

TST Issues Brief: Conflict Prevention, Post-conflict Peacebuilding and the Promotion of Durable Peace, Rule of Law and Governance*

I. Stocktaking

Peace, rule of law and governance are inter-related and critical foundations of sustainable development. At the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20), Member States reaffirmed “the importance of freedom, peace and security, respect for all human rights, [...] the rule of law, gender equality, women’s empowerment and the overall commitment to just and democratic societies for development” and reaffirmed that “to achieve our sustainable development goals, we need institutions at all levels that are effective, transparent, accountable and democratic.” (A/RES/66/288). The outcome document of the Special Event convened by the President of the General Assembly on 25 September 2013, called for a post-2015 development agenda that “promotes peace and security, democratic governance, the rule of law, gender equality and human rights for all.”

Peace, rule of law and governance are enablers of sustainable development outcomes in their own right. Various consultations have given these issues high priority in all regions of the world.¹ Progress towards achieving the MDGs has been hampered by violence, conflict, a lack of rule of law and weak institutions. These dimensions are interdependent, as one cannot be solved without addressing the others, as recognized by Member States in the Millennium Declaration, and reaffirmed at the 2005 World Summit, the 2010 MDG High-level plenary meeting, the Rio+20 conference and the 2012 High-level meeting on the Rule of Law.

As part of the development agenda, peace, rule of law and governance are about ensuring an inclusive approach and building institutions that ensure violence reduction, safety, participation, accountability, equitable social service delivery and access to justice to all, especially for the poor and vulnerable. Peace, rule of law and governance issues are all inter linked and mutually reinforcing. They affect peoples’ daily lives and are relevant to the development agenda. Because of this, the following questions need to be asked: can their children go safely to school? Do young adults have job opportunities? Can people access public services safely and without discrimination? Do police and courts protect people and provide effective service to all (including women and girls)? Do people know about and participate in governance decisions that affect them and their families?

Sustainable development, peace, rule of law and democratic governance are interrelated conceptually, as well as empirically at the national and global levels. Deficits in one country are likely to impact other countries through economic and financial linkages, migration, refugees, humanitarian crises, pollution, communicable diseases, violence and armed conflicts, terrorism, piracy, organized crime or trafficking in humans, drugs, arms or natural resources. Progressive globalization and regional integration increases the likelihood of these cross-border spillovers, which impact all countries alike – high, middle and low income. This was recognized by the Secretary-General’s High-level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda through the emphasis it placed on the external stressors that can lead to violent conflict, and impact development.

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Peaceful Societies

Peace is an enabling condition for sustainable development while violent conflict is one of the greatest obstacles to the achievement of the MDGs. The gap in MDG performance between conflict-affected and other developing countries is large and increasing. **By 2015, more than 50 per cent of the world's poor are likely to live in conflict-affected and fragile states and this percentage is projected to increase to 82 per cent by 2025.**² The High-level Panel on the post-2015 agenda recognized “peace and good governance as core elements of wellbeing, not optional extras”, as a “universal agenda for all countries” and as one of five transformative shifts that needs to take place in the post-2015 period: “Build peace and effective, open and accountable institutions for all.”

Violence is a global phenomenon

- 1.5 billion people live in countries affected by conflict, violence or fragility.³
- Between 500 million and 1.5 billion children experience physical violence annually.⁴
- 526,000 people die each year because of violence. 90% of these deaths are not related to armed conflict or political violence, but instead are a result of intentional homicide, etc.⁵
- Violence and insecurity exist in low, medium and high human development countries. Even amongst wealthier countries, 51 (out of 120) report severe homicide levels.
- Violence is the second leading cause of death for young men in developing countries.⁶
- Violence against women is a major cause of death, injury and poverty worldwide.⁷
- 35% of women worldwide have experienced intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime.⁸ Women exposed to violence are 1.5 times more likely to acquire HIV.⁹
- Some 28.8 million people have been displaced due to violence and human rights violations.¹⁰

The nature of violent conflicts has changed dramatically in recent decades. Violent conflicts have evolved from inter-state wars to intra-state conflicts and various forms of violence involving non-state actors, such as armed groups, rebels, gangs and organized crime. In the 21st century, violence and insecurity takes many forms, from large and small wars, to inter-communal political violence, gangs, profit-motivated violence, inter-personal and sexual and gender-based violence.

Freedom from fear and violence is a fundamental human right and the essential foundation for building peaceful and prosperous societies. The most visible threat to security is acts of direct physical violence, including sexual violence. These acts generate physical and psychological harm and create an environment of fear and uncertainty. **Many types of violence and crime – including non-violent manifestations – generate insecurity** and can undermine service delivery institutions (e.g. law enforcement, health and education). While all crime (including fraud and theft) can affect security and impact development, it is violence and organized crime¹¹ that is of particular concern. In this respect, it is critical to examine actual violence experienced and levels of fear.

The consequences of violence on various dimensions of sustainable development are significant and long-term and occur at the macro and individual levels. Violence causes death, debilitating injuries, disease, distress and displacement, destroys jobs physical and social capital, damages the environment, prevents educational attainment for generations and discourages investment.¹² The number of indirect victims of armed violence is often much larger than the number of direct deaths. Violence and abuse exacerbate conflict drivers and can be conflict drivers in and of themselves.

Many countries currently face cycles of repeated violence, displacement, pervasive humanitarian crisis, weak institutions and instability.¹³ Countries that have experienced conflict in the past have a high chance of undergoing a recurrence. About 40 per cent of countries coming out of violence

relapse within 10 years and 90 per cent of countries that had civil wars in the 21st century went through civil wars in the previous 30 years.¹⁴

Drivers of violent conflicts and crime are often related to deprivations and grievances linked to development and its broader dimensions. They need to be addressed through approaches that span multiple dimensions of sustainable development. Drivers of conflict can include socio-economic inequalities; inequitable access to social services and weak social welfare systems; absence of decent work (particularly for young adults); poor natural resources management; injustices; human rights violations and abuses; political exclusion (particularly youth and women); lack of social dialogue mechanisms; harmful social and gender norms and “cultures of violence” that may emerge in the aftermath of conflict and humanitarian crises. Disputes over rural and urban land possession or boundaries, in contexts of limited security of tenure, are often drivers of long-term conflict, representing a major bottleneck for development. They also include lack of knowledge and/or the capacity to address the psychosocial impacts of conflict; lack of transparency and accountability of public institutions; corruption and elite capture of state resources and widespread availability of small arms. Having lost their physical assets and social networks, displaced populations are among the most vulnerable, as are children, and they may be perceived as easy recruitment targets by rebels or criminal enterprises. The impact of violence and instability on children in particular can impede sustainable development for the future. Statistical analysis shows that correlations exist between income levels and violence and between income inequality and violence.¹⁵ Lack of access to food and rising food prices can be important drivers of conflict as seen during the 2007/2008 food prices crisis where food riots occurred in many countries.¹⁶

Widespread violence means development in reverse

- A country that experienced major violence during the period 1981 - 2005 had a poverty rate on average 21 percentage points higher than a country without violence.¹⁷
- Countries affected by severe violence have fallen behind twice as far than stable countries in reducing infant mortality since 1990.¹⁸
- People in conflict-affected states are three times more likely to be undernourished.¹⁹
- The share of primary-aged out-of-school children in conflict-affected countries increased from 42% in 2008 to 50% in 2011 (28.5 million children).²⁰
- The average cost of civil war is equivalent to more than 30 years of GDP growth for a medium-sized developing country.²¹
- The global economic impact of containing violence is estimated to be US\$9.5 trillion in 2012, or 11% of the Gross World Product.²²
- Trade levels after a major episode of violence takes 20 years to recover from.²³
- Violent conflicts can devastate ecosystems, release polluting and hazardous substances and lead to environmentally unsustainable exploitation and coping strategies.²⁴
- Conflicts exacerbate and create new vulnerabilities for natural disasters, which erode development gains.

Peace is an important enabling condition for progress toward the MDGs. Preventing conflict and building peace can result in important contributions to sustainable development. The links between conflict prevention, sustainable development and peace have been acknowledged. The Secretary-General’s 2001 report on the prevention of armed conflict explicitly noted that conflict prevention and sustainable development are mutually reinforcing activities (A/55/985-S/2001/574 and Corr.1). Member States have recognized the “benefits [of the prevention of armed conflict] for peace and development, in particular by addressing the root causes of armed conflict” (A/RES/57/337) and the role that conflict transformation can play in “creating conditions conducive to lasting peace and sustainable development” (A/RES/65/283).

Building national and local capacities for early warning, conflict analysis and conflict sensitivity, dispute resolution, dialogue and mediation is critical for addressing drivers of conflict. Experience has shown that conflict prevention, management and resolution, as well as peacebuilding efforts, are most effective when channeled through national and local institutions. For example, “infrastructures for peace” are homegrown institutions that create space for dialogue within and amongst communities and can address sources of recurring violence, build social cohesion and help address tensions and grievances. Integrating approaches that support social cohesion in education policies and systems can also bear important dividends for more peaceful societies. Inclusive participation in these processes is essential to ensure the interests of all are taken into consideration to building peaceful societies. Moreover, free, independent and pluralistic media, including local community media, are important for promoting dialogue, peace and reconciliation.²⁵

Sustained peace can bring rapid gains²⁶

- Since the end of its civil war in 1991, Ethiopia tripled access to improved water sources .
- Mozambique quadrupled its primary education completion rates between 1999 and 2008.
- Primary education enrolment increased in Rwanda from 75% in 2001 to 96% in 2008, and the under-5 mortality rate dropped from 208 in 1993 to 60 in 2001.

Rule of Law and Governance

There is international consensus that the rule of law is critical to sustainable development. The 2005 World Summit outcome document stated: “good governance and the rule of law at the national and international levels are essential for [...] sustainable development.”²⁷ The importance of rule of law was reiterated in the 2010 MDG outcome document²⁸ and the Rio+20 outcome document.²⁹ The Declaration adopted at the High-level Meeting of the General Assembly on the Rule of Law in September 2012 concluded that **“the advancement of the rule of law [...] is essential for sustained and inclusive economic growth, sustainable development, the eradication of poverty and hunger and the full realization of all human rights and fundamental freedoms including the right to development, all of which in turn reinforce the rule of law.”** It stated that “the rule of law and development are strongly interrelated and mutually reinforcing” and should therefore “be considered in the post-2015 international development agenda.”³⁰

The Istanbul Programme of Action agreed at the Fourth United Nations Conference on Least Developed Countries, in May 2011, to continue efforts to strengthen an effective, fair and stable institutional, legal and regulatory framework in order to enhance the rule of law and ensure stability, security and inclusive development. Commitments by countries on rule of law and governance have also been made in agreements on thematic issues (e.g. in the United Nations Convention against Corruption of 2005, the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States and the Open Government Partnership of 2011) or regionally (e.g. the Inter-American Democratic Charter, adopted by the Organization of American States in 2001, African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance of 2007 and the Bali Democracy Forum). The report of the High-level Panel on the post-2015 agenda also noted the importance of developing good governance and institutions that guarantee rule of law and impartial arbitration of disputes. The Report of the Sustainable Development Solutions Network, *An Action Agenda for Sustainable Development*, cited ten priority challenges and highlighted the rule of law as a means to reduce inequalities, calling for a transformation of governance whereby governments commit to upholding the rule of law.

Globally “an honest and responsive government” has ranked in the top five of people’s priorities in the “My World” survey, and improving governance was a strong cross-cutting theme in all the post-2015 thematic consultations.³¹

Rule of Law

The **rule of law is a principle of governance** whereby “all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to just, fair and equitable laws and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.”³² In addition, Member States recognize the establishment of the rule of law and justice as one of the key elements of conflict prevention, conflict resolution and durable peacebuilding³³ and the protection of human rights. An estimated 4 billion people, however, live outside the protection of the law³⁴ and those people that live at or below the poverty line face institutional, legal and administrative barriers that limit their ability to participate in society and be productive on equal terms.

Access to effective, fair, responsive and accountable justice systems, including state, and other forms of justice, is essential for addressing the underlying causes of lack of human security, poverty, inequality and marginalization. The provision of justice involves the ability of the state to ensure the peaceful resolution of disputes; the prosecution and punishment of crimes; and the provision of effective remedies for violations of rights. The independence of the judicial system, together with its impartiality and integrity, is an essential prerequisite for upholding the rule of law and ensuring that there is no discrimination in the administration of justice.³⁵ Barriers to accessing justice are still widespread especially for women, children, poor and marginalized groups and people living in communities affected by violence and conflict. The barriers include absence of justice services due to financial constraints and infrastructure gaps or damage; weak effective institutional capacity; the costs associated with accessing justice systems; lack of awareness, legal aid, assistance and information; lack of legal recognition; and absence of confidence in judicial integrity and court procedures which are too lengthy.³⁶ Children face specific barriers in accessing justice which is especially critical to protecting them from violence and exploitation and recruitment into criminal enterprises.³⁷ Poor and marginalized groups are also often penalized through the law by means of criminalization, prosecution and incarceration and excessive regulation and controls (that can include the imposition of heavy fines, unlawful detention of children, disenfranchisement from social benefits and infringement on individual privacy and autonomy).³⁸

Access to justice can be enhanced by institutional reform that addresses efficiency and integrity and eliminates discrimination and bias. For example, women’s participation in the provision of justice and security services promotes inclusive access, especially for children and women. Data from 39 countries show that the presence of female police officers correlates positively with an increase in the number of sexual assault reports. However, women make up only 9 per cent of the police force and 27 per cent of judges worldwide.³⁹ Access to justice also requires enabling people to understand their rights and remedies and to have access to services that support them in exercising those rights, including through legal aid and legal awareness and literacy.

Providing effective and accountable security and justice services that underpin the rule of law helps address cycles of violence and bring about peace and sustainable development. The capacity of a state to build and sustain effective justice and security⁴⁰ institutions is positively related to reduced levels of violence and to the ability of a state to establish a durable peace. Research has shown an association between weak governance and high levels of homicide.⁴¹ **Rule of law is also key to tackling external drivers of violence and conflict**, such as transnational organized crime, trafficking and illicit financial flows that flourish in the absence of functioning justice and security systems and that directly impact sustainable development.⁴²

According to the 2013 Global Corruption Barometer, the judiciary and police are among the institutions most affected by corruption.⁴³ **Strengthening the rule of law and democratic governance systems helps combat such corruption and safeguard better development outcomes.** Rule of law provides a framework that underlies the social contract between people and government, ensuring that the country's resources are channeled toward shared prosperity, in a peaceful and secure environment.

The rule of law assures transparency, predictability and accountability, which enables support to livelihoods and economic development. It provides for a safe environment to engage in productive activities and for institutions and businesses to establish and flourish; the possibility to enforce contracts; the regulation of labour and the promotion of opportunities for decent employment; the ability to establish and protect small and medium-sized enterprises; the possibility to enforce fair trade rules and promote access to markets by the poor. Legal and constitutional frameworks can foster improved use of a country's resources towards shared benefits for all. The rule of law can also enable states to protect their people against the harmful practices of third parties, including business enterprises, through prevention, investigation, punishment and the provision of effective remedies and redress.⁴⁴ Weakness in the independence and capacities of justice institutions to uphold and enforce rules and adjudicate disputes can be a significant barrier to investment.

The rule of law allows for better provision of basic public services. Experience with the MDGs has highlighted that establishing just and fair legal frameworks, effective systems for enforcement of rules and procedures and reducing corruption have enabled effective delivery of health, nutritious food, education, child protection and other social services.⁴⁵ **Legal identity is a first step to accessing public services** as well as to inclusion in economic and political processes (such as registering a business) and enjoyment of other rights.⁴⁶ Yet, lack of legal identity continues to be a major challenge. Globally, the births of 240 million children under the age of 5 have not been registered.⁴⁷ Approximately 12 million people remain stateless and without effective citizenship rights.⁴⁸

It is now widely recognized that improved security of tenure for land and property is critical to ensure social and economic progress across rural and urban settings and that the rule of law facilitates the protection of land, property and other resource rights.⁴⁹ The ability to secure and protect land and property rights is dependent on the ability of the state to provide a functioning legal and governance framework, and to enable its inhabitants and businesses to seek protection under the rule of law. When a full continuum of tenure security is recognized, from informal and customary types of possession and use to full ownership, it creates certainty about what can be done with the land or property and its use, increases economic opportunities and benefits through investment and protects from seizure and other encroachments and enhances the ability to mitigate land and property disputes, which often risk fuelling larger scale conflict.⁵⁰ This is critical because most developing countries use conventional land administration systems that cover less than 30 per cent of the country, leaving up to 70 per cent of inhabitants looking to informal and/or customary approaches for their tenure security.⁵¹ Protection and security of tenure for the rural and urban poor (including, for example, security of housing rights in informal settlements) enhances livelihoods and contributes to their resilience to withstand shocks, including through enforceable rights in the case of displacement or expropriation.⁵²

Governance

Governance is critical for inclusive social and economic development; environmental sustainability; and peace and personal security. These may be conceptually separate, but they are interlinked in influencing the trajectory of sustainable development. Governance is both an end in itself, and a critical pathway to delivering other development goals. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights confirms the individual's "right to take part in the government of his country, directly

or through freely chosen representatives [and] the right of equal access to public service” (Article 21). At the 2005 World Summit, Member States reaffirmed the universality of this principle while underscoring the “freely expressed will of people to determine their own political, economic, social and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspects of their lives.”

There is now a strong consensus that both markets and states are necessary for sustainable development. Democratic governance is central to balancing the social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainable development and to transforming national assets into sustainable development outcomes.⁵³ **Shifting to sustainable development pathways, poses a series of new governance challenges for developing and developed countries alike, as the world is going through an unprecedented transition.** The global balance of power is shifting; extreme poverty has dropped to historic lows; and new technologies are revolutionizing social behavior. Risks are rising as well. Inequalities are widening within countries, violent tensions are making some societies vulnerable to crisis and even collapse and competition is intensifying around natural resources. Meeting these challenges will require working on three dimensions of governance: inclusion, state capacity and accountability. These dimensions need to be developed in parallel to ensure sustainable progress towards the post-2015 development goals.

Inclusion should be at the heart of the development agenda. If growth is to be sustainable, it needs to be inclusive and accompanied by social justice, equality and respect for human rights and the environment. Societies in which groups are systematically excluded from political or economic life increase the risk of violent conflict that might reverse development gains.⁵⁴ On the other hand, inclusive political and economic systems, where groups and individuals can participate in decision-making and where people have the freedom to invest, innovate and communicate, are economically more dynamic and are better able to sustain growth over longer periods. Economic, social and political marginalization is often interlinked. Similarly, inclusive economic systems need to be sustained by inclusive political systems. Experiences from developed and developing countries show the positive impact of women’s political and economic empowerment on development.⁵⁵

National ownership is central to the process of inclusion. Together with robust and accountable institutions and transparent and inclusive decision-making processes, national ownership constitutes a prerequisite for a legitimate and effective system of governance that is respectful of human rights.

State capacity, at national and sub-national levels, remains essential for national ownership and for the effective steering of the future sustainable development agenda. To allow shifting to sustainable development pathways, governments need to establish an enabling framework that promotes the cross-sectoral integration of environmental and social values. Social and environmental justice and legal empowerment are needed to enable civil society to hold the public and private sector accountable for environmental impacts affecting their livelihoods and health.⁵⁶ The widespread failure to remove fossil fuel subsidies is an example of the challenges: despite irresistible technical arguments in favour of the removal of these subsidies, it remains the case that for every \$1 spent to support renewable energy, another \$6 are spent on fossil fuel subsidies.⁵⁷ A number of countries have incorporated references within their constitutions or established institutions to protect the rights of future generations. The provisions include responsible long-term considerations and conservation of biodiversity.⁵⁸ Sustainable development will also require significantly improved policy coherence across government to ensure the three dimensions of sustainable development are all addressed. In particular, many governments are faced with reconciling the competing demands of environmental protection and growth. Innovation and collaboration between people and government, for example, to diffuse new fuel efficient technologies, will also become key requirements for governments.⁵⁹ Strengthening local government’s ability to meet the challenges of sustainable development will also be crucial,

especially now that 80 per cent of the world's GDP comes from cities, as does 80 per cent of greenhouse gas emissions.

There is also a growing consensus that sustainable development not only requires capable states but also governments that are accountable to their populations.⁶⁰ Accountability mechanisms include administrative, political, judicial and quasi-judicial as well as social accountability systems to assure the quality of services. A growing body of research and experience demonstrates that corruption, for example, negatively affects development outcomes, and greater accountability can reduce corruption. Every year the developing world loses as much as US\$1 trillion in illicit outflows through corruption.⁶¹ Assets held by individuals world-wide in offshore banks amount to US\$11.5 trillion, representing an estimated US\$250 billion of lost tax revenues, annually. A recent study revealed that 76 per cent of women surveyed consider that corruption has prevented their access to public goods and services.⁶² The 168 state parties to UNCAC show the global consensus on this aspect of accountability. Hence, governments are increasingly recognizing the value of openness and transparency for promoting growth and improving service delivery.

Openness and transparency are also associated with better socio-economic and human development indicators, higher competitiveness in international markets and lower corruption.⁶³ Fiscal transparency in particular is increasingly linked to improved development outcomes, as are freedom of information acts.⁶⁴ As a result, over 60 states have committed to the principles of the Open Government Partnership, with growing demands to expand these principles to other actors, in particular the private sector, civil society and private foundations. A degree of consensus is emerging around the importance of transparent governance and access to information as cornerstones of inclusive political and economic institutions.

National parliaments and assemblies have played critical roles in many countries in support of the MDGs, and, in light of their law making, budgeting and oversight functions, could play an even greater role in ensuring accountability of governments post-2015. Analysis of cross-country data shows a correlation between the increased number of women representatives in national parliaments and reductions in corruption. Ombudsman offices and national audit agencies could further contribute to sound governance and administrative accountability systems. Citizen engagement at many levels is also being shown to contribute to improved development outcomes. Democratic governance principles and processes favour stronger accountability mechanisms: transparent and responsive institutions, active and representative parliaments as well as vibrant, diverse and independent citizen engagement.

Many surveys around the world have repeatedly shown the widespread embrace of these democratic governance principles.⁶⁵ In recent years, numerous Member States have made significant strides towards more inclusive politics, transparent and accountable governance, and a more capable state. At the same time, efforts have continued to support a more empowered media and a more informed and engaged civil society.⁶⁶ Amartya Sen has argued that famines do not occur in democracies, thanks to the constructive role of media in exposing government failures.⁶⁷

Democratic governance is a set of values and principles that are essential to achieve sustainable development. Democratic governance is expressed differently across countries and there is no "one-size-fits-all" model. In essence, democratic governance allows people to freely choose their leaders and participate in the shared building of their future, beyond voting in elections alone. It entails a comprehensive system that strives to provide fundamental rights and guarantees for full citizen engagement, equity, inclusion and institutional accountability, while also ensuring that people are protected from arbitrary actions by governments and powerful corporations.

Cross-Cutting Issues

Natural Resources

At least 40 per cent of internal conflicts over the last 60 years are linked to competing for natural resources. The risk of violent conflict is elevated when the exploitation of natural resources causes environmental damage and loss of livelihoods or when benefits are unequally distributed. These risks may rise as climate change impacts the availability and distribution of natural resources. Poor people rely disproportionately on natural assets and are vulnerable to climate and scarcity risks.⁶⁸ Women and girls also face specific threats due to their roles in maintaining family welfare, food production and water collection, particularly in humanitarian crises. Sustainably and transparently managed natural resources can be the engine for economic well-being and a platform for peace.⁶⁹

The extent to which countries succeed in negotiating good resource contracts; consulting and ensuring the participation of local communities; regulating and governing the natural resource sector; preventing illegal and illicit exploitation; and using resource revenues for job creation, public services, infrastructure and economic diversification will define their ability to achieve sustainable development.⁷⁰ **Rule of law enables the sustainable use of natural resources** by enshrining land, environmental and resource rights in constitutions and legislation; enforcing regulations; bolstering environmental protection frameworks; and defining rules for natural resource exploitation and land governance.⁷¹ Justice – including participatory decision-making systems, access to information, grievance mechanisms, judicial and administrative proceedings and protection of vulnerable groups from disproportionate adverse environmental impacts – should be seen as an intrinsic element of sustainability.⁷²

Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality

Women's empowerment and gender equality in public, political, economic and social life are strongly associated with good governance, rule of law and peace. Gender equality is an objective in itself. Research shows that where women have access to employment, participate in public decision-making and enjoy equal property and inheritance rights, countries reap the rewards through lower levels of corruption and a lessened propensity to engage in intra and inter-state conflict.⁷³ In 98 economies equal inheritance rights were related to a higher likelihood of women having formal bank accounts and credit.⁷⁴ Gender equality in the areas of education and employment make a marked contribution to human development and economic growth,⁷⁵ while women's leadership contributes to inclusive, transparent and democratic governance,⁷⁶ as well as conflict resolution.⁷⁷

Women and girls often face particular challenges in accessing legal protection that facilitates their economic and social opportunities. In 21 of the 63 countries with available data, women have unequal inheritance rights. Gender asset gaps may be linked to unequal marital property regimes as well.⁷⁸ Women also face discriminatory legislation and gender biases in the prosecution of gender-based violence, particularly between intimate partners, because of gender-discriminatory laws and gender-blind procedures for registering cases providing testimony and administering reparations. Gender-based violence is a pervasive and global phenomenon. Access to justice to address these deficits is especially critical for the empowerment of women, yet chronic challenges remain in this domain.⁷⁹

A feature of gender-based inequality is a failure to recognize or enable women's roles in conflict resolution and as agents of change in building peaceful and democratic societies. States with 10 per cent women in the labour force are nearly 30 times more likely to experience conflict than states where women make up 40 per cent of the labour force.⁸⁰ **Post-conflict recovery efforts, from transitional justice to economic recovery, tend to ignore women's needs.** Patterns of discrimination

are repeated or exacerbated, and the social, democratic and peace dividends from investing in women and girls' education, health, including reproductive health services, and employment are not realized. The issue of personal security for girls and women is central to women's rights and is a measure of, and a contributor to, gender equality. High levels of violence against women are particularly prevalent in conflict-prone situations, and sexual violence – which is also perpetrated against males – has been recognized as a tactic of warfare.⁸¹ Women's participation in conflict prevention and peacebuilding is essential to promote the full enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by women and girls whether in peace or at times of armed conflict.

Inequalities

Various inequalities – economic, political, cultural, gender/age-based, along with those related to security, justice, nationality and social services – hamper sustainable development around the world. For example, political exclusion has led to protests and violence; inequitable access to social services has fuelled violence; and unequal security and justice provision has deepened conflict divides in many countries.⁸² There is a need to address inequality in terms of inclusion, fairness, responsiveness, access to public space, accountability to all groups and measures to strengthen inter-group relations. Consideration of inequalities and equitable access to public services, as well as inclusive peoples' participation, could be integrated as a concern into goals and targets across the Sustainable Development Goals (health, education, water, poverty, politics, security, justice), as well as through language stressing these issues throughout the framework.

II. Overview of Proposals on Goals and Targets

There are various options for the inclusion of these issues into the post-2015 framework. Peace, rule of law and governance can be included as specific goals, targets and indicators and can be mainstreamed into other goals and targets, including through separate indicators.⁸³

Goals and targets should be universal. The timeframe and steps for reaching targets can be tailored according to specific country contexts, respect space for national policies and be adapted to local needs and settings.

Goals Covering Peace, Rule of Law and Governance

Goals covering peace, rule of law and governance can be based on existing intergovernmental agreements. In the Millennium Declaration, for example, Member States expressed the determination to establish “a just and lasting peace” and acknowledged the right for men and women to live free “from fear of violence, oppression and injustice,” which are broad enough to encompass the areas of peace, rule of law and governance. Formulations could also be derived from other intergovernmental agreements, such as the declaration adopted at the High-level Meeting on the Rule of Law in September 2012.

Separate goals have been proposed for peace, rule of law and governance by different groups and processes. The report of the High-level Panel on the post-2015 agenda proposed two specific goals:

- Goal 10: Ensure good governance and effective institutions.
- Goal 11: Ensure stable and peaceful societies.

The Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) proposed a goal to “Transform Governance for Sustainable Development,” while the “Bellagio Goals”⁸⁴ included the following:

- Security for ensuring individual freedom from violence.
- Empowering people so they could realize their civil and political rights.

Targets

The targets proposed below have appeared in various expert reports on the post-2015 framework. These are indicative and not exhaustive and serve to demonstrate the possibilities of how peace, governance and rule of law targets can be framed and incorporated in the post-2015 development agenda. The suggested targets are measurable and indicators have been, or could be, developed as some data has already been collected.⁸⁵ In light of their cross-cutting nature, some of the targets proposed under peaceful societies, rule of law and governance could be considered for all three issues. Setting targets will require developing local sources of data, including strengthening the capacity of local institutions to collect and analyse data. When defining indicators, it is important to consider what is required to produce valid, accurate and comparable data.⁸⁶

Targets

Peaceful societies

- Prevent and reduce by X% violent deaths and injuries per 100,000 by year Y.
- Eliminate all forms of violence against children, women and other vulnerable groups by year Y.
- Enhance social cohesion and ensure adequate formal and informal mechanisms are in place to peacefully address tensions and grievances by year Y.
- Reduce by X% inequalities across social groups, amongst regions within countries and between women and men by year Y.
- Reduce external drivers of violence and conflict, including illicit flows of arms, drugs, finance, natural resources and human trafficking by X% by year Y.

Governance

- Reduce bribery and corruption by X% by year Y and ensure that officials can be held accountable.
- Increase political participation by X%, including diversity of representation in public decision-making and civic engagement at all levels.⁸⁷
- Ensure universal freedom of expression, association, peaceful assembly and access to independent media and information.
- Guarantee the public's right to information and access to government data, including budgets.⁸⁸
- Enhance state capacity, transparency and accountability regarding the control of natural resources and the equitable sharing of benefits derived from their exploitation.⁸⁹

Rule of Law

- Provide free and universal legal identity, including universal birth registration, by year Y.
- Ensure independence of judiciary and increase the accessibility and responsiveness of justice services by X% by year Y.⁹⁰
- Improve capacity, professionalism and accountability of security institutions (including police) by X% by year Y.
- Increase by X% the share of women and men, communities and businesses with secure rights to land, property and other assets by year Y.
- Ensure equal right of women to own and inherit property, sign a contract, register a business and open a bank account, by the year Y.

Mainstreaming

As noted in the report of the High-level Panel on the post-2015 agenda, peace and gender should not be confined to specific goals. **Peacebuilding, violence prevention, rule of law, equality and social cohesion must cut across all development goals.** These elements address often underlying vulnerabilities and risk factors that contribute to under-development.⁹¹ This is a matter of protecting people's rights and protecting development investments through early prevention and mitigation. Mainstreaming may be achieved by strengthening legal frameworks, integrating peacebuilding and conflict management techniques into education curricula, ensuring equitable access to services, including integrating peacebuilding and conflict prevention approaches into education policies and systems and reducing inequalities in outcomes. Peace and rule of law targets could be incorporated across development goals, for example, in health (violent deaths and administrative review rights), gender (violence against women and girls/women's participation in governance or security institutions) or inequalities (equitable delivery of social services and constitutional protections).

Measurement

Recent reports⁹² reinforced the message that **peace, rule of law and governance should, and can, be measured. Basic standard methodologies and data collection methods are available and are being used.** Access to timely and better statistics is the basis for understanding the social, economic and political circumstances under which people live, inform decision-makers on priorities, improve evidence-based policies and programmes and chart progress made. The High-level Panel report noted that data is one of the keys to transparency,⁹³ which is the cornerstone of accountability. Development efforts have been hampered by a lack of basic data. As goals get more ambitious, the quality, frequency, disaggregation and availability of relevant statistics must be improved. To accomplish this requires a commitment to developing capacity and changing the way we collect and share data. One of the successes of the MDGs was the effect on statistical capacity. In 2005, no country had two or more comparable estimates of maternal mortality ratios, while in 2013 there were 132.

As information and communication technologies (ICTs) become an integral part of everyday life for many people around the world, they offer new opportunities for the promotion and measurement of peace, rule of law and good governance. They allow for better access to information, citizen participation in monitoring and accountability and for improved methods for experience-based and perception surveys. It is important that this increase in technology and capacity is made available to the benefit of all countries. One of the lessons learned from MDGs is that it is important to **ensure that all countries have strong transparency and accountability mechanisms to monitor the delivery of social services and the utilization of government revenues and aid flows** to hold government and non-government actors accountable and to ensure they deliver on the agreed goals.

III. Way Forward

Member States have recognized the need **for a single universal framework** for the post-2015 development agenda.⁹⁴ Peace, personal security, rule of law and governance are important enablers and important development outcomes in their own right for sustainable development in all countries. The issues of sustainable development, peace, gender equality, security, rule of law and governance are **strongly interrelated and mutually reinforcing.** Violence, insecurity, a lack of rule of law and poor governance have significant negative implications for sustainable development. On the other hand, various aspects of sustainable development also have important implications for peace, rule of law and governance, institutions, whether they pertain to employment, equality, inclusion, natural resource management or corruption.

There are various **options for including peace, rule of law and governance** into a sustainable development framework. They could be covered under a single stand-alone goal with various targets, under two or three goals, or listed as separate targets under other goals. At a minimum, they should be mainstreamed throughout the development framework.

Endnotes

- ¹ The *My World Survey* (<http://www.myworld2015.org/>) ranked an “honest and responsive government” as 3rd globally and “protection against crime and violence” as 7th. See the UNDG reports: *A Million Voices: The World We Want* (<http://www.worldwewant2015.org/millionvoices>) and *The Global Conversation Begins* (<http://www.worldwewant2015.org/the-global-conversation-begins>).
- ² Laurence Chandy and Geoffrey Gertz, *Poverty in Numbers: The Changing State of Global Poverty from 2005 to 2015*. Brookings Institution, 2011; Homi Kharas and Andrew Rogerson, *Horizon 2025: Creative destruction in the aid industry*. ODI, 2012.
- ³ World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development*. Washington DC: World Bank (hereinafter “WDR 2011”), p. 2.
- ⁴ UNICEF, *Progress for Children: A Report Card on Child Protection*. 2009, p.7
- ⁵ Geneva Declaration, *Global Burden of Armed Violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- ⁶ WHO, *Global Burden of Disease*. 2010.
- ⁷ WHO, *Global and Regional Estimates of Violence Against Women: Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-partner Sexual Violence*. 2013, p. 20.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, *Global Overview 2012, People Internally Displaced by Conflict and Violence*, April 2013.
- ¹¹ According to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC), it can be defined as “a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit.” (UNTOC, Annex 1, Article 2).
- ¹² Paul Collier, V.L. Elliot, Håvard Hegre, Anke Hoeffler, Nicholas Sambanis and Marta Reynal-Querol, *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 181-182.
- ¹³ WDR 2011, p. 2.
- ¹⁴ Paul Collier, *Wars, Guns and Votes*, Harper Collins, 2009; and WDR 2011, respectively.
- ¹⁵ Geneva Declaration, *Global Burden of Armed Violence*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 153. Among the 143 low- and middle-income countries, 46 report high homicide rates, while 17 report very high rates. Amongst the 64 high-income countries, only 4 report high rates, while 3 report very high homicide rates.
- ¹⁶ Julia Berazneva and David R. Lee, *Explaining the African Food Riots of 2007-2008: An Empirical Analysis*, Cornell University.
- ¹⁷ WDR 2011, pp. 4-5.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.
- ¹⁹ FAO and WFP, *State of Food Insecurity in the World: Addressing Food Insecurity in Protracted Crises*. Rome, 2010.
- ²⁰ UNESCO, *Education for All Global Monitoring Report*. 2013.
- ²¹ WDR 2011, p. 65.
- ²² Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Peace Index, Measuring the State of Global Peace*. 2013, p. 55.
- ²³ WDR 2011.
- ²⁴ UNEP, *From Conflict to Peacebuilding - the Role of Natural Resources and the Environment*. 2009.
- ²⁵ Howard, R., *Conflict-sensitive Reporting: State of Art, A course for journalists and journalism educators*. UNESCO, 2009 (<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001869/186986e.pdf>), and *An Elections Reporting Handbook* (http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/media/_elections_an_elections_reporting_handbook_en.pdf).
- ²⁶ MDG data (<http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Data.aspx?cr=646>).
- ²⁷ 2005 World Summit Outcome (A/60/L.1), paragraphs 119 and 134.
- ²⁸ *Keeping the Promise: United to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals* (A/65/L.1), paragraph 11.
- ²⁹ *The Future We Want* (A/RES/66/288), paragraphs 8, 10 and 252.
- ³⁰ Declaration of the High-Level Meeting of the General Assembly on the Rule of Law at the National and International Levels (A/RES/67/1), para. 7.
- ³¹ Global Thematic Consultation On Governance And The Post-2015 Development Framework: Consultation Report; UNDP and OHCHR, 2013
- ³² Declaration of the High-Level Meeting of the General Assembly on Rule of Law at the National and International Levels (A/RES/67/1), paragraph 2.
- ³³ Declaration of the High-Level Meeting of the General Assembly on Rule of Law at the National and International Levels (A/RES/67/1), paragraph 18.
- ³⁴ Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, *Making the Law Work for Everyone*. Volume I, 2008, United Nations, New York, p. 61.
- ³⁵ Declaration of the High-Level Meeting of the General Assembly on Rule of Law at the National and International Levels (A/RES/67/1), paragraph 13.
- ³⁶ 2012 Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights on barriers to access to justice (A/67/278).
- ³⁷ Guidance Note of the Secretary-General, United Nations Approach to Justice for Children, New York, September 2008.
- ³⁸ 2011 Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights on the penalization of poverty (A/66/265). See also Emma Samman and Claire Melamed (2013), *Equity, Inequality and Human Development in a Post-2015 Framework*. UNDP Human Development Report Office, research paper 11.
- ³⁹ UN Women, *Progress of the World's Women Report, 2011-2012*, p. 59.

⁴⁰ In particular those institutions providing internal security and law enforcement.

⁴¹ Geneva Declaration, *Global Burden of Armed Violence*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 107; UNODC, *Global Study on Homicide: Homicide and Development*, 2011, p. 33, based on World Bank Rule of Law Index. Countries with average governance indicators for their income level have a significantly lower risk of the outbreak of civil conflict within the next 5 to 10 years – between 30 to 45% lower. This relationship holds true for countries with high homicides (WDR, p. 10).

⁴² HLP Report 2013.

⁴³ The 2013 Global Corruption Barometer measures the extent of corruption in a total of 12 institutions. According to the 2013 results (from most corrupt to less corrupt), the public perception listed: 1) Political parties; 2) Police; 3) Public officials/civil servants; 4) Parliament/Legislature; 5) Judiciary; 6) Business/Private sector; 7) Medical and health services; 8) Education; 9) Media; 10) Military; 11) NGOs, and 12) Religious bodies.

⁴⁴ UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights; Implementing the United Nations “Protect, Respect and Remedy” Framework, OHCHR, 2011.

⁴⁵ Global Dialogue on Rule of Law and the Post-2015 Development Agenda. New York, 26-27 September 2013.

⁴⁶ Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, *Making the Law Work for Everyone*. Volume I, 2008, United Nations, New York. Hyun Son and Nanak Kakwani, “Global estimates of pro-poor growth.” *World Development* 36 (6): 1048-1066, 2007.

Conclusion on civil registration by the UNHCR Executive Committee, 30 Sept. to 4 Oct. 2013, Geneva.

⁴⁷ From the UNICEF Global Databases (based on data from DHS, MICS, other national surveys and civil registration systems.) Article 8 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child stipulates that “Children have the right to an identity – an official record of who they are. Governments should respect children’s right to a name, a nationality and family ties”.

⁴⁸ UNHCR estimates that about 12 million people are stateless in dozens of developed and developing countries around the world, though the exact numbers are not known (<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c15e.html>).

⁴⁹ Research illustrates that countries with a more equal distribution of assets, such as land, experience faster, more sustained and inclusive economic growth than those with a highly unequal asset distribution. See IFAD policy on improving access to land and tenure security, 2008; World Bank, *Land Policies for Growth and Poverty Reduction*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2003; Matthew Stephenson, *Economic Development and the Quality of Legal Institutions*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2005. See several academic articles cited herein.

⁵⁰ OECD DAC Guidelines, “Helping Prevent Violent Conflict”, 2001; Scott Leckie and Chris Huggins, “Conflict and Housing, Land and Property Rights, a Handbook on issues, frameworks and solutions, 2011. See also 2012 Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context (A/HRC/22/46) and also the Global Land Tool Network (www.gltln.net).

⁵¹ It is estimated that about 70 per cent of those living in extreme poverty live in the rural areas of developing countries, where weak or unprotected tenure rights are pervasive. Almost 200 million of the world’s poor do not have sufficient land to provide a decent standard of living. (IFAD Land Tenure Factsheet) In urban settings, informality and insecure tenure are also ubiquitous. It is estimated that 828 million urban dwellers worldwide reside in slums. In the developing world, 33 per cent of the urban population are slum dwellers, living in informal settlements without tenure security and in sub-Saharan Africa that portion even reaches 62 per cent. In Asia, the proportion of urban population living in slums varies from 25 per cent in Western Asia to 35 per cent in South Asia. In Latin America and the Caribbean, slum prevalence is 24 per cent (UN Habitat, *State of the World’s Cities: Prosperity of Cities, 2012/2013*).

⁵² IFAD policy on improving access to land and tenure security, 2008, p 5.

⁵³ Report of the SDSN Thematic Group 10 on Good Governance of Extractive and land Resources: Harnessing natural resources for sustainable development: challenges and solutions. 18 September 2013.

⁵⁴ France Stewart (ed.), *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multi-ethnic Societies*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

⁵⁵ World Bank, *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

⁵⁶ Breaking down the silos – integrating environmental sustainability in the post-2015 agenda. Report of the thematic consultation on environmental sustainability in the post-2015 agenda.

⁵⁷ Shelagh Whitley, “Time to change the game: Fossil fuel subsidies and climate change”, ODI, 2013.

⁵⁸ Secretary-General’s Report on Intergenerational solidarity and the needs of future generations, 15 August 2013, A/68/322.

⁶⁰ UNDP and OHCHR, Global Thematic Consultation on Governance and the Post-2015 Development Framework: Consultation Report, 2013.

⁶¹ Dev Kar and Sarah Freitas, *Illicit Financial Flows from Development Countries: 2001-2010*, Global Financial Integrity report. December 2012.

⁶² UNDP, *Seeing Beyond the State: Grassroots Women’s Perspectives on Corruption and Anti-Corruption*, 2012.

⁶³ http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWBIGOVANTCOR/Resources/Transparenting_Transparency171005.pdf

⁶⁴ ‘Open Budgets: The Political Economy of Transparency, Participation, and Accountability’, ‘Contextual Choices in Fighting Corruption: Lessons Learned’, Norad, 2011.

⁶⁵ See e.g. the World Values Survey and the various regional barometers.

⁶⁶ Secretary-General’s Message to the Sixth Bali Democracy Forum, Bali, Indonesia, 7 November 2013.

⁶⁷ Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999.

⁶⁸ Alex Evans, *Climate, Scarcity and Sustainability in the Post-2015 Development Agenda*, November 2012.

⁶⁹ Report of the SDSN Thematic Group 10 on Good Governance of Extractive and land Resources: Harnessing natural resources for sustainable development: challenges and solutions. 18 September 2013.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ UNDP Issues Brief, *Rule of Law and Development*, New York, 2013 and UNEP’s Governing Council, Decision 27/9: Advancing justice, governance and law for environmental sustainability page 35 (<http://www.unep.org/GC/GC27/Docs/Proceedings/K1350945.pdf>).

⁷² As noted in Decision 27/9 adopted at the 27th and first universal session of UNEP’s Governing Council in February 2013, paragraph 3

⁷³ Valerie M. Hudson, et al., *Sex and World Peace*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012 (see Appendix B for results of correlation analysis).

⁷⁴ World Bank, *Women, Business and the Law*, 2014 (<http://wbl.worldbank.org/~media/FPDKM/WBL/Documents/Reports/2014/Women-Business-and-the-Law-2014-Key-Findings.pdf>).

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- ⁷⁶ Anne Marie Goetz (ed.), *Governing Women: Women's Political Effectiveness in Contexts of Democratization and Governance Reform*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- ⁷⁷ Valerie M. Hudson, et al., *Sex and World Peace*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- ⁷⁸ World Bank World Development Report 2012 - <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/Complete-Report.pdf>
- ⁷⁹ UN Women, *Progress of the World's Women Report, 2011-2012*, 2011 (<http://progress.unwomen.org/pdfs/EN-Report-Progress.pdf>).
- ⁸⁰ M. Capriole, "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Equality in Predicting Internal Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (2), 2005, pp. 161-178.
- ⁸¹ See the "Declaration of Commitment to End Sexual Violence in Conflict" endorsed by 122 countries at a side-event of the General Assembly (www.unmultimedia.org/.../over-100-countries-pledge-to-act-against-sex).
- ⁸² Henk-Jan Brinkman, Larry Attree and Saša Hezir, "Addressing horizontal inequalities as drivers of conflict in the post-2015 development agenda." Mimeo, PBSO, Saferworld, 2012.
- ⁸³ A target includes specifics on timeframe and numerical targets (e.g. percentage reduction). Goals, on the other hand are broad more generic and abstract. Global targets could be adjusted to national contexts by changing the timeframe and numerical targets, which is similar to the MDGs.
- ⁸⁴ Nicole Bates-Eamer, Barry Carin, Min Ha Lee and Wonhyuk Lim, with Mukesh Kapila, *Post-2015 Development Agenda: Goals, Targets and Indicators*, Centre for International Governance Innovation and the Korea Development Institute, 2012.
- ⁸⁵ UNDP, UNICEF, PBSO, *Report of the Expert Meeting on an Accountability Framework for Conflict, Violence, Governance and Disaster and the Post-2015 Development Agenda*, 2013 (hereinafter "Glen Cove Expert Meeting 2013"); Glen Cove Expert Meeting 2013; Report on the Expert Meeting on Accounting for Security and Justice in the Post-2015 Development Agenda, Vienna, 24-25 June 2013 (hereinafter "Vienna Expert Meeting 2013"); United Nations, *Rule of Law Indicators: Guide and Project Tools*, 2011.
- ⁸⁶ See, for example, UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, *Statistics and indicators for the post-2015 development agenda*, July 2013; and UNODC, *Accounting for Security and Justice in the Post-2015 Development Agenda*, October 2013.
- ⁸⁷ HLP Report 2013.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ Glen Cove Expert Meeting 2013.
- ⁹⁰ Normative rationale is based on Rule of Law Declaration (A/RES/67/1), paragraphs 11 (accessibility), 12 (effective, equitable delivery, including civil, criminal and administrative justice), 13 (independence, impartiality and integrity, 14 (legal representation).
- ⁹¹ Glen Cove Expert Meeting 2013; Vienna Expert Meeting 2013.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*; Vienna Expert Meeting 2013; United Nations, *Rule of Law Indicators: Guide and Project Tools*, 2011.
- ⁹³ HLP Report 2013, p. 55.
- ⁹⁴ Outcome document of the Special Event convened by the President of the General Assembly on the MDGs on 25 September 2013 (A/68/L.4).