happen everywhere or all the time, of course, but it was enough to create a sense of dependency and disempowerment amongst many Africans and many African Governments. I don't subscribe to the theory that all aid destroys local initiative; but I do believe that adopting a principle of co-development will help create a more respectful and equal relationship.

My second argument is about enlightened self-interest. Ebola in West Africa reminds us that we are interdependent in the sense that a microbe can board a plane in Freetown and be in any other capital city within 24 hours. Similarly, resistance to anti-microbials

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is spreading and has become a major issue that must be tackled globally.²³ Our interests and those of the people of West Africa overlap. It is in our interest to help strengthen health infrastructure and build capacity of local institutions in the poorest countries because the battle against infectious disease is a global one and we are as vulnerable as the weakest point. Put colloquially, we are in this together.

The third point is that we can learn from people in low and middle income countries who, without our resources and our baggage of tradition and vested interests, are forced to innovate to survive. Most health care in low and middle income countries is poor quality but there are shining models of excellence. Some like Aravindh Eye Care and Narayana Health in India are becoming well known as examples of using modern industrial practice – Six Sigma, Lean and Toyota – to revolutionise surgical care.^{24 25} Less well appreciated are the many people who use the assets of their community, whatever they have to hand, to improve health and treat disease.²⁶ There are many such examples in Africa: ranging from employing villagers as community health workers to training nurses in cataract surgery, and community directed treatments for neglected tropical diseases.²⁷

The UK like other high income countries is facing a crisis in its health system, due in large part to an ageing population and accompanying increases in long term chronic conditions. As we search for new approaches we can learn something about engaging the community, using different sorts of health workers and promoting health from the experiences of our friends in low and middle income countries. In the words of Don Berwick and Paul Batalden: "Everyone has something to teach and everyone has something to learn".²⁸

The fourth argument is about individuals and the training and development of health workers. When I was Chief Executive of the NHS I met many British doctors, nurses and other health workers who spent a few weeks in Africa and came back refreshed. They had contributed to improving health in another country but they had also benefited from the experience.²⁹ As one doctor said to me, she remembered why she had become a doctor, having had to work without much of her usual equipment and support and needing to go back to clinical and scientific first principles. Since then I have seen many people grow and develop from the experience of working in low and middle income countries.

Health Education England (HEE) has just begun a major research project to bring together all this evidence about the benefits of overseas volunteering both to the receiving country and to the NHS and present it in a unified fashion. Its publication will help inform Government policy in this area. Simultaneously HEE has established a global health exchange to support the current and

21. Omaswa F and Crisp N: African Health Leaders – making change and claiming the future; OUP 2014 p10

22. Moyo D: Dead Aid; Penguin 2009

23. Davies SC et al: The Drugs Don't Work – a Global Threat; Viking 2013

24. <http://www.aravindh.org>

25. <http://www.narayanahealth.org>

26. Crisp N: Turning the World Upside Down – the search for global health in the 21st century; CRC Press 2010

27. Omaswa F and Crisp N: African Health Leaders – making change and claiming the future; OUP 2014

28. <http://www.ihl.org>

29. All Party Parliamentary Group on Global Health: Improving health at home and abroad – how overseas volunteering from the NHS benefits the UK and the world; July 2013

future NHS workforce to engage capacity building programmes in resource-poor settings and to use this engagement to learn a variety of skills in leadership, teambuilding, behaviour change, communication and cultural competence.

The final argument is about the value of relationships and influence. In my work in Africa and India I have constantly been struck by how much people value their links with the UK. The most important medical qualification in India is still the Membership or Fellowship of a British Royal College and the pivotal influence of their professional life for many is the few years spent in training in the UK. These are relationships worth preserving and expanding into a new generation. The times have changed and power is shifting eastward but the UK can still exercise influence through its excellence in professional education and practice. We should do so for our benefit as well as for others.

Co-development in Practice

The principle of co-development in health has many practical applications. I only have space to describe two here. Firstly, there is the continuing development of partnership between British and foreign organisations – the links between hospitals, alliances between Medical Colleges and the partnerships between NGOs – and the continued support for volunteering. Both the last two governments have begun to support these partnerships in positive ways through, for example, the Government's Health Partnership Scheme managed by THET.³⁰

This needs to be taken much further and seen not as an add-on but as a central part of policy and strategy. The UK has a truly remarkable health and biosciences sector which can be mobilised to add enormous value to our development efforts. At the moment, however, its impact is generally piecemeal and non-strategic. The many examples of Britons volunteering around the world show that there are huge reservoirs of good will, energy and passion to draw on. The task is to harness this in the best way, recognising the benefits to both parties. UK health workers gain leadership and management skills as well having the opportunity to be innovative and develop new approaches. Why should we leave it to the Americans with their big partnership programmes and the private sector to bring clinical and scientific expertise to countries that so desperately need it?

The second area is professional education. I have already alluded to the educational benefits that can come from working in a poorly resourced environment. Many medical students spend short elective periods in low and middle income countries and report favourably on the experience. There are also now a number of small schemes which offer experience in low and middle income countries as a part of formal training. Most recently, Health Education South West has set up a Global Health Fellowship and Scholarship Programme through which 24 young doctors a year will have placements in rural and under-resourced areas of South Africa and provide service there as well undertaking their General Practice training. It has been oversubscribed by people keen to take part.

Why can't we go further? Many low and middle income countries desperately need doctors. Their educational institutions need support. The pedagogical advantages of learning in a low resource environment are clear. Why can't we pay the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka, for example, to lead a programme of placements and training for young doctors in their country as part of their formal training? The doctors could provide service

in Zambia, just as they do in the UK. The Medical School and hospital would be strengthened by their skills and their fees. Initial costing suggests that this could be done more cheaply than an equivalent period spent in the UK. It appears to be a win-win all round - or excellent co-development.

Once we start thinking in this way we can see many other possibilities. What is the scope for simultaneous exchange with Zambian doctors coming to the UK where they will get specialist training they can't get in their own country? Could British doctors at the end of their training work for a period in jobs that can't be filled in these countries in exchange for the local (smaller) salary and some level of remission of their student loan? What about the other professions? Nurses carry most of the burden of care in Africa as elsewhere. What schemes could be developed to use their skills and passion?

Moreover, I believe this should be part of our response to the help the NHS has received over the years from health workers from low and middle income countries. Migrants have rights and the interchange of professionals is mutually beneficial but as a global employer the NHS also has obligations to support training and health care in the countries of origin of many of our health workers.³¹

The Wider Picture

The principle of co-development has obvious application in other sectors from education to agriculture. It also provides strong justification for encouraging private investment in local enterprise. Foreign Direct Investment is needed in low and middle income countries as desperately as aid and development support and these countries want, as they develop, to become our trading partners.

Co-development cannot, of course, be imposed. It is a two way relationship entered into freely. My suggestion would be that the UK offered this as an approach to selected countries and then worked through with them what it would mean in practice, being willing to experiment and learn as part of the process. It is not a soft option in development but will require commitment from both countries to change their approaches. Given the state of dependency and disempowerment described earlier by Dr Omaswa, this could be difficult. He is very clear Africans have to change just as we have to change. He has written, as only an African could, about his own people: "We need Africans to see themselves and the world differently and to behave accordingly. ... Until and unless we Africans, individually and collectively, feel the pain and the shame of our condition, we will not have the commitment to take the actions needed to right the situation."³²

30. <http://www.thet.org>

31. WHO: Global Code of Practice on International Recruitment of Health Personnel; May 2010

32. Omaswa F and Crisp N: African Health Leaders – making change and claiming the future; OUP 2014 p12, 31

DELIVERING ON THE PROMISE OF EDUCATION FOR ALL

Kevin Watkins

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ifteen years ago governments from around the world gathered with great solemnity at the World Education Forum conference in Dakar, Senegal, to deliver a simple yet profoundly important promise to children – the promise of good quality education for all by 2015. The promise was subsequently enshrined in the Millennium Development Goals. Delivery has fallen spectacularly short of the targets adopted.

Today, with the 2015 deadline approaching, we are heading for yet another set of promises. After a protracted, not to say convoluted, process of dialogue, the draft Sustainable Development Goals – the successor to the MDGs – envisage ‘inclusive and equitable quality education and (...) life-long learning opportunities for all’, this time by 2030. Behind the headline goals there are some ambitious targets, ranging from universal early childhood, primary and secondary schooling, to (as yet unspecified) improvements in learning outcomes.

Having comprehensively failed to deliver on the pledge made in 2000, what value should we attach to the debased currency of UN development targets in education? Is the ambition behind the new development goals a case study in delusional grandeur – the ultimate triumph, as Dr Johnson said of second marriages, of hope over experience? Or could the new SDGs galvanize the national and international action needed to deliver on the promise of education for all?

These questions matter. Education – especially female education – is one of the most powerful catalysts for human development. More education is associated with smaller and healthier families, lower levels of child mortality, and improved nutrition. On one estimate, universal secondary schooling for women in the poorest countries would reduce child mortality by almost half, saving around 2.8 million lives annually.

Education also holds the key to the development of more inclusive societies. Decent quality education provision offers individuals an escape route from poverty: an additional year of schooling increases earnings by around 10 per cent in many of the poorest countries. And what is true for individuals also holds for countries. It is no coincidence that almost all of the development success stories of the past fifty years – from South Korea to Thailand, VietNam and China – built economic growth on the human capital generated through expanded educational opportunities. In an increasingly knowledge-based global economy the premium on education is rising, as is the cost of educational failure. Failure to narrow the education disparities that divide rich and poor nations, and rich and poor people within countries, will reinforce the drift towards inequality.

Where are we now?

On some measures of progress the world has come a long way since the 2000 World Education Forum. Out-of-school numbers,

which were rising in the 1990s, have fallen. Gender gaps in education have narrowed. More children are making it through primary school into secondary education. Yet for all the gains, the real measure of where we stand today is the gap between the promise of education for all and the practical delivery. That gap is very large and is narrowing at a tortuously slow pace. It is no exaggeration to say that the world today faces a twin crisis in education – a crisis in access and learning.

The crisis in access to schooling has been underplayed in recent research. In 2011, there were some 57 million children of primary school age not attending school – 54 per cent of them girls. The good news is that this figure is almost half the level at the end of the 1990s. Some of the world’s poorest countries – Bangladesh, India, Tanzania, Mozambique and Senegal – have registered advances that, viewed from the vantage point of 2000, would have appeared implausible. The bad news is that progress towards universal primary school enrolment has stalled since 2006, leaving around 10 per cent of children out of school.

Reaching the ‘last 10 per cent’ should be a priority for every government and donor agency. These children are among the most vulnerable and marginalised in their societies. Many of them are child labourers. Around 168 million children aged 5–14 are working as child labourers, often in hazardous occupations. Millions of girls are driven out of education each year by forced marriage: every day, an estimated 40,000 girls marry before the age of 18. Disabled children figure prominently in the ranks of those denied schooling. In all of these areas, the challenge of delivering learning for all go far beyond narrow confines of education policy to the underlying power relationships, gender disparities, poverty and social attitudes that perpetuate marginalisation.

Far too little attention has been paid to inequality in education. Being born into a household that is poor, rural, or living in an urban slum is often a one way ticket to educational disadvantage and poverty, especially for girls. In Nigeria, urban boys from the richest 20 per cent of households average around 12 years of schooling. By contrast, a poor rural girl in northern Nigeria averages less than one year.

There is worrying evidence that inequalities in education are rising despite national gains in enrolment. One review of 23 countries found that the gap in years of schooling between children from the poorest and richest 20 per cent of households was rising in 19 countries. This suggests that, while more poor children are getting into school, they are far more likely to drop out. If recent trends continue, rich urban boys in sub-Saharan Africa will achieve universal primary completion by 2021. The poorest girls will not catch up until 2086. Left unaddressed, these education disparities will reinforce wider inequalities and transmit poverty across generations.

Armed conflict is another barrier to education. Around 40 per cent of all out-of-school children now live in countries affected by, or recovering from armed conflict. Protracted armed conflicts can have devastating consequences for education. All too often, children, teachers and schools have been targeted. The shooting

A Universal Public Services Agenda

in 2012 by local Taliban groups of Malala Yousafzai in Pakistan's Swat Valley was one episode in a wider war waged by Islamic fundamentalist groups against girls' education. Another front in that war is northern Nigeria, where Boko Haram has unleashed a wave of killing, kidnapping and destruction. In other cases, targeted attacks on school infrastructure and displacement have fuelled profound reversals in education. In what is probably the most destructive reversal in education in over half-a-century, over half of Syria's school-age population is out-of-school. Enrolment rates for Syrian refugee children in Lebanon are around 20 per cent – well below the level found in some of the poorest countries in Africa. In Gaza, the deliberate targeting of schools by Israeli forces during the 2014 conflict devastated an already depleted education infrastructure.

Deficits in access to primary schooling represent the tip of an iceberg. There are 70 million adolescents out of school. Less than half of children in low income countries make it to secondary education. In the case of Africa, where the number of young people is projected to double by 2045, education holds the key to preventing a demographic dividend becoming a social and economic time-bomb.

Getting children into school is just one side of the education for all equation. The other side of that equation measures what children get out of education in terms of learning achievement. One of the most important developments in recent years has been an increased focus on learning outcomes – and the results have been disquieting.

Assessment exercises for many countries point to desperately low levels of learning. In many countries, gains in enrolment have outpaced advances in learning. For example, India is now within touching distance of universal primary education. However, almost half the children in Standard VI are unable to read a Standard II level text. One survey of rural schools in Pakistan found that only one-in-three children tested at the end of Grade 3 could correctly form a sentence with the word 'school' in Urdu. In Tanzania just under half of the children enrolled in Standard 3 or above are able to read a simple Standard 2 level story in Kiswahili.

This evidence paints a picture of systemic failure. For millions of children around the world, the value-added of an additional year of schooling is close to zero. Moreover, children unable to master basic literacy and numeracy during the early grades are being set on a course for failure since these are the skills that facilitate the vital learning and problem solving skills needed to flourish in education. Research carried out by UNESCO's Education for All Global Monitoring Report has captured the scale of the learning challenge. According to the Report, around 250 million of the developing world's primary school age children – one-third of the total – will reach their adolescent years without having mastered basic literacy and numeracy skills. What is particularly alarming is that 130 million of these children will have completed four years in school.

The twin crisis in access and learning has generated a highly polarised debate. Some commentators have called for the traditional neo-liberal education fix – vouchers, support for private schools, and a diminished role for the state. At the other end of the spectrum, some commentators argue that more money will fix state failures. Both sides are wrong. For all the hype, there is very little hard evidence that private schools offer a credible alternative to public education, especially for the poor. Yet public education systems are failing in many countries and many desperately poor people are exiting to the private sector. While private schools, community schools and other providers have a valuable role to play in delivering education, if the post-2015 goals are to be achieved there is no alternative to the development of more efficient and equitable public education systems.

Looking Ahead – Delivering on the Promise

There are no blueprints for delivering on the promise of education for all. But there are a number of guiding principles that should serve to guide governments and donors seeking to act on the post-2015 commitments. Four priorities stand out.

- **Start early:** The foundations for learning are laid before children start school. Good nutrition is the building block for cognitive development. Yet every year around 5 million children start school having had their education prospects blighted by severe malnutrition. Eradicating hunger among children is not just a moral imperative but a condition for the development of effective education systems.

- **Reach the marginalised and tackle inequality:** All governments – rich as well as poor – should be striving to equalise opportunities for education. No child should be pre-selected for failure on the basis of their parents' wealth, their gender, skin colour or ethnicity. That is why the 2015 goals should include not just an ambitious goal for 2030, but targets for reducing indefensible inequalities. For example, governments could report to their citizens on progress in, say, halving the gap in school attendance or learning outcomes between children from the richest and poorest 20 per cent; or between urban and rural areas.

- **Get serious about rights:** The Convention on the Rights of the Child is the most widely endorsed human rights treaty – and the most widely ignored. When it comes to child labour, forced marriage, child trafficking, and attacks on schools and children, the Convention is violated with impunity. As Gordon Brown, the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and now UN Special Envoy on Education, has argued, it is time to create an International Children's Court empowered and equipped to investigate and prosecute governments, individuals and companies responsible for egregious human rights violations against children. More broadly, governments and aid donors should be directing more resources and political energy to the eradication of the scourge of child slavery and hazardous child labour.

- **Start the long-haul fix for education systems.** Debates over the relative merits of public and private education are a distraction from the real reform challenges. Ultimately, no education system is better than its teachers. It follows that teacher recruitment, training, support and motivation are critical to the development of higher performing education systems. Too often poor countries copy the teacher-training courses of rich countries, with scant regard for local conditions. For example, governments in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa provide little training for teaching first generation learners from non-literate homes. Few incentives are provided for good teachers to teach in deprived areas – and the most disadvantaged areas and children often receive less public finance than wealthy areas and more advantaged children. To make matters worse, poor countries have under-invested in the development of the national learning assessment systems needed to identify which schools and children are failing. Teacher absenteeism is another problem. Part of that problem can be traced to weak governance, though absenteeism is also a symptom of poor motivation. In all of these areas, the institutional failures to be addressed require systemic reforms that have to be carried-through across political cycles.

Development assistance has an important role to play in delivering on the post-2015 commitment. Aid donors have earned a justifiably poor reputation on education. Having promised at the Dakar conference to ensure that the poorest countries would receive the support required to deliver on the education for all pledge, they have fallen short.

This does not augur well for the post-2015 period. The current financing gap for primary education in the poorest countries is around US\$26bn. Extending the ambition to lower secondary education would add another US\$12bn to that figure. Yet aid to primary and secondary education is now in decline, even in sub-Saharan Africa. The bleak external financing environment is made worse by the neglect of education in humanitarian emergencies, as witnessed by the catastrophic failure of donors to respond to the education crisis facing Syrian refugees.

It is easy to exaggerate the importance of aid but it would be a profound folly to understate its continued significance. Strong growth in poor countries is generating more resources for public and private investment, yet the financing gaps remain large. Moreover, internation-

al public finance has a vital role to play in extending opportunities for the most marginalised and vulnerable children now being left behind in education.

Conclusion

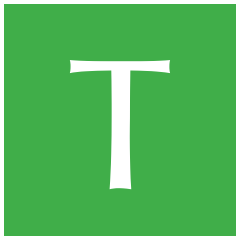
It is easy to be cynical about UN development targets. Over the past two years governments, NGOs and private sector actors have engaged in a seemingly endless cycle of consultation, conferences and dialogue on the SDGs. Far too much attention has been directed towards crafting and fine-tuning the wording on goals and targets – and too little attention has been directed towards strategy. The education goals are no exception.

Yet the new goals could play a role in galvanising action. The post-2015 SDGs provide an opportunity to renew international cooperation on education – and to act on what remains a broken promise. A strengthened global effort on education will help to drive progress in the fight against poverty, build a more inclusive pattern of globalisation, foster progress in health, nutrition, promote gender equity, and strengthen peace and democracy. There is too much at stake to fail. And the world's children surely have a right to expect something better than business-as-usual.

PREVENTING, CONTAINING AND TACKLING CONFLICT

Stephen Doughty MP

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The events of the last 5 years, whether in Ukraine, Syria, Yemen, Kenya or Nigeria – and many other locations – have exposed clearly the future character and consequences of complex and brutal conflict for both civilians, global order, and Britain's national security.

While Britain's international development policy under Labour always had conflict prevention, civilian protection and humanitarian response at its heart since the establishment of DFID in 1997, the experience of Afghanistan, Iraq and many other conflicts – where defence, diplomatic and security strategies had to increasingly consider development and humanitarian objectives – forced rethinking of both strategy and operational approaches.

In the world we now find ourselves, these challenges, and blurring of lines between different levers of British international policy, will become even more apparent. It is crucial in this complex world that we resist the drive towards development or humanitarian 'purism' – complex environments such as Afghanistan required by necessity civilian development and military security operations to work hand in hand for separate and mutual success – and also ensure that at the same time development objectives do not merely become subservient as default to more narrowly focussed diplomatic or security objectives.

The Character of Conflict

It is absolutely clear that international development challenges, poverty, inequality, women's rights, climate change and other pressures – from demography to food – sit at the heart of the future threat drivers for global conflict. This means that not only must Britain retain a firm commitment to tackling these challenges in and of themselves – the moral imperative – but also that we must do so in the global and national interest. The UK Defence Academy, DCDC publication "Future Character of Conflict" sets out a number of helpful contextual drivers in conflict to 2029:

First, that the UK will retain global interests, clear ties to Europe and North America (as well as I would argue historically to Africa and South Asia) and the ability to impact and influence through leadership and example. Second, that climate change will create increasing instability, especially in states vulnerable to other pressures. Third, that demographic shifts – whether in growth, the shift of population to cities and coasts – and the pressures on water and food – will lead to significant challenges. Fourth, that globalisation of the world economy and information flows will present both opportunities and huge insecurities and risks. Fifth, that the demand for energy will be a key challenge for developed and developing countries alike. Sixth, that failed and failing states – characterised by poor governance and economic deprivation and inequality – will be key crux points for conflict and spreading instability. And finally, that ideological movements, including

those based on religion and ethnic identity will drive and complicate already insecure environments.

The regular attempts by right-wing Tory MPs to present international development and defence spending as a zero-sum game, for example during the recent passage of the 0.7% aid commitment bill, are simply nonsensical in the face of such analysis.

Take Yemen, for example, which sits at a crucially strategic global location. There are powerful historical and cultural ties with Britain (including a significant diaspora in my own constituency and many others). It is one of the Middle East's poorest countries and has complex ethnic and religious internal affairs and instability. It has had poor and weak governance, allowing ungoverned spaces where Al-Qaeda affiliates have been able to thrive, train and threaten locations ranging from civilians in Yemen, to the Arabian peninsula, to Syria and to the streets of the UK, and the risk of further complex domestic conflict based on other divides. It faces demographic pressures – from a bulging young, male and unemployed population – and is faced with scarce resources including water.

The Yemen of the present and the Yemen of the future illustrate why preventing conflict and focusing our resources where they can also help dampen other drivers of conflict is crucial, and we must therefore remain engaged and potentially willing to act even more robustly in defence, diplomatic and development spaces to tackle conflict upstream – and be willing to expend effort and resources in doing so.

What should our response be?

So if we accept this analysis, what should a Labour DFID do, working across government in a 2015-2020 government?

First, where the UK is best placed to work on a bilateral basis or provide multilateral leadership, we should focus and strategically target our resources on the countries and regions of greatest risk. This need not come at the expense of a needs based assessment for development assistance, nor merely slavishly follow national security objectives. The reality is that whether it is the Sahel, Yemen, the Horn of Africa, parts of South Asia and so on – extreme poverty, instability and insecurity, and the susceptibility of countries to threats and pressures go hand in hand. The last Labour government committed that half of all new bilateral funding would go to conflict-affected and fragile states – clearly this would need to be re-examined, but we need to do more to ensure that more countries at risk of conflict and instability receive our support – not just those that fill the headlines of any given week. And we need to put conflict analysis at the heart of our development strategies, to ensure that we first do no harm, and most importantly bolster fragile states against further collapse.

Second, a Labour DFID must put security, access to justice, and safety – especially for women and girls – at the heart of our development policy. People living in developing countries regular-

ly cite insecurity and powerlessness (such as through a lack of access to justice and dispute resolution) as some of the biggest challenges they face alongside access to basic human essentials such as education, health, food and water. Where these are not provided by a functioning state, it is all too easy to fall prey to the brutal certainty provided by other options – whether the ‘protection’ of ISIS, the Islamic Courts in Somalia or a local warlord. And in far too many countries it is still more dangerous to be a woman or girl than it is a soldier. DFID and the FCO working together must continue the international fight against the use of rape and sexual abuse as a weapon of war, and to ensure support for victims.

Third, we need to focus our support for economic development and sustainable use of natural resources on areas that will deliver the most, best paid, and secure jobs. Tackling the scourge of worklessness must be as clear a drive for Labour internationally through DFID as it is domestically. Conflict and insecurity thrive in environments where inequality is rife, and workless people, particularly young men – who are all too vulnerable to the call of the jihadi or the violent revolutionary instead of seeking change and improved conditions through the ballot box. And any analysis of where to focus support for economic development in the world’s poorest countries must be conscious of the additional pressures being created by climate change and resource scarcity – whether that is understanding the threats to marginal farming communities in the Sahel, or of the conflict that can be generated by unsustainable and unregulated extraction of mineral resources or oil.

Fourth, we need to take a leading role in peace-building, peacekeeping and peace-making. The willingness to act with hard power, and intervene when crucial criteria is met should be coupled with a similar ambition in supporting organisations and individuals using soft power to build peace and reconciliation. Britain’s armed forces must be equipped first to defend our national security and national interests – but they can also play a crucial role, as we demonstrated in places like Bosnia, Sierra Leone, Kosovo and Cyprus, as part of professional stabilisation and peacekeeping forces at both times of crisis, and in helping achieve peaceful transitions from conflict. With a keen respect for ‘humanitarian space’ they could work even more closely alongside civilian stabilisation teams – which the last Labour government and DFID did much to develop. DFID must also play a crucial role in supporting the voices of moderation and tolerance by strengthening civil society organisations that promote dialogue and conflict resolution.

Finally, a Labour International Development Secretary will need to be a champion working with other departments and governments to ensure the success of the global Arms Trade Treaty, which the last Labour government played a crucial role in pushing forward, along with a ban on cluster munitions. We also need to ensure our arms control and export regimes are as solid and robust as they can be ensuring that we never fuel conflict or human rights abuses through legitimate defence exports. The lax control of or spread of light weaponry globally, can have devastating consequences – even many years later – as we have seen in both Afghanistan and in the rise of ISIS, and in conflicts from the DRC to Somalia.

Joint Working

In all of these things it is crucial that a Labour government FCO, DFID, MOD and No.10 work hand in hand, respecting their different roles and priorities but acting in concert. Strong co-ordination and joint strategic analysis through No.10 and the Cabinet Office must be the order of the day, not turf wars over leadership or funding, particularly when faced with the Comprehensive Spending Review and the Strategic Defence and Security Review.

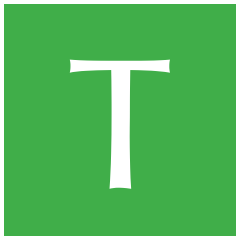
The challenges of conflict and insecurity are simply too serious a threat to the success of DFID’s overriding objective to end poverty, let alone our national security.

A Labour government must be absolutely clear that there can be no development without tackling and preventing conflict – whether that is at the level of a local community or a national civil war. And that there can be no hope for global peace and security, without Britain playing a crucial role, individually and in concert with others via the UN, EU and other global institutions to tackle the abject poverty, inequality and injustices which fuel conflict and crisis, and ultimately put the lives of civilians and soldiers alike on the line – in the world’s poorest countries - and on our own streets.

HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE

Sara Pantuliano

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The UK is one of the world's largest donors of humanitarian assistance, providing almost \$2 billion in aid in 2013. It also has weight in the European Union and the UN, played a leading part in developing the architecture and legal frameworks for humanitarian action after the Second World War and has long historical associations with, and experience in, many of the states particularly prone to crises and disasters. All of these attributes potentially

give the country significant influence in shaping the future of humanitarian assistance.

The context within which that future will emerge is changing in significant ways. The West's long hegemony in international affairs – including humanitarian assistance – is being challenged by increasingly powerful and assertive players such as China, and countries and regions that historically relied on external assistance to deal with the consequences of humanitarian crises are increasingly bringing their own resources to bear, drawing on traditions, concepts and practices of assistance often very different from the norms taken for granted in the West. Likewise, the established UN agencies and international NGOs are working in an ever more crowded arena as other actors – diaspora groups, southern civil society, militaries, the private sector – encroach on their activities and funds. Legal provisions regarding states' responsibilities and the right of access to people in need are in question as governments deliberately assault or dispossess their people and bar entry to agencies they disapprove of. Armed groups harass and attack aid workers and assets, while legislation designed to restrict support to terrorist organisations criminalises contact with precisely those groups whose acquiescence is crucial to delivering aid.

Many of these issues have been with us for decades, if not longer, and it would be a mistake to regard them as constituting an unprecedented challenge for the aid sector. Even so, they are impinging on the business of aid in very tangible and visible ways. In principle, humanitarian assistance is protected by a set of principles designed to assert its independence, impartiality and neutrality, as enshrined in United Nations General Assembly Resolution 46/182 of 1991. In practice, however, the geopolitical context in which assistance operates, and the interconnected network of actors within which it sits, means that these principles are more often honoured in the breach than in the observance, both by belligerents, who seek to curtail, expropriate or attack assistance to further their interests, and by donors, who seek to use assistance in support of their military, political or strategic concerns.

As well as manipulating the humanitarian assistance available to civilians in conflict, belligerents also regularly ignore their legal obligations under the Geneva Conventions and associated legal norms and mechanisms designed to protect civilians from the effects of warfare. There has been important progress in the normative framework protecting civilians from the effects of armed conflict; examples include the International Criminal Court, which responded to the need for an international criminal justice

mechanism highlighted by events in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and the international convention banning landmines. However, rules are only effective if they are adhered to; despite significant developments in law and policy the reality is that civilians continue to bear the brunt of wars. States and armed groups regularly violate their obligations under international law, with devastating consequences for civilians.

The UK has been at the forefront of efforts to raise awareness of the plight of civilians in conflict. It has also recently been a forceful advocate against sexual violence in conflict. Being a permanent member of the UN Security Council gives the UK a privileged role in ensuring that the suffering of civilians during armed conflict is adequately addressed. Equally important, though, is the prevention of violations that lead to such suffering. Ensuring respect for International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law by states and their armed forces is a crucial step in that direction. The UK's voice, both in public and in the country's bilateral relations with other states, must continue to focus on the need to spare civilians from harm.

In particular, the UK should continue to play a leading role in ensuring that violence against women and girls is prevented and mitigated, both in conflict and other settings. The Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict it hosted in June 2014 was a good foundation to build upon. Gender-based violence (GBV) targeting women and girls is a significant problem, especially in conflicts, where it can be a weapon of war, as well as a sex crime. Although international concern for the safety of women and girls in emergencies has grown in recent years, and good practice standards, guidelines, training resources and other tools have been developed, very little of the evidence and learning from good practice has been properly documented or disseminated, and there is no agreement amongst humanitarian practitioners on how to define, prevent and respond to GBV. The UK should continue to provide global leadership on these issues, and support normative developments aimed at ensuring greater accountability for the perpetrators of such violence, as well as initiatives to prevent or mitigate the impact of violence on women and girls.

The UK can also play a key role in ensuring that responsibilities towards civilians displaced by conflict are respected, including offering sanctuary and stimulating a more honest debate around the responsibilities of third-party states towards refugees. The decision to leave one's own country to find refuge elsewhere is always difficult and is not made lightly, and most refugees who have found safety in another country hope to return once circumstances permit. Sadly this is not always possible, and many spend years or even decades as refugees holding on to the hope that they will one day be able to return home. As a donor the UK has played a leading role in the response to the Syria crisis, and British support is enabling organisations to address issues such as housing, food and education. However, there has been a reluctance to consider asylum as an option for Syrian refugees. This is part of a general erosion of the right to seek asylum which increasingly leaves

refugees with two options: either return, which is often impossible, or integrate in neighbouring host countries, which is extremely challenging considering the excessive burden these countries are shouldering, hosting phenomenal numbers of refugees. Resettling refugees won't resolve a conflict, but it can be one option to give refugees a life in dignity.

Finally, the 'humanitarian system' is also under pressure from within. The scope and size of the humanitarian enterprise has grown enormously in recent decades, reaching a record \$22 billion in 2013. Some of the largest NGOs in the sector are global corporations in their own right, with thousands of staff around the world and budgets of billions of dollars. Yet even on this scale assistance consistently fails to meet the entirety of needs around the world, and the targets of assistance are invariably the product of strategic or geopolitical calculation, rather than the outcome of an objective assessment of who needs help the most. The spike in assistance in 2013, for example, is almost entirely accounted for by the crisis in Syria; other emergencies of less salience to powerful governments, such as CAR, receive much less attention and funding.

Again, these issues are not new, and are probably inherent in the way the sector is managed, structured and organised. Aid agencies operate as independent actors within what is at best a loose, shifting and amorphous collective, with different mandates, principles and objectives. Coordination between them is also hampered by the inevitable pressures of institutional self-interest and competition for funds. Attempts to change the way the system operates, notably the Humanitarian Reform process and the Transformative Agenda led by the UN, have sought to improve effectiveness, predictability and cohesion, and significant emergencies have prompted important reflection and change over the years. The Rwandan genocide of 1994, for example, prompted the development of minimum standards and a code of conduct to guide humanitarian assistance, and galvanised attention on the need to protect people in crisis, not just offer them material assistance; the Indian Ocean tsunami and the conflict in Darfur gave impetus to the Humanitarian Reform process within the UN, which introduced the cluster coordination system, established a new, quick-response funding mechanism and sought to enhance the leadership of humanitarian responses by strengthening the role and capacity of Humanitarian Coordinators. As a sector humanitarian assistance has also become much more professional and managerial in its approach, and has expanded its scope of action well beyond the core provision of material assistance. It has also, albeit belatedly and patchily, woken up to the need to listen to the beneficiaries of assistance, not just the donors who fund it.

These are not negligible changes, and show that, in principle at least, thoughtful practitioners are aware of the shortcomings of the past and are conscious of the need to address them. At the same time, however, the question remains how the architecture of aid might better reflect the complexity of humanitarian engagement on the ground and expand to include more inclusive mechanisms of coordination, cooperation and funding which can harness the capacities and experiences of a much wider set of actors around the world.

While the UK plays a key role in humanitarian action, there is a place for a more holistic consideration of its contribution. Attempts have been made in recent years to undertake such holistic assessment and planning, but these intentions have not been fully realised. With new and increasing pressures on the system and increased global focus, through for example the forthcoming World Humanitarian Summit, such an effort would be timely and appropriate.

EU DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

Mikaela Gavas

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The world is currently undergoing a series of fundamental shifts that are changing the development landscape. Economic growth is narrowing the gap in wealth and economic power between developed and developing countries, and increasing the pressure on a number of highly strategic resources, including energy, land and water. Poverty maps are changing, with many low-income countries graduating to middle-income status, while fragile states are left further behind. Poverty is expected to decline; optimistic projections, based on the assumption that countries maintain the same high growth rates observed in the early 2000s, estimate that in 2030, around 5% of the world population will remain below \$1.25 a day.³³ About three quarters of the poor are likely to live in fragile states in Sub-Saharan Africa.³⁴ The scope and breadth of transnational challenges, from climate change to growing radicalism, are increasing. Western values and norms are being challenged by the multiplicity and diversity of actors with growing geopolitical and economic clout.

Given all this, there is one simple message: actions of individual states are ineffective in resolving the pressing transnational problems of the day. The increasingly global nature of development challenges, such as climate change, peace and security, food security and financial stability, clearly calls for multilateral action and investment in collective action. Policy makers and publics will have to come to terms with a growing necessity for multilateral cooperation.

From this follows one simple choice. As a project concerned with managing the global commons and securing global public goods, development cooperation may thrive if states and citizens recognise the value of cooperation and collective action, but it will deteriorate if self-interest and competition become dominant tendencies. The UK can choose to shape the world in concert with others and create the best environment to protect and boost common interests. Alternatively, it can choose not to, and drift towards isolation and irrelevance.

By choosing cooperation, there is, of course, a range of multilateral options open to the UK, including the United Nations (UN) and its various agencies, the multilateral development banks, and the European Union (EU). The UK Department for International Development's Multilateral Aid Review (MAR) has been used to assess the effectiveness of multilateral organisations in relation to the UK's humanitarian and development objectives, with a view to selecting those offering the best value for money. Nevertheless, while the MAR provides guidance to inform allocations to indi-

vidual organisations, there is no overall explicit UK vision on its approach to the multilateral system.³⁵

Why the EU, then, rather than other multilateral agencies?

As part of its 'Balance of Competence Review' in July 2013, the UK Government published two reports – one on development cooperation and humanitarian aid, the other on foreign policy – supported by submissions from various stakeholders.

The report on development cooperation and humanitarian aid emphasises that the EU 'provides a platform for collective action' and 'can act as a multiplier for the UK's policy priorities and influence'.³⁶ The report on foreign policy notes that 'most of the evidence argued that it was strongly in the UK's interests to work through the EU in a number of policy areas'.³⁷ It outlined the key benefits:

'... increased impact from acting in concert with 27 other countries; greater influence with non-EU powers, derived from our position as a leading EU country; the international weight of the EU's single market, including its power to deliver commercially beneficial trade agreements; the reach and magnitude of EU financial instruments, such as for development and economic partnerships; the range and versatility of the EU's tools, as compared with other international organisations; and the EU's perceived political neutrality, which enables it to act in some cases where other countries or international organisations might not'.³⁸

Noting how the political, security and defence aspects of international relations have become increasingly interdependent with the broader aspects of foreign policy, such as development cooperation, international trade, energy, transport and environment relationships etc., the report adds that:

'[a]n important comparative advantage for the EU in foreign policy is its ability to combine with its diplomatic and security tools a wide range of policy instruments: political, economic, development, and humanitarian – albeit the EU needs to improve further its ability to combine its instruments effectively'.³⁹

In terms of volume, the EU is the largest multilateral player in the world: it disburses some €12 billion per year and has a presence in around 140 countries. The EU's economies of scale actually reduce administration costs and allow the UK to be involved in many more countries (including a number of Commonwealth countries) than its current 28 priority countries.

Despite the UN and its agencies' global political authority, they do not have the capacity to disburse on the scale or with the

33. Basu, K. (2013) 'Shared Prosperity and the Mitigation of Poverty – In Practice and in Precept', Policy Research Working Paper 6700, Washington D.C.: World Bank.

34. Kharas, H. and A. Rogerson (2012) *Horizon 2025: Creative Destruction in the Aid Industry*, London: ODI.

35. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2014) *United Kingdom Peer Review*, Paris: OECD.

36. Her Majesty's Government (HMG) (2013a) *Review of the Balance of Competences between the United Kingdom and the European Union: Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid Report*, London: HMG.

37. Her Majesty's Government (HMG) (2013b) *Review of the Balance of Competences between the United Kingdom and the European Union: Foreign Policy Report*, London: HMG.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

variety of instruments available to the EU. Although the World Bank and other multilateral development banks have the financial resources, they lack the EU's voice on trade, or the role in foreign and security policy. Regional development banks offer long-term loans, but generally do not engage in humanitarian crises as the EU does. Furthermore, the EU has greater flexibility than other multilateral agencies, as well as a depoliticised persona that enables it to provide aid directly to non-state actors.⁴⁰

Both the UK and the EU emphasise growing private sector involvement as key to future development assistance, but only the EU has the variety of instruments allowing international political and economic partnerships, 'aid for trade' expertise, and the blending of grants and loans. Meanwhile, the EU's experience in regional integration and cooperation, and institutional capacity building, gives it a political weight that the UK cannot match on its own.

Member States use the EU to pursue a variety of objectives: multiplying or projecting influence, extending geographical reach, benefiting from economies of scale, or improving efficiency or impact. Some Member States also value the role of the EU in raising the level of performance of other Member States; the growth of shared expertise in development cooperation; the potential for joint working, which eases the administrative burden on recipient countries; and the 'safety valve' mechanism, allowing Member States to act independently on issues they feel strongly about.

On the other hand, the multiplication of actors in the collective increases the likelihood of being 'spread too thinly' in order to satisfy individual Member States' engagement on development issues. Member States try to shape EU development policy by 'uploading' their policies and objectives to the EU level. They usually have different external relations priorities that influence their preferences concerning where development investments should be directed. Thus, EU policy tends to be a compromise, or composite of many Member States' policies. The result is an EU development programme with an overloaded and broad agenda, operating in almost every country in the world.

If the Member States' views converged more on how to use the EU as instrument of choice in development policy, they could reasonably work towards an agreement on an optimal division of labour based on the principles of complementarity, subsidiarity and comparative advantage.

The bottom line, however, is that there are genuine benefits to working together over the long term, creating a culture of trust and mutual respect. Given that the EU's development programme is fundamentally dependent on the interests of EU Member States, reducing or severing its ties to the EU on development cooperation could cost the UK considerable international influence.

A Transactional Approach

There is a widespread perception that the UK is increasingly taking a transactional approach to many policies at EU level, considering the costs and benefits of engagement on each issue, rather than seeking to contribute to a common institutional and policy infrastructure that would enable the EU to play a greater collective role in the world.⁴¹

Experience suggests that smaller countries tend to get more out of the EU than larger ones and are more likely to adopt EU-based solutions. The EU gives them access to circles they could not move in otherwise and it provides an on-going 'coalition' that does

not have to be renegotiated for each new initiative or activity. For such countries, the cost-benefit analysis is therefore quite loaded in favour of EU-based solutions.

The UK government, and indeed other European governments, tend to consider the options they control directly, and do not spend much time considering what the EU might produce if collective action was pushed further. Thus, the UK's 'Balance of Competence Review' points to the value the EU adds to the UK effort and the advantages of the large pooled aid budget managed by the EU. It says the EU seeks to coordinate the efforts of its Member States.⁴² However, it does not give a judgement on whether it sees this coordination as successful, or whether it should be increased. In instrumental terms, there certainly is value in occasionally considering what strong collective EU action might deliver, rather than dismissing it as out of reach.

The three largest donors in the EU – France, Germany and the UK – can have a big influence on collective EU action if they so choose. Mobilising collective action with 28+1 entities may seem daunting, but in fact a much smaller number can be enough, since Member States with expertise and more resources carry substantial weight in a group with many smaller players.

Since the mid-2000s, the UK, France and Germany have been neck and neck as the largest EU donors in Official Development Assistance (ODA) volume terms. Between them, these three contribute about 55% of collective EU ODA.⁴³ A further 30% is contributed by only six other countries – Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Netherlands, Spain and Sweden.⁴⁴ Therefore, in volume terms, it is this group of nine Member States (contributing 85% of EU ODA) that really count, and if they can be persuaded to act together with similar policies, the EU's overall impact could be much greater. Moreover, approximately 20% of collective EU aid is managed by the EU institutions, including much of the ODA contributed by smaller Member States. Thus, France, Germany and the UK individually (or better still, together), can easily have a major impact on the way all EU ODA (and not just their own) is used, simply by working closely with the European Commission and a small number of other Member States.

In 2014, the OECD's Development Assistance Committee noted that raising its ODA by 30.5% to GBP 11.4 billion in 2013 made the UK the world's second largest donor by aid volume after the United States. The UK is the first major economy to meet the 0.7% target agreed by international donors in 1970. This should give it huge leverage. However, a purely transactional approach undermines the UK's influence in the EU. Rather than focusing on whether or not to adopt an EU based solution, it should consider how far to go with EU-based solutions and whether or not to make an extra effort to build alliances that involve the bulk of EU ODA.

The Future of the EU as a Global Actor

The EU has long been the most developed model of regional integration. This is the basis of the EU's international leverage and allows its Member States to make credible commitments in international negotiations, to generate solutions to cross-border problems and to benefit from economies of scale. However, the complex internal negotiations needed to reach a common position have hampered its role as a global actor. Even though it is quite obvious that the EU Member States would generally benefit from a European response to many global problems, national self-interest and a lack of political will often prevail.

40. Gavass, M. et al (2013) Review of the Balance of Competences between the United Kingdom and the European Union: Submission to the Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid Report, available at: <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8270.pdf>

41. Grabbe, H. (2013) Review of the Balance of Competences between the United Kingdom and the European Union: Submission to the Foreign Policy Report, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/224377/evidence-heather-grabbe.pdf

42. Her Majesty's Government (HMG) (2013) Review of the Balance of Competences between the United Kingdom and the European Union: Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid Report, London: HMG.

43. European Commission (2014) Commission Staff Working Document, EU Accountability Report 2014 on Financing for Development, Brussels: European Commission.

44. Ibid.

A Radical Reassessment of Partnership

The EU's success in global multilateralism depends on whether it has a unified voice. And the best way of achieving this is often, but not always, to occupy a single, EU chair in multilateral fora, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the G20. This is an extremely sensitive issue for Member States. However, how can membership of international organisations be considered a crucial issue of sovereignty when so many decisions that affect both citizens' lives and national politics are highly integrated?

There is a growing need for multilateral policies in the global and regional arenas to address an increasing number of issues, from the fight against climate change to disease control. The EU strives to be an active player in shaping globalisation and in providing global public goods. Without doubt, it has the general potential to do so. However, structural caveats hinder this ambition and potential and continuously jeopardise the EU's role in shaping the world. The EU will only be able to exert global leadership once it manages to speak and act coherently and avoid – or at least control – the turf battles between its institutions and its Member States. Achieving this coherence remains the EU's core challenge in being an influential global actor and in successfully providing global public goods in a multilateral international setting.⁴⁵

The Road Ahead

In this most challenging hour of European integration, when the main achievements of the EU are under unprecedented tension and the EU is substantially weaker than it has been at any other points in history, the UK cannot afford to turn its back on the EU. Security threats in the European neighbourhood are increasing and there is a continued need for diplomatic and economic engagement across the world. Violent conflict is raging – from the Central African Republic, to Syria, to the Ukraine – affecting more than 1.5 billion people globally, at a cost of around 30 years of GDP growth on average.⁴⁶ Catastrophic global temperature rises and increased frequency of extreme weather events will have a serious impact on populations and countries everywhere.⁴⁷ And more than a billion people still live in extreme poverty, on less than \$1.25 per day.⁴⁸

In foreign policy terms, the UK will be judged by its influence in an increasingly fragile world, and in particular, by its influence on three major global events: the post-2015 sustainable development framework, the forthcoming International Conference on Financing for Development, and the conference on climate change in Paris. The UK stands little chance of influence on its own. It is through the EU that the UK has any hope of influencing global debates and global agreements that will have systemic effects on the future of global development.⁴⁹

45. Gavass, M. (2013) *The EU and Global Public Goods: Challenges and Opportunities*, DIIS Report 2013:05, Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.

46. Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) (2013) *The Economic Cost of Violence Containment: A comprehensive assessment of the global cost of violence*, IEP.

47. Shepherd, A. et al (2013) *The geography of poverty, disasters and climate extremes in 2030*, London: ODI.

48. Chronic Poverty Advisory Network (2014) *The Chronic Poverty Report 2014-2015: The road to zero extreme poverty*, London: ODI.

49. Additional References:

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