



Sufia, with women working as day labourers, help to raise the ground beneath her home to cope with rising seas and high tides, Char Atra, Shariatpur district, Bangladesh (2009). © Dan Chung / Oxfam GB

MAKING IT HAPPEN

Oxfam's proposals for the post-2015 framework

In 2015 the world has a historic opportunity to set ambitious goals to end poverty and protect the planet. As the era of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) comes to an end, two major injustices continue to undermine the efforts of millions of people to escape poverty and hunger: inequality and climate change. The post-2015 framework that succeeds the MDGs must address these twin challenges through stand-alone goals to eradicate extreme economic inequality and to ensure climate-resilient and sustainable low-carbon development, as well as in targets throughout the framework that address both.

This paper puts forwards Oxfam's proposals for what new goals and targets should be included and how they can be designed to bring about lasting change.

1 BUILDING MORE EQUAL SOCIETIES

To halt rising economic inequality, Oxfam calls for a goal explicitly dedicated to reducing it. Oxfam further calls for a goal to complete the eradication of extreme poverty. To realize women's rights and achieve gender equality, Oxfam proposes both a specific goal and the incorporation of targets across the framework dedicated to this. In recognition of the crucial importance of free public services in combating inequality, Oxfam recommends goals for universal healthcare and education. Indicators should be disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group, wherever possible.

GOAL 1: ERADICATE EXTREME ECONOMIC INEQUALITY BY 2030

Extreme economic inequality is at historic levels in many countries, and the problem is increasing. The 85 richest people own the wealth of half of the world's poorest population.⁹ If the global community fails to curb the widening gap, a host of related economic and social problems will ensue, including the undermining of efforts to eradicate poverty.

Fortunately, the tide is beginning to turn against those who preached that the rising tide of unfettered neoliberalism would 'lift all boats'. From President Obama¹⁰ to President Xi Jinping¹¹ and Pope Francis,¹² and from the World Bank and¹³ International Monetary Fund (IMF),¹⁴ to the World Economic Forum,¹⁵ a consensus is growing that extreme wealth and inequality are harmful to human progress. In the post-2015 debate, the UN Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (OWG),¹⁶ the UN Secretary General's report,¹⁷ the African Union,¹⁸ and the High Level Panel report have all supported the need to 'leave no-one behind'¹⁹ in the aspiration for inclusive growth, gender equality, and the empowering of the most marginalized. But those developing the post-2015 framework must be bolder, and translate this welcome sentiment into a comprehensive plan of action.

That is why Oxfam is joining those, including former Chief Economist to the World Bank and Nobel Prize winner Joseph Stiglitz,²⁰ who advocate a standalone goal to eradicate extreme economic inequality by 2030. Oxfam supports Joseph Stiglitz's call for a zero gap between the post-tax income of the top 10 per cent and post-transfer income of the bottom 40 per cent. As new research from the IMF shows,²¹ far from damaging growth, redistribution is smart economic policy because lower inequality is *good* for growth. And backing this paper, the IMF's Director Christine Lagarde underlined that 'making taxation more progressive' and 'improving access to health and education' have a key role to play in tackling inequality.²²

GOAL 2: ERADICATE EXTREME POVERTY BY 2030

By 2010 the world had succeeded in halving extreme poverty – achieving MDG1²⁴ five years ahead of schedule. This is an achievement to be celebrated. But the job is not yet done: 1.2 billion people remain in poverty, almost half of whom are chronically poor.²⁵

The OWG has affirmed that poverty eradication ‘remains the overarching objective of the international community and needs to be central to a proposal on SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) and the post-2015 UN development agenda’.²⁶

Oxfam fully supports that objective and below puts forward its proposal for a goal on ending extreme poverty. In Oxfam’s view, this goal must go alongside a goal on ending extreme inequality, as rising inequality is a direct barrier to ending poverty. If current trajectories of global growth and inequality continue, there will still be over 400 million people living in extreme poverty by 2030.²⁷ And, if inequality continues to rise, that number could increase to over 700 million.²⁸ Reducing the income gap between the top 10 per cent and the bottom 40 per cent could lift 154 million out of extreme poverty by 2025.²⁹ Addressing inequality would make the more ambitious target to eradicate \$2/day poverty more achievable.

In addition, a large number of those remaining below the poverty line are chronically poor. They consist of a kaleidoscope of the most marginalized and excluded groups and live below the line permanently, with poverty passing from one generation to the next.³⁰

At the same time, environmental disasters are increasingly reversing development gains³¹ by destroying livelihoods and infrastructure, displacing entire populations, and threatening ecosystems. The number of reported disasters is increasing in accordance with projections of accelerating climate change. By 2030, up to 325 million extremely poor people will be living in the 49 most hazard-prone countries.³²

Redistributive policy interventions will be required to pull the most vulnerable out of poverty. Social protection is one of the foundations of inclusive, equitable, and sustainable development, and Oxfam, as a member of the Global Coalition for Social Protection Floors,³³ supports a target to ensure every person in the world has a safety net. To ensure that these benefits are truly universal, governments must make targeted interventions to reach the chronically poor, those most excluded and marginalized.

Being in employment and earning a fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work is central to not only overcoming poverty, but to reducing extreme inequality as well, by ensuring the proceeds of growth go to labour and not only to capital.³⁴ As such targets should be included in the framework that not only supports employment for all, but ensures jobs pay a decent wage and comply with internationally agreed labour standards.

GOAL 3: ACHIEVE GENDER EQUALITY AND REALIZE WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS BY 2030

The post-2015 goals must aim to achieve gender equality and realize women's human rights through both a standalone goal and by integrating gender-based targets and indicators for transformative change into other goals across the framework.

The MDG framework included a standalone goal on 'Gender Equality and Empowering Women' (MDG 3), and in recent years there has been progress in equal access for girls to primary education, women's representation in parliaments, and women's access to some areas of the labour market.³⁸

However, the absence of a rights-based approach to development within the MDGs meant that the root causes of gender discrimination were inadequately addressed. MDG 3 failed to lay the necessary groundwork to bring about the transformational change needed to give women greater control over their own lives. In both developing and developed countries, gender inequality remains rife. Women continue to hold less secure jobs, receive lower pay, and bear a disproportional share of unpaid care work. Women often remain excluded from decision-making processes both in public and private spheres. In many areas of the world, girls face barriers to accessing secondary education. And one in three women experience violence in their lifetime.³⁹

The realization of gender equality is within reach. But achieving this vision will require action across economic, social, and political spheres to overturn the range of structural barriers that prevent women's empowerment, and to support sustainable development. Drawing on the voices of women's rights organizations and networks and key women's rights instruments and frameworks, Oxfam has identified the following priority areas to be addressed across the framework:

- eliminating violence against women;
- women's equal participation in decision making;
- fulfilling women's economic rights;
- reducing women's time burdens;
- guaranteeing sexual and reproductive health and rights;
- ensuring access of women and girls to education;
- building women's resilience;
- ensuring women's access to energy, water, and sanitation.

Each of these priority areas will require a mix of sex-disaggregated indicators, which can collectively capture long-term transformative change. Moreover, measures for change should not be restricted to formal institutions, but also applied to social norms, for example, challenging the acceptance of violence against women in some cultures.

Since women are not a homogenous group, indicators must not only be disaggregated by sex, but also by age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group, in order to identify other forms of social inequality.

Support for a standalone goal on gender equality is gaining support, most notably at the UN global policy-making body on women's rights, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). At the 58th CSW Session held in March 2014, governments called for a standalone goal and for integrated targets throughout the framework.⁴⁰ This call has since been echoed by UN Women,⁴¹ the African Union,⁴² the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD),⁴³ the High Level Panel report, civil society actors such as the Gender and Development Network,⁴⁴ and UN member states such as Australia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Egypt, France, Finland, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Switzerland, Sweden, Uganda and the UK.⁴⁵

Goal 3: Achieve gender equality and realize women's human rights by 2030

Target 1: Eliminate violence against women and girls (VAWG) ⁴⁶	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, income, and other forms of social minority)
1.1 Reform legal systems to enshrine gender equality and make VAWG a crime.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of countries with legislation that criminalizes VAWG; Number of countries that repeal laws that discriminate against women and girls.
1.2 Provide appropriate security and access to justice for women and girls.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prevalence of VAWG (sexual / physical/ psychological), including female genital mutilation and early forced marriage, based on perception and reported data; Proportion of law enforcement professionals who are women (including judges and the police); Proportion of national budgets allocated to the prevention of, and the response to, VAWG across national departments; Perception of women of their personal safety.
1.3 Ensure care and support services for survivors.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Level of coverage of shelters and care services.
1.4 Change the negative attitudes, perceptions and behaviours which sustain VAWG.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Percentage of women and men who think violence against women is unjustifiable.

Target 2: Achieve women's equal leadership, influence and participation in decision making	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, income, and other forms of social minority)
2.1 Achieve women's equal leadership, participation and influence in formal and informal decision-making bodies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Representation of women in legislative assemblies, (national and local), ministerial and cabinet level positions, and traditional governance structures, in proportion to men; Percentage of voting age women registered to vote, and percentage of voters in national and local elections who are women; Proportion of women in leadership and management positions, and on executive boards in the corporate sector; Percentage of women and men who say important

	decisions in the household should be made by both men and women.
2.2 Achieve women's equal leadership, participation and influence in peace processes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of women negotiating in peace processes; • Proportion of women in decision-making roles in organizations involved in preventing conflict.
2.3 Strengthen women's collective action.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of women in autonomous women's organizations, networks and movements.

Target 3: Fulfilment of women's economic rights, and decent work for women	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, income, and other forms of social minority)
3.1 Ensure women's equal access to decent work and control over economic resources, including through legislation which guarantees equal land and inheritance rights and adequate working conditions for women and men.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of adult female population owning land, and proportion of land-owning population who are women; • Proportion of female population with access to institutional credit (other than microfinance); • Proportions of adult female and male population in informal and vulnerable employment; • Attitudes towards women as income earners and the division of labour based on gender; • Legislation that ensures women's equal opportunity and rights to wealth, land, property and inheritance; • Countries with legislation that ensures women's rights to equal opportunity to decent work and right to non-discrimination in the workplace; • Incidence of sexual harassment in the workforce.
3.2 Close the gender pay gap and end gendered occupational segregation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Earnings ratio between men and women; • Percentage of women and men earning a living wage; • Proportion of low wage workers that are women.

Target 4: Reduce women's time burden by recognizing, reducing and redistributing unpaid care	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, income, and other forms of social minority)
4.1 Promote greater visibility of unpaid care in policy-making spaces.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of unpaid care work in national accounting.
4.2 Introduce time-saving technology an infrastructure.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time spent collecting firewood and water; • Proportion of households using solid cooking fuels.
4.3 Ensure public provision of accessible, high-quality care services.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of children under primary school age enrolled in organized childcare; • Level of coverage of care (including child, elder etc).
4.4 Redistribute unpaid care duties within families towards men.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of working female and male adults taking parental leave; • Attitudes around men's equal role in care responsibilities.

GOAL 4: UNIVERSAL HEALTH COVERAGE BY 2030

The uneven progress towards meeting the health-related MDGs (4, 5 and 6) underlines the urgent need for countries to build free, universal healthcare systems. MDG 4, to reduce by two-thirds the under-five mortality rate, is unlikely to be met for at least another 13 years, with almost seven million children still dying every year, mostly from preventable diseases. Significant gaps remain in securing sexual and reproductive health and rights for all. While the maternal mortality rate has fallen by almost 50 per cent, that is far from the 75 per cent promised in MDG 5. And though MDG 6, to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, is being met in some countries, seven million people across the world are still missing out on life-saving medicines because they can't afford to pay for them.

Cost is a major barrier to people's well-being. One hundred and fifty million people face catastrophic healthcare costs every year, while 100 million are pushed into poverty because of direct payments. By contrast, the 'virtual income' provided by free public services reduces income inequality by as much as 20 per cent.⁴⁷

The post-2015 framework must include a standalone goal on achieving Universal Health Coverage (UHC) by 2030. This means that all people are able to access the good-quality health services that they need, without fear of falling into poverty.

UHC should be based on the principle of social solidarity – in the form of income cross-subsidies from rich to poor, and risk cross-subsidies from the healthy to the ill – so that access to services is based on need and not ability to pay. This means that health services must be provided free at the point of use. Health user fees are the most inequitable way of paying for healthcare; they prevent poor people from accessing life-saving treatment and push millions into poverty each year.

Scaling-up healthcare services to achieve UHC requires a strong public health sector to provide the majority of services. Governments should avoid high-risk and costly public-private partnerships⁴⁸ and instead ensure that adequate proportions of national budgets are allocated to health. This means meeting the 15 per cent target agreed in the WHO Abuja Declaration⁴⁹ that would enable a rapid scaling-up of publicly provided health services.

To ensure equity and universality are explicit priorities from the outset, it is critical to provide data disaggregated by quintiles and gender, and to set specific targets to ensure that people living in poverty benefit at least as much as the better off every step of the way toward UHC.

Women and girls are often relied on by their families and communities at times of ill-health and when childcare is needed. But, when free

healthcare services are provided by the state, women and girls can be liberated from this burden, helping to reduce gender inequality.⁵⁰ In addition, it is essential to build on MDG 5 on maternal health and include a target on sexual and reproductive health services, complemented by targets for reproductive rights and sexual and reproductive health and rights education.

From India and China to Thailand, Indonesia, South Africa and the US, more and more countries are moving towards UHC. Within the post-2015 debate too support is growing, with UHC receiving backing from countries including Japan, Brazil, Nicaragua, France, Germany, and Switzerland, the African Group, the LDCs, and CARICOM,⁵¹ as well as the Secretary General’s report on MDGs,⁵² and the Sustainable Development Solutions Network led by Jeffrey Sachs.⁵³

A focus on UHC provides the impetus to accelerate progress on health-related MDGs and to address the burden of non-communicable diseases. Most critically, it is an opportunity to move towards a more comprehensive approach to deliver on the right to decent, affordable, and equitable healthcare coverage for all.

Box 2: Voting ‘Health For All’ in Zambia

In the run-up to Zambia’s closely contested national elections in September 2011, Oxfam supported partners to build a ‘Vote Health For All’ campaign. This enabled ordinary families to challenge all the political parties to put UHC at the top of their agenda.

The campaign ran awareness-raising concerts with local musicians and organized local meetings at which people could challenge their parliamentary candidates directly. It was a huge success – significant changes to Zambia’s health system have been achieved, with the new government increasing spending on healthcare by 45 per cent in its first budget, ending user fees at health clinics in urban areas, and providing funding for 2,500 more health workers.

Goal 4: Universal health coverage by 2030

Targets	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
<p>1. Universal and equitable financial protection for health.</p> <p>By 2030, 100 per cent of the population has coverage to protect them from financial risk, so that no-one is pushed into poverty or kept in poverty because of direct payment of health services.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incidence of impoverishment due to out-of-pocket payments; • Incidence of catastrophic health expenditure⁵⁴ due to out-of-pocket payments; • Percentage of government expenditure allocated to health; • Out-of-pocket expenditure on health as a percentage of total health expenditure.
<p>2. Universal and equitable access to high-quality health services.</p> <p>By 2030, 100 per cent of the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of health workers as a percentage of the population, and their geographical distribution; • Communicable and non-communicable diseases service coverage;

<p>population has access to high-quality health services, including promotion, prevention, treatment, and care.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of population with access to effective and affordable medicines, vaccines and diagnostics including generics on a sustainable basis; • Proportion of population affected by lost health services as a result of disasters or other crises.
<p>3. Sexual and reproductive health and rights.</p> <p>By 2030, ensure universal access to comprehensive, integrated, high-quality sexual and reproductive health information, education, and services.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adolescent birth rate; • Antenatal care coverage (at least four visit from trained health worker); • Unmet need for family planning (at least four visits by a skilled health worker); • Proportion of maternal mortality due to unsafe abortions.

GOAL 5: ENSURE UNIVERSAL, FREE, QUALITY EDUCATION AND LIFELONG LEARNING BY 2030

Oxfam believes the new framework should facilitate three outcomes on education: finish what MDG 2 started on access to primary education, ensure that education is of a high-quality, and give people opportunities for lifelong learning.

Enormous progress has been made towards meeting MDG 2 ensuring that every child has the chance to get a basic education. The removal of school user fees helped to nearly halve the number of children who are out of school. But 57 million children are still missing out on even a basic primary education.⁵⁵ Despite welcome and renewed efforts to hit MDG 2 through the UN Secretary General and Special Envoy's Global Education First Initiative,⁵⁶ major regional inequities persist – particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, where stalled progress means that, at the current rate, the goal is unlikely to be achieved for another 76 years.⁵⁷ Even if children attend school, a lack of qualified, adequately paid and supported teachers is jeopardizing progress in learning outcomes, with almost 250 million children failing to learn basic skills.⁵⁸

Inequality in access and quality of education for poor and marginalized children, especially girls and those living in rural areas, continues to be a major barrier. In Pakistan, for example, over 60 per cent of poor, rural girls aged between seven and 16 do not attend school, compared with fewer than 5 per cent of urban boys.⁵⁹

If MDG 2 is not met, the new framework must pledge to finish the job and realize universal access to primary education immediately. The post-2015 framework must also set additional targets to ensure access for all to pre-primary, secondary, and tertiary education. Beyond access and enrolment, new targets should be set on improving quality and learning outcomes. A third outcome the framework should aim to facilitate is adult literacy and opportunities for lifelong learning to ensure that no-one is left behind.

Realizing these three outcomes will require an explicit emphasis on equity and inclusion, not only between girls and boys, but also between poor children and marginalized groups and children from the richest households. The key to this will be ensuring that education is free for all. Public education systems need to be adequately financed through tax, not through fees paid by children and their parents. As such, specific targets on financing should be included.

In most developing countries, girls continue to face a range of barriers to completing their education, particularly at a secondary level, such as unpaid domestic care duties, the threat of violence on the way to and at school, early and forced marriage, and the absence of separate toilets and menstrual hygiene facilities. Early and forced marriage not only violate the rights of girls, but also prevent them from completing their education.

2.3. By 2030 at least one per cent of global GDP is allocated to reducing climate change risk. ⁷¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of country budgets integrating climate risk on a yearly basis up to 2030; • Proportion of country budgets allocated to climate risk.
2.4. Reduce losses due to climate- and non-climate-related disasters.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of people killed or directly affected by disasters; • Number of working and school days lost due to disasters; • Direct economic losses from disasters as percentage of GDP (using actual and modelled data); • Loss of household assets from disasters as percentage of household income (using actual and modelled data).
2.5. Ensure UHC takes account of climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of countries that have set targets in their national healthcare strategies to ensure healthcare systems are resilient to the impacts of current and future climate disruption by 2020; • Number of countries that have adopted strategies for measuring and reducing the number of citizens vulnerable to climate change-related health impacts by 2020.

Target 3: Sustainable and affordable energy access	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, income, and other forms of social minority)
3.1. Achieve universal access to sustainable, safe, reliable, and affordable energy services by 2030.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proportion of poor households with access to affordable electricity by 2030 (further disaggregated by urban/rural location); • Number of energy-poor covered by social protection; • Proportion of households using solid cooking fuels (further disaggregated by urban/rural location);
3.2. Increase the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix to 45 per cent ⁷² by 2030.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of countries with national renewable energy targets in place by 2018; • Percentage of renewable energy as part of global energy mix up to 2030.
3.3. Increase the global rate of improvement in energy intensity by at least 4.5 per cent. ⁷³	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of buildings retrofitted to meet minimum energy efficiency standards; • Reduction in CO₂ and energy intensity by industry, agriculture, and transport.
3.4. Phase-out of harmful and regressive fossil fuel subsidies by 2025 and reallocate public subsidies to support access to clean, affordable energy for the poorest.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of countries which have conducted reviews of fossil fuel subsidies and outlined options for reform; • Proportion of public subsidies for energy that are directed towards low-carbon energy options that benefit the poorest, such as feed-in tariffs; • Degree to which subsidy reform is designed to reduce impact on poorest and target higher income households.

Targets to be included in a climate change goal or integrated across the framework:

Target 4: Climate change, food, and agriculture	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, income, and other forms of social minority)
4.1. Increase climate resilience of smallholder agriculture.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National spending on demand-driven agricultural research related to agro-ecology and climate resilient practice (total spend and percentage of national budget); Percentage of agricultural land under agro-ecological approaches; Proportion of water withdrawals through agriculture for use by small-scale producers; Farmers' access and ability to interpret weather forecasts (coverage of climate and weather information per 1,000 farmers, percentage change in agricultural practices due to information).
4.2. Reduction in greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from industrial agriculture by X per cent by 2030, including cutting post-production ⁷⁴ food loss and waste by 50 per cent by 2030.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emissions of CO₂, N₂O and CH₄ derived from agricultural production, storage, and transportation (in gigagrams); Land use changes due to agricultural expansion (percentage change in agricultural land, and CO₂ eq. of carbon stock removal); Access to sustainable energy sources for agricultural production (renewable energy coverage per 1,000 farmers); Food loss and wastage during production and transportation.⁷⁵
Target 5: Climate change and water	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, income, and other forms of social minority)
5.1. Ensure water management systems are sustainable and climate resilient.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of countries which have conducted reviews of vulnerabilities to climate change in the water sector, with a clear roadmap for reducing climate-related vulnerability by 2020; Number of countries which have in place sustainable, integrated water management systems that are capable of responding to projected climate impacts by 2025; Percentage of population served by water and sanitation services that are built to locally appropriate hazard-resistant standards; Number of countries that have implemented a thorough threat and conflict analysis related to the impact of scarce water resources on (violent) conflict.
5.2. Bring freshwater withdrawals in line with supply and increase water efficiency in agriculture, industry, and urban areas. ⁷⁶	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Percentage efficiency gains in agriculture, industry, and urban areas; Freshwater withdrawal for agricultural use as a percentage of total water withdrawal; Total groundwater use and recharge rate.

GOAL 7: ERADICATE HUNGER AND ENSURE THE RIGHT TO FOOD FOR ALL BY 2030

The world faces a number of unprecedented challenges in food and agriculture. The MDG 1 target of halving the percentage of people suffering from hunger by 2015 appears to be within reach. But beneath this statistic, chronic hunger persists in many areas, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, with marked disparities in progress. One in eight people remain chronically under-nourished globally – more than 800 million people in 2013 – while one in four children suffers from stunted growth due to under-nutrition.⁷⁷ Women often eat last and least.

At the same time, unsustainable forms of agricultural production are causing the degradation of natural ecosystems, and pressure on, and competition for, land and water resources is intensifying from both agricultural and non-agricultural users, increasing the likelihood of local tensions, disputes, and potential conflict or displacement of communities.

The challenge ahead is to ensure that the right to food is placed at the forefront of global efforts to eradicate hunger, while ensuring that food is produced within environmental planetary boundaries. We must address the equity challenge by empowering women and men living in poverty to grow or buy enough food to eat. Steps must be taken to promote environmental and social resilience through managing price volatility in food prices and reducing vulnerability to climate change.

Oxfam welcomes the support from the High Level Panel report, the G77, the African Group, and other allies, such as France, Germany and Switzerland, and Spain, Italy and Turkey, in advocating a goal on food and hunger.⁷⁸

Below, Oxfam proposes four clear targets through which this goal can be achieved: to ensure that every woman and man can access adequate food by 2030; to increase support to small-scale producers and vulnerable rural groups; to achieve environmental and social sustainability in food and agriculture systems; and to increase the number of people, and particularly women, with secure tenure over land and productive resources.

Goal 7: Eradicate hunger and ensure the right to food for all by 2030*

Targets	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
<p>1. Zero hunger: ensure that all people have access to adequate (safe, affordable, diverse, and nutritious) food all year round by 2030.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy and process in place to implement the FAO guidelines on the progressive realization of the right to food⁷⁹ and the Committee on World Food Security (CFS) Global Strategic Framework for Food Security and Nutrition⁸⁰ at the national level; • Prevalence of under-nutrition (percentage of population based on per capita caloric intake, disaggregated by gender); • Prevalence of malnutrition measured by stunting – height for age (percentage of population, disaggregated by gender); • Dietary diversity (food groups consumed).
<p>2. Increase support for women, small-scale producers, and vulnerable groups.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy and budget in place to support women in agriculture (coverage of extension services for women, water, and health services per 1,000 farmers); • Membership in producer groups (membership per 1,000 farmers, disaggregated by gender); • Access to finance (percentage of the rural population, producer groups with access to formal financial institutions); • Incomes of small-scale food producers and agricultural workers (income per household, living wage comparison).
<p>3. Promote environmentally and socially resilient food and agricultural systems.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Biodiversity values and environmental and social sustainability integrated into national food and agricultural policy; • Genetic diversity of cultivated plants and farmed and domesticated animals and wild relatives (Convention on Biological Diversity measure); • Land degradation and soil erosion (average carbon content in topsoil, soil organic matter); • Ecosystem services protection (annual rate of loss of ecosystem services).
<p>4. Increase the number of women and the number of men who have secure tenure of land, property, and natural resources that support their well-being and livelihoods.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of women and men, communities, and businesses that perceive their land resources and property rights are recognized and protected; • Percentage of women and men, indigenous peoples, local communities, and businesses with legally recognized evidence of tenure; • Extent to which national legal frameworks provide men and women with equal rights to land resources and property; • Extent to which the national legal framework recognizes and protects legitimate land rights and uses derived through a plurality of tenure regimes.

* We also recommend targets on food and agriculture that take account of climate change in Goal 6 (see page 20)

GOAL 8: ENSURE UNIVERSAL AND SUSTAINABLE ACCESS TO WATER AND SANITATION BY 2030

Access to clean water and adequate sanitation is a basic human right, and is crucial to breaking the cycle of poverty. Considerable progress has been made over the past two decades, with over two billion more people able to access basic drinking water. However, nearly 800 million people still lack access to clean water, and 2.5 billion do not have access to sanitation.⁸¹

Improving access – as well as quality of water – is becoming more urgent as the world faces increasing water scarcity. These risks will only increase as the climate changes and populations grow. By 2025, 1.8 billion people will live in places classified as water scarce. Rural water security is critical to the nearly two billion people who live and work on 500 million small farms.⁸² Countries need to adopt water management systems that are sustainable and climate resilient.

We need to ensure that water is distributed equitably between households, agriculture, and industry, and between rural and urban areas. Those people who still lack access to water are among the poorest of the poor, often living in slums and remote rural areas, neglected by governments and water service providers.

Women and girls suffer disproportionately from a lack of water and sanitation. The burden of collecting water often falls on them, which can prevent girls from attending school. For those that do attend, a lack of adequate sanitation facilities in many schools causes many girls to abandon their studies when they start to menstruate. Without access to private toilets, many women choose to use public toilets only at night time, when the risk of assault or sexual harassment is increased.

Oxfam welcomes the High Level Panel report's support for a water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) goal, and the widespread acknowledgement across OWG members, including the G77, the African Group, LDCs, and AOSIS, of the need for the post-2015 framework to ensure universal and sustainable access to water and sanitation.⁸³

Goal 8: Ensure universal and sustainable access to water and sanitation by 2030

Targets	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
1. Provide universal and sustainable access to safe drinking water at home, in schools, at health centres, and in displacement situations (refugee and internally displaced people (IDP) settlements).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Percentage of population with access to safe, functioning water supply systems; Average time spent in water collection, by sex; Sphere⁸⁴ standards met in humanitarian situations; Number of countries with average water tariffs that allow for social or 'solidarity' pricing.
2. Provide universal access to basic sanitation within 1km of people's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Percentage of communities that are open defecation free;

<p>homes, in schools, at health centres, and in displacement situations (refugee and IDP settlements).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of schools with separate sanitation and menstrual hygiene facilities; • Percentage of population with access to safe excreta storage, transport, and disposal facilities.
<p>3. Ensure water management systems are sustainable and climate resilient.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of countries which have conducted reviews of vulnerabilities to climate change in the water sector, with a clear roadmap for reducing climate-related vulnerability by 2020; • Number of countries which have in place sustainable, integrated water management systems that are capable of responding to projected climate impacts by 2025; • Percentage of population served by water and sanitation services that are built to and operated at locally appropriate hazard-resistant standards; • Number of countries that have implemented a thorough threat and conflict analysis related to the impact of scarce water resources on (violent) conflict.
<p>4. Bring freshwater withdrawals in line with supply and increase water efficiency in agriculture, industry, and urban areas.⁸⁵</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage efficiency gains in agriculture, industry, and urban areas; • Freshwater withdrawal for agricultural use as a percentage of total water withdrawal; • Total groundwater use and recharge rate.

GOAL 9: REDUCE GLOBAL RISKS TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT BY 2030

The right to life and security is enshrined in international law, and international consensus is emerging on states' legal obligations to reduce disaster risk.⁸⁶ Currently, around 300 million people are affected by disasters every year, and 1.5 billion people live in insecure settings. Inequality and accelerating climate change will make this perilous situation even worse. Without radical action, conflicts and fragile states may account for two-thirds of people living in extreme poverty by 2030.⁸⁷

Climate change is already exacerbating the problem. It was a key factor in the Horn of Africa drought,⁸⁸ while in the Sahel it has been linked to poor harvests and food shortages for already vulnerable people. The drought in the Sahel, in conjunction with other factors, contributed to an increase in violent conflict over land and water⁸⁹ – a trend that the US Department of Defence⁹⁰ and Sir Nicholas Stern,⁹¹ among others, have warned could become commonplace in those regions worst affected by climate change.

Disasters and conflict can also entrench inequality. The burden of losses is significantly higher for poor people, a larger proportion of whose wealth is generally held in physical assets that are vulnerable to conflict and disasters, and for whom financial protection and state support are often severely limited. Women and girls are often most vulnerable as a result of widespread pre-existing discrimination. The instability and insecurity that accompany conflict and disasters can lead to an increase in violence against women and girls.

The current MDGs are blind to the impact of crises, and the post-2015 framework must include a goal that provides a clear focus on the risks of disaster and violence that people face. As the World Development Report 2014⁹² argued, managing risks responsibly and effectively can save lives, avert economic damages, prevent development setbacks, and create new opportunities.

A goal on reducing global risks should aim to lessen vulnerability to disasters and conflict by building the resilience of marginal and vulnerable groups to cope with such shocks. Involving women in disaster risk reduction strategies, as well as prevention, preparedness, and response efforts to disasters, is critical.

The goal must also have a strong focus on conflict transformation, identifying and addressing the key factors that contribute to or cause violent conflict. It must build on the UN Security Council Resolutions on women, peace, and security by ensuring women's participation at all levels in peace and mediation processes.

Oxfam welcomes the strong and growing support for the framework to address both disasters and conflict that is emerging from poor, middle-income, and rich countries alike. These countries, along with the High Level Panel report and the African Union,⁹³ recognize the harm to

development gains that are caused by shocks and stresses. Oxfam urges member states to translate this awareness into a dedicated goal along the lines described below.

Goal 9: Reduce global risks to sustainable development by 2030

Targets ⁹⁴	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
<p>1. Reduce losses due to disasters.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct economic losses from disasters, as percentage of GDP (using actual and modelled data); • Number of working and school days lost due to disasters; • Loss of household assets from disasters, as percentage of household income (using actual and modelled data); • Number of people killed or directly affected by disasters.
<p>2. Build resilience to disasters.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of people pushed into poverty as a result of disasters; • Number of days of function of key infrastructure (healthcare, education, water and sanitation, energy, communications, transport, ports, public buildings) lost due to disasters; • Proportion of key infrastructure and housing built to locally and nationally appropriate hazard-resistant standards; • Percentage of people in municipalities with participatory resilience, adaptation, preparedness, and response mechanisms in place – including those to meet women’s needs and rights.
<p>3. Reduce the impact of conflict and violence on poverty eradication and economic growth.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of people killed, injured, displaced or otherwise by conflict and violence; • People from all social groups, and particularly women, feel safe and have confidence in security provision; • Economic losses from violence and conflict, as percentage of GDP; • Proportion of combatants successfully disarmed, demobilized and integrated into the formal economy.
<p>4. Reduce shocks to sustainable development by addressing the root causes of conflict, tensions, and disputes, ensuring that they are resolved peacefully, inclusively, and constructively.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of effective, participatory national and local conflict transformation strategies developed and implemented; • Number of people killed and affected by violent incidents; • People from all social groups have effective remedies to injustice, and access to and confidence in effective, accountable, and impartial justice provision; • Proportion of women in decision-making roles in organizations involved in preventing conflict, and in peace processes.

3 ENABLING THE FRAMEWORK

Oxfam believes in a rights-based approach to development. As such, Oxfam advocates for the post-2015 framework to have a standalone goal which ensures political equality through inclusive governance, in order to counter political capture by elites. Furthermore, it is vital that the new goals are fully financed on a scale that matches their ambition; in recognition of this, the final goal advances Oxfam's recommendation for targets to resource the framework.

GOAL 10: ENSURE POLITICAL EQUALITY THROUGH INCLUSIVE GOVERNANCE BY 2030

People expect their governments to be honest, accountable, and responsive to their needs. As the High Level Panel report recognizes, building inclusive, effective, open and accountable institutions for all is an essential foundation for peaceful and prosperous societies.⁹⁵

Progress towards ending poverty and reducing inequality does not happen by chance. It happens by choice – through the political decisions taken to distribute power and resources in ways that support poor and marginalized people to realize their rights as citizens and live prosperous lives. Too often, however, public institutions in countries around the globe instead serve the political and economic interests of an elite few.

For an effective system of inclusive governance, public institutions must be insulated from elite capture and protected from manipulation by vested interests seeking to gain economic power. Furthermore, inclusive governance demands that no citizen's needs are neglected due to their gender, age, sex, ability, or distance from decision-making centres.

Citizens must be able to exercise their rights to access information, to freedom of expression and to a free press,⁹⁶ to the protection of the law (and equality before the law),⁹⁷ to organize themselves, and to participate in policy making.

When these conditions exist, sustained external pressure – by ordinary citizens, journalists, parliamentarians, and watchdog groups – can support efforts from within public institutions to improve political independence from corporate or elite self-interests. These institutions will, in turn, be more responsive to citizens' demands for effective policies and sufficient investment in development and poverty alleviation. They will be less susceptible to corruption and secrecy, and more willing to punish those who are. Citizens can then follow exactly where and how public revenues from taxes, aid and extractive industries are being allocated and spent, and assess the impact those resources have in improving their lives and those of others.

Below are a number of recommendations for a goal to ensure political equality and inclusive governance. Oxfam recognizes that countries have very different levels of institutional strength, with particular weaknesses in conflict-affected and fragile states. Therefore, Oxfam recommends targets which allow for gradual and continuous improvements to move towards and beyond minimum inclusive governance standards.

Goal 10: Ensure political equality through inclusive governance by 2030

Targets	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
<p>1. Guarantee the right to information, freedom of expression, and access to government data for all.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • States grant people an enforceable right to information and free expression to ensure transparency, expose abuses of power, and hold public institutions to account;⁹⁸ • The entire process from preparation to discussion to approval of laws and regulations that will govern citizens' lives (particularly public services) is open and accessible to them; • States disseminate simple and clear statements regarding budgets, policies, and laws at national and sub-national levels; • Countries publish timely, comprehensive, comparable, and useable fiscal reports throughout the year, according to a set of graduated standards derived from established international norms, which include public revenues and expenditures from taxes, aid, and extractive industries; • Countries report publicly on public spending, outputs, and results achieved against each development goal; spending information is meaningfully disaggregated.
<p>2. Ensure the participation of all citizens in designing and monitoring public policies and service delivery.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laws and policies recognize that public participation of all citizens is not limited to elections – social accountability mechanisms are institutionalized on entitlements; • The rights of all citizens – regardless of their age, gender, sex, ethnicity, or the territory they inhabit – to shape the fundamental, everyday work of their governments are institutionalized in laws, policies, and practices, such as social accountability mechanisms; • Citizens – regardless of their age, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, or the territory they inhabit – participate in fiscal policy making and monitoring of its implementation; • Policies and resources are in place to support the individual and collective capacities of neglected groups to organize, access, and influence governance systems and processes.
<p>3. Ensure the right for all to organize.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Level of enabling environment for civil society⁹⁹ with legal guarantees for the respect, protection, and fulfilment of the right to: seek and secure resources; operate free from governance interference; communicate and co-operate; free expression and

	<p>advocacy; form and maintain organizations;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Level of representation of women in leadership positions, management, and boards of public and civil society institutions; • Level of internet freedom and privacy embedded in legal system and practically protected so that people can organize themselves in the digital civil society.
<p>4. Ensure all people have access to justice institutions and legal aid services that are affordable, fair, and timely.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of citizens with a legal identity registration; • Percentage of people with secure (community) rights to land use and ownership, and participation in open and accountable decision making about land use; • Percentage of people with access to equitable and gender-sensitive administration of justice provided through affordable legal aid¹⁰⁰ and high-quality services provided by the police, the courts, administrative tribunals, ombudsmen, and customary authorities; • Percentage of marginalized people, especially women and youth, that have access to fair, effective forums for resolving conflicts, for seeking protection from violence, and for addressing grievances with the state or private sector.

GOAL 11: FINANCING THE FRAMEWORK

It is crucial that the new goals are fully financed on a scale that matches their ambition. While this is only possible through a combination of different financing streams, public sources of finance must be instrumental in this process.

Domestic resources are, and will continue to be, the largest source of financing for developing countries. Though they have been growing as a share of GDP over the last decade, it is essential that steps are taken to ensure that domestic tax collection becomes more predictable, stable, and robust, and that all parts of society – individuals and companies – pay according to their means. The average tax-to-GDP ratio in developing countries is too low, compared with developed economies. Calculations by Oxfam in 52 developing countries showed that an additional \$269bn could be mobilized to finance public services if tax collection was significantly improved.¹⁰¹

Tackling tax evasion and tax avoidance must also be earmarked as a crucial priority within the post-2015 framework. Illicit financial flows accounted for the loss of around \$950bn from developing countries in 2011¹⁰² – almost seven times what those countries receive in Official Development Assistance (ODA) every year. Greater efforts to improve tax transparency and co-operation are urgently needed, including the development of indicators to efficiently measure progress in the fight against tax evasion.

ODA plays a unique role in tackling poverty and is still a vital source of revenue for some of the world's poorest countries. ODA is specifically aimed at reducing poverty and therefore has an advantage over other financing sources in reaching development targets and supporting public investments, such as in health and education. OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) members should continue to strive to meet the 0.7 per cent gross national income (GNI) target of ODA, and all countries, including emerging economies, should agree to respect commitments on Effective Development Co-operation agreed in Accra and Busan.¹⁰³ Furthermore, any new ODA definition should only be made after the post-2015 goals are established.

Innovative sources of financing have the potential to raise substantial revenue, which could be used to finance the framework. Financial Transaction Taxes (FTTs), such as the regional FTT that the European Union is currently developing, could generate significant funds, provided the money generated is ring-fenced for development and tackling climate change. In addition, innovative carbon taxes should be explored, revenues from which could be used for national and international climate purposes, including capitalizing the UNFCCC Green Climate Fund.

The private sector has emerged as a key player in mobilizing the resources needed to tackle inequality and climate change and finance the post-2015 goals – both as a funder in itself and as a business partner. Donors are increasingly seeking to use ODA to leverage private

finance by blending public funds with private finance to provide subsidized loans; channelling public funds through Development Finance Institutions and financial intermediaries, in part, to raise financial capital; and partnering with business in competitive grant-making and challenge funds.

Since business and poverty reduction objectives do not automatically align, donors will need to ensure that partnerships with private sector actors to leverage private finance prioritize poverty reduction. Private sector actors must improve their weak track record and become fully accountable to the countries and communities they engage with. They must comply with national laws and incorporate principles of ownership, in order to deliver real results for poor people, whilst remaining transparent and accountable to all citizens. Finally, caution is needed when using scarce public resources to leverage private finance. These should only be used if the funding would not otherwise be made available and there are clear poverty alleviation gains.

Goal 11: Financing the framework

Target 1: Fight tax evasion and tax avoidance	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
1.1 End financial secrecy by 2020.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of countries participating in a multilateral and automatic system for exchanging tax information; • Number of countries with a public register of beneficial owners of companies, trusts and other corporate entities; • Number of countries with legislation obliging large companies to publish financial information including tax receipts in every country in which they operate; • Number of countries with sanctions against tax havens or companies and individuals using tax havens to reduce their tax bills.
1.2 Implement an inclusive international process to fight corporate tax dodging and adopt new ways of taxing multinational companies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of developing countries participating to international tax reforms; • New research conducted by international institutions on alternatives to the arm's length principle.
1.3 Recognize the role of developing countries to participate to international tax reforms on an equal footing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of developing countries participating to international tax reforms; • Number of 'Spillover assessments' conducted by developed countries to assess the impact of their fiscal policies on developing countries; • Amount of technical assistance and ODA provided by donors to support the mobilization of domestic resources; • Creation of an international forum for tax negotiations.

Target 2: Build progressive and sustainable domestic taxation systems	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
2.1 Ensure sufficient and sustainable tax collection in all countries in a more progressive way so that everyone – individuals and companies – pay according to their means.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tax to GDP ratio in comparison to tax collection capacity; • Progressivity of integral tax burden by deciles; • Ratio of direct and indirect taxes; • Contribution of capital and property taxes on total tax collection.
2.2 Ensure governance and transparency of tax systems and accountability of governments towards their citizens.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of extractive revenues allocated to intergenerational and social funds; • Number of countries participating in the Open Government Partnership (OGP) and publishing data accordingly; • Existence of participatory mechanisms for watchdog actors to be involved in fiscal policy making and implementation; • Amount of ODA and technical assistance from donors allocated to strengthen capacity building in developing countries, especially in views to counter international tax evasion.
2.3 Ensure tax equity and redistribution of tax collection to invest in people and foster inclusive growth.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of countries adopting gender-sensitive tax reforms; • Number of countries adopting a national commitment to bring the informal economy into the formal economy; • Percentage of tax redistributed to foster women’s employment and finance social protection floors.

Target 3: Fully finance climate change adaptation	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
3.1 By 2020 \$100bn a year is available to developing countries from developed countries for adaptation and mitigation purposes, of which at least 50 per cent is available in new and additional public resources for adaptation purposes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roadmaps in place by 2017 in developed countries for scaling-up public climate finance; • Number of developing country plans financed by the time of the UNGA in September 2017; • Percentage of public climate finance allocated towards mitigation and adaptation respectively on a yearly basis up to 2030.

Target 4: Fulfil OECD aid commitments	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
<p>4.1.1 By 2020, all OECD DAC members provide 0.7 per cent of their GNI in official development assistance;</p> <p>4.1.2 Allocate 20 per cent of their aid to health and 20 per cent education;</p> <p>4.1.3 Allocate 50 per cent of their bilateral aid to general and sector budget support.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of ODA DAC members who allocate 0.7 per cent of their GNI to ODA; • Number of ODA DAC members with a roadmap by 2017 in order to allocate 20 per cent of ODA to health and 20 per cent to education; • Number of ODA DAC members who have a roadmap in place to allocate 50 per cent of bilateral ODA to general and sector budget support.

4.2 All donors untie all their aid to developing countries, including technical assistance and food aid.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of ODA DAC members who have a roadmap to reduce tied-aid by 2020; • Number of countries with annual monitoring reports concerning the common standard on aid effectiveness.
4.3 Humanitarian aid fully meets humanitarian needs, in line with humanitarian principles.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of UN, national, and International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Emergency Appeals funded.

Target 5: Generate innovative sources of funding	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
5.1 EU-11 FTT implemented – extending to EU-wide adoption - with 50 per cent of proceeds allocated to fund development and climate change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of the proceeds of FTTs allocated to fight poverty, inequality and climate change on a yearly basis; • Legal value of the agreement, especially regarding the allocation of the revenues to development and climate change in developing countries;
5.2 Reach international agreement on establishing a global FTT - with 50 per cent of proceeds allocated to fund development and climate change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of countries with a broad-based FTT; • Scope of the FTTs, i.e. taxation of shares, bonds, currencies, and derivatives; • Revenues of the FTTs based on national or regional GDP of targeted countries.
5.3 Implement fair global ecological taxes, including on carbon emissions, and airline and bunker fuel, allocating 50 per cent of the proceeds to fighting climate change.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roadmaps in place by 2017 for 30 countries to implement ecological taxes on carbon emissions, and airline and bunker fuel; • 50 per cent of the proceeds of ecological taxes are allocated to fighting climate change by 2020.

Target 6: Close the gender equality funding gap	Potential indicators (disaggregated by gender, age, people living with disabilities, location, and relevant social group)
6.1 Increase financing for gender equality.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Systems to track and publish governments' domestic expenditure (of all sectoral budgets) and the proportion of all development co-operation focused on achieving gender equality and women's empowerment, including output performance indicators; • Systems to track impact of economic policies on gender equality; • System to tracking funding for women's rights organizations.

CONCLUSION: DELIVERING LASTING CHANGE

The long-term impact of the post-2015 process will depend on the extent to which it influences the long-term drivers of action, above all at national level. The MDGs provided a rallying call for publics in many developed countries and helped to secure the rise in aid expenditure in the 2000s. However, as Oxfam has argued elsewhere, they were not significantly responsible for the progress made since 2000.¹⁰⁴

Those drafting the post-2015 framework can and must learn from this experience, by designing the post-2015 goals in ways that create a lasting impetus for action, above all at national level. There are five principal ways in which this can be achieved:

- **Include clear and binding obligations on national governments to set national targets** in line with the global process, reflecting national priorities, and developed in a transparent way with the full involvement of civil society.
- **Provide for strong national accountability mechanisms in the framework**, mandating, among other things, that national targets are broken down into three- to five-year milestones to prevent governments putting off the implementation to the next electoral cycle. Participatory monitoring systems must be put in place to enable citizens to hold governments to account.
- **Use the post-2015 process to accelerate global agreement and action on climate change, in recognition of the profound threat that climate change poses to the eradication of poverty.** The post-2015 process should not be used as a parallel track to the climate negotiations, but it must reinforce such efforts, and contain appropriate targets and indicators that drive action in different sectors, as set out in this paper.
- **Promote strong legal and institutional frameworks governing the private sector to bring about the necessary obligations and incentives at national level to maximize private sector contributions to the eradication of poverty.** This is far from the case at present. The post-2015 process is currently being used by many governments to promote business partnerships, irrespective of any evidence regarding the effectiveness of this approach in achieving lasting progress. Business can be a powerful force for good or a cause of increased poverty, and the state has a pivotal role in influencing the long-term impact of business, in relation to this and other global and national processes.
- **Strengthen civil society, through the post-2015 process, and build movements that will exert lasting pressure on governments to deliver on agreed goals.** It is national politics that will determine

the long-term impact of the post-2015 process. The UN, philanthropic funders, and indeed national governments can all use the opportunity provided by the post-2015 process to support civil society to mobilize around tackling inequality and climate change, by enabling it to exploit new accountability mechanisms and data.

Oxfam works to promote lasting change, from grassroots to global levels, through humanitarian, development, and campaigning work. But all of our work stands to be undermined if the two great injustices of our time – inequality and climate change – are not tackled with the necessary urgency.

If states get it right, the agreement of a bold new framework in September 2015, together with an agreement at the UN climate talks in Paris later that year, could provide the impetus for a transition to a more equal world, free from the scourge of poverty and climate change.

NOTES

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Evidence from Haiti, Pakistan, the Philippines, and elsewhere shows that disasters play a major role in pushing households below the poverty line and keeping them there. Research found that a major uninsured disaster causes a short-term drop in economic growth of 0.6–1.0 per cent and a cumulative loss of two to three times this magnitude.
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