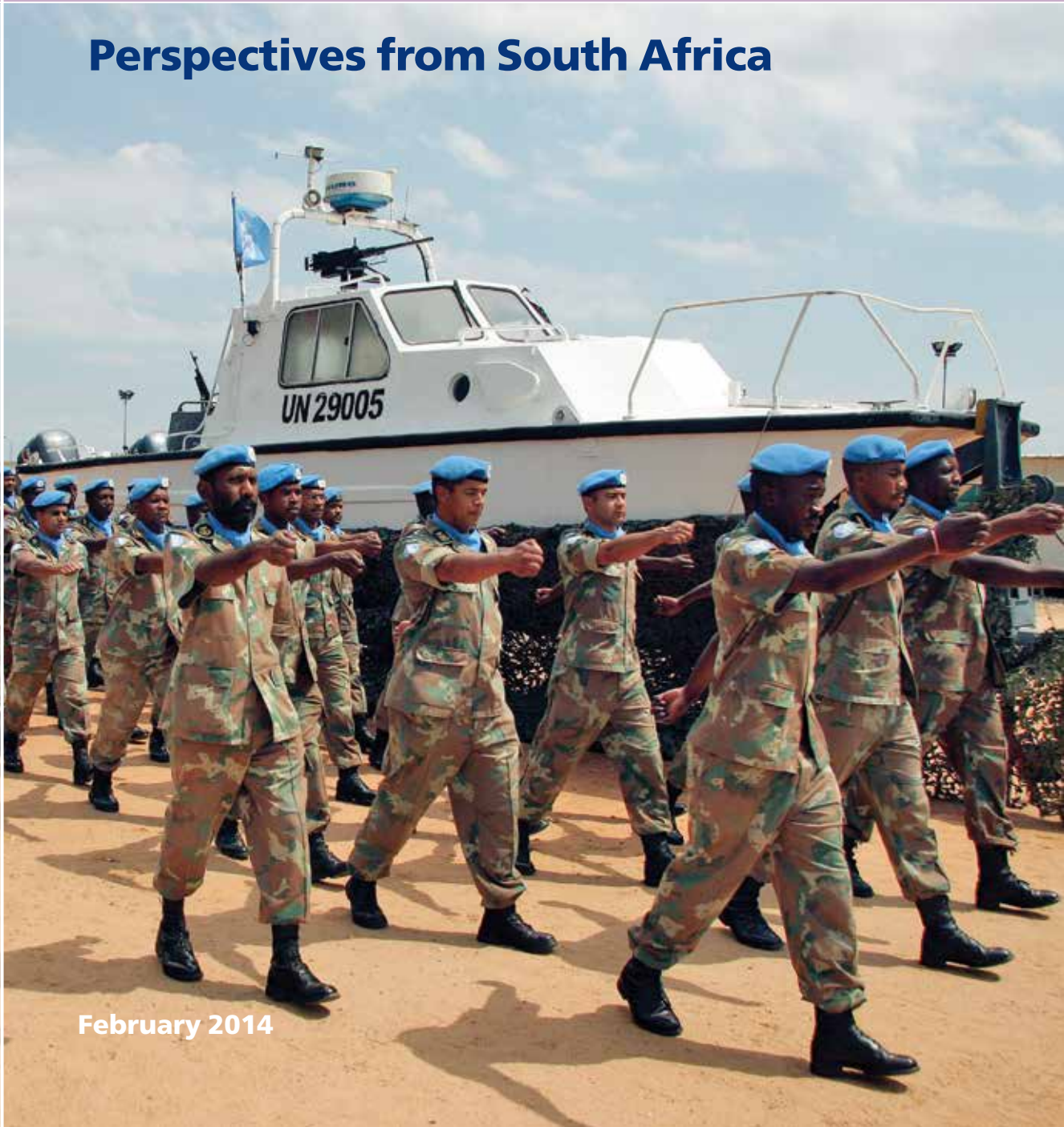


Conflict and the post-2015 development agenda

Perspectives from South Africa

SOUTH AFRICA



February 2014



Conflict and the post-2015 development agenda

Perspectives from South Africa

Partner profiles



The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (**ACCORD**) is a South Africa-based civil society organisation working throughout Africa to bring creative African solutions to the challenges posed by conflict on the continent. ACCORD's primary aim is to influence political developments by bringing conflict resolution, dialogue and institutional development to the forefront as an alternative to armed violence and protracted conflict. ACCORD specialises in conflict management, conflict analysis and conflict prevention. ACCORD intervenes in conflicts through mediation, negotiation, training, research and conflict analysis.



The Institute for Global Dialogue (**IGD**) is an independent foreign policy and international diplomacy think tank dedicated to the analysis of and dialogue on the evolving international political and economic environment, and the role of Africa and South Africa. The IGD strives for a prosperous and peaceful Africa in a progressive global order through cutting edge policy research and analysis, catalytic dialogue and stakeholder interface on global dynamics that have an impact on South Africa and Africa.



The Institute for Security Studies is an African organisation which aims to enhance human security on the continent. It does independent and authoritative research, provides expert policy analysis and advice, and delivers practical training and technical assistance. The vision of the ISS is a peaceful and prosperous Africa for all its people. The mission and overall goal of the ISS is to advance human security in Africa through evidence-based policy advice, technical support and capacity building.



The Southern African Liaison Office (**SALO**) is a South African-based civil society organization which contributes to peace and security through facilitating dialogue and building consensus between national, regional and international actors. Focused predominantly on Southern Africa SALO is now increasingly being consulted on the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and across the Middle East and North Africa. SALO's approach to building international consensus includes creating 'safe spaces' for formal and informal dialogues among and between state and non-state actors, informing key policy makers, and generating in-depth research and analysis.



Saferworld is an independent international organisation working to prevent violent conflict and build safer lives. We work with local people affected by conflict to improve their safety and sense of security, and conduct wider research and analysis. We use this evidence and learning to improve local, national and international policies and practices that can help build lasting peace. Our priority is people – we believe that everyone should be able to lead peaceful, fulfilling lives, free from insecurity and violent conflict.

© Saferworld, February 2014. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means – electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise – without full attribution. Saferworld welcomes and encourages the utilisation and dissemination of the material included in this publication.

Contents

Executive summary	i
Introduction to the post-2015 development agenda	1
The Millennium Development Goals and South Africa	1
The post-2015 development agenda	1
The African Common Position	2
Peace and the post-2015 development agenda	3
1. Peaceful and stable societies as a prerequisite for development in Africa	6
Institute for Global Dialogue	
2. Conflict and insecurity in South Africa – causes and responses	9
Southern African Liaison Office	
3. How violence against women and girls affects South Africa, and how the post-2015 framework can help address the issue	13
Southern African Liaison Office	
4. South Africa's efforts to build peace and wider foreign policy	15
The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes	
5. Transnational factors affecting security and development in South Africa	18
Institute for Security Studies	
ANNEX 1: Key inputs into the post-2015 development agenda process (as of January 2014)	21

Executive summary

SOUTH AFRICA HAS AN IMPORTANT AND RESPECTED VOICE in global policy debates. This derives from its political identity, its economic attributes, and its role in regional and international diplomacy. South Africa's unique political experience has imbued it with a particular moral legitimacy. Furthermore, through its active international role since 1994, it is regarded as a key player in the emergent African order, and a key African actor in the international system.¹ It has sub-Saharan Africa's largest economy (accounting for over a third of its GDP and some 40 per cent of exports), and it is the dominant economy in the southern African region.²

The shape and content of the new framework for international development after 2015 will be important for future growth and prosperity in Africa. The global process to debate what issues should feature in this framework – and how they can be incorporated – is well underway, with wide-ranging consultations having already taken place, and continuing up until the negotiations phase of the process begins in September 2014. The current framework, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), has been influential in defining international development priorities, but it does not incorporate issues of peace and stability. The significance of this omission is evidenced by the fact that only about 20 per cent of the countries that the World Bank categorises as 'fragile or conflict-affected' are on track to meet the basic poverty target.³ The conclusion is clear: if the post-2015 framework is to promote effective development in conflict-affected states, it must address the challenges of violence and insecurity.

Given South Africa's role on the continent and internationally, it will be an influential actor in defining the shape and content of the post-2015 process – including if and how to include peace and stability in the new framework. In order to inform and catalyse debate about these issues within the South African policy community, four leading South African organisations and Saferworld have compiled this set of short papers on how these issues affect South Africa and the wider continent. The papers draw on the South African organisations' extensive experience of researching and responding to the various identified challenges. They do not provide in-depth or exhaustive analyses, but are intended to highlight key issues and to stimulate debate about their implications for the post-2015 process.

The first paper, by Saferworld, seeks to explicate the current status of the post-2015 process. It explains how the post-2015 development agenda relates to the Sustainable Development Goals, and the purpose of the different strands of consultation that are

¹ Alden C., le Pere G (2003) "South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy – from reconciliation to revival?" (IISS Adelphi Paper 362, Oxford University Press), pp 8–9.

² For details, see IMF, (2012) "South Africa: 2012 Article IV Consultation – Staff Report, Informational Annex, Debt Sustainability Analysis, Staff Statement, Public Information Notice", 23 August.

³ World Bank (2013) *Twenty Fragile States Make Progress on Millennium Development Goals* www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/05/01/twenty-fragile-states-make-progress-on-millennium-development-goals

currently underway. It reviews the process for formulating an African Common Position and why this process is so important. The paper also makes the case for the interdependence of peace and development, illustrating how violence and insecurity have undermined development and attainment of the MDGs. Lastly, it emphasises that the process of defining a new development framework must be genuinely global and inclusive; it presents an opportunity for South Africa and other states from the global South to inform global debates and shape the future architecture of development.

The Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD) contributes a paper on “Peaceful and stable societies as a prerequisite for development in Africa”. This affirms that the interdependence of peace and development is well recognised on the continent at a policy level by bodies such as the African Union (AU) and New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). It highlights the number of ‘fragile and conflict-affected states’ in Africa and illustrates how the relationship between chronic conflict and persistent under-development plays out in different African contexts. It emphasises the impact this has upon growth and prosperity not just at the national but crucially also at the regional level, preventing large areas of the continent from realising the full potential of regional economic integration and cooperation.

The third paper, by the Southern African Liaison Office (SALO), examines causes of conflict and insecurity in South Africa, and responses to them. Key causes cited include poverty and unemployment, but the issue that really stands out is inequality – with evidence to suggest that inequality has actually increased since the end of apartheid. Together with the legacy of race discrimination and anti-immigrant sentiments, these divisive dynamics undermine social cohesion and create the conditions for social and political insecurity. South Africa’s National Development Plan (NDP) recognises some of these issues (that have the potential to generate conflict and insecurity), and outlines a reform agenda to build a more equal and prosperous society. However, concern is expressed about this reform agenda, which is predicated on an economic growth and investment-driven model of change. Given an underlying culture of violence in South Africa and growing dissatisfaction with the state, the paper argues for a more far-reaching reform agenda characterised by dialogue, local ownership, and participation in order to build a shared vision of economic and social transformation.

SALO contributes a second paper that focuses specifically on how violence against women and girls affects South Africa. In addition to very high levels of sexual violence, it highlights the ‘hidden’ nature of this phenomenon, suggesting limited understanding of what actually constitutes sexual violence in South Africa. Some progress has been made in addressing the problem at a legal and policy level, but sexual violence is seen to be linked to systemic issues such as women’s economic empowerment, political participation, and access to justice. The post-2015 framework offers a great opportunity to reinforce South Africa’s efforts to address the issue by making it a global priority. This could be achieved through a stand-alone goal for women and girls’ empowerment, a target on violence against women, and gender-disaggregated indicators for related aspects of development.

The fifth paper, by The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), is on South Africa’s approach to conflict management and wider foreign policy. It examines the role South Africa has played in promoting peacebuilding on the continent by contributing peacekeeping troops as well as through diplomatic interventions and mediation. These ‘softer’ approaches to peace and security on the continent are seen in the context of the broader transformation of South Africa’s foreign policy in the post-apartheid era. The paper also considers South Africa’s role in building the capacity of conflict management mechanisms within regional bodies, such as Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the AU; an approach which reflects the country’s ‘African Agenda’. Lastly, the paper underscores how South Africa’s foreign policy is increasingly oriented towards other rising powers from the global South and framed within new multilateral arrangements, such as the BRICS.

The final paper by the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) considers the range of transnational factors that affect South Africa's peace and stability. It highlights the risk of South Africa focusing too much on its own NDP at the expense of regional and continental considerations, which may make it vulnerable to a range of transnational factors with the potential to undermine national development. Such factors include the high levels of immigration into South Africa, which have provoked periodic outbursts of violence arising from competition over jobs and resources. Transnational crime, including drug-trafficking and wildlife poaching, is another threat to South Africa. The paper argues that although national legislation is in place, it is of only limited effectiveness given the failure to develop joined-up regional legislation, coordinated information-management, and joint strategies to tackle these issues.

Taken together, this series of papers demonstrates that South Africa's role is critically important, rendering engagement on the post-2015 agenda imperative if the new development framework is to reflect the needs, concerns, and aspirations of South Africans and the wider African continent. The transformation of conflict is a core element of South Africa's identity. Its foreign policy has considerable overlap with the peacebuilding agenda, including a focus on preventive diplomacy, negotiated solutions, and mediation. Its track record of support for peace initiatives in Africa demonstrates its commitment to this agenda. Moreover, South Africa's active engagement in multi-lateral processes suggests it could be a key player in post-2015 debates.

If South Africa can be persuaded to take up, and even champion, such goals, it could also play an influential role in the evolution of this framework with other rising powers from the global South. South Africa has multiple identities: African leader, key member of the global South, and bridge between South and North. It has the potential to play a key role by helping the agendas of new global actors and more established ones to cohere.

Introduction to the post-2015 development agenda

The Millennium Development Goals and South Africa

IN THE FOREWORD to South Africa's 2013 Country Report on the Millennium Development Goals, President Jacob Zuma describes them as the “phenomenal promise” of the new century.⁴ Launched in 2002, the MDGs comprised of eight goals:

- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieve universal primary education
- Promote gender equality and empower women
- Reduce child mortality
- Improve maternal health
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensure environmental sustainability
- Forge global partnerships and action among different countries.

In South Africa, the government has acknowledged that progress towards attainment of the MDGs has been “mixed” and recognised that greater action is required to tackle the “triple challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality”.⁵ Nonetheless, South Africa has made remarkable progress in several areas, such as education and hunger. Most notably, the proportion of the population living below \$1.25 per day has declined from 17 million in 2000 to 7.4 million in 2011.⁶

The post-2015 development agenda

In 2015, the Millennium Development Goals will expire. Global discussions on what will replace the MDGs are now well underway and a number of notable inputs have been made to date (see Annex 1). Most significantly, at the 68th UN General Assembly (UNGA) in September 2013 member states called for “a single framework and set of goals – universal in nature and applicable to all countries”, (while reaffirming the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities) and announced that inter-governmental negotiations on the post-2015 development framework would commence at the 69th UNGA in September 2014.⁷

4 http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/MDG_October-2013.pdf

5 http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/MDG_October-2013.pdf

6 http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/MDG_October-2013.pdf

7 United Nations (2013) *Special Event 25 September: Outcome Document* www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/Outcome%20documentMDG.pdf

The Sustainable Development Goals

One of the main outcomes of the Rio+20 conference was a commitment by member states to develop a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to spur action on sustainable development. Discussions on the SDGs are already underway and will be highly influential in determining the shape of the post-2015 development agenda, as they will be proposed prior to the start of intergovernmental negotiations on the post-2015 development framework at the 69th UNGA.

Figure 1.1. Key processes for the post-2015 development agenda and the sustainable development goals

Process	Purpose
Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals	To develop a set of sustainable development goals for September 2014.
Three High Level Debates and Three High Level Events organised by the Office of the President of the UN General Assembly	To encourage the global community to work toward building consensus and elaborating concrete action for the implementation of the post-2015 development agenda.
Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing	To assess financing needs and propose options on an effective sustainable development financing strategy to facilitate the mobilisation of resources and their effective use in achieving sustainable development objectives.
UN High Level Political Forum – “The MDGs and Charting the Way for an Ambitious Post-2015 Development Agenda, Including the SDGs”	To promote the implementation of sustainable development and address new challenges.

The African Common Position

The African Common Position on the post-2015 development agenda will be presented at the AU Heads of State Summit in January 2014 for endorsement. It is being drafted by the African Union Commission (AUC) and overseen by the High Level Committee (HLC).

The HLC, chaired by President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia, was established at the AU Heads of State Summit in May 2013 with the purpose of consulting “as deemed necessary, so as to finalize the African Common Position.”⁸ The HLC is comprised of two representatives – at Head of State level – from each region:

Figure 1.2. Composition of the High Level Committee

North Africa	East Africa	Southern Africa	Western Africa	Central Africa
Algeria	Ethiopia	South Africa	Liberia	Chad
Mauritania	Mauritius	Namibia	Guinea	Democratic Republic of Congo

Africa’s Common Position will be essential in generating support for a dynamic post-2015 development framework:

- Emerging development donors such as Brazil and Turkey will likely be highly responsive to the African Common Position, particularly as the African voting bloc will be key to their hopes of being elected to the UN Security Council in 2015–16.
- China and, to a lesser degree, India will also listen carefully on the basis that the perspectives of several of their key partners will be represented within the African Common Position.
- As members of the G77, Brazil and India and as well as other influential member states, such as Indonesia and Qatar, will all pay close attention to the African Common Position, particularly as African states comprise well over one-third of the grouping’s membership.

⁸ African Union (2013) “Decisions, Declarations and Resolution: Decision on the African Common Position on the post-2015 Development Agenda” http://iccnw.org/documents/AU_decisions_21st_summit_May_2013.pdf

Peace and the post-2015 development agenda

- OECD DAC countries who donated on average \$USD 30 billion per annum between 2009–11 to Africa will listen carefully to see what African states prioritise for their own development.⁹

“Development and security are two sides of the same coin. The best way to ensure both is through good governance and the promotion of democratic values in all societies.”¹⁰

Remarks by President Zuma at the 68th UN General Assembly

The interdependence between peace and development is high on the post-2015 development agenda. As the White Paper on South Africa’s Foreign Policy, “Building a better world: The diplomacy of Ubuntu”, affirmed “peace, stability and security are essential preconditions for development” (see Fig 1.3, overleaf).¹¹ Indeed, the Outcome Document for the Special Event on the MDGs in September 2013 notes, “conflict and post-conflict countries are the most challenged in achieving any of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.”¹² For example, countries that the World Bank categorises as ‘fragile or conflict-affected’ are four times more likely to be off track than they are to have met any of the MDG targets or be on track to do so.¹³

There is a strong emerging consensus that the post-2015 development agenda should seek to end extreme poverty. However, if member states are serious about poverty eradication, the need to reduce violence and build peace must be addressed directly. As the African Development Bank’s High-Level Panel’s Report on Fragile States recently recognised, the effects of insecurity are wide-ranging, contributing to a dampening of economic activity and the inability to deliver even the most basic of services.¹⁴ Out of 7.12 billion people in the world today, it is estimated that 1.5 billion live in states that experience high levels of violence.¹⁵ By 2030 it is estimated the majority of the world’s poorest will live in countries and regions affected by chronic violence and political instability.¹⁶ As the UN Task Team report notes, if we are really intent on leaving no-one behind, then “business as usual thus cannot be an option.”¹⁷

Peace for everyone, everywhere

The focus should not only be on states currently affected by violence and insecurity; the absence of violence does not equate to a sustainable peace. Forms of structural violence and suppressed tensions that mask latent forms of conflict can erupt into political crises, humanitarian emergencies, costly interventions, and the derailment of development gains. Popular uprisings in parts of North Africa and the Middle East provide useful examples in this regard. Tunisia and Yemen were on track to meet MDG targets, but the instability that broke out in those countries pushed them off course. All countries can prevent the loss of developmental gains by building greater resilience to instability and by developing systems that can prevent conflicts from becoming violent.

⁹ OECD (2013) Development Aid at a Glance: Statistic by Region www.oecd.org/dac/stats/Africa%20-%20Development%20Aid%20at%20a%20Glance%202013.pdf

¹⁰ Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, 2013. *Statement by H.E. Mr. Jacob Zuma President of the Republic of South Africa on the occasion of the General Debate of the 68th Session of the United Nations General Assembly: “the Post-2015 Development Agenda: Setting the Stage”* http://gadebate.un.org/sites/default/files/gastatements/68/ZA_en.pdf

¹¹ Government of South Africa (2011) *Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu, White Paper on South Africa’s Foreign Policy* www.gov.za/documents/download.php?f=149749

¹² United Nations (2013) *Special Event 25 September: Outcome Document* www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/Outcome%20documentMDG.pdf

¹³ World Bank (2013) *Twenty Fragile States Make Progress on Millennium Development Goals* www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/05/01/twenty-fragile-states-make-progress-on-millennium-development-goals

¹⁴ African Development Bank High-Level Panel on Fragile States (2014) *Ending Conflict & Building Peace in Africa: A call to action* www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Project-and-Operations/Ending%20Conflict%20and%20Building%20Peace%20in%20Africa-%20A%20Call%20to%20Action.pdf p 16.

¹⁵ *Op cit*, World Bank (2011) p 50.

¹⁶ OECD (2013) “Building peaceful societies and effective states: putting peace at the heart of the post-2015 agenda” OECD Briefing note, p 1.

¹⁷ UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda (2012) “Realizing the Future We Want for All: Report to the Secretary-General” (UN System Task Team) p i.

Figure 1.3. Examples of how violence and insecurity have undermined development and attainment of the MDGs¹⁸

MDG 1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger	A country that experienced major violence over the period from 1981 to 2005 has a poverty rate 21 percentage points higher than a country that saw no violence. ¹⁹
MDG 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education	Globally, the number of children out of school has fallen, from 60 million in 2008 to 57 million in 2011. But “the benefits of this progress have not reached children in conflict-affected countries. These children make up 22% of the world’s primary school aged population, yet they comprise 50% of children who are denied an education, a proportion that has increased from 42% in 2008.” Not only are these children disproportionately unable to enrol in primary school but also their completion, secondary enrolment, literacy, and mortality rates are much worse than in other countries. ²⁰
MDG 4: Reduce Child Mortality	UNICEF highlighted that 8 of the 10 countries with the highest under-5 mortality rate are in situations affected by violence. ²¹
MDG 5: Improve Maternal Health	The Economic Commission on Africa reports of the 40 countries classified as having a high maternal mortality ratio in 2010, 36 are in Africa and that the majority of these countries are either experiencing or recovering from conflict. ²²
MDG 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and Other Diseases	Globally, countries affected by violence are home to 43 per cent of persons living with HIV/AIDS . ²³
MDG 7: Ensure Environmental Sustainability	Analysis suggests that countries with lower levels of armed violence experience improved access to drinking water and sanitation facilities . ²⁴

Freedom from fear is not an aspiration restricted to those in states affected by violent conflict. South Africa’s latest Victims of Crime Survey, for example, highlights the breakdown of trust within communities, with almost two-thirds of households believing that violent crimes are likely to be committed by people from their own neighbourhood.²⁵ Insecurity obstructs development across the world. Whether in Johannesburg, Bangkok, or Los Angeles, the threat of violence pushes communities, families, and individuals out of mainstream society – frustrating their aspirations.

The post-2015 development framework also needs to be used as an opportunity to address drivers of conflict and insecurity that cannot be solved by individual states. External stresses, such as the flow of illicit finances, drugs, war commodities, and arms require international cooperation and concerted actions by the more developed countries.

An emerging consensus

There is an emerging consensus that peace should be included within the post-2015 development framework. For example, the draft African Common Position presented to AU Heads of State Summit in May 2013 included a commitment to “promote peace and security to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict and support efforts to resolve conflict through measures that promote peace and security.”²⁶ The 2013 *My World*

¹⁸ Saferworld (2012) *Issue Paper 1: The impact of conflict and violence on achieving development* www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/709

¹⁹ World Bank (2011) *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development* (World Bank Report) p 61.

²⁰ UNESCO (2011) *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education* (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation Report) p 2.

²¹ BBC (2012) *Child deaths: Unicef says global mortality rates fall*. [online] Available at: www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-19581433 [Accessed 14 January 2014]

²² United Nations Economic Commission on Africa and African Union Commission, 2012. *Overview of economic and social conditions in Africa in 2012*. [online] Available at: www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/document_files/overview-of-economic-and-social-conditions-n-africaen.pdf [Accessed 14 January 2014]

²³ World Bank, 2011, p 62.

²⁴ Geneva Declaration, 2010. *More Violence Less Development: Examining The Relationship Between Armed Violence And MDG Achievement*, p 48.

²⁵ Statistics South Africa (2012) *Victims of Crime Survey 2012* www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0341/P03412012.pdf

²⁶ African Union (2013) *Report of the Commission on the Post 2015 Development Agenda: Towards an African Common Position and Modalities for Establishment of a Committee of Heads of State and Government on the Post 2015 Development Agenda* www.who.int/pmnch/media/news/2013/au_summit_post2015.pdf

survey by the UN Development Group, which had over one million respondents from across the world, ranked 'protection from crime and violence' as the seventh highest priority.²⁷

At the 68th UNGA in September 2013 a number of leaders highlighted the importance of peace for development. Notably, China's Foreign Minister Wang Yi remarked "in advancing the development agenda, we must cherish peace as we do our eyes... to uphold peace is the purpose of the UN Charter as well as the precondition for the MDGs."²⁸ While President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria stated "Our continent stands ready to continue to engage the rest of the world as a partner in formulating a global development agenda that will guarantee peace, security and stability."²⁹ Finally, the Outcome Document for the Special Event on the MDGs, which all member states signed up to, stated that the new framework should "promote peace and security, democratic governance, the rule of law, gender equality and human rights for all."³⁰

²⁷ *My World* (2013) How the World Voted: Ranking of priorities (so far) www.myworld2015.org/?page=results

²⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (2013) "Peace, development and cooperation must be moved forward instead of backward" www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zjyh/t1081243.shtml

²⁹ Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations (2013) *Statement by H.E. President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, GCFR at the 68th Ordinary Session of President of the United Nations General Assembly* <https://papersmart.unmeetings.org/media2/129083/nigeria.pdf>

³⁰ United Nations (2013) *Special Event 25 September: Outcome Document* www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/Outcome%20documentMDG.pdf

1

Peaceful and stable societies as a prerequisite for development in Africa

Institute for Global Dialogue

THE NEXUS BETWEEN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, on the one hand, and peace, stability, and security on the other is not a new concept. Whereas the Millennium Development Goals do not contain any specific goal to this effect, the connection is implied throughout the Millennium Declaration, which underpins the MDGs. Furthermore, in development policy discourses on the African continent the symbiotic relationship between peace and development is explicitly articulated. For example, the NEPAD framework document clearly spells out that “African leaders have learned from their own experiences that peace, security, democracy, good governance, human rights and sound economic management are conditions for sustainable development” (NEPAD, 2001: para. 71). Likewise, the draft framework for the AU Agenda 2063 attributes the economic boom that most African countries experienced between 2002 and 2008 partly to the “reduction and end of conflicts on the continent”. At the same time, there are warnings that lingering pockets of state fragility, and the insecurity this breeds, “have the potential to reverse Africa’s progress” (Africa Governance Institute, undated, 9, 28). A similar message is echoed in the emerging common African position on the post-2015 development framework, which has identified peace, security, and good governance as key development enablers on the continent (UNECA, undated, page 9).

A brief review of the performance of so-called ‘fragile and conflict-affected states’ in Africa in achieving the MDGs helps explain the growing recognition that a sustainable development agenda for Africa must be grounded in efforts to address the root causes of violent conflict and instability. Africa is home to 13 of the 18 countries that make up the g7+ group of fragile and conflict-affected states, a category which is considered to have made the least progress in achieving the MDGs (International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, 2011, page 1). The African Development Bank and the World Bank classify 19 of Africa’s 55 countries as ‘fragile states’, where human security is undermined by armed conflict, violence, and poor governance (refer to the table below). A recent report by the Pretoria-based Institute for Security Studies (ISS) broadens this category to include seven other African countries (see Cilliers and Sisk, 2013). It forecasts that without appropriate interventions – in the form of better

conflict prevention and management mechanisms, improvements in governance, and measures to reduce poverty and inequality – 10 out of these 26 countries could still be caught in the fragility trap by the year 2050.

List of fragile and conflict-affected states in Africa

World Bank/AfDB harmonised list of fragile and conflict-affected states, 2014	Additions from the ISS country list of 'more fragile' states
Burundi	Cameroon
Central African Republic	Ethiopia
Chad	Guinea
Comoros	Mauritania
Congo, Democratic Republic of	Niger
Cote d'Ivoire	Rwanda
Eritrea	Uganda
Guinea Bissau	
Liberia	
Madagascar	
Malawi	
Mali	
Sierra Leone	
Somalia	
South Sudan	
Sudan	
Togo	
Zimbabwe	

One does not have to look far in order to appreciate the implications of this forecast for development efforts in the designated countries and on the continent as a whole. The example of West Africa, one of the most unstable and conflict-ridden sub-regions in Africa, is illustrative in this regard. Insecurity flowing from the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, as well as armed violence – both of which reflect the legacy of violent political unrest in the region – have greatly undermined efforts to reduce poverty and other attempts to realise the MDGs in countries such as Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, and Senegal. As Anatole Ayissi (2008) points out, in a region where livelihoods are sustained primarily through agriculture, the prevalence of insurgencies, rape, highway banditry, and other forms of armed robbery disrupts agricultural production, thereby undermining efforts to improve the living conditions of the poor, particularly women, in rural areas.

In addition to destroying the infrastructure and human capital that the continent desperately needs for stimulating and sustaining inclusive economic growth, the adverse effects of violent conflict and insecurity on development efforts in Africa can also be observed in the domain of cross-border cooperation and regional integration. Most if not all of Africa's blueprints for socio-economic development place a strong accent on regional integration and cooperation, given the weak capacities of individual African states to successfully compete in the global economy. However, in most of Africa's regional economic communities, the momentum towards greater cooperation and integration has often been obstructed by the prevalence of pockets of conflict and instability, among other factors. This includes the cross-border security threats posed by the trafficking of humans, weapons and drugs, conflict spill-over, wildlife poaching, as well as the threat of terrorism. Indeed 'security concerns' attributed to conflict and political instability in the region have often been cited as one of the reasons behind the reluctance of some members of the SADC to agree to the free movement of people across their borders, even though this has been recognised as a catalyst for regional economic development. Consider also the case of the Great Lakes region, where despite the virtual integration of the economies of the region, instability stemming from the persistent violence in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo has prevented countries in the region from fully harnessing the immense economic development potential of cross-border cooperation.

The foregoing summary illustrates how the absence of peace and stability in a number of African countries and regions undermines prospects for sustainable development not just in the countries concerned but for the continent as a whole. This highlights the need for peace and stability as a prerequisite for development in Africa, and thus the importance of including this dimension in the post-2015 framework.

References

- Africa Governance Institute, Agenda 2063 Draft Framework www.iag-agi.org/IMG/pdf/agenda-2063-c9fa.pdf
- Ayissi A (2008) "Peace, security and the millennium development goals in West Africa", in Vignard K (ed.) *The Complex Dynamics of Small Arms in West Africa* (Geneva: UN Institute for Disarmament Research) pp 21–26
- Cilliers J, Sisk T (2013) "Assessing long-term state fragility in Africa: Prospects for 26 'more fragile' countries", ISS Monograph Number 188
- International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (2011) "A New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States" www.pbsdialogue.org/documentupload/49151944.pdf
- New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Framework Document, October 2001 www.nepad.org/system/files/framework_o.pdf
- UNECA, Outcome Document of the regional Consultations on the Post-2015 Development Agenda www.regionalcommissions.org/africa2015.pdf
- UN Millennium Declaration, September 2000 www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm

2

Conflict and insecurity in South Africa – causes and responses

Southern African Liaison Office

SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CHANGES have taken place in South Africa since the first democratic elections in 1994. Nevertheless, the extent and complexity of the destructive effects of the colonial legacy and its institutionalisation in the system of apartheid have left South Africa with considerable challenges. The slow pace of the reform agenda introduced by the first democratically elected government has been unable to transform this legacy, and in some instances economic policies appear to have compounded the problem.

The South African Defence Review of 2013 cites four key categories of concern that place developmental challenges at the centre of the domestic security agenda. These concerns are identified as poverty, unemployment, education, and crime. While a recent study provides evidence of an overall decline in poverty during the first decade of South Africa's democracy, and of a significant decline among those in 'deeper poverty'³¹, over 11 million South Africans were still living on less than \$2 per day in 2005 (Bhorat and van der Westhuizen, 2012). 'Statistics South Africa' pegs the current unemployment rate at approximately 25 per cent, leaving around 4.5 million people without work.

Along with poverty another critical concern is inequality, both of which are compounded by the current trajectory of economic growth in South Africa. The historically unequal nature of South African society and the manner in which economic and political reforms have been unable to reduce, and have often increased, levels of inequality, generates serious domestic insecurity.

Bhorat and van der Westhuizen present compelling evidence that between 1995 and 2005 the Gini co-efficient, a measure of income inequality, increased significantly from 0.64 to 0.69. The same study shows that in 2005 the richest 20 per cent of the South African population accounted for about 75 per cent of total household expenditure – an increase from the 70 per cent of 1995. In other words, the modest economic growth

³¹ Against the higher poverty line of R322 a month (in 2000 prices) aggregate poverty declined by 3.5 percentage points while at the lower poverty line of R174 (equivalent to \$2 per day and also in 2000 prices) poverty declined by 7 percentage points.

experienced by South Africa since 1994 has been largely absorbed by the richest 20 per cent of the population.

Bhorat and van der Westhuizen cite research findings that connect high-levels of economic inequality with decreased support for democratic governance (Wells and Kriekhaus, 2006). They also highlight a study of 88 countries that have undergone some form of democratisation, which demonstrates how economic growth alone does not ensure the sustainability of democracy, and that the distribution of income, assets and opportunities is essential for the survival of a democratic system (Kapstein and Converse, 2008).

Many civil society actors are deeply concerned by the ongoing marginalisation of rural communities and the poor. The daily experiences of social exclusion amongst people on the fringes of society are a stark reminder of the legacy of class and race discrimination. These divisive dynamics combine with a deeply unequal society to create conditions for social and political insecurity.

In addition, local struggles for livelihood opportunities and competition for scarce resources interact with latent and surface anti-foreigner sentiments, spilling over into violence that appears to be directed at outsiders, thus creating an additional set of social divisions. These sentiments contain the seeds of popular feeling that may serve to undermine social cohesion and that can easily be manipulated and provoked by those pursuing a political agenda.

Domestic insecurities should be seen as distinct from, but interconnected with, the social ills of a society struggling to transform the legacy of a deeply divided past. Not all of these social ills are a direct cause of domestic insecurity; however, when there is a perception that marginalised sections of society are being deliberately excluded, or that democratic systems are neither representative nor accountable, conditions are ripe for forms of social mobilisation that could threaten political stability.

The Diagnostic Report that informs South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP) recognises unemployment, education and poverty as areas of domestic concern, as well as health, post-apartheid spatial and infrastructural issues, and societal divisions (see box 1).

Box 1: National Development Plan diagnostics

Too few people work

The standard of education for most black learners is of poor quality

Infrastructure is poorly located and insufficient to foster high growth

Spatial patterns exclude the poor from the fruits of development

The economy is overly and unsustainably resource intensive

Widespread disease burden is compounded by a failing public health system

Public services are uneven and often of poor quality

Corruption is widespread

South Africa remains a divided society

The NDP outlines a reform agenda in support of the government's long-term goal of building a harmonious and prosperous society through livelihood improvement, and regionally balanced and environmentally sustainable growth. It clarifies how public expenditure will be geared towards livelihoods, with strong support provided to education, healthcare, social security, and public housing. Infrastructure is also highlighted as a key focus area, particularly rural development. The reform agenda focuses on stemming income inequality and addressing structural imbalances by opening up the economy and encouraging investment-driven economic growth. South-South partnerships, including other BRICS countries, and positioning South Africa as a gateway to the rest of the continent also form part of this strategy.

The NDP premises the effectiveness of the plan on several factors (see box 2).

Box 2: Requirements for the effective implementation of the NDP

The active efforts and participation of all South Africans in their own development
Redressing the injustices of the past effectively
Faster economic growth and higher investment and employment
Rising standards of education, a healthy population and effective social protection
Strengthening the links between economic and social strategies
An effective and capable government
Collaboration between the public and private sectors
Leadership from all sectors in society

Without these conditions in place, it is not clear how the current trajectory can deliver changes at a pace that will satisfy communities that feel excluded from the benefits of an economic growth and investment-driven model of change. The resulting, and perhaps inevitable, tensions will require a careful process of conflict management and violence prevention.

The culture of violence that characterises South African society, plus the widely held belief that the denial of basic rights to the majority is itself a form of structural violence, means that violent responses to these conditions are seen as legitimate by many social activists. While community protests are currently overwhelmingly nonviolent this legitimisation of violence could feed into and influence social protest by large sections of society against poor service delivery and against perceptions of poorly managed or corrupt forms of local government. It is unlikely that democratic institutions in South Africa will be threatened by violent overthrow in the foreseeable future, but increasing state repression in response to community protests is escalating tensions, and contributing to a culture in which violence is fast becoming an inevitable part of community protest.

In this sense, the attainment of human security, including freedom from fear, freedom from want, and the freedom to take action in pursuit of individual and collective goals, will require a more far-reaching reform agenda than is currently being pursued. Dialogue and mediation strategies will be an essential element of relations between legitimate and representative community leadership, local authorities, the security forces, and the state. More effort will also need to be placed on innovative forms of public participation in decision-making, and on forms of social cohesion and nation-building that enable a stronger sense of local ownership and involvement in developmental processes.

Other important elements include collaborative partnerships between the state, civil society, and the private sector; and leadership in each of these sectors that can build unity and cohesion behind a shared agenda of economic and social transformation, recognising and managing the tensions of a reform agenda and of social transformation processes.

These process issues will be as important as strategies to address inequality, unemployment, education, health, spatial transformation, and infrastructure development. And crucially any effort to address domestic insecurities will need to include indicators in the areas of partnership building, public participation, local ownership, and social cohesion.

References

- African Development Bank (2012) “Republic of South Africa Country Strategy Paper 2013–2017” Southern African Resource Centre
- Bhorat and van der Westhuizen (2012) “Poverty, Inequality and the Nature of Economic Growth in South Africa” Working Paper 12/151 (Cape Town: Development Policy Research Unit, University of Cape Town)
- Commission on Human Security (2003) *Human Security Now* (New York)
- Kapstein E B, Converse N (2008) “Why Democracies Fail” *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 19 No 4 October 2008, pp 57–68
- National Development Plan Vision for 2030, (2011) National Planning Commission, South Africa
- Poverty and Inequality in South Africa, 1998, report prepared for the Office of the Executive Deputy President and the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Poverty and Inequality
- South African Defence Review 2013, <http://sodefencereview2012.org>
- Well J M, Kriekhaus J (2006) “Equity and Democratic Consolidation: Does Income Inequality Reduce Support for Democracy?” Paper prepared for presentation at the 2006 annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 20–23, Chicago, Illinois

3

How violence against women and girls affects South Africa, and how the post-2015 framework can help address the issue

Southern African Liaison Office

WHILE SOUTH AFRICA CELEBRATES 20 years of human-rights driven democracy, everyday violence against women and girls is an ever-present and vivid reality. Although the 2013 crime statistics indicate that over the last two years crimes against women fell by 11.1 per cent, crimes against children fell by 12.4 per cent, and that reported rape also appears to be decreasing (by 0.4 per cent during 2012–2013) (Mann, 2013), the statistics do not do justice to the ‘hidden’ nature of violence against women and girls in South Africa. Widespread under-reporting and even lack of understanding of what constitutes sexual violence are suspected to be the case in South Africa (DSD, DWCPD, UNICEF, 2012).

In terms of reported sexual violence against women and children, a recent study (DSD, DWCPD, UNICEF, 2012) indicated that there are 55,000 rapes per year; and that more than one third of girls in South Africa have experienced sexual violence before the age of 18. There were 50,000 crimes reported in respect of children in 2010/2011, of which more than half were sexual in nature. However, the report notes that these statistics are only of reported cases.

It is against this background, and in the face of the suffering of South African women and girls, that South Africa established the National Council on Gender Based Violence, which sets out to be “an authoritative and forceful mechanism to address the issue of gender based violence” (South Africa, 2011b).

Sandra Liebenberg notes that “[w]hile progress has been made on a number of fronts, including *de jure* equality (equality through law), there has at the same time been a consistent and growing unease with a range of matters regarding the institutionalisation

of the transformation agenda for women, and the inalienable realisation of their human rights and freedom from violence” (Liebenberg, 1997).

A post-2015 development agenda should seek to attain what the Millennium Development Goals did not – namely the visible, concrete, and dedicated attainment of women’s empowerment and gender equality. To do this, a stand-alone goal for women and girls’ empowerment and gender equality should be maintained, with strengthened attention to targets and discerning indicators that take into account the diverse and multiple nature of discrimination, including violence against women (OECD, 2013). One of the most urgent areas to be addressed is to collect reliable data through well-resourced national and global surveys on violence against women and girls.

Violence against women is closely linked to other aspects of women’s empowerment. If violence against women is to be effectively tackled in the South African context, systemic issues such as women’s economic empowerment, political participation, and access to justice, as well as social norms which do not value women and girls as equal, productive members of society, need to be resolutely addressed. A target on violence against women in the post-2015 framework could be supported by targets on these issues as part of a holistic approach to achieving gender equality.

Despite the measures that have been put in place and articulations of progress, violence against women and girls remains one of the most critical areas where substantive equality and human rights are regularly and brutally flouted with serious and long-term consequences for women’s advancement. South Africa needs to move beyond a paper-based view of these rights and to translate these into a lived reality for women and girls. The post-2015 agenda, in taking violence against women and girls seriously, can give South Africans global definitions and more precise benchmarks to monitor progress for the enhanced lives of women and girls.

References

- Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 2011, CEDAW/C/ZAF/CO/4
- DSD, DWCPD, UNICEF (2012) *Violence Against Children in South Africa* (Pretoria: Department of Social Development/Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities/ UNICEF)
- Hendriks C (1996) “Gender politics in a post-apartheid South Africa” *Southern African Feminist Review* 2 1 (Harare)
- Liebenberg S (1997) “A Theoretical Overview of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).” SAFERE: *Southern African Feminist Review* 2 2:27–35
- Mann H (2013) “Latest crime statistics reveal murder and drug crime up, rape down” www.thesouthafrican.com/news/crime-that-affects-ordinary-south-africans-on-the-rise.htm
- OECD (2013) “Gender equality and women’s rights in the post-2015 agenda: A foundation for sustainable development” OECD Post-2015, Element 3, Paper 1
- South Africa (1996) Constitution of South Africa, Act No 108 of 1996
- South Africa, DWCPD (2010) Towards a Gender Equality Bill: Issues Paper 1, 2010, Unpublished
- South Africa, DWCPD (2011a) Strategic Plan, 2011–2015
- South Africa, DWCPD (2011b) Concept Document for the Proposed National Council on Gender Based Violence, 25 August, 2011
- Wright H (2013) “Gender, peace and security and the post-2015 framework” www.unwomen.org/~media/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/CSW/58/EP2-Hannah-Wright%20pdf.pdf

4

South Africa's efforts to build peace and wider foreign policy³²

The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes

OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS South Africa has been instrumental in promoting peacebuilding policies and practices on the African continent. Since 1994's democratic dispensation, the country has increased its presence in Africa through a range of approaches aimed at supporting post-conflict societies. In line with this, South Africa has re-oriented its foreign policy, reflecting a recognition that supporting peaceful and safe societies in Africa is linked to the country's own interests in promoting continent-wide development. This summary presents a range of points that locate South Africa's efforts to build peace in the context of its wider foreign policy objectives.

South Africa's foreign policy has focused on strengthening the perception of South Africa as an integral part of the African continent, whose national interests are intrinsically linked to Africa's stability, unity, and prosperity.³³ For instance, South Africa has been a major player in terms of peacekeeping contributions on the African continent. The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has consistently deployed peacekeepers in the past 20 years. The deployment of peacekeepers throughout the 2000s, for instance in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi, can be seen as key examples of the broad continuum that guides the engagement that often started as providing leadership during the mediation process. The deployment of peacekeepers, therefore, was seen as part of South Africa's contribution to ensure that peace agreements signed would be sustained. These experiences, amongst others, have led to the drafting of two White Papers on Peace Missions (1998 and 2011). The White Papers underscored South Africa's foreign policy objectives of promoting peaceful resolution of conflicts, the creation of an environment that is conducive for sustainable development, and commitment to rules-based multilateralism in a world that is just and equitable.³⁴

South Africa's preference for 'softer' approaches in dealing with matters of regional and continental peace and security reflects a variety of historical factors. In particular,

³² This section is based on a forthcoming paper to be published by ACCORD's Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping Unit's on South Africa's engagements in South Africa's Support to Strengthening Civilian Capacities in the Aftermath of Conflict.

³³ Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2011) White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy: 'Building a Better World: Diplomacy of Ubuntu' www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=148482

³⁴ Department of International Relations and Cooperation (2011) *Revised White Paper on South African Participation in International Peace Missions*, 21 April.

it reveals the nation's desire to craft a new identity for itself, dissociated from the destabilisation of neighbouring states that characterised the apartheid regime. One example indicative of this shift has been the transformation of the SANDF to adopt an expanded human-security mandate, which includes responding to health issues, such as the spread of disease, to refugee issues, and to underdevelopment, as well as to organised crime and terrorism (Kagwanja, 2009).³⁵

More recently, there has been increasing attention to efforts related to post-conflict reconstruction and development. South Africa's engagements with post-conflict countries have been fundamentally premised upon and informed by the country's own experiences and its foreign policy initiatives, specifically focusing on providing electoral assistance, mediation, justice and constitutional reform among others. Post-conflict capacity-building has been largely conducted through bi-lateral cooperation mechanisms, with the participation of different government departments and other state entities, for example, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, the Independent Electoral Commission, and the South African Police Service.

South Africa's role has also been particularly apparent in supporting the conflict management capabilities of the SADC, as well as the AU. As the AU is in the process of operationalising its African Standby Force, South Africa has played one of the most active roles in its creation. In 2009, for instance, South Africa led a multinational exercise, named Exercise Golfinho, designed to prepare SADC troops to take part in the sub-regional standby brigade.

Over this period, South Africa has also played a key role in the development of regional and continental institutions and frameworks – such as SADC, AU, and NEPAD – that address the economic and political challenges confronting the continent. In particular, South Africa has sought to strengthen the conflict management capacity of these institutions, based upon the recognition that peace and security within South Africa is inextricably linked to the broader context. Grounded in former President Thabo Mbeki's vision of the African Renaissance, initiatives such as the NEPAD – which South Africa has been a leading advocate and supporter of – explicitly highlight the nexus between economic development, peace, and prosperity (Southall, 2006).³⁶ Within multilateral frameworks such as these, South Africa has played a central role – in both policy-oriented and substantive functions – in addressing peace and security issues at a regional, continental, and international level.

As well as its leading role in the region and continent, South Africa's engagements are increasingly framed within new multilateral arrangements involving other rising actors from the South. This is evident in South Africa's participation in the trilateral development forum between India, Brazil, and South Africa (IBSA) and in the bloc of emerging economies from the global South: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS). Therefore, South Africa's international role can be seen to fall within the ambit of two distinct spheres of foreign policy: the 'African Agenda' or African-focused approach, and the global South approach, which identifies with non-African emerging powers based on South-South Cooperation.

As presented above, South Africa's foreign policy and its role in supporting peace and security is linked to how the country positions itself as a key player shaping the development agenda both of the continent and of the global South. Therefore, South Africa's engagement with the post-2015 development agenda particularly as it relates to issues of sustainable peace will be a continuation of its long-standing efforts to support peace and security on the African continent and globally.

35 Kagwanja P (2006) "Power and peace: South Africa and the refurbishing of Africa's multilateral capacity for peacekeeping" in Southall R (ed.) *South Africa's Role in Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa* (Cape Town, Human Sciences Research Council Press)

36 Southall R (2006) *South Africa's Role in Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa* (Cape Town, Human Sciences Research Council Press)

References

- Kagwanja P (2006) "Power and peace: South Africa and the refurbishing of Africa's multilateral capacity for peacekeeping", in Southall R (ed.) *South Africa's Role in Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa* (Cape Town, Human Sciences Research Council Press)
- Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2011) White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy: 'Building a Better World: Diplomacy of Ubuntu' www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=148482
- Southall R (2006) *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa* (Cape Town, Human Sciences Research Council Press)

Transnational factors affecting security and development in South Africa

Institute for Security Studies

WHILE SOUTH AFRICA HAS ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS on the post-2015 development agenda, its primary focus has been its own National Development Plan. This risks ignoring the country's vulnerability to a range of global and regional factors, and the potential of these to confound its national development efforts. These factors demand that South Africa takes practical steps to address the range of development, security, and justice challenges that affect Africans on the continent as a whole, if it is to achieve sustained development at home.

One such challenge is migration. The International Organisation on Migration states that South Africa hosts the second highest number of migrants in Africa, with over two-thirds of migrants coming from other SADC countries.³⁷ Although the actual number of undocumented migrants is difficult to determine, and estimates are often in dispute, it is clear that South Africa's relative stability and prosperity compared with many of its African neighbours makes it an attractive destination for those seeking a better life.

The xenophobic violence in South Africa in 2008, as well as sporadic attacks on foreign migrants since then, offer a stark reminder that migration does not only have an economic impact, but can also have serious implications for safety and security. The causes of this violence were cited in various reports as: competition for jobs, commodities, and housing and local political contestation exacerbating existing tension.³⁸ This underlines the critical inter-connectedness between development concerns and security issues.

While migrants may enter the country with high expectations, evidence indicates that undocumented migrants experience particularly inhospitable conditions in South

³⁷ International Organisation for Migration (2013) *The Well-Being of Economic Migrants in South Africa: Health, Gender and Development: Working Paper for the World Migration Report* (Geneva: International Organisation for Migration)

³⁸ Human Sciences Research Council (2008) *Citizenship, Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council)

Africa, including police harassment³⁹ and the denial of basic services.⁴⁰ Clearly, this is not merely a matter of improved border control – as stated by Home Affairs Minister, Naledi Pandor, in relation to Zimbabwean migrants⁴¹ – but relates to the far more complex concern of South Africa seeking to grow and develop in harmony with its neighbours on several fronts.

Transnational organised crime is considered a major international threat to security and development,⁴² but South Africa, like other countries on the continent, has struggled to get to grips with the issue both conceptually and practically.⁴³ Consequently, it has failed to develop effective measures to address such crimes. The country therefore continues to suffer the impacts of serious transnational organised crime, including drug-trafficking, and the poaching of marine and wildlife resources (such as abalone and rhino) within its borders.

South Africa has established national legislation, as well as investigative and prosecutorial resources, and has had some success in addressing these crimes at the national level, such as the conviction of marine poachers in the Western Cape and of those selling South African rhino horn in the Far East. However, it has struggled to locate these initiatives within broader strategies to combat crimes at the sub-regional level, and nor is it alone in this regard.⁴⁴

South Africa has made some efforts within the regional Southern African law enforcement mechanism SARPCCO,⁴⁵ but the range of impediments to a truly regional approach has yet to be addressed. These include incongruent legal regimes and local law enforcement resources; weak international legal cooperation; limited transnational intelligence sources and sharing; and corruption.⁴⁶

Drug trafficking presents a telling example of these challenges. The UN Office on Drugs and Crime's World Drug report for 2013 notes an increase in maritime trafficking relating to Africa, including an almost 10-fold increase in seizures of heroin in East Africa. Yet, the report cannot present data on cocaine seizures in Southern Africa as the data is not available.⁴⁷ Equally, SADC approved a maritime security strategy in 2011 (currently unavailable to the public), which reportedly addresses the threat of piracy in the region, an issue that concerns many nations, including South Africa and Mozambique. Yet South African officials have themselves raised concerns about South Africa's internal approach to piracy and its capacity, and about the willingness of other nations to support it.⁴⁸

The conviction of Nigerian terror suspect Henry Okah in South Africa in 2013, with the collaboration of Nigerian authorities, may point to a new trend of the country asserting the rule of law and delivering justice on behalf of other African states. A judgement by South Africa's Supreme Court of Appeals in November 2013 compels criminal justice officials to investigate allegations of the torture of opposition activists by Zimbabwean security officials. This is enabled by South Africa's implementing legislation for the Rome Statute,⁴⁹ and will require that the implicated officials be arrested and tried if they enter the country.

39 Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (unpublished) *Brief for the Independent Complaints Directorate: Police Harassment and Abuse of Foreign Nationals*, April 2010, www.cormsa.co.za

40 Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (2013) *Gauteng health policy developments: New tariffs for refugees and migrants in public hospitals and clinics* www.cormsa.org.za/2013/11/

41 SABC News (2013) *Pandor looks to curb number of illegal immigrants entering SA* www.sabc.co.za/news/a/1a7e56004e1ec128b42db7f251b4e4e2/Pandor-looks-to-curb-number-of-illegal-immigrants-entering-SA-20130109

42 Gastrow P (2013) "Transnational organised crime: The stepchild of crime-combating priorities" *ISS Policy Brief 46* and Shaw M, Reitano T (2013) "The evolution of organised crime in Africa: Towards a new response" *ISS Paper 244*

43 Goredema C, Goga K (forthcoming) *Crime networks and governance in Cape Town: The quest for enlightened responses* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies)

44 Gastrow P (2013) "Transnational organised crime: The stepchild of crime-combating priorities" *ISS Policy Brief 46*

45 Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation

46 Hubschle A (2010) *Review of Organised Crime in Southern Africa: First Annual Review* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies)

47 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013) *World Drug Report* (Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime)

48 Engineering News (2012) *Strategic agenda shift needed for maritime security in SADC* www.engineeringnews.co.za/print-version/lack-of-coordination-hampering-maritime-safety-efforts-2012-11-23

49 Southern African Litigation Centre, *Challenging the NPA's refusal to Act* www.southernafricalitigationcentre.org/cases/ongoing-cases/challenging-the-npas-refusal-to-act-in-terms-of-the-rome-statute-act/

So while South Africa may prioritise domestic issues, it is clear that a growing range of transnational factors – including migration and transnational crime – will impact on security and development in South Africa, and these require the government to act at supra-national levels. The post-2015 development process offers an opportunity and a framework to address these issues at a global level.

ANNEX 1: Key inputs into the post-2015 development agenda process (as of January 2014)

Date	Input	Key recommendations
June 2012	<p>UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda</p> <p>Prepared by: Experts from more than 50 UN entities and international organisations</p>	<p>“A vision for the future that rests on the core values of human rights, equality and sustainability”.</p> <p>“...the key strengths of the MDG framework should be retained, but reorganized along four key dimensions of a more holistic approach: (1) inclusive social development; (2) inclusive economic development; (3) environmental sustainability; and (4) peace and security”.ⁱ</p>
May 2013	<p>The Report of the High-level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda</p> <p>Prepared by: Co-chairs from Indonesia, Liberia and the United Kingdom and twenty-four eminent persons from across the world</p>	<p>Five “Transformative Shifts”:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Leave No One Behind – “The next development agenda must ensure that in the future neither income nor gender, nor ethnicity, nor disability, nor geography will determine whether people live or die.” 2. Put Sustainable Development at the Core – “integrate the social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainability”. 3. Transform Economies for Jobs and Inclusive Growth – “There must be a commitment to rapid, equitable growth – not growth at any cost or just short-term spurts in growth, but sustained, long-term, inclusive growth that can overcome the challenges of unemployment, resource scarcity and – perhaps the biggest challenge of all – adaptation to climate change.” 4. Build Peace and Effective, Open and Accountable Public Institutions – “Freedom from conflict and violence is the most fundamental human entitlement, and the essential foundation for building peaceful and prosperous societies.” 5. Forge a new Global Partnership – “...bring a new sense of global partnership into national and international politics”.ⁱⁱ
June 2013	<p>An Action Agenda for Sustainable Development</p> <p>Prepared by: Leadership Council of Sustainable Development Solutions Network</p>	<p>Identified ten priority challenges that sustainable development must address focusing on ending poverty, improving education, inclusion, health, agriculture, climate change, good management of natural resources, and the need to transform global governance.ⁱⁱⁱ</p>
June 2013	<p>Corporate Sustainability and the United Nations Post-2015 Development Agenda</p> <p>Prepared by: UN Global Compact</p>	<p>Proposed goals categorised around four areas:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poverty 2. Health and Education 3. Resources (food, water, sanitation, energy and climate) 4. Enabling environment (governance, human rights, peace and stability, infrastructure)^{iv}
September 2013	<p>Listening to 1 Million Voices</p> <p>Prepared by: <i>My World Survey</i></p>	<p>Better education, healthcare, and job opportunities were ranked as the top-most three priorities, followed by improved governance, access to clean, water and affordable nutrition.^v</p>

ⁱ www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/Post_2015_UNTReport.pdf

ⁱⁱ www.post2015hlp.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/UN-Report.pdf

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://unsdsn.org/files/2013/11/An-Action-Agenda-for-Sustainable-Development.pdf>

^{iv} www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/news_events/9.1_news_archives/2013_06_18/UNGC_Post2015_Report.pdf

^v www.endpoverty2015.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/My-World-Million-UNGA-2013_FINAL2.pdf

Further reading on the inclusion of peace within the post-2015 development agenda

Date	Location	Input	Purpose	Link
November 2012	Monrovia, Liberia	Conflict and Fragility and the Post-2015 Development Agenda	The Monrovia Consultation was the second of three regional consultations designed to mobilize global consensus on the importance of accounting for peace and security in the successor development framework by addressing the inter-relationship between armed conflict, fragility, organized violence, disaster and sustainable development.	www.worldwewant2015.org/node/307444
June 2013	Glen Cove, New York	Report of the Expert Meeting on Accountability Framework for Conflict, Violence and Disaster in the Post-2015 Development Agenda	These consultations focused on the question of how conflict, violence, governance and disaster outcomes can be effectively designed and measured in the context of development.	www.worldwewant2015.org/node/371755

Saferworld: Addressing conflict and violence from 2015

Issue Paper 1

The impact of conflict and violence on achieving development
www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/709

Issue Paper 2

What are the key challenges? What works in addressing them?
www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/708

Issue Paper 3

Rising powers and conflict
www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/710

Issue Paper 4

A vision of goals, targets and indicators: Addressing conflict and violence from 2015
www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/730

This briefing is based on contributions written by Fritz Nganje (IGD), Richard Smith (SALO), Gustavo Barros de Carvalho (ACCORD), Showers Mawowa (SALO) and Cheryl Frank (ISS). The executive summary and introduction were prepared by Ivan Campbell and Sunil Suri (Saferworld). The report has also benefited from comments and input provided by Joan Brickhill (SALO) and Hannah Wright (Saferworld).

COVER PHOTO: The South African maritime contingent of the United Nations Operation in Burundi is pictured during the contingent's farewell and medal parade in Bujumbura, Burundi. © UN PHOTO



ACCORD

2 Golf Course Drive
Mount Edgecombe
Durban
South Africa
Phone: +27 31 502 3908
Email: info@accord.org.za
Web: www.accord.org.za



Institute for Global Dialogue

3rd Floor UNISA Building
263 Nana Sita Street
Pretoria, South Africa
PO Box 1434
Phone: +2712 337 60
Email: info@igd.org.za
Web: www.igd.org.za



Institute for Security Studies

361 Veale Street
Block C, Brooklyn Court
New Muckleneuk
Pretoria, 0181
Phone: +27 12 346 9500/2
Email: pretoria@issafrica.org
Web: www.issafrica.org



Southern African Liaison Office

3rd Floor, Steven House
Brooklyn Bridge Office Park
570 Fehrsen Street
Brooklyn, Pretoria, 0181
Phone: +27 12 622 8968
Email: info@salo.org.za
Web: www.salo.org.za



SAFERWORLD

Saferworld
The Grayston Centre
28 Charles Square
London N1 6HT, UK
Phone: +44 (0)20 7324 4646
Fax: +44 (0)20 7324 4647
Email: general@saferworld.org.uk
Web: www.saferworld.org.uk

Registered charity no. 1043843
A company limited by guarantee no. 3015948