AFRICA IN 2030:

RESPONSIVE STATES, EMPOWERED CITIZENS

Findings from citizen-driven workshops on the post-2015 framework held in 13 African countries

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Photo: Women farmers' cooperative growing gombo-okra in Gorgol, Mauritania. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD

CONTENTS

Photo: Street traders near Bujumbura, Burundi. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD

FOREWORD

The post-2015 framework and its relevance to the future of the African continent should not be under-estimated. Today, Africa faces a complex and daunting set of challenges. From the empowerment of women to the ever-growing threat of resource scarcity, from the inability to finance and develop comprehensive and quality health systems to the lack of citizens' ability to take part in governance, there are numerous obstacles in the road to a prosperous and sustainable continent. These obstacles are not just found on the continent, but are replicated, to a different extent and in different contexts, around the globe. Moreover, Africans alone cannot solve them. They are part of increasingly inter-connected global systems, and their solutions will require actions by different institutions and individuals across the planet. A global agreement on how we can go about building a better world is exactly what is needed in these times.

The decisions over what this framework will look like will be held in executive boardrooms, lavish conference centres, and high-level government offices, before eventually moving to the political environs of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Discussions of the world in which we want to live in are not restricted to these environs. Across Africa everyday, citizens discuss their futures and debate the best way to approach their problems. In the everyday lives of African citizens, we can find great knowledge, endeavour and intent about building the African future. For ACORD, which has at its heart the belief that citizens must be the agents of change in their own development, it is these discussions which we feel must be listened to. Regrettably, it is these discussions that are routinely marginalised and left out of political processes. The world cannot afford for the process of defining the successor framework to suffer from a continuation of this silence.

We are privileged in the sense that ACORD and partners work across Africa in grassroots communities every day, standing side-by-side with African citizens, and at the same time are active participants in policy making processes, including the process of defining the post-2015 framework. We believe that for a truly effective global framework, these two worlds must come together; the village hall and the political assembly must be as one. We see our role as that of amplifying the voices of African citizens in this crucial debate about the future of our world and, with this in mind, we launched a series of Citizen-Driven Workshops in 13 countries across the continent. All in all, we talked to over 4,600 African citizens. The idea has been to value their own perspectives on the issues that matter to them most and to carry their voices with us into the post-2015 process. This report documents their own ideas and experiences and presents a set of bare minimum requirements for the framework to address them.

The final contents of the post-2015 framework will undoubtedly be highly influenced by political bargaining amongst nation-states. This, though, must not be the only dynamic in play. Instead, we need nation-states to understand that this must be an agreement between citizens and states, a process whereby they listen and act on citizens' behalf. This report offers a means by which this can take place. It lays out a blueprint for how the framework can address the issues most pertinent to African citizens we work with and build an Africa in 2030 of responsive states and empowered citizens.

**Salina Sanou, Head of Policy
and Advocacy, ACORD**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As the 2015 deadline for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) draws ever closer, a range of stakeholders are mobilising to formulate their successor, a new defining framework for international development. If the post-2015 framework is to build upon the MDGs, correct their failings and genuinely confront the most important challenges in sustainable development today, then it is essential that those with the power to decide its contents are hearing the opinions, experiences and solutions of those most affected by poverty. With this in mind, ACORD held 45 citizen-driven workshops in 13 different countries across the continent, reaching over 4,500 people. The idea was to harness the power of the African citizen; to privilege their position as agents in their own development. The workshops triggered debate and discussion in some of the most remote and marginalised communities in Africa today, with citizens reflecting on the challenges they faced, and their ideas for how they want to see change take place.

This report seeks to synthesise the findings from these workshops and makes a series of recommendations on how the successor framework can reflect the views and ideas of African citizens on these issues.

SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

The majority of those who took part in the workshops said their livelihoods depended on food production, through small-scale farming, fishing and pastoralism. Local economies and livelihood opportunities centred on these activities, and a lack of rural development was synonymous with the lack of development in small-scale food production. Participants expressed a desire for sustainable livelihoods, and for most this means a transformation in small-scale farming.

One important aspect of this was public investment in agriculture, such as equipment and fertilisers, irrigation, and the need for improved extension services, as well as affordable seeds, veterinary services, roads, post-harvest storage, and irrigation. For many, co-operative agricultural business models, systems of pooled investment and resource sharing, training and education on production systems, business practices, and market analysis, are essential for communities in determining their own decision-making with regards to food production. Participants regularly raised the need for access to financial services and the establishment of pro-poor financial institutions. For women in the workshops, their ability to access credit is linked not only to their ability to grow their income, but also their financial independence within households and their ability to meet the needs of their families and their communities.

Access to productive assets, particularly access to and ownership of land, was regarded as crucial to building sustainable livelihoods. In many cases, farmers face unfair tenancy agreements or are losing land to governments and investors, this being particularly true for women farmers. In almost every workshop, participants noted the need for equitable and just land rights regimes. Participants also stressed the need for reform and regulation of markets so that they support small-scale production. For these citizens enterprise development through value-addition and mechanisation can change power relations and increase the voice, influence and economic share of people living in poverty.

A common thread across the workshops was of communities whose livelihoods depend on natural resources, and in which intensive development, overpopulation, intensive commercial farming and resource extraction are putting massive pressures on their sustainable management. For many if small-scale food production is to be supported to realise its potential, natural resources must therefore be protected and managed sustainably. Unpredictable and reduced rainfall, often linked directly to climate change, is a constant challenge, and was raised in most workshops. Support is needed in building systems of production that are more resilient and adaptive.

The following are recommendations for the post-2015 framework:

1 **PUBLIC INVESTMENT IN THE AREAS WHERE THE MAJORITY OF AFRICAN CITIZENS LIVE AND WORK.**

   Include the 10 per cent investment target contained within the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). Targets are required for investments in inputs, infrastructure, research, extension services specific to the needs of small-scale food production, as well as access to processing, business development training and markets.

2 **SUPPORT SMALL-SCALE PRODUCERS TO GROW THEIR BUSINESSES AND ACCESS FINANCE.**

   The framework must both recognise and promote cooperative agricultural business models, and should include targets for the reach and affordability of pro-poor financial institutions and instruments.

3 **SUPPORT ACCESS TO AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND FOR SMALL-SCALE PRODUCERS.**

   The framework should include national implementation and legislative incorporation of the guiding principles for "Large Scale Land Based Investments," along with the AU Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa, and the *Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests*.

4 **REFORM AND INCREASE ACCESS TO INCLUSIVE MARKETS THAT PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT IN SMALL-SCALE FOOD PRODUCTION.**

   The framework must recognise and promote regulations that enhance local and regional markets, and promote reform of global trade regimes to ensure equality amongst trade partners, but which recognise the different treatment required by developing countries.

5 **PROMOTE SUSTAINABLE AND COOPERATIVE NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT.**

   Built into the framework should be natural resource thresholds, including those critical to small-scale producers, for example biodiversity, water, forests and soil fertility. Global, national and local thresholds should be recognised and built into targets, with an emphasis on sharing both within and between countries.

6 **CLIMATE CHANGE, EMISSIONS REDUCTION AND RESILIENCE.**

   A single and ambitious climate change goal, which works within and supports the work of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), reflects emissions reductions targets and existing climate finance targets, and aims to build resilient and ecosystem-preserving production systems.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ACCESS TO QUALITY SERVICES

Access to services was a common theme raised in the consultations, with particular reference to healthcare, education and vocational training. For many, when looking back at changes in their community over the last 15 years they identified this area as one of the key improvements. Where states had committed to universal services this was celebrated. However, for the vast majority accessing services, and the quality of those services, was severely lacking. The failure of the state to deliver public goods undermines its legitimacy, and creates an unproductive and disconnected relationship between governments and citizens.

The overall picture was of basic services that were both inadequate and often impossible to access, particularly in remote rural regions. Maternal mortality was frequently raised as an example of how the distances to hospitals caused serious problems. Health centres were badly stocked with drugs and equipment, catering to only a few conditions, and understaffed by under-trained and badly paid workers. For many fees for even the most basic services and drugs were too high, and meant many had to make a financial decision not to access healthcare.

While acknowledging some improvement in access participants pointed to quality of education as an important issue: school buildings, the availability of books and other educational materials and the skills and low pay of teachers were the most frequently raised issues. Fees for education were a central part of their financial planning and placed a serious burden on their ability to save or invest in their livelihoods. Hard decisions had to be made on whether or not to send children to school. In others there was a strong call for more access to secondary school and vocational training, linked directly to an idea of education as a form of economic empowerment.

Underlying all these views on difficulties accessing basic services, especially regarding user fees, was the lack of social protection as a visible alternative. Views from the consultations point to an understanding by citizens of the state obligations to provide basic protection for citizens irrespective of their status.

The following are recommendations for the post-2015 framework:

1   **UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO QUALITY HEALTH, WITH A FOCUS ON MARGINALISED GROUPS.**

A goal on access to universal health coverage, with legal entrenchment of right-to-health, with specific targets and indicators developed at national level to clearly track geographical regions and demographic groups. This should include commitments to reduce user-fees.

2   **STRENGTHENED AND TARGETED HEALTH SYSTEMS.**

Targets and indicators on the extent to which health services are responsive to citizens specific health needs, social and environmental determinants of health, communicable and non-communicable diseases, and have indicators related to investment in health systems, and strengthening health worker skills.

3   **UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO QUALITY EDUCATION, WITH A FOCUS ON MARGINALISED GROUPS.**

A goal on universal access to primary and secondary education, recognising and legally entrenching citizens right to education, with targets and indicators on attendance and completion rates, numeracy and literacy, number of qualified teachers per pupils, and investment in and access to teacher training, as well as investment in school infrastructure and materials. This should include commitments to reduce user-fees.

4   **LIFE-LONG LEARNING AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING.**

Targets and indicators on access to life-long learning, with specific targets on number of young unemployed people accessing vocational training courses, using disaggregated data measuring access by young people in areas of high unemployment, as well as access by different vulnerable groups.

5   **SOCIAL PROTECTION.**

The framework must mandate the establishment of national social protection floors that guarantee universal access to social services and basic income security for children, unemployed, disabled persons and the aged.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND GENDER EQUALITY

Included in the workshops were sessions specifically aimed at capturing the experiences of women and girls. Women participants described how **sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)** deprives women and girls of their most basic fundamental rights, their physical integrity, and keeps them from attaining their fullest in social, economic and political spheres. For many, SGBV was closely tied to social norms and attitudes, traditional gender roles and how power is distributed at household level. Participants focused on how legal and customary institutions are unable to enforce laws against SGBV, noting that even if they are reported there are few convictions. Participants from fragile and post-conflict states talked about their experiences with conflict and sexual violence, demonstrating the on-going issue on the continent of SGBV in conflict-affected societies.

Women also acknowledged the progress that has been made in terms of **active citizenship and participation of women in decision-making processes**, but the opportunities for participation have not been equitable. Young women, women from marginalized communities and poor women have not enjoyed the same opportunities as others. Discrimination, economic dependency, gender-based violence, time spent on domestic labour and other factors prevent women from enjoying their rights and entering and effectively participating in decision-making processes. Women identified oppression and dominance at home as a challenge to their overall empowerment, and their ability to make crucial decisions about their families.

A clear trend that emerged in the workshops was that African women are still unable to make **reproductive health choices** due in part to lack of economic autonomy, negative attitudes towards women and girls, sexual violence, negative traditional practises, and the dearth of services in marginalised communities.

Participants in the workshops reflected this reality by sharing their experiences of how **domestic labour and care work** restricts their ability to contribute to their families' welfare. The expectation to provide domestic care work means they cannot adequately build their own livelihoods, which impacts on their own health and wellbeing. Access to technology and other government support services can save women time and allow them to build more prosperous and sustainable livelihoods. Although women have moved gradually to productive work, this had not been matched by a similar shift in men entering the caring and unpaid care work fields.

The following are recommendations for the post-2015 framework:

1   **STAND-ALONE AND TRANSFORMATIVE GENDER GOAL.**

    Grounded in existing and already agreed human rights frameworks.

2   **MAINSTREAM GENDER ACROSS ALL GOALS.**

    Each goal within the framework must also include gender-sensitive targets, and indicators for all goals should also be disaggregated by sex.

3   **END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS.**

    Specific targets on the social norms, behaviours and attitudes that perpetuate violence against women and indicators measuring access to justice and the effectiveness of justice institutions.

4   **PROMOTE WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP AND LEADERSHIP.**

    Explicit targets for women's representation, in terms of numbers and in terms of capacity for participating effectively in public institutions at national, regional and local level, as well as customary and community-based structures. There should be targets addressing decision-making power at household-level and community level.

5   **INCREASE ACCESS TO REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES.**

    Universal access to healthcare, with specific targets on the leading barriers in access for women, and targets on women's health and particularly reproductive health rights must be included.

6   **RECOGNISE, REDISTRIBUTE AND REMUNERATE WOMEN'S CARE WORK.**

    Target for reducing women's time spent in unpaid domestic work, increasing affordable childcare and community-care for the elderly, the sick and other dependents, and increasing investment in and access to labour-saving technologies for women.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

CITIZENSHIP, POWER AND POLITICS

For many participants the idea of change in their communities' wellbeing could not be separated from the issue of how power is distributed, how it impacts on resource distribution, and how this governs who will benefit from development initiatives and investment. Participants talked at length about their inability to participate in decision-making processes, with particular reference to the cosmetic nature of consultative processes; corruption and patronage in resource allocation; the need for empowerment through political rights and improved policy literacy; devolution of decision-making; and support to community mobilisation and organisations.

Discussions of conflict featured heavily, and were linked repeatedly to issues of governance and citizenship. Emerging from these discussions was that development in communities was inseparable from politics, and from the relationships of power and accountability between a state and its citizens. The nature of development initiatives, including both the level of investment and appropriateness of initiatives, depends upon the nature of this relationship.

The following are recommendations for the post-2015 framework:

1 PARTICIPATION AND INFLUENCE.

A commitment to and targets for citizen-led monitoring and regulation of policies is essential, as is integrating the principle of free, prior and informed consent in all development programmes. The framework must include an agreed measure, with targets, of how accountable institutions (global, regional, national and local) are to citizens.

2 FIGHT CORRUPTION AND GUARANTEE POLITICAL RIGHTS.

Mandate the legal domestication of globally agreed protocols and agreements on the rule of law and human rights, guarantee freedom of speech, a free press, the right to assembly and association, and the right to vote and be elected in public office.

3 PROMOTE ACCESS TO JUSTICE.

Measurements on the independence of judiciaries and legal systems must be converted into nationally applicable targets. There must be national and local targets on access to justice, with indicators that include affordability, trust and confidence in justice services.

4 PEACE AS AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT.

Acknowledgement of peace as a central pillar of sustainable development, goals and targets related to the resilience of communities to disasters and shocks, natural and man-made, extent to which citizens are central to the design and operation of peace-building, state-building and other peace processes.

5 SUPPORT COMMUNITY MOBILISATION.

Targets and indicators to ensure community-based organisations supported and linked with official institutions and processes, and monitoring of legal environments and state practices to assess the extent it allows these organisations to operate.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ENSURING EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FRAMEWORK

Across the workshops two fundamental points were regularly brought up by participants, both of which have important implications for the structure of the post-2015 framework: interventions were often inappropriate to the specific needs of the communities we talked to, and participants underlined a clear and inexcusable accountability gap in programmes for socio-economic development. With this in mind the framework must ensure **national democratic ownership**: to effectively build a new relationship between citizens and states it must be rooted in national contexts, and national governments and citizens must have primary ownership of it.

The framework should mandate the creation of multi-stakeholder, participatory, empowered and country-led bodies to translate global goals into appropriate country targets and indicators, review existing national and local plans for social and economic development, and plan on how the targets will be mainstreamed into them. These bodies should privilege the role and voices of citizens, and grant them institutional authority in the bodies' decision-making processes. The framework should have clearly defined responsibilities for a number of different institutions, at global, regional, national and local level, as well as the private sector and civil society. It should also build, empower and mandate strong accountability mechanisms to ensure these responsibilities are adhered to. Effective and participatory monitoring mechanisms should be based on extensive and deep measurements of local realities, gathering accurate measurements across social, economic and environmental issues, and across different demographic groups and marginalised communities, at disaggregated levels.

The scale of resources needed to achieve sustainable development in Africa are immense, but if the framework adequately focuses on **domestic resource mobilisation (DRM),** it can both close the financing gap and transform the relationship between states and citizens. If all African states raised just 15 per cent of GDP in revenue, governments across the continent would have an extra $200 billion in expenditure every year. Furthermore, DRM can shift accountability away from donors and commodities markets and towards citizens through fair, transparent and progressive tax-systems.

The framework must include a goal on DRM, which commits to a ratio of tax to GDP level, agreed at national level through a participatory process. Measures of the progressivity and redistributive impact of the tax system, with agreed targets at national level, and significant investment in the analytical capacity are vital to achieve this. Incentives must be created to increase citizen awareness of taxation systems and budgeting processes. The framework should include a globally agreed measurement of and time-bound targets to significantly reduce illicit financial flows, with long-term targets of ending all illicit flows. It must include a globally agreed measurement of and time-bound targets to significantly reduce tax evasion, with long-term aim of ending all tax havens and secrecy jurisdictions. Indicators should include the implementation and effective resourcing and administration of a wide range of policy measures needed to reduce illicit flows. The framework must have agreed targets for increasing revenue from natural resource extraction, and targets for the amount of this revenue earmarked for pro-poor spending.

Photo: Citizen driven workshop in Chad. Credit: ACORD

INTRODUCTION

The post-2015 development framework is currently the subject of much debate, discussion and negotiation. From national level parliaments to regional institutions, and from research bodies to the United Nations headquarters in New York, a plethora of opinions and standpoints are being put forward. If the new framework is to build upon the MDGs, correct their failings, and genuinely confront the most important challenges in sustainable development today, then it is essential that those with the power to decide its contents are hearing the opinions, experiences and solutions of those most affected by poverty today.

With this in mind ACORD held 52 citizen-driven workshops in 13 different countries across the continent. The idea was to harness the power of the African citizen – to privilege their position as agents in their own development. The workshops triggered debate and discussion in some of the most remote and marginalised communities in Africa today, with citizens reflecting on the challenges they faced, and their ideas for how they want to see change take place.

This report is a synthesis of the findings of these workshops, with a set of recommendations for how a global development framework can respond to African citizens needs and harness their ideas for securing sustainable development. The key finding is that the post-2015 development framework is an opportunity to build a new relationship between African states and citizens, a social compact based on inclusive growth in small-scale food production, universal access to quality services, women's rights, and participatory governance. At the heart of many of the experiences of African citizens is that current trends in development and governance on the continent are indicative of a broken bond between citizens and state, in which states are not accountable or responsive to the needs and rights of their citizens. But with the right provisions and political will, the post-2015 framework can rebuild this relationship.

Small-scale food production, in agriculture, pastoralism, and fisheries, is suffering from a lack of investment, inclusive policies, land tenure security, and appropriate market regulation. Climate change and resource scarcity compound the challenges small-scale producers already face. This sector, though, is where the majority of the poor in Africa work. With the right policies, the post-2015 framework can mean states are able to provide the support to the sector which their citizens need, and transform it into a vehicle for inclusive growth, food security, and sustainable resource use.

In most of the communities where workshops took place citizens listed **access to high-quality services**, especially health and education, were a priority. Under-resourced, inaccessible, unaffordable and low-quality services were described in every workshop. A framework aimed at providing universal access to services would not only respond to these needs, it would build new levels of trust and accountability between states and citizens.

The women we spoke to underlined the importance of **gender equality and women's rights** on the continent. The experiences shared reflect the reality that women face disproportionately high levels of poverty and discrimination, and these inequalities lead to further marginalisation and vulnerability. The new framework must include a stand-alone gender goal and gender mainstreamed in all other goals, disaggregated data by gender for all targets, and have targets aimed at ending sexual and gender-based violence, increasing women's citizenship and decision-making power, increase access to reproductive health rights, and recognise, redistribute and remunerate unpaid care work.

For many participants the idea of change in their communities' wellbeing could not be separated from the issue of how power is distributed, how it impacts on resource distribution, and how this governs who will benefit from development initiatives and investment. Participants talked at length about their inability to participate in decision-making processes. A focus on **participation, political rights and citizens' knowledge** in the framework would allow for a relationship based on accountability, responsiveness and democracy.

For the post-2015 framework to effectively build a new relationship between citizens and states, it must be rooted in national contexts, and national governments and citizens must have primary ownership of it. This will require a commitment to **national democratic ownership**, through the creation of multi-stakeholder, participatory, empowered and country-led bodies to decide how to translate global goals into appropriate country and local-level actions. These bodies should privilege the role and voices of citizens, and grant them institutional authority in the bodies' decision-making processes.

The financing of the framework, although not a subject of the workshops, is indispensable to its effectiveness. The framework should focus on **DRM**, not just as a means to raise money, but also as a means to further transform the relationship between states and citizens. A framework that allows for increased domestic resources and equitable tax systems will shift state accountability from aid donors and commodity markets towards citizens.

SECTION 1:
AFRICAN CITIZENS' VOICES ON POST-2015

THE POST-2015 FRAMEWORK
AND CITIZEN'S VOICES

As the 2015 deadline for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) draws ever closer, a range of stakeholders are mobilising to formulate their successor, a new defining framework for international development. The decisions made by governments on the nature of the new framework will impact upon the lives of millions of people. The MDGs have shaped development policy and political commitment, and registered some important successes in areas such as HIV and AIDS and gender parity in education, as well as increasing aid finance and budget increases in developing countries. However, the successor framework must also address the unfinished business of the MDGs, including both unmet targets and areas where the MDG model did not show sufficient ambition. These include not just ending poverty, but human rights, jobs, inequality and environmental sustainability, coupled with the fact that achievements thus far have been inconsistent both between and within countries[1].

These issues are even more pertinent today than they were 12 years ago, and underline that the new framework must address the fact that the world in which the original MDGs were conceived has altered drastically. The new framework must respond to a series of new challenges, including enduring poverty, rising inequality, resource scarcity, climate change, the aftershocks of the financial crisis, as well as changes in global political dynamics.

The situation on the African continent is particularly critical. Today narratives of 'Africa rising' lionise impressive growth rates on the continent over the last decade, but ignore the fact that even if we take the conservative measure of $1.25 a day nearly half of all Africans, 386 million people, are living in poverty[2]. With growth still largely predicated on a few commodities and the extractive industries, the majority of African citizens are not benefiting, and inequalities are enduring and increasing[3]. African women face a continuing struggle to achieve equal social, economic and political status. In 2013 it is estimated that 45.6% of African women have experienced sexual and gender-based violence[4]. African citizens, the majority of whom are employed in small-scale food production and are dependent on access to natural resources, are also particularly vulnerable to climate change. Increased weather instability, decreased crop production and soil fertility, and reductions in access to water feature strongly in future projections. Intensifying localised conflicts over natural resources already pay testament to this reality.

What is undeniable is that a dramatic and ambitious reframing of development as we know it is called for. The crafting of this vision will be a major political undertaking, but the architects of the new framework must not be reserved to those in positions of power. The poorest and most marginalised are the most vulnerable to the trends outlined above, and it is they who will bear the brunt of their negative impacts. If the new framework is to genuinely address this fact it must have at its centre an understanding of the experiences, views and aspirations of those living in poverty. This is a question of legitimacy, probity and effectiveness. A genuinely global framework must respond to the needs of the most vulnerable, and can only do this by prioritising their voices in decision-making.

One of the principal criticisms of the MDGs was that they did not reflect this reality, and instead were devised in a restricted, behind-closed-doors political process, led largely by northern governments. Thus far the process to define the new framework has been an improvement, with a plethora of UN agencies leading numerous national-level and thematic consultations with key stakeholders, and the UN Secretary General's High-Level Panel (HLP) on post-2015 holding global meetings with designated time for consultations with civil society, academia and the private sector. The Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals has also seen extensive interaction with civil society groups and other stakeholders. Despite these improvements there is a danger that the discussion over the next framework will ultimately remain restricted to high-level political spaces, and that the interests of those with most at stake will be marginalised. It is essential that any new model of development takes as its starting point the aspirations and experiences of those living in poverty.

African governments have over the last year been elaborating a Common African Position (CAP) on post-2015, and although there has been some outreach to civil society groups this has not been extensive, and there has been no rigorous approach or commitment to hear from African citizens themselves what they want from their own futures. As the process moves forward it is vital that African governments enter negotiations with a clear and strong set of recommendations on the specific needs of African countries, but that this view includes the views of citizens themselves, as measures to ensure the framework responds to their needs.

ACORD AND CITIZEN'S VOICES

ACORD's vision for social justice and ending poverty has at its heart the understanding that people are the primary actors in their own survival and development, and that we must work alongside communities in our work. We focus on strengthening people's capacity to participate and exert influence over governance and decision-making processes to address the root causes of exclusion and injustice. When it comes to influencing policy we place a strong emphasis on facilitating the participation of grassroots groups and community-based organisations to participate through capacity building and advocating for inclusive decision-making processes. Through participatory processes and consultations, we frame our own inputs into decision-making in the perspectives and views of the communities we work with.

Our engagement in the post-2015 process has been governed by this ethic. For ACORD it is vital that any framework which speaks on issues of poverty and sustainable development must be informed by those who experience them on a daily basis. This is particularly true of the communities we work with, who are predominantly rural and economically marginalised, and are amongst the poorest in their respective countries. These are exactly the groups that are the most excluded from policy processes.

CITIZEN-DRIVEN WORKSHOPS

We developed a methodology to trigger debate and conversation within communities on the issues at the heart of the framework. The idea was to harness the power of the African citizen, to privilege their position as agents in their own development. The methodology outlined how to run a citizen-driven workshop, in which citizens are able to share and reflect on their own lives, experiences and priorities, and play the role of directing and deciding upon what is said. At the centre of this was a set of ten guiding questions which would be used to hold participatory workshops with two aims in mind: a) participants are able to express on their own terms the issues that are important to them and b) offer what they see as solutions for a better future for Africa.

The questions largely focused on defining what changes the community would like to see in order for them to live well, what factors were preventing this change from taking place and how they see these obstacles being overcome, and what has changed for better or worse in the community since the introduction of the MDGs in 2000. They raised critical issues like livelihoods, environmental change and political agency in general terms that allowed participants to interpret and define them themselves. These questions provided only a broad guideline for the facilitators, who were encouraged to allow conversation and debate to flow openly and freely, and allow participants to have control on the direction of the conversation. A briefing was held with all facilitators to ensure they were able to understand the participatory approach, tools and spirit behind the workshops.

Each of the sessions used the same methodology, but staff were encouraged to facilitate the sessions so they were sensitive to local contexts. Staff used already established knowledge and mapping exercises to identify where to find groups who are particularly marginalised and hard to reach, including people living with HIV and AIDS, indigenous groups, pastoralists and displaced

THE POST-2015 FRAMEWORK AND CITIZEN'S VOICES

people. A neutral venue was used that would allow for all members of the community to participate. The facilitators were ACORD staff already familiar with the communities in question, spoke the local language and were able to frame topics in ways which were accessible and understandable by a range of participants.

Facilitators were also aware of local dynamics and social structures, and so were able to create conditions in which as many members as possible felt they were able to participate in discussions. Facilitators mainly used an open floor-style technique, but also used other methods of dialogue, including one-on-one interviews, and breakout groups on specific subjects.

Participating countries	Mozambique, Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Chad, Guinea, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Mali
Number of citizen-driven workshops held in different communities	52
Total number of participants	4,620
Total women participants	2,316 (50.1 per cent)
Total under 25	968 (21 per cent)
Total over 60	464 (10 per cent)

The workshops were held in a highly varied range of geographical locations in West, East and Horn of Africa as well as Southern Africa. Most of the countries where the workshops took place were not subject to any formal UN-initiated consultations, and none of the communities we visited had had any contact with the UN's consultative process. Demographically they included a huge variety of different social groups, spanning areas with different environmental conditions, local economic characteristics, and political systems. In some areas ACORD held workshops with urban and peri-urban communities, living through the rapid urbanisation currently found on the continent. The majority of communities participating in the exercise were found in rural areas, and amongst these were a variety of different agro-ecological conditions and social dynamics. In these areas small-scale farming and pastoralism are the dominant livelihoods. Some areas are transitioning from national conflicts, while others face incessant localised conflict between communities. They span a vast array of different ethnicities, religions, and other forms of social association, and include a number of specific minorities, from child-headed households to former slaves. Taken together the 52 different locations, spanning 13 countries and over 4,000 people, paint a vivid and diverse portrait of the experiences and aspirations of vulnerable communities living in Africa today.

This report seeks to synthesise the findings from these workshops. In so doing, we have attempted to be sympathetic to the intersecting nature of many of the issues raised. Below we look in more detail at the four issues raised most consistently by participants: transformation in small-scale food production, access to basic services, women's rights, and civic participation and politics.

Photo: Grassroots consultations in Burundi. Credit: ACORD

MAURITANIA

MALI

BURKINA FASO

GUINEA
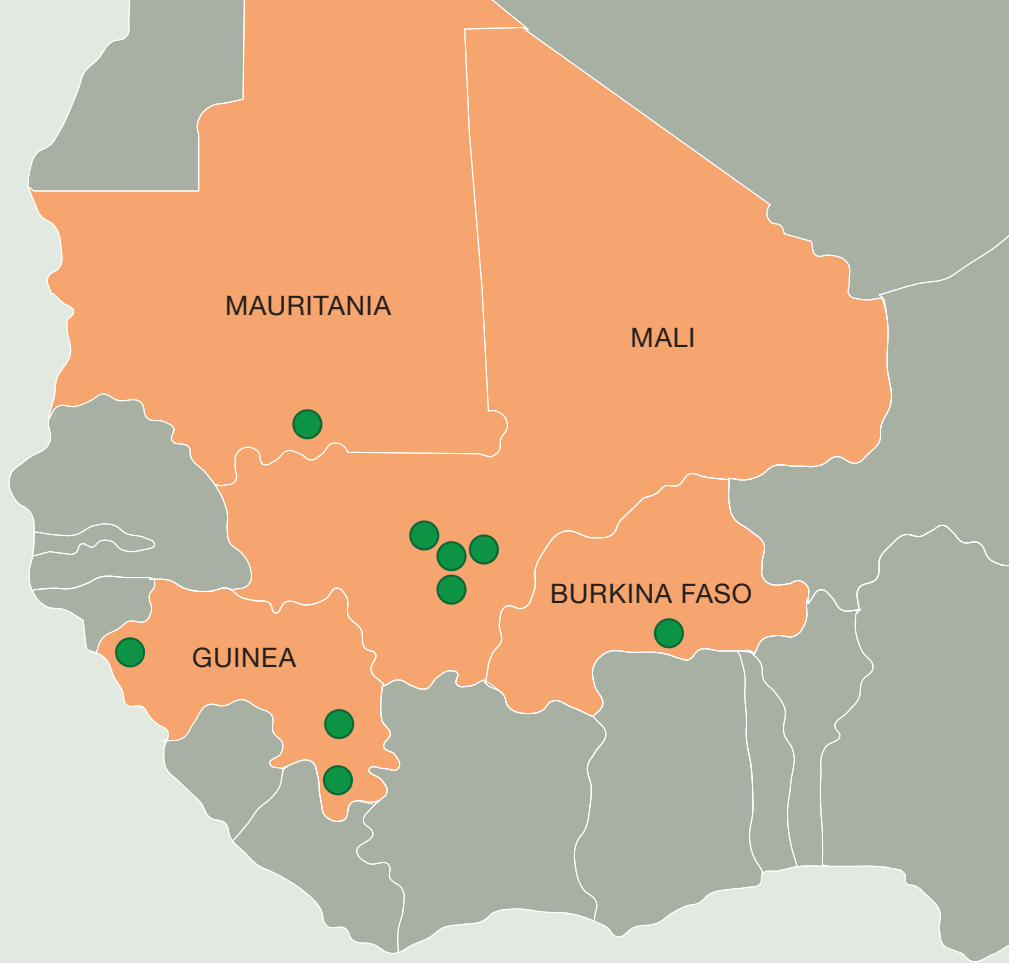
CITIZEN-DRIVEN
WORKSHOP LOCATIONS

Map showing locations of CDWs held in 2013 and 2014
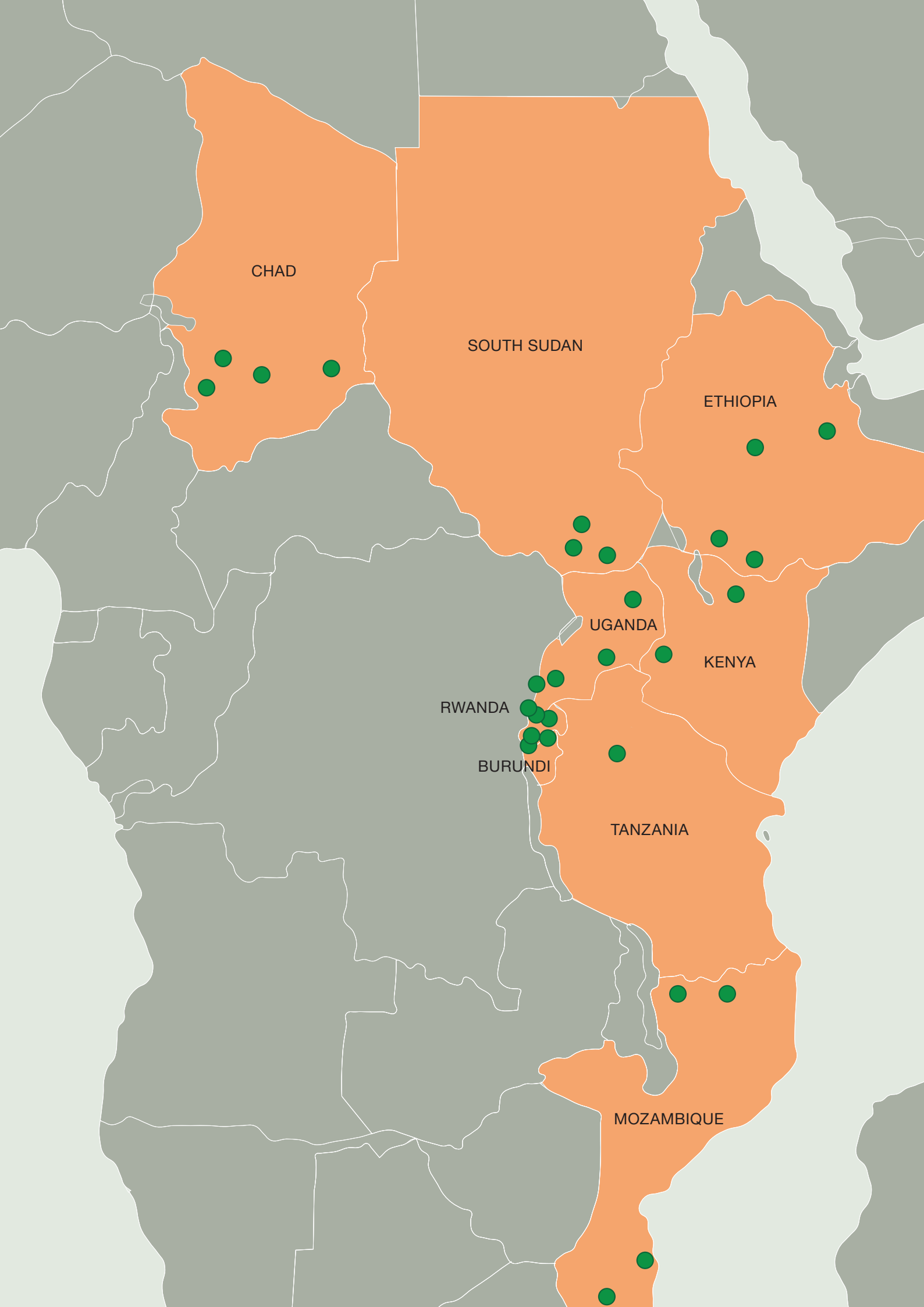
CHAD

SOUTH SUDAN

ETHIOPIA

UGANDA

KENYA

RWANDA

BURUNDI

TANZANIA

MOZAMBIQUE

SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

TRANSFORMATION IN SMALL-SCALE FOOD PRODUCTION

A constant refrain in the workshops was a comparison between development in urban and rural areas. For those living in rural areas, by far the majority of the participants, larger shares of public and private investment and better access to services in urban areas allows more scope for people to improve their lives. A clear dichotomy emerged between urban and rural areas, with rural communities consistently highlighting unequal distribution of wealth, infrastructure and investment, whilst also noting that richer citizens from urban areas often owned many rural assets, such as land and agricultural equipment.

> "Development here is unevenly distributed. In urban areas, development is more concentrated than rural ones. Imagine how Maniamba is today; it's undeveloped, the same as it was left by our colonial masters, the Portuguese."
> Julio Mpezi, Lago, Mozambique

The majority of those who took part in the workshops said their livelihoods depended on food production, through small-scale farming, fishing and pastoralism. Local economies and livelihood opportunities centred on these activities, and the lack of rural development was synonymous with the lack of development in small-scale food production. Participants expressed a desire for sustainable livelihoods, and for most this means a transformation in small-scale farming. For many food production does not currently offer secure livelihoods, but communities argued that there are a range of policies and measures that could see this change. Some participants pointed out that the wider issue of food security across the country could be addressed through a transformation in small-scale agriculture:

> "The most important priority is changing agricultural policy: the plains of Imbo can feed the entire population of the country" Small-scale rice producer, Burundi

Participants spoke of gaining access to the means of self-determination, the opportunities that would allow small-scale farming to provide income security and safeguard livelihoods. One important aspect of this was **public investment in agriculture**, such as equipment and fertilisers, irrigation, and the need for improved extension services, as well as affordable seeds. For pastoralists veterinary care and other livestock resources were deemed essential. The need for public investment in these services was raised in almost every workshop. Infrastructure development was also regularly cited as in desperate need of investment, with roads, post-harvest storage, and irrigation cited as crucial in allowing producers to gain more income from their products. For fisher folk, the most critical public investment is cold storage facilities at strategic landing bases and processing units that would enable them store their products and ensure they get a better and fair price.

> "Privatization of government parastatals has brought in middle-men who sell these fertilizers, nets and vaccines at very expensive prices. Government should start providing such services to the farmers, fishermen and cattle keepers so as to improve production." Nalongo Rehema, female fishmonger, Mukono, Uganda

GROWING BUSINESSES AND ENDING DEPENDENCY

For many participants self-determination was a means to transcend dependency. In Borana, southern Ethiopia, pastoralists were aware of the level of external support provided to their communities, and the need to overcome this reliance. For them policies aimed at self-determination, at giving them the **tools and resources to grow their businesses** and give them access to productive assets, would allow them to end reliance on assistance by NGOs or other actors. Participants also valued self-determination through prioritising the need to support cooperative business models and the community-management of agricultural resources. For many **cooperative agricultural business models, and systems of pooled investment and resource sharing** allowed communities to determine their own decision-making with regards to food production. Many participants asked for support in setting up or joining business associations, establishing cooperatives, or other forms of community-based self-support as a means to increase incomes.

> "Members of the community can come together to self-develop without support from outside. For example, when I was very young, I joined under the leadership of Sister Goreth, a group of 30 young people who wanted to raise chickens. Each member paid a contribution. The chickens were raised in order to sell them. Part of the money from the sale was held in common in our cooperative." Emmanuel Banyiyezako, Bugendana, Burundi

ACCESS TO CREDIT AND PRO-POOR FINANCIAL SERVICES

The idea of self-determination in small-scale food production extended to investment, with participants regularly raising the need for **access to financial services** so they could invest in their own productive capacities. Financial services were often viewed as the preserve of urban areas and the wealthy.

> "Banks are for the rich. The state should establish a fund guaranteed for the rural poor as we have a lack of collateral, especially if the rich continue to get rich while the poor get poorer." Participant in Ngororero, Rwanda

> "Banks do not provide loans to farmers; it's only the government through its own fund, but decisions on who gets funding are heavily politicised." Fatima Amado, Sanga, Mozambique

What participants asked for is **pro-poor financial institutions** that would support them to make their own investments in their livelihoods. For many, to establish diversified livelihoods that were not dependent on food production relied on accessing credit. For many savings were instead held in other assets, such as land or livestock. These assets are far from stable, and mean that their importance to wellbeing is vastly increased.

> "When a cow is sick, it is as if the whole family is sick." Female pastoralist, Burkina Faso

As well as the means to invest in their own farms and livestock participants also stressed the need to increase their capacity to make informed decisions on their businesses through **training and education on production systems, business practices, and market analysis**.

SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

For women in the workshops, their ability to access credit was linked to not just their ability to grow their income, but their financial independence within households and their ability to meet the needs of their communities.

"Here in Niono, women in general and especially the displaced have very limited access to land and credit to conduct agriculture. With land, we either rent or our husbands rent it for us. In addition to that, it takes money to pay rent and buy labour and inputs, so that the need for financing structures for us becomes very crucial because we are always the first to be requested by the family, our children and even the community for any need whatsoever."
Female participant, Niono, Mali

"Our co-operative, Yiriwa, is an integrated network of producers and has benefited from the support and guidance of an NGO in both the administrative and financial management, the application of new techniques, and even marketing our products. In our co-operative, membership fees are set at 5000F CFA, contributions are monthly and at a total of 1000F CFA per member. With these resources, we have a small deposit that serves as security for the credit to our bank. We make bulk purchases of our seeds and inputs, and negotiate sales in batches with customers. This begins to give us a little strength."

Christophe Dembele Toridagako, northern Mali

Photo: Fish farming in Nakuru, Kenya. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD

SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

ACCESS TO AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Access to productive assets was regarded as crucial to building sustainable livelihoods. This was particularly true of **access to and ownership of land**. In peri-urban areas agriculture has the potential to capitalise on growing markets for agricultural produce amongst rising urban populations, but rapid development is placing pressures on access to agricultural land. For many communities at the periphery of expanding urban areas, the use of land for development means they are forced to move to new areas, losing their agricultural livelihoods, their social networks and safety nets, and their ability to benefit from the changes taking place in urban areas. In Dire Dawa secured tenure was provided as part of a local policy shift, and allowed for communities to benefit from growth in the city.

> "We have secured tenure rights and benefited from the development plans that changed our slum." Urban farmer, Dire Dawa, Ethiopia

In many cases farmers face unfair tenancy agreements, where their income is shared with owners, and they lose the ability to decide on what should be cultivated and where. Insecurity of tenure can have sudden and devastating impacts on livelihoods.

> "During last year's season, I rented a quarter hectare at 37 500F CFA and I had no resources to pay for inputs. In addition, the harvest was not good but what I gathered allowed me to feed my five children for 8 months. For this season, my landlord has betrayed and rented this plot to another person. Here the poor are at the mercy of the government land agency and landowners." Zeinab Cissé, rice farmer, Niono, Mali

In other areas insecurity of tenure or communal use rights is leading to small-scale farmers losing land to governments and investors, with clear manifestations of the current trend of land grabbing found in Mozambique, South Sudan, Guinea, Tanzania, Mali and Chad.

> "I have been raising livestock for 30 years. I have met a lot of difficulties due to insufficient milk production. My main wish is to have good cows which can produce more milk. It is true that the government has begun to provide more services for pastoralists, but it is not enough. I have to grow forage crops to feed my cows. If I could have access to forage through my activities in Yagma, I could avoid time spent running here and there. Buying in bulk is always better."
>
> Participant in Burkina Faso

"Community lands are being grabbed for the benefit of foreign investors, and nothing is being done about it. Sometimes the army is involved, and there is killing, like what happened in Komiru in Juba" Anonymous, South Sudan

Participants noted that for them land is an inter-generational asset, and is important both economically and culturally. They expressed fears that they would be condemned to work as paid labourers on their ancestral lands.

"I was born, grew up and married in Maniamba. I had the privilege of seeing our people evolving from having abundant land to the present when land is a scarce resource owing to investors requiring large concession of land. I have 10 children from 2 different wives and need land to give each one of them when they become of age. With the investors grabbing almost every piece of undeveloped land, I envisage a dark future for my children."
Julio Mpesi, 50, farmer, Lago, Mozambique

"Government is giving land to foreigners/investors to grow crops that the locals can produce. For example, the Chinese have been given large chunks of land to grow cassava that can be grown by the locals. Instead, government should identify the foreign markets for such products and empower the locals to produce such products to sell to the Chinese." Eriabu Sserwadda, fisherman and farmer, Mukono, Uganda

There are major concerns in some countries about the weakness of provisions within national law for local people to steer development options and defend their own land rights. In other countries, such rights are, in theory, substantially more secure, but in almost every workshop participants noted the need for equitable and just land rights regimes. In land use decisions the government is often characterised as serving the interests of large commercial producers over small-scale farmers. In Mali participants explained how fertile land in the Inner Niger river delta has been the home of small-scale producers for generations, but that their informal and customary rights to this land are not legally recognised. Investors have begun buying this land from the government, with very little communication with locals, no monitoring of social and environmental impacts and no compensation for locals. With the growth in large-scale acquisition of land for commercial agriculture or fuel production communities are even more aware of the importance of **securing land rights**.

The workshops demonstrated how in Africa today women farmers have significantly less access to land and security of tenure. Access to land was a key issue consistently across countries. Women asserted that when they are able to access land adequately, and receive appropriate political support to do so, they are able to secure stable and prosperous livelihoods.

"Financial independence is very important for women as they need to be able to take care of their children without the help of the husband in times of death or divorce. I was divorced in 1988 but I have managed to take care of my children through farming. Of course I experienced problems at first because I had no land but, with the help of the female chief, I was able to acquire a piece of land and seeds to start cultivating my own field. Now I am happy to say that I cultivate throughout the year through irrigation."
Maria Ofesi, Lago, Mozambique

SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

Participants regularly call for government policy oriented towards small-holder production, while at the same time warning that policies should not curtail the ability of producers to decide for themselves what will benefit their farms. In Rwanda some participants argued that the land registration policy has been successful by granting them tenure, while others pointed out its restrictions.Processing facilities, and affordable investments in mechanised agriculture, were a priority in 12 of the countries in which workshops took place, underlining the motivation and ambition of small-scale producers to grow the agriculture sector. For many participants value-addition was linked to broader aspects of their lives, such as being able to generate income to invest in other activities, pay for their own food, and access services. Women noted how they have benefited least from access to information and technology that allows for value-addition.

> "I feel that time has come for us to move from small-scale farming to mechanised farming. We have 10 hectares of land that cannot be cultivated manually. The provision of a tractor could help us graduate as commercial farmers."
> Teresa Mumedi, small-scale farmer, Lago, Mozambique

> "People do not have skills in modern fishing; therefore the government should establish ways of providing skills on fishing. We used to have a government institution that trained fishermen on different skills. Government should also establish small scale industries to facilitate processing of fish so as to avoid middle men and access markets."
> Vincent Mukiibi, 30, fisherman, Mukono, Uganda

> "Natural resources, such as pasture, water and different trees were managed thoroughly in the past through the community, especially by us women. Now, because of the past years of drought, resources are being destroyed mor rapidly, for example trees were cut to make charcoal for sale. So we need to protect the trees. If someone cuts one tree, it is considered as if he destroyed the wholepopulation because trees attract rain. Lands will be destroyed because of erosion and degraded soil."
> Female pastoralist, Borana, Ethiopia

ACCESSING AND MANAGING NATURAL RESOURCES

With workshops taking place in predominantly rural communities the issue of access to productive resources was intimately tied to that of environmental change and resource use. A common thread across the workshops was of communities whose livelihoods depend on natural resources, and in which intensive development, overpopulation, intensive commercial farming and resource extraction are putting massive pressures on their sustainable management. For many if small-scale food production is to be supported to realise its potential in securing livelihoods and prosperity then this must also mean that natural resources are protected and managed sustainably.

In many areas forests are traditionally a vital resource for communities, providing food and fuel, preventing soil erosion, and capturing and storing water. Communities have for many years been able to balance their need for forest resources with forest protection, but this is now far from easy to achieve. In nine of the countries where workshops took place deforestation was raised as a crucial factor in sustainable livelihoods. Internal displacement has led to highly concentrated populations in some areas of South Sudan, leading to a lack of agricultural land and reduced incomes. In Magwi County people and businesses are now using the forest as a commercial resource. This in turn threatens the viability of agriculture in the region.

> "People and businesses are destroying our forest for poles and charcoal for sale. Our land will become desert. We shall not receive enough water for our crops to grow. This will lead to hunger and poverty."
> Ochola John, Magwi County, South Sudan

In Mali participants described how the Inner Niger delta has suffered from badly planned policy. Increased chemical fertiliser and pesticide use has depleted soil fertility and water quality, while large-scale irrigation has reduced access to water for small-scale farmers and pastoralists, with a visible reduction in grazing land. This has brought pastoralists into conflict with farmers over access to pasture and water.

Women in the workshops outlined the fact that it is they more than men who often play the role of conserving and managing the natural resources on which their communities depend. It is women who often restore woodland, collect products from forests, and manage water supplies. As they have less access to financial resources and land, they are also more dependent on these resources.

Communities consistently asked that they are given more **power to communally manage natural resources** themselves. Through community-led management systems that allow different interest groups to agree on sharing resources it is possible to create sustainable resource-use systems.

> "We as fishermen should try to avoid bad fishing methods because they deplete the fish. The committees and task teams (institutions) established by government to control indiscriminate fishing are actually in favour of the indiscriminate fishing methods for they benefit from bribes they get from fishermen who fear being arrested." Mukasa Henry, fisherman, Mukono, Uganda

In Burundi community-led rehabilitation of marshland and forest was cited as a success, with a visible improvement in livestock and farming productivity. In Borana in Ethiopia community-managed rangeland rehabilitation is helping to restore vital biodiversity to pasture, which is increasing the health and resilience of livestock. These initiatives, which aim to sustainably manage the use of resources, are preferable to government bans on access to natural resources, which were criticised in many of the workshops. In some countries people actively complained that they were now being refused any access to forests or water supply by governments, including in national parks.

Unpredictable and reduced rainfall, often linked directly to climate change, is a constant challenge, and was raised in most workshops. It creates uncertainty and insecurity, with severe impacts on production. In 10 out of 11 countries rainfall irregularity, attributed to climate change, was raised as a serious issue in need of attention. For many support is needed in **building systems of production that are more resilient and adaptive**. In Mozambique, Uganda, Kenya and Chad participants expressed a need for investment in training in ecologically friendly agricultural techniques, including conservation agriculture and agro-forestry. In other workshops participants asked for better access to insurance products, and information services around weather and market prices.

> "When I was a young girl, you would know which month we would have rain, which month would be dry, so as a farmer you could prepare what you are going to plant. But things are different now; everything has changed. The rainy month turned to drought, the dry month turned rainy."
> Female participant, 56-years-old, Mwanza, Tanzania

> "We pastoralists are facing various problems to live better life. The major problem is water for our livestock during dry season. If we get enough rain, it would be easy to survive by getting milk for our families. We are very rain dependent."
> Pastoralist participant, Dirre, Borena, Ethiopia

SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS

For pastoralists livestock health depends on rich pasture and access to water, both of which are rainfall dependent. Changes in rainfall patterns adversely impact on livestock health, which in turn creates costs for veterinary services and livestock replenishment. For pastoralist communities seasonal changes from climate change are already strongly noticeable and impacting on people's lives. However, pastoralism is a system inherently based around adapting to seasonal change and ecosystem conservation, and its in-built resilience must be recognised. For many pastoralist communities there is a need for support, both in building community-managed natural resource management systems, including over access to pasture, and diversifying livelihoods.

"Water is life to us. Water is life to our cows and our camels."
Community leader, Turbi, Kenya

"For us the most important natural resources are pasture, water and indigenous trees. We are managing them within the community, doing soil and water conservation works on degraded land, afforestation with different tree types, rehabilitating grazing land. We manage and protect the existing resources. We even have guards to protect the resources. Most of the times the climate is highly affecting us. This year it seems good and we harvested at least some amount but we don't know what will happen in the near future. At the moment livestock are in good physical condition and water and pasture is available."

Wako Golicho Guyo,
pastoralist, Miyo, Borena, Ethiopia

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE POST-2015 FRAMEWORK

The 'Africa rising' narrative extols recent increases in African growth rates, but these are almost entirely dependent on a few export commodities and the extractive industries sector[5]. While coastal areas and cities are seeing significant growth rates, rural areas have not seen similar increases. At the same time, the inclusivity of this growth has been undermined by persistent and widespread poverty. The perspectives of African citizens outlined above underline this stark reality: agriculture employs 60 per cent of the African population and over 80 per cent of farms in Africa are less than 2 hectares, but small-scale producers have not been receiving the policy, programme and budgetary support to harness the potential of this vital sector. If the post-2015 framework is to achieve inclusive growth on the continent it must focus on the sectors and geographical areas where the majority of poor people are working, hence a central role for small-scale food production.

The workshops demonstrate that African citizens are both cognisant of the needs of the sector and its importance in providing sustainable development. African small-scale farmers, fisher folk and pastoralists are calling for a new model of food system, through which public investment, policy support, market reform and natural resource management can create employment, stimulate local economies and provide environmental services. The post-2015 framework could make a significant contribution towards realising this vision if it takes on board some of the measures proposed by African citizens. For this to take place, we recommend the following measures to be included in the successor framework:

1. PUBLIC INVESTMENT IN THE AREAS WHERE THE MAJORITY OF AFRICAN CITIZENS LIVE AND WORK

Include the 10 per cent investment target contained within the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). However, targets are required for investment specific to the small-scale food production sector. These should include targets on investments in inputs, infrastructure, research, extension services specific to the needs of small-scale food production, the nature of which should be appropriate to local and national realities and the stated needs of small-scale producers. There should also be targets/indicators on the number of small-scale producers reached by business and skills development training, as well as access to processing facilities. All targets should have disaggregated data measuring how services reach both women and men.

2. SUPPORT SMALL-SCALE PRODUCERS TO GROW THEIR BUSINESSES AND ACCESS FINANCE

The framework must both recognise and promote cooperative agricultural business models, and systems of pooled investment and resource sharing. It should include targets for the reach and affordability of pro-poor financial institutions and instruments, both of which must be strictly defined, amongst small-scale producers, and the extent to which women producers are able to access them.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE POST-2015 FRAMEWORK

3. SUPPORT OWNERSHIP OF AND ACCESS TO LAND FOR SMALL-SCALE PRODUCERS

Land tenure security and the recognition of land rights must be central. The framework must ensure national implementation and legislative incorporation of the guiding principles for "Large Scale Land Based Investments" and the implementation of these along with the AU Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa and the *Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests* of the Committee on World Food Security, accompanied by local and national targets on number of people with secure tenure, with gender disaggregated indicators
.

4. REFORM AND INCREASE ACCESS TO INCLUSIVE MARKETS THAT PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT IN SMALL-SCALE FOOD PRODUCTION

The framework must recognise and promote regulations that enhance local and regional markets. Specific indicators should be developed that collect data on inclusive growth in these markets. The framework must promote reform of global trade regimes, including both global and bilateral agreements, to ensure equality amongst trade partners, but which recognises the different treatment required by developing countries. This should aim to increase profits within the small-scale food production section of the value-chain by agreed percentages.

5. PROMOTE SUSTAINABLE AND COOPERATIVE NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Built into the framework should be the existence of natural resource thresholds, including those critical to small-scale producers, for example biodiversity, water, forests and soil fertility. For each global, national and local thresholds should be recognised and built into targets, with an emphasis on sharing both within and between countries. Specific targets and indicators need to be developed on the amount of appropriate natural resources currently under community management, and the extent to which women's role in the management of natural resources is recognised and promoted.

6. CLIMATE CHANGE, EMISSIONS REDUCTION AND RESILIENCE

The framework must have a single and ambitious climate change goal, which works within and supports the work of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and reflects emissions reductions targets, but these should be accompanied by specific targets on resilience and consumption. These should measure the extent to which small-scale producers are being supported to build resilient and ecosystem preserving production systems. This should be combined with a target that northern states meet previous commitments to mobilize $100 billion climate finance per year by 2020, with 50 per cent earmarked for adaptation.

Photo: Small-scale producer bringing his palm fruit to the oil production site, Makamba, Burundi. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD

ACCESS TO QUALITY SERVICES

This section presents citizens views on state responsibility for provision of services as enshrined in several international and regional commitments and treaties that governments in Africa have signed up to. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, *Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women*, the Maputo Plan of Action and the MDGs, among others. The emphasis on equality in access to services is underpinned by the understanding that, besides citizens' entitlements, adequate social services have the potential for improving citizen's wellbeing and general economic development.

Access to services was a common theme raised in the consultations, with particular reference to healthcare, education and vocational training. For many, when looking back at changes in their community over the last 15 years they identified access to basic services as one of the key improvements. State provision of adequate services allowed community members to overcome the costs of accessing these services, such as fees and travel costs. However, across the workshops access to quality services was regarded as one of the most important elements to living well, and for the vast majority accessing services, and the quality of those services, was severely lacking. This is not just a matter of a lack of investment in accessing services, but also the fact that when investment was made the specific needs of people were not assessed, people had no say in the nature of services delivered.

Underlying complaints over lack of access to services was a questioning of the relationship between a state and its citizens. An overarching theme throughout the consultations was that participants expected the state to provide basic services, and where this had happened it was celebrated. But in almost every workshop participants expressed deep-seated frustration at government service provision. People argued that states were not responsive to their needs as citizens. The failure of the state to deliver public goods undermines its legitimacy, and creates an unproductive and disconnected relationship between governments and citizens.

"Health facilities in this area are inadequate in a number of ways. Firstly, the nearest government health facility is in Ntengero, about four to five miles away. Secondly, if one falls sick at night, it would mean that he/she has no First Aid. Even when you go to the health unit and you get a chance of seeing a nurse, they will tell you what you are suffering from and say, "but we do not have the medicine for treating your sickness here." The only medicines in the health unit here are just simple pain killers like Panadol. In most cases when you go to the health units, you do not find there the medical staff because they sleep about 20 kilometres away. And some people are also discouraged by the long queues they find at the government health facilities. As such, I would say even though the government has tried to renovate some health facilities as we hear in other districts, I would say that there has not been much improvement in the past 15 years."

Nicholas Nsubuga, Mokono, Uganda

ACCESS TO HEALTH

Progress in healthcare over the last 15 years has often been attributed to the MDGs, particularly with regards to advances in immunization coverage and reversal of the trend of the spread of HIV and AIDS[6], as well as general acknowledgement of improvements in infrastructure thereby increasing access to health services in some areas. To some extent this could be seen in the experiences of participants. In many of the workshops it was noted that there had been many new health centres opening, and that generally access to health had improved.

In particular many participants noted that health awareness, particularly around HIV and AIDS, had also markedly improved. In three of the workshops people noted that the battle against HIV and AIDS was one of the clearest improvements in their communities over the last ten years. Where health centres have been built citizens talked approvingly of government responding to their needs. Across the workshops improvements in the provision of health and education were the most marked improvement in their wellbeing over the last 15 years.

Nowhere is this more evident than in Rwanda, where the health insurance policy, Mutuelle de Santé, has vastly increased affordable access to health care for the majority of citizens. Nowhere else in the countries where workshops were held was there a similar celebration of a national government commitment towards securing health care, and a visible recognition in communities of the improvements in health outcomes. This is not without caveats, with many people still able to access accredited clinics and hospitals, and many of these not offering comprehensive services. However, the commitment to building an affordable and universal health system in Africa is resonating at the grassroots level.

> "The introduction of the health insurance system encourages people to attend health centres for illness, unlike in the past where there were thousands of deaths at home without going to the hospital because of the cost of health care, which proved very high"
> Participant in Rwanda

> "Every year, we sign for the mutual health insurance but in return, the services we receive are sometimes poor. There are even people who do not subscribe to the pretext that it does not prevent them from resorting to the expensive services of private clinics and pharmacies."
> Apolinaire Nkangabeshi, Rwanda

However, this experience was not replicated in other countries, where many participants listed access, quality and affordability of services as areas that desperately needed change. As much as improvements were observed the overall picture was of basic services that were both inadequate and often impossible to access.

> "What is the point of going to the hospital when there are no drugs?"
> Adelina Filipe, Sanga, Mozambique

For example, in many cases they have to travel far in order to reach health facilities that can cater to their needs. With regard to geographically excluded and marginalised populations, gaps in access are worse. Access to healthcare was especially low in pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities, with communities having to travel vast distances to access even basic services. Participants in some workshops noted that women in particular faced serious problems in accessing services, because of lack of money to afford services, but also because of the health risks associated with giving birth. Maternal mortality was frequently raised as an example of how the distances to hospitals caused serious problems.

ACCESS TO QUALITY SERVICES

"We, the mothers, are suffering and dying due to poor health services, especially transport to take women during labour pain too far away health centres. There is no ambulance and this is causing death of pregnant women."
Participant in Omot, Uganda

The majority complained that the health centres they had access to only catered to a few health conditions. They were also badly stocked with drugs and equipment, understaffed, and not able to meet the communities' needs. Community health workers took part in the workshops. For many communities these are the first line of health services, and often the only health professional whom they encounter. The community health workers painted a picture of a service that is over-stretched, under-resourced and in which staff are under-paid and badly trained.

"Motivation of teachers and medical doctors is essential for the provision of effective services to the community, they need to be paid and trained effectively."
Andre Mitula, Lago, Mozambique

"In our dispensaries we have one nurse who serves the whole community and because of fatigue she is not able to see all the clients."
Participant in Mount Elgon, Kenya

Another constant theme was the affordability of health services. User fees were regarded as too high. For many fees for even the most basic services were too high, and meant many had to make a financial decision not to access healthcare. To receive means-based reductions in prices, even where these were supposed to be available, was often not possible, which many participants explained as a lack of administrative capacity in health clinics.

"There are very many challenges we receive. Firstly, the costs at government health facilities; we want services in such facilities to be free, but we are told to pay for some medicines. Secondly, the long queues at these health facilities sometime scare away patients before they get treatment."
Kazoo Robert, Mikonos, Uganda

In many workshops drugs were also regarded as largely unaffordable, with prices leading most to choose not to access health services. Many cited the need for increased incomes, and related this directly to the need to have money to pay user fees. Having a family member who is sick can become a crippling financial burden, meaning families are not able to use resources for accessing other services or investing in their livelihoods.

"Government should build a health unit, but they never have. People are getting increased difficulties to get health assistance and we are dying of malaria, diarrhoea and other diseases. We need help."
Eugenio Iassine, Marrupa, Mozambique

According to the participants of the workshops a comprehensive health service should be affordable; address the specific needs of the different population categories; provide essential medicines and technologies; have adequately trained and well-motivated health workers; a system for documenting and utilising health information to guide service provision; and address the health promotion and preventive needs of the catchment area where it is located. As indicated in participants' views above, existence of health infrastructure in specific locations or a health insurance policy does not guarantee this comprehensive and quality health services.

ACCESS TO EDUCTATION

According to a report on Africa's performance in the MDGs, most African countries have made progress in primary school enrolment, the first building block for universal access to primary education.[7] The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) operational review for the African Region conducted in 2013 revealed that about 50 countries developed and implemented policies, programmes and strategies for responding to education needs of their citizenry in line with their national visions. Outcomes of these efforts indicate impressive achievements in promoting equal opportunities in "*access to and participation in education and training*" at various levels.

For many of the participants this improvement in accessing education services has been felt at grassroots level. Participants' views on state performance widely acknowledged improvements in access to free education as the most significant achievement. An increase in the number of schools in some countries and an understanding of the concept of universal education and its necessity in development attest to this fact.

> "There was one government school before. Now we have an additional seven government schools, one government secondary school and several private schools"
> Participant in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia

In Rwanda participants said that 'education for all' should be guaranteed, and that this should include a focus on adult literacy. In places, like Rwanda and Burundi, where the government has committed to free education for all, this was again celebrated, and governments were asked to live up to these ideals. However, participants pointed to quality of education as an important issue.

> "Free schooling is a good thing but there are problems to solve: poor infrastructure, few teachers, overcrowded classes."
> Participant in Muramvya, Burundi

In other workshops participants noted that fees for education were a central part of their financial planning, and placed a serious burden on their ability to save or invest in their livelihoods. **Hard decisions had to be made on whether or not to send children to school**. For many children played a role in family livelihoods by working on land and combined with school fees, sending them to school would equal a large reduction in overall income. Accessing services is a serious challenge for those in post-conflict situations.

The association between conflict and access to services and quality education was raised in several countries. Conflict was noted to present critical constraints to displaced populations, as well as communities transitioning to post-conflict situations. In Mali conflict has led to the destruction of much social infrastructure, and internally displaced people have low levels of income, and so accessing services is extremely difficult. These bottlenecks collectively continue to hamper effective implementation of government policies aimed at improving access to education services in different countries in Africa.

The **quality of overall education facilities** was consistently remarked upon. The quality of school buildings, the availability of books and other educational materials

ACCESS TO QUALITY SERVICES

were the most frequently raised issues. In terms of education personnel, participants complained that there were not enough teachers, that these teachers were not well trained and so could not provide enough high-quality education and that too frequently, government departments did not support them, with many remaining unpaid.

> "Here in N'Débougou the educational problems boil down to poor infrastructure, lack of teachers, overcrowded classrooms."
> Drissa Sogoba, Molodo, Mali

> "Teachers are there but their own children go to private schools. They know the standards in public schools. These standards have lowered the grades in the area and we can't produce better leaders because of it."
> Participant in Mount Elgon, Kenya

In others there was a strong call for more access to secondary school. This was often linked directly to an idea of education as a form of economic empowerment, a means for a family to secure better jobs and income. Accompanying this was an emphasis on vocational training and skills creation, especially for largely unemployed youth. This was often accompanied by an appreciation that despite gaining an education jobs were still hard to come by.

> "There are many youths who have completed secondary education but have nothing to do, I think we need to do something to support them, otherwise this is bomb that is about to explode."
> Participant in Mwanza, Tanzania

> "Before, there were not enough schools, students would travel so far to join their classes, yet there was some standard of education and they could find a job. Now, there is almost a school in every village, the standards are still not high and youth cannot find jobs. I find it ironic. What are the reasons? For me there's the question of the quality of training and education"
>
> Aissata Camara, Miono, Mali

HOUSING, WATER AND SANITATION

Whereas participants in the workshops focused mostly on access to health and education services, other areas they touched on include housing, water and sanitation. Access to safe and affordable housing was an issue raised in peri-urban centres in Ethiopia and Tanzania, with a view that governments were not doing enough to provide basic housing to expanding urban populations. Water and sanitation services were also mentioned as important basic services that needed to be provided.

> "Niono is a dirty city. We have the irrigation as a source of water in channels and canals. People bathe there, do laundry, wash their gear and animals and this is the same water we consume, often without treatment because many of us are unaware of the techniques of water treatment. Therefore, malaria, diarrhoea and other water-related diseases are the main diseases we catch."
> Mariam Traoré, displaced person and participant, Niono, Mali

Underlying all the views linked to the complaints over difficulties accessing basic services, especially regarding user fees, was the lack of social protection as a visible alternative. Although the concept of social protection in African countries is still developing, views from the consultations point to an understanding by citizens of the state obligations to provide basic protection for citizens irrespective of their status. Some participants raised scenarios where they were forced to withdraw from offered services because of costs, but the idea of social protection as a means to prevent this was not a familiar option. Stories of the tough decisions over where to place the little resources that people had were numerous. For the most marginalised this is especially true: two examples that came up in workshops were child-headed households and the elderly, neither of who had the means to access services.

"I urge our county government to put in place strategies to provide education for all for a better county; access to all, including the pastoral community of Chepkitale. They also have rights as Kenyans. We have walked for many years in search for health care services. The only district hospital in Kapsokwony has been in the same state for decades; imagine a district hospital without mortuary services. All major and emergency cases are referred to Webuye and Bungoma. This is not fair for the people of Mt Elgon. Health policies are very clear. We ask all stakeholders to reduce the distance we walk, especially our women who have lost lives while giving birth for lack of access and quality services. Health is our right."

Franklin Mauru, pastoralist and community activist, Mount Elgon, Kenya

ACCESS TO QUALITY SERVICES

SERVICES AND CITIZENSHIP

Underlying the experiences and perspectives of participants in the workshops was a persistent and visible frustration with governments' ability and willingness to respond to its citizens needs. There was an understanding that as citizens, participants had a right to demand of governments the provision of public goods, visible in the strong calls for universal access to health and education.

This would often find expression in criticism of local administrations inability to respond to their needs, or at national governments' inability to fund improvements. This is despite communities themselves appealing to elected representatives to provide service provision.

> "I used to bring cases to the national and local level on service provision, but I did not ever have support, which discouraged me and demotivates others to pursue the same thing. The lack of support is due to the fact that people who are supposed to be supporting us are all corrupt."
> Mr Ousmane, Lala village, Dari, Mali

In some instances this could lead to questioning the fundamental relationship between a state and its citizens; an understanding that the lack of basic service provision was evidence of a state that was broadly marginal to the lives of its citizens.

> "A lot has been done in our health and education sector but let's deal with corrupt fellows and demand for accountability in service provision. I have lived in this community and much less has been done towards the improvement of roads network. Do we really belong to this Government?"
> Mary Wanjala, teacher and social worker, Mount Elgon, Kenya

Photo: Pastoralists fetching water in Ethiopia. Credit: ACORD

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE POST-2015 FRAMEWORK

Citizens' views on state performance in provision of basic social services indicate progress in access to health and education sectors. In spite of acknowledged improvements, it is clear from the participants' views that several actions still remain to be undertaken. Although it is difficult to claim direct causation, these achievements could be attributed to the MDGs since they were heavily focused on the social services sector, and much of the resources and political commitment amongst development partners were directed there. The views generated from the consultations illustrate how these changes have manifested within the communities over the last 15 years.

While the health-related MDGs targets and indicators, which focused on vertical, disease-specific programmes in many countries, had positive impacts like significant improvements in awareness and treatment of HIV and AIDS, they have also received strong criticism. They were heavily dependent on external financial inputs and therefore created a dependency in countries. In addition, the targeted and reductionist approach to service provision, founded on skewed health care systems for specific acute care and response to end stages of diseases, weakened existing national health systems. The experiences of African citizens documented above underlines the need to design preventative, comprehensive and sustainable health systems based on the right to health.

In education the MDGs narrowing of the focus to access has been criticised for lacking a focus on quality of education. Its focus on overall access failed to consider factors like geographical location, age and income levels in access by marginalised groups, and did not focus on life-long learning and skills provision. These critiques found new and grounded articulation in the voices of African citizens, who gave personal insights into the problems in access and quality in remote and disconnected regions. For remote communities, it means investment in health in their regions, for others it means ending prohibitive costs to accessing health through health insurance schemes. Communities painted a picture of services that in rural areas were of poor quality, and again in which costs prohibited access. For many there were not appropriate education services for unemployed youth, including those who had completed secondary education.

Concerns on access to safe and affordable housing, and water and sanitation services, did not feature as prominently, but do point to the state's inability to effectively respond to citizens' needs that are critical for their wellbeing. These views can also be interpreted in terms of the need for understanding interactions in the different sectors. For instance, to effectively tackle communicable diseases for the urban poor requires actions in other sectors like housing and environmental management and protection.

The post-2015 framework has the opportunity to build on the achievements and correct the failings of the MDGs by focusing on universal access to good quality health and education services. However, this is not merely a case of guaranteeing better outcomes in these services. The citizens we spoke to were consistently aware of the responsibility of the state to provide public goods, and of their rights as citizens to demand them. Improving the access and quality of health, education as well as other basic services means building relationships between states and citizens, creating inclusive systems in which communities feel that services are responsive to their needs.

The following are recommendations for the post 2015 framework:

1. UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO QUALITY HEALTH, WITH A FOCUS ON MARGINALISED GROUPS

The framework should deliver a goal on access to universal health coverage. It should lay emphasis on addressing equity by emphasizing human rights approaches and addressing stigma and discrimination, and so should recognise and legally entrench citizens right to health. To effectively address inequalities will require goals, specific targets and indicators developed at national level to clearly track geographical regions and demographic groups not accessing universal and quality

services, as opposed to general national averages. Given that national and regional policies and frameworks often do not translate into effective coverage of services for all citizens, they should emphasize national action on ratification and domestication of all commitments linked with provision of basic services to citizens, including the Maputo Plan of Action.

2. STRENGTHENED AND TARGETED HEALTH SYSTEMS
The framework must include targets and indicators on the extent to which health services are responsive to citizens specific health needs, based on on-going disaggregated data analysis of the disease burden for different categories of the population, and on the level of infrastructure development that is able to detect health complications early enough and provide for rehabilitation and palliative care. These should be for national and local level, and devised in a participatory process with relevant stakeholders, privileging the views of communities. They must also include targets on the social and environmental determinants of health, communicable and non-communicable diseases, and have indicators related to investment in health systems. This should include strengthening health worker skills through training, routine supervision, adequate remuneration and working conditions.

3. UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO QUALITY EDUCATION, WITH A FOCUS ON MARGINALISED GROUPS
The framework should deliver a goal on universal access to primary and secondary education, recognising and legally entrenching citizens' right to education. Targets and indicators must also focus on attendance and completion rate when measuring access. It should ensure a balance between access-based measurement of success (number reached) and the quality of education, especially between the urban and rural areas and private and public education institutions, as well as access by vulnerable groups. This should include targets on numeracy and literacy, number of qualified teacher per pupil, and investment in and access to teacher training, as well as investment in school infrastructure and materials. These targets and indicators need to be agreed on at local and national level through participatory processes.

4. AFFORDABILITY OF HEALTH AND EDUCATION SERVICES
The framework should include national targets to gradually reduce all user-fees in order to eliminate any financial risk posed by accessing healthcare or education. This should include indicators tracking how public revenues finance health and education. The framework must explicitly recognise the state's responsibility to deliver health services.

5. LIFE-LONG LEARNING AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING
The framework must include targets and indicators on access to life-long learning, with specific targets on number of young unemployed people accessing vocational training courses. These must include disaggregated data, measuring access by young people in areas of high unemployment, as well as access by different vulnerable groups.

6. SOCIAL PROTECTION
The framework must mandate the establishment, according to national circumstances, of national social protection floors that guarantee universal access to social services and basic income security for children, unemployed, disabled persons and the elderly.

GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The workshops included sessions specifically aimed at capturing the experiences of women and girls. These sessions had their own methodology, and were aimed at creating a space in which women felt comfortable and empowered to share their own experiences and hopes for the future. In the discussions with women, they consistently recognised that achievements and advancements had been made towards gender equality and empowerment over the past 15 years, in particular the great strides made in women's participation in leadership and in the legal and policy changes in favour of gender equality and women's empowerment across the continent. At the same time they raised a number of critical concerns, highlighting issues they felt required drastic action. It is not possible to capture the entire breadth of the issues raised and instead this chapter outlines five key thematic areas that emerged in the discussions: violence against women and girls; access to and control over resources; women's citizenship and leadership; access to basic services with an emphasis on reproductive and sexual health services; and unpaid care and domestic work.

SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) deprives women and girls of their most basic fundamental rights of physical integrity, keeps them from attaining their fullest in social, economic and political spheres and causes widespread mental abuse and trauma. Many workshop participants shared their experiences and views on sexual violence. They talked about several forms of sexual violence. In Kenya a participant linked sexual harassment to the denial of rights.

> "Women are constantly violently harassed by men and denied their rights and freedom of expression." Participant in Kenya

Rape was an issue raised across the women-focused workshops. Participants discussed their experiences of rape and the fact that the constant threat of rape was a lived reality for many. In Mozambique a young participant shared a harrowing experience of rape.

> "Going to school one bright afternoon, I met three men who pushed me into the bush and raped me in turns. I went through the agonising pain as they took turns to rape me. Later they threatened me not to tell anyone or risk being beaten each time I meet them. I went to the victim support unit of Metangula police where I was helped. The perpetrators were apprehended and that's the time I learnt that they were soldiers from the nearby naval base." 21-year-old participant in Mozambique

For many, SGBV was closely tied to social norms and attitudes, traditional gender roles, and how power is distributed at household level. As much as awareness was raised as an issue, participants also focused on how legal institutions are able to enforce laws against SGBV, noting that even if they are reported there are few convictions. Customary and community-based institutions were often regarded as incapable of confronting this issue. In Tanzania, a participant shared the challenges that certain traditional practises posed for women and urged that laws be implemented to address SGBV.

> "GBV is a problem and mainly attributed to the patriarchal Maasai culture and traditions where men have a higher position in society and in the family. There are various forms of SGBV including but not limited to physical beating; psychological abuse; forced marriage; polygamy without consent from wife; misuse of matrimonial assets to remarry, which is considered as economic violence; and the customary behaviour of "mkuki mlangoni". These cases of

Mother and baby in Makamba, Burundi. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD.

GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

SGBV are aggravated by challenges including low reporting of cases, low collaboration with the witnesses and over-use of customary laws to resolve the cases. Yet the state law is very clear on SGBV, as it states that any oppressive practice or law should not be entertained." Participant in Ngorongoro, Tanzania

The last 15 years have seen a lot of publicity around the legislation to prevent and manage SGBV. Despite that very few countries have actually passed effective legislation to effectively address SGBV, and participants noted that local decision making structures need better representation from women if they are to adequately address the issue:

"When there are cases reported community leaders converge and take a decision on the matter. Most of the cases are decided in favour of the men as the committee is principally composed of men." Community development officer, Ngorongoro, Tanzania

Participants from fragile and post-conflict states talked about their experiences with conflict and sexual violence in conflict.The experiences recounted demonstrate the on-going issue on the continent of SGBV in conflict-affected societies. In Burundi participants discussed how a girl who has been raped, who joined armed movements by choice or by force, or who is a child mother from SGBV in conflict, is subject to stereotyping and prejudice. Girls who have suffered violence in war have their legitimacy in society questioned amongst their peers, within their families, in their communities, and in the eyes of official institutions. As a consequence, they are both socially and economically vulnerable.

"Lots of girls suffered violence during the war. Apart from the rebels, people from the neighbourhood did harm to girls and women. Most often, it was sexual violence and stripping them of possessions. If a girl or a woman tried to denounce the man who raped her, the latter could kill her because it was a war situation." Participant in South Sudan

Women in the workshops recommended concerted efforts by all in the community, especially in war-affected areas to ensure that there is adequate awareness-raising on violence against women and girls. The voices reveal that the dynamics creating stigma and discrimination, exclusion, human rights abuses at the local level for young boys and girls, both as actors and victims of the conflicts are consequences of systems and practices reinforced by political, economic, social or cultural factors.

"To ensure that girls affected by war and victims of violence are rehabilitated, NGOs and other groups must collaborate with the local administrators to ensure that people receive more intensified information, so that they respect the rights of young girls who are victims of violence, because they are not responsible for the consequences of the violence they have suffered." Participant in Burundi

Participants observed that in most countries that violence committed by intimate partners is largely still hidden, is accepted as a cultural norm and is condoned even by politicians and other prominent personalities. Participants observed that communities continue to justify this as a form of discipline and as a private matter that families should handle. Women in the workshops abhorred the violence and dominance experienced at home, but some men also highlighted how traditional gender roles are directly linked to violence:

"Women and girls need equality instead of dominance and suppression. They want to exercise their rights without any domination. The problem they face is traditional influence. Their husbands prevent them from going to market. There is household violence. Husbands want to be asked for permission. They cannot go to school without a husband's permission. In our society women are treated as children. They can't go far unless accompanied by an elder. They are not allowed to attend meetings."
Pastoralist participant in Borana, Ethiopia, father of one son and one daughter

WOMEN AS ACTIVE CITIZENS

Women also acknowledged that progress has been made in terms of active citizenship and participation of women in decision-making processes.

"Today there are many women leaders. In the past, girls and mothers were highly suppressed."
Female participant from Borana, Ethiopia

National legal frameworks and policies are increasingly open to promoting women's leadership both at national and sub-national levels but women's representation still falls below 30 per cent in most countries and most institutions. Where institutions have taken the requisite steps to include women in leadership positions this has been positively welcomed by members of communities.

"Despite the limited forums through which people can participate in the decisions of government, this current government has uplifted women in many ways. Women are given special considerations in all matters; for instance, there are special posts on different committees for women. At local council level I, there is a position for women. The same applies to local council level II and III. Even at parliament level, every constituency is expected to send a woman representative. This I feel has promoted their participation."
Female participant in Uganda

Amongst women, the opportunities for participation have not been equitable. Young women, women from marginalized communities and poor women have not enjoyed the same opportunities when compared to the more educated women from mainstream communities. For many participants in the workshops, the poorest and most marginalised women struggle to fully participate in governance at community, local and national level.

"Women are not allowed to speak in public or attend meetings."
Participant from Borana, Ethiopia

Participants at ACORD's citizen workshops identified a number of reasons why women have not participated as effectively in decision making. Discrimination, economic dependency, gender-based violence, time spent on domestic labour and other factors prevent women from enjoying their rights and entering and effectively participating in decision-making processes. Women's leadership is still not universally accepted. Participants noted that there is a need to reform political and other institutions in order to accommodate women and to end male dominance and patriarchy to avoid it further marginalising women.

GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

"Women in our community are facing many challenges. Men in most areas make the decisions. Cultural influence has also contributed a lot to this situation. Government and non-governmental organisations are trying to raise awareness on gender issues. However, there is still a gap to be filled."
Female, vice-chair of a women's saving and credit cooperative, Ethiopia

At the same time the workshops emphasised that in many areas women are actively engaging as citizens in order to represent their interests, and that this must be built on and supported. Participants noted how the mobilisation and active participation of women has an effect on the political economy within their societies. Association and empowerment has led to recognition.

"Our association, composed of 113 women, is now being courted by politicians during this legislative campaign October 24, 2013, because they know that we are now aware that our ballot is our weapon." Female participant, Niono, Mali

Participants outlined the need for spaces and opportunities for women at sub-national level that offer better opportunities for promoting younger and marginalised women's participation. In the workshops women consistently raised as an issue the importance of participating in local decision-making structures.

"The major solution I suggested to solve gender imbalance is to create favourable conditions in the community through facilitating dialogues and forums, to allow us to make decisions."
Female, vice-chair of a women's saving and credit cooperative, Ethiopia

For women, the importance of having a voice at the household level was as important as having a voice at community level. As noted in other sections above, women identified oppression and dominance at home as a challenge to their overall empowerment, and their ability to make crucial decisions about their families.

"In households of married couples old traditions and cultures and values predominate. It is men who make the decisions on income-generating activities, marketing production and even the allocation of revenue. They control everything! They don't even allow you to sell the flock without any prior consultation."
Female participant in Rwanda

A regular theme across the workshops was that women bore responsibility for wellbeing across their communities, more so than men. Women are expected to respond to the needs of a wide variety of dependents and community members. Participants noted that in this sense if women are empowered to be able to make financial decisions, it would have wider positive outcomes within their communities.

"When we empower women in the community, it is very important because a woman will support her community. If she has some money she will spend wisely and the community will benefit from this. Women help children and more so the ones who cannot sustain themselves. Let's empower women to stand strong in the society." Female participant, Mount Elgon, Kenya

ACCESS TO SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH RIGHTS

A clear trend that emerged in the workshops was that African women are still unable to make reproductive health choices due in part to lack of economic autonomy. Negative attitudes towards women and girls, sexual violence and negative traditional practises all have an impact on women and girls ability to choose. Violence against women accounts for an unacceptable percentage of complications related to labour.

> "The practice of cutting young girls in our community is very dangerous; it causes death when they are delivering their babies because they lose a lot of blood."
> Traditional birth attendant, Ngorongoro, Tanzania

The dearth in services especially in poorer and marginal communities was of equal concern to both men and women.

> "We are tired of watching our wives die because there is no hospital in Turbi where they can give birth." Male participant, Turbi, Kenya

Citizens from all the countries emphasised the concerns about distances from services. Many shared cases of relatives who had died either on the way to get maternal health services or at the clinic waiting for someone to come in and attend to their patients.

> "Hospitals in this area are far from the people and hence most of the people die on their way to the hospitals. There are high maternal deaths in this area due to lack of better roads."
> Participant, Mount Elgon, Kenya

Reproductive health responsibilities are still borne primarily by women, who also earn less and have less control over household savings. Women highlighted the link between gender inequality and specifically the limited decision-making space that women have to the lack of basic services. A participant from Uganda expressed it this way.

> "Some men hijack resources meant for the women, which affects their access to services. For instance, if you have your chicken, your husband may sell them and use the money to meet his own needs and not the needs of the entire household." Female participant, northern Uganda

Unpaid care and domestic work by women and girls
Unpaid care work underpins all societies, contributing to wellbeing, social development and economic growth. It involves domestic tasks and direct care of people within families and local communities. Globally this burden is unfairly carried out by women. In Africa, the erosion of public services has also further transferred the burden to women. Participants in the workshops reflected this reality by sharing their experiences of how domestic labour restricts their ability to contribute to their families' welfare. The expectation that they must provide domestic care work means they cannot adequately build their own livelihoods, which impacts on their own health and wellbeing.

> "We, as mothers, are very challenged because our husbands go to work and we are left at home. Taking care of the children is hard work and most of the men go for work and come home very late when the children are asleep often on an empty stomach. Sometimes you find you can be visited by friends, but now because you don't have any other alternative, you will have to stay hungry until the time he comes back home." Participant, Mount Elgon, Kenya

GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Other participants outlined how the burden of domestic work means that they are unable to participate in decision-making processes, either because these processes are not designed to accommodate this reality, or because partners prevent them from attending decision-making meetings so they can attend to household work.

> "Women's participation in some decisions is in most instances affected by the time factor. Some decision-making events are organised at times when women have important domestic chores. Sometimes the spouses stop them from participating because they want them to do their domestic chores."
> Female participant and businesswoman, Ethiopia

> "Some men do not allow their spouses to work and to make matters; worse, the men do not meet all our financial needs. Some men have even taken over women's properties." Female participant and fishmonger, Uganda

> "I am a widow for 35 years and I have been raising livestock and doing domestic work since my husband died. Currently, I am part of an organisation and this has allowed me to enjoy the support of NGOs. Each year for five years, I have grown forage crops and it is only this year that the government has supported us with material and equipment. I haven't got any donkey to help me gardening. This means that it has been very difficult. I have to put time into this and other domestic chores. I need to identify other income generating activities too so I am thinking of increasing my milk production." Participant, Burkina Faso

GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Participants noted that the expectation by their partners that they must be responsible for domestic work and the fact that no services are in place to reduce this burden restricts their ability to access services such as education.

> "I am a grade 8 drop out and have a desire to go back to school but my husband does not support the idea." Female participant, Sanga, Mozambique

Access to technology and other government support services can save women time doing domestic work, and allow them to build more prosperous and sustainable livelihoods. Participants from Burkina Faso discussed how support is needed in order to access technology to improve livelihoods and decrease the burden of labour within the household.

Although women have moved gradually to productive work, this had not been matched by a similar shift in men entering the caring and unpaid care work fields. Public perception in Africa is primarily that domestic work is women's work and that dowry payments are meant to be adequate compensation for the time the women spend providing care for the family. Domestic workers are still primarily women, and remain undervalued and underpaid. Participants noted that these values need to be addressed within communities, and that the effects of doing so can have significant impacts on overall wellbeing in communities.

> "We used to get up at 5 a.m. to go in search of firewood or roots in lean periods and we could meet any kind of unpleasant surprises, even snakes and rapists. If it happens that the poor woman dies of snake bite, two or three months later, her husband remarries another who will rise at the same time to fetch wood. But this year I can say that these events are rarely seen. Through sensitisation carried out by village chiefs under the palaver tree, as well as those made by religious leaders, people are learning. Sometimes, we women are accompanied one of these chiefs to share our own experiences with men. This allowed us to relax a little because this year, the men helped us with our vegetable gardens and they cleared and rehabilitated the wells. Many women of my association tell their husbands to accompany them to the fields or the woods; others say they were helped by their husbands in clearing their land. Few women are now up at five o'clock in the morning to fetch wood." Member of a women's association, Mali

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE POST-2015 FRAMEWORK

The citizen-driven workshops were designed to give women an opportunity to share their own experiences and outline their priorities for the future of sustainable development on the continent. The women we talked to address a wide range of issues, and spoke honestly about what determines change in their communities and what holds them back from achieving it. These testimonies underline the importance of women's rights and gender equality in any debate over the future of sustainable development today. The insights provided by the participants demonstrate that women face specific and clear challenges that require specific and clear commitments and actions.

The realisation of sustainable and gender-equitable development requires a shift towards a more holistic and all-encompassing development agenda. Whilst acknowledging the progress made by African governments in advancing gender equality and women rights, the workshops demonstrate that these issues remain a major concern on the continent. From this perspective it is vital that the framework has these issues at its heart. The experiences shared by women in the workshops reflect the reality that women face disproportionately high levels of poverty and discrimination, and these inequalities lead to further marginalisation and vulnerability.

The post-2015 framework is an opportunity to strongly prioritise gender equality and women's empowerment, rightly putting it at the centre of efforts to build a better world.

1. STAND-ALONE AND TRANSFORMATIVE GENDER GOAL

The framework must contain a stand-alone and transformative gender equality goal. This goal will clearly signal the political commitment to gender equality and women's rights, and generate the resources necessary to achieve it. The goal should at a minimum address the issues outlined in the report above: sexual and gender-based violence; access to land, natural resources, credit, information and technology; promote women's leadership and participation; guarantee access to basic services including sexual and reproductive health services; and unpaid and unrecognised care work. The goal should also be grounded in existing and already agreed human rights frameworks, including The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPfA).

2. MAINSTREAM GENDER ACROSS ALL GOALS

Each goal within the framework must also include gender-sensitive targets that recognise the specific issues and constraints faced by women in that area. All indicators for all goals should also be disaggregated by sex, and where data does not exist, necessary resources must be provided to meet this commitment.

3. END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

The framework must have a comprehensive set of targets on ending sexual and gender-based violence against women. This must include specific targets on the social norms, behaviours and attitudes that perpetuate violence against women, including FGM and all other harmful traditional practices. It must include targets that address the fact that current mechanisms to provide justice and support to women are inadequate, with

GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

explicit recognition of and targets for both public and customary institutions, as well as indicators measuring access to justice and the effectiveness of justice institutions. It must have explicit targets and indicators related to SGBV suffered in conflict-affected and post-conflict states, which include indicators related to legal provisions, access to justice, support services and reparations and women's involvement in peace building processes.

4. PROMOTE WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP AND LEADERSHIP

The framework must have explicit targets for women's representation, in terms of numbers and capacity for participating effectively in public institutions at national, regional and local level, as well as customary and community-based structures. Commitment to and targets for citizen-led monitoring and regulation of policies is essential, and this should be disaggregated by sex. The framework must include an agreed measure, with targets, of how accountable institutions (global, regional, national and local) are to citizens, disaggregated by sex. There should be targets on decision-making power at household-level and community level, and included in the indicators for this should be a measure aimed at gauging women's attitudes to how this has improved.

5. INCREASE ACCESS TO REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES

The framework must commit to universal access to healthcare, with specific targets on the leading barriers to access, including affordability and lack of infrastructure. Targets on women's health and particularly reproductive health rights must include indicators aimed at reducing maternal mortality; indicators that measure the geographical availability of maternal care, with particular emphasis on vulnerable and remote groups; and indicators to measure the quality of maternal health facilities, including trained staff.

6. RECOGNISE, REDISTRIBUTE AND REMUNERATE WOMEN'S CARE WORK

The framework must have a target for reducing women's time spent in unpaid domestic work, with significant resources committed to provide the data to measure this. It must also include targets for increasing affordable childcare and community-care for the elderly, the sick and other dependents with indicators measuring access. Targets should also be established that are aimed at increasing investment in and access to labour-saving technologies in domestic chores small-scale food production, and be disaggregated by sex.

Photo: Women farmers in Moamba, Mozambique. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD

CITIZENSHIP, POWER AND POLITICS

For many participants the idea of change in their communities' wellbeing could not be separated from the issue of how power is distributed, how it impacts on resource distribution, and how this governs who will benefit from development initiatives and investment. Participants talked at length about their inability to participate in decision-making processes with particular reference to the cosmetic nature of consultative processes; corruption and patronage in resource allocation; the need for empowerment through political rights and improved policy literacy; devolution of decision making; and support to community mobilisation and organisation. Discussions on conflict featured heavily, and were linked repeatedly to issues of governance and citizenship. Emerging from these discussions was that development in communities was inseparable from politics, and from the relationships of power and accountability between a state and its citizens. The nature of development initiatives, including both the level of investment and appropriateness of initiatives, depends upon the nature of this relationship.

PARTICIPATION AND INFLUENCE

"Only livelihoods of those allied to the ruling party are improving, so growth is not inclusive. Participation of communities is only restricted to certain conversations. The government won't talk to our community about electricity or land. Only certain groups are consulted on certain issues." Participant, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

For the communities we talked to this meant that their ability to influence decisions concerning projects was limited. In Guinea the communities described how any consultation exercise, especially at national level, was "overshadowed by power." For many, networks of influence and power dominate how decisions are made and resources allocated, and it is extremely difficult for communities to have their interests represented.

"Democracy is for us something utopian, something which is not yet 100 per cent, but maybe 20 per cent. You can express your opinions or ideas but they remain a dead letter; they are worthless. Indeed, the grassroots are often consulted as a mere formality. Their opinions are not considered as important and decisions are made well before consultations happen! I think the crux of the problem lies not at our level but also within local authorities, who are unable to enforce or challenge a directive from higher levels but that does not fit with the realities of the population. Take, for example, the policy advocating monoculture: how can you expect us to take ownership of this policy when this policy aims to separate our knowledge from what we practice? If our suggestions were to be listened to, the population could accept and own this policy and its implementation."

Marc Niyonshuti, Gashora, Bugesera, Rwanda

"Decisions should come from the base. Proposals should come from the people, but instead they only come from political leaders." Participant, Medbougou, Mauritania

"We must follow like sheep. Leaders at higher levels make decisions without prior consultation with the base and we do not have the capacity to contradict them, even when their initiatives represent an unfair and heavy burden on our shoulders. For instance, each year, we're required to give significant contributions for the construction of classrooms, even though we have nothing to put in our mouths." Participant, Bugesera, Rwanda

This can result in projects that are dislocated from any analysis of local needs, and are inappropriate for the majority of people in that area. Decision-making processes that are held hostage to powerful interests prevent local knowledge and solutions, which are more likely to be appropriate for communities' needs, from being supported. In Mali communities noted that recent changes to the national law on agriculture recognise the roles and rights of smallholder agriculture, and attributed this to the involvement of the national peasants' organisation in its formulation. It underlines the fact that communities want policies to support local livelihoods, but that these must also empower people to use their own knowledge to decide on what is best for their needs. An example of agricultural infrastructure in Mozambique captures these sentiments.

"The government thinks it is everything. Imagine they constructed a market worth thousands of meticais at a place of their liking and no one is occupying it." Franco Ussene, Manhica, Mozambique

There was a strong emphasis on more participation in the policy formulation process, in resource allocation, and in the monitoring and evaluation of projects. This means that not only should the design of projects harness local knowledge, but that the implementation and continued delivery of projects and services should be more formally accountable to citizens.

"The government needs to first and foremost listen to us. The community is very clear on what we need, we have developed a plan for Turbi community, and we only need to be supported to make it a reality." Participant from Turbi, Kenya

"Apart from fear of harassment due to revealing malpractices, people do not know their civic right to participate. I feel that if they knew that it was their right to participate and report such malpractices, the fear of harassment would not be an issue. Government has not been so vigilant to sensitize people on their rights to participate in government and other development initiatives and it should come out and do so. Government should also make sure that there are forums that people can use to participate in development issues at the lower levels. Here, during the annual planning by the districts, the meetings are held at parish levels and we at the local levels are left out. This, I think, is because the local councils that used to mobilize us for different activities are no longer working."

Samuel Mugoye, Mokono, Uganda

CITIZENSHIP, POWER AND POLITICS

KNOWLEDGE AND POWER

Calls for participation were often coupled with a desire for increased policy literacy, an awareness of the policies that affect their lives. For many lack of knowledge amongst community members was one of the largest hurdles towards achieving effective participation. Often expressed as "ignorance", the knowledge gap between community members and officials was something that community members consistently said they needed assistance with.

> "The people in this community are too ignorant and they do not involve themselves in development because of it." Participant, Mount Elgon, Kenya

LOCALISING DECISION-MAKING

A strong theme running through these discussions on citizenship was an emphasis on working closely with local governments, which were presented as more responsive and accountable, rather than national or regional level authorities. In Tanzania, participants described the positives that have been gained from devolution, and how relations with local governance and traditional decision-making institutions allowed more scope for them to represent their interests and make their voice heard. In Chad and Kenya communities' talked about the many advantages that the devolution process could provide them, as it opened up new areas where they could exert influence on resource allocation decisions.

> "Currently the Buganda Kingdom arrangement of Bulungi Bwansi is the only form of mobilisation for communities to participate in development activities like roads and wells clearing." Livingstone Kayonda, Mukono, Uganda

> "Access to decision making of communities is a problem in Mozambique. There is no true democracy; for example, I used to be a member of the ruling party Frelimo and, one day at a meeting, expressed a contrary opinion to the majority present and surprisingly I was labelled as an opposition to the party and was expelled from the party."
>
> Berta Namata, Mozambique

CORRUPTION AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

For many, corruption is one of the most significant barriers to their communities' wellbeing. Of the different forms of corruption discussed, the most common conception was of elite capture of power by groups affiliated by political party, ethnic or other forms of identity, economic interest, or a combination of the three. For many connection to these networks is the most important factor in deciding on how, when and where resources are allocated and investments made, and who will benefit from them.

> "Only leaders and their relatives are beneficiaries of the constitution. The rest of us can wait for another five years for another election, if not a new constitution."
> Participant, Mount Elgon, Kenya

> "Because of corruption, people fear to participate in projects initiated by government, because they quickly identify malpractices by government officials. For instance, if a project is expected to use about 400 bags of cement, the officials may buy 100. Once such malpractices are

reported, then the individuals that report them are a target for arrests, denial of services, opportunities and the like. Also, officers that receive such complaints from the communities tend to turn a deaf ear because some of them benefit from the malpractices."
Jolly Namutebi, 37, Mukono, Uganda

Participation was raised as something that can counter this, but for many what was equally important was the absence of political rights. In South Sudan communities observed that despite peace, corruption was increasing, and that the recent spate of land grabbing in the country was a direct manifestation of corruption within the public and private sector. They linked this to the absence of political rights in the country, which has only increased corruption and restricted the opportunities that might have been offered to communities through the democratic process.

"There is no freedom of press and any journalist saying anything against the government is arrested and tortured." Participant in Juba County, South Sudan

A dominant theme in the workshops was that of the necessity of democratic rights in order to increase the communities' ability to improve their lives. For many this means increased knowledge of political rights. In Uganda participants said it was vital that communities became familiar with the rights afforded to them in the national constitution. In remote pastoralist communities, where interaction with officials and institutions is infrequent, it was often remarked that knowledge was severely lacking.

"Some of us have never seen or do not understand what is in the new constitution, so we do not even know which laws apply to us." Participant in Turbi, Kenya

Even where rights did exist on paper, effective enforcement and the means to access justice were of equal importance. For many even if there was an opportunity to take a case to court the legal system was either held hostage to the same elite networks, legal fees were too expensive, or administrative capacity too low for this to be an effective means of enforcement.

"My land was illegally seized. My husband was in prison. Whenever I claimed this land, I was told that I would receive compensation as soon as my husband would be released from prison. But after his release from prison, nothing has changed. They do not cease to impose improbable conditions that have nothing to do with the expropriation law in force. It leads us into going a just endless, exhausting, expensive, activities in administrative offices at different levels." Marthe Mukakalisa, Gashora, Bugesera, Rwanda

"We have been affected by conflicts in our county of Trans Nzoia. Trans Nzoia is a cosmopolitan county and has been prone to resource-based conflicts. The county has very fertile agricultural soils. In the on-going county appointments, it is apparent that there is no equity in representation in all county positions. Many people are not happy when one community is taking up all positions because they are the majority. Currently, there is a lot of bias in resource sharing. Our leaders must show responsibility because such can easily lead to ethnic tensions. Everybody must be represented as stipulated in our constitution."

Luka Naibei, Youth Leader, Mount Elgon, Kenya

CITIZENSHIP, POWER AND POLITICS

BUILDING PEACE

For ACORD, conflict and fragility amongst the communities in which we work causes reversals in developmental gains. When addressing what had changed for the positive in their communities, participants from Rwanda, Burundi, Guinea, Chad, Mozambique, and South Sudan all prioritised **peace** as of paramount importance to living well. For many, this was considered an on-going process, and something that needed to be sustained, as incidences of conflict have the potential to reverse hard-fought gains and destroy the assets needed for secure livelihoods.

> "We need peace. We are tired of wars and running up and down for safety, losing our dear ones and property." (Joseph Loro, from Juba County, South Sudan)

Massive displacement of people within countries and across borders is a defining feature of conflict. During the citizen driven workshops, participants from conflict affected regions attested to having their lives seriously disrupted. In Northern Mali for example, conflict has not only resulted in the massive displacement of populations but has also displaced host communities and their households, and put them in a situation of chronic food insecurity.

For the citizens in the workshops the underlying causes of mass displacement are conflicts over power, wealth and resource sharing. For many what is required is peace within communities, and the resettlement and granting of full rights to internally-displaced people (IDPs). Daniel Sambruma, a farmer from Mt. Elgon in Kenya put it this way:

> "We are advocating peace between people but we are not emotionally at peace. Complete peace will only be there when the IDPs are finally resettled"

NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONFLICT

A large proportion of Africans are dependent on natural resources and the environment to subsist. The natural environment is the foundation of livelihoods based on subsistence and commercial farming, animal husbandry, trade and mining. These activities are inextricably linked to the availability of natural resources and the sustainable management of those resources. Citizens described how the allocation, management and exploitation of increasingly limited natural resources can and do contribute to conflict in Africa. Land was the most predominant issue raised in this regard, and for many citizens accountable, citizen-led and rights-based management of land-tenure systems, free from elite-capture, was vital to ensuring sustainable peace.

> "We have been affected by conflicts in our county of Trans Nzoia, a cosmopolitan county prone to resource based conflicts. The county has very fertile agricultural soils. In the on-going county appointments, it is apparent that there is no equity in representation in all county positions. Many people are not happy when one community is taking up all positions because they are the majority. Currently there is a lot of bias in resource sharing. Our leaders must show responsibility because such can easily lead to ethnic tensions. Everybody must be represented as stipulated in our constitution." Lucas Naibei, Trans Nzoia, Kenya

Conflicts between farmers and pastoralists are rife in many parts of the continent. Often, these have a direct correlation to seasonal weather changes and competition over scarce resources, but are also related to the lack of fair and transparent management and enforcement of natural resource management.

"As farmers, we argue that our farms are not mobile like livestock. This is where conflicts start. When you report to the administration they don't act quickly; neither do they offer any solution. When my crops are destroyed and there is no solution, I will definitely react." Yassin, farmer, Tana Delta, Kenya

Observations such as these underscore the correlation between conflict, natural resource management and governance in the minds of the citizenry. In addition, the connection between drought and violence and conflict has been highlighted by participants in Kenya and Burundi where recurrent drought and food insecurity, coupled with uneven food distribution, have sparked violence between migrants and host communities over access to land.

BUILDING ACCOUNTABLE INSTITUTIONS FOR PEACE

For many communities that had been or are still going through national or regional level conflict, the issue of building a stronger and more productive relationship between citizens and states was an essential part of transitioning to sustainable peace. Strong and accountable institutions that are responsive to empowered citizens, rather than to elite networks competing for resources, was often raised as an example of how best to prevent future conflict.

"We have suffered too much from war and security problems. We want a developed country with strong institutions so Chad can have political stability. Changes of regimes in the war led us to lose everything, and to rebuild each time. Institutions need to be stronger, and to listen to the people." Mahamat Amine Richene, Doroti, Chad

In Chad and Guinea, both of which are transitioning from conflict, participants observed that one of the most positive developments over the last 15 years has been an increase in democratic processes, and awareness amongst communities of their rights. In Guinea a stronger awareness and national commitment to democracy is evident amongst citizens but also in government actions.

"I have been displaced from Lere and am presently residing in Niono. We left all our goods and the Islamists have taken or destroyed all of them. This includes my store which sold various items, our homes, livestock and even our clothes and utensils; we lost everything. Here in Niono, we lack any livelihood. We live thanks to support from NGOs. But we would like to start farming again, to practice agriculture for ourselves, so we can produce something"

Fatoumata Namakri, Niono, Mali, who was displaced by conflict in 2012

CITIZENSHIP, POWER AND POLITICS

For many participants discourse around participation was linked to that of strong institutions. For them, a strong institution is one that involves and is accountable to citizens. This extends to the resolution of conflict and the building of sustainable peace.

> "Involving grassroot participation will help resolve conflict. Everybody should be involved in the negotiations. Communities should be encouraged to dialogue for peace." Pauline Rono, Nandi County, Kenya

COMMUNITY-LEVEL MOBILISATION

Related to this strong focus on participation in governance and political rights was an affirmation of the benefits of community-level mobilisation and organisation, through community-based organisations, self-help groups, and forms of association. Community mobilisation through associations has allowed many participants to play a more active role in decision-making processes. In Dire Dawa, burial societies called Iddrs were talked about by participants as vehicles for citizens to pool resources and provide public goods and also to increase dialogue and partnership with official institutions.

> "Our community has exemplary practice regarding working in an association, utilising traditional community based organisations as vehicle for our development mission." Participant from Dire Dawa, Ethiopia

In Chad there were calls for further empowerment and financial assistance to community organisations, to allow them to form regional networks and combine their knowledge and resources. In Kenya and Ethiopia pastoralists said that producer organisations needed to be strengthened, and that this would lead to more productive relationships with official institutions. In Burundi and Mauritania community-based organisations (CBOs) were said to be the best way for citizens to increase knowledge of their rights and so CBOs needed to be supported.

Participants in Guinea, Chad, Burundi, Ethiopia and South Sudan all celebrated the fact that the role of women in decision-making is increasing. In some cases they made particular reference to the fact that women have particular problems accessing political space. In Mozambique, Chad and Tanzania, participants argued that women need more empowerment to take part in governance and decision-making, and in South Sudan, they said that this was the responsibility of the whole community.

Underlying this discourse around empowerment and self-determination was a principle of ownership and sustainability. Participants stressed that empowerment and the ability to participate would allow them to end reliance on external support.

> "Any help that does not prevent the future need for help should be rejected." Participant from Boffa, Guinea

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE POST-2015 FRAMEWORK

What the citizen-driven workshops demonstrate is that for communities on the ground, thinking politically is not a choice when it comes to development. When reflecting on how positive changes take place in their lives, participants repeatedly emphasised that how power is distributed is perhaps the most important factor in determining who benefits from development programmes, service provision and policies. Across the workshops participants spoke of what it means to be an African citizen, the challenges in making your voice heard and ensuring that governments are responsive to your needs. The overbearing image was of a fractured relationship between states and citizens, in which people felt disempowered and unable to see their interests represented.

The post-2015 framework offers an opportunity to build new relationships between African states and African citizens and this must be central to its vision, narrative and implementation. The framework will propose many different targets across different issues within sustainable development, but if these are to be successful, then it must also have a strong focus on citizenship and political accountability. The citizens we spoke to did not simply bemoan the fact that governments could be unresponsive, or that their voices were unheard. They offered a range of measures that could lead to a form of development based on harnessing their knowledge, respecting their rights, and empowering their active participation in governance. In doing so they offered a means to achieve peace and stability in communities often suffering conflict. These amount to a radical and bold ambition to craft a new form of decision-making in which citizens' influence is respected and encouraged in order to ensure development initiatives that are appropriate and sustainable.

In order to achieve this, the framework must include the following:

1. PARTICIPATION AND INFLUENCE

The framework must have at its core a commitment to ensuring citizen monitoring and participation. This should include the implementation of the framework itself, but must also contain provisions to ensure this is implemented for all decisions aimed at social and economic development. This means integrating the principle of free, prior and informed consent in all development programmes. A commitment to and targets for citizen-led monitoring and regulation of policies is essential. The framework must include an agreed measure, with targets, of how accountable institutions (global, regional, national and local) are to citizens.

2. FIGHT CORRUPTION AND GUARANTEE POLITICAL RIGHTS

The framework should mandate the legal domestication of globally agreed protocols and agreements on the rule of law and human rights. This should include ratification of the UN Convention against Corruption. The framework should seek to guarantee freedom of speech, a free press, the right to assembly and association, and the right to vote and be elected in public office. This must include ratification of globally and regionally agreed protocols and agreements, and accountability and monitoring mechanisms to ensure their implementation.

3. PROMOTE ACCESS TO JUSTICE

The framework must include measurements on the independence of judiciaries and legal systems must be converted into nationally applicable targets. There must be national and local targets on access to justice, with indicators that include affordability and confidence in justice services. A target on equal access to justice for marginalised groups and remote areas must also be included.

4. PEACE AS AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The new framework must have at its centre, in contrast to the MDGs, an acknowledgement of peace as a central pillar of sustainable development. It must be equipped with the means to ensure that interventions for sustainable development are rooted in analysis of local realities, and privilege the views and voices of those affected by conflict. It must have clear goals and targets related to the resilience of communities to disasters and shocks, both natural and man-made. It should measure the extent to which citizens are central to the design and operation of peace-building, state-building and other peace processes. It must recognise and promote the need for sustainable and community-led management of natural resources (see chapter one). Finally, the framework must address the drivers of conflict as articulated in the Peace-building and State-building Goals (PSGs) and other credible peace-building frameworks.

5. ENSURE PEOPLE ARE INFORMED AND AWARE

The framework must create incentives to increase citizen awareness of rights and policies that affect them. There should also be a measurement developed, and targets and indicators, for transparency and openness in the development of policies that impact on citizens, including budgetary, legal, fiscal, and development policy. This should also measure how this information is conveyed, meaning it must be timely and understandable. Transparency commitments should also be part of a wider partnership, with targets for the private sector and other development actors.

6. SUPPORT COMMUNITY MOBILISATION

The framework must ensure official institutions at every level function more effectively when linked with community-based organisations, producer groups and other civil society organisations, and so should have targets for financial and non-financial support of these organisations. This should be disaggregated to allow associations supporting marginalised groups, or those from remote regions, to be adequately supported, as well as means-tested. Accompanying this should be measurements on how much the enabling environment is conducive for allowing citizens associations to participate, which monitors legal environments and state practice to assess the extent they allow these organisations to operate.

SECTION 2:
ENSURING EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC OWNERSHIP OF THE POST-2015 FRAMEWORK

Across the workshops, participants regularly brought up two fundamental points, both of which have important implications for the structure of the post-2015 framework. The first was that interventions, whether by national or local institutions or by aid agencies, were often inappropriate to the specific needs of the communities we talked to. For example, in Burundi participants explained that they had no role whatsoever in deciding what seeds were to be subsidised by governments, with the result being that the seeds used were not appropriate to the marshland environment in which they farm. The lack of localised policy design and implementation ended in unsuitable interventions that wasted resources and did not help communities. Participants underlined the importance of harnessing local knowledge, on everything from cultural norms to where the best place is to pave a new road, in the design of development interventions. This can also be an empowering exercise, in which citizens become equal partners in their own development, rather than merely recipients of aid or public programmes.

Secondly, participants underlined a clear and inexcusable accountability gap in programmes for socio-economic development. The absence of a role in formulating policies is compounded by the inability to challenge them. Faced with badly designed programmes with severe lack of investment in services and with local and national level corruption and mismanagement, citizens pointed out that accountability is often entirely absent from their relationships with decision-makers. The obligations of states and other actors to take responsibility for their actions, to explain and justify them, and to have systems and institutions in place that allow them enforce a change in behaviour, are not present according to many participants.

Both of these critiques find resonance in the design and implementation of the MDGs. The MDGs were global targets, broadly perceived as originating from a northern-led process of design and a donor-based agenda. They set quantifiable targets that aimed at building global commitment to and mutual action on poverty reduction. Although often adopted as national-level targets, the goals were global in nature. This has created problems in reporting on the goals, with countries at different starting points facing the same targets, even if they are inappropriate to that country's context. The MDG framework also gave no clear information on, or any mechanisms in place to define, how the goals were to be achieved at national level. This meant that goals and targets were not aligned with country priorities and existing development plans, and that the local knowledge and needs of citizens could not be used to elaborate how the goals would be implemented.

Related to this is the absence of clear accountability in the MDG framework. The MDGs were rightly presented as a partnership between various actors, including donors, national governments, international institutions and other stakeholders. However, this was not accompanied by clearly defined responsibilities for each of these actors. If, for example, a target is not being met in one area, it is difficult for citizens to hold the relevant institution to account. This is further compounded by the lack of accountability mechanisms specific to the framework, or any clear relationship between the framework and existing accountability mechanisms.

For the post-2015 framework to effectively build a new relationship between citizens and states it must be rooted in national contexts and national governments must have primary ownership of it. This means the framework must mandate and empower national and local application of goals and indicators. The idea should be to provide national democratic ownership of the development process. This will not only mean the framework is compliant with recent progress in the aid

Photo: Busy market street in Nouakchott, Mauritania. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC OWNERSHIP OF THE POST-2015 FRAMEWORK

effectiveness agenda, which prioritises country ownership, but that it firmly acknowledges that development in the next 15 years cannot be conceived of within the north-south aid dynamic. Public expenditure and domestic resources are vital in providing public goods and in strengthening the relationship between states and citizens. Above all, national democratic ownership of the post-2015 framework can lay the foundations for effective and meaningful participation by citizens in the formulation of plans for implementation. The framework should mandate the creation of multi-stakeholder, participatory, empowered and country-led bodies to decide to translate global goals into appropriate country targets and indicators, review existing national and local plans for social and economic development, and plan on how the targets will be mainstreamed into them. These bodies should privilege the role and voices of citizens, and grant them institutional authority in the bodies' decision-making processes.

Accountable governance must also be at the heart of the framework, which should clearly outline systems of accountability and how they will be enforced. The post-2015 framework should have clearly defined responsibilities for a number of different institutions, at global, regional, national and local level, as well as the private sector and civil society. Defining the roles and duties of these institutions is vital, as is building, empowering and mandating strong accountability mechanisms to ensure these responsibilities are adhered to. At the same time, the framework must not undermine and, where appropriate, should use and strengthen, existing accountability mechanisms. Underlying all of this should be the idea that citizens themselves must have the resources, awareness and institutionally defined mandates to take part in and access these mechanisms.

A central part in ensuring that the framework is accountable to citizens is through effective and participatory monitoring mechanisms. This should be based on extensive and deep measurements of local realities. The framework should galvanise and resource a revolution in data generation. This should be aimed at gathering accurate measurements across social, economic and environmental issues and across different demographic groups and marginalised communities at disaggregated levels. Monitoring should privilege the role of citizens in ensuring programmes and policies are responsive to their needs, and build an effective role for them in both data collection and monitoring.

STATES, CITIZENS AND DOMESTIC RESOURCE MOBILISATION

The scale of resources needed to achieve sustainable development in Africa is immense. The OECD estimates that the cost of halving the number of people living below $1.25 a day in sub-Saharan Africa is $4.2 billion[8]. The World Bank estimates that the adaptation to and mitigation of climate change in Africa will cost $30-50 billion a year[9]. The annual cost of addressing Africa's infrastructure gap is estimated at a bare minimum of $31 billion[10]. The measures outlined by citizens in this report, and the associated recommendations for the framework, imply a significant expenditure, a large proportion of which is public. If the post-2015 framework is to transcend the scope of the MDGs, and if it genuinely attempts to tackle the issues at the heart of providing sustainable development, then financing must be central to the agenda.

At the centre of many of the solutions proposed by citizens is a more responsive and inclusive state which will support the sectors where poor people work, provide universal access to quality services, guarantee women's rights, and be accountable to its citizens. Across the workshops citizens asserted that their governments are the primary actors in their own development. For the state to respond to these concerns it must have adequate and reliable finance. Declining aid flows and volatile foreign direct investment will not match the requirements needed, meaning the role of domestic resource mobilisation (DRM) in financing the development process will be essential beyond 2015.[11]

DRM chiefly through taxation, is already firmly on the agenda of African states as a key priority. It was also recognised as a top priority of the Monterrey Consensus on Financing for Development, adopted by heads of state of the United Nations in 2002. Moreover, its significance as a means to finance development is already growing. African governments already raise over ten times more revenue through taxation than through aid[12]. Taxes per capita have been increasing in Africa throughout the last two decades[13].

The potential for DRM on the continent as a means to finance development is also very significant. As an example, between 2004 and 2008 tax-to-GDP ratios in East African Community states ranged from 12.3 per cent to 22.1 per cent. In South Africa, one of biggest economies in Africa, it was 25.4 per cent. In OECD countries it was 35.6 per cent[14]. If all African states raised just 15 per cent of GDP in revenue, governments across the continent would have an extra $200 billion in expenditure every year[15].

But it is a mistake to see DRM as a technical exercise in raising revenue, as simply a means to finance development programmes and projects. Financing development through domestic resources will produce important political changes regarding development processes. African economies have traditionally relied heavily on aid and foreign earnings from resource exploitation. This has tied the continents future to the priorities of aid providers and to the volatility of commodities markets. This had significant impacts on the direction of public expenditure, country ownership of the national development process, and to the continent's voice in the global political arena.

Most importantly, increasing DRM has the potential to transform the relationship between states and citizens. Citizens across the workshops have detailed failings in the relationship between states and citizens, centred on providing services and increasing accountability.

However, this relies on building tax systems that are considered fair and just by citizens, and which are aimed at correcting inequalities. This will also rely on a level of transparency in revenues and budgeting, and citizen engagement in these processes. Increased DRM has the potential to build more equal societies, firstly by providing the resources for universal access to services. But

Photo: Pastoralist woman in Mio district, Borana, Ethiopia. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD

STATES, CITIZENS AND DOMESTIC RESOURCE MOBILISATION

they can also increase revenue collection from sectors that have disproportionally benefited from Africa's economic growth. A significant contributor to the low levels of DRM on the continent is the tax preferences given to many groups and companies, in the form of credits, reductions and exemptions[16]. The extent to which these are based on sound economic rationale and political reasons or corruption is open to interpretation. But a tax system aimed at fair and equitable contributions to the public purse, which has high levels of transparency and citizen engagement, would likely impact on this trend.

A tax system that is aimed at increasing state-citizen relations must also be progressive. Taxation should not overly burden the already poor to the extent to which it deepens poverty and exclusion, and so tax systems must to some extent have a progressive element, and a distributional impact. It is vital that as DRM increases, the impact of tax systems on the poorest and most marginalised groups must be monitored.

Although African economies differ, there are some areas where significant increases could be catalysed through the post-2015 development framework. For starters, a post-2015 development framework which considers taxation an important means of financing development could stimulate a global settlement on taxation rights over multinational companies (MNCs). There is a strong argument to be made that current distribution of taxation rights is unfair on developing countries. A commitment to increase their share would substantially increase revenue.

An area of large potential for increasing state revenue is in curbing illicit financial flows. Estimates vary on the extent of illicit financial flows from developing countries, but conservative estimates suggest the total far exceeds that of aid received[17]. It is vital that the post-2015 framework tackles the issue of illicit financial flows related to money laundering for illegal and criminal activities, such as drug trafficking and illegal weapons sales. These are estimated at between 30 to 35 per cent of illicit financial flows. In relation to DRM, illicit flows emanating from commercial activities are vitally important. This includes trade mispricing, money moved abroad through profit laundering, and aggressive tax planning . The main beneficiaries are MNCs, and tax havens and secrecy jurisdictions. These activities are estimated to be over 60 per cent of illicit flows.

For Africa the scale of illicit flows is staggering. It is estimated that the total illicit flows from the continent over the last 38 years are close to $1.8 trillion. The developmental potential of this capital should not be underestimated[18].

Related to this issue is the beneficiation of natural resources in the continent, with many illicit flows from the continent related to the natural resources sector. Recent estimates find that oil-producing economies on the continent have registered the largest losses in illicit flows, losing $732.8 billion in the period from 1980-2009[19]. Although in many countries this sector represents a large proportion of revenue streams, African countries still receive less money from resources, and those that are received are not being adequately used to fund development[20]. Natural resource rent sharing remains a crucial development issue on the continent. As new discoveries of resources emerge on the continent the potential loss in domestic resources is immense. Fair sharing of rents, and their use in national development, is vital in improving state-citizen relations.

Within discussions over increasing DRM, it is important to recognise that for many low-income and conflict-affected countries, there is not a significant enough or potential tax-base to finance sustainable development to the levels needed. The size of a country's private sector, the diversity of the sector, and its levels of investment, need to be developed to reach a level where DRM can match development needs. This means that the post-2015 framework must have adequate

STATES, CITIZENS AND DOMESTIC RESOURCE MOBILISATION

provisions across its goals for developing countries to build diverse, robust economies. It also means that in terms of financing external resources will still be vital. In this sense the framework needs to ensure aid, climate financing and innovative sources of financing are subject to new and binding commitments.

With this in mind the framework should:

1. INCREASE DRM AND BUILD A JUST TAX SYSTEM AT NATIONAL LEVEL

The framework must include a goal on DRM, which commits to a ratio of tax to GDP level agreed at national level through a participatory process. Measures of the progressivity and redistributive impact of the tax system, with agreed targets at national level, and significant investment in the analytical capacity are vital to achieve this. To increase taxation rights of African countries over MNCs a globally agreed target of increasing tax revenue from MNCs in developing countries should be included, with a minimum of 20 per cent.

2. INCREASE TRANSPARENCY IN BUDGETING AND REVENUES, AND PROVIDE INFORMATION TO CITIZENS IN AN ACCESSIBLE FORMAT

The framework must create incentives to increase citizens' awareness of taxation systems and budgeting processes. There should be a measurement developed, and targets and indicators, for transparency and openness in the development of policies that impact on citizens, including budgetary and revenue collection processes. This should also measure how this information is conveyed, meaning it must be timely and understandable.

3. REDUCE ILLICIT FINANCIAL FLOWS

The framework should include a globally agreed measurement of and time-bound targets to significantly reduce illicit financial flows, with long-term targets of ending all illicit flows. It must include a globally agreed measurement of and time-bound targets to significantly reduce tax evasion, with long-term aim of ending all tax havens and secrecy jurisdictions. Indicators should include the implementation and effective resourcing and administration of a wide range of policy measures needed to reduce illicit flows, including financial transparency measures, automatic exchange of tax information with developing countries, and country-by-country reporting for all MNCs.

4. INCREASE NATURAL RESOURCE BENEFICIATION

The framework must have agreed targets for increasing revenue from natural resource extraction, and targets for the amount of this revenue earmarked for pro-poor spending. It should recognise the policy commitments and aims of the *African Mining Vision*.

5. MEET AID COMMITMENTS AND OTHER FORMS OF EXTERNAL FINANCING

Developed countries must meet the 0.7 per cent of GNI as ODA targets, and all countries must commit to respect the Busan, Paris and Accra aid agreements. Developed countries should also meet commitment to mobilize $100 billion climate finance per year by 2020, with 50 per cent for adaptation. Globally agreed increases in innovative sources of finance for development should be included in the framework, including specific targets for financial transaction taxes and carbon pricing in aviation and shipping.

Photo: Microirrigation in Cankuzo, Burundi. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD

CONCLUSION

The citizen-driven workshops ACORD held in 13 different countries across the continent took place in very different settings to the high-level meetings that will decide on the contents of the new post-2015 development framework. From village halls in the southern plains of Ethiopia to community centres in the forests of Northern Mozambique, the workshops triggered debate and discussion in some of the most remote and marginalised communities in Africa today, with citizens reflecting on the challenges they faced, and their ideas for how they want to see change take place.

From our perspective these discussions are of equal importance to those that will take place in New York in the months leading up to September 2015. For the new framework to advance and surpass the achievements of the MDGs, correct their mistakes, and tackle the most vital challenges in sustainable development today, it is imperative that those with the power to decide its contents are hearing the opinions, experiences and solutions of those most affected by poverty today.

A myriad of issues, experiences and opinions were expressed in the workshops, which in total were attended by over 4,600 African citizens. This report has been an attempt to distil and synthesise those sentiments into a set of key messages and an agenda for change, with a set of recommendations for how the framework can address the issues that citizens have raised. Underlying almost every discussion that ACORD facilitated was the idea that to guarantee sustainable development on the African continent it is vital that a new relationship is forged between citizens and states. Citizens talked at length of how in their own communities were marked by a broken bond between citizen and state, in which states are not accountable to the needs and rights of their citizens. What is required is a social contract based on inclusive growth in small-scale food production, universal access to quality services, women's rights, and participatory governance. However, if the new framework genuinely addresses the issues raised in the workshops then the post-2015 framework offers an opportunity to rebuild this relationship.

The majority of the citizens we spoke to have livelihoods that depend on **small-scale food production** and **sustainable natural resource use**. These areas are suffering from a lack of investment, inclusive policies, land tenure security, and inappropriate market regulation. These challenges will only be exacerbated by climate change and resource scarcity, trends already being felt in communities across Africa. Citizens expressed belief that the small-scale agriculture, pastoralism and fisheries sectors, if given the right support through the framework, can be transformed into an engine of inclusive growth, food security and sustainable resource use.

Citizens shared their common experiences of under-resourced, inaccessible and low-quality services, particularly in health and education. The inability of the modern African state to provide these basic services was in many cases linked to a fractured relationship between governments and citizens. Participants prioritised **access to high-quality services** in the workshops. A framework aimed at providing this would address these needs, and build new levels of trust and accountability between citizens and states.

The workshops included sessions directly aimed at harnessing the views and experiences of women. They recounted how sexual and gender-based violence and the lack of reproductive health-rights, were a common challenge in their communities, and described how gender inequality is commonly manifested in the burden that women and girls face in unpaid domestic and care work, and their lack of voice in both the household and official institutions. The new framework must include strong provisions on **gender equality and women's rights.**

A common theme across these workshops was how the distribution of power could not be separated from how change and development was experienced. Resource distribution, and the question of who benefits from development initiatives and investment, were ultimately questions of governance. Participants spoke at length about the need for increased participation and democratic reform, and an end to corruption. The framework must focus on **participation, political rights and citizens' knowledge** to allow for relationship between citizens and states based on accountability, responsiveness and democracy.

The citizen-driven workshops did not extend to how the framework itself will be effectively implemented, but ACORD believes that the only way to ensure it can deliver responsive states and active citizens is to ensure it is both sustainably financed and under national democratic ownership. The financing of the framework should focus on **DRM** as a means to ensure this new relationship. A framework that allows for increased domestic resources and equitable tax systems will shift state accountability from aid donors and commodity markets towards citizens.

Implementation must be rooted in national contexts, and national governments and citizens must have primary ownership of it. This will require a commitment to **national democratic ownership**, through the creation of multi-stakeholder, participatory, empowered and country-led bodies to decide how to translate global goals into appropriate country and local-level actions. These bodies should privilege the role and voices of citizens, and grant them institutional authority in decision-making processes.

Photo: Members of Moamba Farmers' Association, Mozambique. Credit: Kristin Seljeflot, ACORD

ENDNOTES

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Photo: Recording voices from citizen-driven workshop in Chad. Credit: ACORD

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